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Canada

THE PERCEPTION & REALITY OF "IMPORTED CONFLICT" IN CANADA

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BY: THE MOSAIC INSTITUTE

But the Canadian mentality is to understand everyone's problems. When you do that, the hatred you were taught calms down.

(D., Armenian woman, 27, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)

I work well with people from both Bangladesh and India, regardless of religion, which I probably wouldn't have when I first came.

(K., Pakistani man, 55, b. Pakistan, to Canada at 25)

Canadian society is multicultural and we are forced to accept different cultures and languages. I think that has influenced me. I have become more open because I interact with these people on a daily basis. Exposure does make you more accepting.

(M., Bosnian woman, 21, b. Sarajevo, to Canada at 10)

There is no way I would be so open-minded if I lived in Lebanon or Armenia. My fresh-off-the-boat cousins' views are so different from mine.

(A., Armenian woman, 27, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)

Being Canadian is multiculturalism – where locals are accepting of people and you can integrate but not assimilate … It is one of the beauties of Canada – and it is unique – Canada is not Germany or France.

(L., Armenian man, 24, b. Canada, 2nd generation)

I chose Canada because I wanted to come to a place where the majority of people were immigrants, a country of the new world where my kids would not have to go into the army, where we would not be second-rate citizens, and where my kids would have a future.

(M., Bosnian woman, 54, to Canada at 45)

I have never before lived in a country where the news talks about multiculturalism. In Israel a family mourns if their Ashkenazi daughter marries a Yemeni Jew. The awareness of multiculturalism dawned on me here. In that respect it affected me.

(B., Israeli Jew, b. 66, to Canada at 55)

The good thing is that if people argue here they use their words but not their fists. There is an understanding that if you disagree you can use a loud voice but not be physical.

(D., Ethiopian woman, 39, b. Ethiopia, to Canada at 19)

It is inspiring to be in Toronto and see all those communities merge. It's a journey and I am still in the early stages of it ... This city showed me you can leave all that baggage behind and can live with people as neighbours even if you don't agree.

(L., Kenyan Muslim woman, 30, b. Mombasa, to Canada at 18)

The common element of all my friends is that being Canadian is very important to us. Our shared recognition of being Canadian gives us the ground to build on.

(V., Sinhalese man, 29, b. Colombo, to Canada at 16)

I see myself as having a more Canadian multicultural identity that treats all cultures as valuable and worth of respect.

(L., Tamil man, 33, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 9)

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>FOREWORD

In early 2012, when Canada's Minister of Public Safety announced the government's intention to establish the Kanishka Project Contribution Program ("Kanishka Project") to support research that would "shed light on terrorism and how best to address it in Canada"[1], it did not immediately seem like a natural fit with the work or interests of The Mosaic Institute.

Since 2008, we had become known in part for our research into how Canadians from diaspora communities can enrich the content and direction of Canada's foreign policy as it relates to the promotion of peace. We had also gained some recognition (and later won a prestigious national award[2]) for our design and delivery of innovative programs involving Canadian youth connected to different sides of overseas conflicts in peace dialogues and globally-minded service projects. This work had been important, inspiring, and even life-changing for hundreds of young people, but it had not led to any discernible expertise on our part concerning the threat of terrorism to Canada. At first blush, therefore, the announcement of the Kanishka Project seemed notable, but not directly related to us and to our work.

Happily for us, though, we were encouraged by the extremely supportive and collaborative officials of Public Safety Canada to think about the research mandate of the Kanishka Project more broadly and more creatively. We soon realized that one of the guiding premises behind our work – that Canada's diverse population has memories of or connections to either historical or ongoing conflicts around the world – was extremely germane to the "Kanishka" mandate.

To begin with, we asked whether our assumption that Canadians maintain these memories or connections when they come to Canada was empirically sound, and whether other Canadians' ***perceptions*** of these connections matched the ***reality*** of other Canadians' lived experience. We wondered what effect, if any, such memories and connections might have on Canadians' ability to form close social attachments with those who at one time would have been perceived as their enemies. And, if Canadians' memory of overseas conflicts continues to negatively affect them and their interrelationships long after they arrive in Canada, does that mean that the multiculturalism that we herald as a linchpin of Canadian identity could, if managed poorly, lead us down a road towards social division, discord and even violence? Were we already on that road, like other parts of the world that may have at one time felt that they, too, were protected from the rise of terrorism on their shores? What was really going on in the hearts and minds of Canadians with personal connection to overseas conflict, and how should the rest of us respond?

In developing our proposal to pursue these research questions with the support of the Kanishka Project, we opted NOT to begin from the assumption that Canada's diversity is a challenge to our peace and security. Rather, we began by proposing to ask - given Canada's ongoing constitutional and policy commitment to multiculturalism, and clear evidence of the growing ethnocultural diversity of our population – why and how is it that Canadians are by and large able to live peaceably alongside other Canadians who might have at one time, or in another place, been their sworn enemies? What were we doing "right", in other words, such that the diversity of Canada's population did not appear to represent a threat to either social cohesion or to its close relation, public security? And, if we did discover areas of concern, what could be done to address them? And how might Canada's lessons and experiences be exportable to other societies struggling to "manage" diversity successfully?

We were also clear from the very beginning that this report would NOT be a study into what causes individuals to radicalize. Other valuable projects have been undertaken by other researchers on that question both in Canada and elsewhere, but our inquiry has been focused specifically on assessing the legitimacy and pertinence of the assumption that Canadians from regions in conflict "import" the violence of those conflicts to Canada. To the best of our knowledge, no other publicly-funded project in Canada has ever been undertaken specifically in order to test that assumption, and certainly none before on the same scale as this one.

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[1] Public Safety Canada, 2012, "Minister of Public Safety announces call for first proposals for the Kanishka Project," 25 January 2012, retrieved online from http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/nws/nws-rlss/2012/20120125-eng.aspx. Although administered by Public Safety Canada, the Kanishka Project is operated in collaboration with several other federal government departments, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Justice Canada, the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC), Correctional Service of Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Transport Canada and Defense Research and Development Canada.

[2] 2012 Award of Excellence from the Canadian Race Relations Foundation in the category of Community.

To help us undertake this project, we assembled a group of gifted, committed and impassioned experts. Our research team included Dr. Rima Berns-McGown (Senior Project Advisor and Research Director), Mike Morden (Research Associate), Ahmer Khan (Research Assistant), and Zach Paikin and Amrita Kumar-Ratta (Research Interns). For the design, organization and analysis of a groundbreaking national survey and a series of focus groups, we turned to The Strategic Counsel, under the leadership of Chris Kelly (President) and Pam Ward (Research Lead). The commitment and professionalism of the entire team has been essential to the ultimate success of this project.

And what success it has had.

Almost two years since we began, we cannot imagine what it would have been like NOT to pursue this research. We have been overwhelmed not only at the number of Canadians who have shown interest in the project – with some 5,000 over them rushing to complete an on-line survey (resulting in an enviably low margin of error of +/- 1.51%, 19 times out of 20) – but at the enthusiastic willingness of Canadians to speak candidly about their personal experiences of and relationship to conflict. Dozens opened up in front of their peers in a series of focus groups, and some 200 individual Canadians from all across the country bravely shared their personal stories about the influence of violent conflict on themselves, on their families, and on their relationship to other Canadians in the course of comprehensive, confidential interviews with our research team. As a result, from now on, instead of relying upon assumption or anecdotes about Canadians and "overseas" conflict, academics, policy makers and media will have ready access to a treasure trove of empirical data.

And we believe that some of our findings are truly notable.

For instance, fully 1 in 5 Canadians self-describe themselves as having a close personal, family or community-based connection to one of the eight international conflicts that were the focus of our study, and well over half (57%) of Canadians believe that other Canadians "import" their overseas conflicts with them when they come to Canada. Yet, at the same time, we learned that across all of the conflicts and communities we studied – and regardless of respondents' age or gender or religion, and no matter where in Canada they happen to live – Canadians with a strong personal, family or community connection to the conflicts we studied absolutely and without exception reject the use of violence in Canada to resolve any lingering aspects of their inter-community conflicts.

Just as notably, while we confirmed that much more remains to be done to increase inter-community trust and social cohesion among Canadians, virtually everybody we spoke with told us how living in Canada has irretrievably changed their perception of and their relationship to those conflicts that often drove them to Canada in the first place.[3]

The very fact that so many Canadians with a personal, family or community-based connection to violent overseas conflict were willing to sit down and share their experiences and perspectives with our research team and to participate either in in-depth personal interviews or professionally moderated focus groups speaks volumes about who we are as a people. In the interests of improving life for ourselves and for those fellow Canadians we don't even know, we are willing to divulge even deeply-held personal information about painfully sensitive subjects to relative strangers because we want our stories to help to build a Canada that works for all of us and in which we all feel we belong. We are particularly grateful to the 220 individual interview subjects who put their trust in us. Without them, this project literally would not have been possible.

The results of this project have reinvigorated The Mosaic Institute's commitment to encouraging diaspora communities to work together across their historic divides to become part of the solution to the same overseas conflicts that are often the reason they find themselves in Canada in the first place. More than ever, we are convinced that if leaders from those communities can come to repudiate the use of violence against their former adversaries, and see their conflicts differently by virtue of living side-by-side in a society that it is steeped in strong human rights principles and practices, they can also be motivated to demonstrate their shared commitment to building peace through pluralism "back home".

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[3] Given the limitations of space and budget, we have been unable to attach to this report two key research documents that our research partners, The Strategic Counsel, generated for us during the research phase of this project. We would therefore urge anyone reading this current report to also visit the "Resources" page of our website at www.mosaicinstitute.ca. There you will find both *A Study of Canadians' Relationship to and Perceptions of Selected International Conflicts and their Impact on Canada (September 2013)* and *Findings of Focus Groups: Communities in Conflict [Hindu/Sikh; Sri Lankan Tamils/Sinhalese; Jews/Arabs] (March 31, 2013)*. Both are PDFs available for downloading, and both are referred to extensively throughout this report.

As you will read in our report – which we have entitled ***The Perception & Reality of "Imported Conflict" in Canada*** - we Canadians are a complicated, complex assemblage of people with an all-too-common history of suffering and trauma, yet we have somehow managed to organize ourselves into a functioning, peaceable society fundamentally committed to the celebration of difference and both the pursuit and the promotion of peace. In other words, we may be marked by our connection to conflict, but we are not defined by it.

There is still much more to be studied and learned about how our relationship to conflicts from around the world has influenced the country we are, and the country that we aspire to become. In the meantime, however, we hope you find that this report adds value to this important area of inquiry.

Respectfully submitted,

John Monahan
Project Lead & Executive Director
The Mosaic Institute

>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Synopsis: The Perception & Reality of “Imported Conflict” in Canada

BACKGROUND

This study seeks to understand the perceptions and the reality of the prevalence, persistence, and effects of “imported conflict” in Canada. The study is funded by Public Safety Canada’s Kanishka Project, which is concerned to study terrorism, counter-terrorism, and the root causes of violent extremism.

The study set out to specifically examine Canadians’ preconceptions and concerns about “imported conflict,” and how, if at all, “imported conflict” undermines social cohesion among Canadians in ways that could lead to violence in Canada. The study also seeks to understand how Canadians who come from conflict-afflicted regions think about the conflicts to which they have close connection and respond to them now that they are in Canada.

METHODOLOGY

The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. With the help of The Strategic Counsel, we asked a randomly selected 4,498 Canadians about their understanding of the prevalence of “imported conflict” and how they believe it manifests itself in Canada, as well as what they think the government should do about it.

We then did extensive, in-depth interviews with over 200 Canadians who come from, or whose families come from, eight regions that either have experienced, or are currently experiencing, conflict: North and South Sudan; the Horn of Africa (predominantly Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia); the Middle East (with specific reference to the Israel/Palestine conflict); Afghanistan; Armenia/Turkey; the countries of the former Yugoslavia; Sri Lanka; and India/Pakistan. We did these interviews right across southern Canada, from Vancouver to St. John’s. The interviews explored how living in Canada affected our respondents’ view of conflict “back home,” the way they respond to it in Canada, and their relationship with other Canadians who would have been their adversaries in the conflict “back home.”

We also convened 12 focus groups with Canadians from three of the conflict dyads: Hindus and Sikhs; Arabs and Jews; and Tamils and Sinhalese, which allowed us to get a sense of how group dynamics affect individuals’ reactions to questions of conflict and its manifestation in Canada.

FINDINGS FROM OUR SURVEY

The survey told us that a majority - 57% - of all Canadians believe that it is common for tensions within or between communities to continue

>BACKGROUND

This report examines Canadians’ preconceptions and concerns about “imported conflict,” and seeks to understand how Canadians who come from conflict-afflicted regions think about those conflicts and respond to them once they are in Canada.

>KEY FINDINGS

▪ A majority of Canadians believe that people who have experienced conflict hold onto intercommunity tensions after coming to Canada, and many fear that those tensions may result in violence.

▪ However, the findings from our study show that communities of Canadians who come from conflict – regardless of community, conlfict or generation – repudiate violence in Canada as a means of resolving or responding to conflict.

▪ While Canadians often remain invested in the overseas conflicts to which they have personal, family or community connections, living in Canada dramatically transforms their perceptions of those conflicts, as well as their view of possible solutions. These transformations reflect Canadian modes of dealing with diversity and fostering social cohesion.

▪ Systemic racism and exclusion that prevent people from fully participating economically, socially, or politically in Canadian life can cause them to withdraw attachment to Canada. Similarly many Canadians continue to suffer from untreated conflict-related trauma, and untreated trauma can impede people’s ability to integrate and begin to reframe their perspectives of conflict. These challenges, not ”imported conflict” per se, damage social cohesion.

>RECOMMENDATIONS

We have developed a series of fifteen (15) recommendations for Public Safety Canada. These touch on such areas as expanding the mandate of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security; implementing specific proposals to combat racism and exclusion in the labour market and public institutions; mobilizing healthcare resources to address conflict-related trauma; establishing a national education strategy related to conflict and its effects; and encouraging Canadians from all sides of overseas conflicts to engage in constructive dialogue.

when people move to Canada from places where they have experienced warfare or conflict. They also believe those tensions can express themselves in violence, vandalism and other forms of anti-social behaviour.

Other key survey findings include the following:

- *A majority of Canadians perceive "imported conflict" to be a problem. Almost all Canadians have some knowledge of the conflicts tested in the study. 1 in 5 Canadians have a personal connection to at least one of those conflicts,[24] and 1 in 3 of those respondents indicate that the conflicts they maintain a connection to have an effect on their lives in Canada. Of all the tested conflicts, the Israel-Palestine conflict commands the most attention, and is perceived to be the most significant source of interethnic tensions.*

- *Canadians mostly perceive the effects of global and "imported conflict" in indirect ways – through learning about, talking about, and experiencing the emotional impact of conflicts. Nearly half of those affected by a conflict experience safety concerns for family and friends involved in the military or living abroad in the affected regions. Many Canadians who feel affected by conflict perceive it to have some impact on social cohesion in their communities. Direct experience of violent conflict is very rare.*

- *Though Canadians feel connected to conflict and affected by it, overall only a minority report being personally involved in trying to resolve or otherwise change those conflicts abroad or at home. For those who are involved, the most commonly reported activities include educating others, signing petitions, commenting online and donating money. One-fifth or fewer of respondents report more active repertoires of action, like volunteering and attending rallies.*

- *For most respondents, the effects of conflict have not been diminished by coming to Canada. But life in Canada appears to have had a meaningful impact on the attitudes and perceptions of those with a connection to global conflict. Positive impacts include access to more information and context about conflicts, and contact with people from other groups. Sizeable proportions of those connected with global conflicts have also developed some pessimism over time.*

- *Canadians generally feel that resolving both "imported" and global conflict should be a priority for Canada, with domestic conflict being regarded as the stronger priority. Canadians favour education-based approaches to resolving conflict here in Canada. For international conflict, Canadians continue to favour diplomacy and multilateralism.*

- *Support for a series of values statements indicative of Canadian values is consistently high across generational cohorts, and even often higher amongst recently-arrived generations than long-established ones. Recently-arrived Canadians also demonstrate strong levels of attachment to Canada. There is nothing to suggest divergence in values between the general population and recently-arrived Canadians.*

FINDINGS FROM OUR INTERVIEWS & FOCUS GROUPS

Our findings of the lived reality of Canadians who come from conflict – based on the individual interviews and focus-group responses of about 300 Canadians – are powerful and cut across generations and communities.

We present 10 major findings:

1. We do not "import" violent conflict with us when we come to Canada: rather, communities of Canadians who come from conflict unequivocally repudiate violence in Canada as a response to, or means of resolving, overseas conflict. This finding holds across all generations and all communities from all the conflicts examined in this paper.

2. Canadians often remain invested in “their” conflict, but living in Canada dramatically transforms their perceptions of the conflict, as well as their view of possible solutions. These transformations reflect Canadian modes of dealing with diversity and fostering social cohesion. Time and again, respondents came to see these conflicts through the lens of what they saw as a Canadian emphasis on universal human rights. They thus reframed the conflict as the result of a particular ideology, rather than inter-ethnic hatred per se.

3. Canadians with direct or indirect experience of conflict continue to be affected by trauma. Untreated trauma can impede their ability to integrate, to succeed, to parent, and to reframe their perspective of the conflict – and therefore can negatively affect social cohesion.

4. Both connection to conflict and experience of the after-effects of exposure to trauma often transcend generations.

5. Canadians’ complex identities often include a connection to conflict, but this does not, in and of itself, detract from their attachment to Canada.

6. The single most powerful factor at work in achieving the repudiation of violence and reframing of the conflict and its solutions is social, economic, and political inclusion. Repeatedly, respondents described the healing they found in exposure to people who had experienced similar pain and anguish, in different sets of circumstances, and how learning how to live, study, and work together in Canada had changed their perspective on the possibility of overcoming the pain of the conflict but also on the conflict itself. People did not expressly speak about “inclusion” when they described these seemingly mundane interactions, but inclusion is what allows those opportunities to occur in meaningful ways.

7. Conversely, systemic racism and exclusion work to limit the ability of racialized Canadians to achieve their potential, and can undermine attachment to Canada and social cohesion. Systemic racism and exclusion are apparent in social, economic, and political spheres. They manifest differently in different regions of the country, and differently in smaller towns and cities than in bigger ones, but they are apparent – and tremendously damaging – everywhere.

8. The shared struggle to fight racism and exclusion can have the effect of erasing conflict-related divides. As a result, often the true cleavages that threaten social cohesion exist not between groups that were formerly in conflict, but between racialized and otherwise excluded Canadians and mainstream society.

9. Canadians who come from conflict often experience a deepening of their faith or religious practice, generally in a way that amplifies and reflects what they see as Canadian values. This finding also held across conflict areas and faith/spiritual practices.

10. Intra-community dynamics can distort the way that conflict is understood by community members and the way the communities themselves are perceived by the wider society.

A set of conflict-by-conflict findings are also included in the paper.

ANALYSIS

The stories of Canadians who come from conflict are the stories of the making of Canada, *just as they always have been*, ever since Europeans began making their way here in the 17th century.

Our research has told us that we as Canadians *imagine* that newer Canadians, or Canadians who come from places where violent conflict persists, will bring their conflicts with them in ways that threaten violence here.

But our research also tells us that in reality, Canada, as a community, is remarkably resilient – primarily because when we come here, *especially if we find ourselves in inclusive environments*, we learn different ways of dealing with difference and diversity – including through the use of words, diplomacy and education - and this changes the way we view conflict and its possible solutions.

Happily, we often learn to work, live, and play alongside, and occasionally even love, someone whose family was on the "other" side of the conflict. We don't always like it, but we figure out how to make it work more often than we don't.

This doesn't mean we stop caring about the conflict or feeling connected to it, of course. It remains a part of our complex identity. We are Canadians who are inflected with conflict, who hold it within us and who often continue to view aspects of the world through the lens that we learned in the conflict.

Systemic racism and exclusion is also a pervasive problem, and a threat to our social cohesion. When we encounter systemic racism, we sometimes withdraw and become increasingly detached from other Canadians. We conclude that maybe Canada isn't as welcoming as we were told it would be or hoped it could be. The barriers and systemic racism we encounter when we arrive here – not the conflict that has led us here - *become the problem that hurts all of us as Canadians and damages the communal space we are creating.*

There's another thing: many of us experienced terrible trauma in the midst of violent conflict overseas. This means we were either physically injured or threatened with serious injury or death, or we witnessed the physical injury or death of loved ones. That trauma can have a very long tail. Some of us are still reacting to horrific trauma perpetrated on our communities or great-grandparents many decades ago. Unfortunately, collectively, we Canadians don't do a very good job of helping people who are suffering the after-effects of trauma – and *that* can hurt us as well: *untreated trauma hurts those of us who are suffering from it as individuals but it also can damage our social cohesion as a nation.*

We also don't take full advantage of the opportunities presented to us by the very diversity that we value so highly: this study has told us that generally avoid talking with our former adversaries in the context of a constructive dialogue about our different narratives, such that we might grow in our understanding of one another. In fact, our focus group participants told us that they are collectively wary of inter-community dialogues that might risk stirring up old problems.

That is sad, in part because it means that we are depriving ourselves of the opportunity to build trust and identify common interests and priorities with our fellow Canadians with whom we share a significant part of our history. If we were to work together more often with our fellow Canadians and former antagonists to promote peace "back home", we would arguably be demonstrating the ultimate value of the multiculturalism that the vast majority of us hold very dear.

On a more positive note, we confirmed that we – all of us, regardless of whether we come from a background of conflict or not - share a number of key core beliefs. These include, *inter alia*:

- *Canadians should have the right to express their views, even if we don't agree with them;*
- *everyone should respect democratic decision-making;*
- *it is important to respect people who are different from us even if we don't agree with their views or choices;*
- *multiculturalism and diversity are valuable and distinctive traits of Canada; and*
- *racism is an ongoing problem in Canada that we need to eradicate.*

Canada has the effect of opening our eyes to wider perspectives, whether we come from conflict or whether we observe it. Our Canadian experience offers us the chance to learn about different sides of different conflicts – both because we have access to media that highlights various perspectives, and because we have increased opportunities to meet people who are connected by background to both sides of the conflict. All Canadians welcome opportunities to share their stories, and broker inter-community understanding through education.

In short, we as Canadians collectively imagine that "imported conflict" threatens to bring violence to Canada, but in fact our diversity and inclusion give us the tools as a nation to be remarkably resilient.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We offer the following set of Recommendations to Public Safety Canada - and the other government departments and agencies involved in the Kanishka Project - not as specific prescriptions, but, rather, as general ideas derived from our findings that we deem worthy of further consideration and development:

1. Develop public education and social marketing strategies to raise the public profile of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security (CCRS) such that more Canadians from a wide diversity of ethnocultural communities are aware of the work and purpose of the roundtable.

2. Encourage the creation of cross-cultural policy engagement and advisory mechanisms in other government departments modelled after Public Safety Canada's own Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security (CCRS). In particular, encourage the establishment of such mechanisms within those departments responsible for policy areas where either real or perceived systemic barriers are preventing the meaningful social and/or economic integration into Canadian society of those with strong connections to conflict areas. Such areas could include, but need not be limited to, labour and human resources (including the recognition of foreign credentials); public health; immigration; citizenship; policing; and corrections.

