Understanding the Impact of Surveillance and Security Measures on Muslim Men in Canada

About the Author

7DEDVXP $NVHHU LV 'LUHFWRU RI 3ROLF\ DQG 5H
GDWLRQ·V $IJKDQLVWDQ R€FH 6KH RYHUVHHV D S
LQFOXGLQJ WKH)RXQGDWLRQ·V DQQXDO 6XUYH\ F
VXP OHDGV WKH GHVLJQ SODQQLQJ DQG LPSOHI
SURMHFW UHODWHG VXUYH\V DV ZHOO DV D GDW
EXLOG $IJKDQ FDSDFLW\ 6KH LV UHVSRQVLEOH IR
QDWLRQDO VWD• DQG FRQWULEXWLQJ WR WKH 'H
SURSRVDO ZULWLQJ GRQRU UHODWLRQV- DQG VN
WXQLWLHV IRU QDWLRQDO VWD•

3ULRU WR KHU ZRUN DW 7KH $VLD)RXQGDWLRQ
SURMHFWV LQWHUVHFWLQJ JHQGHU SHDFH VHFX
UHFHQWO\ VKH ZDV D SRVW GRFWRUDO UHVHDUF
&HQWHU IRU ,QWHUQDWLRQDO DQG 'HIHQFH 3RO
&DQDGD $W 4XHHQ·V 7DEDVXP ZDV D WHDFKLQJ
WKH 6FKRRO RI 5HOLJLRQ 'HSDUWPHQW RI /DQJX
WXUHV DQG WKH *HQGHU 6WXGLHV GHSDUWPHQW

+HU ZRUN KDV EHHQ SUHVHQWHG DW YDULRXV
FRQIHUHQFHV DQG SXEOLVKHG LQ MRXUQDOV LQF
view, the Canadian Journal of School Psychology, the Alberta Journal of Ed
ucational Research

Forced Migration Re-

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,QWURGXFWLRQ WR WKH 6WXG\ 1

/LWHUDWXUH 5HYLHZ DQG 7KHRUHWLFDO &RQ

0HWKRGRORJLFDO &RQVLGHUDWLRQV 37

5HVXOWV DQG 'DWD $QDO\VLV 45

,PSOLFDWLRQV DQG &RQFOXVLRQV 87

1.

'HWHQWLRQ SURFHGXUHV IRU H[DPSOH IXQFWL
WURO ZKLOH GHSRUWDWLRQ LV D VWUD-WHJ\ RI H
QHQWV RI VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV DQ LPPLJUDW
WKH LQGHÀQLWH GHWHQWLRQ DQG GHSRUWDWLRQ
WR &DQDGLDQ QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\
:KLOH VWXGLHV IRFXVLQJ RQ WKH LQWHQVLÀHG
UHODWLYHO\ ZHOO GRFXPHQWHG VHH IRU H[DPS
'UDFKH .RQUDG DQG 1LFRO 6DOWHU

ODQFH LV XQGHUVWRRG DV RQH RI WKH PDMRU
VWDWHV DQG RUJDQL]DWLRQV NHHS WUDFN RI DQ
VXUYHLOODQFH WHFKQLTXHV VWDWHV FRGLI\ WK
LQHG FRPPXQLW\µ LQ H•RUWV WR GHYHORS ´WKH
QRSROL]H WKH DXWKRULW\ WR UHJXODWH PRYHP
YHLOODQFH PRQLWRUV SRWHQWLDO LPPLJUDQW
L D „@ ` ´ 3 U„ìPR U R X XB @ W K Gep À¯ õ V ö3 U„Â ð0

$QRWKHU NH\ FRPSRQHQW WR XQGHUVWDQGLQ
DQG VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV RQ UDFLDOL]HG JURX
&66 &66 KHOSV XV WR FRQFHSWXDOL]H WKH
VHFXULW\ DJHQGD LV FRQVWUXFWHG LQ H•RUW
WKH WKUHDW RI WKH IRUHLJQ 2WKHU)ROORZL
FRQYHQWLRQDO WKHRULHV RI VHFXULW\ ZHUH
DGHTXDWH LQ H[SODLQLQJ WKH QHZ ODQGVFDS
WRUV %XUJHVV :KHQ GLVFXVVLQJ &66 WI
FRQFHSWV ERUURZHG IURP ,QWHUQDWLRQDO 3R
FXULW\ DSSURDFK WKDW VXEVXPHV HOHPHQWV

Tabasum Akseer

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Considerations

The History of Immigration Law and Policy in Canada

7KH REMHFWLYHV RI LPPLJUDWLRQ ODZ DQG SR
YDULHW\ RI HFRQRPLF VRFLDO SROLWLFDO GH
W\ DQG SXEOLF VDIHW\ FRQFHUQV (OOLRW DQG
$LNHQ $V :KLWDNHU QRWHV DOO &DQDGLD
SHRSOHV DUH HLWKHU LPPLJUDQWV WKHPVHOY

WLRQ ZLWK DOOLHV WKH JRYHUQPHQW ´VWXGLH>
VXVSHFWV DQG ZDLWHG IRU WKH ULJKW PRPHQW
WHUQDWLRQDO VFHQHµ :KLWDNHU 7KXV
3HDUO +DUERU WKH $FW DOORZHG IRU WKH LQWH
LQJ &DQDGLDQ ERUQ -DSDQHVH &DQDGLDQV
WKHLU FLYLO OLEHUWLHV DQG UHORFDWHG WR G
WKH\ ZHUH OR\DO WR WKH -DSDQHVH VWDWH DQG
:LONLQVRQ3XEOLF IHDU DQG K\VWHULD OHG WR
DQV DOVR EHLQJ LQWHUQHG D SROLF\ SURPRWH
HQG RI :RUOG :DU ,, 6LPPRQV
,Q 3ULPH 0LQLVWHU 0DFNHQ]LH .LQJ RXWO
SURDFK WR SRVWZDU LPPLJUDWLRQ SROLF\

UHJXODWLRQ DQG YLJRURXV DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ WR
OHFWLRQ DQG SHUPDQHQW VHWWOHPHQW RI VXFK
DV FDQ DGYDQWDJHRXVO\ EH DEVRUEHG LQ RXU QD
&DQDGD LV SHUIHFWO\ ZLWKLQ KHU ULJKWV LQ VH
ZKRP ZH UHJDUG DV GHVLUDEOH FLWL]HQV ,W LV Q
KXPDQ ULJKW· RI DQ\ DLHQ WR HQWHU &DQDGD ,W
PDWWHU RI GRPHVWLF SROLF\ « %HFDXVH WKH SH
QRW ZLVK DV D UHVXOW RI PDVV LPPLJUDWLRQ WR
DOWHUDWLRQ LQ WKH FKDUDFWHU RI RXU SRSXODW
JUDWLRQ IURP WKH 2ULHQW >ZRXOG QRW EH SHUPL
IXQGDPHQWDO FRPSRVLWLRQ RI WKH &DQDGLDQ SR
+RXVH RI &RPPRQV 'HEDWHV 0D\ ²

7KH &LWL]HQVKLS $FW RI FUHDWHG WKH FD
]HQVKLS R€FLDOO\ DOORZLQJ UHVLGHQWV WR RE
WKHLU FRXQWU\ RI RULJLQ LW DOVR DUWLFXODW
FRXOG EH UHY⁸RNHG RU ORVW

$OWKRXJK &DQDGD ZDV DW ZDU ZLWK *HUPDQ\ ,WDO\ DQG -DSD
LDQV ZHUH GHWDLQHG 7KH IRUPHU ZRXOG QRW UHFHLYH D
MXVW RYHU KDOI UHFHLYLQJ FRPSHQVDWLRQ
$V6LPPRQV ZULWHV ´WKH H[FOXVLRQV -GHSRUWDW
ÁHFWHG WKH DQWL LPPLJUDQW DQG HWKQLF SUHMXGLFH RI
HFRQRPLF DQG SROLWLFDO WKUHDWV DULVLQJ IURP WKH 'H
KDSSHQHG LV ROG KLVWRU\ DQG QRW UHOHYDQW WR WRGD
ZDQW WR DYRLG +RZHYHU LI VRPH RI WKH VDPH RU UHOD
DOWKRXJK PRUH KLGGHQ WKHQ WKH ZD\ WKH ZRUOG LV X
VWUHVVHV WKDW FRXOG WULJJHU WKHLU UHDSSHDUDQFH 7
IDFHG LQ WKH SRVW HUD FRPHV WR PLQG DV DQ LQGLFI
VWUHVVIXO HYHQWV VWLOO PRELOL]H KRVWLOLWLHV WRZDU
3ULWH WKLV &DQDGLDQ ERUQ UHVLGHQWV DQG QDWXUDOL]
%ULWLVK VXEMHFWV &DQDGD ZDV WKH ÀUVW &RPPRQZHDO

7KH *RX]HQNR $•DLU RI HQWUHQFKHG VHFX

ÀFLDO JRYHUQPHQW SROLF\ 7KH &DQDGLDQ 0XO
SURYLGHG WKH ÀUVW QDWLRQDO PXOWLFXOWXUD
SXUSRVHV ZHUH WR EHWWHU UHÁHFW &DQDGD·V L
HWKQLF FRPSRVLWLRQ UHGXFH GLVFULPLQDWLR
RI PXOWLFXOWXUDO SURJUDPV DQG SURWHFW WK
GLDQV +RZHYHU LQ IROORZLQJ D UREEHU\ D
LPPLJUDQWV WKH *RYHUQPHQW SDVVHG %LOO &
PHQW WR GHSRUW RU LQGHÀQLWHO\ KROG DQ\ OD
RI D IHORQ\ XQGHU WKH &ULPLQDO &RGH 7KH %
VFDQWµ ÀIWHHQ GD\V WR DSSHDO WKH RUGHU WH
$LNHQ %HWZHHQ WKH \HDUV DQG
QRQ FLWL]HQV ZHUH LVVXHG GDQJHU FHUWLÀFDW
QRW FRQIRUP ZLWK DQ H[SUHVVHG LQWHQWLRQ R
FHVV WR H[FHSWLRQDO FDVHV ZKHUH DSSHDOV Z
PHULWµ $LNHQ)RU WKH ÀUVW WZR \HDUV
SHUFHQW RI GHSRUWHHV ZHUH %ODFN PHQ IURP -
,Q WKH &DQDGLDQ JRYHUQPHQW LQWURGXF
D GRFXPHQW DXWKRUL]LQJ WKH LQGHÀQLWH LPS
RU WULDO RI DOO QRQ &DQDGLDQ FLWL]HQV GHH
ULW\ µ

Theoretical Framework

Conceptualizing Citizenship

$V VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV DUH DQ LPPLJUDWLR
DSSOLHG WR QRQ FLWL]HQV LW LV LPSRUWDQW
LV FRQVWUXFWHG 7KH IROORZLQJ VHFWLRQ ZLOO
]HQVKLS DQG QDWLRQDOLW\ DV WKH\ UHODWH WR
EHFDXVH LW KHOSV XV WR XQGHUVWDQG KRZ WK
ORQJV DV D FLWL]HQ DQG ZKR GRHV QRW- ,Q 7 +
VKLS DQG VRFLDO FODVV WKH PHDQLQJ RI VRFLD
GLPHQVLRQV RI FLWL]HQVKLS FLYLO SROLWLFDO
ULJKWV IRU H[DPSOH LQFOXGH HTXDOLW\ EHIRU
FRPSDVV WKH ULJKW WR YRWH DQG WR RUJDQL]H
UHIHU WR ULJKWV WR ZHOIDUH DQG WR VLPLODU
´LQHTXDOLW\ RI WKH VRFLDO FODVV V\VWHP PD\
HTXDOLW\ RI FLWL]HQVKLS LV UHFRJQL]HGµ 0DUV
&LWL]HQVKLS DQG WKH QDWLRQ VWDWH IXOÀOO
WHUPLQLQJ PHPEHUVKLS FULWHULD DQG VSHFLI
RI WKH ULJKWV REOLJDWLRQV DQG UHODWLRQVK
WKH VWDWH -DFREVRQ ,W LV LQWHUHVWL
ULJKWV DUH WLHG WR H•HFWLYH FLWL]HQVKLS $
PHQWDO ULJKW ´WKH ULJKW WR KDYH ULJKWV µ
PXQLW\ WKDW LV ´ZLOOLQJ DQG DEOH WR JXDUD
$UHQGW ,Q WXUQ D SROLWLFDO FRPPXQLW\
SURWHFWLRQ RI LWV PHPEHUV· ULJKWV 7KXV ZK
WKH ´ULJKW WR KDYH ULJKWV µ WKHLU ULJKWOHV
QRW EHORQJLQJ DQG EHLQJ ´FDVW RXW RI OHJDO
7KLV H[FOXVLRQ FDQ EH MXVWLÀHG RQ WKH JUR
EH FLWL]HQV DUH FRQVLGHUHG XQHTXDO DQG SR
LEDU 7KH H[LVWHQFH RI GLVFULPLQDWRU
E\ LQWHUQDWLRQDO ODZ 6WDVLXOLV DQG %DNDQ
VHOI GHWHUPLQDWLRQ YDOLGDWH UHVWULFWLRQ
WULQH RI QDWLRQDO WHUULWRULDOO\ EDVHG V
6WDWHV WKDW FDQQRW SURWHFW WKHLU
VRYHUHLJQW\ :HEHU ,Q WKH &DQDGLDQ FRQ
WR GHÀQH PDLQWDLQ DQG FRQWURO QDWLRQDO
LQ PLJUDWLRQ DQG LPPLJUDWLRQ SROLFLHV -DF
6XUYHLOODQFH RI LWV SRSXODWLRQ LV DQ LPS
VWDWHV GHFLGH ZKR TXDOLÀHV IRU FLWL]HQVKLS
WHQGHG WR DOOµ :DOE\ DQG +LHU &LW

LWV SRZHU WKURXJK LWV UHIXVDO RI VHOI LGHQ
IDFW WKH IDLOXUH WR UHFRJQL]H RU DFNQRZOH
GLVFRXUVHV KDV IRVWHUHG D KDELW RI LJQRULQ
LVP ZRXOG PHDQ WR UHFRJQL]H DQ DOUHDG\ GLVF
YDOLGDWH LWV LQYLVLELOLW\ WKURXJK VLOHQFH
L]HG ERG\ WR PDLQWDLQ D ´VKDGRZOHVV SDUWLF
HU *LURX[²)XUWKHU WKH GRPLQDQW $
VXEMHFW LV :KLWH WKXV DQ\RQH IDOOLQJ RXWV
PXVW DGG ´K\SHQ DIWHU K\SHQ DIWHU K\SHQµ
WKDW WLWOH RI QDWLRQDO EHORQJLQJ *LURX[
7KLV UHVHDUFK SXUSRVHIXOO\ HPSOR\V WKH W
WKDQ RWKHU LGHQWLÀHUV VXFK DV 6RXWK $VLD
$VLDQ RU :HVW $VLDQ 7KH WHUP $UDE LV SUHI
VXFK DV %URZQ DV WKH ODWWHU LV JHRJUDSKL
6RXWK $VLDQ FRQWULHV 3DNLVWDQ ,QGLD %
$V WKH PDMRULW\ RI VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWH UHF
FRQWULHV $OJHULD 6\ULD 0RURFFR -DQG (J\S
GOH (DVWHUQ DQG RU $UDE UDWKHU WKDQ %URZ
WKDW QRW DOO 0XVOLPV DUH $UDEV DQG QRW D
SXUSRVH RI WKLV SURSRVDO WKH WHUP 0XVOLP
FRQVLVWHQW ZLWK 1DEHU·V FDWHJRU\ RI ´$UDE
2WKHU DV LW KLJKOLJKWV PXOWLSOH FKDUDFWH
D VLQJXODU 0XVOLP 2WKHU $Q DEEUHYL
WHUP 0XVOLP $UDE ZLOO EH HPSOR\HG WKHRUH
FDOO\
5DFH WKLQNLQJ LV DQ LGHD WKDW UHIHUV WR W
GLVFRXUVHV RI WKH ZRUOG LQ ELQDU\ WHUPV W

