CITIZENSHIP, NATION, AND IDENTITY:
A STUDY OF THE FRAMING OF THE MAHER ARAR CASE IN CANADA’S TWO NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS, 2002-2004

by

TAHEREH ELLIEY HOBUTI-FARD

B.A. University of British Columbia, 2004

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Sociology)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

July 2006

© Tahereh Elliey Hobuti-Fard, 2006
ABSTRACT

In this study, I examine newspaper coverage from the National Post and The Globe and Mail on the case of Maher Arar using media framing analysis. Arar, a Canadian citizen of Syrian origin, was detained and subsequently deported by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service based on his suspected links with terrorist organizations. To understand the significance and implications of how this case has been framed in the news media, over 250 newspaper articles (written between September, 2002 to February, 2004) were analyzed from Canada’s two national newspapers. This study identifies four different types of frames that have been predominantly used in the framing of news stories about Maher Arar: terrorism, domestic policy/foreign relations, racial/religious, and civil & human rights/liberties frames. While little significant difference in framing was found between the two newspapers’ coverage of this case, several differences were evident. Among the findings of this study were that terrorism tends to be associated with Arab Muslims in the post-9/11 period and that there is a rising concern regarding the status of visible minorities in Canada, and the state of our national and international post-9/11 policies and practices.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii
Table of Contents ................................................................................................... iii
List of Tables ......................................................................................................... iv
List of Figures ....................................................................................................... v
Preface .................................................................................................................. vi
Acknowledgments ................................................................................................. vii
1 Introduction ......................................................................................................... 1
2 Literature Review ............................................................................................... 6
   2.1 Media Framing Analysis & The Case of Maher Arar ................................... 17
   2.2 Research Questions .................................................................................... 21
3 Research Methodology ....................................................................................... 23
4 Findings ............................................................................................................ 26
   4.1 Descriptive Statistics ................................................................................ 26
   4.2 Regression Analyses .................................................................................. 32
5 Limitations .......................................................................................................... 36
6 Conclusion .......................................................................................................... 37
Bibliography ........................................................................................................ 39
Appendices ........................................................................................................... 42
   Appendix A – Explanation & Examples of Frames ........................................ 42
   Appendix B – Example of Coding Articles on a Scale of 1 to 5 – (Illustrated by the Racial/Religious Frame) ................................................................. 55
   Appendix C – The Four Framing Variables Plotted Over Time ..................... 63
### LIST OF TABLES

**Table 1**  The Number of Articles, Authors and the Amount of News Coverage during Maher Arar’s Detainment & After his Release .................................................. 26

**Table 2**  Average Article Word Count, Page Number and Front Page Placement ...... 27

**Table 3**  Distribution of Article Tone in *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*... 28

**Table 4**  The Coding Distribution of the Four Frame Types Expressed as Counts and Percentages ........................................................................................................... 31

**Table 5**  List of the Variables Used in Regression Analyses ................................... 32

**Table 6**  Summary Statistics of the Variables Used in Regression Analyses ............. 33

**Table 7**  OLS Regression Results with Framing Variables as Dependent Variables... 34

**Table 8**  OLS Regression Results with Time Trends .................................................. 35
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Distribution of Types of News Stories in the <em>National Post</em></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Distribution of Types of News Stories in <em>The Globe and Mail</em></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>The Changes of the Four Frames Over Time</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>The Actual Observations for Changes of the POLICY Frame Over Time</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>The Actual Observations for Changes of the Frame RACEREL Over Time</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>The Actual Observations for Changes of the CIVIL Frame Over Time</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>The Actual Observations for Changes of the TERROR Frame Over Time</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the late summer months of 2004, my fiancé, Justin, and I made the excursion to Vancouver International Airport for a one-week vacation to Waikiki, on the Hawaiian island of Oahu. We had both graduated from our undergraduate programs that spring and were looking forward to a much needed vacation before we commenced our graduate studies in the fall. With passports in hand we lined up at the departure gates awaiting our turn for the U.S. Customs Official to look over our documentation before we boarded our flight into the United States. My fiancé, a twenty-something white male, born in Canada, went through first. Then it came my turn. The Customs Officer asked for my passport, which he began routinely inspecting. Then came an unexpected question, followed by a series of questions which I found equally surprising and had not anticipated. "It says here that your country of birth is Iran." I said that was correct. He then noticed that my passport had been stamped from my trip to Iran, less than two years ago. He asked me what the purpose of my visit had been. I explained that I had gone back with my father to visit my family for the first time in seventeen years. I began to grow uneasy. I had heard that they were stepping up security at the U.S.-Canada border crossings and airports, but I guess somewhat naively, I never thought my ethnic background would pose a problem for me. The Customs Officer asked if I spoke the native language of my country of origin. I told him that I knew enough to get by. He then asked what the purpose of my trip was to the United States. I explained our vacation plans. He inspected my picture closely one more time before signaling me to go through. I breathed a sigh of relief. My fiancé who had been waiting for me on the other side of the gate asked me what had taken so long. I said, "you mean you didn’t get asked all those security questions?" He looked at me curiously, "what questions?" he said.

September 11th, 2001 [9/11] may not have ‘changed everything,’ as a cliché of the time had it, but it sure got my vacation off to a shaky start.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Rima Wilkes and Professor Renisa Mawani for their constructive comments and advice which played a significant role in shaping this work. I am also deeply indebted to my fiancé for his patience and unwavering support during the stress of writing this work in only a few short months. My gratitude also goes out to friends and fellow sociology graduate students Shelly Ketchell, Carissa Chan, Annemarie Hulbert, Jennifer Shortt, and Jackline Schoemaker Holmes. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my parents who have always been an invaluable source of encouragement and inspiration to me.
INTRODUCTION

This study is about the national news media’s framing of the Maher Arar case in Canada. Arar, a Canadian software engineer of Syrian descent, was detained by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service during a stopover in New York’s JFK Airport en route from Tunis to Montreal (Meeropol, 2005: 60). Despite the fact that he was travelling on a Canadian passport, he was deported to his country of origin where he was subsequently imprisoned and periodically tortured based on his suspected ties to terrorist organizations (Meeropol, 2005: 60). In this study, I examine newspaper coverage from the National Post and The Globe and Mail on the case of Maher Arar using media framing analysis, in order to gain insights into the central themes that emerge from these two national-based papers. Among the questions that are explored in this study are: (1) What kinds of differences emerged between the two national newspapers in the coverage of this case? (2) What frame(s) were predominant in the newspaper coverage of the case of Maher Arar? and (3) How did the framing of the case change over time, if at all?

After 9/11, concerns began to mount regarding the profound and dramatic changes to the state of civil rights and liberties in Canada and the U.S., particularly the infringement of those rights and liberties. As such, this study may be of interest to those involved in studying such policy changes in the aftermath of 9/11, or to those interested in examining the ways in which minority groups are routinely framed and depicted by the Canadian news media. In addition, pertinent national security and foreign policy issues in the post-9/11 period are discussed in both the American and Canadian context.

The anti-terrorism measures developed in response to September 11, 2001 reflect the complexity of the social and political climate of our time. This is not to suggest that terrorism is a new phenomenon, even in the context of North America (Pratt, 2005; Cohen, 2005). In recent memory, the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 wreaked havoc and devastation, killing 168 people. This was the deadliest domestic terrorist attack\(^1\) in the history of the United States and was the most severe act of terrorism within U.S. borders until September 11, 2001 (Cohen, 2005: 49). The October Crisis in the 1970s is perhaps the most well-known act of domestic terrorism within Canada. The Front de Libération du Québec (Quebec Liberation Front), commonly known as the FLQ, was a nationalist terrorist group in Canada whose

\(^1\) Terrorism can be classified as ‘domestic’ if victims and perpetrators are confined within the borders of a single nation-state or as ‘international’ if involving victims or perpetrators from more that one nation-state (Norris, Kern, Just, 2003: 7).
terrorist activities included the setting off of letter bombs, the kidnapping of a British diplomat and the kidnapping and subsequent murder of a Quebec cabinet minister (Cohen, 2005: 49; Roach, 2003: 3-4). Also, not so very long ago, in 1985, the Air India bombing above the Atlantic Ocean just south of Ireland, killed all 329 passengers and crew on board the Boeing 747 (Roach, 2003: 4). The Air India bombing is the largest mass murder in Canadian history. Of the 329 who were victims of this senseless crime of terror, 82 were children and 280 were Canadian citizens. Prior to the events of 9/11, the Air India bombing was the single largest terrorist attack involving aircraft in history.  

The terrorist acts perpetrated on September 11, 2001 while certainly not the first threat of terrorism in North America, were unprecedented insofar as they were the first successful international act of terrorism in the United States, killing some 3,000 civilians. Today, few would deny the profound impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on national security and criminal justice institutions, methods, and practices (Cohen, 2005: xiv). The response to this perceived external threat posed by international terrorism has provoked the enactment of sweeping new legislation which dramatically expands the powers of law enforcement and national security agents and has affected the state of civil liberties in both Canada and the United States (Cohen, 2005: 49).

Following the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, the Bush administration enacted legislation which enabled the United States government to escape the restrictions that courts have traditionally upheld to ensure the Constitutional rights of all persons. While the underlying conditions of American foreign and security policy were ripe for change, the tragic events of 9/11 were the impetus for the revamping of U.S. domestic policy and the introduction of new policies which blend criminal law enforcement with immigration policy, foreign intelligence operations and military force (Eisgruber & Sager, 2003: 164). According to Eisgruber & Sager “[t]his strategy has enabled the U.S. government to search and detain terrorism suspects even when it lacks the kind of evidence normally required by current doctrines of criminal procedure” (Eisgruber & Sager, 2003: 164).

The U.S.A Patriot Act is perhaps the most significant piece of U.S. federal legislation which has been passed since the September 11, 2001 attacks (Eisgruber & Sager, 2003: 164). This anti-terrorism legislation enacted by the U.S. president and Congress expands the range of activity subject to intelligence operations within the United States and increases the

---

authority of U.S. law enforcement for the stated purpose of fighting terrorist acts both at home and abroad. The act has provoked intense public controversy and has been widely criticized for infringing upon American civil liberties. According to Eisgruber & Sager,

in general, the Constitution guarantees rights to persons rather than citizens, and non-citizens accused of crimes have the same rights that citizens have. There is one respect, however, in which non-citizens are dramatically more vulnerable than citizens: they are subject to deportation proceedings (Eisgruber & Sager, 2003: 165).

Under the *U.S.A. Patriot Act*, the U.S. government has the power to detain immigrants for long periods of time in connection with deportation proceedings. As a result, the U.S. government has the power to detain or deport non-citizens whom it suspects of participating in, or having knowledge about terrorist activities. In particular, these policies have been directed at men of Middle Eastern and/or Muslim origin.

The United States has not been alone in introducing a host of national and transnational security and prevention initiatives. Thus far, I have primarily focused on the new counter-terrorism measures that have been put into effect in the United States. However, while it is not the intention of this work to focus exclusively on U.S. anti-terrorism legislation, it is important to understand the impact and implications of these U.S. developments on Canada. The Canadian response to terrorism, after all, has been significantly influenced by the United States. Needless to say, the events of September 11, 2001 have had profound repercussions not only for the United States, but also for Canada. Shortly after the 9/11 terrorist attacks Bill C-36 was introduced in the House of Commons in October of 2001 (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.02). This new legislation was the Canadian response to, and in many ways mirrors, the special legislation that was passed in the U.S. and Britain following the events of September 11, 2001. Bill C-36 was passed on December 24, 2001 and became Canada's new *Anti-terrorism Act (ATA)* (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.01). The *Anti-terrorism Act's* full name reads as follows: *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code, the Official Secrets Act, the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) Act and other Acts, and to Enact Measures Respecting the Registration of Charities in order to Combat Terrorism*.

The ATA is a large legislative package which makes a number of amendments to the *Criminal Code* and to twenty existing Acts. Among the amended Acts are the *Canadian Human Rights Act*, the *Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act*, the *Immigration Act* and the *National Defence Act* to name a few (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.01-02). While Canada has used emergency legislation in the past, such as the *War Measures Act*, under the *Emergencies Act* such legislation would automatically expire after a designated period of time depending on
the type of emergency. The *Anti-terrorism Act*, however, unlike past emergency legislation, does not expire. This has been a point of contention between critics of the *ATA* and the government which declined to put a specified time limit on the new emergency legislation (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.01-02). In addition to the *ATA*, Canada has signed 12 other U.N. Conventions on anti-terrorism (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.01-02).

Prior to 9/11, “terrorism” had never been defined in either the domestic law of Canada, nor in international law. The concept was recently defined in the *ATA* which contains a broad definition of terrorism. This definition can be found in Part II.1 of the *Criminal Code*. Also included in this section are two definitions of “terrorist activity.” The first definition, located in section 83.01(1)(a), refers to an action within or outside Canada that violates any of the U.N. anti-terrorist conventions or protocols that Canada has signed. The second definition of a terrorist activity can be found in section 83.01(1)(b). Phillip Rankin summarizes this rather broad definition as the following:

A terrorist activity includes an act or omission committed at least partially for a political, religious or ideological objective, with at least the partial intention of intimidating a segment of the public, or compelling a person, government or organization to do or not do something. The intention required is to cause serious property damage, likely to disrupt an essential service, facility or system, or to disrupt an essential service intending to cause a serious risk to the safety of any segment of the public (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.03).

Part II.1 of the *Criminal Code* also contains two ways of defining a “terrorist group.” First, it is defined as an entity that has as one of its purposes or activities facilitating or carrying out any terrorist activity. Second, a terrorist group is defined as an entity belonging to a list of organizations that are deemed to be terrorist (entities). Rankin explains that “[i]n addition to creating terrorist offences the *Anti-terrorism Act* also creates offences for parties and accessories who participate, facilitate, instruct, harbour or finance those who participate in terrorist activities” (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.03). Such offences may include hiding and harbouring persons, or using property, making financial contributions, or providing financial services directly or indirectly (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.03). The *ATA* provides a wide range of penalties for those who belong to terrorist entities or are in some way associated with terrorist activity.

Perhaps one of the most controversial provisions under the *Anti-terrorism Act* is legislation which allows for preventative arrest and investigative hearings. Rankin explains that “[t]he new *ATA* will allow police to arrest on reasonable suspicion that it would prevent

---

a terrorist offence rather than reasonable and probable grounds they are about to commit” (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.04). In addition to amendments to the Criminal Code which increase the criminal penalties and repercussions for terrorist offences, the new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act limits the admissibility of persons into Canada. According to Rankin, “to be inadmissible to Canada all that is required for a non-citizen to be removed are reasonable grounds to believe they have committed an offence inside or outside Canada equivalent to such an offence” (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.04). In other words, a person can be barred from entering Canada as long as there are reasonable grounds to believe that they have participated in the past, present or may take part in future acts of terrorism. Further, under the new legislation of the ATA there is no need to establish the act or a conviction, rather the standard proof for terrorist activity allegations is simply that there are reasonable and probable grounds (Rankin, 2002: 3.1.04). Ultimately then, the scope of the changes to Canada’s Anti-terrorism Act are significant and far-reaching, particularly in terms of the inclusion of new preventative measures in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. The revamped detention and deportation practices in Canada and the U.S. are among the new preventative law enforcement measures in the safeguarding of national security. The detainment and deportation of Syrian-born Canadian-citizen, Maher Arar, typifies the scope and power of the new social and political order of the U.S. and Canada in the aftermath of 9/11.
The idea that the world was transformed on September 11, 2001 has been pervasive in the aftermath of this tragic event. According to Elizabeth Poole, “Commentators – politicians, journalists and others – continue to argue that the events of September 11 signal a kind of rupture, that the world has changed irrevocably and that a new world order must be established” (Poole, 2002: 1-2). While the notion that September 11 ‘changed everything,’ has become a cliché of present-day politics, it has had a significant impact on domestic and foreign policy in Canada, the United States, Europe and many other regions throughout the world. Mary Dudziak writes, “If circumstances are new, then arguably the policies needed to address them should be new as well. According to President George W. Bush, the terrorist attacks were the beginning of ‘a new kind of war’. This new war is thought to require new tactics” (Dudziak, 2003: 3). It is this idea of novelty which has been evoked to justify new anti-terrorism measures including, preventative law enforcement and racial profiling, detention and deportation of non-citizens, and other government policies which severely infringe upon civil rights.