3. Expand the mission and mandate of the CCRS to specifically consider and help to address both the socio-economic challenges and the trauma-related public health issues germane to communities of Canadians with a strong personal nexus to violent conflict. Furthermore, make specific effort when recruiting new members for the CCRS to recruit those with a specific experience of and/or expertise in the effects of conflict-related trauma, and/or with an expertise in how to address socio-economic challenges affecting the successful integration into Canadian life of those same Canadians.

4. Advocate across government for a recommitment to innovative human resource recruitment strategies designed to help ensure that the federal public service is representative of a wide plurality of Canadians with connections to all parts of the world – including, but not limited to, those beset by regional conflicts. Furthermore, ensure the leadership development and career advancement of civil servants representing a wide variety of racial, linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds such that Canadians outside of government are more likely to encounter government officials at all levels who reflect their full diversity as Canadians.

5. Notwithstanding the generality of the foregoing, Public Safety Canada should make specific efforts to ensure that the personnel employed by those justice and security-related departments, agencies and police forces with which Canadians may come into contact – including, but not limited to, Justice Canada, Correctional Services Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) – are themselves representative of the full diversity of the Canadian population, and, in particular, that they include a significant number of individuals who self-identify as a member of a community in Canada with a history of conflict and/or conflict-related trauma.

6. Develop new, comprehensive and mandatory cultural competency training programs to ensure that the personnel employed by security-related police forces or agencies with which Canadians may come into contact – including, but not limited to, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) – are adept at working and communicating effectively across different cultural contexts without stigmatizing particular ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities.

7. Encourage, promote and participate in efforts across government, in partnership with Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Employment and Social Development Canada, and private sector actors, to

facilitate the economic integration of newcomers to Canada, including faster, more efficient, and more equitable international credentials-recognition, and jobs strategies targeted towards young people from newcomer communities.

8. Encourage officials at Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to ensure that Canada's immigration and refugee system continues to welcome immigrants and refugees from all over the world. Notwithstanding the generality of the foregoing, encourage CIC to resist any inclination to reduce or limit the number of immigrants or refugee applicants coming to Canada from parts of the beset by inter-community conflict for fear that such individuals will inevitably "import" their violent conflicts with them. Rather, continue to assess the security threats posed by individual applicants, if any, on a strictly case-by-case basis.

9. Encourage officials at Citizenship and Immigration Canada to maintain or increase the availability of settlement dollars for community-based civil society organizations seeking to deliver high-quality language training, employment readiness, and other programs specifically designed to help promote the social, linguistic and economic integration of immigrants and refugees from regions in conflict into the Canadian mainstream.

10. Encourage officials at Citizenship and Immigration Canada to review citizenship preparation materials and processes to place greater emphasis on certain core Canadian values related to peacebuilding and positive intercommunity relations. Encourage the review and adaption of these materials and processes to ensure that they specifically acknowledge Canadians' common experience with overseas conflicts, and the ways in which Canadians are expected to form amicable social relationships with those who would at one time have been on the opposing side of those conflicts.

11. Work with Health Canada, as well as with provincial and territorial authorities where appropriate, to fund the development of community-appropriate mental health strategies and treatments for Canadians' past exposure to or experience of trauma related to conflict. The relevant government actors should also explore the potential for introducing and/or strengthening trauma counselling service offerings within community-based civil society organizations, where they will be readily accessible to and culturally appropriate for 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Canadians with connections to conflict-affected regions of the world, in recognition of the close relationship between imported trauma and social cohesion.

12. Work with provincial, territorial, municipal and civil society partners to encourage the development of a national educational strategy for children and youth that specifically acknowledges and addresses many Canadians' connection to or experience of violent inter-community conflict overseas. Notwithstanding the generality of the foregoing, such a strategy should promote the hiring of more teachers from racialized backgrounds, and in particular from ethnoreligious or ethnocultural communities who come from conflict; require all teachers, school, and school board officials to undergo sensitivity training with regard to conflict and post-conflict trauma; and include the creation and implementation of specialized educational curriculum that (i) features a fair and balanced accounting of the historical context, causes and consequences of global conflicts; (ii) considers the ways in which those conflicts have affected various communities of Canadians; and (iii) promotes the strengthening of relationships between and among Canadians with connections to all sides of those conflicts.

13. Work with provincial, territorial, and civil society partners to develop, fund and implement a national strategy to assist youth and young adults from conflict-affected regions of the world to overcome structural barriers to accessing post-secondary education.

14. In cooperation with the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development, establish new informational access points, including online and telephone resources, which allow Canadians to access information maintained by the Government of Canada about ongoing conflict, as well as inquire after friends and family members in theatres of conflict overseas.

15. Encourage and financially support community-driven and/or civil society-led initiatives to build and reinforce bridges of communication and collaboration between Canadians from communities representing different sides of violent conflicts, with a particular emphasis on those initiatives designed to both increase social cohesion here in Canada, and to promote peace through pluralism overseas.

>INTRODUCTION

This report matters

It matters because it seeks to replace assumptions with empiricism, and generalizations with specifics. It matters because it seeks to help Canadians separate myth from reality and fact from fiction. It matters because it distinguishes the problems we imagine we have as a national community from the problems we actually have with respect to "imported conflict", including those relating to the risk to Canadians' safety and security posed by those other Canadians with personal, family or community connections to violent conflicts overseas.

This report is the result of an almost two-year national research study and analysis of the prevalence, persistence, and effects of "imported conflict(s)" in Canada. Using both quantitative and qualitative research tools, it examines and compares both the perception and the lived experience of Canadians with respect to whether and how historic or entrenched violent conflicts between and among different ethnocultural communities overseas manifest themselves in Canada. And while it looks in particular at Canadians connected to eight (8) hand-chosen conflicts from different regions of the world, it also makes a number of findings that are common to all, and offers preliminary recommendations regarding potentially effective strategies for preventing, minimizing and addressing the effects of such conflicts on Canadians and Canadian society.

It matters because we have determined through a combination of surveys, focus groups and interviews with Canadians all across the country that they and their communities utterly reject and repudiate the use of violence to pursue historic conflicts here in Canada. Moreover, across every ethnocultural community we studied, we learned how the prevailing perception of whatever conflict was most relevant to that community, as well as the perception of their fellow Canadians who had once been their sworn antagonists, has been dramatically altered by virtue of the experience of living in diverse, multicultural, human rights-focused Canada. It matters because these findings regarding Canadians' lived reality co-exist with the perception by a majority (57%) of Canadians that it is somewhat or very common for Canadians from conflict regions of the world to continue to experience "tensions within or between their communities here in Canada", including incidents of prejudice, vandalism, and violence.[4]

It helps, when thinking about the perception and the reality of "imported conflict", to remember that as long as Canadians have been coming to settle in Canada, beginning with the French and the English in the 17th century, we have come for the same reasons – to leave strife, hunger, and discrimination behind, and to find opportunity for ourselves and our families, and a place where we can live in peace and harmony. It also helps to remind ourselves that generations of us have specifically sought out lives for ourselves and our families in Canada in order to escape violent conflicts: not just those eight that we are examining most closely in this paper, but a host of conflicts small and large that have contributed in various ways to the social and demographic realities of Canada today.

From the beginning, we have been figuring out how to live with people who are different from us – who look different, who practice different faiths, who speak different languages. We haven't always done a good job of it and we have made many, many mistakes along the way.

At the same time, today we are known for being a country that has a singular ability to make diversity work. Europeans talk about "Canadian exceptionalism" – as though there is some magic to what we do and how we do it that puts us in a different league and that perhaps it is an accident of our history and geography, rather than a series of policies and a perspective from which they flow.

It also helps, when thinking about the perception and the reality of "imported conflict", to remember that when the Prime Minister of Canada invoked the *War Measures Act* to deal with terrorist fears in the province of Québec in 1970, the "terrorists" in question – the members of the *Front de la Libération du Québec* – were the descendants of long-time citizens.

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[4] The Strategic Counsel, 2013, *A Study of Canadians' Relationship to and Perceptions of Selected International Conflicts and their Impact on Canada* (Toronto: The Mosaic Institute): P.7.

So the way we talk about this topic matters. That is why this report will not talk about "us" and "them." Once people move here to take out citizenship and make this home, "they" become part of "us."

And Canada is not a "host" country for people who have come recently from conflict, regardless of whether or how they remain connected to the lands of their birth or their "back home." Rather, Canada is their "adopted home" – just as it became home for all of those who came here earlier on.

This study matters because it helps us understand what Canadians who don't themselves come from conflict think about "imported conflict". Do we believe it is a problem? How do we think it manifests itself? What do we know about conflict overseas and do we feel connected to it, even if we do not come from it ourselves? Where do we get our information about it? What do we think our governments should do with regard to conflict as it manifests in Canada? Do we think our governments should be involved in helping to ameliorate conflict overseas?

Over 5000 Canadians filled out the survey we put into the field to answer these questions. Many of us, it turns out, feel "connected" to specific conflicts even if we don't come from the regions in which those conflicts occur, and even if we are not connected by family ties to the ethnocultural groups involved in the conflicts. We do, however, have strong opinions about them and we care about the global repercussions of those conflicts and what happens to them once people who have been involved in them become Canadians.

The study matters because it helps us understand the "reality" of how Canadians who come from conflict actually deal with it and think about it when we get here. We spoke with over 200 Canadians who came from regions in conflict, or whose parents or grandparents came from regions in conflict, how living in Canada has affected the way they think about the conflict, and how it has affected the way they relate to the people who would once have been, or who they still perceive to be, their adversaries. We supplemented those extensive, in-depth, one-on-one interviews with focus groups from three conflict "dyads" – giving us the perspectives of roughly 300 Canadians from eight regions that are currently or have in the recent past experienced conflict.

This is a powerful and significant set of responses – both in terms of the sheer number of responses and because there were a number of themes that resonated powerfully across all generations and across all conflict-affected groups, regardless of the conflict – whether in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, or South Asia.

It is absolutely clear, and not in the least surprising, that when people come to Canada they do not stop being who they were or caring about the things they cared about before they came. Integration is a process of "weaving" together the person who steps off the airplane with the wider society into which they step. Every interview respondent spoke at length about the ways they had learned to see the world and the conflict differently now that they had spent time in Canada, but it should be no surprise that people remain proudly who they were even as they become proudly Canadian. We all have complex identities, regardless of how long we have been in this country or whence our families came, and those of us who have come more recently from conflict are no different.

For some of us, the conflict is still salient once we arrive in Canada. For others, that salience is less significant than the racialization and barriers we face here.

In both cases, we are very conscious of what happened to us or our relatives during the war, and we are often dealing with the aftermath of trauma or of the way we are perceived once we are here. So for many of us, the conflict is woven into the increasingly complex identity we negotiate for ourselves once we become Canadian.

But it is *how* we think about the conflict now that we are here – and how we think we ought to act in the face of those thoughts – that is significant.

This study matters because we can't make intelligent policy unless we know what is actually going on.

And it matters because our social cohesion and our ability to live productive, meaningful lives in harmony depend upon what we as a nation do with what we have learned from it.

It matters because Canadians have told us that they want their governments to pay attention to the factors that cause discord and disrupt that social cohesion.

This study matters – and its results may surprise you.

>BACKGROUND

"Imported conflict" is the focus of this study. "Imported conflict" typically refers to conflict within and between immigrant/diaspora communities in the adopted country – in our case, Canada – which originates in historical and contemporary conflict in the international "source" region. For the purposes of this study, we do not limit our understanding of conflict to violence, but include lower-grade manifestations of "imported conflict".

Nonviolent expressions of "imported conflict" can include, but are not limited to: verbal confrontations between people on different sides of a conflict; various forms of social breakdown, including an absence of interaction between community members from different sides of conflict, and high degrees of communal segmentation in civil society and workplaces; graffiti and vandalism related to the conflict; and formal and spontaneous demonstrations or rallies related to the conflict. Violent expressions of "imported conflict" can include, but are not limited to: physical confrontations between people on different sides of the conflict; landed Canadians returning to source regions to participate in organized violence; and participation in transnational terrorist organizations.

"Imported conflict" is a topic that rarely occupies central policy-making or research focus, but which plays in the background of many public discussions of immigration, multiculturalism, social cohesion, and even foreign policy. Canadians maintain a broad and abstract notion of what "imported conflict" is, how it manifests itself, and the degree of danger it poses to the Canadian social fabric. Yet, we know relatively little about the lived reality of "imported conflict" in Canada, or even if such a phenomenon exists as it is commonly understood. This is despite the fact that Canada is one of the great immigrant-receiving societies of the world, taking in hundreds of thousands of new Canadians each year from all parts of the globe, including regions affected by violent conflict.

This report aims to address this serious gap in our collective knowledge, and propose solutions to the problem such that it exists. It is framed as a study of both the "perceptions" and "reality" of "imported conflict". These are, in many respects, two separate tasks, and each is important for developing a clearer image of the problem and appropriate responses.

The key objectives of the project include the following:

- To determine to what extent inter-community conflict manifests itself in Canada;
- To determine to what extent any such inter-community conflict is the result of entrenched conflicts overseas that have been "imported" to Canada;
- To determine what form such conflict takes;
- To identify the effects and implications of such conflict for community members and other Canadians;
- To determine the relationship between time spent in Canada and the ongoing relevance of imported inter-community conflicts;
- To measure Canadians' awareness of entrenched conflicts in other world regions;
- To examine the extent to which Canadians believe entrenched conflicts also exist in immigrant communities here;
- To assess attitudes toward the impact and potential impact of "imported conflict" on Canadians and life in Canada;
- To assess the perceived importance of raising awareness and developing strategies for assisting communities to address and develop approaches to resolving entrenched conflicts here and abroad;

- To examine perceptions of the roles Canada and Canadians can play in resolving entrenched conflicts here and abroad; and

- To examine Canadians' attitudes toward and the perceived importance of such Canadian values as the promotion of peace, the practice of good government, upholding the rule of law, and the protection of minority rights, among others.

If we fail to deepen our understanding of "imported conflict", we court several specific hazards. In the first place, we run the risk of overlooking and failing to respond to a phenomenon that threatens Canadian social cohesion. With the comparatively high number of immigrants Canada welcomes each year, the possibility of "imported conflict" is not an academic question but a high-priority, immediate concern.

We are also at risk of failing to deliver on Canada's promise to newcomers of a better standard of living, if we do not address this potential source of social suffering in immigrant and diasporic communities. We like to imagine Canada as a safe haven for citizens of the world, and this entails responsibilities that do not end at the customs gate. Finally, there is the additional significant danger that we allow vague, uninformed, and inaccurate notions of the issue to translate into misplaced fear, prejudice, and erroneous policy and community responses that further victimize the victims of global conflict. If there is a disjuncture between the perceptions and reality of "imported conflict", it must be identified and corrected. This report seeks to serve that end.

"Imported conflict" is an area of study that is not neatly contained in one or two policy fields. The recommendations made here will touch on several areas of federal jurisdiction, as well as provincial and municipal areas of responsibility.

"Imported conflict" bears on the policies and institutions of immigration, and addresses issues related to citizenship education and acquisition, and settlement services. It is also deeply connected with the politics and policies of official multiculturalism, governmental support for ethnocultural communities, and the effects of various competing approaches to social and economic integration of newcomers, from accommodation to assimilation. "Imported conflict" also implicates the work of the Public Safety Canada, including community consultations, relationship-building, and policing.

Finally, it also ties in with foreign affairs. Diaspora politics feeds back on foreign policy-making, and has an impact on shaping the Canadian national interest on the world stage. Moreover, "imported conflict" originates in international conflicts – conflicts that Canada can play a constructive role in resolving in its bilateral and multilateral international relations.

Lest anyone question whether and how these disparate policy areas relate to the original "Kanishka Project" aim of better understanding the phenomenon of terrorism in Canada, our findings confirm over and over that the more people feel fully included in the social, political and economic fabric of Canada, the greater attachment they will have both to the values and purposes of Canada, and also to the maintenance of peaceful and cooperative relations with Canadians from backgrounds different from their own.

CONFLICT CASE STUDIES

As well as examining general trends and perceptions, our study adopts eight (8) global regions affected by conflict, and the corresponding diaspora communities in Canada with connections to those conflicts, for in-depth analysis. Several practical, methodological and theoretical considerations guided our selection of these eight regions and the related conflicts. Most importantly, we sought to explore the theme of "imported conflict" in as diverse a range of contexts as possible, in order to ensure the generalizability of our conclusions.

The case selection provides for diversity in several different ways. The conflicts are pan-global and geographically disparate, incorporating three continents. The corresponding diasporas include well-established and multi-generational communities within Canada, as well as some of the most recently-arrived immigrant communities in the country. The conflicts in question range from the primarily latent and historical (Armenia-Turkey, India-Pakistan), to recent but subsided (the Former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka), to ongoing in some violent manifestation (Middle East, the Sudans, the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan). In order to contribute insight to ongoing public debates, we also sought to include communities that have featured prominently in the conversation about "imported conflict" in the mass media and popular discourse.

These eight regions, and the corresponding conflicts of relevance, are:

1. AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan has been in a nearly continuous state of conflict since the 1970s. In 1973, Afghanistan's last king, Zahir Shah, was ousted in a coup by Mohammad Daoud. Daoud's presidency inspired immense opposition, finally falling in 1978 to another coup. The latter coup installed the Marxist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in government, which began a crackdown on political opposition. The PDPA regime was unstable, and in 1979 the Soviet Union intervened militarily supposedly at its request, sending 80 000 Red Army soldiers to Afghanistan. The Soviets were unable to establish control over the entire country and in the late 1980s, withdrew from the country. A civil war continued, now fought between the communist Afghan government and the Islamist Mujahideen, until the government fell in 1992. In the ensuing chaos, the Taliban gained strength, seizing power in 1996.

The Taliban enforced a repressive interpretation of Islam, and cracked down on civil and political rights. They also provided safe space for some international terrorists, including Osama Bin Laden. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a combined military operation was launched in Afghanistan by the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, France, and others. A new transitional government was installed by the end of 2001, and the UN Security Council established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). In 2003, NATO assumed control of the ISAF. Asymmetrical warfare has continued since then, with the Taliban experiencing resurgence in certain regions, particularly along the border with Pakistan. The NATO presence has been incrementally wound down over the past several years; it is expected that local forces will take complete control at some time in 2014.

2. ARMENIA-TURKEY

Contemporary conflict between Armenia and Turkey revolves around debate over whether the Ottoman Empire sponsored genocide of Armenians between 1915 and 1917. This historical dispute sustains a latent conflict defined not by contemporary or recent violence, but by generally bad relations between the two countries and peoples. A further exacerbating factor in recent decades has been Armenia's ongoing dispute with Turkey-supported Azerbaijan over the autonomous territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In the last few years, some notable improvements in the condition of the relationship have taken place. Turkish President Abdullah Gul attended a soccer game with the Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan in 2008. This was the first Turkish presidential visit to Armenia ever. In 2009, an accord was signed between the countries that would have opened the border and delineated a roadmap for re-establishing full formal relations. However, the rapprochement stalled in ratification and the relationship remains basically frozen.

3. THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The origins of conflict in the Former Yugoslavia lie with the Ottoman conquest of parts of the Balkans, which brought a unique mix of religious and ethnic groups and occasional instances of intercommunity contention.

After World War II, the communist Partisans took power behind the leadership of the Josep Broz Tito. Tito sought to construct a new Yugoslav state in the Balkans build around shared ideology in defiance of ethnic difference. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a union of six republics - Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro - along with two autonomous regions - Kosovo and Vojvodina. Tito held the office of president until his death in 1980.

After Tito's death, nationalist posturing by elites in Yugoslavia began to stoke ethnic tensions. Slobodan Milosevic came to power promising Serbs that he would defend their interests within the federation, and subsequently began to centralize power in the Serbian capital of Belgrade. This engendered a response from the other republics, with Croatia and Slovenia voting to secede from the federation in 1991, followed quickly by Macedonia. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence in 1992, and war followed. Fighting was particularly fierce between Croats and Serbs, Bosnian Muslims and Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims and Croats in Croatia and Bosnia, where large Serb minorities mobilized with the support of the Yugoslav National Army against the new republics. During the conflict, multiple instances of war crimes, including large-scale violence targetting civilians, were documented.

The war lasted until 1995, when a peace agreement was negotiated in Dayton, Ohio. Conflict erupted again in 1998 in Kosovo, an autonomous region in the south of Serbia that had a majority Kosovar Albanian population. Reports of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and some mass executions led eventually, in March 1999, to a NATO intervention. Bombing raids were carried out against Serbia over the next several months, until the Serbs withdrew from Kosovo in June and accepted the insertion of a UN peacekeeping force. Kosovo became an independent state in 2008.

4. THE HORN OF AFRICA

In 1974, the Marxist Derg unseated Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, triggering the Ethiopian Civil War. After abolishing the monarchy, the Derg established a military junta led by Mengistu Haile Mariam, and initiated a crackdown on political dissent in the country. The civil war continued throughout the 1980s. Finally in 1991, Mengistu was forced to flee to Zimbabwe. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was formed with participation from a coalition of opposition groups, and Eritrea seceded. A dispute over how to draw the border provoked the Ethiopian-Eritrean War, which lasted from 1998-2000. Tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea remain high. There are also other ethnically-based rebel groups active in Ethiopia, including the Oromo Liberation Front and Ogaden National Liberation Front.

The Somali Civil War began in 1991, when the government of Major General Mohamed Siad Barre was brought down by a network of resistance movements. Several attempts were made in the 2000s to establish a central government capable of reasserting control over the entire territory. For a time in 2006, large parts of southern Somalia came under the control of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), a coalition of interests favouring the application of Sharia law. The ICU was subsequently driven out by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which was supported by a Western-backed Ethiopian military intervention. After defeat, the ICU fractured into several insurgent groups, including most notably Al-Shabaab. A peace deal was brokered in 2008 that brought some of the more moderate factions formerly associated with the ICU back into Somalia with a role in the central government. The TFG continues to fight Al-Shabaab primarily in the south of the country.

5. INDIA-PAKISTAN

Several distinct but related conflicts on the Indian sub-continent have affected the composition of the diaspora today. Most are connected in some way to the partition of Pakistan from India, the flashpoint event that has left an indelible mark on contemporary South Asian politics. In the approach to independence from British colonial rule in the early- to mid-20th century, communal divisions between Indians became apparent. On 16 August 1946, riots in Calcutta resulted in more than 4000 deaths, and sparked echo riots across the country. In June 1947, the Mountbatten Plan established the terms for formal division of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan (initially, East Pakistan and West Pakistan; the former later became Bangladesh). Partition generated huge demographic upheaval, with millions of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims uprooting to their newly-defined political enclaves. Massive violence occurred at the time of the population transfer. Millions of people were displaced, and hundreds of thousands killed. The political relationship between Indian and Pakistan has been consistently uneasy. Particular strain has been created by unrest in Kashmir, nuclear testing by both countries, and terrorism. Communal tensions have had a more immediate effect on the lives of Indians and Pakistanis, with periodic cycles of rioting and Hindu-Muslim violence.

Sikhs were excluded from the ethno-religious partitioning of the subcontinent in 1947. They opted to join with India, but began to raise concerns about the long-term position of the Sikh religion in a Hindu-dominated state. In the migration that followed partition, the Sikh population of Indian Punjab grew considerably, enabling the Sikhs to become more organized politically. Conflict arose over Sikh representation in local state institutions, and particularly over the official use of Punjabi. Despite some concessions by the government of Indira Gandhi, Sikh mobilization escalated.