2ULHQW LV DW ERWWRP VRPHWKLQJ HLWKHU WR
0RQJRO KRUGHV WKH EURZQ GRPLQLRQ RU WI
WLRQ UHVHDUFK DQG GHYHORSPHQW R-XWULJK
EOH µ ² 7KH SULVP RI IHDU DQG VXVSL
D PRQROLWKLF JURXS LQWULQVLFDOO\ FRQQHF
1DEHU
7KH LGHDO FLWL]HQ LV RQH ZLWKRXW DQ\ JUR
QRQ FLWL]HQ LV VRPHRQH ZKR UHPDLQV HQWDQ
WLHV 5D]DFN $FFRUGLQJ WR 5D]DFN 0
LQ WKLV IUDPHZRUN DV XQGHVHUYLQJ RI IXOO
WKH ULJKW WR SUDFWLVH WKHLU IDLWK-ZLWKR
WKLQJ RWKHU WKDQ ´0RGHUDWHµ RU D ´JRRG 0
KDV GHHS URRWV ,Q WKH ODWH QLQHWHHQWK
2ULHQWDOLVW VFKRODUV IRXQG HYLGHQFH RI W
7KH GLVWLQFWLRQ DW WKDW WLPH ZDV EHWZHH
WKH FRORQLDO HQWHUSULVH DQG DFFHSWHG W
FXVWRPV YHUVXV WKRVH ZKR UHVLVWHG WKH F
SROLWLFDO SRZHU 5DPDGDQ 7KLV VWU
WKDW FLWL]HQV ZKR DUH FRQVLGHUHG XQHTXDO
H[FOXGHG IURP FLWL]HQVKLS RQ WKH JURXQGV
QDWLRQ %DOLEDU
:HVWHUQ PHGLD SOD\V D VLJQLÀFDQW UROH LQ
LQJ WKLV GLVFRXUVH WKURXJK WKHLU URXWLQH
EHWZHHQ WKH YDULRXV ,VODPLF JURXSV LQ ,U
(J\SW DQG 3DNLVWDQ $ ´JRRG 0XVOLPµ LV W
ZKR URVH WR WKH RFFDVLRQ IROORZLQJ DQ
FRQGHPQLQJ DQG GLVWDQFLQJ WKHPVHOYHV IU
WUHPLVWV µ ´,VODPLF IXQGDPHQWDOLVWV µ DQ
7KH\ DUH ´PRGHUDWHV µ ´OLEHUDOV µ DQ
DGRSW GLVWLQFWLYH VW\OHV RI GUHVV FRQV
UHOLJLRQ SULYDWHO\µ WKH ´EDG 0XVOLPVµ DU
´H[WUHPLVWV µ DQG WKH ´,VODPLVWVµ 5DPD`€`

2I FRXUVH WKH GLVFXVVLRQV RI SRZHU DOVR
FHSW RI NQRZOHGJH)RU)RXFDXOW LQ IDFW W
,W LV WKH IRUPV RI NQRZOHGJH WKDW JLYH ULV
DV WKH VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWH 'DQGHNHU
E\ DFFXPXODWLQJ NQRZOHGJH DERXW LQGLYLGX
MHFWLYH WR FRQWURO EHKDYLRXU WKURXJK RE
VRFLDO FRQWURO %HOO 7KH UHJXODUL]D
FDQ EH XQGHUVWRRG WKURXJK WKH FRQFHSW R
FHQWUDO WR WKLV SURFHVV)RXFDXOW
6XUYHLOODQFH LV DQ RUGLQDU\ HYHU\GD\ H[S
VXFK DV ´FROOHFWLRQ DQG SURFHVVLQJ RI SHU
LQÁXHQFLQJ RU PDQDJLQJ WKRVH ZKRVH GDWD
0RGHUQ GD\ VXUYHLOODQFH VRUWV S
FRUGLQJ WR WKH ULVN WKH\ DUH VHHQ DV SUH
DVVLJQHG FDWHJRULHV KDYH UHDO H•HFWV RQ
,Q VRFLDO VRUWLQJ SHUVRQDO GDWD LV S
HQFH GLUHFW DQG PDQLSXODWH EHKDYLRXU L
SURFHVV IRVWHUV WKH GHYHORSPHQW RI D FOD
LQ UHODWLYH GLV DGYDQWDJH EHWZHHQ SHUVP
VLÀFDWLRQV /\RQ 1XPHURXV GDQJHUV DUH
ODQFH V\VWHPV DV WKHLU FRGLQJ PHF-KDQLVP
ULHV EDVHG RQ VWHUHRW\SLFDO RU SUHMXGLFL
ZULWHV SROLFLQJ V\VWHPV DUH V\PSWRPDWLF
ODQFH +HUH WKHUH LV D WUHQG WRZDUG
EHKDYLRXUV LQ D VKLIW WRZDUGV ´DFWXDULDO
FDWLRQ RI NQRZOHGJH DERXW SUREDELOLWLHV
DVVHVVPHQW (ULFVRQ DQG +DJJHUW\ 5LV
DUH SURGXFHG E\ ULVN LQVWLWXWLRQV WKDW
GHPRJUDSKLFV L H \RXQJ YV ROG SRRU YV UL
ZRPHQ (ULFVRQ DQG +DJJHUW\ DV FLWH
EHFDXVH VRFLDO VRUWLQJ V\VWHPDWLFDOO\ G
GLYLGXDOV DQG QHJDWLYHO\ D•HFWV WKHLU OL
WKDW EHFRPH SDWWHUQHG WKRVH WKXV VHOH
DGYDQWDJHGµ *DQG\
7KH ULVNV RI VXFK VXUYHLOODQFH SUDFWLFH
WR LVVXHV RI VRFLDO MXVWLFH /\RQ 6XU
DV RQH RI WKH PDMRU PHFKDQLVPV WKURXJK Z
WLRQV NHHS WUDFN RI DQG FRQVWUXFW FLWL]H
PRQLWRUV SRWHQWLDO LPPLJUDQW JURXSV DQG
LQFOXVLRQ LQWR WKH ERG\ SROLWLF 0RGHUQ

SRWHQWLDO WR ZLHOG FRQVLGHUDEOH LQÁXHQFH

UHJXODWH DQG PDQLSXODWH WKH PRYHPHQW R
WKH KLJKO\ VNLOOHG DQG ZHDOWK\ PLJUDQWV
DQG SRRU 6KLIWV LQ SROLWLFDO FRQWH[WV FD
JHWV ODEHOHG DV WHUURULVW DQG VWDWHV P
WR FRPEDW WHUURU WKUHDWV &KRPVN\ $
OLV DQWL WHUURULVP SROLFLHV LQ &DQDGD D
SROLFLHV GR QRW KDYH D FRQVLVWHQW LPSDF
IDFW QRQ FLWL]HQV LQFOXGLQJ UHIXJHHV DQ
DOV ZLWK GXDO FLWL]HQVKLS LQ FHUWDLQ FRX
PLQRULWLHV DUH PRVW D•HFWHG E\ ´LQFUHDVH
WHQWLRQ H[WUDRUGLQDU\ UHQGLWLRQ DQG VL
)XUWKHU LQ DQDO\]LQJ VHFXULW\ FHUV
FLVLRQV UHO\ RQ WHUURULVW ´SURÀOHVµ EDVH
J\ :KHQ DQ LQGLYLGXDO LV PDWFKHG ZLWK D F

WLRQ VWDWH *UHZDO :HUEQHU DV FLWHG
WHPDWLF WDUJHWLQJ RI SHUVRQV RI 0LGGOH (DV
H[DPSOH RI UDFLDO SURÀOLQJ D PHDVXUH UHFHL
LQ D FRQWH[W ZKHUH WKH SRSXODWLRQ LV SUHSD
DQG IUHHGRPV³RU WKRVH RI 2WKHUV³IRU WKH VDN
%DUDN (UH] *URVV DQG /LYLQJVWRQ 9LV

,Q WKH &DQDGLDQ FRQWH[W LQ WKH &DQD
&,& QRWHG WKDW KDWH FULPHV DJDLQVW 0XVOL
LQFUHDVH VLQFH 6HSWHPEHU 7KH JURXS U
VLJQLÀFDQW LQFUHDVH ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW GHVV
HU GDWD RQ WKH UHOLJLRQ RI KDWH FULPH YLFW
OLQN VXFK FULPHV ZLWK ,VODPRSKRELD- $ UHSRU
YLFHV LQGLFDWHG D SHUFHQW LQFUHDVH
ZLWK WKH ODUJHVW LQFUHDVH DJDLQVW 0XV
OLQNHG WR IRUW\ ÀYH LQFLGW 0 D• WR WK K
LHSSLFKLPH FŒ L RIHQWR

VHFUHF\ DQG DOOHJDWLRQV WKDW H[DFHUEDWH S
0XVOLPV DQG RU $UDEV &0/$ 7KH &ĐQDGLDQ
FDQ²,VODPLF 5HODWLRQV DQG WKH &DQDGLDQ $U
ODEHO RI 0XVOLPV DQG RU $UDEV DV ´ÀIWK FROX
WLRQDO VHFXULW\µ DQG WKH XVH RI ´LQFUHDVHG
DQG SROLFH UDFLDO DQG UHOLJLRXV SURÀOLQJ
OLHµ KDV FUHDWHG D ´SDOSDEOH FKLOĐµ LQ LQ
WLFLSDWLRQ LQ FRPPXQLW\ HYHQWV DQG DFWLYL
WLQJ\ DWWUDFW WKH VFUXWLQ\ RI VWDWH DJH
FKDUJHG IRU WHUURULVP R•HQFHVµ DUH UDPSDQ
ZHUH SURPLQHQW IROORZLQJ WKH 7RURQWR F
WKDW 0XVOLP $UDEV ZHUH ZDU\ RI VSHDNLQJ RS
WKH\ IHDU JRYHUQPHQW VXUYHLOODQFH IURP RX
DOVR RYHU IHDU RI EHLQJ ODEHOOHG DV ´WKH H
H[SODLQV WKDW KXPDQ ULJKWV DQG VRFLDO MX
DQ HURVLRQ RI KXPDQ ULJKWV WKURXJK WKH XVH
7 DQG WKH FXOWXUH RI VXVSLFLRQ HYRNHG WK
DQG RU $UDEV GLUHFWO\ HQWDQJOHG LQ QDWLRQ
IRU WKH JHQHUDO 0XVOLP $UDE &DQDGLDQ SRSXO
7KHUH LV KHLJKWHQHG FRQFHUQ WKDW WKH FOL
GXFHG E\ WKH ZDU RQ WHUURU LV WKUHDWHQLQJ
ORQJLQJ DQG FLWL]HQVKLS &DLQGU DQG FU
ZLWKLQ 0XVOLP FRPPXQLWLHV 7KLV LV-H[SHULH
QDOL]HG E\ 0XVOLP $UDE FRPPXQLWLHV IXUWKHU
VKLS ZLWK &DQDGD 7KH UHVXOW LV ERWK D SUR
DQG DQ LQWHUQDOL]DWLRQ RI GLVWUXVW -DPLO
LQ WKHLU ZRUN ZLWK $PHULFDQ 0XVOLP FRPPXQ
QRWHG WKDW 0XVOLP $UDE SUHFDULRXVQHVV LV
VXVSLFLRQ VXUURXQGLQJ WKHLU ERGLHV LQ WKH
0DLUD
$UDW .RF DOVR DUJXHV WKDW JRYHUQPHQW ´VH
MXVWLI\ EXW IXHO UDFLDOL]DWLRQ DQG VXVSLFLF
GLDQV 2QFH GHHPHG DQ LOOHJLWLPDWH DQG UD
SURÀOLQJ LV QR ORQJHU D GH IDFWR SROLF\ EXW
XODU OHJLWLPDF\ 7KH ´FXOWXUH RI IHDUµ W
OLP $UDE SROLFLHV DQG HYHU\GD\ DFWV RI YLRO
PHQW RI WKH SV\FKHµ ZLWKLQ WKH PLQRULW\ F
7KLV VXJJHVWV ´DQ LQWHUQDOL]HG VHQVH
DQG FRXOG DW DQ\ WLPH EH DWWDFNHG GHSRU
-DPLO DQG 5RXVVHDX VXJJHVW WKDW WK

ZLWKLQ PLQRULW\ FRPPXQLWLHV UHTXLUHV IXU
WKDW ´WKLV FLUFXODWLRQ RI IHDU G\QDPLF L\
VXUYHLOODQFH FRQWH[W OLQNLQJ WRJHWKHU
JURXSV LQ QXDQFHG ZD\V DQG PXOWLSOH ZD\Vµ
7KLV SDSHU EXLOGV RQ WKHVH VWXGLHV ORRN
RI IHDUµ DQG ´LQWHUQPHQW RI WKH SV\FKHµ 1
VSHFLÀF QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV VHFX
E\ &DQDGLDQ 0XVOLP $UDEV 7KLV LV WKH JDS
7KH SULPDU\ UHVHDUFK TXHVWLRQ ZKLFK OHG \
LPSDFW KDYH VXUYHLOODQFH WHFKQRORJLHV D
KDG RQ 0XVOLP $UDE PDOHV DQG WKHLU HYHU\
LGHQWLW\ DQG EHORQJLQJ"µ 6SHFLÀF REMHFWL
DQG GRFXPHQW WKH H[SHULHQFH RI LQGLYLGXL
HQIRUFHPHQW VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV DQG VXU\
WR GHWHUPLQH LI WKH LQWURGXFWLRQ RI ODZ
KDYH LPSDFWHG WKH LQGLYLGXDO·V NQRZOHGJ
SUDFWLFHV SHUFHSWLRQ RI FLWL]HQVKLS DQG
H•HFWµ DQG LI VR WR ÀQG RXW ZKDW LI DQ\
LQGLYLGXDOV KDYH PDGH

Conclusion

7KLV FKDSWHU KDV JLYHQ D KLVWRULFDO DFFR
SROLF\ IURP &RQIHGHUDWLRQ WR WKH ZDU RQ
$FW RI 7KHRULHV RQ FLWL]HQVKLS FULWLF
RXWOLQHG WR FRQFHSWXDOL]H DQG WKHRUL]H
ZLOO H[SORUH WKH PHWKRGRORJLFDO WRROV W
SDFW RI WKHVH SROLF\ VKLIWV RQ WKH &DQDGL

3. Methodological Considerations

Introduction

7KH IROORZLQJ FKDSWHU ZLOO SURYLGH DQ RX
FRQVLGHUDWLRQV DQG WRROV HPSOR\HG LQ P
VHDUFK VHHNV WR H[SORUH WKH LPSDFW RI VXU
RQ WKH 0XVOLP $UDE SRSXODWLRQ D XVHIXO D
WKH LPSDFW LV D PL[HG PHWKRGRORJ\ XVLQJ E
WDWLYH DSSURDFKHV 7KLV LV IROORZHG E\ DQ
SODQDWRU\ GHVLJQ WKH GDWD FROOHFWLRQ SU
LFV UHVHDUFKHU UHÁH[LYLW\ SRVLWLRQDOLW\
WKH VWXG\

Mixed methods

0L[HG PHWKRGV UHVHDUFK LQYROYHV FROOHFW
LQJ ERWK TXDOLWDWLYH DQG TXDQWLWDWLYH
GLVWLQFW UHVHDUFK GHVLJQV WKDW PD\ LQYR
DVVXPSWLRQV DQG WKHRUHWLFDO IUDPHZRUNV
VWXG\ ZLOO XVH D PL[HG PHWKRGV DSSURDFK W
SDFWV RI FHUWDLQ QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDV
SRSXODWLRQ 7KH XVH RI ERWK EURDG PHWKRG
DQG WH[W DUH XVHIXO LQ DGGUHVVLQJ 00pS @0 HPSL