By drawing upon both the Canadian and American literature on post-September 11 policy, this section discusses some of the new government policies that have been put into effect in the aftermath of 9/11 and considers their impact on constructions of citizenship, nation and identity. In particular, the consequences of the response to terrorism have come at a cost for those who appear to be ‘Middle Eastern’, ‘Arab’, and/or ‘Muslim’. As illustrated by the personal anecdote in the Preface of this work, citizenship has become increasingly important in the present-day political landscape. In the post-9/11 period, citizenship does not provide any guarantees. Additionally, September 11 has had a considerable impact on the relationship between Islam and the West. The focus of this section will be on discussing these issues and more generally, understanding their relevance to the case of Maher Arar.

While the terrorist attacks on September 11 targeted sites in the United States, these acts had immediate consequences for Canada. There has been an ongoing debate about Canada’s role in and response to the American led ‘war on terrorism’. The treatment of minorities, changes to Canada’s immigration and refugee policy, in addition to questions of national and international security, are among the challenges facing Canadian law and public policy makers. Those who are right-of-centre on the political spectrum, such as Stephen
Harper’s Conservatives\textsuperscript{4}, fully support Canada’s legislative and military engagement with American policies, arguing that there is a fundamental link between Canada’s national security and that of the United States. Kassam, Melnyk & Perras explain that supporters of the U.S. position in the aftermath of September 11 “believe that limitations on sovereignty and greater integration into the American model are necessary to protect Canadian society and its economy. Restricting freedoms and targeting certain minorities is, they argue, the unavoidable price of security” (Kassam, Melnyk & Perras, 2002: 79).

Conversely, those politically oriented left-of-centre, such as Jack Layton’s New Democrats\textsuperscript{5}, are critical of Canada’s engagement in this American-led war. One of the central arguments presented by opponents of the Bush administration is that the security of individuals must take precedent over the security of the state. That is, the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms must be upheld even in times of conflict. As a sovereign nation, Canada must defend its commitment to guarantee the life and security of all human beings as articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, to which Canada is a signator (Govier, 2002: 93). Furthermore, those opposed to Canadian involvement in the so-called ‘war against terror’, while recognizing that Canada is closely tied to the United States, geographically, culturally, and economically, advocate non-violent responses to terrorism, noting in particular those consistent with past traditions in Canadian foreign policy (Govier, 2002: 93).

Throughout the world, Canada has established a reputation for peace-keeping and respect for international law. Canadian participation in American military operations abroad, such as Afghanistan, and security initiatives close to home, such as the ‘smart border agreements’\textsuperscript{6} were therefore controversial. Canada has made efforts to respond to the threat of terrorism for the safety and security of its own citizens and to appease American concerns about Canada’s ‘liberal’ policies and practices. One particular source of contention between Canada and the U.S. has been the association of Canada’s ‘liberal’ immigration and refugee policies with the entry of terrorists into the United States through Canada (see Stewart Bell’s \textit{Cold Terror}, 2004). Although the relationship between the governments of Canada and the United States have had their share of troubles, the lingering accusation that Canada is a

\textsuperscript{4} Stephen Harper, the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, became Prime Minister in February 2006, ending more than 12 years of Liberal government in Canada.

\textsuperscript{5} Jack Layton is the current leader of Canada’s New Democratic Party.

\textsuperscript{6} The Smart Border Agreements are a broad framework of agreements signed in December 2001 between Canada and the United States calling for increased collaboration in identifying security risks and facilitating the flow of low-risk goods and people over the border (Roach, 2003: 11).
‘haven for terrorists’ has put an enduring strain on Canada-U.S. relations in the aftermath of 9/11. According to Roach, “Soon after the attacks, reports surfaced that as many as five of the terrorists entered the United States from Canada, as had Ahmed Ressam, an al-Qaeda terrorist caught at the border in 1999 with a Canadian passport and explosives to bomb the Los Angeles International Airport” (Roach, 2003: 5). A number of political figures in the United States, including New York senator Hillary Clinton, made public comments about lax border policies which diverted attention to Canadian security policies, rather than those of the United States (Roach, 2003: 138). Despite the fact that there is no evidence indicating that the perpetrators responsible for the terrorist acts of 9/11 entered the United States from Canada, the United States has continued to criticize Canadian immigration and refugee policies, while pressuring Canada to heighten its security measures in the wake of 9/11.

The United States did not hesitate to beef up its own national security by introducing an entry-exit registration system at the Canada-U.S. border. Roach explains that;

"The biggest border controversy was over a new American system that authorized the fingerprinting, photographing, and registering of visitors and directed the attention of American customs officials to people born in Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, or Yemen, regardless of their citizenship" (Roach, 2003: 138).

This American policy was highly criticized by Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham who argued that Canadian citizens born in the specified Middle Eastern countries, which were deemed to be an ‘elevated national security risk,’ would be subject to gratuitous discrimination (Roach, 2003: 138). The Canadian government went as far as to issue a travel advisory that Canadian citizens born in predominantly Muslim nation-states could be subjected to special scrutiny by American immigration and security officials and therefore, should be aware of elevated security practices and procedures at Canada-U.S. border crossings and U.S. airports (Roach, 2003: 138). The Canadian government protested the new border security system as racial and religious profiling. Randall Kennedy of the Harvard Law School broadly defines profiling as “a decision to detain or arrest an individual, or to subject an individual to further investigation, solely on the basis of his or her race or ethnicity” (cited in Choudhry, 2001: 369). The Bush administration has maintained that the new border and immigration/refugee controls are devoted to enhancing security and preventing future acts of terrorism and do not constitute racial profiling. The U.S. did eventually agree to exempt

---

7 The National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS), introduced in the wake of September 11, 2001, requires travellers born in Sudan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Libya to undergo fingerprinting, photographing and registration upon entering the United States.
Canadians from the new border security rules that require people born in specified Islamic countries to be fingerprinted and photographed before entering the United States (Kresl, 2005: 440). However, by November 2002 when the change was made in U.S. policy, more than 1400 Canadians had already been fingerprinted and photographed under the American national security entry-exit registration system (Roach, 2003: 138).

The events of September 11th have had a tremendous impact on both the construction and experience of citizenship in North America, especially in the United States. Since 9/11 the U.S. government has justified a number of new policies by arguing that they only apply to non-citizens who are outside the realm of full constitutional protection. The Guantanamo detention camps, where suspected al-Qaeda and Taliban operatives are held, is a key example of the way in which citizenship has been utilized to deny prisoners of the constitutional rights guaranteed to American citizens. Given that Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, is not technically part of the United States, it has been argued by the Bush administration that U.S. courts have no jurisdiction to consider challenges to the legality of the detention of foreign nationals captured abroad and incarcerated within these offshore military prisons. However, in June 2006 the United States Supreme Court ruled that Guantanamo Bay does in fact fall within the jurisdiction of the United States and as such, prisoners have the right to present their case before American courts.8 While obtaining access to U.S. courts does not necessarily imply that prisoners will get their freedom, this decision is significant in that prisoners now have a legal status that they were formerly denied. The United States’ utilization of Guantanamo Bay as a detention camp for ‘enemy combatants’ can be likened to both Canadian and American Japanese internment camps during World War II. Choudhry explains that “the internment of Japanese Canadians [and Japanese Americans] amounted to the use of profiling to conclusively deprive persons of their liberty without due process of law” (Choudhry, 2001, 369). The uncertain legal status of Guantánamo Bay was undeniably a factor in the choice of this facility as a detention camp. Try as they might, the Bush administration’s attempt to secure a legal black hole has been declared unconstitutional under habeas corpus9, which serves as an instrument to protect persons from unlawful imprisonment.

9 The Canadian Oxford Dictionary defines habeas corpus as “a writ requiring a person to be brought before a judge or into court, esp. to investigate the lawfulness of his or her detention” (Bisset, 2000: 436).
Leti Volpp argues that "September 11 facilitated the consolidation of a new identity category" of those "who appear to be 'Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim'" (Volpp, 2003: 147). Like all racial categories, the category of those who appear to be 'Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim' has been socially constructed. Volpp argues that, "[w]hat has solidified this identity category is a particular racialization, wherein members of this group have been identified as terrorists and dis-identified as citizens" (Volpp, 2003: 147). In contrast, the category of the "loyal American" has also been constructed post-September 11, encompassing an understanding of citizenship as inclusion and solidarity. The solidarity of citizenship has come at a cost to those who appear to be 'Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim' who were formally citizens of the United States but are now cast as 'the foreign other' as a consequence of the U.S. response to terrorism. She finds that there are three dimensions converging in the social construction of this new identity category: (1) racial profiling, (2) the redeployment of old Orientalist tropes, and (3) our conception of the relationship between citizenship, nation, and identity (Volpp, 2003: 147).

The purported basis for racial profiling was to investigate and prevent terrorist attacks. Prior to 9/11, national polls showed overwhelming public opposition to racial profiling; however, following the attacks of September 11th, polls indicated that there was a strong public consensus in favour of racial profiling as a necessary means of promoting national defense and security. Shortly after 9/11, racial profiling was practiced against persons who appeared to be 'Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim' in a number of different ways. According to Volpp, thousands of non-citizens of Middle Eastern or Muslim background were arrested, detained, fingerprinted, photographed, and/or secretly deported. The majority of these non-citizens were identified to the U.S. authorities through suspicions and tips based solely on perceptions of their racial, religious, or ethnic identity. Others were identified by Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) for minor immigration status violations that were previously largely disregarded. Ultimately, only a negligible fraction of the persons arrested and detained have been charged with engaging in conspiracy or support of terrorism.

According to Volpp, the national identity of the United States continues to be constructed in opposition to those categorized as 'foreigners,' 'aliens,' and 'others.' Since 9/11, the United States has engaged in the redeployment of Orientalist tropes. Volpp argues that September 11th gave this highly racialized discourse new currency in relation to what are
depicted as the ‘backward’ regions of the world that support terrorist presence or activity
Volpp explains,

[the postcolonial theorist Edward Said describes Orientalism as a master discourse of European
civilization that constructs and polarizes the East and the West. Western representations of the East
serve not only to define those who are the objects of the Orientalizing gaze, but also the West, which is
defined through its opposition to the East. Thus, for example, the West is defined as modern,
democratic, and progressive through the East being defined as primitive, barbaric, and despotic

American Orientalism, like European Orientalism before it, has been used as justification for
the American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. It is important to point out that Orientalism is
not solely based on racial differences, but is also highly gendered. Historically, the idea of
the oppressed Muslim woman has been used as a source of justification for Western
colonization. Inderpal Grewal writes,

...within British colonialism in the nineteenth century, the freedom of the English woman became
constituted in relation to the unfreedom of the colonized woman. The practice of unveiling the ‘veiled
woman’ or the woman in ‘purdah’ became a technology of colonial power exercised both to ‘save’ and
to destroy at the same time. Furthermore, saving the veiled woman became a project of reform,
undertaken by anti-colonial nationalist as well as by colonial authorities (Grewal, 2003: 537).

This idea of ‘saving the veiled woman’ was revived in the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan
where Afghan women were portrayed as needing to be liberated from the Taliban and Islamic
barbarism (Volpp, 2003: 153). However, the United States fails to acknowledge the fact that
they helped the Taliban come to power in Afghanistan in order to guard against the spread of
Communism. Despite the fact that the United States is deeply implicated in the long history
of conflict in this region, there has been a complete erasure of the American role in creating a
fundamentalist regime in Afghanistan.

Finally, Volpp explains that there has been a distinct shift perceptions of citizen and
non-citizen or ‘alien’ (Volpp, 2003: 156). She suggests that we must think about citizenship
as identity, which is conceptualized as “the connection between the citizen and those others
with whom one feels kinship and solidarity” (Volpp, 2003: 156). In the aftermath of 9/11, the
boundaries of American national identity were constructed by excluding certain groups.
Racial profiling, for example, has been grounded in the fact that those individuals profiled
were not considered to be part of “us.” Those who appear ‘Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim’
and who were formally citizens of the United States have been thrust outside the identity of
the ‘citizen’ and into that of ‘the terrorist.’ These new identity categories are socially
constructed through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, Inderpal Grewal goes as
far as to argue that these new identity categories constitute a new kind of racism. She writes,
his new racism, the effect of the resurgence of American nationalism, also brought with it representations of a shift from hyphenated to a singular American identity...There were reports that African Americans, other Asian Americans, and many immigrants were also stating that in such moments they were 'just Americans' (Grewal, 2003: 548).

While one may interpret these identity categories as new forms of racism or simply as a continuity of nineteenth century Orientalist ideologies, what is certain is that there is a prevailing dichotomy of 'us' versus 'them', whereby Middle Easterners/Muslims have been racialized as the Other.

The counter-terrorism policies and strategies adopted by the United States in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, which are largely responsible for the construction of these new identity categories, have been subject to much criticism by human rights advocates. It is without question that the wars on terrorism and Iraq currently dominate public policy debates. Among the issues central to this debate is whether national and international demands for security justify the displacement of human rights. As was often the case in the past during times of war, the emphasis on national security frequently involved the curtailment of human rights. Within the contemporary context of the "war on terrorism," Canada and the United States have both enacted a number of changes in policy and practice which have had a negative impact on human rights.

Weiss, Crahan and Goering argue that repressive new laws and detention practices have been introduced in the U.S. as some of the many initiatives aimed at protecting national order and security from future acts of terrorism. These include the U.S.A. Patriot Act, which allows for expanded search and seizure powers as well as the military's proposed, Total Information Awareness Program, which would create comprehensive data files on both U.S. citizens and non-citizens who are under no suspicion of having committed a crime. The authors go on to highlight some of the other ways in which human rights have been negatively effected by changes in U.S. domestic policy, including:

- increasingly harsh treatment of immigrants, refugees, and minorities, such as monitoring, registration, detention, and secret deportation of immigrants against whom no charges have been made; restrictions on visitors and immigrants alike from many parts of the world; and a reversal of the United States' traditional welcome to refugees fleeing persecution abroad (Weiss et al., 2004: xv).

They find the erosion of civil and political rights in the United States, and in particular, the right to privacy, very troubling given that the U.S. tends to be the yardstick by which democracy and human rights are measured. The international repercussions of the changes to U.S. policy should not be taken lightly. According to Weiss et al., a significant number of
countries have followed suit by implementing policies which curtail human rights, all broadly justified by the international war on terrorism.