In 1984, the Sikh hardliner Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale occupied and fortified the Golden Temple, a Gurdwara of immense importance in the Sikh faith. In Operation Blue Star, the Indian army stormed the Temple and compound, killing Bhindranwale. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards four months later in retribution. This sparked the 1984 anti-Sikh pogroms, which killed thousands of Sikhs. Grievances stemming from these events greatly strengthened the Khalistan movement, which seeks the establishment of an independent Sikh state in the Punjab region. Sikh separatists were later associated with a bomb that exploded on Air India Flight 182, on the Montreal-London-Delhi route on June 23rd, 1985.

6. THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH EMPHASIS ON ISRAEL-PALESTINE

The origins of the Arab-Israeli war partly lie in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Lord Balfour, the British foreign secretary, promised the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This promise, which was seen to conflict with other promises made to the Palestinian Arabs, came in response to the Zionist movement, which sought the establishment of Israel through Jewish immigration to Palestine beginning in the 1880s. Prior to the Second World War, Jewish immigration to Palestine increased. This provoked conflict between Jewish immigrants and resident Arabs. The state of Israel was founded in 1948, after Britain forfeited its Palestinian mandate. Palestinians identify the founding of the Israeli state with the Nakba, a period of large-scale Arab exodus from the territory. Conflict was ongoing between Israel and its Arab neighbours in the first decades of its existence. In 1956, Israeli forces invaded the Sinai Peninsula with British and French support, in response to Egyptian President Nasser nationalizing the Suez Canal. In 1967, the Six Day War was fought between Israel and bordering Arab states. After this war, the borders of Israel were expanded to include the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Old City of Jerusalem. In 1973, the Yom Kippur War was fought between Israel, Syria and Egypt when the latter countries sought to regain lost territory. In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in order to suppress terrorist activity there.

Israeli settlement in the Palestinian territories exacerbated tensions during the 1980s. This culminated in the first Intifada of 1987, a popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza. In 1993, an international peace process resulted in the Oslo Accords, signed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasser Arafat. Support for the Oslo Accords waned over the next seven years, and a 2000 summit at Camp David failed to win the support of both parties. The second Intifada was launched in the aftermath of its failure. In 2006 again Israel invaded Lebanon, in an effort to combat Hizbullah, the terrorist organization established south of Beirut. In the past five years, Hamas-controlled Gaza has frequently been subject to Israeli offensives, notably in 2008, 2009, and 2012. Within Palestine, the construction of the Israeli West Bank barrier has been the subject of intense controversy and protest, as has the settlements movement.

7. SRI LANKA

While Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) was a British colony, the Tamil minority was often seen to be favoured by colonial authorities. This generated a sense of grievance amongst the majority Sinhala population. As a result, post-independence, the dominant cleavage of Sri Lankan politics and society became the Sinhalese-Tamil one. In 1956, Solomon Bandaranaike was elected on a platform that advocated a "Sinhala only" linguistic policy, and an insistence that Buddhism holds a central symbolic position in Sri Lanka. In 1972, when Ceylon became the Republic of Sri Lanka, Buddhism was further entrenched as the principle religion of state, and other steps were taken to enshrine Sinhala ethnic symbolism in the Sri Lankan national model.

In the same year, the Tamil New Tigers militia was founded to advance Tamil interests. Four years later, it changed its name to Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran and with an openly secessionist mission. The LTTE killed a patrol of Sri Lankan soldiers in 1983. This provoked a multi-day pogrom, with Sinhalese mobs burning houses of Tamils, especially around Colombo, looting property, and killing. In the years that followed, fighting between state forces and the LTTE occurred primarily in the Tamil-concentrated north, but the LTTE also perpetrated violent acts in Colombo and elsewhere in the country, including attacks against civilians.

Fighting intensified in 2008, when the Sri Lankan government formally renounced the terms of a ceasefire negotiated in 2002, and made a strong military push to re-establish control of the entire island. This was effectively accomplished by May 2009, when Velupillai Prabhakaran was killed. During and in the aftermath of the civil war, allegations of significant human rights violations were made against both the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka. This was especially true in the final months of the war. Approximately 250 000 civilians lived in the battle zone between the two armies, and were subject to bombing and other violence.

In the course of the final campaign, the United Nations estimates that about 300 000 Tamil civilians were placed in internment camps. Immediately after the end of the war, the Sri Lankan government faced pressure from the international community to allow the interned to return to their communities. Since 2009, the government of President Rajapaksa has steadfastly resisted international pressure to allow the United Nations to undertake a fair, comprehensive review of the government's human rights record both during the last months of the war and in the years following.

8. THE SUDANS

Conflict has been a stable feature of life in the Sudans since independence from Great Britain in 1956. The first Sudanese civil war, 1955-1972, was rooted in competition between northern and southern interests over the shape of the new state. A second civil war erupted in 1983, when President Gaafar Nimeiry centralized power in the northern capital of Khartoum and designated Sudan an Islamic state. He was challenged by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), led by John Garang. This war, which lasted until 2005, is usually estimated to have resulted in between 1-2 million deaths - primarily of civilians - and the displacement of another approximately 4 million southern Sudanese.

In 1989, Umar al Bashir became president and established a military junta. He imposed Sharia law on the entire country, further alienating southerners and other non-Muslim and moderate Sudanese. He also severely curtailed democratic practice in the country, banning political parties and other possible sources of opposition within the north. A comprehensive peace agreement was finally brokered in 2005 between President al Bashir and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) - the civilian wing of the SPLA. In 2011, citizens of South Sudan voted over 98% in favour of independence in a referendum. The independent Republic of South Sudan was declared on 9 July 2011. There remains ongoing tension between north and south, particularly over unresolved questions about boundaries and the control of resources. The Sudanese and South Sudanese armies have clashed in South Kordofan - a region in the southern extreme of Sudan where many residents would prefer to belong to South Sudan. There is particular contention over the oil-rich region around Abyei. Additionally, intertribal conflict has become pronounced in South Sudan in the aftermath of secession.

In the latter stages of the civil war between North and South, another conflict arose in Darfur, the westernmost region of Sudan, when the Darfur Liberation Front began a guerrilla campaign against the state. Because of strained resources, the government of Sudan largely prosecuted the war through the Janjaweed, cow herders that formed an armed militia in the region. The Janjaweed established themselves as the dominant military presence in the region, and became notorious for destroying entire villages and killing indiscriminately. US Secretary of State Colin Powell declared the conflict genocide in 2004. A Darfur Peace Agreement was signed in Doha in 2011 but some violence has continued.

THE STATE OF RESEARCH ON “IMPORTED CONFLICT”

The study of the relationship between diasporas and conflict has grown rapidly over the past twenty years. The impact is felt in a wide range of research disciplines, including public policy, sociology, political science, history, anthropology, and security studies. This upsurge in interest has several sources. In part, it reflects a broader turn toward studying collective identity as a driving force in local and global politics. Geo-political changes have also fueled greater interest in the role of diasporas. With the end of the Cold War, research attention turned to the so-called “New Wars”, which were often intra-state, which dealt with identity, and which were heavily affected by transnational dynamics. The perceived rise of terrorism brought still more attention to diasporas and specifically the issue of “imported conflict”, as diasporas became perceived in some corners as theoretical sites of “radicalization”.

Though much has been written notable gaps in the research literature still exist. The emphasis of existing research on conflict-generated diasporas has been on assessing their impact on conflicts in their “back home” countries (or source regions). Much less research exists on the impact of conflict-affected diasporas on their adopted countries. Still less exists on inter-diasporic conflict in adopted countries – the possibility of communal tensions surviving the act of migration and manifesting themselves in immigrant-receiving countries. In order to provide a backdrop to our study, the following section will briefly outline the debates that persist in the scholarly and applied research on “imported conflict” and, more broadly, the relationship between diasporas and conflict.

Research on conflict-generated diasporas has looked primarily at the impact that they have on their “homeland” conflicts. This literature hinges on a debate over whether diasporas are “peace-makers or peace-wreckers”.[5] In other words, do diasporas facilitate cooperation, enable dialogue, and materially support peace processes, as a result of their relative physical security, the new norms that come with the host-land context, and their distance from the conflict? Or - by nature of their isolation from the ill-effects of conflict, and the emotional baggage remaining from their being forced out of home countries by conflict - do diasporas actually strengthen hardliner elements in “back home” countries, materially supported militants, and prolong wars?

The economist Paul Collier is one of the foremost proponents of the latter position. He has published statistical analysis suggesting that diasporas can destabilize civil war peace processes.[6] His main finding in relation to this claim is that the size of a diaspora in the United States strongly increases the likelihood of renewed conflict in a post-conflict society. Others have disputed this finding, however, pointing out that diasporas can contribute to global peacebuilding in several ways – for example, by using remittances to exercise positive economic leverage in the conflict-affected source region,[7] or by acting in the role of expert mediators between home region combatants.[9] This debate has obvious relevance for the study of “imported conflict”; whether diasporas are “peace-makers” or “peace-wreckers” in “back home” regions implicates their roles, levels of integration, and standing in the adopted country.

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[5] Hazel Smith and Paul Stares (eds.), 2007, *Diasporas in Conflict: Peace-Makers or Peace-Wreckers* (New York: United Nations University).
[6] Paul Collier, 2000, *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy* (Washington DC: World Bank); Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 2004, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War”, Oxford Economic Papers 56 (4): 563-595.
[7] Wolfram Zunzer, 2004, *Diaspora Communities and Civil Conflict Transformation, Berghof Occasional Paper no.26* (Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management).
[8] B Baser and A Swain, 2008, “Diasporas as Peacemakers: Third Party Mediation in Homeland Conflicts”, *International Journal on World Peace* 25(3): 7-28.
[9] Samuel Huntington, 1997, “The Erosion of American National Interests”, *Foreign Affairs* September/October 1997, retrieved online from: http://www.foreignaffairs.com/53391/samuel-p-huntington/the-erosion-of-american-national-interests.

Another dimension of "imported conflict" which has attracted a notably large amount of research and commentary looks specifically at the relationship between conflict-generated diasporas and the foreign policies of adopted countries. Several commentators, including most notably the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington,[9] have expressed concern over the potential for diasporas to exercise their electoral clout and subvert host country foreign policies to serve their interests in the international conflicts to which they are parties. This refrain has been adopted in Canada, for example by David Carment and Yiagadessen Samy, who argue that by heeding "diasporic politics", as they term it, " … Canada's leaders are opening up the country to exploitation by other countries looking to disrupt our internal affairs, using diasporas to lobby or influence our leaders or bring their conflicts here".[10]

In return, several arguments both moral and pragmatic have been made in defense of diasporic involvement in foreign policy. In the first place, diasporic involvement is argued to be simply a function of democratic politics. Moreover, researchers have argued that diasporas even have a unique contribution to make - "special kinds of expertise, knowledge, skills and connections that can benefit their countries of origin, and which Canada can use to advance its international goals".[11] This debate reflects competing images that are held of the nature of diasporic politics and "imported conflict", and would benefit from research that clarifies the phenomenon.

Research specifically focused on conflict between diaspora groups in adopted countries is notably rare, and theories of this kind of conflict are underdeveloped. The field has not yet formally coalesced around central questions. However, some threads of consistency can be read in the research that deals implicitly and explicitly with inter-diasporic conflict. Arguably, most of the research addresses itself to two basic questions: 1) what is the source of this kind of conflict?; and 2) what is the nature of this kind of conflict?

With respect to the *source* of conflict, the primary question is: is inter-diasporic conflict truly *imported*, or is it in fact *home-grown*? In other words, is it primarily explained by the core conflicts of "back home" countries, which are brought with migrants and released in the host-country context? Or does inter-diasporic conflict actually arise from the experience of migration itself, or dimensions of the adopted-country setting?[12]

Proponents of the "imported" school will highlight (for example) the role of transnational military organizations like the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in actively mobilizing the diaspora, or the lasting impact of traumas and prejudices that result from first-hand experience with war.[13] In other words, they identify the fundamental source of conflict as emanating from the source region.

Proponents of the "home-grown" school will instead direct attention to various kinds of adopted-country contextual factors, like barriers to social, political, and economic integration, or "vicarious grievances"[14] – emotional investments in conflict that are developed after the act of migration. In short, according to this view inter-diasporic conflict thrives or disappears as a result of the conditions of life in receiving countries like Canada.

With respect to the *nature* of conflict, competing explanations for interdiasporic conflict reflect certain assumptions that inform analysis and prescription, and which are helpful to identify. There is no simple way to categorize the vast theoretical scholarship on conflict. One useful short-hand that is often invoked makes a basic distinction between *instrumental* and *normative* explanations for conflict.

Instrumental theory explains conflict as the result of a rational calculus; actors conduct conflict when it is in their material or political interests to do so. Instrumental theories will emphasize the role of political leaders, either in fomenting "imported conflict" to advance their interests (like the LTTE), or in stifling conflict in order to improve public perceptions of the community and achieve better integration.[15] Instrumental theories also look at the material conditions of conflict. For example, one study has found that prejudicial attitudes related to homeland conflict are greatly reduced when newcomers find jobs, access education, and are able to obtain citizenship.[16] Where they are unable to find material success in the adopted country, “imported conflict” persists.

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[10] David Carment and Yiagadeesen Samy, 2012, "The Dangerous Game of Diaspora Politics," *Globe and Mail*, 10 February 2012, Retrieved online from: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/commentary/the-dangerous-game-of-diaspora-politics/article544912/.

[11] Natalie Brender, 2011, "Toward Diaspora Engagement in Foreign Policymaking: An Overview of Current Thought and Practice", in *Tapping Our Potential: Diaspora Communities and Canadian Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Mosaic Institute and Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation): P.11.

[12] J Hanrath, 2011, "Imported or Home-Grown? Dealing with Conflicts between Turks and Kurds in Berlin", presentation at IPSA-ECPR Joint Conference *Whateveer Happened to North-South?* 17 February 2011, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

[13] See N Pragasam, 2012, *Tigers on the Mind: an Interrogation of Conflict Diasporas and Long Distance Nationalism. A Study of the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in London*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, (London: London School of Economics and Political Science), Retrieved online from: http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/460/.; T Lyons, 2006, "Diasporas and Homeland Conflict", in Kahler, Miles and Walter, Barbara (eds.), *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

[14] Alex P Schmid, 2013, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review" (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism): P.26.

[15] Gregory Scott Brown, 2004, *Coping with Long Distance Nationalism: Inter-Ethnic Conflict in a Diaspora Context*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, (Austin: University of Texas at Austin).

Normative theory looks to other factors that are disconnected from the pursuit of interests. Normative explanations for “imported conflict” might include anger stemming from relative deprivation, ethnic or religious hatred, and other kinds of social, cultural, and psychological motivations. Some of these factors emerge from personal trauma experience in conflict, and others are connected with the symbolic importance of homeland in diasporic cultures.

In the decade-plus since 9/11, researchers have increasingly turned towards examining the security implications of inter-diasporic and transnational conflict. One observed challenge in this literature is the lack of dialogue between “security studies” and other social scientific research on diasporas and conflict. There is a clear need to synthesize these fields, by importing the theoretically- and methodologically-strong work on the nature of diasporic participation into studies of host-land security.

Diasporas have been described as possibly playing both direct and indirect roles in transnational terrorism, from planning host-land attacks, to being a ready source of recruits, propaganda dissemination, and financial support for terrorism.[17] It has been suggested that some diasporas can constitute a “radical milieu”: “the segment of a population which sympathizes with terrorists and supports them morally and logistically… what distinguishes the milieu from simple sympathizers is that within the former, there exists a form of social structure responsible for the observed in-group cohesion. It is not merely a sum of individuals holding similar political/cultural attitudes”.[18] In this view, diasporas are important because they are organized and cohesive and so, can provide a safe context for terrorists.

This new emphasis has created a backlash in the research community as well. It is described as the “securitization” of migration and diaspora studies. Securitization has been defined as “a political technique of framing policy questions in logics of survival with a capacity to mobilize politics of fear in which social relations are structured on the basis of distrust”.[19] Securitization associates migration and diasporic communities with threat.[20] In doing so, it stimulates certain kinds of attitudes towards diasporic communities, as well as certain kinds of policy responses. Securitization, it is argued, can have a cyclical effect; exaggerated fear of the threat of “imported conflict” sours intergroup relations and stimulates prejudice, which will in turn generate a sense of grievance amongst members of targeted diasporas. As a result, the real security threat is actually exacerbated.[21]

The empirical reality is that diasporas adopt a broad spectrum of kinds of political mobilization, from moderate, peaceful mobilization within institutions, to more contentious repertoires of direct action. Given this spectrum of mobilization, an obvious research question is: what explains the form that diaspora involvement in homeland conflict takes? Here, with a couple of exceptions identified below, the research literature offers few lessons.

Canadian political scientist Rex Brynen has identified four sets of variables that he argues can influence the degree and kind of diaspora political involvement:[22] a) the nature of the “back home” conflict (its severity, how recent it is, how violent it is); b) the demographic characteristics of a given diaspora (how large it is, its capacity to sustain large-scale political organization); c) the political relationship between homeland and adopted country (proximity, presence of other diaspora groups in the adopted country that are also parties to the conflict); and d) the political relationship between the state in the adopted country and the diaspora (the divergence or convergence of adopted country and diaspora interests, the degree of political integration in the adopted country of the diaspora, etc.). Maria Koinova highlights the effect of homeland politics on diaspora politics, arguing that hardliner politics in the source region produces extremism in the diaspora.[23] Little attention has been paid to the condition of life in the adopted country on this question.

[16] J Hall, & R Kostic, 2010, “Integration for Peace? Integration and Reconciliation among Diaspora,” *Presentation at Centre for the Study of Civil War Brown-Bag*, Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO), 19 May 210, Oslo.
[17] B Hoffman, 2007, “Radicalization, Diasporas and Terrorism”, in *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism: A Joint Conference by the RAND Corporation and the Center for Security Studies*, ETH Zurich, V229 (Rand Corporation).
[18] P Waldmann, 2010, “The Radical Milieu: The Under-Investigated Relationship between Terrorists and Sympathetic Communities”, *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2(9): P.25.
[19] J Huysmans, 2006, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*, New York: Routledge: p.xi.
[20] M Ibrahim, 2005, “The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse”, *International Migration* 43(5): P.167.
[21] ; Ibrahim 2005; L Vimalarajah and R Cheran, 2010, Empowering Diasporas: The Dynamics of Post-war Transnational Tamil Politics, Berghof Occasional Paper no.31 (Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management).
[22] R Brynen, 2002, “Diasporas and Domestic Security: Implications for Host Countries,” presentation at *Metropolis Interconference Seminar on Immigrants and Homeland*, 9-11 May 2002, Dubrovnik Croatia.
[23] M Koinova, 2011, “Can Conflict-Generated Diasporas be Moderate Actors during Episodes of Contested Sovereignty? Lebanese and Albanian Diasporas Compared”, *Review of International Studies*, 37(1): 437–462.

The preceding literature review has provided a rough overview of the defining debates concerning conflict-generated diasporas. Taken as a whole, this is a young literature, and one with considerable room for development. Certain issues, like the impact of diasporas on homeland conflicts and adopted-country foreign policy, have enjoyed the bulk of researchers' attention. Other issues particularly pertaining to diasporas in the adopted country – interdiasporic conflict and the adopted country-diaspora political relationship, for example – have received much less in-depth empirical and theoretical analysis. This project takes steps towards addressing those gaps, in order to correct the anecdotal perceptions that persist.

It should be noted that rather than situating our study within the fairly limited existing research, our approach has been highly inductive. We have allowed the stories of diasporic Canadians to give shape, focus and direction to our report.

>METHODOLOGY

This project combined original qualitative and quantitative research. Three primary methods were employed in data collection:

- one-on-one in-depth interviews;
- intracommunity focus groups; and
- a quantitative analysis of survey data.

The use and application of each method is outlined below.

INTERVIEWS

Between September 2012 and July 2013, Dr. Rima Berns-McGown conducted a total of 220 one-on-one, in-depth interviews with respondents from the various major communities involved in the eight conflict areas. We identified individuals with personal, family, or community connections to one of the eight conflict regions of interest in the study using a series of expanding networks. Interview participants were recruited primarily using snowball sampling: we started a number of different snowballs in the various communities and invited participants to then suggest other friends, family and community members who would be willing to share their experiences with us, which allowed us to expand our community networks. We were careful to seed snowballs – and to expand networks of respondents – in such a way as so as to ensure that we included diverse perspectives and respondents who represented different generations, length of time in Canada, socio-economic status, gender, sexuality, experience of the conflict, and experience in Canada.

The final breakdown of interviews, by conflict region, follows:

Conflict Region	# of Interviews
The Sudans	15
Sri Lanka	27
Middle East	58
India/Pakistan	39
Horn of Africa	30
Former Yugoslavia	22
Armenia/Turkey	15
Afghanistan	14
Total	**220**

Rather than setting a goal of strict parity between communities with respect to the number of interviewees, we sought to achieve *saturation* for each: a critical mass of interviewees sufficient to conclude that a representative spectrum of experiences and perspectives has been obtained. We were particularly concerned to seek high participation rates for large communities, communities that are widely geographically dispersed within Canada, and communities that are constituted by high internal (political, ethnic, regional) diversity.

Fieldwork took place in all regions of southern Canada. The final breakdown of interviews by Canadian region follows:

Canadian Region	# of Interviews
British Columbia	11
Alberta	15
Saskatchewan	5
Greater Toronto Area	160
Ontario (Outside GTA)	9
Quebec	6
Nova Scotia	8
Newfoundland and Labrador	6
Total	**220**

The distribution of interviews by Canadian region reflects the same principles as the conflict region breakdown. The Greater Toronto Area was the major focus, but participants were sought outside of Toronto to assess the variance in experiences for diasporic Canadians by region and, where necessary, by conflict. Outside of the major urban centres, however, we were primarily concerned with studying the shared experiences of diasporic communities, rather than seeking representatives from each of the specific communities of interest in each region. All interview participants were drawn from the identified conflict communities, but outside the major urban centres there was less concern with which conflict communities participants came from. It was important to us, however, to ensure that we spoke with Sikh Canadians in British Columbia as well as Ontario, and Somali Canadians in Alberta as well as Ontario.

The interviews were conducted as open-ended and semi-structured conversations. Participants were asked to describe their past experiences of conflict, including first-hand experience and/or learning about the conflict from family members; their experiences upon arrival in Canada or growing up as second-generation Canadians, including early impressions; integration successes, challenges, and any experiences of racism, discrimination, or other kinds of barriers; and their present orientation towards the conflict, including how Canada has shaped their perceptions of it, what work or advocacy they are engaged in, what solutions they perceive, what relationships they have with people who come from the "other side," and so on. Interviews typically lasted between 1-3 hours.

Dr. Berns-McGown conducted all the interviews herself, both so as to ensure consistency in the conversations and also to be attuned to the similarities, differences, and connections in the way that respondents from different communities approached the participants.

She was helped by a great many people to locate interview participants and seed snowballs, most notably Ahmer Khan in his capacity as research assistant.

Of course, the content and quality of qualitative research of this nature are always and inevitably affected by whom from within a particular community or group of people agrees to speak with the researcher(s). However, in this instance, we have made every effort to try and ensure that the people with whom we were speaking from each community represented a wide range of backgrounds and experiences.