WLWDWLYH UHFHLYHG DSSURSULDWH DWWHQWLR
VHDUFK SURFHVV GXULQJ WKH FROOHFWLRQ DQD

Phase 1: Survey

7KH ÀUVW SKDVH RI WKLV VWXG\ IRFXVHG RQ TX
WKURXJK D VHOI GHYHORSHG FURVV VHFWLRQDO
RI XVLQJ D VXUYH\ GHVLJQ ZDV WR GHWHUPLQH
DQG RWKHU VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV KDYH KDG DQ
NQRZOHGJH DZDUHQHVV RI VXUYHLOODQFH DQG
LV WKH LQGLYLGXDO·V SHUFHSWLRQ RI VXUYHLO
LI WKHUH KDV EHHQ D ´FKLOOLQJ H•HFWµ RI VXU
VXUHV DQG LI WKH\ KDYH UHVXOW[1]HG LQ DQ\ EH
QLQHWHHQ VXUYH\ TXHVWLRQV FRYHUHG WRSLFV
IDPLO\ H[SHULHQFHV ZLWK ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW DQ
HGJH RI VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV DZDUHQHVV RI
WR SULYDF\ FLYLO OLEHUWLHV DQG EHKDYLRXU
VXUYHLOODQFH 7KHVH IDFWRUV ZHUH LGHQWLÀH
VWXGLHV RQ WKH FKLOOLQJ H•HFW RI VHFXULW\
FKLOOLQJ H•HFWV RI SRVW PHDVXUHV RQ ZUL
MRXUQDOLVWV $&/8 OLEUDULDQV DQG ODZ\H
$WUDQ DQG $[HURG DQG :DUZLFN YRWLQ
FKDULWDEOH GRQDWLRQV $&/8 SHUFHS
PHDVXUHV 3(: 7KLV ZDV DFKLHYHG WKURXJ
´+DYH \RX HYHU EHHQ VWRSSHG RU TXHVWLRQHG
ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW R€FLDOV"µ RU ´'R \RX IHHO \RX
GXULQJ H[SHULHQFHV LQYROYLQJ JRYHUQPHQW
DJHQFLHV"µ 5HVSRQVHV ZHUH P[2]DVXUHG RQ
´$OO WKH WLPHµ WR ´1HYHU µ 2Q RWKHU TXHVWLR
WR UHVSRQG ´WUXHµ RU ´IDOVHµ WR VWDWHPHQ
DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW PRQLWRUV WKH DFWL
XDOV DQG RU WHUURULVWV QRW PHµ DQG ´7KH
RQ GHWDLOV VXUURXQGLQJ LWV DQWL WHUURUL
4XHVWLRQV VXFK DV ´7R ZKDW H[WHQW DUH \RX D
RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW VXUYHLOODQFH LQFOXGL

)RU WKH FRPSOHWH VXUYH\ TXHVWLRQQDLUH
'HYHORSHG\HGHQVLV /LNHUW D /LNHUW VFDOH -UHOLHV RQ
PDWV WR PHDVXUH DWWLWXGHV RU RSLQLRQV 1RWHZRUWKLQ
VFDOHV PHDVXUH OHYHOV RI DJUHHPHQW RU GLVDJUHHPHQ

,QWHUQHW HPDLO DQG WUDYHO DFWLYLW\ IRU
XVHIXO LQ PHDVXULQJ SDUWLFLSDQWV· SHUFHSV
ODQFH SUDFWLFHV

7KH VXUYH\ PDGH XVH RI VFDOHV WR PHDVXU
PHQW IRU H[DPSOH FRQWLQXRXV VFDOHV L H
YHU\ DZDUH WR XQVXUH DQG FDWHJRULFDO VF
DQG WUXH IDOVH &UHVZHOO 7R PHDVXU
UHVSRQGHQWV· H[SHULHQFH KDV VKLIWHG RYHU
WLRQV ZHUH UHSHWLWLYH DVNLQJ UHVSRQGHQ
HQFHV VHYHQ \HDUV DJR DQG DW SUHVHQW)R
DVNHG WR UHVSRQG ´WUXHµ RU ´IDOVHµ WR VW
PHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW PRQLWRUV W
GLYLGXDOV DQG RU WHUURULVWV QRW PH µ ´7
GDWD IRU DQWL WHUURULVP SXUSRVHV µ DQG ´
&DQDGLDQ QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ DQG WKH ZDU
'DWD IURP ÀIW\ SDUWLFLSDQWV ZDV FROOHFW
YH\V LQ SHUVRQ WR LQGLYLGXDOV ZKR ZHUH U
RU FOXVWHULQJ SURFHGXUHV ,Q WKHVH UHFU
ÀHG JURXSV RU RUJDQL]DWLRQV DQG WKHQ RE
ZLWKLQ WKRVH FOXVWHUV %DEELH 3DUWL
VHOI LGHQWLÀHG 0XVOLP $UDE PHQ DQG DQ HTX
PHQ Q IRU FRPSDUDWLYH SXUSRVHV $OO SD
WKURXJK VQRZEDOOLQJ WHFKQLTXHV LQ WKH 1L
URQWR $UHD DQG .LQJVWRQ 0XVOLP $U-DE SDU
GRPO\ WKURXJK FDPSXV 0XVOLP 6WXGHQW $VVR
VSDFHV LQFOXGLQJ FR•HH VKRSV FRPPXQLW\ RU
E\ ZRUG RI PRXWK 7R PLQLPL]H ELDV 0XVOLP $
VRXJKW LQ ERWK ´QHXWUDOµ SXEOLF OR-FDWLRQ
QLW\ RUJDQL]DWLRQV DQG IRRG FRXUWV DV ZH
6WXGHQW $VVRFLDWLRQV 1RQ 0XVOLP $UDE SD
LQ D VLPLODU SURFHVV LQ SXEOLF DUHDV VXF
DQG RQ FDPSXV HYHQWV

(•RUWV ZHUH PDGH WR HQVXUH WKDW VWXGHQ
QRW RYHU UHSUHVHQWHG LQ HDFK VDPSOH VL]H
SDUWLFLSDQWV E\ GHPRJUDSKLF FKDUDFWHU
FDWLRQ RI WKH SRSXOOI0X Q RI @À 0ð Æ `r]À I0XUp À

WLRQ DUH LGHQWLÀHG DQG VWUDWLÀHG ÀUVW EH
HU 6WUDWLÀFDWLRQ RI WKH SDUWLFLSDQWV
RI 0XVOLP $UDE DQG QRQ 0XVOLP $UDE PDOHV DU
VDPSOH
3DUWLFLSDQW VHOHFWLRQ FULWHULD LQFOXGH
\HDUV RI DJH DQG DEOH WR UHFDOO H[SHULHQFH
WLI\LQJ DV HLWKHU D 0XVOLP $UDE PDOH RU D
8QLYDULDWH VWDWLVWLFV ZHUH WDEXODWHG IRU
YDULDWH PHDQV DQG SURF I'UHTXHQFLHV RI PDQGLV
VFDOH ELYDULDWH DVVRFLDWLRQV ZHUH DVVHV
SURF WHVW DQG FKL VTXDUH WHVWV RU ÀVKHUV
OLQHDU DQG ORJLVWLF UHJUHVVLRQ PXOWLYDUL
ZKHUH VDPSOH VL]H SHUPLWWHG 7\SH HUURU U
DQDO\VHV 7KLV SURFHVV ZLOO EH H[SORUHG LQ
$OO SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH 6RXWKHUQ RU (DVW
UDQJH LQ DJH IURP WZHQW\ ÀYH WR ÀIW\ VL[KDY
RQH \•À 0ì¥LD `0 ``ð—
UDQJH D 00

VWXG\LQJ WKH H[SHULHQFHV SHUVSHFWLYHV
JURXSV DV WKH\ DOORZ IRU WKH GLVVHPLQDWL
HQFHV (VWHUEHUJ 7KH\ SURYLGH D ´WKLFN
HQFRXQWHU EHWZHHQ WKH UHVHDUFKHU DQG DQ
(WKQRJUDSKLF PHWKRGV KDYH FRPPRQO\ EHHQ
WHUQDWLRQDO UHODWLRQV ,5 DQG SROLWLFV
$ WRWDO RI WZHQW\ RSHQ HQGHG LQWHUYLHZ
ZHUH FRQGXFWHG LQ WZR VWDJHV LQ DQG
RXW RI WKH WZHQW\ ÀYH SDUWLFLSDQWV ZKR SI
UHFUXLWHG IURP WKH ÀUVW VXUYH\ SKDVH RI
SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH R•HUHG WKH RSSRUWXQLV
UHVSRQVH UDWH FRXOG EH DWWULEXWHG WR D
DYDLODELOLW\ WKH OHQJWK RI WKH RULJLQDO
ZLWK VSHDNLQJ ZLWK D IHPDOH IHDU RU ODFN
WKH UHVHDUFKHU 7KH ODWWHU WKUHH IDFWRU
LVWLQJ FRQGLWLRQV ZLWKLQ WKH 0XVOLP $UDE
KDYH DOOXGHG WR WKH SDUDQRLD DQG ODFN R
PXQLW\ (ZLQJ -DPLO DQG 5RXVVHDX 0
DQG -DKDQ ,W LV DOVR SRVVLEOH WKDW WK
FRXOG EH VODQWHG GXH WR WKHLU H[SRVXUH V
WLFXODU WKH TXHVWLRQV UHODWLQJ WR QDWL
WLFHV PD\ KDYH FRQGLWLRQHG SDUWLFLSDQWV
DVVXPH WKDW , DV WKH UHVHDUFKHU ZDV ORRN
)ROORZLQJ WKH ÀUVW SKDVH RI LQWHUYLHZV
UHFUXLWHG WKRXJK VQRZEDOOLQJ SURFHGXUH
FRPPXQLW\ RUJDQL]DWLRQV ZLWK D SDUWLFXO
KDG GLUHFW NQRZOHGJH RI VHFXULW\ PHDVXUH
VWDJHV RI WKH RSHQ HQGHG LQWHUYLHZ SURFH
FHSWLRQV RI WKH WKUHDWV WR &DQDGLDQ VHF
UROH RI QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV WKH
FRPPXQLWLHV LQ WKH ZDU RQ WHUURU DQG WK
PHDVXUHV RQ WKHLU VHQVH RI LGHQWLW\ DQG
WKH RSHQ HQGHG LQWHUYLHZ TXHVWLRQV DUH

FHQ•FSP ƒ 0 @ p° P

- 'R \RX SHUVRQDOO\ IHHO SUHVVXUHG WR DFW FHUWDLQ EHKDYLRXUV" ,I VR ZKHUH GRHV WK $QG ZKDW DUH VRPH RI WKH EHKDYLRXUV WKD
- :KDW UROH GR \RX WKLQN \RX DQG RU \RXU FR KHOSLQJ WKH JRYHUQPHQW UHGXFH WHUURUL
- 'RHV NQRZLQJ DERXW VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV VXUHV LPSDFW \RXU XQGHUVWDQGLQJ RI FLW LGHQWLW\"

7R LQFUHDVH WKH ULFKQHVV DQG GHSWK RI WK WLRQ VRXUFHV ZHUH XVHG LQFOXGLQJ LQ GHSWK UHVHDUFKHU·V ÀHOG QRWHV D IROORZ ‐XS ZLWK VLEOH SDUWLFLSDQWV· Q UHVSRQVHV WR WK

,Q DGGLWLRQ WR WKH LQWHUYLHZV , GRFXPHQ WKLFN GHVFULSWLRQV ZKLFK DUH D VLJQLÀFDQ LQWHQGHG WR ULFKO\ GHVFULEH WKH REVHUYDWL DQG +XVWOHU $IWHU SDUWLFLSDQWV ÀOOHG HG WKH LQWHUYLHZ TXHVWLRQV , PDGH-QRWHV R JXDJH H\H VLJQDOV YRLFH WRQH DQG RWKHU Q , DOVR UHFRUGHG P\ SHUVRQDO WKRXJKWV DQG V LV D UHFHQW VKLIW LQ HWKQRJUDSKLF UHVHDUFK ÁH[LYH ÀHOG SUDFWLFHV DQG ZULWLQJ WHFKQLTX QRJUDSK\ LV D SHUVRQDO HQFRXQWHU EHWZHHQ FXOWXUH LW LV D ZULWLQJ VW\OH WKDW VSHFLÀ WH[W $FFRUGLQJ WR 6DOWHU WKLV SURFHVV L 5HÁH[LYLW\ LV WKH QHHG WR EH ´FULWLFDO GRLQJ DV RQH GRHV LWµ &UDSDQ]DQR - 7K WLFXODWLRQ RI WKRXJKWV IHHOLQJV HPRWLRQV UHVHDUFK SURFHVV WKH UHVHDUFKHU EHFRPHV WULEXWH WR WKH ´WKLFN GHVFULSWLRQµ WKDW 7KH SURFHVV LV PRUH WKDQ VHOI UHÁHFWLL H[SRVLQJ DQG TXHVWLRQLQJ RQH·V DVVXPSWLRQ VR WKDW WKRVH DVVXPSWLRQV FDQ EH FKHFNHG EH UHÀQHG RQ WKH EDVLV RI OLYHG H[SHULHQFH 7KH UROH RI SRVLWLRQDOLW\ LV DQ LQWHJUDO V VLWXDWH WKH UHVHDUFKHU LQ UHODWLRQ WR WK D UHÁHFWLRQ RI SHUVRQDO QRUPV YDOXHV VHO NQRZOHGJH DQG H[SHULHQFHV DQG LWV LQÁXHQ DQG LQWHUSUHWDWLRQV :LOLQVRQ $V D U KROG VHYHUDO SRVLWLRQV ZKHQ FRQGXFWLQJ W

FRXOG KDYH EHHQ DWWULEXWHG WR WKH SUHVHQ
RU P\ RZQ FRQÀGHQFH

$W DOO WLPHV SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH PDGH WR
LVVXHV RI SURÀOLQJ VWHUHRW\SHV UHOLJLRQ

)RU H[DPSOH 0XVOLP PHQ LQFUHDVLQJO\ EHOLHY
IRUPHG LQWR D SROLFH VWDWH DQG DUH PRUH Z
SHUVRQDO SULYDF\
)ROORZLQJ WKH VXUYH\ UHVXOWV WKLV FKDSW
WLYH V\QWKHVLV RI WKH UHVXOWV IURP WZHQW\
0XVOLP PHQ ZKHUH SDUWLFLSDQWV GLVFXVVHG V
URU PHDVXUHV DQG \RXWK UDGLFDOL]DWLRQ D C
D VHQVH RI LQMXVWLFH WKH LPSRUWDQFH RI FU
FRPPXQLW\ LQYROYHPHQW LQ DQWL WHUURU H•RU
YHDOV NH\ GL•HUHQFHV LQ KRZ 0XVOLP DQG QRQ
QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV DQG WKH LQFUHI
GLVHQFKDQWPHQW ZLWK WKH &DQDGLDQ VWDWH
E\ 0XVOLPV LQ &DQDGD

Phase 1: Survey

,Q 3KDVH WKH ÀQGLQJV IURP ÀW\ VXUYH\V FRQ
0XVOLP DQG WZHQW\ ÀYH QRQ 0XVOLP SDUWLFLSD
OLP SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH VHOHFWHG EDVHG RQ
DQG UDQJHG LQ DJH IURP WZHQW\ ÀYH WR ÀW\ V
WLPH LQ &DQDGD UDQJHG IURP WKHLU HQWLUH O
LPPLJUDQWV MXVW RYHU D \HDU LQ &DQDGD 6H
&DQDGLDQ FLWL]HQV RWKHUV ZHUH SHUPDQHQW
ZRUN SHUPLWV 1LQH SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH PDUU
WLFLSDQWV VHOI LGHQWLÀHG DV $IJKDQ QLQH
WKUHH -RUGDQLDQ RQH $OJHULDQ RQH 0DC
%HQJDOL RQH %URZQ RQH $VLDQ RQH DQG
SDUWLFLSDQWV GLVFORVHG WKHLU RFFXSDWLRQ
FKHI ,7 VHUYLFHV ZRUNHU VDOHV ZRUNHU HQJL
SURIHVVLRQDO DQG JUDGXDWH VWXGHQW
1RQ 0XVOLP SDUWLFLSDQWV ZHUH VHOHFWHG U
UHOLJLRXV LGHQWLÀFDWLRQ DV QRQ 0XVOLP $OC
´:KLWHµ RU (XURSHDQ &DQDGLDQ DQG U-DQJHG IU
W\ RQH \HDUV RI DJH ZLWK PRVW KDYLQJ OLYHG
$OO H[FHSW RQH SDUWLFLSDQW ZDV D &DQDGLDQ
ZKOH VHYHQWHHQ ZHUH QRW $OO SDUWLFLSDQV
VRPH H[DPSOHV LQFOXGH HQJLQHHU SHUVRQDO
WLRQ ZRUNHU VDOHVSHUVRQ SURIHVVLRQDO DQ