Although the war on terrorism initially began as a justified mission to bring clearly identified perpetrators to justice, it has clearly expanded to become what appears to be a limitless and borderless war. According to Bennis, "the war was never about bringing anyone to justice; it was about conquest and the mushrooming of U.S. global power, all in the name of righteous vengeance" (Bennis, 2003: 163). That is, while the White House and the Pentagon founded the 'war on terror' on the premise of bringing Osama bin Laden and his accomplices to justice, shortly after the war began it was no longer so clear what their targets were. The war that had been previously grounded on bringing the World Trade Centre and Pentagon killers to justice was suddenly transformed into Bush's war against the "axis of evil" which included Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, as well as all other nations which supported the presence and activity of terrorist organizations, including but not exclusive to Afghanistan. Bennis writes, "soon, Bush's late-January "axis of evil" speech would reshape the trajectory of Washington's war from bounty-hunting in Afghanistan, to threatening invasions, overthrowing of governments, and military attacks in countries across the globe" (Bennis, 2003: 165).

Bennis argues that the United States has resorted to violence to establish credibility. The September 11th attacks challenged the "power, position and prestige of the United States" (Bennis, 2003: viii). The U.S. response to this intolerable threat to its credibility was to unilaterally resort to coercion and violence. The aerial bombing of Afghanistan and Iraq were intended in part to demonstrate the magnitude of the United States' military hardware. The number of known civilian casualties in both Afghanistan and Iraq has well surpassed the total number of victims of the World Trade Centre (Bennis, 2003: viii). However, the Bush administration has failed to explain why thousands have been killed, wounded, and left homeless and desperate in two Middle Eastern countries, neither of which were responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Despite the fact that the Bush administration had no evidence to support the notion of a link between these nations and the September 11 attacks, both nations were subjected to military invasion and occupation by the United States, whereby both the Taliban and Saddam Hussein were overthrown. Once it became clear that President Bush's "war on terror" extended beyond Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, unease began to grow internationally given the considerable political implications of U.S. unilateralism. According to Bennis,
more than any single policy, the biggest cause of international anger against the United States is the arrogance with which US power is exercised — international law dismissed, UN resolutions ignored, binding treaties abandoned. Washington demands that other countries strictly abide by UN resolutions and international law, imposing sanctions or threatening military assault in response to violations, but holds itself accountable only to a separate law of empire that applies to the US alone (Bennis, 2003: xv).

The United States’ double standards and unilaterally orchestrated wars had more to do with oil and gas and strategic military endeavours than the September 11 attacks. Despite widespread public opposition within countries throughout the world, the United States has continued to uphold its legacy of unilateralism, leaving considerable human carnage and destruction in its wake. The attacks of September 11 themselves, as horrific as they were for the United States, did not somehow transform the entire world, as much as the Bush administration would like us to believe. The events of September 11 have been used, however, to justify profound changes in U.S. foreign relations.

In clear contrast, the Canadian response to September 11 has been to emphasize the importance of a multilateral approach in the battle against terrorism. That is, while U.S. foreign policy has increasingly relied on unilateral initiatives, Canada’s primary focus has been on enhancing its national defense and security through a multilateral approach. Peter Kresl explains that “[i]n several presentations, Canadian government officials and agencies have stressed the need to work in collaboration with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization for American States, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie and the UN” (Kresl, 2005: 442). In addition, U.S. foreign policy has proposed integrating Canadian immigration and refugee policy and border security policy with that of the United States in order to create a ‘perimeter of security’ around North America, thereby ensuring the protection of both Canadian and American citizens (Kresl, 2005: 440). Despite pressure from the Bush administration to develop a collaborative approach to security policies, procedures, and institutions, the Canadian government is well aware of the limitations that closer integration would pose to Canadian sovereignty. With that said, Canadian policies must be such that American concerns with respect to its northern border are dispelled.

In light of the dependence of the Canadian economy on the United States, it is of particular importance that Canada-U.S. relations run a smooth course. The Canadian economy relies heavily on exports to the United States. That is, while the American economy may have been mildly harmed by more stringent border security measures with Canada, the Canadian economy would have been devastated. According to Peter Kresl,
The single theme that runs through the many documents detailing the Canadian response to September 11 is that both countries should continue to facilitate the easy flow of low-risk goods and people across the Canada-U.S. border and that more resources should be devoted to dealing with high risk flows. With trade with the U.S. accounting for about 36% of Canadian GNP one can easily understand this desire (Kresl, 2005: 439).

September 11th raised important questions about American foreign policy and broader issues of global justice. A number of members from the legal community, distinguished scholars, as well as public interest organizations have publicly denounced the American government for its unilateral approach which has come at the expense of civil liberties, respect for international law, and peaceful diplomacy. According to Roach, “[t]here was a widespread outcry after a University of British Columbia professor, Sunera Thobani, criticized American foreign policy shortly after September 11 as ‘bloodthirsty’ and ‘vengeful’” (Roach, 2002: 12). In an academic conference held in Ottawa, Women’s Studies Professor Thobani strongly criticized the Canadian government for its complicity in the American-led war in Afghanistan and possibly Iraq. The negative reaction to her speech garnered much attention by the media and was the subject of a police investigation into whether Thobani was criminally liable for her comments which some perceived as willfully promoting hatred against the United States. Despite condemnation by both the prime minister of Canada (Jean Chrétien) and the premier of British Columbia (Gordon Campbell), many Canadians agreed with Professor Thobani’s argument that American hegemony was one of the precipitating factors of the September 11 terrorist attacks.

Others have interpreted 9/11 as an inevitable clash between two opposing groups (the secular West vs. the Islamic East) at a time of ever-increasing global interdependence and competition. In much of the post-Cold War literature there is a belief that a clash of worldviews, values, and civilizations is leading to an impending confrontation between Islam and the West (Esposito, 1999: 2). Perhaps one of the most controversial books of the last decade has been Samuel Huntington’s Clash of Civilizations in which he puts forward the argument that the greatest threat to world peace is conflict between groups of differing civilizations. To be more exact, Huntington states that the central theme of his book is that “culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world” (Huntington, 1996: 20). During the Cold War era, there were primarily two major groups of power, the West, led by the United States, and the Communist bloc, led by the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, the once bi-polar world increasingly
became multi-polar. The world was no longer defined in terms of the 'free world' versus the 'communist states', but rather grouped according to the world's great civilizations. Huntington states that "[i]n the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural" (Huntington, 1996: 21). In other words, subsequent to the Cold War, global politics began to be configured along cultural lines.

What is pertinent about Huntington's argument, for the purposes of this study, is his position on the looming threat of a clash of civilizations between Muslims and non-Muslims, and that of Western and Non-Western societies. He explains that the changing global politics of the modern world are challenging Western hegemony and pose a serious threat to the 'universal' ideals of the Western world. Some have argued that the events of the past few years, in particular that of September 11th, 2001, have confirmed Huntington's argument. Reza Aslan writes,

> [a]most immediately following the attacks of New York and Washington, D.C., pundits, politicians, and preachers throughout the United States and Europe declared that September 11, 2001, triggered a once-dormant 'clash of civilizations', to use Samuel Huntington's now ubiquitous term, between the modern, enlightened, democratic societies of the West and the archaic, barbarous, autocratic societies of the Middle East (Aslan, 2005: xv).

However, Huntington's interpretation of the evolution of global politics after the Cold War has raised much controversy and debate. Critics have attacked Huntington's central claim that conflicts between civilizations would come to dominate the future of world politics. What many opponents find problematic with Huntington's work is that it tends to reduce highly complex societies into narrowly defined 'civilizations' and focuses on cultural differences rather than similarities. The danger of representing Muslim-majority civilizations as an all-encompassing monolithic threat is manifest in the state of post-September 11 policies in both Canada and the United States. Maher Arar's deportation and detention is a direct result of these new policies in the wake of the 'war on terror'. As a Canadian citizen Arar was entitled to certain constitutional guarantees, most importantly that of due process. However, as this section of this study has tried to demonstrate, anti-terrorism legislation, ethnic and racial profiling, preventative law enforcement and heightened border security have made persons of Middle-Eastern background and appearance more susceptible to unwarranted scrutiny and deprived many people of their civil rights and liberties. In the

---

10 The Canadian Oxford Dictionary defines *due process* as "the administration of justice through the courts in accordance with established rules and principles" (Bisset, 2000: 295).
following section of this study, the focus will shift to review the media framing literature, as it relates to the case of Maher Arar.

2.1 Media Framing Analysis & The Case of Maher Arar

This study applies media framing analysis to examine how the case of Maher Arar was reported by the Canadian national press. The concept of framing\(^{11}\) can be understood as the process that journalists regularly utilize to simplify, prioritize, and structure the narrative flow of events (Norris et al., 2003: 10). According to Gregory Kent, framing is "the selection of features of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation in relation to the issue under consideration" (Kent, 2006: 430). News frames are ultimately interpretative structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. Through frames, highly diverse and scattered information can be streamlined and simplified, as framing allows journalists to select and prioritize certain information over others. In this way, news stories become summarized around central ideas or categories of meaning, such as ‘natural disaster’, ‘world crisis’, or ‘national security’, to name a few.

Scholars from across the social sciences have defined and applied the concept of framing in a variety of ways. Erving Goffman referred to frames as strips that are the principles of organization that form the definition of a situation (Goffman, 1974). Frames, according to Entman, "call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audience members to have different reactions" (Entman, 1993: 55). Gitlin defines media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980: 7). According to Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, "[f]raming is the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy" (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997: 567). Alice Hall, explains that what all these articulations of framing have in common is the idea that frames signal different schemata or sets of associations in the mind of the reader which shapes the way the individual interprets and evaluates the information within the text (Hall, 2000: 232).

\(^{11}\) For discussions of framing see: Gitlin, 1980; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; and Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997.
The use of framing analysis in studies of political news events has become an important theoretical approach in communication studies, social movements, and a number of the social sciences, including sociology and social psychology (Norris et al., 2003: 10). Framing theory and framing analysis evolved out of the work of Erving Goffman’s *Frame Analysis* (1974) (Tuchman, 1978: 192). This approach employs the paradigms of social constructionism and symbolic interactionism. Todd Gitlin writes that, “[i]n everyday life, as Erving Goffman has amply demonstrated, we frame reality in order to negotiate it, manage it, comprehend it, and choose appropriate repertories of cognition and action” (Gitlin, 1980: 6). In this way, media frames serve as organization mechanisms for journalists who report news stories and for news consumers who rely on their reports (Gitlin, 1980: 7). Media communication scholars have used framing analysis to explain how news media can simultaneously disrupt and defend the status quo (Paletz & Entman, 1981: ix). As Gaye Tuchman writes, “news both draws upon and reproduces institutional structures” (Tuchman, 1978: 210). Moreover, the news media content has a tremendous influence on political thinking and behaviour. According to Paletz and Entman, the media socializes the majority of people into accepting the legitimacy of their country’s political, economic, and social system (Paletz & Entman, 1981: ix). In this way, news media helps to perpetuate and reinforce dominant cultural ideologies by deciding what news stories to include (and exclude), what aspects of the story to focus on (and what to ignore), and what lens to look through in formulating a news story.

In many ways, the news media have become the central arena where political issues and public controversy are played out and much of what the general public learns about political issues stems from the mass media. For example, particular news frames have been utilized to explain the Bush administration’s post-9/11 domestic agendas and policies, (sometimes referred to as “the war on terrorism”). Perhaps, the most familiar of these frames are the terrorism and anti-terrorism frames. President Bush has responded to the 9/11 attacks by communicating policy priorities simply and effectively by adopting an anti-terrorism frame. Without knowing much, if anything, about the particular policies set forth by the U.S. government, the anti-terrorism frame allows people to sort out and make sense of complex and unfamiliar information. However, the reliance of news writers on elite sources, such as knowledge experts, political officials, or high ranking members of society, for information, insights and quotes often results in the media serving as a channel through which a certain perspective is put forth to news consumers.
The politics of the Middle East and Islam, more generally, are largely constructed by the Western media through the use of media frames. A significant amount of the literature on framing analysis focuses on the frames used by political actors rather than frames presented by the mass media. This is largely because political actors often use news media as an outlet to both communicate and advance their particular agenda. According to Wolfsfeld, the most useful way to understand the cultural interactions between political actors and the news media is to focus on the interpretive frames constructed by the news media about political conflicts. Political actors promote their own frames of the conflict in which they attempt to market a particular package of ideas to the mass media and the public. The news media may adopt one or more of these interpretative frames (or may formulate its own distinct frame) and construct a story that is then presented to their target audience.

Wolfsfeld maintains that there are three major elements that contribute to the construction of media frames of conflict: "the nature of the information and events that are being processed, the need to create a good news story, and the need to create a story that resonates politically within a particular culture" (Wolfsfeld, 1997: 41). One of the examples he cites to demonstrate this point is that of the American press coverage of the conflict between the Catholics in Northern Ireland and the British government. According to Wolfsfeld, the most common frame was one of terrorism, a frame that focuses on the innocent victims of brutal violence. News stories typically centered on the number of people who were killed or injured by the IRA, the extent of the damage, and how the British government responded to the threat. Given that the terrorism frame was the predominant interpretive frame used in the coverage of this particular conflict, it would be rather difficult to find alternative interpretive frames in the American or British press. For example, it would be highly unlikely for this political conflict to be framed as a legitimate struggle by an oppressed people against British occupation.

There are several reasons as to why media frames on this conflict in Northern Ireland tend to be centered upon terrorism. First, there is a tendency to continue to use an existing construction of a political conflict. The conflict in Northern Ireland which has been ongoing for decades has established frames through previous coverage. Second, news media tend to focus on the most newsworthy part of a conflict. In the case of the conflict in Northern Ireland, news stories which center on the victims of violence tend to be the most newsworthy. Third, there is the ultimate question of who is to be constructed as the 'good guys' and who are to be their opponents. In unequal conflicts such as this, especially ones
involving some form of violence, one side is framed as the aggressor (i.e. the IRA), while the other is constructed as the victim (i.e. civilians) (Wolfsfeld, 1997: 49).

A similar construction of an unequal conflict is the long-standing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Like the conflict in Northern Ireland, this conflict is also typically centered upon terrorism. Likewise, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict involves violence and the construction of the ‘oppressed’ and the ‘oppressor.’ In this conflict, Palestinians are typically framed as the aggressors (i.e. suicide bombers) while the Israelis tend to be constructed as the victims (i.e. civilians). Edward Said has written extensively on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Most notably, *Covering Islam* (1981) is of particular interest to this study of news media and political conflict. In the twenty-five years since the publication of this work, there has been a heightened focus on the Middle East and Islam in the Western media. Indeed, Islam’s role in the hijackings and terrorist attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon are simply the latest of the many news stories which characterize Muslims and Middle Easterners as a threat to the way of life in the West.

It should be noted that many scholars exploring racialization in the media use a qualitative methodological approach known as discourse analysis. While discourse analysis could certainly be used as a research methodology in this study, media frame analysis was chosen given that this is a widely used analytic approach to political communication research, and newspaper analysis in particular. Media framing analysis is a useful avenue of research in understanding how news frames reflect (or sometimes challenge) the cultural themes and narratives within a society. News frames affect how news readers (or viewers) understand the world. Gitlin writes,

*Certainly we cannot take for granted that the world depicted is simply the world that exists. Many things exist. At each moment the world is rife with events. Even within a given event there is an infinity of noticeable details. Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters (Gitlin, 1980, 6).*

In other words, frames allow journalists to sift through large amounts of information quickly and to sort out the “newsworthy” information so that it can be disseminated to their news consumers.