FOCUS GROUPS

In addition to interviews, Mosaic convened a series of twelve (12) focus groups during the weeks of March 18 and March 25, 2013. All twelve focus groups were hosted in the Greater Toronto Area in formal focus group facilities, and included 7-9 participants. The focus groups were intended to focus specifically on some intra-community dynamics that we identified as having salience, based on interviews that had been conducted to that point. The breakdown of communities featured in focus groups follows:

Community	Location of Focus Group Session
Sikhs (2 sessions)	Brampton, ON
Hindus (2 sessions)	Brampton, ON
Tamil Sri Lankans (2 sessions)	Scarborough, ON
Sinhalese Sri Lankans (2 sessions)	Scarborough, ON
Jewish Canadians (2 sessions)	Downtown Toronto, ON
Arab Canadians (2 sessions)	Downtown Toronto, ON

Participants for each of the groups were recruited by the Strategic Counsel through its professional recruitment partner TRN, using existing databases, supplemented by some tailored lists and, in a small number of cases, by a "snowball" approach where qualified participants recommend other potential candidates. In each group, participants represented a mix of age groups and gender. In addition, each session included participants who were immigrants to Canada from the conflict region OR those with roots in or ties to the conflict region, but born in Canada. All sessions were conducted in English only.

Each group discussion was led by a professional facilitator from Strategic Counsel, and followed the same loosely-structured moderator's guide, covering a series of core questions regarding the group members' perceptions of the conflict in question, their relationship to and views of those on the other side of the conflict, their assessment of relations between representatives from different sides of each conflict here in Canada, and their views of the actual and potential roles of dialogue and government-led initiatives in addressing any issues between both sides in the conflict.

Focus groups were convened in order to capture the internal dynamics of communities with connections to specific conflicts. They allowed Mosaic to observe how participants talk to other members of their own ethnocultural and/or ethnoreligious groups about their historical inter-community conflicts and adversaries, discern any intra-group differences in attitudes and opinions, and assess where the balance of "community" opinion appeared to rest regarding certain key issues and questions related to the historical and contemporary manifestation of the inter-community conflicts with which these groups were most closely associated.

As resources allowed for only a limited number of focus groups, based on interviews we identified three conflicts – the Middle East, Sikh-Hindu, and Sri Lanka – which we deemed particularly warranted this additional method of inquiry. The results of the focus groups have been used to complement our analysis of those particular conflicts, as well as to suggest some generalizable characteristics of intra-community discourse on "imported conflict".

SURVEY

In order to evaluate Canadians' perceptions of "imported conflict", Mosaic developed a survey tool in partnership with the Strategic Counsel. The survey invited respondents to describe how they understood "the problem" in its degree and expression, the roles they play in conflict and advocacy, the various linkages they maintain to international conflicts, the effects that their lives in Canada have had on those linkages, and what they view to be appropriate responses to imported and global conflict.

Two methods were used for the distribution of the survey in order to derive a representative sample of the Canadian public as a whole, a strong sample particularly of 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Canadians, and an additional targeted sample of Canadians with connections to the eight conflict regions of interest identified elsewhere in the report. The representative sample was obtained via an online panel tool that distributed the survey to randomly recruited participants. In total, **4498 Canadians completed the survey online between 29 November 2012 and 3 January 2013**. Mosaic also initiated targeted, off-line recruitment of additional respondents with connections to the eight conflict regions of interest, between January and June 2013. This stage of recruitment was non-random, and this carries implications for the data which are explored in the "Perceptions" chapter. 1

>THE PERCEPTION OF "IMPORTED CONFLICT" IN CANADA

INTRODUCTION

An integral dimension of this inquiry into "imported conflict" in Canada has involved developing a clearer image of how Canadians understand the phenomenon, determining the degree to which they perceive it to be a problem, and ascertaining what kinds of policy and community responses they desire. This is innately important information in calibrating a response. Moreover, juxtaposing the broad perceptions of "imported conflict" with the more realistic image drawn from our interviews and focus groups carries important lessons about the quality of the public debate, and the accuracy of our understanding of "imported conflict".

We tested Canadians' perceptions of "imported conflict" using a survey tool developed in partnership with the Strategic Counsel. The survey was designed to examine Canadians' knowledge and awareness of historical, recent and current global conflicts, as well as their personal and community relationships to those conflicts, and how those conflicts have an impact on their lives in Canada.

Two methods were used for the distribution of the survey in order to derive a representative sample of the Canadian public as a whole, a strong sample particularly of 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Canadians, and an additional targeted sample of Canadians with connections to the eight conflict regions of interest identified elsewhere in the report.

First, for the purposes of developing a representative sample, an online panel was used to distribute the survey to randomly recruited participants. **In total, 4498 Canadians completed the survey online** between 29 November 2012 and 3 January 2013. This produces a margin of error of ± 1.46 percentage points, nineteen times out of twenty. From this population, **a total of 931 respondents indicated a personal connection to conflict**, producing a margin of error for the "connected to conflict" sub-sample of ± 3.21, nineteen times out of twenty.

Second, in order to derive more detailed and in-depth analysis of the perceptions of Canadians with connections to the eight conflict regions of interest, Mosaic staff recruited additional respondents off-line between January and June 2013. Recruitment occurred through personal networks, networks initiated in the interview stages of the project, representative community associations and newcomer service delivery organizations, and other general outreach. Surveys were distributed in hard copy, and individuals were also directed to an open-access online survey. Recruitment was non-random, so the results obtained in this phase of survey research should be read as directional, rather than constituting a representative sample of the communities of interest.

Rather than inferring which respondents have a connection to conflict from demographic data, we allowed respondents to self-identify on the survey by indicating that they had a "personal, family or community-based connection" to one or more of the conflicts of interest. There are important theoretical and methodological reasons for doing so. We are interested in the perceived, affective and intellectual connections that Canadians maintain to global conflict, and this cannot be assumed on the basis of generational status or region of origin.

Because the "connected to conflict" sub-sample is self-identifying, however, some qualifications need to be made. Though the "connected to conflict" population was overwhelmingly contained within the cohorts of 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Canadians, it is very important to note that many respondents that recorded a personal connection to conflicts were not themselves from those regions. This illustrates the long reach that the effect of many global conflicts has on Canadian lives. It also cautions against reading the community-specific results of the survey as an accurate reflection of the ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities tested in this study. This is one of the reasons that we have identified the survey results as reflecting general perceptions of the issue, rather than lived reality.

A special note must be registered in relation to respondents identifying as having a connection to the conflict in Afghanistan. This group of respondents is not ethnically linked with Afghanistan, and primarily consists of 3rd or earlier generation Canadians with European backgrounds. This result is not difficult to explain, in light of Canada's recent, decade-long military engagement in Afghanistan. Many Canadians feel a personal connection to that conflict because of friends and family members that served in the military in Afghanistan (and 7/10 of those indicating a personal connection to the conflict indicated safety concerns for family and friends in the affected region) – but personal knowledge of service members is also not a prerequisite for Canadians to feel a personal connection to the conflict. While this data carries important lessons still, it refers primarily to something other than diasporic connections maintained by Afghan Canadians to conflict "back home".

A similar caution can be made for people self-identifying connections to the conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia, though it is considerably less likely that friends and family of Canadian service people constitute a significant proportion of that population.

KEY FINDINGS

This chapter describes the key findings of the survey, structured around 6 central questions. They are presented below with brief précis of the results for each.

1. HOW MANY CANADIANS ARE AWARE OF AND FEEL AFFECTED BY GLOBAL AND "IMPORTED CONFLICT"?

>SUMMARY:

A majority of Canadians perceive "imported conflict" to be a problem. Almost all Canadians have some knowledge of the conflicts tested in the study. 1 in 5 Canadians have a personal connection to at least one of those conflicts, and 1 in 3 of those respondents indicate that the conflicts they maintain a connection to have an effect on their lives in Canada. Of all the tested conflicts, the Israel-Palestine conflict commands the most attention, and is perceived to be the most significant source of interethnic tensions.

The survey results suggest that Canadians are engaged in global affairs and aware of international conflict, and that a significant swath of the Canadian populace is affected by global conflict in myriad different ways. It is also fairly common for Canadians to feel a personal, family or community connection to global conflict (see Figure 1). Almost all Canadians have some knowledge of the conflicts tested in the study. 1 in 5 Canadians indicated a personal connection to at least one of those conflicts. As outlined above, this finding should not be read to suggest that 20% of survey respondents were members of the ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities with diasporic connections to those tested conflicts. 34% of these respondents indicated that the conflicts to which they have the greatest connection have an effect on their lives in Canada.

There's a wide degree of variance in levels of awareness of and connections to the different conflicts tested in the survey, however. From amongst those conflicts, Israel-Palestine occupies by far the greatest relevance for Canadians. Fully 69% of Canadians indicate some knowledge of the Israel-Palestine conflict. 9% of those Canadians with knowledge of the conflict self-identify as having a personal, family or community connection.[25] Predictably, and for reasons discussed in the introduction, awareness of the conflict in Afghanistan is also high. Almost half of people with a connection to the conflicts in Israel/Palestine (46%), Afghanistan (45%) and the Sudans (49%) feel that these conflicts have an impact on their lives in Canada. In contrast, only 19% of people with a connection to the

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[25] Ibid., P.22.

Yugoslav conflict, and only 26% of people with a connection to the India-Pakistan conflict feel that it continues to affect them.[26] Sample sizes, however, vary widely between communities, and in some cases are too small to produce reliable conclusions.

Knowledge of global conflicts has an apparent relationship to time spent in Canada. For all tested conflicts, knowledge was highest amongst 1st generation Canadians, and lowest among 3rd and older generations of Canadians. There is also generational variance in knowledge of and connections to conflicts. Older Canadians know more about international conflict, but younger Canadians are more likely to register a personal connection to conflict.

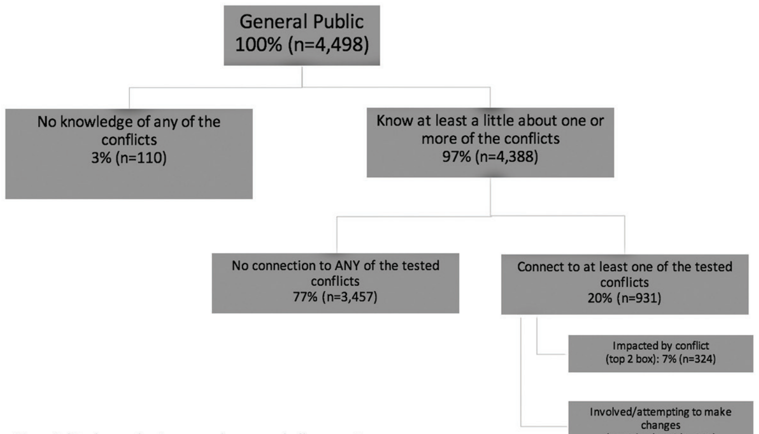
The survey also examined how Canadians learn about and stay connected with global conflict.[29] The top five sources of learning, shared across generational and age segments, are: major Canadian media (87% of respondents), documentaries (58%), major foreign media (52%), talking with friends/family (50%), and studying history or politics (42%).

It is interesting to note that a majority of Canadians rely somewhat on foreign media, although the degree to which this is true is heavily conditioned by time in Canada (67% of 1st generation Canadians, compared to 47% of people with 3+ generations in Canada). The fact that more than 2/3rds of recently-immigrated Canadians learn about global conflict through foreign media might suggest the important impact on "imported conflict" of those transnational information flows that have intensified in the internet era, but it should be acknowledged that foreign media can also include popular international news sources based from the United States, United Kingdom, and so on. Social media is currently only a source of learning for 24% of Canadians. Only about 1/10 Canadians identifies personal experience to be a source of learning about conflict. 1st generation Canadians are marginally overrepresented in this category, at 17%.

As well as examining respondents' knowledge of and connections to global conflict, the survey investigated broad perceptions about conflict within Canada. A majority of Canadians (57%) believe that it is somewhat or very common for people from conflict regions of the world to continue to experience "tensions within or between their communities here in Canada", including incidents of prejudice, vandalism, and violence.[30]

Interestingly, there is strong variance across age segments in response to this question. Older Canadians are nearly twice as likely to express a belief that "imported conflict" is "very common" (23% of those 55 or older versus 12% of those under 35). In a limited sense, this is an encouraging finding. It suggests that Canadians with recent experience of contemporary diversity, for example in schools and postsecondary settings – places often hypothesized to be venues for "imported conflict" – are generally less concerned about interethnic tensions. However, Canadians who indicated a strong personal, family or community connection to any of the conflicts were generally more likely to believe that interethnic tensions play an ongoing role in Canadian lives. In other words, "imported conflict" cannot be said to exist primarily in the imaginations of Canadians with a wide degree of remove from diasporic politics.

Figure 1: Incidence Among Canadians of Knowing About, Connecting to, Being Affected by and/or Getting Involved in Responding to the Conflicts Tested


General Public
100% (n=4,498)
No knowledge of any of the conflicts
3% (n=110)
Know at least a little about one or more of the conflicts
97% (n=4,388)
No connection to ANY of the tested conflicts
77% (n=3,457)
Connect to at least one of the tested conflicts
20% (n=931)
Impacted by conflict (top 2 box): 7% (n=324)
Involved/attempting to make changes (top 3 box): 8% (n=361)

Unweighted sample sizes are shown and all percentages are calculated based on the total sample

When respondents were asked to

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[26] Ibid., P.65.
[29] Ibid., P.27.
[30] Ibid., P.30-31.
[31] Ibid., P.32.

identify which communities they believe continue to experience conflict, they overwhelmingly (82%) identified the communities connected with the Israel-Palestine conflict. This finding stands starkly out from the other conflict communities tested in the survey. The India-Pakistan (51%) and Sikh-non-Sikh (50%) conflicts are second and third most likely to be identified, and the only other conflicts to be identified by a majority of respondents.[32]

In sum, most Canadians perceive "imported conflict" to be a problem in Canada. Most Canadians are at least somewhat aware of one or more of the conflicts tested in the survey. One fifth of Canadians identify a personal connection to one of the conflicts, and one-third of these Canadians say that that conflict has an effect on their lives in Canada today. The Israel-Palestine conflict stands out strongly from the others identified in this study. A large majority of Canadians have knowledge of this conflict, and when asked to identify communities where linger interethnic tensions are a problem, Canadians have an overwhelming tendency to point to the communities connected with Israel and Palestine. 1st generation, 1.5 and 2nd generation Canadians are most knowledgeable about global conflict, and are plugged into international affairs through both Canadian and international media.

2. IN WHAT WAYS DO CANADIANS PERCEIVE THE EFFECTS OF GLOBAL AND "IMPORTED CONFLICT"?

>SUMMARY:

Canadians mostly perceive the effects of global and "imported conflict" in indirect ways – through learning about, talking about, and experiencing the emotional impact of conflicts. Nearly half of those affected by a conflict experience safety concerns for family and friends involved in the military or living abroad in the affected regions.[33] Many Canadians who feel affected by conflict perceive it to have some impact on social cohesion in their communities. Direct experience of violent conflict is very rare.

As outlined above, one-third of Canadians with a self-identified personal connection to conflict feel that this conflict has an impact on their lives in Canada. Respondents were also asked to describe the kind of impact that those conflicts have. Overall, nearly half of those affected by a conflict suffered safety concerns for family and friends involved in the military or living abroad in the affected regions.[33] However, this number was inflated by people with a connection to the conflict in Afghanistan – a full 71% of which experience those safety concerns. One quarter of people affected by the Israel/Palestine conflict identified safety concerns for friends and family in the region.[34] Another quarter feels that the conflict creates tensions and disagreements in the community they reside within. Another quarter expressed concern about how that conflict affected the good will and reputation of Canada and its government.

People who indicated that they were affected by a conflict were given a lengthy list of ways that the conflict has affected their lives in Canada. The most banal kinds of effect were the most commonly selected. However, there were also reasonably high instances of observed social cohesion problems related to international conflict.[35] More than half of respondents indicated that they read and hear stories about the conflict in the media, that they talk with family members and friends about the conflict, that people they know become angry or sad when talking about the conflict, that they themselves become angry or sad when thinking or talking about the conflict, and that they have seen or heard about verbal and physical or violent confrontations between people on different sides of the conflict (see Figure 2). A little more than one-third of respondents indicated having been personally involved in a verbal confrontation. Approximately the same proportion indicated that where they lived, there was little interaction between community members from different sides of the conflict.

29% of respondents indicated that where they live, there are separate and parallel civil society and community organizations for people from different sides of the conflict (see Figure 3). Nearly one-fifth of respondents had seen graffiti and other vandalism related to the conflict. Less than one-tenth (8%) of respondents had been personally involved in physical, or violent confrontations related to the

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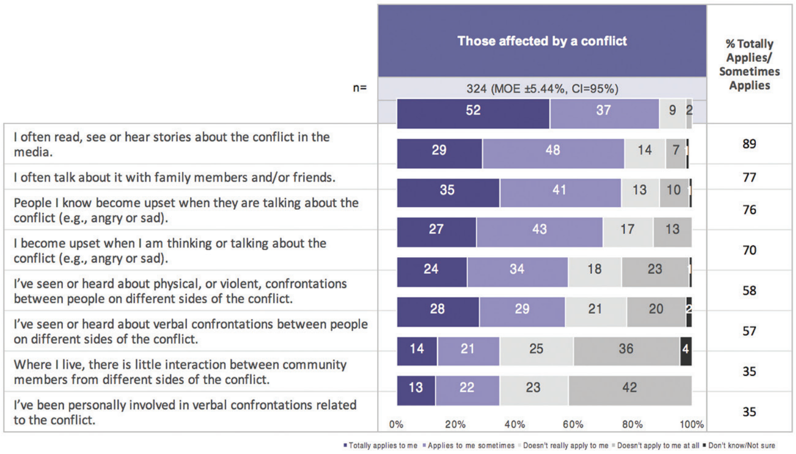
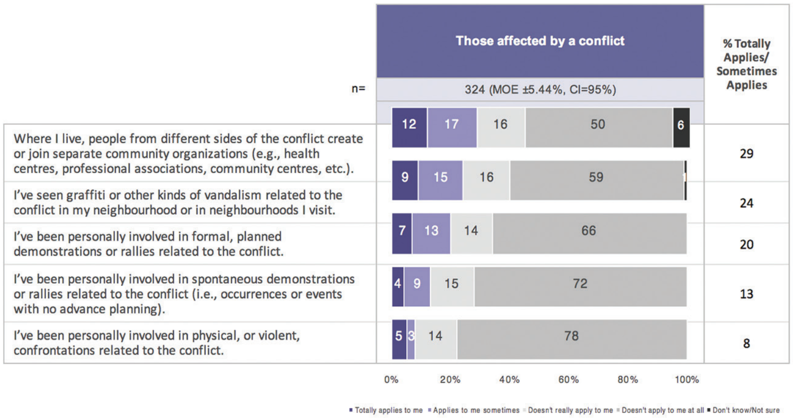
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., P.66.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., P.68.

Figure 2: Ways in Which Conflicts Have Affected Life in Canada (1 of 2)



Q.17 Listed below are some of the ways, or situations, in which this conflict might or might not affect your life in Canada today. Please indicate how much or little each one applies to you personally.
Base: Those affected by a conflict

Figure 3: Ways in Which Conflicts Have Affected Life in Canada (2 of 2)



Q.17 Listed below are some of the ways, or situations, in which this conflict might or might not affect your life in Canada today. Please indicate how much or little each one applies to you personally.
Base: Those affected by a conflict

conflict. Consistent with the findings described elsewhere in this report, domestic violent conflict appears to have only a very small presence in the communities studied. But other indicators of interethnic tensions are recognizable to somewhat significant minorities of those affected by conflict.

For all of the suggested statements, people with connections to the Israel/Palestine conflict are more likely to indicate that the described scenarios apply to them.[36] For example, 75% of those with a connection to the Israel/Palestine conflict have heard about violent confrontations, and 83% have heard about verbal confrontations.

Approximately half have been involved in verbal confrontations, and have observed that there is little interaction between community members on opposing sides.[37] 40% indicate that people from different sides of the conflict create or join separate community organizations. The rate of violent conflict is still low, but higher than for other conflicts, with 13% saying they have been personally involved in physical confrontations. This is consistent with other findings in this chapter, which suggest that communities connected with the Israel/Palestine conflict are perceived to experience "imported conflict" that is more intense in both degree and kind than other conflicts.

In sum, Canadians mostly reported perceiving the effects of global and "imported conflict" in indirect ways – through learning about, talking (and arguing about), and feeling the emotional impact of global conflicts in their lives. Canadians who feel affected by conflict also perceive an impact on the condition of social cohesion in their communities. Direct experience of violent conflict is very rare. All of the effects tested in the study are felt most strongly by people with connections to the Israel/Palestine conflict.

3. HOW DO CANADIANS REPORT THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AND "IMPORTED" CONFLICTS?

>SUMMARY:

Though Canadians feel connected to conflict and affected by it, overall only a minority report being personally involved in trying to resolve or otherwise change those conflicts abroad or at home.[38] For those who are involved, the most commonly reported activities include educating others, signing petitions, commenting online and donating money. One-fifth or fewer of respondents report more active repertoires of

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[36] Ibid., P.69.
[37] Ibid., P.70.
[38] Ibid., P.84.

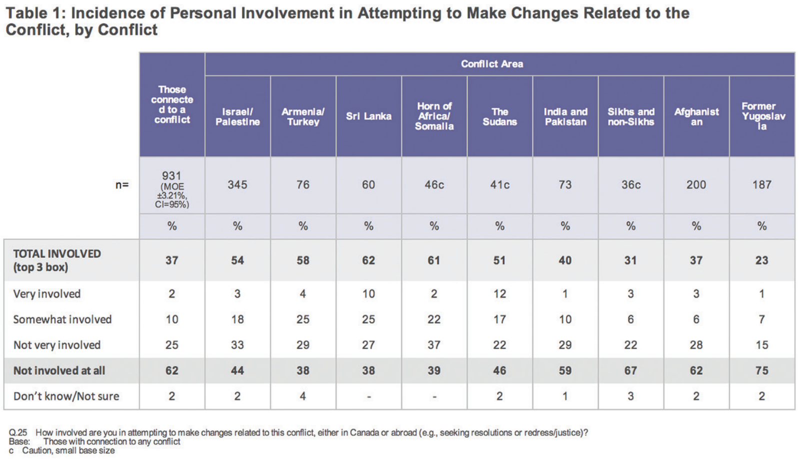

Table 1: Incidence of Personal Involvement in Attempting to Make Changes Related to the Conflict, by Conflict

	Those connected to a conflict	Conflict Area								
		Israel/ Palestine	Armenia/ Turkey	Sri Lanka	Horn of Africa/ Somalia	The Sudans	India and Pakistan	Sikhs and non-Sikhs	Afghanistan	Former Yugoslavia
n=	931 (MOE ±3.21%, CI=95%)	345	76	60	46c	41c	73	36c	200	187
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL INVOLVED (top 3 box)	**37**	**54**	**58**	**62**	**61**	**51**	**40**	**31**	**37**	**23**
Very involved	2	3	4	10	2	12	1	3	3	1
Somewhat involved	10	18	25	25	22	17	10	6	6	7
Not very involved	25	33	29	27	37	22	29	22	28	15
Not involved at all	**62**	**44**	**38**	**38**	**39**	**46**	**59**	**67**	**62**	**75**
Don't know/Not sure	2	2	4	-	-	2	1	3	2	2

Q.25 How involved are you in attempting to make changes related to this conflict, either in Canada or abroad (e.g., seeking resolutions or redress/justice)?
Base: Those with connection to any conflict
c Caution, small base size

action, like volunteering and attending rallies.