)RU D IXOO GHVFULSWLRQ RI SDUWLFLSDQWV VHH $SSHQGL[

Survey Results: General Thoughts on Surveillance and Security Measures

,Q JHQHUDO SHUFHQW RI 0XVOLP PHQ 00 DJ
DQV DUH FRQFHUQHG DERXW JRYHUQPHQW VXUY
WR SHUFHQW RI QRQ 0²XVOLP PHQ 00 DJHV
WKDW WKH JRYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHP
OHFWLQJ DQG PRQLWRULQJ WKH DFWLYLW\ RI \
WHUURULVWV UDWKHU WKDQ RI HYHU\RQH FRP
7ZHQW\ IRXU SHUFHQW RI 00 EHOLHYHG WKDW ´W
GDWD IRU DQWL WHUURULVP SXUSRVHV µ DV RS
IDFW ZKLOH SHUFHQW RI 00 ZHUH FRQWHQW
RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW FROOHFWLQJ WKHLU RZQ
WUDYHO DFWLYLW\ IRU DQWL WHUURULVP D VF
ZLWK WKH SUDFWLFH 6XUSULVLQJO\ SHUFH
DQV DUH XQLQIRUPHG RI WKH FROOHFWLRQ RI F
ZLWK SHUFHQW RI 00 $QG ZKLOH SHUFHQW
PHQW LV WUDQVSDUHQW LQ H[SODLQLQJ GHWDL
SURJUDPV WR WKH SXEOLF DQ RYHUZKHOPLQJ

Civil liberties. Mobility and association. 7R EHJLQ SHUFHQW
DJUHHG JRYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQ
KDYH DQ LPSDFW RQ WKHLU IUHHGRP RI PRELOL
RI 100 ,Q IDFW SHUFHQW RI 00 DJUHHG RU
WKH\ DYRLG HQJDJLQJ LQ FRPPXQLW\ DFWLYLWL
FHLYHG DV FRQWURYHUVLDO FRPSDUHG ZLWK
DQRWKHU SHUFHQW RI 00 DYRLG HQJDJLQJ ZL
WKDW PD\ EH FRQVLGHUHG VXVSLFLRXV E\ ODZ
FRPSDUHG ZLWK SHUFHQW RI 100 ,Q WHUPV R
SHUFHQW RI 00 DYRLG GUHVVLQJ LQ D PDQQHU
LGHQWLW\ L H FORWKLQJ V\PERO IDFLDO KD
SHUFHQW RI 100 ZKR GR QRW ZRUU\ DERXW GL

Speech. ,Q JHQHUDO SHUFHQW RI 00 ZHUH UHO
0 T H U F Åp UI DZPH UOZI p@>PIWp I ° 0 P F Y R g R F R Q W U R Y H U V R g€J P0 R
H 1 09T H $€ @ Uð I P H Q S D U• @ @ 0 V X U S U L V ó V H U ð I (0!P p 0 S H U F H U U

SHUFHQW WR SHUFHQW 7KH\ ZHUH DOVR PRU
SDUWLFXODU WRSLFV WKDQ 100 LQ SHUVRQ RYH
SHUFHQW WR SHUFHQW 00 ZHUH PRUH DYHU
RQ SHRSOH SROLWLFV JRYHUQPHQW ODZ RU
SHUFHQW WR SHUFHQW 00 ZHUH DOVR PRUH
PHHW DQG DVVRFLDWH ZLWK RQOLQH DQG LQ S
,Q IDFW WKH\ WDNH H[WUD SUHFDXWLRQV WR
SHRSOH ZKR PD\ EH FRQVLGHUHG DV SRWHQWLL
SHUFHQW WR SHUFHQW 100 DOVR GHPRQV
UHJDUGLQJ WKHLU FLYLO OLEHUWLHV IURP W
,Q RQO\ SHUFHQW RI 100 ZHUH ZRUULHG D
YDF\ QRZ WKLV ÀJXUH LV
,Q @LUU D`0À`ÀA'F„`€ '0RI 100 'p€0HG ðÀ P€p0@

S SP j ðÀ0
… 5€ $r S R0

VXUYHLOODQFH SUDFWLFHV 7KLV VHFWLRQ ZL
XQGHUVWDQGLQJV RI WHUURULVP DV D VRFLDO
ULQJ WKHPH ZDV WKH LPSRUWDQW UROH RI PHG
WDEOLVKLQJ D SDUWLFXODU GLVFRXUVH ZKLFK
RIWHQ WLHV WHUURULVP ZLWK ,VODP QRW RQ
WKURXJK LPDJHV LQ WKH PHGLD $OWKRXJK SD
VRQDO H[SHULHQFHV KHUH WKHLU VXEMHFWLY
XQWLO WKH QH[W VHFWLRQ $ FRQVHQVXV DPRQ
QDGLDQ UHVSRQVHV WR WHUURULVP DUH D UHV
LQWHUQDWLRQDO FRPPXQLW\ QDPHO\ WKH 8QL
WKDQ D UHVSRQVH WR D VSHFLÀF GRPHVWLF W
RQH UHVSRQGHQW WKLV REOLJHV &DQDGD WR
LVPµ 3DUWLFLSDQW 3DUWLFLSDQW VXJJ
ULW\ LV FRQFHUQHG DERXW LQWHUQDWLRQDO V
WKDW RXU JRYHUQPHQW LV LQYROYHG >ŁQ@ VR
DQV GLUHFWO\ µ

'HÀQLQJ WHUURULVP ,Q GLVFXVVLQJ WKHLU W
FLDO SKHQRPHQRQ PRVW SDUWLFLSDQWV VWUH
EH UHGXFHG WR UDFH FRORXU UHOLJLRQ RU J
O\ VLPLODU XQGHUVWDQGLQJV DQG GHÀQLWLRQ
3DUWLFLSDQW GHÀQHG WHUURULVP DV ´DQ D
IRU UHOLJLRXV RU SROLWLFDO UHDVRQV µ 2WK
PRWLYH LQ WHUURULVP FODLPLQJ WKDW UHOL
)RU 3DUWLFLSDQW WKH LQYHVWLJDWLRQ RI
SRUWDQW LQ H[SODLQLQJ WKH FDUU\LQJ RXW R
JLRQ DV D ÀQDQFLDO LQGXFHPHQW 3DUWLFLSDQW D
D ´ORZ OHYHO RI HGXFDWLRQ XQGHUVWDQGLQJ
RI SRZHU IXHOOLQJ WHUURULVP LV LQWURGXFH
RU GRPLQDWH DQRWKHU SHUVRQ FRXQWU\ RU
7KH VHDUFK IRU SRZHU DQG FKDRV ZDV PHQWL
ZKR DWWULEXWHG WHUURULVP WR ´SHRSOH ZKR
DQG PXUGHU WR GULYH >WKHLU@ SRLQW 7KH\ \

,QGHSHQGHQW UHVSRQVHV RQ UHDVRQV EHKLQG WH
YHUVH DV WKRVH LQ WHUURULVP VWXGLHV OLWHUDWXUH
EODPH YDULRXV UHDVRQV LQFOXGLQJ VRFLDO DQG HFR
VRFLDOL]DWLRQ DQG ´FXOWXUHV RI YLROHQFHµ ZKLFK Z
SDUWLFLSDQWV 2WKHU UHDVRQV VFKRODUV DUJXH LQFO
VRFLDO QHWZRUNV WKH LQWHUQHW DQG WUDXPD %MRU
-XHUJHQVPH\HU 0F&DXOH\ DQG 0RVNDOHQNR
:LWWURUZL]

WKDQ GLDORJXH 7KH\ GRQ·W EHOLHYH LQ WKH SI
RI ZHDSRQV DQG IHDU µ

7KRXJK SDUWLFLSDQWV VKDUHG GLYHUVH RSLQ
VRQV ZK\ LQGLYLGXDOV SHUIRUP DFWV RI YLROHQ
WKDW WHUURULVP ZDV XVHG WR IRPHQW-IHDU LQ
WLFLSDQW XVHG WKH WHUP ´IHDU PRQJHULQJµ
FRQVWDQW UHPLQGHU IURP WKH JRYHUQPHQW DQ
KDYH WR EH VFDUHG DQG WKDW WKH ERRJH\PDQ F
QRW SUHSDUHG « µ 7KLV IHDU FUHDWHV DQ HQY
ZHUH IRUFHG WR ´JLYH XS WKHLU ULJKWVµ WKUR
ZHUH ´VFDUHG LQWR WKLQNLQJ WKDW ZH QHHG W
>WKDW@ ZH KDYH WR JLYH XS RXU >SULYDF\@ VR

0HQWDOO\ XQVWDEOH LQGLYLGXDOV YHUVXV WH
WLRQV RI WHUURULVP SDUWLFLSDQWV IHOW WKD
DSSOLHG LQ ODEHOOLQJ WHUURULVP LQWHUQDW
WLFLSDQWV VXJJHVWHG DFWV RI YLROHQFH SHUI
DWWULEXWHG WR IDFWRUV VXFK DV PHQWDO LOO

VXJJHVWHG WKDW WKHVH DVVRFLDWLRQV ZI
0XVOLPV µ $QRWKHU DUJXHG VXFK DWWDFNV U
E\ DJHQWV RI ,6,6 RU DO 4DHGD ZHUH ´FDXVHG
LQGLYLGXDOV « $ IHZ SHRSOH KDYH UHDOO\ PH
7KH\ DUH OLNH FRS\FDWV RU MXVW GH[UDQJHG S

5ROH RI PHGLD LQ FRQVWUXFWLQJ QDUUDWLYHV DERXW
RSLQLRQ WKDW VKDSLQJ WKH SXEOLF SHUFHS\
LGHQWLI\LQJ SHUSHWUDWRUV DV HLWKHU ´PHQ
GRQH WKURXJK PHGLD 7KH PHGLD DFFRUGLQJ
ODEHO DQ\ 0XVOLP DV D WHUURULVW HYHQ LQ L
KDV D KLVWRU\ RI PHQWDO KHDOWK LOOQHVV 3

HOHFWHG R€FLDOV HWF ³WDUJHWLQJ \RXQJHU SH
VKRZ ZH DUH QRW DV WKH LPDJHV SRUWUD\HGµ 3

6HFXULW]DWLRQ RI VSHHFK DQG LPSDFW RI SR
LV DUJXDEO\ WKH UDFLVW PHVVDJLQJ RI WKH PH
WHUURULVP LV WKH XVH RI SROLWLFDO VSHHFKH
HUV ,Q WKH &DQDGLDQ FRQWH[W SDUWLFLSDQ\
FRPPHQWV E\ OHDGHUV VXFK DV IRUPHU 3ULPH 0
DQG IRUPHU 0LQLVWHU RI ,PPLJUDWLRQ -DVRQ .
VXFK DV ´,VODPLVWµ DQG UHIHUHQFHG PRVTXHV
WHUURULVPµ 3DUWLFLSDQW 6XFK FRPPHQW
GLYLGH &DQDGLDQV ZKLOH DQJHULQJ PDQ\ 0XVO
SDQWV 3DUWLFLSDQW SURYLGHG D GHHSHU X
WKDW WKH UROH RI PHGLD KDV LQ VKDSLQJ RXU
WKDW RXU SUHYLRXV 30 XVHG « >VXFK DV@ ¶,VO
WKH JUHDWHVW WKUHDW WR &DQDGD · ¶MLKDGLV
PDQ\ SHRSOH µ 6RPH SDUWLFLSDQWV GLVFXVVHG
VXFK ODQJXDJH DQG ,VODPRSKRELD RQ \RXQJ SI
PHQWDO KHDOWK

:LWKLQ VFKRRO V\VWHPV D \RXQJ SHUVRQ ZKR VSH
WKHLU IRUPDWLYH \HDUV GHIHQGLQJ ,VODP DQG WK
WKDW WKH\ ZHUH LQ VFKRRO WKH\ ZHUH PD\EH HLJ
MXVW D IHZ \HDUV DIWHU $QG VLQFH WKHQ LW·
,VODP LV EDG ,VODP LV WKLV ,VOD-P LV WKDWµ DQ
IHQG GHIHQG GHIHQG DV WR ZKDW WKHLU IDLWK
WKDW·V D IDFWRU WRZDUGV WKLV WKLV XK WKH \
\RX NQRZ EULQJV XV GRZQ WKDW SDWK >WRZDUGV

2WKHUV VXJJHVW WKDW UDFLVW UKHWR-ULF ´GHP
W\ µ 3DUWLFLSDQWV H[SODLQ WKDW SROLWLFDO
YDOXHV DJDLQVW EDUEDULVPµ DOLHQDW-H 0XVOL
ELF VWDQFHV VKRZ XS LQ SROLFLHV XQUHODWHG
pant 044 said,

7KDW LV ZK\ WKH\ DUH YHU\ VORZ WR UHDFW ZLWK
LV ZK\ WKH 3ULPH 0LQLVWHU·V 2€FH ZDQWV WR ORP
DSSOLFDWLRQ WR HQVXUH WKDW 0XVOLPV DUH QRW
SUHIHUHQFH >LV@ J-LYHQ WR &KULVWLDQV [15]

)RU PRUH LQIRUPDWLRQ YLVLW http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/govern-ment-prioritized-some-refugees-because-they-are-being-targeted-by-isis-harper-says/article26746945/

There is established LPPLJUDQWV ZKR SHUKDSV FDPH LQ WK
WR > @ V DQG WKHQ \RX KDYH PRUH contemporary LPPL
7KH\ FDPH UHFHQWO\ $ ORW RI WKHP ZLOO FRPH IU
XODWLRQV 0DQ\ RI WKHP DW OHDVW KHUH LQ >F
$IJKDQLVWDQ DQG 6RPDOLDFRPPXQLWLHV WKRVH
WKH\ DUH H[WUHPHO\ H[FLWHG WKH\ DUH YHU\ KDS
WU\ EXW DW WKH VDPH WLPH WKH\ DUH DOVR YHU\
O\ WKH QHZFRPHU SRSXODWLRQ ZKHUH WKH\ DUH W
WKHPVHOYHV DV EHLQJ &DQDGLDQV 3DUWLFLSDQW

$V D UHVXOW QHZFRPHUV DUH ´YHU\ JXDUGHG D
WKH\ GR ZKDW WKH\ VD\ « WR SURYH WKDW WKH\
LSDQW)XUWKHU WR WKH SRLQW 3DUWLFLSD
VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV ZLOO LPSDFW QHZ LPPLJUDQ
XQGHU VFUXWLQ\ LW ZRQ·W LPSDFW VHFRQG DQ
EXW WKH\ VWLOO QHHG WR JHW LQYROYHG ZLWK
DFWLYH µ

3DVVLQJ DV :KLWH $FURVV WKH JHQHUDWLRQV
0XVOLP FRPPXQLW\ VHYHUDO SDUWLFLSDQWV LQ
EH IHOW OHVV RQ WKRVH 0XVOLPV ZLWK OLJKWHU
´SDVV R• DV :KLWHµ YHUVXV 0XVOLPV ZLWK GDUN
DPSOH D /HEDQHVH SDUWLFLSDQW WDONHG DERX
:KLWHµ

7R EH KRQHVW , GLGQ·W KDYH DQ\ SUREOHPV JURZ

JRYHUQPHQW >LV@ WHOOLQJ &DQDGLDQV WKDW ¶
OHP· « WKH NLQG RI VWX• WKDW PDNHV 0XVOLPV
PD\EH RXU JRYHUQPHQW LV UDFLVW · $QG WKHQ Z
DQG DO 4DHGD DFFXVLQJ WKH :HVW RI EHLQJ KRV
JRWWD DJUHH ZLWK LW EHFDXVH \HDK ORRN DW Z
/RRN DW %LOO & WKDW·V JRLQJ WR PDNH WKLQ

3DUWLFLSDQWV VDLG WKH\ VDZ FHUWLÀFDWHV IHDU WDFWLF 3DUWLFLSDQW VXJJHVWHG WK RI WLPHµ EHFDXVH ´LW FDQ EH WZR WKLQJV HL VWXSLG WKLQNLQJ WKHVH PHDVXUHV DUH JRLQ RUµ³KH FRQWLQXHG DIWHU D SDXVH DQG UHÁHF