---

12 In addition to framing, many scholars in the humanities and social sciences use a research methodology known as discourse analysis. Since its development in the late 1960s and 1970s, this methodological approach has been taken up in a variety of disciplines including linguistics, anthropology, sociology and communication studies. Discourse analysis is “the study of language, its structure, functions, and patterns in use” (Marshall, 1998: 162). Marshall explains that “discourse analysis in sociology has been more concerned to uncover the large patterning of thought that structures whole texts, rather than the finer patterning that structures sentences, and which concerns linguists” (Marshall, 1998: 162).
While the news information that a frame may provide is important, frames are particularly significant in understanding how news frames influence audience perceptions. According to Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley,

Frames tell people how to weight the often conflicting considerations that enter into everyday political deliberations. Frames may supply no new information about an issue, yet their influence on our opinions may be decisive through their effect on the perceived relevance of alternative considerations (Nelson, Oxley, Clawson, 1997: 226).

Johnson-Cartee refers to the influence of news story frames on readers [or viewers] as an observable "framing effect" (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 26). She explains that when news consumers have not yet formed strong beliefs or opinions toward an issue, news framing is likely to have a significant influence on an individual's personal concerns, preferences, and decision making (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 26). News reports which stress certain values, facts, or other considerations may appear to be of greater relevance to the issue than if they had been presented under an alternative frame. As Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley explain, "frames affect opinions simply by making certain considerations seem more important than others, these considerations, in turn, carry greater weight for the final attitude (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997: 569). Indeed, the power of the mass media to influence the way the general public views the world, makes media framing analysis an important area of research for those interested in understanding the social construction of news and the affect of news frames on news consumers.

2.2 Research Questions

The detainment and deportation of Syrian-born Canadian-citizen, Maher Arar, typifies the scope and power of the new social and political order of the United States and Canada in the aftermath of 9/11. Explaining these developments requires an understanding of perceptions of terrorist threats and, in particular, the role of the news media in this process. Journalists, whether reporting on counter-terrorism operations, security policies, or the continued effects of 9/11 on international relations and domestic policy, stimulate important questions about the framing of news coverage, particularly in cases of political conflict. As such, this study explores how the case of Maher Arar was framed by Canada's two national newspapers, the National Post and The Globe and Mail. I examine the following research questions in this study:

1. What kinds of differences emerged between the two national newspapers in the coverage of this case?
2. What frame(s) were predominant in the newspaper coverage of the case of Maher Arar?

3. How did the framing of the case change over time, if at all?
3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study takes up the story of Maher Arar beginning in September 26, 2002, the date of the detainment and interrogation of Arar while in transit in New York’s JFK airport by U.S. officials about his alleged links to al-Qaeda. The study concludes in February 4, 2004, exactly one week after the date the Government of Canada announced a Commission of Inquiry into the actions of Canadian officials in relation to Maher Arar. By analyzing a continuous period of newspaper reporting from Arar’s initial arrest and deportation to his release, a comparison of the news coverage during and subsequently after Arar’s exoneration was conducted. This period of nearly one-and-a-half years was chosen because it contains most of the constitutive events of this incident – the detainment and interrogation, the ensuing arrest and subsequent deportation of Arar to a Syrian prison, the entire term of his imprisonment, and his eventual release and return to Canada where a public inquiry was launched a few months later (at which point the study ends). This period, established the types of news frames that would shape both journalistic and public understanding of this event.

The Canadian news media played a critical role in the evolving crisis. In particular, the primary focus of this study is on Canada’s two English language national newspapers, the Globe and Mail and the National Post. Both of these papers are noted for their broad distribution and extensive network of correspondents. In addition to the fact that the selected publications have substantial circulation, the choice of these particular newspapers was made all the more easy by the fact that they were both readily assessable through an online database known as Factiva. More specifically, the newspaper articles were downloaded from the University of British Columbia’s Online Library Indexes and Databases. The search parameters were narrowed down by specifying the date range (2002/09/26 to 2004/02/05), the keyword (Maher Arar) and the publication sources (The Globe and Mail & National Post). Republished news, Recurring pricing and market data as well as obituaries, sports, calendars and so forth were excluded from the search. The total number of newspaper articles consulted was 311 (193 Globe & Mail, 118 National Post articles). However, 41 of these articles were removed from the sample as they were deemed to be inapplicable for the purposes of this study.

Within these newspapers, I kept track of the placement of articles (front pages, inside pages), the type of news (straight reporting, editorial, column, letters-to-the-editor), and the
length of the article (number of words). Each news story's full content was evaluated in order to determine whether Maher Arar was depicted in a positive, negative, or neutral light. Finally, articles were categorized according to their frame modes. After reading a sample of the newspaper articles in the Canadian national coverage of this case, four frames emerged as the most dominant. The four frames that were the most visible were the terrorism frame, the domestic policy/foreign relations frame, the racial/religious frame, and the human rights/civil liberties frame. It should be noted that these four frames were selected from the many types of frames employed by journalists in their reporting of news stories. There may very well be several other frames which have been utilized to report on this particular case. Nevertheless, the selected frames provide sufficient information for the purposes of this study.

According to Alice Hall, "[i]t should be noted that more than one frame is often present in a single discourse, or even a single news story" (Hall, 2000: 236). Recognizing early on that articles may fit into more than one of these four specified frames, each news story was assessed for each of the four frames based on a scale of zero to five (note: zero indicates that the frame is inapplicable to that particular article and five indicates that the frame is very applicable for the specified article). For example, if an article did not mention race or religion whatsoever, then the racial/religious frame would be coded as inapplicable, as indicated by the number 0. If race or religion were seldom referred to in the article, it was coded as either a 1 or a 2. If a few references were found to race and religion, the article was coded as either a 3 or a 4. Finally, if the dominant frame of the article was that of race and religion, the article was coded as a 5 to indicate that it was the most applicable frame for that particular news story (see Appendix A for an example of the type of article that would be coded as a 1 or a 2, or a 3, and so forth on the scale of 0 to 5).

All news items that were reported on or made reference to Maher Arar from September 26, 2002 to February 4, 2004, in both the national newspapers, were included in this study. In other words, as long as "Maher Arar" was the topic or was simply cited or mentioned in the article, it was deemed to be relevant for the study. Altogether a total of 270 newspaper articles were analyzed. As a final point, this research project is comparative in two ways. There is a comparative element in the sense that the press coverage of the Globe

---

13 It should be noted that one of the limitations that arose during the analysis of this study was the 0 to 5 scale that was used to code the applicability of each frame to the news articles in both national papers. This scale lacked the desired differentiation that a larger scale would have provided. For example, a scale of 0 to 10 would have allowed for a greater distribution between variables and potentially richer statistical results. Another limitation was the subjective nature of coding the applicability of each of the four frames and the tone of the articles. Also, due to limitations on time and money, inter-coding reliability was not undertaken in this study.
and Mail and the National Post will be systematically compared. The study is also comparative in the sense that the types of news frames used during Arar's detainment and subsequent to his release will be compared in order to assess whether the newspapers' dominant news frames have changed in regard to this event and the socio-political climate in which it occurred.
4 FINDINGS

The results of this study are presented in two ways: first, an exposition of a number of descriptive statistics is presented and second, a discussion is provided of the results of various regression analyses performed.

4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows that altogether a total of 270 newspaper articles were analyzed, nearly 2/3 of which were from The Globe and Mail, while roughly 1/3 were from the National Post. The sample consisted of every article appearing in the two newspapers during the study period, covering September 26, 2002 to February 4, 2004. The Globe and Mail, which has a circulation of around 2 million weekly,\(^{14}\) not surprisingly had significantly more news writers than did the National Post, which has a circulation of approximately 1.5 million weekly\(^{15}\). There was considerably more news reported about Maher Arar after his release than during his detainment, especially in The Globe and Mail, which published approximately 80% of such news items after Arar was released in October 2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th># of Articles</th>
<th># of Authors</th>
<th># of Articles During Detainment (%)</th>
<th># of Articles After Release (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Post</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27 (29.7)</td>
<td>64 (70.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35 (19.6)</td>
<td>144 (80.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two national newspapers had very similar average word counts for news articles that directly referred to Arar. However, the placement of National Post articles on Maher Arar tended to be about 4 pages closer to the front of the newspaper than The Globe and Mail. This may be because The Globe and Mail has a broader range of news coverage or a larger section dedicated to current events news stories. With that said, The Globe and Mail had 29 front page news articles on the case of Maher Arar, while the National Post had 20,


\(^{15}\) On-line source: <www.micromedia.ca/products_services/CdnNewsstandDailies_0404.htm> (July 17, 2006)
meaning that the *National Post* had a slightly higher percentage of front page articles related to Arar (see Table 2).

Table 2: Average Article Word Count, Page Number and Front Page Placement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Average # of Words</th>
<th>Average Page #</th>
<th># on Front Page (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Post</td>
<td>724.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>20 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
<td>729.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>29 (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 and 2 below illustrate the distribution of the type of news (straight reporting, editorial, column, letters-to-the-editor) in both the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*. A larger proportion (77%) of the total number of articles in the *National Post* were categorized as straight reporting, while this type of news story made up only 62% of the total number of articles in *The Globe and Mail*. In other words, *The Globe and Mail* newspaper had a greater proportion of opinionated news articles (i.e. editorials, columns, and letters to the editor) than did the *National Post*.
One of the most significant differences between the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* was that of the tone of the articles. The distribution of the tone of the articles is shown in Table 3. The majority of the news articles in the *National Post* on the case of Maher Arar had a neutral tone (63 articles, or 69%). 21 of the articles (23%) had a positive tone, while 7 of the articles (8%) were categorized as having a negative tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>The Globe and Mail</em></th>
<th><em>The National Post</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Count</strong></td>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Count</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, *The Globe and Mail* had a greater proportion of positive tone articles (65 articles, or 36%) and a negligible number of articles categorized as having a negative tone (only 1 article, or less than 1%). There are several possible reasons as to why *The Globe and Mail* appears to have reported more positively on the case of Maher Arar than the *National*
First, the *Globe and Mail* had more opinionated news stories in the form of editorials, columns, and letters to the editor. These opinion-based articles tended to have a more positive tone and were by and large sympathetic to Maher Arar's plight. As such, it may be the case that the greater proportion of favourable opinionated news stories served to increase the number of articles categorized as having a positive tone in *The Globe and Mail*. Second, *The Globe and Mail* is known for having a more liberal political orientation than the *National Post*, which has a more conservative stance. As a result, the articles of *Globe and Mail* news writers may reflect more liberal tendencies and greater sympathy for Maher Arar. The different orientations of these rival newspapers may therefore have played a role in the fact that the *National Post* on average had a less favorable tone in pertinent stories on the case of Maher Arar than *The Globe and Mail*. Lastly, it may be the case that these papers are directed at different segments of the general public and that ultimately it is the readership that most greatly influences the tone of the articles which appear in these national newspapers.

The tone of the articles was coded as a 0 for negative tone, 1 for neutral tone, and 2 for positive tone. The average tone of the *National Post* was 1.2 (with a standard deviation of 0.54), while *The Globe and Mail* had a more positive average tone of 1.4 (with a similar standard deviation of 0.49).

The four frames that were the most visible in the Canadian national coverage of this case were the terrorism frame, the domestic policy/foreign relations frame, the racial/religious frame, and the civil & human rights/liberties frame (see Table 4). Given that articles typically fit into more than one of the four specified frames, each news story was assessed for each of the four frames based on a scale of zero to five (note: zero indicates that the frame is inapplicable to that particular article and five indicates that the frame is very applicable for the specified article). Table 4 expresses the coding distribution of each frame on a scale of zero to five in the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*. It should be noted that the coding distribution of the four frames is presented as both counts and as percentages. The coding distribution for the terrorism frame, the domestic policy/foreign relations frame, and the racial/religious frame are very similar on average between the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, and the differences between newspapers are not statistically significant at the 10% level of significance\(^{16}\). However, the difference in coding distribution for the civil & human rights/liberties frame between the *Post* and *The Globe* is statistically significant at the

\(^{16}\) Note: References to statistical significance refer to the p-value associated with the t-distribution.
1% level of significance, as *The Globe and Mail* was found to have a greater proportion of news stories that were deemed to be highly applicable to this frame.

The first segment of Table 4 shows the coding distribution for the terrorism frame in the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, respectively. According to these figures, the terrorism frame was coded as either a 4 or 5 (indicating strong applicability) for 34 out of the 91 *National Post* articles, and 78 out of the 179 articles from *The Globe and Mail*. In other words, the terrorism frame was found to be more applicable to a larger proportion of newspaper articles in *The Globe* than in the *Post*. The average applicability of the terrorism frame in the *National Post* was 2.6 and 2.8 for *The Globe and Mail*.

The second segment of Table 4 shows the coding distribution for the domestic policy/foreign relations frame in *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, respectively. The domestic policy/foreign relations frame was coded as being highly applicable to the news stories in both the *Post* and *The Globe*. For example, 54 of the 91 articles in the *Post* and 95 out of 179 articles in *The Globe* coded the domestic policy/foreign relations frame as the most applicable. The table also highlights the prevalence of each frame in both national papers. The domestic policy/foreign relations frame was clearly the most applicable frame in both the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* (with framing scores of 4.0 and 4.1, respectively), followed closely by the civil & human rights/liberties frame (with framing scores of 3.5 and 4.0, respectively).

The third segment of Table 4 shows the coding distribution for the racial/religious frame in *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* respectively. The racial/religious frame was predominantly coded as having limited applicability to the news stories in both the *Post* and *The Globe*. For example, 66 of the 91 articles in the *Post* and 118 out of 179 articles in *The Globe* coded the racial/religious frame as either a 0 or 1 out of a scale of 0 to 5, where 5 indicates strong applicability. The racial/religious frame was found to be the least applicable of the four frame types (with framing scores of 1.5 and 1.7, respectively).