The survey also sought to assess the degree to which Canadians report mobilizing around conflict. One of the interesting findings of the survey was that though Canadians feel connected to conflict and affected by it, overall only a minority report being personally involved in trying to resolve or otherwise change those conflicts abroad or at home. 62% indicate that they are "not involved at all" (see Table 1).

On this question, though, there was also a fair degree of variance between conflict communities. A majority of those connected with the Israel/Palestine, Armenia/Turkey, Sri Lankan, Horn of Africa/Somalia, and the Sudans conflicts indicate at least some small degree of involvement, although only for the Sudans and Sri Lanka were even a tenth of respondents "very involved". Overall, Sri Lanka (62%) and the Horn of Africa/Somalia (61%) claimed the highest levels of total involvement, although there were small sample sizes for both which included self-identified connections from people without ancestral origins in the regions. Those connected with the Former Yugoslavia were the least involved in conflict-oriented mobilization, at only 23%. This is likely a partial reflection of the fact that conflict has largely abated in that region over the past decade.

Respondents who indicated some degree of involvement were asked to identify the forms of conflict resolution / activism that they participated in.[39] The most common forms of involvement include what might be considered more indirect and moderate, as well as more individualistic repertoires of action – happening outside of formal institutions or organizations. 64% of respondents reported educating other people about the conflict, 42% had signed petitions, 32% had commented on social media, and 31% had donated money to organizations or causes related in some way to the conflict. About one-fifth had participated in organized rallies or demonstrations (19%), and had volunteered their time (18%). 18% of respondents belong to a local or Canadian network or group of people with similar views on the conflict, and 15% belong to global networks or groups.

Consistent with other findings described above, people who are active in making change with respect to the Israel/Palestine conflict register notably high levels of activity with most of the tested repertoires of action, with 80% involved in educating others about the conflict, 53% signing petitions, 27% participating in planned demonstrations and rallies, and 36% belonging to local, national, or global groups and networks of like-minded people. For other communities individually, sample sizes are quite small. The age dynamics in involvement are fairly predictable. Young people are more likely to comment on social media and websites, and more likely to participate in rallies and demonstrations. Older Canadians are more likely to donate money, and to belong to groups and networks of like-minded people.

In sum, levels of active mobilization amongst those who feel connections to global conflicts are middling, with a majority of respondents indicating that they are not involved at all in trying to change or resolve those conflicts. For those who are involved, the most common activities include educating others, signing petitions, commenting online and donating money. One-fifth or fewer of respondents report more active repertoires of action, like volunteering and attending rallies.

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[39] Ibid., P.84-87.

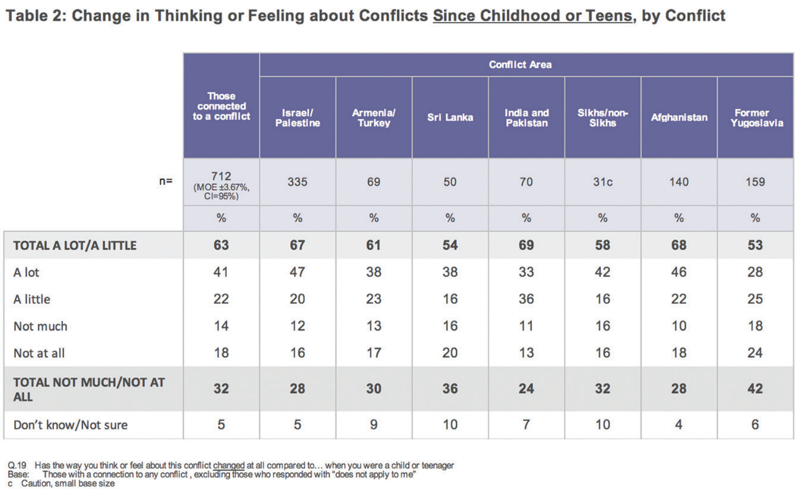


Table 2: Change in Thinking or Feeling about Conflicts Since Childhood or Teens, by Conflict

	Those connected to a conflict	Conflict Area						
		Israel/ Palestine	Armenia/ Turkey	Sri Lanka	India and Pakistan	Sikhs/non-Sikhs	Afghanistan	Former Yugoslavia
n=	712 (MOE ±3.67%, CI=95%)	335	69	50	70	31c	140	159
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL A LOT/A LITTLE	**63**	**67**	**61**	**54**	**69**	**58**	**68**	**53**
A lot	41	47	38	38	33	42	46	28
A little	22	20	23	16	36	16	22	25
Not much	14	12	13	16	11	16	10	18
Not at all	18	16	17	20	13	16	18	24
TOTAL NOT MUCH/NOT AT ALL	**32**	**28**	**30**	**36**	**24**	**32**	**28**	**42**
Don't know/Not sure	5	5	9	10	7	10	4	6

Q.19 Has the way you think or feel about this conflict changed at all compared to… when you were a child or teenager
Base: Those with a connection to any conflict , excluding those who responded with "does not apply to me"
c Caution, small base size

4. WHAT EFFECT DOES LIFE IN CANADA HAVE ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS?

>SUMMARY:

For most respondents, the effects of conflict have not been diminished by coming to Canada. But life in Canada appears to have had a meaningful impact on the attitudes and perceptions of those with a connection to global conflict. Positive impacts include access to more information and context about conflicts, and contact with people from other groups. Sizeable proportions of those connected with global conflicts have also developed some pessimism over time.

One of the centrally important functions performed by the survey was to assess if and how attitudes towards and perceptions of conflict change over time, and especially over time spent in Canada. This plays a key role in our generating a picture of how well Canada and Canadians are doing in addressing unreconciled and conflictual attitudes. The results suggest that attitudes towards conflict and other groups are dynamic, that they do change over time, and that experiences living in Canada play an important role in this.

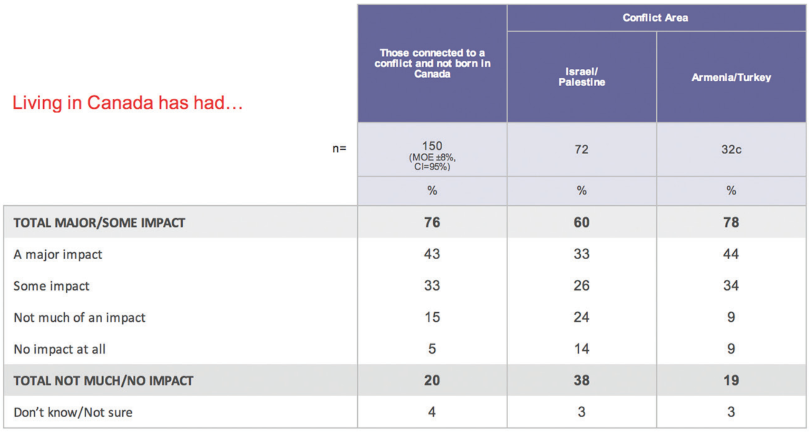
First, the survey assessed if those connected to a conflict perceived changes in how they thought or felt about that conflict in their lifetimes. Nearly 2/3rd (63%) of those connected to conflict indicated that their views had changed since they were children and teenagers[40] (see Table 2). People with connections to the Former Yugoslavia (53%) were the least likely to indicate changes in their thinking. Only 42% of respondents born outside of Canada indicated that their attitudes towards conflict had changed compared to before they had arrived in Canada.

The survey also attempts to assess the direction of those changes. It found that 2/3rd (66%) of respondents feel that the impact of the conflict on their lives has increased since childhood and teenage years.[41] There is a substantial degree of variance between conflicts – unsurprisingly, people with connections to the conflict in Former Yugoslavia are much less likely to indicate more of an impact now – but sample sizes here are quite small. Interestingly, no clear answer emerges to the question of whether conflict has more or less of an impact on respondents born outside of Canada now compared to before coming to Canada. 36% suggest conflict has more of an impact, 37% suggest conflict has less of an impact, and 26% suggest that conflict has the same impact.[42] It is somewhat remarkable, and indicative of the strength of diasporic ties, that more than 1/3rd of respondents indicate that conflict has affected them more strongly after coming to Canada than before, and that fully 62% indicate no reduction in the effects of conflict since coming to Canada.

Respondents were asked to describe the ways they think or feel about the conflict have changed over time, by selecting from several options.[43] More than four-in-ten (43%) feel that they have gained increased awareness, knowledge or information about the conflict. Approximately one-fifth (19%), including 27% of people with a connection to Israel/Palestine, suggest that they are "not so one-sided anymore", and that they are better able to empathize with both sides to a certain degree. 13% locate their attitudinal change in the fact that the conflict has come to affect more Canadians and generate more immigration, and that as a result they know more people personally who are affected by the conflict.

[40] Ibid., P.73.
[41] Ibid., P.75.
[42] Ibid,, P.76.
[43] Ibid., P.76-77.

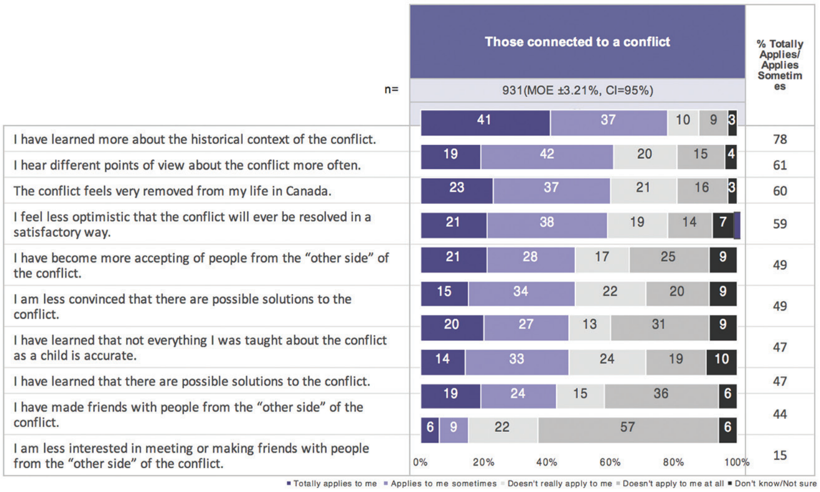
Table 3: Extent to which Living in Canada has Influenced Way of Thinking about the Conflict, by Conflict



Living in Canada has had…	Those connected to a conflict and not born in Canada	Conflict Area	
		Israel/ Palestine	Armenia/Turkey
n=	150 (MOE ±8%, CI=95%)	72	32c
	%	%	%
TOTAL MAJOR/SOME IMPACT	**76**	**60**	**78**
A major impact	43	33	44
Some impact	33	26	34
Not much of an impact	15	24	9
No impact at all	5	14	9
TOTAL NOT MUCH/NO IMPACT	**20**	**38**	**19**
Don't know/Not sure	4	3	3

Q.21 How much of your change in thinking is the result of your experiences living in Canada? That is, to what extent has living in Canada had an impact on the way you think about the conflict?
Base: Those connected to a conflict whose feelings have changed over time and not born in Canada

Figure 4: Ways in Which Thoughts and Feelings about the Conflict have Changed Over Time



Q.22 Listed below are different reasons why, or ways in which, the way you think or feel about this conflict may have changed over time. Please indicate how much or little each one applies to you.
Base: Those with a connection to any conflict

While questions assessing changes to the effects of conflict since coming to Canada attracted some equivocal results, asking those with a connection to conflict to assess specifically how their experiences living in Canada affected their views of conflict engendered generally stronger responses[44] (see Table 3). Three-quarters (76%) of respondents born outside of Canada reported that living in Canada had at least some kind of impact on their views, and fully 43% indicated that it had a major impact (see Table 2). Only 5% responded that living in Canada had no impact at all. Respondents were asked to identify the various ways that living in Canada had altered their thoughts and feelings about conflict (see Figure 4). The results are a blend of optimistic and discouraging findings.

The most common response, with 78% of respondents, was that respondents had learned more about the historical context surrounding the conflict. 61% also suggested that they hear different points of view about the conflict more often. Fully 77% of people with a connection to Israel/Palestine indicated this. About the same proportion (60%) reported that the conflict feels removed from their lives in Canada. This was most true for people with connections to the Former Yugoslavia (70%), and least for those connected with Armenia/Turkey (43%). Approximately half of respondents (49%) say they have become more accepting of people from the "other side" of the conflict, and 44% have even made friends with people from the "other side". These results are all quite positive, and suggest that life in Canada has facilitated access to new information and contact with traditional 'enemies'.

On the other hand, almost 6-in-10 respondents (59%) say that they feel less optimistic about the possibilities for resolving conflict.[45] This is especially true for people with connections to Israel/Palestine (73%) and Afghanistan (73%).[46] Almost half (49%) are less convinced that possible solutions to the conflict exist, and once again this is especially true for people with connections to Israel/Palestine (63%) and Afghanistan (62%). It is also worth noting that nearly one-fifth of people with connections to Israel/Palestine (18%) and Armenia/Turkey (21%) – and more than one-fifth of those connected to Afghanistan, though this speaks to a different set of issues – indicate that they are "less interested in meeting or making friends with people from the "other side" of the conflict".

In addition to examining the effects of life in Canada on attitudes, the survey also assessed a likely alternative source for changing attitudes – changes or developments in the global conflicts themselves.[47] Fully 75% of respondents indicated that their conflicts had changed in their lifetimes or

[44] Ibid., P.80.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., P.81.
[48] Ibid., P.82.

since coming to Canada. Respondents with connections to Armenia/Turkey were notably less likely to feel this way, with only 42% identifying change. This reflects the relative stasis of that conflict, which has been primarily latent and non-violent in recent decades. Half (51%) of respondents who identify changes say that their feelings have intensified as a result, and only 15% suggest their feelings have become less intense.[48] People with connections to Israel/Palestine are substantially more likely to indicate intensified feelings, including "much more intense" feelings about the conflict because of changes.

While for most respondents the effects of conflict were not diminished by coming to Canada, life in Canada appears to have had a meaningful impact on the attitudes and perceptions of those with a connection to global conflict. This impact has been generally positive, as it has meant more information and contact with people from other groups. But it has a provoked a mixture of reactions, and sizeable proportions of those connected with global conflicts link certain forms of conflict pessimism – partly – with experiences in Canada.

5. WHAT DO CANADIANS PERCEIVE AS APPROPRIATE RESPONSES TO GLOBAL AND "IMPORTED CONFLICT"?

>SUMMARY:

Canadians generally feel that resolving both imported and global conflict should be a priority for Canada, with domestic conflict being regarded as the stronger priority. Canadians favour education-based approaches to resolving conflict here in Canada. For international conflict, Canadians continue to favour diplomacy and multilateralism.

The survey also asked Canadians to discuss the kinds of policy and community responses they would like to see to both international and domestic conflict. This is intrinsically useful and important information, and a needed input in the formulation of prescriptions in this report. It is also a helpful tool for sharpening our image of Canadians' perceptions of the phenomenon of "imported conflict" – both of its scope and seriousness, and of its nature and origins. We found that Canadians generally feel that resolving both imported and global conflict should be a priority for Canada, with domestic conflict being regarded as the primary priority. With respect to policy and community responses, Canadians favour education-based approaches to resolving conflict here in Canada. For international conflict, Canadians continue to favour diplomacy and multilateralism.
Nearly three-quarters (72%) of respondents feel that resolving intergroup conflicts in Canada should be at least somewhat of a priority for Canada.[49] One-quarter of those surveyed suggested that it should be a "major priority". Only a tiny minority (5%) of respondents suggested that resolving those kinds of conflicts in Canada should not be a priority at all. This finding is clear; Canadians perceive a problem that demands a solution. Moreover, this perception is shared quite evenly across conflict groups, age groups, and generational cohorts.

Respondents were presented with a list of possible responses to conflict in Canada, and asked to select the various ways they felt Canada should help in reducing conflict[50] (see Table 4). Education-oriented responses proved to be most popular with respondents. All of the responses chosen by at a majority of those surveyed related in some way to education. The most commonly cited response, selected by nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents, was to "expand education for new Canadian citizens, highlighting the teaching of Canadian values". Support for this response is broad-based, but also increases with age; 82% of people 55+ suggest stronger citizenship and values education for New Canadians, as opposed to 65% of those 18 to 34. 60% agreed that Canada should "promote public education aimed at offering a balanced view on international conflicts". 55% thought we should "change what is taught in public schools to include balanced discussions of international conflict", and 54% thought we should "change what is taught in public schools to highlight the importance of living together in peace". Support for education initiatives is particularly high for those with a connection to Israel/Palestine, the former Yugoslavia, and Armenia/Turkey.

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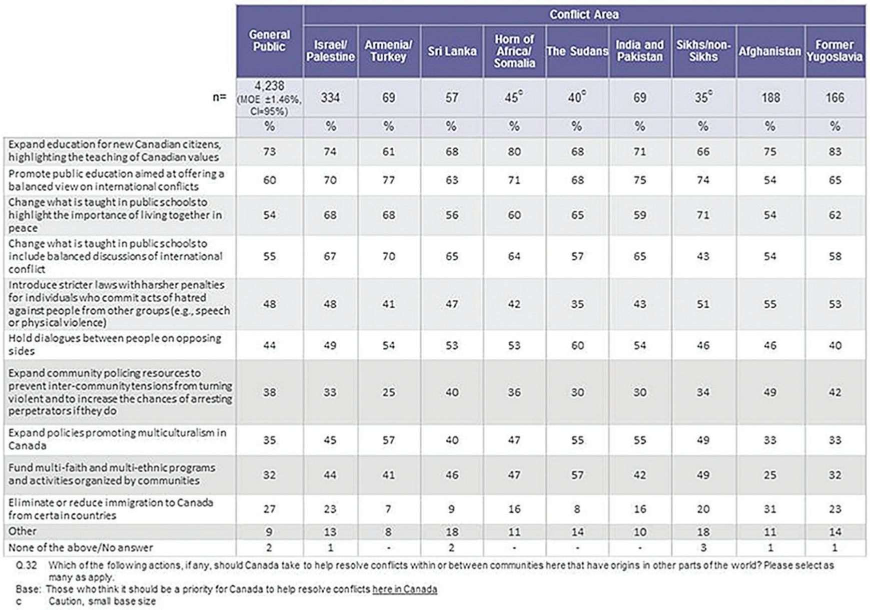
[49] Ibid., P.38.

Table 4: Actions Canada Should Take to Resolve Conflicts Here in Canada, by Conflict



	General Public	Conflict Area								
		Israel/ Palestine	Armenia/ Turkey	Sri Lanka	Horn of Africa/ Somalia	The Sudans	India and Pakistan	Sikhs/non-Sikhs	Afghanistan	Former Yugoslavia
n=	4,238 (MOE ±1.46%, CI=95%)	334	69	57	45°	40°	69	35°	188	166
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Expand education for new Canadian citizens, highlighting the teaching of Canadian values	73	74	61	68	80	68	71	66	75	83
Promote public education aimed at offering a balanced view on international conflicts	60	70	77	63	71	68	75	74	54	65
Change what is taught in public schools to highlight the importance of living together in peace	54	68	68	56	60	65	59	71	54	62
Change what is taught in public schools to include balanced discussions of international conflict	55	67	70	65	64	57	65	43	54	58
Introduce stricter laws with harsher penalties for individuals who commit acts of hatred against people from other groups (e.g., speech or physical violence)	48	48	41	47	42	35	43	51	55	53
Hold dialogues between people on opposing sides	44	49	54	53	53	60	54	46	46	40
Expand community policing resources to prevent inter-community tensions from turning violent and to increase the chances of arresting perpetrators if they do	38	33	25	40	36	30	30	34	49	42
Expand policies promoting multiculturalism in Canada	35	45	57	40	47	55	55	49	33	33
Fund multi-faith and multi-ethnic programs and activities organized by communities	32	44	41	46	47	57	42	49	25	32
Eliminate or reduce immigration to Canada from certain countries	27	23	7	9	16	8	16	20	31	23
Other	9	13	8	18	11	14	10	18	11	14
None of the above/No answer	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	3	1	1

Q.32 Which of the following actions, if any, should Canada take to help resolve conflicts within or between communities here that have origins in other parts of the world? Please select as many as apply.
Base: Those who think it should be a priority for Canada to help resolve conflicts here in Canada
c Caution, small base size

Policing-oriented responses to "imported conflict" were the second most popular responses. Nearly half of respondents (48%) expressed support for Canada to "introduce stricter laws with harsher penalties for individuals who commit acts of hatred against people from other groups". 38% agreed that we "expand community policing resources to prevent inter-community tensions from turning violent and to increase the chances of arresting perpetrators if they do".

"Talk-based" and multiculturalism-oriented solutions had middling to low levels of support. 44% of respondents indicated that Canada should "hold dialogues between people on opposing sides", and this support was fairly consistent across conflict-connected communities. Surprisingly, only 35% of respondents agreed that Canada should "expand policies promoting multiculturalism in Canada", and only 32% suggested we "fund multi-faith and multi-ethnic programs and activities organized by communities". Young people (ages 18-34) are generally more supportive of dialogue and multiculturalism-oriented solutions than average, and also less supportive of policing responses. Support for dialogue also appears to decline somewhat with time spent in Canada; 49% of 1st generation Canadians are supportive, compared with 42% of 3rd generation +. It is also notable that people with connections to many of the tested conflicts are generally more supportive of policies promoting dialogue and multiculturalism than the general public.

Finally, nearly one-third of respondents (27%) believe that Canada should "eliminate or reduce immigration to Canada from certain countries" in response to "imported conflict". Support for this proposition is generally lower amongst people with a connection to one of the tested conflicts (with the exception of Afghanistan), and lower amongst younger Canadians (18% of those 18-34, versus 35% of those 55+).

With respect to resolving global conflicts, a smaller but still substantial majority of Canadians (61%) believe this should represent at least somewhat of a priority for Canada.[51] Only 14% suggest that it should be a major priority, and one-in-ten Canadians feel that resolving international conflict should not be a priority at all. These views are largely shared across conflict groups, age groups, and generational cohorts.

As with resolving domestic conflict, respondents were asked to identify some measures Canada should adopt to assist in the resolution of international conflicts[52] (see Figure 5). Here Canadians demonstrated a strong preference for diplomacy and multilateralism. Nearly eight-in-ten Canadians (78%) agreed that Canada should "get involved diplomatically in conflicts to help negotiate peace agreements", and support for this proposition is fairly high across generational, conflict, and age cohorts. 73% of those surveyed indicated that Canada should "commit to supporting United Nations mandated peacekeeping missions", and 69% said that we should "support international institutions like the United Nations". This support was again fairly consistent across the tested sub-groups.

[50] Ibid., P.40-44.
[51] Ibid., P.45.
[52] Ibid., P.47-51.

More than four-in-ten Canadians (44%) support the notion that Canada should “consult with groups in Canada that have origins in conflict regions of the world”. This proposition is supported by half or more of respondents with connections to conflict – with the exception of Afghanistan.