WKH JRYHUQPHQW LV MXVW VHQGLQJ D PHVVDJH V RXW EH FDUHIXO « ,I , GR VRPHWKLQJ YDJXHO\ ZLOO EH GHSRUWHG « :KHQ , VHH VKLW OLNH WK LW·V KDSSHQLQJ WR DFWXDO SHRSOH WKDW , NQF $QG ZK\" %HFDXVH VRPH LGLRWV ZKR KDSSHQ WR PDNLQJ WKUHDWV LQ our QDPH LQ WKH QDPH RI our GRQ·W UHSUHVHQW PH 6R ZK\ DP , EHLQJ SXQLVK WKH VDPH UHOLJLRQ" 7KLV LV LQMXVWLFH EHFDXV PHDVXUHV WKH\ MXVW KXUW WKH 0XVOLP FRPPXQ SDLQ 7KH\ GRQ·W NHHS XV VDIH

2Q WKH RWKHU KDQG PXOWLSOH SDUW-LFLSDQ VSHFWLYH DUJXLQJ IRU WKH H•HFWLYHQHVV RI H•HFWLYH EHFDXVH WKHUH·V D UHDO OLNH³LW GRQ·W NQRZ ZKR LV ZDWFKLQJ \RXµ 3DUWLFLSD

'LVWLQFW LPSDFW RQ QHZ YV ROG LPPŁJUDQW VXUHV LQ JHQHUDO VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV Z WLRQDWH LPSDFW RQ QHZHU YHUVXV ROGHU LP ZHUH DZDUH WKDW VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV RQ NQRZOHGJH RI WKH LPSDFW RI FHUWLÀFDWHV L\ DWH DPRQJ YDULRXV W\SHV RI LPPLJUDQWV 3D DWLRQ 0XVOLP &DQDGLDQ VDLG KH GRHV QRW FHUWLÀFDWHV EXW KH VKDUHG KLV FRQFHUQ ´ DQG IRU WKH SHRSOH WKDW , NQRZ IRU WKH Q SHUPDQHQW UHVLGHQW ZRUULHG WKDW

SXWWLQJ RXW WKH VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWH WDUJH SOH EXW LI \RX ZHUH WR ORRN DW LW IURP ¶ERU ZKR KDYH « ORQJHU JHQHUDWLRQV RI SHRSOH ZK

0XVOLP $UDE WHUURULVWV DUH ODEHOOHG 7K
HG RQ SDUWLFLSDQWV· IUXVWUDWLRQV ZLWK OI
PDVV PHGLD :KLWH LQGLYLGXDOV ZKR FRPPLW
DV PHQWDOO\ XQVWDEOH ZKLOH 0XVOLPV FRPP
DV PRWLYDWHG E\ WKHLU UHOLJLRQ 3DUWLFLSI
WHUURULVWV DUH QRW UHVWULFWHG WR D FHU
SDUWLFLSDQWV WKH ´ELDVHGµ DQG ´XQIDLUµ P
VKDSHG E\ WKH VDPH UDFLVW RU DQWL 0XVOLP
WR LPPLJUDWLRQ DQG QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ SR
GHQW LQ VHQVDWLRQDOL]HG QHZVSDSHU KHDGC
FRPPXQLWLHV ,Q WKH FRQWH[W RI ,VODPRSKRE
3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG

,W·V D GL€FXOW SODFH HQYLURQPHQW IRU 0XVOL
WHUULP pvD GDQW VDLG O A0

PHQWV WKH LPSDFW RI VHQVDWLRQDOL]HG DQG D
GLYLGXDOV 3DUWLFLSDQWV DOVR VSRNH RI WKH
HW\ DQG VXVSLFLRQ UHVXOWLQJ IURP ,VODPRSKR
LQ WKHLU GDLO\ OLYHV 3DUWLFLSDQWV UHSRUW
ZDUGV LQGLYLGXDOV RXWVLGH RI WKHLU LPPHGLD
WKH H•HFWV RI YLROHQFH WRZDUGV 0XVOLPV DQ
DERXW PRVTXHV EHLQJ YDQGDOL]HG RU 0XVOLPV
GRQ·W IHHO ZHOFRPH , IHHO VFDUHG DQG IHDUI
SDUWLFLSDQWV UHLWHUDWHG WKH

SUHVVXUH WR EH WUDQVSDUHQW « >WR VKRZ@ WKD
JX\V RQ WKH QHZV :KHQ P\ IULHQGV DQG , JR VRPH
ZH FDQ·W PDNH FHUWDLQ MRNHV RU EH UHDOO\ OR
JHW VWDUHV IURP SHRSOH ,W·V GL•HUHQW ZKHQ ZH
WKHUH LV PRUH GLYHUVLW\ OLNH 6FDUERURXJK RU
ZH DUH LQ D VPDOOHU FLW\ ZH KDYH WR EH FDUHI
PXFK RU WR DFW LQ D ZD\ WKDW SHRSOH FDQ ORRN
DW WKRVH URZG\ $UDEV W\SLFDO · \RX NQRZ" >/DX
KDYH WR WU\ H[WUD KDUG WR EH RQ \RXU EHVW EH
D IHZ 0XVOLP JX\V WKDW ZHUH YHUEDOO\ DWWDFNH
3DUWLFLSDQW

%DVHG RQ KLV ÀIWHHQ \HDUV RI OLYLQJ LQ &DQ

,W·V JHWWLQJ ZRUVH « ,I SHRSOH DUH VFDUHG WK
KDSSHQ WR WKHP WKHQ IHDU ZLOO RQO\ JURZ ZLW
6R LI ZH JHW PRUH ELOOV OLNH WKDW >%LOO & @
JRLQJ WR EHFRPH PRUH VFDUHG RI ZKDW PLJKW KD

3DUWLFLSDQWV DOVR VS&DOj@ 0 ¤R H @•¬p VDL

RI IULHQGV ULJKW" ·&DXVH RQFH WKH\ VWDUW OI
VWDUW GLJJLQJ $QG RQFH WKH\ VWDUW GLJJLQJ
ZKDWHYHU WKH\ DUH ORRNLQJ IRU 3DUWLFLSDQ\

3DUWLFLSDQWV WDONHG DERXW WKH SUHVVXU
DQ DFW RI WHUURULVP RFFXUV

:KHQHYHU DQ DFW RI WHUURULVP RFFXUV ZKHQH
SHQV « ZKHUHYHU DURXQG WKH ZRUOG WKHUH·V
SOH WR VSHDN RXW DJDLQVW LW 5LJKW" /LNH ZH
DUH WKH 0XVOLPV" :K\ GRQ·W WKH\ UHVSRQG WR
020)

7KLV SUHVVXUH WR VSHDN XS WUDQVODWHV W
FRPPXQLW\ 3DUWLFLSDQW UHSRUWHG VHQVL
WR EH SURDFWLYH DQG UHSRUW DQ\ VXVSLFLR
SHRSOH >LQ RXU FRPPXQLW\@ WR WKH ODZ HQI

0RQLWRULQJ RQOLQH EHKDYLRXU $V ZHOO DV
LSDQWV VKDUHG RWKHU H[DPSOHV LQ ZKLFK WK
WR D SHUFHLYHG IHDU RU DV 3DUWLFLSDQW
´EHLQJ ÁDJJHG µ $OPRVW DOO SDUWLFLSDQWV L
LODQW ZLWK WKHLU RQOLQH DFWLYLW\ 3DUWLI
RXW « , GRQ·W NQRZ ZKR·V ORRNLQJ DW LW DO
LW µ 3DUWLFLSDQWV VDLG WKH\ UHFRJQL]HG W
GDWD FROOHFWLRQ IRU SXUSRVHV RI QDWLRQDO
EHFDXVH RI WKH IHDU EHKLQG WKHP

<RX GRQ·W NQRZ ZKR LV ZDWFKLQJ \RX RQ « WKH
7KH\ FDQ EH FROOHFWLQJ GDWD IURP³ZHOO WKH\
RQ *RRJOH DQG)DFHERRN RQ WKHVH WKLQJV RQ
TXHVWLRQ QRZ LV KRZ LV WKDW KDPSHULQJ ZLWK
RQOLQH ULJKW" 1RZ WKDW \RX NQRZ WKDW VRPH
RU VRPHRQH·V UHFRUGLQJ WR \RX KRZ DUH \RX J
SHRSOH KDYH WR WKLQN RI ZKDW WKH\ SRVW 7KH
, WU\ QRW WR EH RQH RI WKRVH SHRSOH « ,W·V \
HYHU \RX ZDQW RU WR GR ZKDWHYHU \RX ZDQW <
H[WHUQDO IRUFH OLNH JRYHUQPHQW VXSSUHVVL

$ VLPLODU VXSSUHVVLRQ RI WKRXJKW LV VHH

SOH DURXQG µ (YHQ LQ PRUH GLYHUVH 7RURQWR
LQJ XQHDV\ DERXW ´ORRNLQJ 0XVOLP µ 3DUWLF
ZDON DURXQG WKH VQRZ LQ D DXWRPDWLFDO
-XVW EHFDXVH WKHUH·V D ORW RI SHRSOH OLNH
GRHVQ·W PHDQ , IHHO VDIH µ
0RQLWRULQJ RXWZDUG DSSHDUDQFH 7R QHJRV
WH[WV DQG SHUFHSWLRQV RI SHUVRQDO VDIHW
WRULQJ WKHLU RXWZDUG DSSHDUDQFH³IRU H[D
DSSHDULQJ LQ SXEOLF ZKHUH DQG³DQG DYRL
KDQJLQJ RXW LQ ODUJH JURXSV DV VDIHW\ SUH
J\ ZDV GHVFULEHG E\ 3DUWLFLSDQW

<RX KDYH WR EOHQG LQ 'RQ·W VWDQG RXW 'RQ·W
QLJKWWLPH LQ D thobe LQ D QHLJKERXUKRRG « 'R
PDNHV \RX EH SHUFHLYHG DV WKRVH IDQDWLFV RU
OLNH \RX·UH WU\LQJ WRR KDUG WR KLGH VRPHWK
WR \RXUVHOI EXW \RX DOVR KDYH WR EH VPDUW
ZD\V JR IRU EXUJHUV DQG

3DUWLFLSDQWV ODUJHO\ DJUHHG thobe WKH\ F
DUHDV ZKHUH WKHUH LV D ODFN RI GLYHUVLW\ 3
ZRXOG EH ZRUULHG DERXW KRZ , ZRXOG EH SHUF
ZRXOG SUREDEO\ VWDUH DQG VHH PH DV D 0XVOL
LQJ µ 3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG ´, GRQ·W NQRZ ZK
P\thobe LQ WKH PLGGOH RI WKH QLJKW ZLWKRXW E
ZLOO KXUW PH µ 6RPH SDUWLFLSDQWV H[SUHVVH
SHUFHSWLRQ RI thobe EHDQJ\XVLFLRXV FRPSDUH
WR :HVWHUQ FORWKLQJ

,I , MXVW ZHDU MHDQV DQG D VKLUW « WKHQ , MXVW
SHUVRQ DURXQG WKHP « EXW LI ,·P ZHDULQJ D thobe
JURXS RI RWKHU SHRSOH ZHDULQJ D thobe WKH\ FDQ
WKLV %URZQ JURXS RI SHRSOH JRLQJ WR GR"· 3DU

6HYHUDO SDUWLFLSDQWV VSRNH DERXW WKH S
JURZLQJ EHDUGV 3DUWLFLSDQW ZKR ZDV FOH
D EHDUG WKHQ SHRSOH ZRXOG DFW GL•HUHQWO\
H[SODLQHG KH KDV WR EH DWWHQWLYH ZLWK

PDNLQJ VXUH WKH EHDUG LV VKRUW DQG \RX GRQ·W
the thobe or kurta[31] LQ SXEOLF >%HFDXVH@ WKHUH·V DOZD\
EDFNODVK WKDW IHDU RI EHLQJ VRUW RI QHJDWLYH
KDUVKO\ « >7KH IHDU LV FDXVHG E\@ VWHUHRW\SH
LQ WKH QHLJKERXUKRRG DERXW 0XVOLPV ,W·V QR
VHHQ DV D 0XVOLP EXW >DERXW@ QRW SXVKLQJ \RX
QRW OLYLQJ \RXU 0XVOLP LGHQWLW\ WR WKH IXOOH

3DUWLFLSDQW SURYLGHG WKH IROORZLQJ ZDU

<RX NQRZ \RX MXVW KDYH WR ZDWFK \RXUVHOI 'RQ
GRQ·W KDQJ RXW ZLWK PRUH WKDQ WKUHH²IRXU $U
DQG GRQ·W JURZ \RXU EHDUG WRR ORQJ 7KRVH DU
VFUHDP ¶,·P D 0XVOLP ORRN DW PH · VR ZDWFK RX
LPDJH WKDW \RX JLYH XS

,PSDFW RQ IUHHGRP RI DVVRFLDWLRQ DQG PREL
a thobe RU JURZLQJ D EHDUG VHYHUDO RWKHU SDUV
D FKLOO RQ WKHLU IUHHGRP RI DVVRFLDWLRQ 6R
HG DERYH SURYLGHG DGYLFH RQ KRZ WR DYRLG
DYRLGLQJ ´KDQJ>LQJ@ RXW ZLWK PRUH WKDQ WK

$ ORRVH FROODUOHVV WXQLF ZRUQ E\ PHQ LQ 6RXWK $VLD

FRQQHFWLRQV EHWZHHQ VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV

3DWKZD\V WRZDUG \RXU FHUWLÀFDWH DQG LWV RLQF DWH
XELTXLW\ RI VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV DQG SUDFWLFH
ZLWK IHHOLQJV RI KHOSHVVQHVV IHDU DQG SD
RSKRELD DQG UDFLDO SURÀOLQJ FDQ OHDG WR
IHOW WKDW DQWL 0XVOLP SROLF\ DQG UKHWRULF
ULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV DOVR IHHG LQWR PHVVDJLQJ
´\RXU JRYHUQPHQW GRHV QRW ZDQW \RX WKHUH
YROW DJDLQVW WKHPµ 3DUWLFLSDQW 7KLV
HQIUDQFKLVHG QHJOHFWHG DQG DQJU\ WRZDUG
PD\ WKHQ FKRRVH WR WDNH XS DUPV DQG ´ÀJKW
KRPH RU GRPHVWLFDOO\ 3DUWLFLSDQW)XU
SDUWLFLSDQWV DUWLFXODWHG WKH FRQQHFWLR
DQG \RXWK UDGLFDOL]DWLRQ :LWK UHIHUHQFH
OLPV LQ JHQHUDO SDUWLFLSDQWV ZDUQHG WKDW
DLPHG DW 0XVOLPV HFKR WKH PHVVDJLQJ SURYL
OLNH ,6,6 RU DO 4DHGD

,W GHVWUR\V D VRFLHW\ ZKHQ \RX EHFRPH VXVSLFL
LQGLYLGXDOV (VSHFLDOO\ ZKHQ SHUVRQ DIWHU SH
ORRNV D FHUWDLQ ZD\ KDV D SDUWLFXODU W\SH RI
MXVW \RX DUH IHHGLQJ LQWR D SDUWLFXODU VWHU
EH D FDWDO\VW IRU LQGLYLGXDOV ZKR ZDQW WR JR
UDGLFDOL]DWLRQ EHFDXVH WKLV LV WKH W\SH RI P
DQG DO 4DHGD JLYH ¶<RXU JRYHUQPHQW LV DJDLQ
\RX JR DWWDFN WKHP · $QG VR WR VRPHRG\ « VRP
ULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV FRPHV XS RU WKDW VRPHRG\
RI LV GHWDLQHG EHFDXVH RI VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDW
HQRXJK WR SXVK WKDW LQGLYLGXDO RYHU WKH HGJ