Finally, the fourth segment of Table 4 shows the coding distribution for the civil & human rights/liberties frame in *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* respectively. The civil & human rights frame was predominantly coded as having strong applicability to the news stories in both the *Post* and *The Globe*. For example, 36 of the 91 articles in the *Post* and 93 out of 179 articles in *The Globe* coded the civil & human rights/liberties frame as a 5 out of a scale of 0 to 5, where 5 indicates that the frame is very applicable for the specified article.
Table 4  The Coding Distribution of the Four Frame Types Expressed as Counts & Percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(0=Not Applicable → 5=Highly Applicable)</th>
<th>Terrorism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(0=Not Applicable → 5=Highly Applicable)</th>
<th>Domestic Policy/Foreign Relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(0=Not Applicable → 5=Highly Applicable)</th>
<th>Racial/Religious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(0=Not Applicable → 5=Highly Applicable)</th>
<th>Civil &amp; Human Rights/Liberties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2 Regression Analyses

Table 5 identifies the 11 different variables which were used in the regression analysis in this study. Each of the four frames constitute a discrete variable - these include the terrorism frame, the domestic policy/foreign relations frame, the racial/religious frame, and the civil & human rights/liberties frame – that take on integer values between 0 and 5, as discussed previously. A dummy variable was used to capture any differences between the two newspapers used in this study. *The Globe and Mail* newspaper was coded as 1, while the *National Post* was coded as 0. The number of days since Arar’s initial detainment, beginning September 26, 2002, was indicated by the variable called DAYS. The DAYS variable was also squared, in order to capture potential non-linear effects over time. This variable was called DAYSSQ. A number of additional dummy variables were created. These included the variable called FRONT which indicated whether the article appeared on the front page of the newspaper (coded as 1) or on the subsequent pages (coded as 0); and the variable called REPORT which indicated whether the article was categorized as “objective” reporting (coded as 1) or as an “opinionated” article (coded as 0). The PAGE variable indicated the placement of the article in the newspaper and the TONE DUMMY VARIABLES were used to indicate whether the article had a negative, neutral, or positive tone about Maher Arar. Two dummy variables were created - POSITONE and NEGATONE - in order to analyze the tone of the article relative to the base case of an article with neutral tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TERROR</td>
<td>Coding of the 'Terrorism' frame: 0 = not applicable -&gt; 5 = highly applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY</td>
<td>Coding of the 'Domestic policy/Foreign relations' frame: 0 = not applicable -&gt; 5 = highly applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACEREL</td>
<td>Coding of the 'Racial/Religious' frame: 0 = not applicable -&gt; 5 = highly applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIVIL</td>
<td>Coding of the 'Civil &amp; Human Rights/Liberties' frame: 0 = not applicable -&gt; 5 = highly applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOBE</td>
<td>A dummy variable where 1 = Globe and Mail, 0 = National Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYS</td>
<td>The number of days since Arar’s detainment (September 26, 2002 = 0, September 27, 2002 = 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYSSQ</td>
<td>The number of days since Arar’s detainment, squared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>The page that the article appeared on, where 1 = front page, 2 = second page, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRONT</td>
<td>A dummy variable where 1 = front page article, 0 = not front page article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td>A dummy variable where 1 = the article was &quot;objective&quot; reporting, and 0 = an &quot;opinionated&quot; article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TONE DUMMY VARIABLES</td>
<td>Two dummy variables were created: POSITONE and NEGATONE. POSITONE was coded as a 1 for positive articles and a 0 for neutral or negative articles, and NEGATONE was coded as a 1 for negative articles and a 0 for positive or neutral articles. Both dummy variables are interpreted relative to the base case of a neutral article.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6  Summary Statistics of the Variables Used in Regression Analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>STANDARD DEV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TERROR</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>2.758</td>
<td>1.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>4.106</td>
<td>1.266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACEREL</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1.648</td>
<td>1.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIVIL</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>3.802</td>
<td>1.474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOBE</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.663</td>
<td>0.474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYS</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>385.47</td>
<td>120.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>10.419</td>
<td>10.514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRONT</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>0.386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.670</td>
<td>0.471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITONE</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.318</td>
<td>0.4668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATONE</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 contains summary statistics of the variables used in this study. Several regressions were run in order to examine whether certain factors influenced the location of the stories within each newspaper. To study the nature of front page articles, a number of logit regressions were undertaken with FRONT as the independent variable. It was found that none of the explanatory variables had any predictive value as to whether the article would appear on the front page or not. When similar OLS regressions were run with PAGE as the dependent variable, patterns also failed to emerge. Overall, the prominence of the articles (in terms of how close they appeared to the front of the newspaper) could not be predicted and was found to not vary according to which frame(s) were most prominent in the article.

In addition to the above analyses, four models were created to examine the relationship between the four frames and the descriptive variables. Several OLS multivariate regressions were run, with Table 7 displaying the output from these regression models, with the dependent variables (the four frames) shown along the top row. Statistically significant results concerning the tone of the articles were found in these models, however. Articles with the terrorism frame prominent were more likely to be negative, articles with the domestic policy/foreign relations frame prominent were more likely to be positive and less likely to be negative, articles with the race/religious frame prominent were more likely to be negative,

---

17 The logit regression method was necessary due to the binary nature of the FRONT variable.
18 It should be noted that the coefficient estimates in Table 6 should be treated with caution. Given the discrete nature of the dependent variables, ideally ordered logit regression analysis would be undertaken to get more accurate coefficient estimates. However, in consideration of the subjective nature of the dependent variables, the regression results are meant to examine the relationships between variables as opposed to coefficient estimates; therefore, the OLS technique should be suitable in this regard.
and articles with the civil and human rights/liberties frame prominent were more likely to be positive and less likely to be negative.

**Table 7**  OLS Regression Results with Framing Variables as Dependent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Name</th>
<th>TERROR</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>POLICY</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>RACEREL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>CIVIL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>P-Value</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>P-Value</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>P-Value</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>P-Value</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOBE</td>
<td>0.383</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>1.095</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>1.203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYS</td>
<td>1.196E-04</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>-1.105E-05</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-7.210E-03</td>
<td>-2.954</td>
<td>-3.210E-03</td>
<td>-1.315</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYSSQ</td>
<td>-8.232E-06</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.971</td>
<td>2.501E-03</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>2.440E-03</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>2.440E-03</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>1.516</td>
<td>0.131</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>1.361</td>
<td>1.603</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRONT</td>
<td>0.704</td>
<td>2.443</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.259</td>
<td>0.340</td>
<td>1.569</td>
<td>0.151</td>
<td>0.716</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORT</td>
<td>0.366</td>
<td>1.194</td>
<td>0.196</td>
<td>0.119</td>
<td>0.508</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITONE</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.810</td>
<td>0.634</td>
<td>3.497</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.324</td>
<td>1.091</td>
<td>6.745</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATONE</td>
<td>1.791</td>
<td>2.917</td>
<td>0.842</td>
<td>1.817</td>
<td>1.255</td>
<td>2.726</td>
<td>-1.581</td>
<td>-3.466</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Square</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.270</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.485</td>
<td>0.222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R-Square</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.244</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Italicized cells indicate statistical significance at the 10% level.

The dominance of certain frames was not influenced by the REPORT variable, which indicates that the objective articles focused on each of the four frames. The average page position of each of the frames was not statistically different between frames, but articles on the front page had a stronger focus on the terrorism frame. The prevalence of the four frames did not exhibit much difference between the newspapers, as only the terrorism frame was slightly more prominent in *The Globe and Mail* than the *National Post*, but this result was only marginally statistically significant at the 10% level.

In order to analyze how the frames changed over time, separate regressions were performed with each of the frames as dependent variables and DAYS and DAYSSQ as independent variables. The results of these regressions are shown in Table 8 and were then used to graph the predicted values of each of the frames over time according to the following formula:

\[
\hat{\text{Frame}}_i = \text{CONSTANT}_i + \alpha_i \cdot \text{DAYS} + \beta_i \cdot \text{DAYSSQ},
\]
where \(i=1,2,3,4\) represents the four frames, \(\hat{Frame}_i\), represents the predicted value for the \(i\)th frame, and \(\alpha_i\) and \(\beta_i\) are the estimated coefficients for the DAYS and DAYSSQ variables, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TERROR</th>
<th>RACEREL</th>
<th>CIVIL</th>
<th>POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
<td>4.085</td>
<td>3.809</td>
<td>3.457</td>
<td>4.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYS (a)</td>
<td>4.54E-04</td>
<td>-6.56E-03</td>
<td>7.91E-04</td>
<td>-2.27E-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAYSSQ ((\beta))</td>
<td>-9.21E-06</td>
<td>2.25E-06</td>
<td>2.48E-07</td>
<td>-4.19E-07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3 illustrates the estimated relationships of each of the frames over time. The POLICY variable was found to decrease slightly over time, but the frame was relatively constant throughout. The CIVIL frame increased at a slow and steady rate over time. Interestingly, both the TERROR and RACEREL frames decreased over time; the TERROR frame decreased at an increasing rate and the RACEREL decreased at a decreasing rate\(^{19}\).

\(\text{Figure 3} \quad \text{The Changes of the Four Frames Over Time}\)

\(\text{Frames - Trends Over Time}\)

\[^{19}\text{The graph displays the estimated frame values over time; the actual observations graphed over time are included in Appendix C.}\]
5 LIMITATIONS

The analysis provided in this study could be strengthened by incorporating several American newspapers with sizeable national circulation, such as The New York Times and USA Today, thereby allowing for cross-national comparisons between Canadian and American print news media. Contrasting the news media’s coverage of the case of Maher Arar in the Canadian national press and that of the United States may have gleaned further insight into the differences that may exist in news reporting between these countries. In addition, pertinent news stories regarding the case of Maher Arar which were broadcast on major TV-networks (either exclusively Canadian, such as CBC, or a combination of Canadian and American TV networks, such as CBC, NBC, ABC) may have been examined. In this way, both print media and mass televised news media may have been compared in order to analyze the differences and similarities in the framing of this particular news story in two mainstream media sources.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^{20}\) It should be noted that the Arar Commission was not publicly available at the time of this study and was therefore not utilized for the purposes of this study.
6 CONCLUSION

This study uncovered several findings which were of particular interest. Overall, this study found that there were little significant differences in framing between the National Post and The Globe and Mail in their coverage of the case of Maher Arar. With that said, it should be noted that some differences were evident: there were a greater number of articles written on this case in The Globe and Mail, The Globe expressed more favourable views of Maher Arar (primarily due to containing fewer negatively toned articles than did the National Post) and the civil & human rights/liberties frame was more prevalent in The Globe than it was in the Post. The most dominant frame in both of these national newspapers was that of domestic policy/foreign relations, followed closely by the civil & human rights/liberties frame. It is not surprising that these frames were relatively prominent throughout the period of this study given the status of civil & human rights/liberties of Muslim-Canadians and Muslim-Americans in addition to the concerns surrounding Canada’s domestic policy and foreign relations in the aftermath of September 11.

It was found that the four frames used in this study did indeed change over time, although to differing extents. The domestic policy/foreign relations frame was found to decrease slightly over time, while the civil & human rights/liberties frame was found to increase slightly over time. Both the terrorism and racial/religious frames were found to decrease over time. Finally, a strong positive relationship was found between the terrorism frame and the racial/religious frame on the one hand, and the civil & human rights/liberties and the domestic policy/foreign relations frame on the other. These findings suggest that terrorism tends to be associated with Arab Muslims in the post-9/11 period. This association is highly problematic as it reinforces the stereotypical image of Middle Easterners and Muslims as perpetrators of violence. Furthermore, the association of Islam with extremism creates a misperception towards Muslim populations and Islam, more generally. On the other hand, the strong positive relationship between civil & human rights/liberties and domestic policy/foreign relations in the wake of September 11 is important in that it is suggestive of the rising concern of the status of minorities within this country, and the state of our national and international post-9/11 policies and practices.

Ultimately, the purpose of this study has been to assess how the case of Maher Arar been framed in Canada’s two national newspapers, The Globe and Mail and the National Post. This was a relevant sociological topic to study given that news media are one of the primary sources of information gathering and dissemination. Mass news media, such as
national-based newspapers, have the power to inform large numbers of people about current events and play a central role in shaping the perceptions of the public about political issues. Indeed, news media has had a significant impact on the construction of citizenship in North America in the post-9/11 period. In the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, both Canada and the United States justified a number of new counter-terrorism policies by arguing that they only applied to non-citizens who are outside the realm of full constitutional protection. Canada’s Anti-terrorism Act and the United States’ Patriot Act, were however, clearly directed at persons of Middle Eastern, Arab, and/or Muslim origin, irrespective of their citizenship. As the highly publicized case of Maher Arar has shown, citizenship does not provide any guarantees that one’s constitutional rights will be upheld.

On a broader level, this case is about preserving the sovereignty of Canada against mounting pressures for increased integration from the United States. The Canadian government has openly criticized the United States for their failure to inform Canada immediately regarding the detainment of Arar. The Canadian government also issued a rare travel advisory, telling Canadian citizens born in the specified ‘security threat’ countries, to consider carefully whether to travel to the United States, following the enactment of the United States’ National Security Entry-Exit Registration System. Moreover, Canada’s decision not to deploy troops in the American-led war in Iraq and its advocacy for a multilateral approach in the ‘war against terrorism’, illustrate the vast political and ideological differences that exist between the United States and Canada. The Bush administration has argued that restricting freedoms and targeting certain minorities is the unavoidable price of security. Although there is a fundamental link between Canada’s national security and that of the United States, Canada must ensure that the protection of civil and human rights continue to be upheld even in times of conflict and insecurity.

As a final point, future research on the case of Maher Arar may consider a comparative study between news coverage in the United States and Canada. In addition, alternative forms of mass communication, such as the Internet and television news programs, may be examined in order to assess whether similar findings are found. Certainly, the significance of this case in the present-day social and political climate leaves much to be explored as this case is reflective of an increasingly widespread social issue, concerning the detainment and deportation of Middle Easterners and Muslims, in the wake of September 11, 2001.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Electronic Sources:

Wikipedia – The Free Encyclopaedia:


Micromedia Proquest. Available:
<www.micromedia.ca/products_services/CdnNewsstandDailies_0404.htm> [accessed 17 July 2006]
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: EXPLANATION & EXAMPLES OF FRAMES

In this study, four main frames were used to analyze over 250 newspaper articles from Canada’s two national papers, including (1) the terrorism frame, (2) the domestic policy/foreign relations frame, (3) the racial/religious frame, and (4) the human rights/civil liberties frame. These frames were defined in accordance with the types of “criteria” that were used to “describe and evaluate” the case of Maher Arar (see Hall, 2000: 236). The following is a brief explanation of each frame accompanied by an example from both the National Post and the Globe & Mail. As a final point, the four frames selected for this study were found to be the most visible, however, there may be additional frames which were not commented upon for the purposes of this study, but which may nonetheless be applicable in some measure.

1. The Terrorism Frame

Terrorism is defined as “a method or tactic involving systematic coercive intimidation, including the threat or use of violence in the destruction of property or physical harm to persons used as a mechanism of control” (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003: 6). Terrorism can take the form of sabotage, destructive riots, hijackings, assassinations, kidnappings, bombings and other unlawful political behaviour. Norris, Kern & Just explain that, “[i]t is systematic, meaning that there is a pattern of such action rather than a single incident (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003: 6). The targets of terrorist coercion tend to be the civilian population which sets terrorist acts apart from conventional acts of war directed against military targets. Lastly, terrorism is a means of achieving multiple political goals. Although the motive behind such acts is not always clear, typically the political goals involve spreading anxiety and fear not only among the victims, but amongst the general public; eliminating political opponents, and destroying symbolic targets. This unconventional form of warfare was exemplified by the aircraft hijackings and the use of these planes to attack the Pentagon and World Trade Centre, symbols of America’s military and economic pride. The September 11 terrorist attacks are renowned for their magnitude and symbolic power. This particular event is also symbolic in that the date on which the attacks took place, the eleventh day of the ninth
month or 9/11, coincidentally stands for the emergency number in the United States, among
other nations.

The use of the terrorism frame serves several functions by linking together disparate
facts, events, and people and by naming suspected perpetrators and attributing blame. After
9/11 the ‘war on terrorism’ frame was adopted by the Bush administration as the new
standard used to distinguish ‘friends’ from ‘enemies.’ In the words of President Bush, “Every
nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the
terrorists.” The terrorism frame has been used to justify the U.S. hostility toward the
Taliban regime in Afghanistan, toward Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s
Iran, and Kim Jong-il’s North Korea.