Military-based responses garner relatively low levels of support. Only about one-quarter (24%) of Canadians agree that to “maintain a strong military that is capable of participating effectively in international conflicts” is a priority in responding to global conflict. Fewer than one-in-five Canadians (19%) indicated that Canada should “get involved militarily wherever civilians are threatened with violence”. People with a connection to the Afghanistan conflict were generally more supportive of military solutions, although support for humanitarian intervention was also higher amongst people with connections to Sri Lanka, the Horn of Africa, the Sudans, and the Sikh/non-Sikh conflict (acknowledging small sample sizes). Only just more than one-in-ten Canadians (12%) suggested that Canada should stay out of international conflicts.

In sum, Canadians do generally view the resolution of both domestic and international conflict as a priority for Canada, although domestic conflict appears to constitute a stronger priority in the minds of Canadians. When asked to select from possible policy and community responses, those surveyed were fairly consistent in the kinds of responses they selected. For resolving domestic conflict, a strong preference was demonstrated for public, citizenship, and schools-based education programs. For resolving international conflict, Canadians demonstrated the continuing strength of a traditional preference for diplomacy and multilateralism.

6. WHAT VALUES ARE IMPORTANT TO CANADIANS?

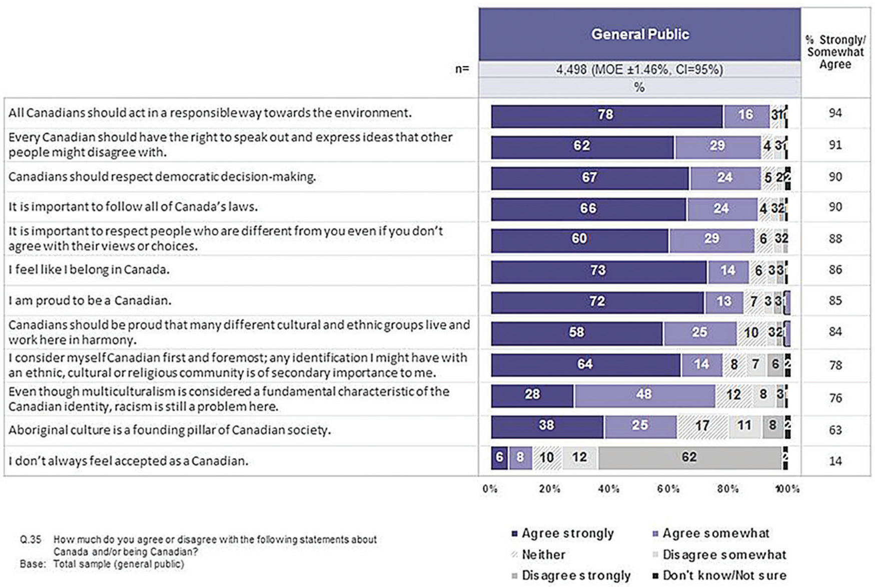
>SUMMARY:

Support for a series of values statements indicative of Canadian values is consistently high across generational cohorts, and even often higher amongst recently-arrived generations than long-established ones. Recently-arrived Canadians also demonstrate strong levels of attachment to Canada. There is nothing to suggest divergence in values between the general population and recently-arrived Canadians.

The final task of the survey was to probe the degree to which various perceived Canadian values resonated with respondents from different generational and conflict cohorts. The survey asked respondents to agree or disagree with a series of statements connected with ostensibly Canadian values. We found that support for those values is consistently high across generational cohorts, and even often higher amongst recently-arrived generations than long-established ones. This suggests that newcomer Canadians, including those with a connection to conflict, do not substantially diverge from the values of other Canadians and the values embedded in the Canadian state. They also develop attachment to Canada that resembles levels of attachment amongst older generations of Canadians.

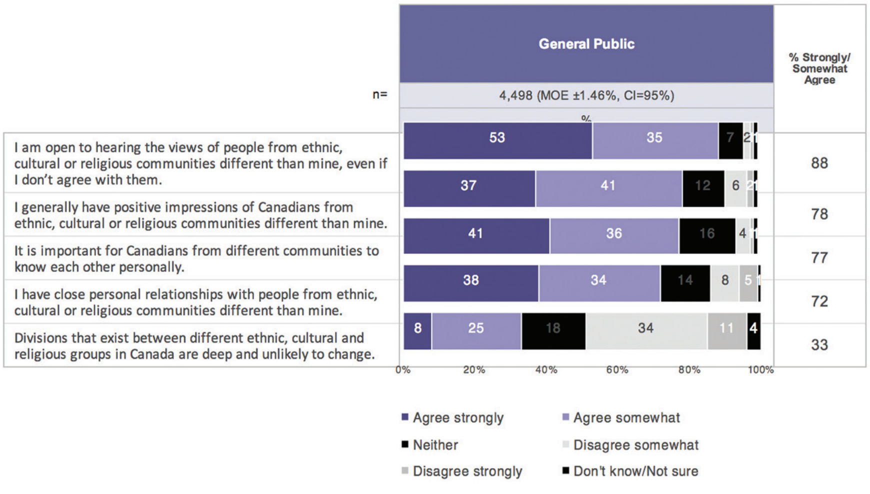
In general, very strong support was demonstrated for the tested value statements[53] (see Figure 5). At least nine-in-ten Canadians agreed to the following statements: that “all Canadians should act in a responsible way towards the environment (94%), that “every Canadian should have the right to speak out and express their ideas that other people might disagree with” (91%), that “Canadians should respect democratic decision making” (90%), and that “it is important to follow all of Canada’s laws” (90%). At least eight-in-ten respondents agreed with the following statements: “It is important to respect people who are different from you even if you don’t agree with their views or choices” (88%), “I feel like I belong in Canada” (86%), “I am proud to be Canadian” (85%), and “Canadians should be proud that many different cultural and ethnic groups live and work here in harmony” (84%). 76% of Canadians agree that “even though multiculturalism is considered a fundamental characteristic of Canadian identity, racism is still a problem here”. Notably, the statement

Figure 5: Level of Agreement with Statements about Canadian Values and Perceptions of Belonging



Q.35 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Canada and/or being Canadian?
Base: Total sample (general public)

Figure 6: Attitudes Toward Relationships between People from Different Ethnic, Cultural or Religious Communities



Q.37 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about relationships between people from different ethnic, cultural or religious communities?
Base: Total sample (general public)

"Aboriginal culture is a founding pillar of Canadian society" attracted much less support than the other values statements, at only 63%.

Nearly eight-in-ten Canadians (78%) agreed with the statement "I consider myself Canadian first and foremost; any identification I might have with an ethnic, cultural or religious community is of secondary importance to me".[54] For this statement, there was a fair degree of variance across segments of the population. Older Canadians were more likely to agree (83% of those 55+, compared with 71% of those 18-34). Interestingly, 2nd generation Canadians were most likely to agree with this statement (85%), compared with 70% of 1st generation Canadians and 78% of 3rd generation +. This is illustrative of some of the complex identity dynamics experienced in the second generation, including – it seems – enthusiastic identification with Canada.

One of the striking findings here is the consistency of support for these values statements across generational cohorts.[55] They command very high levels of support amongst 1st, 1.5, and 2nd generation Canadians. In fact, support for statements such as "I am proud to be Canadian" is surprisingly lowest amongst 3rd generation + Canadians. This suggests, at least superficially, that newcomers to Canada either bring with them or quickly acquire norms that are resonant with ostensibly Canadian values, and also develop strong affective ties to Canada in short order.

14% of Canadians indicated that they do not always feel accepted as Canadians. Importantly, the small samples of respondents with connections to many of the tested conflicts – India/Pakistan, Armenia/Turkey, Sikh/non-Sikh, Horn of Africa/Somalia, the Sudans, and Sri Lanka – are much more likely to agree that they do not always feel accepted.

Respondents were also asked to indicate their level of attachment to Canada.[56] 94% of Canadians report a feeling of attachment, and almost eight-in-ten Canadians (79%) answered that they are "very attached" to Canada. Attachment to Canada is very high and consistent with the general population

[53] Ibid., P.53.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid., P.55.
[56] Ibid., P.56-59.

for people with connections to the tested conflicts. Surprisingly, and consistent with some findings discussed above, the survey found that the level of overall attachment to Canada is lowest amongst 3rd generation + Canadians, for whom only 92% are attached and 76% are very attached (compared to 98% and 82% of first generation Canadians, and 98% and 88% of second generation Canadians).

Those surveyed were also asked to describe their attitudes toward relationships across ethnic, cultural, and religious divides.[57] In general, Canadians indicate high support for statements suggesting tolerance and acceptance of others from different communities (see Figure 6).

88% of Canadians are "open to hearing the views of people from different ethnic, cultural or religious communities". 78% report having "positive impressions of Canadians" from other communities, and about the same proportion (77%) feel it is "important for Canadians from different communities to know each other personally". 72% have "close personal relationships" with people from other communities. Levels of enthusiasm for intercultural relationships and tolerance are higher than average amongst those who report a connection to one of the tested conflicts – with the exception of those with a connection to Afghanistan. Support for these propositions is lowest amongst 3rd generation + Canadians, who in particular are less likely to report close personal relationships with people from other communities. One-third of Canadians (33%) believe that "divisions existing between different ethnic, cultural, and religious groups in Canada are deep and unlikely to change". Older Canadians are more likely to believe this, as are people with a connection to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

In short, our survey results suggest little reason to suspect a values divergence between recently-arrived and more established Canadians. In fact, while it is unwise to surmise too much from this data, there is *prima facie* evidence to suggest either that Canada does a fairly good job of facilitating values-acquisition, or that newcomers to Canada are inclined towards integrating on a values-level with the broader Canadian community, or both. Having a personal, family, or community connection to a global conflict does not appear to disrupt the consistency of commitments to ostensibly Canadian values.

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[57] Ibid., P.59-63.

>THE REALITY OF CANADIANS' LIVED EXPERIENCE OF "IMPORTED CONFLICT" IN CANADA

THE INTERVIEWS AND THE FOCUS GROUPS

Ten powerful findings emerged as the "reality" of how Canadians who come from conflict, or whose families come from conflict, think about it, and act, once they are in Canada.

Our understanding of the perspectives of people who come from conflict themselves, or whose families come from conflict, is based on 220 in-depth one-on-one interviews, supplemented by six sets of focus groups with the members of three conflict "dyads."

The following section describes the ten thematic findings that hold for all ethnic groups and all conflicts. It is followed by descriptions of the perspectives of respondents with regard to the specific conflict from which they or their families come.

The perspective descriptions are buttressed by quotes from the interviews and the focus groups, all of which are illustrative of particular viewpoints but by no means exhaustive.

We were especially careful to speak with members of different generations and to ensure that we included a significant number of young adults in each and every community. We make particular mention, throughout the paper, of the perspectives of young people where they either amplify the perspectives of their elders or differ from them, or where the point in question applies notably to them.

A FURTHER NOTE ABOUT THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews were semi-structured, open conversations that moved through three broad stages. In each case, we opened the conversation with a discussion of their experience of the conflict, if indeed they experienced it first-hand, or how they understood it as a child, if they grew up away from it. We progressed to a conversation about their experiences in Canada: where did they live and go to school or work? What were their impressions on arrival? Did they already speak English or French and was it hard to learn to function in a new world? Did they experience racism or discrimination of any kind, either initially or over time? How did their sense of themselves and their identity shift over time? What is their current position – both in terms of work but also in terms of a sense of self vis-à-vis the wider society? Finally, we returned to the question of the conflict. At this point in their lives, we wanted to know, what do they think of the conflict? How do they see it now and what do they see as the solution to it, both here in Canada and "back home" in the conflict zone? What sort of work or advocacy do they do with regard to the conflict? Do they have contact or friendships with people who come from the "other side" of the conflict?

In the course of these conversations, respondents discussed the shift in their ideas, the "aha" moments when shifts occurred in their understanding of the conflict, its causes, the way it is viewed in the diaspora, and relationships with the people who would have been their adversaries "back home." They talked a good deal about identity – which is always at the heart of conversations about conflict and about their sense of themselves as Canadians.

We also began asking about faith early on in the interview process, because it quickly became apparent that whether or not the conflict was religion-based, people often shifted their relationship with faith over the course of a lifetime reacting to conflict.

Finally, we talked extensively about trauma: its immediate and long-lasting effects, the treatment (and more often lack thereof), the way it has played out among those who experienced conflict directly and the way it has played out intergenerationally – the way it continues to affect the children of survivors.

Everyone we interviewed is Canadian. In the brief descriptions, we use a shorthand – Bosnian, South Sudanese, Tamil – and so forth, but with the understanding that all are Canadian, and that being connected to elsewhere as well as to Canada is a reflection of what it means to be Canadian (whether that elsewhere is Scotland or whether it is Sri Lanka).

In the interests of keeping the interviews completely confidential, no names have been used and potentially identifying details have been blurred or removed. Respondents are "named" only by a random letter of the alphabet that does not correspond to their real names.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE FOCUS GROUPS

Directionally speaking, the focus groups supported many of the general perspectives that were expressed in the individual interviews. In large part because of group dynamic, they did not allow for the extent of individual stories or the revelation of the effects of trauma. In addition, they did not make room for the expression of opinions that diverged significantly from those of the group. One individual, interviewed separately a couple of weeks after the focus group, expressly stated that she had felt pressured to articulate opinions that she felt were expected of her and that she felt her views were being policed by an elder in the group. We observed similar dampening of outlier opinions in several of the groups. ***This phenomenon is explored in more detail in Finding #10, below***.

KEY FINDINGS

FINDING #1: COMMUNITIES OF CANADIANS WHO COME FROM OVERSEAS CONFLICT REPUDIATE VIOLENCE IN CANADA.

Most significantly, the interviews demonstrate unequivocally that, whatever their experience with conflict and whether they are first or second generation, generation 1.5, or their families have been in Canada for multiple generations, Canadians repudiate violence in Canada as a means of resolving, or responding to, conflict "back home."

This finding held universally across our data set and without exception across all ethnoreligious and ethnocultural groups and for all conflict regions.

To arrive at this finding is by no means the same as suggesting that no individual Canadians ever become radicalized in Canada, or that none support extremist and even violently extremist viewpoints or organizations. We of course know that a small number of Canadians have used or espoused the use of violence within Canada to achieve their political aims or to express their historical animosities. However, our study confirms to us that, in all of the communities that we surveyed and spoke with, and universally across the entire data set, there is a repudiation of the use of violent means to act out traditional conflicts.

The following quotes are illustrative and, as with all quotes, not exhaustive:

> Suicide bombings that we see in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan – makes you realize how hopeless people's situation is, that they would resort to that. It is not legitimate to do that. It is not okay on any level. Yes, defend yourself, but not in a way that requires self-destruction. Both because it's not okay to kill innocent people but also because what good is taking your own life?
> *(B., Pashtun Afghan male, 32, b. Kabul, to Canada at 6)*

The speakers below are referring to a series of attacks in the 1980s by various Armenian groups on the Turkish embassy in Ottawa in which a security guard, a military attaché, and a commercial counsellor were murdered.

> Now everybody believes that violence should be shunned … Most people believe it was morally wrong. We've moved on. Also we don't want the association with terrorism … Being Canadian is multiculturalism – where locals are accepting of people and you can integrate but not assimilate. It is one of the beauties of Canada – and it is unique – Canada is not Germany or France.
> *(A., Armenian man, 24, b. Lebanon, to Canada at 2)*

> If [violence] happened here I would not be happy. I wouldn't want an Armenian to strap a bomb to themselves to kill a Turkish person, no matter where and no matter who the Turkish person was
> *(W., Armenian woman, 27, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

Some respondents argued that violence was necessary within the theatre of conflict itself, but made the strong point that it would be both wrong and counterproductive in Canada.

> I believe in a series of tactics: armed resistance, but only over there; BDS; public relations. It has to be Palestinian-led with support from all sectors. Here violence is wrong but education is extremely important: it allows people to get news they would never hear otherwise, especially in English.
> *(A., Palestinian man, 25, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 16)*

> My bible says no issue can't be solved with dialogue. But if that doesn't work you have the right to protect yourself. Fighting is the last resort. But right now it is the other way. First you must use dialogue. Dialogue should solve everything. If the other side refuses to talk, it is okay to pick up the sword, but only there, not here.
> (S., Sikh man, 62, b. Punjab, to Canada at 25)

> Prior to the protests I would always have advocated nonviolence, but sometimes it feels as though violence is the only way that people can stand up against the violence that is being done to them. I would never advocate violence here – away from what is happening. I would never advocate for violence against the Canadian government or people. That would replicate the same issues that we left and became part of the diaspora to get away from.
> *(P., Tamil woman, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

A great many respondents argued that violence is wrong or counterproductive even within the theatre of conflict itself:

> My Canadian experience has reinforced my idea that fighting was wrong – and that nonviolence and discussion are better ways of problem-solving.
> *(K., Pashtun Afghan male, 26, b. Peshawar, to Canada at 16)*

> In the Middle East, martyrs are put on a pedestal. But here they say, "what was he thinking? That kid was an idiot. He should have stayed home."
> *(D., Palestinian Muslim woman, 22, b. Kuwait, to Canada at 6)*

> I see how developing countries deal with conflict and my perspective is absolutely a Canadian one. You have to follow the law. If you do that, people will respect each other. We had very good traditional laws back home before. Now people should learn to obey the law. There is no problem with Ethiopians here. I have Ethiopian friends and we do talk politics.
> *(M., Eritrean Christian man, 52, b. Asmara, to Canada at 23 yrs)*

> I don't want more violence – if there is more, more Tamils will die. We want democratic, non-violent struggle for change and a homeland.
> *(B., Tamil man, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

We specifically discussed the al Qaeda-linked al Shabaab with Somali respondents because in the wake of Ethiopia's Western-backed invasion of Somalia in 2006, a number of Somali young people from the United

States and Canada left to fight with the group. Al Shabaab was originally inspired by, and eventually affiliated with, al Qaeda. The militia is widely viewed to have discredited itself in the ensuing years, particularly during the 2011 famine in which it prevented food aid from reaching Somalis who needed it.

No Somali respondents supported al Shabaab or its actions: their perspectives echoed the quote below:

> Al Shabaab is not religion-based. It's that backwards culture I was talking about, and bits and pieces from the media that they hear that there's a war between Islam and the west. There are even conspiracy theories that al Shabaab is Western-funded, to give them an excuse to invade. Al Shabaab even targets religious leaders from the diaspora and in Somalia who speak out against them ... Being Canadian allows me to compare and contrast, to employ critical thinking, to see things from different sides and different perspectives.
> *(L., Somali woman, 26, b. Hargeisa, to Canada as a baby)*

The follow respondent was angered, as many Somalis were, by the Ethiopian invasion, and also considered joining al Shabaab in response. He came, however, to a different conclusion:

> 2006 internationalized [the conflict]. A largely Christian country came in with the backing of foreign western armies. It was a war of aggression. And there was a puppet government backed by the west ... I remember an article about a Somali kid in Seattle who was the victim of entrapment. He was a bit younger than I was and more vulnerable. More impressionable, he was angry and wanted to strike back, so when the FBI contacted him he went along with them. They fuelled him, gave him materials and then arrested him and he's in jail. It shows that another person was thinking some of the things I was. *I could never do a terrorist act or attack civilians. It is wrong, Islamically and otherwise. I am not that person.* But I did want to go overseas and fight those mercenary troops. I am older and more experienced; he was younger and more impressionable. I could never do what he did. But like him, he was pushed by anger and hurt to want to act, and so was I ... Ultimately I decided I could be a more beneficial source from here, being educated, helping my people. (Emphasis added.)
> *(A., Somali male, 31, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

A number of respondents made specific reference to the 1985 en-route bombing of Air India's flight 182, which killed 329 people, of whom 268 were Canadian. No respondents suggested that the bombing was useful in advancing the Sikh cause or supported it.

> There was the Air India bombing. I was horrified that Air India happened. There had been these atrocities in Punjab and Sikhs did not deserve to be made to suffer further by Air India. It made no sense to bomb an Air India flight. Why would you bomb people who were already traumatized?
> *(R., Sikh woman, 43, b. Vancouver, 2nd generation)*
>
> Air India ... the mastermind was supposedly a Canadian citizen. If he did this, I hate him because of how far back he put this movement ... Violence against innocent people is the first thing that is going to drive people away from a movement, including me.
> *(K., Sikh man, 30, b. Brampton, 2nd generation)*
>
> You can't get physical. As soon as you get aggressive or physical, you're not doing anything good for the community or for Sikhs worldwide.
> *(S., Sikh man, 27, b. Brampton, ON, 2nd generation)*

The implication of Finding #1 is, we think, significant: that any stigmatization of whole communities as "importers of conflict" is unwarranted, misplaced and a misdirection of energies and resources that should be better spent on ensuring that all Canadians are fully "included" in all of the opportunities, benefits and rights that Canada has to offer. Moreover, as will be explored in Findings #6 and #7, below, the failure to acknowledge and address such systemic issues as racism and lack of economic opportunity can, we have confirmed, undermine Canada's social cohesion in potentially serious ways.

FINDING #2: CANADIANS OFTEN REMAIN INVESTED IN "THEIR" CONFLICT, BUT LIVING IN CANADA DRAMATICALLY TRANSFORMS THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE CONFLICT, AS WELL AS THEIR VIEW OF POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS. THESE TRANSFORMATIONS REFLECT CANADIAN MODES OF DEALING WITH DIVERSITY AND FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION.

Canadians generally retain an attachment to the land of their birth or their ancestral, or "mythic," homeland – the "back home" of family stories – and the conflict often, but by no means always, continues to be important to them in Canada, particularly if they perceive human rights violations to have been its source.

Critically, however, across generations and regardless of their experience with conflict, and across all conflict regions, living in Canada causes Canadians to reframe the conflict, its causes and possible solutions, as well as the best way to achieve those solutions.

Respondents made the case that this reframing was not simply a question of being away from the conflict, but specifically related to living in Canada with its emphasis on human rights and justice for all and the Canadian norm that it is possible to live with respect for people of different backgrounds and beliefs, even if one isn't in agreement with them.

Time and time again, respondents came to see the conflict through the lens of what they saw as a Canadian emphasis on universal human rights. They thus reframed the conflict as the result of a particular ideology, rather than inter-ethnic hatred per se. This allowed them to see the problem as specific to people who ascribed to that ideology, rather than an attitude endemic to all members of an oppositional ethnoreligious or ethnocultural group.

It is a powerful shift, both because it allows for the ability to live and work with Canadians who come from the "other" side of the conflict "back home" and also because it allows for a much wider range of possible solutions.

In the quotes below, respondents described what being Canadian means to them with specific reference to the conflict, as well as how it has shaped their perspective on what caused the conflict and how best to solve it. Finally, they discuss how their Canadian experience has affected the way they deal with other Canadians who used to be on the "other" side of the conflict.