3DUWLFLSDQW DJUHHG WKH DQWL 0XVOLP PH

ZKDW JURXSV OLNH ,6,6 DQG DO 4DHGD KDYH EHHQ
ORQJ WLPH ZKLFK LV WKDW ¶'RQ·W \RX JHW LW" 7K
\RX · $QG WKDW ¶7KH\ >WKH :HVW@ GRQ·W FDUH DE
¶<RX GRQ·W EHORQJ ZLWK WKHP · <RX VHH WKDW W
WKHQ WKH\ MXVW SRLQW WR WKH W\SH RI OHJLVOD
LV \RXU RZQ JRYHUQPHQW SDVVLQJ OHJLVODWLRQ
GDQJHURXV WUHQG EHFDXVH \RX NQRZ SHRSOH ZL
DQJU\ DW WKH :HVW DQG IHHO WKDW WKH\ DUH MXV
EHORQJ VRPHZKHUH HOVH $QG PD\EH VRPH RI WKH
PD\EH VRPH ZLOO MXVW IDGH RXW DQG PD\EH WKH

WKH\ VHH 5&03 DQG &6,6 VQRRSLQJ DURXQG DQG
TXHVWLRQV DW WKH PRVTXH ,W·V QR-W H•HFWLYH
PDWLRQ DVN UHVSHFWIXOO\

3DUWLFLSDQW H[SODLQHG KLV IUXVWUDWLR

7KH\ >&6,6@ FRPH LQWR WKH PRVTXH ZKHUH , SUD
%URWKHUV ZKDW WKH\ NQRZ RI PH 7KH\ FRQWDFW
DVN DERXW PH 7KH\ FDOO PH DW ZRUN 7KH\ LQV
DQG UHSRUW DQ\WKLQJ VXVSLFLRXV « $QG WKH\
DP QRW KRPH 7KLV LV GLVUHVSHFWIXO « 7KH\ ED
FR RSHUDWH EXW ZK\ VKRXOG ," 6R WKH\ FDQ KD
0XVOLPV WRR"

3DUWLFLSDQW ZKR LV DOVR IUHTXHQWHG E

&6,6 FRQWDFWHG D FR ZRUNHU·V H[KXVEDQG WR

DZDUHQHVV RI UDFLVP IHDU SDUDQRLD DQG DQ[

EHWWHU 0D\EH LQ D IHZ PRUH \HDUV RI /LEHUI
YHUVH WKH UDFLVP WKDW WKH &RQVHUYDWLYH\
3DUWLFLSDQW $JDLQ GHVSLWH WK-H VNHS
WLFLSDQWV DJUHHG WKDW &DQDGD LV D JRRG S
P\ KRPH DQG QR PDWWHU KRZ UDFLVW WKLQJV
KRPH P\ IDPLO\ DQG IULHQGVµ 3DUWLFLSDQW

0XOWLFXOWXUDOLVP 6HYHUDO SDUWLFLSDQW
WRZDUGV PXOWLFXOWXUDOLVP DQG DUJXHG WK
&DQDGD LV VWLOO ZHOFRPLQJ 3DUWLFLSDQW

'HVSLWH DOO WKHVH PHDVXUHV WKH SHRSOH DUH
RQFH \RX JHW WR NQRZ RQH DQRWKHU 3HRSOH D
WKLQN ZH DOVR KDYH D SUHWW\ JRRG VRFLDO ZH
FRXQWU\ LV P\ KRPH DQG , MXVW ZĐQW P\ KRPH V
VWDQG WKH LVVXHV WKDW VRPH RI LWV UHVLGHQ

6LPLODUO\ SDUWLFLSDQWV VKDUHG WKHLU DS
&DQDGD KDV SURYLGHG 3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG
LQJ RXU UHOLJLRXV DFWLYLW\ LQ WKLV FRXQWU
FRXQWU\ >RI RULJLQ@ µ 0DQ\ SDUWLFLSDQWV D
WRZDUGV WROHUDQFH DQG GLYHUVLW\

7LJKWHQLQJ WKLV DQG PDNLQJ PRUH UHVWULFWL
WKLV ZRXOG FDXVH D SUREOHP 6R SOXUDOLW\ D
WKH PRVW LPSRUWDQW WKLQJ« >7K-H@ WKLQJ W
FLDO LV RSHQLQJ WR RWKHU FXOWXUHV DQG UHO

'HVSLWH FULWLTXHV RI QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ P
SUHVVHG DSSUHFLDWLRQ IRU WKHLU K\EULG LG
$IJKDQ VHFRQG « , GRQ·W NQRZ ZKDW >LW@ P
3DUWLFLSDQW 6HYHUDO RWKHUV DUJXHG
KHUH &DQDGD LV VWLOO D IDU EHWWHU RSWL
WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV DQG (XURSHDQ QDWLRQV
FDQ SHRSOH >LPPLJUDQWV@ JR" 2QO\ (XURSH D
FRPSDUH GL•HUHQW FRXQWULHV &DQDGD LV PX
SDQW UHSRUWHG VHHLQJ &DQDGD DV D VXSH
´:H DUH ULJKW QH[W WR $PHULFD DQG Ià 0
0EW EW ðHQWpHRSEW YHpSE$ DOWUH•”•NW`Pp WE7 ðH

L Q W U R G X F L Q J D U H O H D G L Q J X V G R Z Q W K H Z U R Q J S
Z H D U H E H W W H U W K D Q D O R W R I R W K H U F R X Q W U L H

3 D U W L F L S D Q W V D O V R U H S R U W H G W K D W W K H O D
P D N H V @ v R w R Q U W L F D O €RPS0W H U`W H”@MPS0WðH U`W D$ V S7 H
T ...h À x•p À ` Â° P`O V R H• • L V Å3H p W H U V
T € 0 @ P ` @
T0 € 0 0
U € 0 @D W U
U'…hZ ósp U7…hYR @¡D G Ã € p 6H Q` 0 R W € L P p ° BA` 0

>ZLWK@ WKH NLGV JURZLQJ XS µ 3DUWLFLSDQW

,I \RX DUH ZRUULHG DERXW VRPH NLGV EHLQJ UDG
LQVWHDG RI EODPLQJ WKH 0XVOLP FRPPXQLW\ ZK
VD\ ¶+H\ OHW·V WDON DERXW ZKDW LV JRLQJ RQ
EHFDXVH WKLV LV D SUREOHP WKDW D•HFWV \RXU
FRXQWU\ ·

7KH EHQHÀW RI ´PDNLQJ LQURDGV ZLWK WKH 0X
VKRZLQJ UHVSHFW IRU DOO RXU EHOLHIV DQG F
ZLOO FHUWDLQO\ JR D ORQJ ZD\ DFFRUGLQJ WR
3DUWLFLSDQWV RYHUZKHOPLQJO\ EHOLHYHG D
FDXVHG E\ QHJDWLYH DQG VWHUHRW\SLFDO UK
SDQW VDLG ZRUGV OLNH ´,VODPLFLVPµ DQG
JRXQGVµ ZLOO UHVXOW LQ D ´SXVK EDFN µ 7KH
is to

VWRS VLQJOLQJ RXW WKH 0XVOLP FRPPXQLW\ « LI
VHULRXV DERXW URRWLQJ RXW WHUURULVP ZLWK
FRPPXQLW\ DQG QRW ¶VHOI SURFOÅLPHG· OHDGH
RSKRELF FODLPV ZKLFK ZLOO OHDG WR PRUH GLY
:H QHHG WR RUJDQL]H DOO WKH FRPPXQLWLHV WR

7KH EHQHÀWV RI WUHDWLQJ 0XVOLPV ZLWK U
ZHUH PDGH FOHDU LQ D VWDWHPHQW E\ 3DUWLFI
, IHHO OLNH , DP EHLQJ >DV@ IDLUO\ WUHDWHG
RI LWV FLWL]HQV , ZLOO GR DQ\WKLQJ LQ P\ S
JRYHUQPHQW DJHQFLHV LQ ÀJKWLQJ DJDLQVW W
RXWVLGH RI WKH VFRSH RI WKH JRYHUQPHQW·V
JHVWHG WKDW WKH JRYHUQPHQW FDQ UHGXFH
PHGLD VLPSO\ E\ ´QRW JLYLQJ WKHVH LQWHUQD
PHGLD FRYHUDJH DQG DWWHQWLRQ WKH\ VHHN µ
3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG

7KHUH LV QRWKLQJ \RX FDQ GR WKDW WKH JRYHU
EHFDXVH WKH\ KDYH WKHLU RZQ DJHQGD 7KH\ GR
ZDQQD GR LV JHW UH HOHFWHG >7KH\@ FDQ PDNH
QHYHU UHDOO\ IROORZ WKURXJK ZLWK WKH SURPL

5ROH RI PRVTXHV FRPPXQLW\ :KLOH SDUWLFLS
JHVWLRQV RQ KRZ WKH &DQDGLDQ JRYHUQPHQ
O\ ZLWK 0XVOLP $UDE FRPPXQLWLHV WKH\ DOV

ZD\V LQ ZKLFK WKH 0XVOLP $UDE FRPPXQLWLHV D
ZLWK WKH JRYHUQPHQW 3DUWLFLSDQW VXJJH
FKDQJHV ´VWDUWV ZLWK WKLQNLQJ DQG RQH·V PH
FLDOO\ RXU LPPLJUDQW EDFNJURXQG « ZH QHHG \
VXUURXQGLQJV DQG VHH LW DV KRPH UDWKHU W
VXJJHVWV 0XVOLPV EH PRUH ´LQYLWLQJ WRZD
WKDW &DQDGLDQV QHHG WR ´FR H[LVW µ 6RPH SI
LPSRUWDQFH RI RSHQQHVV LQ 0XVOLP FRPPXQLWL
DQG DGYLVHG WKDW FRPPXQLWLHV DYRL-G IRUPLQ
WKLQJ >WKDW@ PLJKW FDXVH « VXVSLFLRQµ 3DU
RSHQQHVV DQG WUDQVSDUHQF\ ZLWKLQ WKH 0XV
VDLG LW H[LVWV DQG WKDW PRUH HPSKDVLV VI
OHDGHUV WR ´GHQRXQFH DFWLYLWLHV WKDW OHD
SDQWV R•HUHG H[DPSOHV RI WKH LPSDFW RI UHOI
VHYHUDO SDUWLFLSDQWV UHIHUUHG WR D SURPL
GDW ZKR LV YHU\ DFWLYH DQG YRFDO ZLWKLQ W
pant 001 said,

> %URWKHU ²UDKPDQ ZDV PHQWLRQHG ZH KDYH KHDUG EH
> SDUW RI WKLV EURDGHU FRPPXQLW\ ZLWK WKLV OR
> SROLWLFV LQWHUQDWLRQDO SROLWLFV DV D 0XVO
> FDQ UDLVH RXU YRLFH « WR EH H•HFWLYH

3DUWLFLSDQW GLVFXVVHG WKH LPSRUWDQFH
DV SURPRWHG E\ ,PDP %DGDW

> >+H@ LV DOZD\V WDONLQJ DERXW KRZ DV D FRPPXQ
> YRLFH RXU FRQFHUQV ZLWK RXU ORFDO 03V >KRZ@
> LQYROYHG LQ WKH GLVFXVVLRQ DQG RYHUDOO QDU
> OHDGHU ZKR « SURPRWHV GLDORJXH DQG XQGHUVW
> 0XVOLPV DQG QRQ 0XVOLPV

$FFRUGLQJ WR SDUWLFLSDQWV UHOLJLRXV OHD
WDQFH RI D XQLWHG FRPPXQLW\ +DYLQJ D VWURQ
LI 0XVOLPV DUH XQLWHG 3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG
LQ SROLWLFV EXW ZH FDQ À[WKDW E\ EHLQJ D V
2WKHUV VWUHVVHG WKH LPSRUWDQFH RI XQLW\ D
YRLFH DW WKH SURYLQFLDO DQG IHGHUDO OHYHO

)RU D SURÀOH RI %DGDW VHH KWWSV://ZZZ.ODPSHUGLQJ.FRP/LHDGHUVKLS-IRXQGDWLRQ.FD/LIW/GLUHFWRU\.DVSS[/IXOO_WLPH_VFKRRO/\XVXI_EDGDW
5HOLJLRXV VHUYLFHV RQ GLYHUVH QXPEHU\ )ULGD\ DIWHUQRRQ SUD\H

UHSUHVHQWDWLYHVµ RI ,VODP ZKR FDQ XVH WKH

D EHWWHU DOWHUQDWLYH

,W·V >D@ IUHH « DQG H•HFWLYH ZD\ WR SUHVHQW Z
DQG FXOWXUH LV DOO DERXW :H FDQ VWDUW E\ PD
SRVLWLYH LPDJH RQ RXU)DFHERRN 7ZLWWHU DQG
DFFRXQWV %\ DFWLQJ OLNH JRRG UROH PRGHOV J
ZLOO NQRZ ZKDW RXU UHOLJLRQ LV DOO DERXW 3D

(VVHQWLDOO\ SDUWLFLSDQWV VDLG WKH LQWH
RYHUDOO JRDO RI FRXQWHULQJ WHUURULVW FOD
EOHG FRPPXQLWLHV 7KH LPSRUWDQFH RI WKH ´F
QLÀFDQW UROH LQ SURYLGLQJ FRXQWHU PHVVDJH
3DUWLFLSDQW XVHV WKH LQWHUQHW WR VXSSU

VRPH DPRQJ 0XVOLPV³DV , VD\ WKHUH DUH VRPH DF
JURXSV RU RWKHU FRPPXQLWLHV ZKR KDYH VRPH LG
UHODWHG WR WHUURULVP « DQG >ZH@ QHHG WR UH
WKHUH DUH VRPH SHRSOH ZKR KDYH FUD]\ LGHDV «
UHVSRQVLELOLW\ DV 0XVOLPV « WR WHDFK RXU WU
EORJV SRVWV HWF

6RPH SDUWLFLSDQWV VXJJHVW XVLQJ WKH VDPH
JURXSV RQOLQH WR FUHDWH FRXQWHU QDUUDWLY
MHFW H[WUHPLVW PHVVDJLQJ 3DUWLFLSDQW V

7KH LQWHUQHW VKRXOG EH XVHG WR FUHDWH DQ DO
WKDW \RXWK ZKR ÀQG FHUWDLQ WHUURULVW LGHRO
WKLQN LW E\ DFFHVVLQJ PRUH DFFXUDWH LQIRUPDV
D GLVFRXUVH RQOLQH WKDW WKHUH LVQ·W D ZDU D
EHFDXVH WKDW LV ZKDW ,6,6 LV WHO-OLQJ RXU \RXW
WXQDWHO\ VRPH \RXWK GR EX\ LQWR LW 6R LQVWH
RQOLQH DQG OHWWLQJ WKH YRLFHV RI ,6,6 RU ZKDV
WKULYH ZH QHHG WR EH MXVW DV ULJRURXV LQ FU
HU QDUUDWLYHV DQG GHOLYHULQJ WKHP WKURXJK)
ZKDWHYHU PHFKDQLVPV ,6,6 XVHV

2QH SDUWLFLSDQW VXJJHVWHG WKH LPSRUWDQF
&DQDGLDQ LGHQWLW\ DV DQ H•HFWLYH FRXQWHU
L]HG \RXWK

,QVWHDG RI JRLQJ GRZQ WKLV SDWK WR UDGLFDOL]

LFDOO\ DZDUH ´LQ UHFHQW \HDUV «[29] there are WKLV SDU
D ORW RI 0XVOLPV ZKR DUH UXQQLQJ IRU 3DUOLD
WKH VDPH WLPH WKHUH LV DQ LQFUHDVH LQ ´JUD
WKDW DUH HQFRXUDJLQJ 0XVOLPV WR JR RXW DQ
6XFK FKDQJHV DUH WUHPHQGRXV WKH VDPH SDUW
PD\ QRW EH ´ SHUFHQW YRWHU WXUQRXW LQ W
ZLOO EH PXFK KLJKHU WKDQ LQ SUHYLRXV \HDUVµ

&RQWUDGLFWLRQV EHWZHHQ VHQLRU PHPEHUV RI WKH SDUW\ DQG
FXVVLRQ VKRZV WKDW SDUWLFLSDQWV IRXQG LW
GLVWLQFWLRQ EHWZHHQ H[WUHPLVW LGHRORJ\ DQ
VLJQLÀFDQW LV WKH HPSKDVLV SDUWLFLSDQWV S
LVP ZLWK WKH LPSRUWDQFH RI UHOLJLRQ $V PH
GLVWDQFLQJ ,VODP IURP WHUURULVP LV D FRPP
SDUWLFLSDQWV HPSKDVL]HG WKH LPSRUWDQFH R
VSHFW ZLWKLQ ,VODP DQG WKH FRQWUDGLFWLRQV
3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG

> 0XVOLP IXQGDPHQWDOLVP" >/DXJKV @ 1RWKLQJ OLN
> LQ 0XVOLP QDWLRQV 3HDFH WROHUDQFH DQG UHV
> EDVLF EHOLHI 1RWKLQJ LQ EHWZHHQ « ,I ZH FUHD
> RXWVLGH RI WKDW WKHQ ZH DUH QRW WUXH 0XVOL

3DUWLFLSDQWV RYHUZKHOPLQJO\ FULWLFL]HG ´U
VRFLDWH WKHPVHOYHV ZLWK ,VODPµ 3DUWLFLSD
WKDW ´QR *RG IHDULQJ 0XVOLP ZRXOG VWUDS R
RXW ¶Allahu Akbar.[30] 3DUWLFLSDQW ,Q IDFW DOPRV
H[SODLQ WKH FRQWUDGLFWLRQ EHWZHHQ VXLFLG

> (YHU\ SLRXV 0XVOLP NQRZV DW OHDVW WKHVH WZR
> NLOO RQH SHUVRQ LW LV DV LI \RX KDYH NLOOHG D
> VXLFLGH[31] LV FRQGHPQHG « %XW ZK\ GRHV VRFLHW\
> WKHP WKH KRQRXU RI FDOOLQJ WKHP 0XVOLP >ZKH
> HQHPLHV RI ,VODP" 3DUWLFLSDQW

2QH SDUWLFLSDQW EURXJKW XS WKH QRWLRQ R
DQG VDLG WKHUH DUH ´ZHDOWK\ 0XVOLPV >LQ 6D
DQG ÀQDQFH WKH SHRSOH >WHUURULVWV@ WKRV
3DUWLFLSDQW

&DQDGLDQ IHGHUDO HOHFWLRQ
$UDELF IRU ´+RO\ µV JU
7KDW ZKLFK LV IRUELGGHQ LQ ,VODP

GRQ·W RSHQO\ VKDUH LW EXW LI \RX DVN , ZLOO ,
VXUH QRW WR VSHDN %XW , GR IHHO D VHQVH RI U
IDLWK1R W LQ WKH IRUP RI ¿JKWLQJ EXW LQ WK
>DJDLQVW@ DQ\ LQMXVWLFH RU DQ\WKLQJ WKD
3DUWLFLSDQW

0DLQWDLQLQJ +RSH)LQDOO\ JLYHQ WKH H[WH
FXUUHQW SROLWLFDO FOLPDWH D FRPPRQ WKHI
KRSH IRU WKH IXWXUH $OPRVW DOO LQWHUYLHZ
ZLWK SDUWLFLSDQWV UHÁHFWLQJ RQ WKHLU FRQ
WKH IXWXUH 2QH SDUWLFLSDQW VDLG

, DP D KRSHIXO « SRVLWLYH PDQ , GRQ·W WKLQN W
« QRW \HW :H ZLOO VHH ZKDW ZLOO KDSSHQ ZLWK
WKH JRYHUQPHQW GHFLGHV WR WDNH LW « :H ZLO
FRPPXQLW\ DQG DV D QDWLRQ 3DUWLFLSDQW

Others said that “these things that Harper is doing and saying, that’s
QRW JRLQJ WR FKDQJH KRZ IRUWXQDWH DQG EOH
DQG SHDFHIXO VRFLHW\µ 3DUWLFLSDQW)LQ

$W WKH HQG RI WKH GD\ RXU EHOLHI V\VWHP LV WK
7KDW WKHUH LV D GD\ RI MXGJPHQW « DQG WKDW H
KDYH WR VWDQG EHIRUH $OODK RQ WKDW GD\ DQG
HYHU\WKLQJ WKDW WKH\ GLG DQG GLGQ·W GR $QG
WR KDYH D JRRG VWURQJ UHODWLRQVKLS ZLWK $O
ZKDW PDWWHUV -XVW EH D JRRG KXPDQ $QG WU\ W
&UHDWRU WU\ WR UHDG PRUH 4XUDQ WU\ WR GR W
UHPHPEUDQFH 7U\ WR GR WKDW VWX• %HFDXVH WK
VX•HULQJ DURXQG WKH ZRUOG XQGHU WULEXODWLR
WKH\ DUH SDWLHQW DQG WKH\ SHUVHYHUH WKH\ PD
GD\ RI MXGJPHQW IRU WKHLU SDWLHQFH DQG SHUVH

Conclusion

,Q VXP WKLV FKDSWHU EHJDQ ZLWK D JHQHUDO
WLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV DUH SHUFHLYHG
PHQ LQ WKLV VWXG\ )LQGLQJV IURP VXUYH\ GD
WLFDOO\ VLJQLÀFDQW GL•HUHQFHV EHWZHHQ 0
Q PHQ·V SHUFHSWLRQ RI JRYHUQPHQW GDWD
SUDFWLFHV 5HVXOWV LQGLFDWH VWDWLVWLFD
PHQ ZKR H[SHULHQFH D ´FKLOOLQJ H•HFWµ RQ
LQFOXGLQJ IUHHGRP RI VSHHFK WKRXJKW PRE
QHJDWLYH FRQVHTXHQFHV KDYH LQFUHDVHG
IRU QRQ 0XVOLP PHQ , H[SORUHG WKHVH TXDQW
LQ 3KDVH WKURXJK RSHQ HQGHG LQWHUYLHZ
+HUH 0XVOLP PHQ GLVFXVVHG SHUFHSWLRQV D
QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV DQG LWV LPSDF
HV WKHLU VHQVH RI EHORQJLQJ DQG LGHQWLW
ULW\ DQG VXUYHLOODQFH PHDVXUHV DV-EHLQJ
LQJ ZKLOH DJDLQ GLVSURSRUWLRQDWHO\ D•HI
H•HFWµ FRQVWLWXWLQJ IHDU SDUDQRLD DQ[LH
SUHVVXUH WR DOWHU RQH·V EHKDYLRXU DQG L
SHDUDQFH WR DYRLG XQQHFHVVDU\ VXⱯSLFLRQ

5. Implications and Conclusion

Introduction

7KH SXUSRVH RI WKH VWXG\ ZDV WR GHWHUPLQ
WHFKQRORJ\ DQG QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PHDVXU
FDWHV KDYH RQ WKH 0XVOLP PDOH SRSXODWLF
WKHLU VHQVH RI LGHQWLW\ DQG EHORQJLQJ 6S
VWXG\ DUH WR GHWHUPLQH LI WKH LQWURGXFV
W\ PHDVXUHV KDYH KDG DQ LPSDFW RQ WKH LQ
ZVUHV V -RQJLQJ €@ p0 €€À@0€°``pÀ`ð@ "€€•7€p
VTYJLV DTYH
FHFU VT # `0
VXORZDF D0PQG 6RZA 0PREFHUSLRQ-RQFH
CPQ PXUYHL PWV PWV V DL

V\RxGwHV LT F
\Q-

WACDFGL ™6PYQ
V)YJ YJ -RV GLTJ YJ #5 •0
LP`€ Pð0
VX -

WLSFH

VHDUFK DGGUHVVHV WKLV JDS E\ R•HULQJ HPSLU
OLP PHQ DUH PDUNHG DV ¶RXWVLGHUV· DQG WKH
FRQVHTXHQFHV µ

SKRQH $QG WKH\ DUH IDU PRUH ZRUULHG DERX
RQOLQH 00 WDNH PRUH SUHFDXWLRQV WR FRYH
VXUSULVLQJO\ OHVV OLNHO\ WKDQ 100 WR XVH
GHYLFHV)LQGLQJV IURP WKLV PD\ LPSO\ WKDV
VKRZLQJ WKDW ´WKH\ KDYH QRWKLQJ WR KLGHµ
7KH UHVSRQVHV DOVR VKRZ WKDW RYHU WKH
H•HFWµ KDV LQWHQVLÀHG DV 00 UHVSRQGHQWV
ZRUULHG DERXW WKHLU ULJKWV WR SULYDF\ DQG
DQG DVVRFLDWLRQ :KLOH LW LV WUXH WKDW U
UHFDOO KRZ WKH\ IHOW VHYHQ \HDUV DJR DQG
00V GLG UHSRUW EHFRPLQJ PRUH SULYDF\ FRQV
GHYLFHV QRZ WKDQ LQ WKH SDVW :KLOH WKH\ V
00 VDLG WKH\ GLVDEOHG *36 GLVJXLVHG LQWHU
LQJ SHUVRQDO SKRWRV DQG LQIRUPDWLRQ DQG
DQG W•€`Àp3W• < €t€À0IHOW
DQG

YHLOODQFH DQG VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV KDYH D G
ZLWKLQ 0XVOLP $UDE JURXSV ,Q IDFW 0XVOLP
FLWL]HQVKLS RU DUH VHFRQG WKLUG RU RO
QRW H[SHULHQFH WKH VDPH GLVFULPLQDWLRQ D
7KH\ KDYH JURZQ PRUH DVVLPLODWHG R-U KDYH
FLDOO\ RU VSDWLDOO\ UHPRYHG IURP QHZFRPH
PD\ QRW H[SHULHQFH PHDVXUHV LQ WKH VDPH
KRZ WR QDYLJDWH GL•HUHQW FRQWH[W-V LQYR
WLRQ EHWWHU)XUWKHUPRUH OLJKW VNLQQHG
:KLWHµ WR HVFDSH IHDUHG GLVFULPLQDWLRQ
SDUWLFLSDQW VWDWHG ´,I , ZHUHQ·W :KLWH V
HU µ ,URQLFDOO\ SDUWLFLSDQWV VKDUHG WKHL
VHFRQG FODVV FLWL]HQ\ QRW MXVW EHFDXVH
WKH JRYHUQPHQW WR UHYRNH &DQDGLDQ FLWL]
YLFWHG RI WHUURULVP EXW DOVR EHFDXVH RI
LQ WKHLU HYHU\GD\ OLYHV WKH LQVWLWXWLRQ
SROLWLFV DQG VRFLHW\ 7KXV DOWKRXJK WKH
OLP $UDEV YDULHV DFURVV UDFH JHQGHU FLW
VWLOO VLJQLÀFDQW EDUULHUV H[SHULHQFHG DV

Behavioural changes. 'HVSLWH WKHVH GL•HUHQFHV DC
SDQWV UHSRUWHG WKDW WKH\ KDG FKDQJHG WK
ELOLW\ DQG SUHVHQWHG WKHPVHOYHV LQ ZD\V
LQµ DQG DYRLG VWDQGLQJ RXW RQOLQH DQG R
PRUH GL€FXOW WR FRYHU RQH·V LGHQWLW\ WK
DQG FDUULHV EURDGHU LPSOLFDWLRQV ,Q IDF
$UDE LGHQWLW\ SDUWLFLSDQWV FKRRVH QRW W
ZHDthe LQ SXEOLF 7KH\ DOVR UHSRUWHG XUJL
IXO IRU IHPDOH UHOLDWLYHV WR ZHDU VHDUI DOVR UH
WKH\ DYRLG WUDYHOOLQJ DORQH DW QLJKWWLP
WKUHH RU IRXU RWKHU 0XVOLP PHQ DV WKHVH
RI %LOO & LQGLFDWRUV RI EHKDYLRXUV WKDW
7KLV LV SDUWLFXODUO\ WUXH RI 0XVOLPV
WKRVH ZKR GR QRW KDYH IXOO FLWL]HQVKLS DQ
FDOO\ 0XVOLP $UDE IHDWXUHV 3DUWLFLSDQW

7KLUHDU DQG FRQFHUQ RYHU WKHLU IHPDOH UHODWLYHV L
GLVFRXUVH RQ 0XVOLP ZRPHQ·V ERGLHV +RZHYHU WKLV
RI SDWHUQDOLVP UDWKHU JLYHQ WKH KLJKO\ SXEOLFL]H
KDYH EHHQ DWWDFNHG DQG RU KDYH KDG WKHLU KLMDEV
IHPDOH 0XVOLP ERG\ DUH YHU\ UHDO

EHDUG LV VKRUW DQG \RX GRQ·W ZDQW D JR RXW
SXEOLF µ 6XFK FKDQJHV DUH QHFHVVDU\ DFFRUG

WKHUH·V DOZD\V WKDW IHDU RI EDFNODVK WKDW IH
DWLYHO\ YLHZHG RU WUHDWHG KDUVKO\ « ,W·V QR
DV D 0XVOLP EXW >DERXW@ QRW SXVKLQJ \RXU 0XV
OLYLQJ \RXU 0XVOLP LGHQWLW\ WR WKH IXOOHVW

(VVHQWLDOO\ SDUWLFLSDQWV VDLG ´<RX KDYH
3DUWLFLSDQW

Radicalization. $PRQJ 0XVOLP SDUWLFLSDQWV D JURZ
ZDV UHSRUWHG WRZDUGV WKH JRYHUQPHQW IRU
PHVVDJLQJ ,Q DGGLWLRQ WR WKH IHDU DQG SDU
H•HFWµ RI VXUYHLOODQFH DQG VHFXULW\ SUDFW
SDUWLFLSDQWV LW OHDGV WR D VHQVH RI KHOS
$OWKRXJK D KLJKO\ FRQWURYHUVLDO SHUVSHFWL
RYHUZKHOPLQJO\ DUJXHG WKDW WKLV KHOSHVV
FDOL]DWLRQ RI \RXQJ SHRSOH 7KLV UDGLFDOL]D
UHDVRQV DFFRUGLQJ WR SDUWLFLSDQWV)RU H
OLP \RXWK KDYH VSHQW D VLJQLÀFDQW SDUW RI
VWHUHRW\SLQJ LQ WKH PHGLD DQG VRFLHW\ (YH

SDQW 3DUWLFLSDQW VDLG

,W FRXOG JR WKDW ZD\ DQG WKHQ WKH\ EHFRPH
:KHQ \RX·UH LQÁXHQFHG >E\ VHFXULW\ PHDVXUHV
EHHQ FRQIURQWHG E\ WKHP LQ WKH SDVW « >\RX

LVP SROLFLHV LQ &DQDGD DORQJ ZLWK %ULWLVI

L P D J L Q L Q J V R I W K H 2 W K H U D U H D O R Q J V W D Q G L

Tabasum Akseer

F L Y L O O L E H U W L H V J U R X S V 7 K H L P S D F W R I W K H

IHDU DQG VXVSLFLRQ RI WKH 2WKHU ´VWLFNVµ WR
REMHFWV RI IHDU LQWHUFKDQJHDEOH ZLWK RWKH
7KHVH ÀQGLQJV DOVR GHPRQVWUDWH KRZ WKH 0
VHHQ DV D ´JRRG 0XVOLPµ DYRLGLQJ GLVWLQFW
OLF 8QOLNH 5DPDGDQ·V ´JRRG 0XVOLPµ WU
RSHQO\ SUDFWLVH WKHLU UHOLJLRQ DQG DUH GH

-RW p00X

ÀGHRV WKH &DQDGLDQ VWDWH 3DUWLFLSDQWV· FD
DQG DFFRXQWDELOLW\ QRW MXVW IRU WKH JRYHU
EXW DOVR ZLWKLQ 0XVOLP FRPPXQLWLHV DQG W
LQWHUQHW EH XVHG WR SURPRWH D FRXQWHU QI
IXUWKHU HYLGHQFH RI WKHLU HQJDJHPHQW DQG
WHQWLDO LQÁXHQFH WKH GLJLWDO ZRUOG ZLHOG
'HVSLWH VXJJHVWLRQV LQ WKH EURDGHU (QYLU
JHQHUDWLRQ RI 0XVOLPV ZLOO H[SHULHQFH VWUI
WKH SDUWLFLSDQWV LQ P\ VWXG\ ZHUH RYHU DOO
VKLIW WRZDUG D PRUH OLEHUDO JRYHUQPHQW DQ
LF HQJDJHPHQW ZRXOG SURGXFH IDLUHU DQG PRU
DQG VXEVHTXHQWO\ PRUH HQOLJKWHQHG SROLF