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE TERRORIST FRAME FROM THE GLOBE AND MAIL

EXAMPLE #1:

AN OUTRAGE AGAINST CANADA
Comment
Shafted by the eagle Even Canadian citizens are not immune from the U.S. security crackdown,
says SHEEMA KHAN
1158 words
16 October 2002
The Globe and Mail
Metro
A17
English

On Sept. 26, en route to Montreal from Zurich, Mr. Arar was pulled aside while waiting to change planes at
New York’s Kennedy International Airport. Unaware of recent U.S. regulations requiring all aliens born in Syria
(among other countries) to be profiled, Mr. Arar was fingerprinted and photographed by the Immigration and
Naturalization Service. The INS questioned him for nine hours, without the presence of a lawyer, and accused
him of knowing suspected "terrorists" in Canada, which he denied. It threatened to deport him to Syria, where
he had missed military service and was thus in danger of imprisonment. As a Canadian citizen, he asked to be
returned to Canada.

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE TERRORIST FRAME FROM THE NATIONAL POST

EXAMPLE #2:

News
PM reverses course on Arar: Calls inquiry as pressure mounts after raid on reporter’s house; results
may be secret
Robert Fife, Ottawa Bureau Chief
CanWest News Service
1002 words
29 January 2004

Mr. Arar, a dual citizen, was arrested Sept. 26, 2002, as he passed through New York’s JFK Airport on his way home after two months in Tunisia. He was deported on Oct. 8 and taken to Syria, where he spent a year of solitary confinement in a tiny cell.

Paul Cellucci, the U.S. Ambassador, said last April that Mr. Arar was well-known to Canadian law enforcement and "they wouldn’t be happy to see him come back to Canada."

Last week, the CBS news program 60 Minutes II quoted U.S. officials as saying Canadian intelligence quietly approved of Mr. Arar’s deportation because of terrorist links.

Mr. Arar denies he is a terrorist. He said he confessed to belonging to an al-Qaeda sleeper cell and training at a terrorist camp in Afghanistan only under torture.

2. The Domestic Policy/Foreign Relations Frame

Domestic policy consists of all government policy decisions, programs, and actions that primarily deal with internal matters, as opposed to relations with other nation-states. Its counterpart, foreign policy refers to a set of political goals that seeks to outline how a particular country will interact with the other countries of the world. Foreign policies generally are designed to help protect a country’s national interests, national security ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This frame focuses on issues related to Canada’s internal and external policies since the events of September 11th. Some of the central issues captured within this frame are Canada’s relationship with the United States post-September 11, global security and homeland security initiatives, and new legislation and regulations relating to immigration, border security, and anti-terrorism procedures.

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE DOMESTIC POLICY/FOREIGN RELATIONS FRAME FROM THE GLOBE AND MAIL

EXAMPLE #1

National News
Ottawa to offer U.S. security assurance; Trust Canada to do its part to safeguard borders, McLellan to tell Washington
DREW FAGAN
OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF
717 words
29 January 2004
The Globe and Mail
A4
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.
Fresh from announcing a public inquiry into the Arar case, Deputy Prime Minister Anne McLellan vowed yesterday that the Martin government will safeguard critical security co-operation with the United States and examine new ways for the two countries to speed the cross-border flow of goods and people.

Ms. McLellan, who heads to Washington today for key meetings with U.S. leaders, said she believes Canadians have "some real concerns" about whether the federal and provincial governments have done enough regarding national security since the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States.

"We certainly want to assure our allies . . . that it is absolutely key that nothing that this public inquiry does calls into question our ability to collect and share information under the appropriate protocols which exist, and that we can be trusted with that information," she said. "That is absolutely key."

The 11-member cabinet security committee, which Ms. McLellan chairs, was presented this month with polling information to suggest that many Canadians want even stronger security legislation — hardly the kind of response that some cabinet ministers had expected, especially given the impact that cross-border security links apparently had in the Maher Arar case.

Ms. McLellan said yesterday that she takes the polling, done for the government by Ekos Research Associates, at face value, and doubts the figures have budged much since the survey was done last fall, as the Arar case was gathering steam. "We are part of a global community, and there are global threats," she said.

Ekos said that only 8 per cent of Canadians felt that Ottawa's security response to terrorism had gone too far, while 37 per cent believed it had not gone far enough. By comparison, 23 per cent of Americans felt their country's response to Sept. 11 had gone too far, and 31 per cent felt it had not gone far enough.

That was the case, the polling data shows, although there was a huge discrepancy between citizens of the two countries as to whether they feared a terrorist attack on their country: Close to half of all Americans believed an attack was very likely; 5 per cent of Canadians did.

"It is interesting to note the degree to which Canadians accept the notion that we need higher levels of security in Canada despite the fact that most think we won't be a target of terrorism," said Ekos's chief operating officer, David Zussman. "We see this as important to our own safety and to that of our neighbours."

Ms. McLellan is now responsible for cross-border security and economic ties with Washington, succeeding John Manley, who also was deputy prime minister. She said yesterday that the Bush administration was informed in advance that the Martin government was calling a public inquiry into the case of Mr. Arar, a Canadian who says he was tortured in his native Syria after being deported there by the United States. But it is not expected to be a key topic of conversation in her meetings with Vice-President Dick Cheney, Attorney-General John Ashcroft and Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge.

"We want to take stock of what we've already accomplished," she said, making reference to a pact known as the Smart Border Accord, signed more than two years ago. It increased cross-border security co-operation and introduced new measures to speed the way for high-volume exporters.

Canadian business organizations are concerned that bilateral economic efforts have lost steam in recent months, a point acknowledged on a recent visit to Ottawa by a White House official.

"The great concern in the business community is whether there is the same sense of urgency to move forward on border reforms as there was after Sept. 11," said Perrin Beatty, president of the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters.

Ms. McLellan disputed this assessment, but she did emphasize that more needs to be done as both countries try to protect legitimate trade while targeting high-risk cargo. In particular, she said, Canada and the United States should examine ways to co-ordinate better in terms of marine and aviation security.
OTTAWA - Paul Cellucci, the U.S. Ambassador, said yesterday his country would continue to act unilaterally against foreigners -- including Canadians -- it believes are security risks, as Wayne Easter, the Solicitor-General, disputed the U.S. notion that Canada has become a terrorist haven.

Mr. Cellucci's comments come after Paul Martin, the incoming prime minister, demanded Washington give better treatment to individuals such as Maher Arar, the Syrian-born Canadian who was deported to Syria from New York on suspicions of terrorist involvement. Ottawa was not notified of Mr. Arar's detainment or deportation.

"We obviously want to work closely with Canada, as we do on security matters," Mr. Cellucci said after addressing delegates to a conference on Canada-U.S. relations.

"Now more than ever our law enforcement intelligence agencies have to work together to meet the threat that is out there and to deter that threat.

"My final point though, I think, is one that needs to be understood," he added. "The United States will continue to do what it has to do and at times act unilaterally if we believe it's in the security interests of the people of the United States."

"The President has no more solemn obligation -- and we will reserve the right to act unilaterally in very rare cases to protect the security of the people of the United States," Mr. Cellucci said.

Mr. Easter, at the same conference yesterday, told delegates. "Canada is sometimes unjustly perceived by some Americans to be a potential conduit or staging base for terrorist acts in the U.S."

He said the U.S. perception that Canadian law enforcement officials allow terrorists to roam freely within our borders "is not a correct one."

Mr. Easter's comments came on the same day the Israeli embassy alleged a Canadian was recruited by Hamas to conduct operations in Canada.

Also this week, Abdurahman Khadr, a Canadian who had been held by the Americans at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, admitted he attended an al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan.

Ahmed Ressam, a former Montrealer convicted in the United States of crossing into that country from Canada as part of a plot to commit terrorist acts, had attended the same camp.

A spokesman for Mr. Martin would not comment on Mr. Cellucci's statement yesterday except to reiterate that the new administration, which takes over from Prime Minister Jean Chretien on Dec. 12, stood by its demand that the Canadian passport must be respected.

Mr. Cellucci replied by saying any government would act as the United States did if it believed its citizens were in danger.
"We certainly respect the Canadian passport and we will continue to respect the Canadian passport," the U.S. ambassador said, "but we will do what we have to do to protect the security of the people of the United States just as the Prime Minister of Canada will do what he or she has to do to protect the security of the people of Canada."

Mr. Easter admitted the government is worried about how U.S. authorities treated Mr. Arar, but said he hoped Washington and Ottawa could resolve the matter through discussions over what went wrong.

"We believe that Canadian citizenship rights and the passport must have value and that our citizens should be treated as they would be treated under our Charter of Rights and Freedoms," Mr. Easter said.

"That hasn't always happened and we are concerned about that. But the fact of the matter, I think you have to recognize, [is] that, as nations, we have a tremendous relationship.

"What we have to do is strive to get to the point where [the passport] is indeed respected," Mr. Easter added.

Quebec Liberal member of Parliament Marlene Jennings, Mr. Easter's former parliamentary secretary, suggested the United States had not only failed to respect the Canadian passport in the case of Mr. Arar, but it might have also neglected United States law.

"In this particular case, my understanding is that the American authorities did not respect their own statutes," Ms. Jennings said, adding she believed U.S. law underlined that foreign nationals deported from the United States should be sent to their country of citizenship.

3. The Racial/Religious Frame

'Race', a socially constructed concept, refers to a group of people united or classified together on the basis of common history, nationality, or geographic distribution. In addition to identifying a group racially, religion is also frequently used to demarcate different religious groups. Religion can be defined as a set of beliefs, values, and practices based on the teachings of a spiritual leader. The racial/religious frame involved racialized framing or frames that referred to religion. For example, racialized and religious discourses have been used to distinguish 'allies' from 'enemies', 'good' from 'evil' and 'us' versus 'them'. Sunera Thobani explains that racial profiling in the wake of September 11 has become institutionalized, through the targeting of immigrants and refugees within Canada and the United States who are being represented as a threat to the nation's security, especially for those who "look" like Muslims (Thobani, 2003: 402).
EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE RACIAL/RELIGIOUS FRAME FROM THE GLOBE AND MAIL

EXAMPLE #1

Comment
Deliver us from suspicion
SHEEMA KHAN
924 words
24 November 2003
The Globe and Mail
A13
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

For Muslims, the month of Ramadan is a special time to purify the spirit through fasting, charity and extra prayers. We reflect deeply upon the Koran, expressing gratitude for the many blessings we often take for granted. Whether the favours are tangible (e.g. health, food, shelter) or intangible (peace, personal security), the heartfelt sentiment is best captured by the phrase: "There but for the grace of God go I."

Earlier this month, I was waiting in a doctor's office with two flu-ridden children. It was Nov. 11 and, at 11 a.m., the busy staff stopped all work and stood respectfully to a solemn rendition of O Canada broadcast on CBC Radio. One silver-haired patient sang with deep conviction. My beautiful country, I thought. A beacon of light in a world filled with so much darkness. One of the few places where a worried mother can get prompt medical attention for her sick children, despite our current health-care concerns.

As we observed two minutes of silence, my six-year-old son asked what was happening. I tried to explain the significance of remembering the efforts of those who had died in conflict.

But it's also important to remember that while Canadian soldiers were fighting tyranny overseas, many were battling the tyranny of discrimination here in Canada. During both world wars, various ethnic groups faced suspicion, even internment, under the pretext of national security. Their treatment was often enshrined in law, later repealed by the efforts of those who found the miscarriage of justice unconscionable. Albertan suffragette Nellie McClung fought on behalf of Japanese Canadians and Jewish refugees during the Second World War. Such struggles have helped the cause of justice right here.

In the post-9/11 era, Canadian Muslims and Arabs find themselves a minority under suspicion, based on the pretext of national security. The harrowing tale of Maher Arar has evoked collective outrage — more so given the sions of complicity on the part of Canadian security services.

Yet, at least three more Canadians remain in Middle East prisons: Ahmad Abou El Maati in Egypt, and Abdullah Almalki and Arwad al-Bouchi in Syria. According to family members, all three were under surveillance by CSIS and the RCMP. Does Canada have its own unofficial "rendition" policy — asking unsavory regimes to pick up Canadian citizens travelling abroad, and subject them to torture to break their will?

In Mr. Arar's case, it's clear that transcripts of his "confession" found their way back to CSIS in Canada, with portions leaked by "anonymous" government sources. Attempting to smear Mr. Arar, they claimed that he had "spilled the beans" on some of the Muslim immigrants imprisoned on secret evidence under Canada's security certificate. Does the Crown's "evidence" include torture-based confessions — evidence that would be rejected under normal rules? Remember: The defendant is not allowed to cross-examine, let alone see the evidence presented against him.

Currently five people are imprisoned here in Canada without charge: Muhammad Mahjoub (since June, 2000); Mahmoud Jaballah (August, 2001); Hassan Almrei (October, 2001); Mohamed Harkat (December, 2002); and Adil Charkaoui (May, 2003).

Even presiding judges find the Kafkaesque scenario deeply troubling. The judge in the Jaballah case has called the process "invidious," describing the detention as Canada's version of Guantanamo Bay. Federal Court Justice James K. Hugesson, speaking on behalf of his colleagues, said: "We hate it. We do not like this process of having to sit alone hearing only one party and looking at the materials produced by only one party and trying to figure out for ourselves what is wrong with the case. Good cross-examination requires really careful
preparation and a good knowledge of your case. And by definition, judges do not do that. ... I sometimes feel a little bit like a fig leaf."

Our immigration department, stinging from American criticism of being too soft, decided to show just how tough it was by publicizing its handling of 19 Pakistani illegal immigrants. The muscle-flexing was meant for the audience due south. Even justice officials here said there was no evidence of a terrorist conspiracy — just your garden-variety immigration scam. Yet the publicity cast a smear on the lives of these men, and sent a chill through the local Pakistani community. Those deported back to Pakistan have been interrogated about the alleged al-Qaeda link. Our immigration department refuses to admit error or issue an apology.

These are a few of the more public examples of Muslims caught in the dragnet of security zeal. While there have been no terrorist attacks in North America since 9/11, many innocent lives have been ruined. At time of difficulty, Muslims are reminded that "God does not burden any soul beyond what it can bear." Rather than sink into victimhood, they should stand tall and demand fair treatment, following the examples of the struggle by Canada's other ethnic groups.

On the eve of her husband's return from Syria, Monia Mazigh graciously called his release "a victory for Canadian values." Given what we now know, this characterization was premature. There will be no victory until there is a full accounting of the role of government agencies in the suspension of constitutional rights of many Muslims and Arabs.

In the past, Canadians have resolved to right the wrongs inflicted on members of our mosaic. Let's take this challenge, O Canada, to stand on guard for thee.

canada@cair-net.org

Illustration

---

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE RACIAL/RELIGIOUS FRAME FROM THE NATIONAL POST

---

EXAMPLE #2

Diane Francis
Comment

Dangerous strangers in our midst
Diane Francis
National Post
891 words
6 December 2003
National Post
National
A27
English
(c) 2003 National Post . All Rights Reserved.

Ahmed Nasir Ali (a.k.a. Ahmed Ali Said) came to Canada from Ethiopia and was granted refugee status in 1993. Three years later, he was convicted of assault and sexual interference. His victim was his nine-year-old niece. He served a sentence of 20 months in jail, followed by three years of probation.

Unreported to date in the press, Mr. Ali fended off an attempt by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to deport him on the grounds that he was a danger to the public. On Sept. 29, Federal Court Justice James O'Reilly ruled that the immigration bureaucracy failed to present a worthy case.

"Neither of the documents referred to by the Minister's delegate contains any analysis of Mr. Ali's present or future risk to Canadians. They do not discuss either of the psychological reports indicating that Mr. Ali is unlikely to re-offend. The Minister's delegate states that she reviewed all of the materials submitted on Mr.
Ali's behalf. Presumably, then, she considered those reports. However, her brief reasons make no mention of them. Nor does she cite any basis for concluding that Mr. Ali represents a danger to the Canadian public," said the judge.