> Being Canadian means freedom, acceptance and peace. Mostly it means acceptance. It means having friends from everywhere. People come to Canada to find peace and a better life. A lot of my perspective comes from being Canadian. When you grow up with people from different countries, you see beyond their background and religion, which do not define them. Living in Canada definitely opened me to be more open to people from other parts of Yugoslavia, because here people are open and accepting. In Bosnia I would be much more angry. Everyone there is angry and especially in the media they still talk about it all the time.
> *(E., Bosnian Orthodox Christian woman, 21, b. northern Bosnia, to Canada as a baby)*

> I find myself changed in terms of tolerance and mediation, as well as some other obvious ways. My response to provocation would have been different in South Sudan or in Africa. I see the need for mediation when there are problems; back there I might not have seen it that way. Also I give people the benefit of the doubt when they say something stupid. I give people room for education.
>
> Let us not sit and watch, but try to educate people.
> *(P., South Sudanese man, 43, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 31)*

> I became much more pragmatic in terms of my outlook. I was never hugely nationalistic but it tempered any ideological positions I had held.
> *(A., Tamil man, 33, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 9)*

For some, being Canadian means an opportunity to move past the details of the conflict:

> I don't pay attention to Somalia – it's too much information, honestly. I don't know who is fighting whom. It's why we left. Why would I keep track of who did what to whom, so my head would be polluted too? When it comes to other Somalis from other tribes, ignorance is a bliss. I don't care.
> *(M., Somali woman, 27, b. Kismayo, Somalia, to Canada at 9)*

For many, it is an opportunity to forge friendships or working relationships with people who used to be on the opposing side:

> I used to be opposed to being friends with Serbs or having anything to do with them. That was our ideology. But now I have a lot of Serbian and Croatian friends. I think we cannot hate the new generation of Serbs. They were victims as well. Today my generation is a lot more liberal and we are friends. We look at the person rather than where they come from. We don't judge based on background. This changed perspective came from meeting Serbs and Croatians and taking courses on the conflict and understanding more. I see both sides of the issue ... Canadian society is multicultural and we are forced to accept different cultures and languages. I think that has influenced me. I have become more open because I interact with these people on a daily basis.
> *(M., Bosnian Muslim woman, 21, b. near Sarajevo, to Canada at 9)*
>
> My activism now is awareness-creating around the issue ... As a person who has suffered a cultural stigma, I am very aware of the problems of labelling people and refuse to do it. It's not about being Jewish. It has nothing to do with that. When I meet Jews here, I make no assumptions about what they think or their knowledge
> *(S., Palestinian woman, 26, b. Abu Dhabi, to Canada as a baby)*

Respondents described learning how to advocate – within the community, within the wider society and the media, and within various levels of government:

> I was very angry the second time the war started – angry with the leaders but also that the two sides were using full scale and capacity of government to wage war. In this moment of helplessness I and the others sought refuge in our Canadianness. We were activists who advocated for citizenship and participation, and who discovered our Canadianness. We were advocating the Canadian way.
> *(H., Eritrean Christian man, 50, b. Asmara, Eritrea, to Canada in his late 20s)*

Across conflicts, education is seen to be the single most important tool of conflict resolution:

> Education is the key ... Being Canadian allows me to compare and contrast, to employ critical thinking, to see things from different sides and different perspectives.
> *(O., Somali woman, 26, b. Hargeisa, to Canada at 4)*
>
> The most important thing for people to do here is raise awareness. Education is extremely important: it allows people to get news they would never hear otherwise, especially in English.
> *(S., Palestinian man, 25, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 16)*

Even when the cause of the conflict is seen to be "a war on Islam," education was seen, repeatedly, to be the answer, as illustrated by the following quote:

> Now I see the [Afghan] conflict as a war on Islam that is happening globally and manifesting itself differently in different places. I can't comprehend why anyone would want to attack the sweetness of this faith ... In the west, the solution is only dawa and education. As repetitive and frustrating as it is, it is the only thing that will achieve results.
> *(R., Pashtun female, 25, b. Jelalabad, to Canada at 8)*

The diaspora's knowledge of Canadian solutions to living with diversity is seen by many to be an invaluable resource for promoting conflict resolution.

> The answer is that there are two possible ways to go: One is for the government to create a constitution that gives equal rights to all people, such as we have in Canada. I think this is fundamentally important. Or the second is for them to allow for a vote on a separate Khalistan: people in Punjab or wherever should be allowed to vote.
> *(S., Sikh man, 27, b. Brampton, ON, 2nd generation)*
>
> The way that Canada has worked out the French/English divide could be a model for the entire world.
> *(A., Tamil man, 24, b. Oman, to Canada at 5)*
>
> Unless a miracle happens change will always happen from outside – from the community in Canada, the US, the UK. We are human. We should be treated like humans. We need to unite. We need to make people realize what's happening. They need a clear picture, in contrast to the controlled information they get in India.
> *(S., Sikh man, 61, b. Punjab, to Canada at 25)*
>
> We want the army out of the north and east and a state system like in Canada or India. We want to have equal opportunity like we do in this country … The community now sees it through Canadian eyes and says, what's wrong with Canada's system? We got to this country and can see it working; we see the beauty of the system.
> *(G., Tamil man, 40, b. Sri Lanka, to Canada at 18)*
>
> We need a referendum of the global Tamil diaspora on what they want and mediation by the UN. The diaspora uses different tactics, seeking informational change, networking. We use a Canadian approach to problem-solving. We understand what it means to be oppressed and when another people is experiencing that pain, we share it.
> *(J., Tamil woman, late 50s, b. north Sri Lanka, to Canada in her 30s)*
>
> The answer is a sense of oneness: to go beyond ethnicity and religion to find universal values. There is too much talk of ethnicity. We need to reimagine our community beyond ethnic barriers. We need to speak as human beings and leave our ethnicity at the door. I don't like being identified as Sinhalese. I just want to be a human being with a certain perspective.
> *(T., Sinhalese woman, 23, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*
>
> Last December I was in Sri Lanka. The country is coming out of conflict but it is a super-Sinhalese country now. My uncle was driving me around and I was telling him that I met a Chinese rickshaw driver who had been in Sri Lanka for 50 years and was married to a Sinhalese woman, and my uncle said, "yes, we are accommodating." That scares me. I couldn't say this to him, but that is a powerful statement. By "we" he means Sinhalese people. The rickshaw driver was not part of "we." Those ideologies don't represent me [now that I am Canadian]. I don't like those ideas.
> *(M., Sinhalese man, 29, b. Colombo, to Canada at 8)*
>
> I became so very Canadian. This was my home, my country. It is not about hating Israelis but about the government's policies … This is not about Jews. My support for one state comes from living in Canada and seeing what we're trying to achieve here.
> *(L., Palestinian man, 36, b. Kuwait, lived in Jordan and Gaza, to Canada at 27)*
>
> Because I have the privilege of distance, I feel I have the perspective – to look at the conflict internationally, within a Canadian identity now … I feel a connection and an affinity with the wounded soul, with narratives of pain and understanding a better way – and therefore with Muslims and Arabs …
>
> I think people have a lot of power [in Canada]– mobilizing – organizing – coming together – there are

> more spaces where people can dialogue and talk and where change can happen.
> *(T., Jewish Israeli woman, 32, b. Russia, to Israel at 10 and to Canada at 20)*

> I have never before lived in a country where the news talks about multiculturalism. In Israel a family mourns if their Ashkenazi daughter marries a Yemeni Jew. I was married to a non-Jew and we were told to get out of Jerusalem because we were looking for an Ethiopian church. The awareness of multiculturalism dawned on me here … I became a [Canadian] citizen, and at the ceremony L. began ululating. And the judge looked down at me and said, where are you from? And I said, Israel, and she said, where are your friends from? And I said, that one is from Egypt, and we're here for world peace. And she leaned down and hugged me.
> *(R., Jewish Israeli woman, 66, b. Jerusalem, to Canada at 55)*

> I think that key to that is to hold the Sri Lankan government accountable to the international conventions and agreements it has signed. Use the lens of international laws of human rights violations as opposed to the lens of the Tigers: they will be more successful. The international community would be more successful. We also need to get into positions of power: that seems to be a good way to go for the future. The ideal is a separate state but I don't see the practicality. Sri Lanka is a very small country to start with: do you really want to divide it up?
> *(N., Tamil woman, 23, b. Colombo, to Canada at 6)*

And for some, art is the mightiest form of resistance:

> What are appropriate forms of resistance? Is it enough to wave banners, write poems, and go back home? Is it legitimate to be more violent? And in the current state of things it would just be a waste of another precious life. No one group I can think of is worth supporting. So I have resolved the situation by saying that the pen *can* be mightier than the sword. I write poetry. Some of it is resistance poetry, like a recipe that implicitly and explicitly has references to war/resistance/genocide.
> *(B., Pashtun man, 32, b. Kabul, to Canada at 6)*

> Israel is purported to be an open place for Jews but there is inherent racism toward the Jewish majority - Arab Jews: that exploded it for me. Racism is then turned towards Palestinians as well – it's just an extension of it. My activism has centred on art/documentaries/educational work …
> *(B., Jewish Israeli woman, 56, b. Israel, to Canada at 7)*

FINDING #3: CANADIANS WITH DIRECT OR INDIRECT EXPERIENCE OF CONFLICT CONTINUE TO BE AFFECTED BY TRAUMA. UNTREATED TRAUMA CAN IMPEDE THEIR ABILITY TO INTEGRATE, TO SUCCEED, TO PARENT, AND TO REFRAME THEIR PERSPECTIVE OF THE CONFLICT – AND THEREFORE CAN NEGATIVELY AFFECT SOCIAL COHESION.

People who come from conflict do not easily get over the trauma[58] they experienced or that their parents tell them about. Post-conflict trauma goes largely ignored, and we do not have community-sensitive mechanisms for helping people deal with the after-effects of conflict trauma.

Untreated trauma can impede the ability of sufferers to succeed, integrate, parent, or put the trauma into a perspective that allows them to move past it, thereby negatively affecting social cohesion.

It is important, first, to understand that people who make it to Canada from conflict zones do not come to perpetuate the conflict but to escape it, to build safe lives, and to recover from it. This does not mean they forget it or that they can or even want to. They want safety for themselves and their children. They want to be able to build solid lives in a place where they can make a decent living, live in decent circumstances, ensure opportunity for their children, and live with respect and dignity.

Trauma drives people to succeed in new places but it also undermines and damages psyches. It is the source of creativity but impedes it. It blinds as well as provokes insight. It is a silent foe. Sometimes it results in clear mental illness but other times it lurks under the surface, deep under protective layers of coping, managing, surviving, overcoming.

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[58] The Diagnostic and *Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* defines trauma as experiencing, witnessing, or learning about a close family member's experience of an event that involves actual or threatened death, serious injury, or a threat to physical integrity. For further details see The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th Edition (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Association, 2013)

Trauma is intergenerational. It doesn't end with the individuals who have experienced it but is passed along to their children and grandchildren.

And, as one Canadian commentator recently observed, narratives rooted in trauma and communicated through film, the media and other forms of popular culture can "blur our perceptions of victimhood past and present."[59]

Trauma survivors often do not actively seek to treat the residual trauma but rather to transcend it by attempting to ignore it and move on. And even if they recognize that trauma has inflicted a chronic injury upon them, they are often uncomfortable submitting themselves to Western-style therapists and therapies.

At the same time, people spoke again and again of the importance and even urgency of telling their stories. A number of respondents explicitly stated that they were comforted when they came to Canada and discovered that people from other places, and of other ethnoreligious and ethnocultural groups, had lived through similar experiences.

Respondents who lived through the conflict – whichever conflict it was, and however it presented itself to them – experienced a wide range of traumatic events. The very extent and depth of these experiences is significant and points to the need for a more compassionate and focused national understanding of, and response to, the problem.

The following are illustrative of the experiences with which conflict survivors and their children live, as well as the after-effects of those experiences. They are presented in some depth so as to illustrate how widespread is the phenomenon, the fact that it affects people multigenerationally and across all communities, and the various ways in which it affects sufferers.

> My grandparents and my parents had friends whom they had lived their whole lives with. They went to elementary and high school with them, they were friends. They got together and socialized. They went out together. And all of a sudden, these same people knocked down their doors, pointed guns at their heads and asked them to hand over their most valuable things. They were in shock. It has had a huge effect. They can't trust anyone anymore. It messed them up in a big way ... My parents' only friends are family. We have a big family here – uncles, aunts, cousins. But they have no friends from work or anywhere else. Before they were very social and had lots of friends. But they can't trust anyone. Who can you trust?
> *(L., Bosnian man, 23, b. Banja Luca, to Canada at 5)*

> When the soldiers told me to choose between my mother and father [and said they would kill the one I loved less] I felt like I died. I felt like I was drowning in tears. They laughed when they noticed I was broken. We endured so much of that psychological terror.
> *(C., Bosnian man, 24, b. Banja Luca, to Canada at 6)*

> My grandmother's best friend told me this two years ago. My dad still doesn't know. She told me that my grandmother was raped ... Her friends were killed ...
> *(F., Croatian woman, 21, b. Mississauga, 2nd generation)*

For many, trauma was acquired – in part – from observing the effects of conflict on friends and family members.

> [My sister] was [in prison] for six months and she was tortured a lot. She became schizophrenic when she was released. It was hell. We didn't recognize our sister. She had been the jewel of the family ... It took a long time to get her to regain normalcy ... She continued to have nightmares. One of her torturers was given a high position in the government and every time she saw him she was retraumatized ... War has its

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[59] Joseph Rosen, 2014, "The Israel Taboo," *The Walrus* 11 (1, January/February): 26-32.

> own way of destroying families and untangling them. One day I had a gut feeling that something was wrong ... I knew she was going through a terrible time. She [committed suicide] on the 25th of October.
> *(M., Eritrean man, 50, b. Asmara, to Canada in his late 20s)*

> I get really frustrated with people who don't care about the conflicts and I can't stand their easy opinions. I did have to deal with the conflict and having parents who have gone through bloodshed means they are not the parents they would have been otherwise. It's made me a more open-minded person. I am resilient, like my family, but I miss the family I could have had. I wish we could have been a family without war.
> *(P., 30, Eritrean woman, b. Abu Dhabi, to Canada at 8)*

> The military in power completely eliminated the youth and the educated. They oversaw a horrific culture of fear for 17 years. Parents were forced to pay for the bullets that the military used to execute their sons and daughters. Children, parents, youth were executed and thrown into the streets for no reason, where some were eaten by dogs or hyenas. It was a horrific collective experience.
> *(J., Ethiopian man, 57, b. Ethiopia, to Canada at 28)*

> We still carry the trauma. The facts are extremely bad. Imagine being in a country that existed with all its facilities, electricity, water, shops, and then like doomsday there was nothing – no food, no water, but bombs and guns. Where do you hide your children? We panicked. We couldn't get out. There were missiles firing – bodies everywhere, decomposing – seeing the country destroyed – friends, neighbours suddenly divided by clan and sub-clan. People who had been friends and neighbours became enemies.
> *(H., Somali man, 70, b. Somalia, to Canada at 52)*

> Everyone is psychologically impacted by war. I have never spoken before about what my family experienced or what I experienced. How when I was in Italy I was beaten – beaten – by the nuns for not eating pork in the boarding school. How we were in shelters and for a while my dad and brothers had to be in a different shelter from my mom and me, and how they didn't have a place to stay sometimes. We are stuck in a cycle. Alcohol, qat, coffee shop politicians: we have a lot of problem-mentioning skills but not problem-solving skills. All this is caused by trauma. It is so embedded and so deep.
> *(D., Somali man, 29, b. Mogadishu, to Canada at 8)*

> My grandmother told us, and my mother, that when they were on the train from India, everyone in every compartment except theirs was brutally murdered by Sikhs. They saw dead bodies everywhere. My mother saw Sikhs murdering on a mass scale. She saw it with her own eyes. They were lucky. She saw everything. She thought she would be next, and then they crossed the border and came to Lahore – her uncle was the commissioner and was there at the station to receive them. Even in Canada she said be careful of those Sikhs. I lived with that for many years. I am still scared, deep inside, to be honest. I still have fear and don't want to be with them all by myself. I still don't want to hang out with Sikhs. I have that fear. My daughter has lots of Sikh and Hindu friends. They are nice, nice people, but I still have that fear deep down inside.
> *(T., Pakistani woman, 58, b. Pakistan, to Canada at 20)*

Respondents described having to navigate trauma silently, because of the political taboos associated with publicly discussing conflict.

> There was a lot of fear around it: you weren't supposed to ask too many questions. My parents and family still had trauma. People disappeared if they asked too many questions. You were told not to get too involved. The fear is consistent and is still there. There is also a stigma in Canada about talking about it, and the link is made to 9/11 or Air India. There is a concern about what the repercussions will be if it is mentioned. Even something as simple as reading an article and being critical of it in the comments will get looped back to Air India, even if it has nothing to do with it.
> *(H., Sikh man, 27, b. London, ON, 2nd generation)*

In some cases, trauma acquired in conflict becomes activated unexpectedly in the course of daily life.

> We had been in the Chouf mountains, where it is safe, but my mother was panicking because the bombing was very close. There was psychological terror. The most frightening thing is when the airplanes break the sound barrier. This happened on a daily basis. We would see the bombs falling in the Beka'a valley. We could see Hezbollah anti-missile fire and Israeli bombs. It was terrifying. I experienced the war more by sound than sight. I still get bothered by sounds. I had a panic attack on Canada Day during the air show in Ottawa, and I don't do well with fireworks. But in Lebanon everyone has gone through this and I would never discuss it. It is just normal there, unremarkable.
> *(R., Lebanese man, 28, b., Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 24)*

And for Canadians from every community with which we spoke, conflict-related trauma from years, decades and even generations before remained a defining aspect of who they are, who they perceive themselves to be, and their relationship to the world around them.

> My dad remembers the soldiers coming in the middle of the night and kicking them out of the house. His mother wasn't even allowed to take a blanket for the baby and one of the soldiers ripped a doll out of his sister's hands and threw it away. They went to a camp and eventually to a house in Ramallah, but they could never go back.
> *(V., Palestinian Christian woman, 39, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*
>
> I was in Gaza during the second intifada – until 2002 – and I remember the shelling, the bombing of apartment buildings in civilian area. It was really bad. My apartment was on the top floor of a building and I remember looking out the window at an Israeli helicopter hovering at my level. He waved at me and then proceeded to gun down people in the street. It was surreal. You would go down afterwards and the street was full of bodies and blood and there would be dust coming into your apartment. You could stand on the roof and watch the buildings blow up and pieces of shrapnel and detritus would fly over your head. It was stupid to stand there but I was young ... [Also there was] a woman who was pregnant and undergoing severe bleeding and the ambulance tried to take her to the hospital in Israel but the Israelis wouldn't let the ambulance through the checkpoint so she died.
> *(L., Palestinian Muslim man, 36, b. Kuwait, to Canada at 27)*
>
> All my life I have lacked a sense of security. The fallout of the conflict is not just politics. It is deep deep insecurity. I am an engineer, a [professional]. I ran a successful business and won awards in Europe, [and now] I am having trouble covering the bills. Some months I don't know where the rent is coming from. I will be 50 next year. There are mountains on my shoulders and I have nothing. I have never belonged anywhere and I don't fit anywhere ...
> *(N., Palestinian Muslim woman, 49, b. Kuwait, to Canada at 40)*
>
> I used to think part of the Kaddish prayer was to cry. My Zayda used to cry every time he said it. His family was completely wiped out. They were from B., a shtetl in Poland. They were all sent to Treblinka and murdered. He had left before WWI and was from a patriarchal orthodox family but was a feminist. I was named after his mother. He knew in '47 that his family had not survived. A couple of female cousins survived, because they had been sent to O. where there was a munitions factory and they worked there as slaves, so they were one of the last villages to be liquidated. They were sent to Auschwitz. All the men were murdered but a couple of the women survived.
> *(J., Jewish woman, 68, b. Toronto, 3rd generation)*
>
> We grew up quickly. The graffiti on the walls said, "Jews to Palestine." The air was full of hate. Zionism felt like our one hope of survival as the 30s progressed ... Then we stayed with one or another of our grandmothers. We couldn't go out, you would get beaten or be deported. My sister was deported to Auschwitz; my younger brother to Sachsenhausen or Treblinka; my uncles died as well, my aunt. One of my uncles was a judge who lasted until 1944 and then was deported and sent on one of the long marches. He couldn't keep up. My aunt was in a mental hospital and perished. Everyone who was deported perished.

We – my grandmother, [my brother] and I escaped across the Danube in ’42. Just in time, as they came for us that night, we later heard … We stayed in Hungary for two years. I learned Hungarian very quickly … Then we were sent to Bergen-Belsen in December 1944 … My grandmother survived Theresienstadt.
(B., Jewish man, 82, b. Czechoslovakia, to Canada in his 20s)

One night Christmas eve when I was 10 we were at my aunt’s house and chitchatting when a bomb fell on the roof of our house. Our house was next to an LTTE base but the Sri Lankan army was not very accurate when it bombed them. The bomb hit one of the big beams and exploded outwards, so we were not killed, but the neighbour who had looked outside when she heard the planes was killed instantly. I have scars on my arm and legs from shrapnel and my aunt is still carrying shrapnel inside her. My cousin needed a skin graft and she still can’t walk properly; she has poor circulation. For years I suffered from PTSD. When I cycled to school and heard thunder I thought it was explosions. At school I would scream and need to be cuddled. Even here – and we had no counsellors to provide us with emotional help.
(L., Tamil woman, 34, b. Killinochchi, to Canada at 16)

A lot of houses of people we knew were bombed. My cousins were tortured and captured by the Sri Lankan government and one of my cousins is still missing. These were my first cousins. My father’s siblings live in Colombo and a couple of years ago we visited with them at a wedding in [Europe] and somehow the photos of that event got out, maybe from Facebook, and my cousin’s family was taken in and interrogated. They were questioned and threatened. So now we can have no connection with anyone back home anymore. At the end of the war we had family friends end up in the internment camps and survive the end. My immediate family managed to survive but all our property was taken. I refrain from reading or being involved in the news because I deal with individual trauma on a daily basis. I just can’t go home and read it.
(K., Tamil woman, 23, b. Colombo, to Canada at 2)

My parents didn’t know how to describe the complicated state of affairs to me when I was a kid. They had dealt with war trauma but also the trauma of leaving their families and leaving everything. They faced confusion over how to describe their relations – their love-hate relations – with the Tamil Tigers. Nobody else stood up for the Tamil people but they did horrible things to the Tamils in Sri Lanka at the same time. My father – he was carrying war trauma but also the regrets for leaving his family behind. I notice that a lot of Tamil dads were emotionally and mentally absent; the trauma drove many to alcoholism and that was a real problem.
(S., Tamil woman, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)

The conflict affected my whole life because my father was involved in it … We kids would sleep on top of a pile of arms covered with a mattress, because everyone thought the army would never bother children. I didn’t have a play room but I had a weapons room. I had no teddy bears but I had grenades and AK47s. My dad went to [a] meeting and, along with everyone else, surrendered his weapons. That meant he had no weapons when the van he was in was ambushed. They torpedoed it and killed almost everyone who was in it (16 people). There was one survivor who was in the bushes and they thought he was dead. But he saw what happened. One person was chopped up while he was still alive. In my father’s case they poured acid on him to burn his body. We don’t know if he was alive when they poured the acid on him. But that meant we had no body [to bury].
(T., Tamil woman, 30, b. eastern Sri Lanka, to Canada at 10)

The conflict has been with me since I was born. When I was a child my father lived far away because he was a nurse and worked in a danger zone. He couldn’t take us there. The most I saw my father was a few months a year. I could hear the shooting and was aware of the war. Once the car my father was in was blown up by a landmine. A few people died. His leg was hurt. He was lucky. I was three. This was my first experience of life and death.
(C., South Sudanese man, 55, b. Juba, to Canada at 43)