Recommendations

7KH UHFRPPHQGDWLRQV EHORZ DUH IRFXVHG RQ I
HOV EHFDXVH VHFXULW\ DQG VXUYHLOODQFH PHD
DUH SURGXFHG DW WKH IHGHUDO OHYHO 6RPH J
EH XQGHUWDNHQ E\ ORFDO FRPPXQLWLHV DUH DO
FKDQJHV WKDW WDNH LQWR DFFRXQW WKH FLYLO
XDOV UHJDUGOHVV RI UDFH UHOLJLRQ JHQGHU
VKLS VKRXOG EH FRQVLGHUHG DQG SROLFLHV W
JURXSV VKRXOG XQGHUJR UHIRUPDWLRQ
$Q LPSRUWDQW FRPSRQHQW RI VXFK FKDQJH LV
UROH RI SROLWLFDO UKHWRULF LQ SURPRWLQJ D
LQJ WR VFKRODUV VSHHFK DFWV DUH LQWULQVLF
DO :KHQ SROLWLFDO OHDGHUV XVH ZRUGV
VWDWHPHQWV WKDW GHVFULEH SODFHV RI ZRUVK
WHUURULVP µ WKH UDPLÀFDWLRQV FDQ OHDG WR
0XVOLP FRPPXQLWLHV DQG VRFLHW\ LQ JHQHUDO
VSHHFKZULWHUV VKRXOG EH DZDUH RI WKH GDQJ
WKH &DQDGLDQ SRSXODWLRQ DW ODUJH ZKHWKH
VXFK LQDSSURSULDWH ODEHOV
7KH UROH RI WKH PHGLD LQ SURPRWLQJ ,VODPR
HUDWLRQ)LQGLQJV HOVHZKHUH VXJJHVW WKDW
UROH PDQ\ RXWOHWV DQG VRFLDO PHGLD QRZ S
FRXQWHU DQWL 0XVOLP DWWLWXGHV $ PRUH EDO
UHGXFH WKH SHUFHSWLRQ WKDW 0XVOLPV DUH Y
3URW $QGHUVRQ DQG /HPLHX[VXJJHVW HYHQ D
FRPPHUFLDO RU ÀOPV ZKLFK FRXQWHU VWHUHR

VWHUHRW\SLFDO DVVXPSWLRQV DERXW 0XVOLPV
WL 0XVOLP SXEOLF SROLFLHV DW OHDVW WHPSL
UHRW\SLF PHGLD PHVVDJHV PLJKW EH XVHIXOO\
FRQWH[W %RGHQKDXVHQ HW DO 0DVWUR D
HW DO 5DPDVXEUDPDQLDQ VX@° 5À

Bibliography

$EX /DEDQ <DVPHHQ ´/LEHUDOLVP 0XOWLFXOW
RI (VVHQWLDOLVP Citizenship Studies QR ²
$EX 5DV :DKLED DQG 6ROHPDQ + $EX %DGHU ´
WHPEHU $WWDFNV RQ WKH :HOO EHLQJ R
<RUN &LW\ µ Journal of Muslim Mental Health ²
333 ´5LVN)DFWRUV IRU 3RVWWUDXPDWLF 6WUH
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L *RYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQ
QR LPSDFW RQ P\ IUHHGRP)RI VSHHFK
M *RYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQ
QR LPSDFW RQ P\ DELOLW\ WR JR ZKHU
T)
N , QHHG WR EH EHWWHU LQIRUPHG RI P\
OLEHUWLHV
O , QHHG WR EH EHWWHU LQIRUPHG RI WK
SUDFWLFHV RI WKH JRYHUQPHQW DQG
T)

15. 6HYHQ \HDUV DJR SUH KRZ ZRXOG \RX
WKH VDPH TXHVWLRQV" 7 RU)
D , ZDV ZRUULHG DERXW P\ ULJKWV WR H

L *RYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW QR LPSDFW RQ P\ IUHHGRP)RI VSHHFK

M *RYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW QR LPSDFW RQ P\ DELOLW\ WR JR ZKHUH T)

N , QHHGHG WR EH EHWWHU LQIRUPHG RI P DQG OLEHUWLHV

O , QHHGHG WR EH EHWWHU LQIRUPHG RI W ODQFH SUDFWLFHV RI WKH JRYHUQPHQW T)

16. :KDW DUH WKH FKDQFHV WKDW your DFWLYLW\ VWDQFHV may EH FROOHFWHG PRQLWRUHG DQ JRYHUQPHQW DQG RU ODZ HQIRUFHPHQW DJH UHVSRQVH IRU HDFK LWHP

D ,QWHUQHW VHDUFKHV KDSSHQHG\ KDYH KDSSHQHG\ WR KDYH JS

N

J $YRLG UHVHDUFKLQJ WRSLFV RU ZDWFK
WKDW PD\ EH FRQWURYHUVLDO RU VXV
<HV VRPHZKDW
K 7DNH H[WUD SUHFDXWLRQV WR FRYHU F
DFWLYLW\ GHOHWH KLVWRU\ FRRNLHV
<HV VRPHZKDW
L $YRLG DFWLYLWLHV RU GLVFXVVLRQV W
DV FRQWURYHUVLDO RQ VRFLDO PHGLD
<HV VRPHZKDW
M $YRLG HQJDJLQJ LQ FRPPXQLW\ HYHQW
WHVWV WKDW PD\ EH SHUFHLYHG DV FR
<HV VRPHZKDW
N $YRLG LQGLYLGXDOV RU JURXSV RI SHR
FRQVLGHUHG VXVSLFLRXV WKUHDWV
<HV VRPHZKDW
O $YRLG GUHVVLQJ LQ PDQQHU WKDW UHY
LH FORWKLQJ V\PEROV IDFLDO KDLU
<HV VRPHZKDW
P 5HVWULFW ÀQDQFLDO WUDQVDFWLRQV
JURXSV RU QRQ SURÀWV
<HV VRPHZKDW
Q ,I XVLQJ HOHFWURQLF GHYLFHV LH V
ODSWRS GHVNWRS RU UHJXODU FHOO
YL «VWRUH SHUVRQDO LQIRUPDWLR
<HV VRPHZKDW
YLL «XVH D SDVVFRGH RU SDVVZRUG"
<HV VRPHZKDW
YLLL«DGMXVW VHWWLQJV WR OLPLW S
VKDUHG ZLWK RWKHUV"
<HV VRPHZKDW
L[«UHVWULFW WKH W\SH RI DSSV W
ZHEVLWHV \RX YLVLW"
<HV VRPHZKDW
[«GLVDEOH ORFDWLRQ WUDFNLQJ
<HV VRPHZKDW

ZLOO DVN LI \RXU SURMHFW KDV EHHQ FRPSOHWH
KDYH RFFXUUHG RU ZLOO RFFXU LQ WKH QH[W \HD

<RX DUH UHPLQGHG RI \RXU REOLJDWLRQ WR DGYL
\RXU XQLW 5(% RI DQ\ DGYHUVH HYHQW V WKDW
SHULRG DFFHVV https LV VeUvLRF PuEWV FaU PeRB-U
searFher and FOLFN (YHQWV$GYHUVH (YHQW 5HSRUW
HYHQW LQFOXGHV EXW LV QRW OLPLWHG WR D F
HG HYHQW WKDW DOWHUV WKH OHYHO RI ULVN IR
RU VLWXDWLRQ WKDW UHTXLUHV D VXEVWDQWLDO
SDQW V <RX DUH DOVR DGYLVHG WKDW DOO DGYL
WKH *5(% ZLWKLQ KRXUV

<RX DUH DOVR UHPLQGHG WKDW DOO FK-DQJHV W
WLFLSDQWV PXVW EH FOHDUHG E\ WKH *5(%)RU
FKDQJHV WR WKH OHYHO RI ULVN DSSOLFDQW FK
WLRQ RI QHZ SURFHGXUHV 7R PDNH DQ DPHQGPH
at https HVHrv LdeVu TFaU PeRBsearFher DQG FOLFN (YHQWV
*5(% $PHQGPHQW WR $SSURYHG 6WXG\ )RUP 7KHV
PDWLFDOO\ EH VHQW WR WKH (WKLFV &RRUGLQDW
5HVHDUFK 6HUYLFHV RIFH RU D IRU IXUWKHU UHYLHZ D
DQFH E\ WKH *5(% RU *5(% &KDLU

2Q EHKDOI RI WKH *HQHUDO 5HVHDUFK (WKLFV %R
LQ \RXU UHVHDUFK <RXUV VLQFHUHO\

-RDQ 6WHYHQVRQ 3K '
&KDLU *HQHUDO 5HVHDUFK (WKLFV %RDUG

F 'U 'DYLG /\RQ DQG 0V 6KDUU\Q $LNHQ 6XSHU

$SSHQGL[

Phase 2, Open-Ended Interview Guide

Part 2: Open-Ended Interview for Interested Participants [provide info
VU ZLJ\YP[` JLY[PÄJH[LZ [V WHY[PJPWHU[PM ULJ

*HQHUDO WKRXJKWV RQ QDWLRQDO VHFXULW\ PI
and terrorism

:KDW GR \RX WKLQN DUH WKH FXUUHQW WKU
VHFXULW\"
:KDW LV \RXU XQGHUVWDQGLQJ RI WHUURUL
WLRQDO ZK\ GR \RX WKLQN LW RFFXUV"
:KDW LV \RXU XQGHUVWDQGLQJ RI WKH UROH
VXUHV VXFK DV VHFXULW\ FHUWLÀFDWHV L
'R \RX WKLQN WKH\ DUH H•HFWLYH DW WKZDU
,QWHUQDWLRQDO WHUURULVP"
'R \RX WKLQN WKHUH LV D UHOLJLRXV IXQGD
WKUHDW LQ &DQDGD"
'R \RX WKLQN WKHUH DUH WHUURULVW QHWZ
,6,6 RU DO 4DHGD FHOOV " +DYH \RX QRWLFH
WLRQV RI &DQDGLDQ VHFXULW\"
'R \RX WKLQN WKHUH LV SUHVVXUH RYHU FH
FRPPXQLWLHV WR DFW D FHUWDLQ ZD\ DQG E
HQW" $VVXPLQJ WKHUH LV LV WKLV SUHVVX
'R \RX SHUVRQDOO\ IHHO SUHVVXUHG WR DF
FHUWDLQ EHKDYLRXUV" ,I VR ZKHUH GRHV
$QG ZKDW DUH VRPH RI WKH EHKDYLRXUV W

Moving forward

:KDW GR \RX WKLQN LQGLYLGXDOV FDQ GR
ODEHOOHG DV VXVSLFLRXV G”à@ 0GR W À DP
À D V"

Phase 1, Demographic Information for Survey Participants

Table 1

Demographic Information for Phase 1 survey participants

Age	Marital status (1 = married)	Citizen (1= citizen)	Length of time in Canada (years)	9 L S P-gious Orienta-tion (1= Muslim)	Ethnicity	Occupation (optional)
56	1	1	17	1	Bangladesh	Postal worker
26	0	1	15	1	Pakistani	Sales
27	1	1	27	1	Afghan	. Y H K Z [\- dent
35	0	1	30	1	Afghan	9 L Z [H \ Y H U [
36	1	0	1	1	Undisclosed	Undisclosed
25	0	1	25	1	Brown	Undisclosed
27	0	1	25	1	Pakistani	Undisclosed
25	0	1	20	1	Pakistani	Engineer
25	0	0	4	1	Pakistani	Undergrad
26	1	1	13	1	Afghan	Undisclosed
28	0	1	14	1	Afghan	Undisclosed
25	1	1	14	1	Afghan	Undisclosed
29	0	1	28	1	Afghan	Information technology specialist

continued

Table 1, continued

Demographic Information for Phase 1 survey participants

Age	Marital status (1 = married)	Citizen (1= citizen)	Length of time in Canada (years)	9 L S P-gious Orienta-tion (1= Muslim)	Ethnicity	Occupation (optional)
24	0	0	1	1	South Asian	Undisclosed
25	0	0	10	1	South Asian	Undisclosed
27	0	0	1	1	South Asian	Undisclosed
37	1	1	10	1	Afghan	Health Services
25	0	1	16	1	Asian	9 L Z L H Y J O Assistant
38	0	0	15	1	Jordan	Engineer
27	1	1	10	1	Jordanian	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	1	8	1	African	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	0	5	1	Undisclosed	Undisclosed
34	1	1	10	1	Afghan	Chef
25	0	0	2	1	Malay	. Y H K Z [\- dent
34	1	1	34	1	Algerian	Post-doc
35	1	1	25	0	White	PSW
29	1	1	29	0	White	Construc-tion
26	1	1	26	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
28	1	1	28	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
26	0	1	26	0	White	Unem-ployed

continued

Table 1, continued

Demographic Information for Phase 1 survey participants

Age	Marital status (1 = married)	Citizen (1= citizen)	Length of time in Canada (years)	9 L S P-gious Orienta-tion (1= Muslim)	Ethnicity	Occupation (optional)
37	1	1	37	0	White	VP Exec
31	0	1	31	0	White	Sales
33	0	1	33	0	White	Sales
41	1	1	41	0	White	Sales
35	1	0	4	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	1	24	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
29	1	1	29	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	1	25	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
32	0	1	32	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	1	25	0	White	. H Z Z [H [P V U
25	0	1	25	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
25	0	1	25	0	White	Mainte-nance
29	0	1	29	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
28	0	1	28	0	White	Chef
27	0	1	27	0	White	Unem-ployed
30	0	1	30	0	White	. Y H K Z [\- dent
34	0	1	34	0	White	Accountant

continued

Table 1, continued

Demographic Information for Phase 1 survey participants

Age	Marital status (1 = married)	Citizen (1= citizen)	Length of time in Canada (years)	9 L S P-

Comparison of Results and P Value for 2015/2016 MM and NMM

Table 2

Comparison of Results and P Value for 2015/2016 MM and NMM

Question	2015/16 #agree MM	2015/16 #agree NMM	Statistical sig using Chi-Square
Q7a The government and/or law enforcement monitors the activity of suspicious individuals and/or terrorists, not me	13	9	0.00874**
Q7b The government only collects data for anti-terrorism purposes	6	1	0.0416**
Q7c Most Canadians are concerned about government surveillance practices	16	12	0.0874*
Q7d Surveillance is necessary for Canadian national security and the war on terror	16	19	0.7576
Q7e Data monitoring and collection is necessary for national security and the war on terror	12	17	0.152
Q7f Surveillance is something that all governments conduct on their citizens	9	14	0.3946
Q7g It is ok to restrict personal liberties for national security	5	5	0.9423
Q7h Canadians are uninformed of the government's collection of citizens' private data	18	26	0.009**
Q7i Canadians should openly discuss information on the government's collection and monitoring of data	22	26	0.1489

continued

Table 2, continued

Comparison of Results and P Value for 2015/2016 MM and NMM

Question	2015/16 #agree MM	2015/16 #agree NMM	Statistical sig using Chi-Square
Q7j The government is transparent on details surrounding its anti-terrorism programs with the public	3	11	0.0147**
Q7k I am well informed of the government's national security initiatives and measures	6	5	0.3057
Q14a I am worried about my rights to personal privacy	21	19	0.2401
Q14b I am worried about my ability to say whatever I want online	22	14	0.0016**
Q14c I am worried about my ability to say whatever I want in person	14	8	0.0227**
Q14d I am worried about my ability to meet and speak with whomever I want	12	9	0.152
Q14e I am worried about the vast amounts of data that government and/or law enforcement have collected	15	15	0.4436
Q14f I am ok with the government collecting my personal phone, Internet, and travel activity for anti-terrorism	7	1	0.0172**
Q14g Canada has transformed into a police state	9	15	0.2575
Q14h I support all the policies the government has erected for my safety, Canada must defend itself at all costs	6	6	1
8 P .V]LYUTLU[HUK VY SH^ LUMVYJL- ment surveillance has no impact on my freedom of speech	3	1	0.2971
8 Q .V]LYUTLU[HUK VY SH^ LUMVYJL- ment surveillance has no impact on my ability to go where I want	10	16	0.0615*
Q14k I need to be better informed of my personal rights and liberties	22	26	0.1489

continued