Mr. Ali should have been unceremoniously booted out of Canada the minute he had served his sentence.

Residency should be a privilege, not a right. But not in Canada, where the system since the mid-1980s has enabled an industry of immigration lawyers to make billions of dollars snacking off a system that has turned this country into an easy mark. Unlike any other developed nation, Canada has no reasonable or efficient means of deporting people, no matter how serious their misdeeds.

Two weeks ago, another Federal Court judge ruled that terrorist suspect Hassan Amlrei could not be deported because he might be tortured in Syria. Mr. Amlrei obtained refugee status in 2000 after lying his way into the country under a false identity, then failing to mention he had received weapons training in Afghanistan and had links to the Osama bin Laden network. On Oct. 16, 2001, he was declared a security threat. Then another court hearing plus an inquiry agreed with this decision.

So his lawyer made the torture argument under Section 53.1(f) of the Immigration Act, which states: "no person ... shall be removed from Canada to a country where the person's life or freedom would be threatened for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion."

However, the Act carves outs an exception for certain persons "convicted of an offence under any Act of Parliament for which a term of imprisonment of 10 years or more may be imposed and the Minister is of the opinion that the person constitutes a danger to the public in Canada, to the security of Canada."

Despite the clarity of this section, Mr. Ali, deemed by the Minister as a danger to the public, still remains in Canada.

What's helped Mr. Amlrei is a recent case involving Maher Arar, a Canadian who alleged publicly that he was tortured in a Syrian prison. The threat of brutality there enabled Mr. Amlrei's lawyer to win another appeal.

The system allows for such endless appeals, thanks to taxpayer-supported legal aid payments, and is an open-ended scheme that encourages lawyers to shop around for favorable decisions.

So far, the record of milking the system rests with Iranian terrorist Mansour Ahani, a trained assassin, who neatly avoided deportation for eight years by invoking every legal technicality available, at a cost of millions to taxpayers. He was finally ordered deported in early January, 2002, and returned to Iran in June that year after several more taxpayer-supported, last-ditch legal attempts.

What's most annoying is why should anyone be allowed to argue, or rule, that Iran's or Syria's or any country's judicial system, or failure to uphold human rights, trumps Canada's right to protect itself from undesirables -- or that a man convicted of a hideous crime is somehow not a danger to society.

These two cases are hardly isolated. Another 36,000 people have been ordered deported but have gone missing. Among those who have disappeared are dozens of war criminals from 24 countries, according to arrest warrants. They include known war criminals and murderers from Iran, Egypt, India, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Algeria, Romania, Honduras, El Salvador, Peru, Haiti, Congo, Ghana, China, Nepal, Bangladesh and Panama.

Despite the violent nature of their crimes, they were treated like ordinary refugee claimants facing deportation and set free then instructed to show up at a certain date for deportation. Their disappearances were aided and abetted by the fact that the Immigration Department does not detain people facing deportation nor does it release their names, photographs and birth dates. Such misguided protection of their rights makes it all but impossible for the public to protect itself or for Canadian law authorities to hunt down guilty parties.

With another 53,000 refugee claimants currently in the system, Canada's failure to rid the country of undesirables must be a policy priority for the next government. Without reforms, Canadians will continue to be needlessly endangered by strangers within our midst.
4. The Civil & Human Rights/Liberties Frames

The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology defines civil rights as "rights which are recognized as belonging to all individuals in a society, which can be upheld by appeal to the law, and are not subject to arbitrary denial either by individuals or the state" (Marshall, 1998: 73). In other words, civil rights are the protections and privileges of personal liberty given to all citizens by law. Such rights are bestowed by nations on those within their territorial boundaries. Civil rights can also refer to the equal treatment of all citizens irrespective of race, sex, or class. By contrast, human rights refers to the concept of human beings as having universal rights, or status, regardless of legal jurisdiction or other localizing factors, such as ethnicity and nationality. Simply put, human rights are those undeniable rights that ought to belong to all people. The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology explains that The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) included "the right to 'life, liberty, and security of person', 'recognition everywhere as a person before the law', 'freedom of movement', 'a nationality', 'freedom of thought, conscience, and religion', 'freedom of peaceful assembly and association', and 'freedom to take part in government'" (Marshall, 1998: 568). Moreover, the concept of citizenship evokes notions of rights. This frame encompasses both civil and human rights/liberties.

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE CIVIL & HUMAN RIGHTS/LIBERTIES FRAME FROM THE GLOBE AND MAIL

EXAMPLE #1

National News
Arar wins legal nod that could speed up lawsuit; Judges give engineer status at next week's hearing of man suing Iran for torture
JEFF SALLOT
534 words
28 November 2003
The Globe and Mail
A10
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

Ottawa ONT

Maher Arar won an important preliminary legal victory yesterday in his suit against the governments of Syria and Jordan for torture.

The Ontario Court of Appeal granted Mr. Arar intervenor status in a case involving a Toronto businessman, Houshang Bouzari, who is suing Iran for kidnapping and torture.

Yesterday's decision means Mr. Arar will get an early chance to argue that foreign governments should not be immune from lawsuits in Canadian courts when they violate basic human rights.
Mr. Arar filed his suit in the Ontario Superior Court on Monday. Normally, it would be months before he was given a hearing date.

By granting Mr. Arar intervenor status, the judges are indicating the issues raised in his case are significant enough to be considered at the same time as the Bouzari appeal. Mr. Bouzari's suit has been working its way through the legal system for about two years. The appeal is to be heard in Toronto next Wednesday.

The federal Department of Justice, which is in the peculiar position of trying to protect Iran's interests in the Bouzari case, did not oppose granting Mr. Arar intervenor status.

U.S. authorities arrested Mr. Arar, a 33-year-old Ottawa telecommunications engineer, in September of 2002 at New York's Kennedy International Airport. A Canadian born in Syria, Mr. Arar was detained as a terrorist suspect for almost two weeks. U.S. officials then deported him to Syria via Jordan even though he had entered the United States on his Canadian passport.

He says he was beaten by the Jordanians and then whipped and tortured during interrogation in Syria. He was held in a small, dark, rat-infested prison cell in Damascus for more than 10 months, then released to Canada when the Syrians could not find evidence to charge him as a terrorist.

Mr. Arar is seeking $31-million in damages from Syria and Jordan for unlawful confinement and torture. U.S. lawyers are preparing a companion suit on his behalf, alleging Washington is complicit in violating his rights.

The Bouzari and Arar cases raise a fundamental question about whether human rights supersede the immunity that governments around the world normally accord other governments, said Lorne Waldman, Mr. Arar's lawyer.

Mr. Bouzari, a landed immigrant from Iran, says that he was hauled from his Tehran apartment at gunpoint and driven to a prison where he was held for 40 days and beaten. He was subjected to a fake execution and his head was pushed into a toilet full of excrement. He was released after his family paid a $3-million ransom.

The Iranian government did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts and did not defend itself. But the federal Department of Justice invoked the federal State Immunity Act to shield Iran. The act is similar to statutes in many other countries.

Ottawa argues that Iran should not be sued in this country because governments need to extend legal immunity to each other so that diplomatic relations can proceed smoothly.

EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF THE CIVIL & HUMAN RIGHTS/LIBERTIES FRAME FROM THE NATIONAL POST

EXAMPLE #2

News

Canadian detained by U.S. turns up in Syria: Accused of al-Qaeda link: Ottawa protested man's deportation to uncertain fate

Stewart Bell
National Post
697 words
22 October 2002
National Post
National
A02
English
(c) National Post 2002. All Rights Reserved.

The mystery surrounding the whereabouts of a Canadian at the centre of diplomatic tensions between Ottawa and Washington was solved yesterday when he arrived in Syria, his country of origin.

52
Foreign Affairs officials were hoping to find today what the Ottawa engineer has been doing since he was deported from the United States two weeks ago and whether he is free to return home to Canada.

"We don't know. The rest of the puzzle, or a good part of it, should be communicated to us tomorrow," said Reynald Doiron, spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Maher Arar, 32, who became a Canadian citizen in 1991, was flying to Montreal from Zurich on Sept. 26 when he was detained by U.S. immigration authorities during a stopover at New York's Kennedy Airport.

The lawyer who was to represent Mr. Arar did not show up for a hearing on Oct. 7. Mr. Arar was deported under an Immigration law that bans members "of an organization that has been designated by the Secretary of State as a foreign terrorist organization, to wit al-Qaeda."

Initial media reports said Mr. Arar had been deported to his native Syria, where family members feared his Canadian citizenship would not be recognized and he might have been arrested for skipping compulsory military service.

Late yesterday, Syrian authorities called Canada's ambassador in Damascus to notify him that Mr. Arar had arrived that day at the Jordanian border.

"He crossed the border earlier today from Jordan into Syria. Therefore his presence in Syria can be confirmed. His family has been informed in Tunisia as well as in Canada," Mr. Doiron said.

Mr. Arar's fate has been the subject of speculation by media and interest groups over the past 10 days. Muslim lobby groups complained the U.S. government should have returned him to Canada and said Ottawa was not doing enough.

Yesterday in the House of Commons, Alexa McDonough, the NDP leader, asked, "Where is Mr. Arar?"

"They've got to be prepared to stand up and say, 'We will not tolerate this violation of the human rights of a Canadian citizen,' " she said.

"It's almost at the point where we should be issuing travel warnings to the Canadian public to say, 'It's not safe to travel in the United States these days because you don't where they're going to send you.' "

Bill Graham, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, told the House the government was "extremely concerned about the case of Mr. Arar."

"I have raised this issue with American authorities, with the ambassador and at the highest levels, to register our concern with the fact that Mr. Arar is a Canadian citizen and should have been treated as a Canadian citizen."

Mr. Arar had been vacationing in Tunisia with his wife, Monia Mazigh, and their two young children -- ages five and eight months.

After word of his deportation surfaced, Amnesty International sent a letter of protest to Colin Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State, and James Ziglar, the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

"We ... are concerned that deportation to Syria would place Maher Arar at risk of serious human rights abuses, including torture and incommunicado detention," the letter said.

New U.S. laws permit border officials to pluck Canadian citizens born in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Pakistan from border crossings and force them to submit to fingerprinting, a photograph and filling out a form detailing their travel plans.

Canada has protested, calling the law discriminatory.

"It penalizes certain Canadians based upon their country of birth rather than any reasonable suspicion of wrongdoing," Mr. Doiron said.
"These Canadian citizens were security-screened both when they immigrated to Canada and when they became citizens. Both U.S. and Canadian constitutions protect the rights of our citizens domestically against this kind of discrimination and we should not abandon those principles when it comes to our common border."
APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF CODING ARTICLES ON A SCALE OF 1 TO 5 –
(ILLUSTRATED BY THE RACIAL/RELIGIOUS FRAME)

(Note: zero indicates that the frame is inapplicable to that particular article and five indicates that the frame is very applicable for the specified article).

CODING EXAMPLE #1:
Example of an article that was coded as zero:
- *The following article makes no mention of race/religion whatsoever. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded as inapplicable, as indicated by the number 0.*

Canada In Brief
National News
U.S. won't discuss Arar in front of committee
Jeff Sallot
86 words
11 October 2003
The Globe and Mail
National
A7
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

Ottawa ONT

U.S. officials will not appear before a Canadian parliamentary committee to explain why their government deported Ottawa's *Maher Arar* to Syria.

The Commons foreign affairs committee this week asked U.S. Ambassador Paul Cellucci to appear to explain the deportation.

Yesterday, embassy spokeswoman Beth Poisson said the ambassador is not going to say anything further and is not accepting the committee's invitation to testify.

CODING EXAMPLE #2:
Example of an article that was coded as a one:
- *The following article seldom refers to race/religion. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded as vaguely applicable, as indicated by the number 1.*

THE ARAR FILE
National News
Prime Minister scorns call for probe; If there is a Canadian link in deportation of Arar, Powell will tell us, Chretien says
STEVEN CHASE AND DREW FAGAN
523 words
6 November 2003
The Globe and Mail
A4
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

Ottawa ONT
Prime Minister Jean Chrétien rejected mounting calls for a public probe into Canada's role in the deportation and torture of Syrian-Canadian Maher Arar by shifting blame for the incident solely onto the U.S. government's shoulders.

Mr. Chrétien said he'll rely on U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and a police probe, rather than an open inquiry, to investigate lingering allegations that Canadian authorities gave files on Mr. Arar to U.S. authorities or somehow co-operated in Washington's deporting him to Syria in 2002.

"We want to know the name of the Canadian person who might be involved and [U.S. Secretary of State Colin] Powell said to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that if such a name exists, they will give it to Canada," he told the House of Commons yesterday.

Mr. Chrétien fended off opposition calls for a public investigation by washing Ottawa's hands of any responsibility for Mr. Arar's being sent to Syria — instead of home to Ottawa — where he endured more than 10 months of imprisonment and, he says, torture.

"This is just another fishing expedition," Mr. Chrétien said. "The people who are responsible for the deportation of this gentleman to Syria are in the government of the United States, not the Government of Canada. I cannot understand why the opposition wants to blame the Government of Canada for the actions of the Americans.

"I am not one who will presume that some Canadians are guilty of something in that like the [parliamentary] opposition. The fact is that this gentleman was deported from New York to Syria by the government of the United States, and the government of the United States should have informed Canada before acting."

Some Canadian government officials questioned Mr. Chrétien's hard-line approach with Washington yesterday, suggesting it reflected the fact he had little to lose on his second-last day in the Commons.

U.S. officials say that Mr. Powell has pledged to talk with his counterparts at the departments of Justice and Homeland Security, whose staff would also have been responsible for aspects of the Arar case.

But it's unclear what, if anything, will come of those conversations, considering that Mr. Powell has no authority over his counterparts, Washington insiders said.

The RCMP is thought to have passed information concerning Mr. Arar to U.S. intelligence services, although the force denies being involved in the decision to deport him.

The Commission for Public Complaints against the RCMP will ask the force to respond to allegations that it encouraged U.S. officials to deport Mr. Arar — in part by providing them with misleading information — and later impeded his return to Canada.

Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham said the investigation could go beyond the RCMP probe if necessary.

NDP Leader Jack Layton said the Liberal government is shirking its responsibility to lay bare the details of Mr. Arar's case.

CODING EXAMPLE #3:
Example of an article that was coded as a two:
- The following article rarely mentions race/religion. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded as loosely applicable, as indicated by the number 2.
The only stated reason the United States deported Maher Arar to Syria is that he admitted he knew two Ontario men who were also under RCMP investigation and later jailed as terrorism suspects in Syria.

According to U.S. documents obtained by The Globe and Mail, an Immigration and Naturalization Service's regional director concluded that Mr. Arar was a member of al-Qaeda because the 33-year-old Ottawa computer engineer admitted to the FBI after his arrest in 2002 that he was acquainted with two men suspected of being terrorists at the time.

"I have determined that Arar is a member of the designated foreign terrorist organization known as al-Qaeda," INS Eastern region director J. Scott Blackman wrote in his October, 2002, decision.

The seven-page decision does not give any further reasons for the finding.

It refers to the two men — Abdullah Almalki and Ahmad Abou El-Maati — and to information received from the FBI and other unspecified agencies. It says that a "classified addendum" spells out more clearly why Mr. Arar was regarded as a security threat, but that attachment remains classified.

Since he was freed last fall, Mr. Arar said he had had fleeting encounters with Mr. El-Maati, a Toronto truck driver, and Mr. Almalki, a computer engineer in Ottawa, but that he doesn’t really know them.

But the three men, all devout Muslims and Canadian citizens, have a lot in common. RCMP officers visited each of their homes in Canada and Syria separately jailed each of them as terrorism suspects.

Mr. Almalki is the only one still locked up in Syria. He was arrested after flying into the Damascus airport from Malaysia in May, 2002.

Mr. El-Maati was arrested when he flew into the same airport from Canada six months earlier. He was in jails in both Egypt and Syria before his release in Cairo last week.

Mr. Arar was the last one of the three taken into custody. He was arrested at a New York airport in September, 2002, because his name was on a terrorism watch list. After spending two weeks in a Brooklyn jail, Mr. Arar was woken up at 4 a.m. on a Tuesday and told the INS director had decided to deport him.

Mr. Blackman outlined his reasoning in a decision he wrote only a few hours before. "The FBI interviewed Arar on September 27, 2002, at JFK International Airport. During the interview, Arar admitted his association with Abdullah Almalki, Abdullah Almalki's brother, Nazih Almalki," it reads.

Mr. Arar had told the FBI he worked as a computer engineer with Nazih Almalki, who has never been accused of involvement in terrorism. Mr. Arar also had said he once met Abdullah Almalki outside an Ottawa fast-food restaurant and "advised the FBI that Almalki exports radios and that one of his customers was the Pakistani military," according to the INS.

The significance of this fact is unclear, though RMCP officers who questioned the Almalki family suggested that some of the exported computer equipment ended up in al-Qaeda’s hands.

As for Mr. Arar’s relationship with Mr. El-Maati, the truck driver, the INS director’s description is even more terse. "During the September 27, 2002, interview at JFK, Arar admitted knowing Ahman [sic] El-Maati," it reads.

The Globe and Mail revealed last week that the Toronto truck driver had been the subject of an intensive counterterrorism investigation before he flew from Canada to Syria in the fall of 2001. Months earlier, he was stopped at the Canada-U.S. border and grilled for about eight hours about a map said to detail government buildings in Ottawa.

Mr. El-Maati denied the map was his. But suspicion surrounding him appears to have been augmented by the fact that the FBI is looking for his brother, Amer, whose Canadian citizenship papers have been found in Afghanistan. Today, however, Ahmad Abou El-Maati is a free man and the RCMP is said to be preparing to return seized items.
When Mr. Blackman authorized Mr. Arar's deportation, he did so amid heightened security fears that coincided with the release of a new Osama bin Laden audio tape. Apart from Mr. Arar's associations with the other two men, it's unclear what information the INS had.

CODING EXAMPLE #4:
Example of an article that was coded as a three:

- The following article made some mention of race/religion. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded somewhat applicable, as indicated by the number 3.

National News

Martin decrines leaks that tied Arar to terrorism; Ottawa man says he has no confidence RCMP will get to bottom of smears

JEFF SALLOT

691 words

10 January 2004

The Globe and Mail

A5

English

All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

Ottawa ONT

Prime Minister Paul Martin yesterday denounced "leaks" by federal officials linking Maher Arar to terrorism even as the Ottawa man pleaded for a public inquiry to clear his name.

"These leaks are totally unacceptable," Mr. Martin said, referring to media reports that Mr. Arar trained at an al-Qaeda camp in Afghanistan and had other connections to the terrorist group.

The news reports attributed the information to anonymous government sources. The RCMP has launched a criminal investigation into the leaks, officials in Public Security Minister Anne McLellan's office said.

Mr. Arar, who spent 10 months in solitary confinement in a Syrian prison after he was deported from the United States as a terrorism suspect, said he has no confidence that the RCMP will be able to find out who is smearing his reputation.

The RCMP itself appears to be the source of misinformation that was provided to U.S. authorities and that led to his deportation in October of 2002, he said in an interview.

"There is a shadow over my name. There appears to be a campaign to discredit me even before I got back to Canada," Mr. Arar said.

Syrian officials released him three months ago when they could not come up with evidence that he was involved with terrorism.

Mr. Arar said the Syrians tortured him into admitting falsely that he trained at an al-Qaeda camp.

U.S. immigration officials arrested the Syrian-born man at New York's JFK Airport and later deported him to Syria although he was travelling on a Canadian passport.

Some U.S. news reports have said Mr. Arar had the names of known terrorists in a notebook when he was arrested. He said he was travelling with a Palm Pilot and a laptop computer and both had 500 to 600 names in their data bases, most of them other employees of a computer company where he worked.

To his knowledge none of the people are terrorists, he said.

The hard drive of his laptop computer had in its storage hundreds of e-mails and website addresses.

He said most of this information related to his work as a telecommunications engineer, but he had visited some websites to get news about the Middle East and information about his religion.
These included Al-Jazeera, the Arabic-language satellite TV news network, and a site allowing him to listen to readings of the Koran.

A devout Sunni Muslim, Mr. Arar said the Islamic websites he visited were not operated by extremists. "Nothing out of the normal range of free speech."

He said he is not particularly political. When U.S. and Syrian interrogators asked him about events in the Middle East he denounced suicide bombings by Palestinians and Israeli bulldozing of Palestinian homes.

Mr. Arar suspects the U.S. authorities doubted his truthfulness because they received incorrect information from Canadian officials.

He notes, for example, that some Canadian government records say he became a citizen in 1995 when, in fact, it was 1990.

So when the U.S. interrogators asked him when he became a Canadian, and he said 1990, "they accused me of lying."

Mr. Arar said the Americans may have thought he was trying to conceal something and the quickest way to get the information was to send him to Syria to be tortured.

Speaking to reporters after a cabinet meeting, Prime Minister Martin said that it is "really unacceptable" for Canadian officials to pass along unsubstantiated information about Mr. Arar.

Mr. Martin said he is placing high importance on internal investigations into the way the case was handled by the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

He left the door open to a public inquiry if Ms. McLellan believes one is needed.

It is "perfectly natural" that Mr. Arar is doing everything he can to try to get the facts, Mr. Martin said, "and I've made it very clear . . . I'm going to get to the bottom of this."

CODING EXAMPLE #5:

Example of an article that was coded as a four:
- The following article referred to race/religion at least a few times. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded quite applicable, as indicated by the number 4.

National News
Civil liberties at risk, ex-CSIS head says
JEFF SALLOT
803 words
27 November 2003
The Globe and Mail
A8

Canada's former top spy says the federal government has gone too far in the war on terror and risks trampling on civil liberties.

Reid Morden, the former director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, is taking aim at the federal anti-terrorism laws enacted after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, saying they make it too easy to outlaw groups and prosecute individuals as alleged terrorists.

The new laws permit the cabinet, on the advice of CSIS, to designate groups as "terrorist" and makes it a serious crime for an individual to belong to such groups or provide material support.
Mr. Morden argues that the definition of terrorism can be stretched so broadly that it can ensnare people who pose no real threat to national security.

The people whose rights are most at risk of violation are newcomers to Canada, Mr. Morden said.

His critique was published yesterday in an unlikely spot, the CSIS Web page, in the agency's Commentary series on intelligence issues. The essays, usually written by academics, do not reflect the official views of CSIS.

It's rare for a former insider to argue that the CSIS spooks have too much power.

Mr. Morden, who ran the agency as the Cold War was winding down from 1987 to 1991, is a private security consultant. He is also the former deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The terrorist threat is real and Canada is not immune, Mr. Morden acknowledges. The attacks on New York and Washington "effectively demonstrated that every country in the world is vulnerable to attack. . . . Terrorism and this radical brand of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism will be with us for a long time," he writes.

Referring to some of his own major challenges as CSIS director, he said the agency has vast experience dealing with terrorism in this country, including Armenian nationalist attacks on the Turkish embassy in Ottawa and gun and munitions smuggling by the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

But Canada has well-established criminal laws that can deal with specific terrorist acts and conspiracies, he said.

Nevertheless, the Canadian government, "in its race to catch up, went beyond the British and American legislation defining terrorist activities to include legal political, religious and ideological protests that intentionally disrupt essential services. . . . The overall effect is to lengthen the long reach of the criminal law in a manner that is complex, unclear and unrestrained."

To date, 34 groups have been named terrorist entities under the new law, including the al-Qaeda network of Osama bin Laden, which has taken responsibility for the Sept. 11 attacks, in which almost 3,000 died.

Mr. Morden's critique arrives in Ottawa amid a storm of debate about the role of the Canadian government in the arrest in New York of Ottawa software engineer Maher Arar and his deportation to Syria, where he says he was tortured.

Mr. Arar was deported as an alleged terrorist, but he has never been charged with a crime.

Mr. Morden said he is not naive about the risks of an open democracy and that large numbers of people in Canada are sympathetic to radical political messages.

"That radical message can lead to many forms of expression, including the planning and perpetration of an attack on Canadian soil."

Nobody knows for sure what form an attack will take, but "most intelligence sources are agreed that it, or they, will come."

Canada must prepare itself to protect infrastructure, heritage buildings, symbolic structures and nuclear power plants. But Canadians have to maintain the traditional regard for rights and freedoms, he said.

"The question is whether the hastily drafted legislation has accomplished its essential purposes without unacceptably moving the line of balance between legitimate advocacy, protest and dissent and the security of the state and its inhabitants, thereby unacceptably chilling unfettered exercise of the former."

He concludes that "...The new law diminishes due-process protections as it seeks to introduce counterterrorist measures."

Moreover, the definition of terrorism "is so wide that it could easily include behaviour that doesn't remotely resemble terrorism. Once the 'terrorist' label is fastened on an individual, organization or suspect, then the rules of procedural justice are more easily suspended."
The people most likely to be labelled as terrorists are "visibly identifiable as racial, ethnic or political minorities, recently arrived in Canada as immigrants and refugees."

Ironically, he noted, these are the very individuals who rely on organizations within their communities for support learning Canadian languages and customs. The organizations also provide vital links to homelands.

One of the biggest challenges facing Canadian policymakers, he said, is to convince the United States that this country is a trusted ally and not, as some have suggested a "Club Med" for terrorists.

CODING EXAMPLE #6:
Example of an article that was coded as a five:
- The following article frequently made reference to race/religion. Therefore, the racial/religious frame was coded as being quite applicable, as indicated by the number 5.

International News
Canadian jailed in Syria not linked to terrorism, family says; Oil manager quit radical Islamic group over two decades ago, brother maintains
ALAN FREEMAN
Staff Writer
963 words
5 August 2003
The Globe and Mail
A8
English
All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

London ENGLAND

A man who is one of three former Ottawa residents being detained by Syrian authorities had links to the Muslim Brotherhood radical Islamic group as a student and later came to know at least one of the other imprisoned Canadians, but he had no ties to terrorism, according to family members.

Arwad Al-Bouchi, a 44-year-old oil-and-gas-industry manager, was first arrested in Damascus over a year ago but little has emerged about his case until recently because his wife, who lives in Saudi Arabia, was reluctant to raise the issue with Canadian authorities, hoping a low-key approach would win the release of her husband.

Like Maher Arar and Abdullah Almalki, the other Canadians being held in Syrian prisons, Mr. Al-Bouchi was born in Syria and eventually moved to Ottawa, where he remained for seven years in the 1990s and became a Canadian citizen. He then moved to Saudi Arabia, where he had lived prior to emigrating to Canada, but retained his Canadian citizenship.

Last July, Mr. Al-Bouchi decided to travel to Damascus with his family to visit his dying father — his first trip back since he left for Saudi Arabia in 1979. He travelled as a Canadian because he didn’t have a Syrian passport, said his elder brother Muhannad, contacted in Damascus.

But Mr. Al-Bouchi was arrested at the airport and has been in prison ever since, relatives say. There have been no charges against him, and he has not been allowed to make contact with his family since September, when he was briefly allowed out to attend his father’s funeral.

Muhannad At-Bouchi says he thinks his brother was arrested for "something political." He confirmed that Arwad had ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist group that is the sworn enemy of Syria’s Baathist regime and has been linked to al-Qaeda.

"In the 1970s, he was with this group [the Muslim Brotherhood]," he said.

But Muhannad insisted that his brother is no longer a radical.

"In the beginning of his life, when he was young, he was religious. Now he’s a very normal guy, not very religious," he said, adding: "I’m sure he did not go to Afghanistan."
Asked whether he was familiar with the case of Mr. Arar, the Syrian-born Canadian who Damascus alleges is linked to al-Qaeda, Muhannad insisted: "I think my brother's case is quite different. In the 1970s, he was involved in these things, but now he's not involved."

Syria has conducted a brutal campaign of repression against the Muslim Brotherhood for more than 20 years and has co-operated with Washington in arresting and seeking out al-Qaeda sympathizers.

Last August, a month after Mr. Al-Bouchi's arrest, Mr. Almalki was picked up, although it's still unclear whether he was arrested in Syria or in a third country. Canadian officials have not officially confirmed Mr. Almalki's identity because his family fears the consequences of naming him.

A month after Mr. Almalki's arrest, Mr. Arar, a 36-year-old telecommunications engineer, was arrested in New York as he was travelling home to Canada from a visit to Tunisia. Mr. Arar was deported by U.S. authorities to Syria even though he was travelling on his Canadian passport, sparking protests from the Canadian government and a high-profile campaign, led by his wife, to have him released.

Mr. Almalki is believed to have been acquainted with Mr. Arar and to have attended the same Ottawa mosque, although members of the Almalki family said they hardly knew each other.

But the connection between Mr. Almalki and Mr. Al-Bouchi appears clear. The latter's 18-year-old son, Radwan, said: "Abdullah Almalki? We were friends in Ottawa. We used to see him."

In a telephone interview from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Radwan said he spent his whole childhood in Ottawa, from kindergarten through Grade 6, before the family moved back to Saudi Arabia. His younger brother and sister were both born in Canada.

According to Mr. Al-Bouchi's brother, Arwad came to Canada under the business investor program.

"I don't know exactly what he was doing there. It was some sort of investment," Muhannad said. Mr. Al-Bouchi left Ottawa in 1996 or 1997 because "financial things in Canada were not very good, so he came back to Saudi Arabia to work in an oil-and-gas company."

Radwan remembers vividly how his father was arrested last July 2 as the family arrived in Damascus.

"The whole family was with him. We all had visas. At the airport, people came and they said to him 'Come with us.' They haven't seen him since.

The family stayed in Damascus, hoping for his release, but returned to Saudi Arabia at the end of the summer. Soon after, Mr. Al-Bouchi's father died. He was allowed to attend the funeral, but was arrested again.

"I haven't seen and heard of him," said the son, who has been forced to quit school and go to work to help support the family. "They kept telling us even after they took him the second time that he'll be out soon."

Radwan said his father has no terrorist connections.

"He's a normal father. We lived in Canada for a long time. He had nothing to do with anybody. . . . He used to go Fridays to the mosque but that's it." Under Syrian law, anyone born in the country is considered Syrian even if they obtain another citizenship.
APPENDIX C: THE FOUR FRAMING VARIABLES PLOTTED OVER TIME

The figures below are the actual observations graphed over time. (See Figure 3 for a statistical representation of the estimated frame values over time).

Figure 4  The Actual Observations for Changes of the POLICY Frame Over Time

Figure 5  The Actual Observations for Changes of the Frame RACEREL Over Time
Figure 6  The Actual Observations for Changes of the CIVIL Frame Over Time

Figure 7  The Actual Observations for Changes of the TERROR Frame Over Time