> South Sudan had no education, no services, no hospitals. The whole of South Sudan was a battlefield. Crops were destroyed. Cattle were taken, both by the Sudanese army but also by the rebels, for food. Homes were burned down. We had to move around a lot. Young men could be killed by soldiers because they would assume you were a rebel. In 86 was the first time I was in the rebel army. The Janjaweed came and insisted that I join. There were only two ways to get schooling. There were no schools in the south. If you went to the north you had to learn Quran and also your father would have to sell cattle. Or you could join the rebels and go to school in Ethiopia. Then they would train you. A lot of older people were dead so they were recruiting children. I was 8 when I joined.
> *(L., South Sudanese, 35, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 26)*

> My mother said there were public hangings in the university when she was a student. They would come and grab outspoken students and hang them in front of everyone. She said it was the most horrible thing. It is still happening. [Gaddafi's] supporters are still there. This past December, a cousin of mine, a quiet guy who didn't even go out during the revolution, was kidnapped and tortured to death. There was a video of him on the internet. My father phoned and told me not to watch it. Once I was on Facebook and someone posted it and I didn't realize what it was – the name was in Arabic and my Arabic reading is very slow – so I watched it. It was horrible. His whole body was bruised. There was not one part that didn't have a mark on it. Just for saying something they didn't agree with. He wasn't even an activist.
> *(B., Libyan woman, 22, b. Tripoli, to Canada at 4)*

> The genocide was all everywhere around me when I was growing up. My father was an orphan. My peers all had grandparents and great uncles and aunts, but I did not. And I asked him, where are my grandparents? He told me that when he was eight he saw his father hanged in the centre of the city. He was one of nine children, and only he and his five-year-old brother survived. He was sent on a march into the desert with his mother and she was taken away by the Turks. He heard her screams as she was being raped. They killed her. Then he was sent to an orphanage in Istanbul to be Turkified – to learn Turkish. They converted him to Islam. But after three years the Christian children were collected and taken out …
> *(M., Armenian man, 65, b. Lebanon, to Canada at 25)*

A number of respondents spoke thoughtfully about living with the repercussions of untreated trauma:

> Sometimes when trauma happens I think people's emotional intelligence is affected and they revert and stagnate and remain in a childlike place. They never grow up and own themselves or their experiences so they can never process what happened to them, accept it fully, and move beyond it. They are perpetually caught in a stage of panic or reacting to the trauma and so they are not able to grow beyond it. My parents have never fully accepted it. They continue to see everything through the lens of the way they reacted to the trauma when it happened to them and they lost so many friends. They still can't process what happened and move on. They are happy to be here in Canada but they have a sense of responsibility to their home country that outweighs their ability to create decent lives for themselves. It is sad because they are still there. They don't know anything else. Here is always secondary, and they live with the sense that anything can be taken from you at any time. It hasn't left them. They still fear they will need to move again.
> *(W., Eritrean woman, 30, b. Abu Dhabi, to Canada at 8)*

> I want to do graduate studies in mental health. Mental health discussions are still taboo and people still often blame depression on jinns and tell people to go and read the Qur'an.
> *(R., Somali woman, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> We are neglecting our own communities. We are not talking about our mental health challenges, our addictions, our abuse, safe sex issues, sexual assaults … We are not dealing with our PTSD. This morning I was in tears because a Tamil man was arrested for sexually assaulting the two students he was tutoring. Unfortunately I didn't get that support when it happened to me. My mother told me not to say anything

> and she invited [the man responsible] to my puberty ceremony. It's 12 years later and I am still boggled that she would do that. One day something snapped and I told her; she just told me not to tell anyone. It affects you over time. It changes you. We are not dealing with these concerns. Why are we not capable of understanding that it is not working? We are not getting the results that we want.
> *(L., Tamil woman, 23, b. Colombo, to Canada at 2)*

> Many in the Jewish community always felt that regardless of their success they were only one or two or three things away from having bad things happen again … Younger people don't believe there's anti-semitism anymore, but the older generation does.
> *(L., Jewish man, 65, b. Toronto, 3rd generation)*

FINDING #4: BOTH CONNECTION TO CONFLICT AND DEALING WITH THE AFTER-EFFECTS OF CONFLICT-RELATED TRAUMA OFTEN TRANSCEND GENERATIONS.

Being born away from conflict does not mean that one stops caring about the land of one's ancestry or the trauma that has affected one's parents or grandparents, and the tremors of trauma continue to reverberate across generations.

Canadian-born descendants, even after multiple generations, continue to identify as Canadians with connections to conflict-affected regions, and to care about the conflict and its solution/resolution.

Sometimes this connection will remain dormant until a crisis affects distant relatives and serves as a trigger to reawaken someone's sense of identity and connection – sometimes to the surprise of the person thus affected:

> As a kid I knew next to nothing about the conflict. I am 3rd-generation Canadian. We were one of two Muslim families in a small northern Alberta farming community. It wasn't until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon [in 1982] that I recognized that I had an attachment – a visceral attachment – to this part of the world. It was during university. To the point that I began to learn Arabic at 22 and became very involved and went on a trip sponsored by the association of Arab American university graduates to the Middle East, to Palestine, Israel, Jordan. I ended up staying, in Jerusalem, and working for 6 months. It has informed everything. I was embedded in Canadian culture, and yet I had a sense of being the "other." And when conflict strikes you realize that a part of your heritage is there. It was astounding to me.
> *(F., Lebanese woman, 51, 3rd generation Canadian)*

> The first Gulf War happened when I was in university. By then both my grandparents had died. My dad had not been able to go to visit my grandparents when they were ill or to their funerals. In that sense, conflict affect us in the absence. Relationships didn't develop, things didn't happen because of conflict. In 1990 my father's two sisters came out to visit us in the UK and got stuck in England when the war happened. They never went back. That is when it came into our family.
> *(C., Iraqi woman, 42, 2nd generation)*

Parents who have been affected by conflict will often transmit trauma to their children, who in turn are often aware of their parents' experiences and the reasons for their pain or PTSD:

> I care because just because my family is okay doesn't mean they didn't lose a lot. Also, I feel a connection to the community as a whole and to others who did not have the privilege to leave. They are my community too, even if they are "back home." Third, my parents can't go back home but that doesn't mean they aren't fighting a war everyday. They lost their livelihoods and they are battling with the difficulties of mental health challenges and addictions. It's extremely difficult. It could so easily have been me who had to stay behind. It's also a sense of identity: when I was young all I wanted to do was fit in here but as we grow older those connections become more important. We are in a liminal space, a

> space in between. It's a different phase of life so we draw closer to what was left behind. It grows more real as our parents grow older, as well ...
> *(M., Tamil woman, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

Young people born away from the conflict gave many reasons for their attachment to the cause, including the protection of "their" people and culture:

> It matters so much to me because the connection to my homeland is like the umbilical chord that attaches a mother to her child. It is the same duty that a son has to his mother. I have that responsibility to my people and to their welfare. If I don't honour that, I haven't served my mother. I love Canada. I want to do something for this country for opening doors to my parents and giving us wonderful lives. I want to give back. As a Tamil Canadian I have the responsibility to give back. I would give my life for Canada. That is how much happiness I have for this country. Canada has welcomed us and treated us as Canadians.
> *(H., Tamil man, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> I am compelled to be a leader on this topic. If you live there and you are attacked, you are compelled to take up arms to protect yourself, your life, to defend against persecution. If you are here, none of those things apply. We don't have to protect ourselves against those things. But the destruction of the culture affects me as well. They are attacking our culture and unity and language. And when you do that you are attacking me whether I am there or not. I am threatened by your actions, and if you threaten me, I will take up the cause. My culture being attacked is the root of my taking up the cause. I have been influenced by my good western education and solidarity with a lot of struggles that I have learned about: the Jews against Hitler, Yugoslavia, the Sudanese, the Palestinians. I know about these things because I am Canadian. Being Canadian is showing concern for humanity and not just my own struggle.
> *(T., Tamil man, 24, b. Oman, to Canada at 6)*

> I have never been to India. It is my firm belief that I should not go unless we can show that there is quality of life there for Sikhs. I am not the most devout. I cut my hair, eat meat, and drink. All I can do here is get involved in those causes that I care about and that affect me. I try to influence things globally. I don't want to spread hate but to have a positive influence. Sometimes it looks aggressive.
> *(R., Sikh man, 27, b. Brampton, 2nd generation)*

Sometimes, the harsh effects of conflict has nothing to do with the conflict itself – but everything to do with the circumstances of starting again in a new country and facing formidable barriers in the process:

> Back then the boys were sent here alone. Their moms and families were not here. Often just dads who were working hard and then might beat them at night. And they knew about the Tigers and the violence from home. So they started gangs so they had something to belong to. The gangs are all gone now. The kids adapted to Canada ... It is very sad and unfair. As it was unfair to the kids who were in gangs. They were linked to the Tigers although they had nothing to do with them at all. They were portrayed as being part of a terror organization and their lives were gone. In the end 60 people were arrested and the gangs were gone. They didn't know anything about basic Canadian laws or how things worked. It was just sad.
> *(P., Tamil man, 40, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 18)*

FINDING #5: CANADIANS' IDENTITIES OFTEN INCLUDE CONFLICT. THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY DETRACT FROM SOCIAL COHESION, BUT IS SIMPLY A REFLECTION OF THE FACT THAT "CANADIAN IDENTITY" IS COMPLEX.

Every conversation we had, without exception, included a discussion of identity, because people who come from conflict and feel connected to it think about why, and what that personal connection means to them. Everyone who moves to Canada, moreover, or is born of parents who came here from somewhere else, has a "complex" identity that combines being Canadian – whatever that means for each individual – and a sense of being connected in one way or another to somewhere else.

That sense of identity – of self, of who one is – changes over time and is constantly renegotiated. It is *negotiated* because identity is always something that is constructed, both by the person whose identity it is and also by the way that person is seen by outsiders and reflected back at them. It is always being *renegotiated* because as people grow, or integrate, or their perspectives evolve, so does both their sense of their own identity and the way that others see them.

And because Canadians who come from conflict do not forget what happened to them – or what their parents tell them about what happened to their families – conflict is often embedded in their sense of who they are. Sometimes it is a dormant fragment – a memory that they do not act upon or think about. But sometimes it is something that feels significant and important, and there are a number of reasons for which it "comes alive."

Respondents often point to specific incidents that triggered a heightened sense of a part of their identity that may have remained dormant.

> [After the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia] My identity became more strongly Muslim and Somali. I was trying to be extra-Somali because I wasn't born there and didn't speak the language.
> *(M., Somali man, 31, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> It was profound. When [the Gulf War] happened I realized I had never identified with being Arab and the effect was to associate more with being Arabic. We are a close family and I am close to my aunts. It was devastating and gave me an Arabic identity.
> *(C., Iraqi woman, 42, 2nd generation)*

Sometimes identity is heightened by a perceived existential threat:

> It is important to me to keep the Palestinian identity alive. Ben Gurion said the first generation will remember and their kids will forget, but that is obviously not true. We remember and we will teach our children to remember. Identity means an attachment to Palestine, pan-Arab connection, and Islam. My wife doesn't have to be Palestinian but she does have to be Arab. It isn't about Palestinian purity but about Palestine in the mythic sense rather than pure. I want my kids to be fluently bilingual in both English and Arabic.
> *(B., Palestinian Muslim man, 25, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 16)*

Passion for an identity rooted elsewhere does not negate a strong sense of connection to, and affection for, Canada:

> It matters so much to me because the connection to my homeland is like the umbilical chord that attaches a mother to her child. It is the same duty that a son has to his mother. I have that responsibility to my people and to their welfare. If I don't honour that, I haven't served my mother. I love Canada. I want to do something for this country for opening doors to my parents and giving us wonderful lives. I want to give back. As a Tamil Canadian I have the responsibility to give back. I would give my life for Canada. That is how much happiness I have for this country.
> *(P., Tamil man, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

Identity is constantly negotiated and renegotiated. People make conscious decisions to define themselves one way or another, which can change over time.

> When people say they're Serbian it often means they are very nationalistic, proud, saying 'we're the best', we're the core of Yugoslavia, it's always been like that. Even for younger kids. They can be excessive.
> *(M., Bosnian Christian Orthodox woman, 21, b. northern Bosnia, to Canada as a baby)*

> We have been blessed. Our family did not lose a lot of people. People where I grew up were in survival mode and not interested in talking about the past. I knew about the war but did not have a lot of Tamil friends. A lot of Tamil people did not consider me Tamil because I did not grow up with that experience. Everything changed at university. I went to York and made a whole lot of new Tamil friends.
> *(D., Tamil woman, 33, b. Jaffna, left Sri Lanka as an infant and moved to Canada at 8)*

To "perform" one's identity means to wear it on one's body or in the way that one dresses. "Performing" identity that links one to either religion or another place is not a rejection of Canada but is seen as one way of being Canadian:

> I put on the hijab only three years ago, during my third year at Mac. I don't think I would be so spiritual if I were living in a more Muslim environment. Here I had the choice, and I could choose to face the challenges in a spiritual way. It is a blessing. In my family, spirituality plays a big role, although we were not pushed to act any particular way; we had the choice. Back home I would have been deterred from being eagerly visibly Muslim because it would have been seen as being pro-government. Here I had a choice to do what I wanted. Now I see myself as not really either Arab or African – just Canadian – whatever that means. It means that I am not Sudanese any more. When I go to Sudan or speak to Sudanese people here, especially if they have just arrived, I realize there is such a big gap between their Sudaneseness and mine. Being Canadian is a combination of everything – being Muslim, Sudanese, African, Arab, Canadian – or a lack of everything I thought I was.
> *(A., North Sudanese woman, 25, b. Sudan, to Canada at 8)*

> There were only about 1000 Sikhs in London. I was the only one in my elementary school. My hair has never been cut and I consciously adopted the turban in elementary school. I am a very proud Sikh.
> *(D., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*

When Canadians have experienced racism and discrimination, the performance of conflict-related identity can be exacerbated:

> [The BC Sikh] community [is] constantly labelled and not able to explain properly what is going on or who they were or what they believed. This resulted in silencing. It didn't feel comfortable discussing it with anybody. Kids of a certain generation whose parents were visibly Sikh wanted only to be Nancy or Joe instead of Amneet or Harjinder. And there is a younger generation that is comfortable being Sikh. This has resulted in extremes – those who are religious zealots – going even further into religious practice than their parents – there is a joke that their turbans get bigger – and they start to identify themselves with the conflict and with Binderwale. They go to an extreme within the faith: they will only eat out of iron dishes and they won't eat meals prepared by non-Sikhs. They see it as a mandate of the faith but they don't analyze their choices. They have a lot of anger – with the Indian government, primarily, but it doesn't make them more open to the Canadian government. They are upset that people are not listening. The flip side is people who are trying to live a more Sikh way of life but be level-headed about it.
> *(H., Sikh woman, 30, b. BC, 2nd generation)*

Jewish respondents defined what it means to be "Jewish" in different and sometimes complex ways, which often have a strong bearing on how they view the conflict in Israel/Palestine:

> I was never really Zionist – I have an emotional connection to Israel but it is not Zionism. It is difficult to express. Part of the difficulty is that I feel like here I am not a real Jew so I have to apologize for having moved to Israel even though I am not Jewish. Here I am not always seen as Jewish. My blood is not Jewish so I feel like I am seen like I don't belong. The irony is that I chose Judaism as part of my identity. I taught Judaica at a school when I came here. I practice more than a lot of people. I am not ethnically Jewish but I chose Judaism. I am honouring my history and my family. What is important to me is Jewish values.
> *(E., Jewish Israeli woman, 32, b. USSR, to Israel at 10 and Canada at 20)*

> Being a Jew has been strategic: I could use that voice. It held the authority of belonging and identity. I could be critical of the state but also Jewish and Israeli.
> *(B., Jewish Israeli woman, 56, b. Israel, to Canada at 7)*

Sometimes the "back-home" element of a person's identity is triggered by a trip to their parents' birthplace, even if they were born in Canada. Nonetheless, as this quote illustrates, it does not erase or diminish Canadianness.

> I am Tamil-Canadian. My experience in Sri Lanka was transformative. I had never been there before and did not speak Tamil but somehow it just felt like home. But my Canadian identity is what has guided all my decisions, my Canadian experience.
> *(K., Tamil man, b. London, UK, to Canada at 2)*

FINDING #6: THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ACHIEVING A RE-FORMULATION OF THE UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT AND ITS SOLUTIONS IS INCLUSION.

Over and over again, respondents described how exposure to Canadian diversity and examples of conflict-resolution convinced them that there are better ways of resolving conflict than taking up arms, and that people of difference can live peaceably alongside one another.

Repeatedly, respondents described the healing they found in exposure to people who had experienced similar pain and anguish, in different sets of circumstances, and how learning how to live, study, and work together in Canada had changed their perspective on the possibility of overcoming the pain of the conflict but also on the conflict itself.

People did not expressly speak about "inclusion" when they described these interactions, but it is important to understand that the interactions are critically important, because it is here – in these everyday, prosaic experiences of working and studying alongside people who are different from one – that healing happens and that social cohesion is increased. Inclusion is what allows those opportunities to occur in meaningful ways.

Inclusion itself is invisible, in that when it works, one doesn't notice it. Another way of putting it is that one doesn't notice the absence of barriers. Inclusion is belonging and full, meaningful participation in school, workplaces, and society at every level.

Policies that increase the opportunities that Canadians have to work, live, and study alongside people who are different from them will always hasten the benefits of doing so. Conversely, policies that decrease those opportunities, as the following finding demonstrates, will always detract from their benefits and sometimes will actively hurt individuals and Canada as a national community.

> I am drawn to people who come from war-torn zones … I was able to come to terms with what happened to me because of talking with other people who had been through similar things. It opened my eyes and made me realize I wasn't alone. When you don't feel alone anymore it is such a powerful feeling.
> *(A., Bosnian Roman Catholic man, 23, b. Banja Luka, to Canada at 7)*

> I chose Canada because I wanted to come to a place where the majority of people were immigrants, a country of the new world where my kids would not have to go into the army, where we would not be second-rate citizens, and where my kids would have a future. We landed July 14, 1994 and five minutes after the plane landed I felt I had come home.
> *(K., Bosnian woman, 54, b. Mostar, to Canada at 33)*

> People come to Canada to find peace and a better life. A lot of my perspective comes from being Cana-

dian. When you grow up with people from different countries, you see beyond their background and religion, which do not define them. Living in Canada definitely opened me to be more open to people from other parts of Yugoslavia, because here people are open and accepting.
(N., Orthodox Christian, 21, b. Bosnia, to Canada as a toddler in 1993)

We have everything. I grew up with everything in my life. Some people have nothing. Unless we're doing something to equalize things, we'll be in a divided world – rich people and poor ones. And it's a global society, so we have to think about that ...
(S., Sikh man, 27, b. Brampton, ON, 2nd generation)

In Canada l learned to judge a person's values and not who they were born as. The lessons this country has taught me are invaluable. It is the tolerance people have. The ability to be who you are without being scared of judgement. Of course there are racists but most people accept you for who you are and that overcomes the racism. So I was able to grasp that concept and cherish it ...
(B., Lebanese woman, 24, b. Lebanon, to Canada at 16)

I don't live in the conflict any more. I am no longer in a politically charged situation. This gives one distance, and the distance allows one to think in different ways. You have the freedom to think outside the boundaries in which you thought before. It is a mental liberation to be in a new place, with a new identity, and you are allowed to think differently. Here I tend to meet a lot of progressive Jews, which completely changes things. For instance, I went to a wedding a month ago of a Jewish friend. It changes the way you see Jews, when you meet them in this casual way. They are simple interactions but they are transformational.
(H., Lebanese man, 28, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 24)

Everyone is the same to me. Being Canadian means the freedom to express yourself, to educate yourself, to work as hard as you can and to know that anything is possible if you do your best and work at it. It is okay to fail because you learn until you succeed. My having that perspective is being Canadian. I am really thankful for it, really appreciative. I am happy to be Canadian.
(M., Somali woman, 27, b. Kismayo, Somalia, to Canada at 9)

My father says that Canada gave him the freedom to be a Sikh in a way that he couldn't have in India. The same thing goes for me. I don't use my Sikh identity to justify my concern, but the universal values. That's the only way they're legitimate, and I have a greater voice if I speak as a Canadian.
(N., Sikh woman, 30, b. Burnaby, BC, 2nd generation)

I call Canada my home. Even if I don't forget Sudan, I need to help youth settle into Canada and to forget "back home". They need to distance themselves and to make a life for themselves here, just like mainstream Canadians did when they came from Europe. We need to help society. Over time we will all see beyond colour. Racism will disappear. As the demographics change, so we should change with it. I think we all need to respect one another. Canada is the UN of the world. I have been to a lot of other countries and none is like Canada. Canada is unique.
(P., South Sudanese woman, 64, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 47)

Part of it is that the dynamics that play in the back of your mind break into splinters because of the new system and you have to basically start to see people as individuals. That old set of assumptions is replaced and you have to adjust; try to fit in. How prominent is the conflict? How polarizing? What are the vested interests? Back home you are indoctrinated to hate homosexuals and Jews, but then you get here and meet people and your perspective changes. You change your understanding. You learn new things. You recalibrate your values. You don't care about the old conflicts so much. You connect with people – even people who were on "the other side" ... It is beautiful, the interaction; it's like a time-out. It creates hope for a better understanding and is therapeutic. You can go back to the folks at home and say there is so much wasted potential with this conflict. My thinking has completely shifted from being racial to being fundamentally humanistic. My identity has changed over time: First I was Sudanese;

> then Kenyan; then Canadian but also global citizen, human being. My identity has been shaped by my experiences, the challenges I've faced. I feel global challenges that affect me personally. It is being a Canadian citizen that has allowed for that. It also gives me a sense of responsibility to work for solutions. It makes me feel good that Canadians are peacekeepers, not quick to go to war. I identify with progressives now more than with colour.
> *(M., North Sudanese man, b. Kenya, to Canada at 18)*

FINDING #7: CONVERSELY, SYSTEMIC RACISM AND EXCLUSION (I.E., THE LACK OF COMPLETE INCLUSION IN CANADIAN LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS) SERVE TO LIMIT THE ABILITY OF RACIALIZED CANADIANS, IN PARTICULAR, TO REACH THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. IT ALSO UNDERMINES THEIR ATTACHMENT TO CANADA AND CAN INTENSIFY FEELINGS OF CONNECTION TO OVERSEAS CONFLICTS.

This finding came across loud and clear and powerfully across many groups. It indicates that systemic racism and exclusion are still enormous factors in Canada and that they undermine the positive effects described earlier in the report. Many people describe experiencing both the positive effects of living peacefully and problem-solving with people of different ethnocultural backgrounds *and* the tremendous pain and limitations of racism, but the second undermines the first – and therefore decreases social cohesion and the benefits described above of living in Canada.

The reframing of the conflict, as described above, happens precisely because people see the benefits of being able to work, study, and live *equitably* alongside people who are different from one another. When they do not see this happening, and when they are not treated equitably by the institutions with which they deal, their connection to Canada is undermined and their connection to overseas conflicts intensified.

Systemic racism and exclusion prevent the ability of individuals and groups to fully participate in Canadian life. They sow resentment, anger, and disaffection, and hurt both the individuals who experience them and Canada as a national community. They impede social cohesion and all its benefits – and replace it with divisiveness and all its associated problems.

Systemic racism and exclusion are apparent in social, economic, and political spheres. They manifest differently in different regions of the country, and in smaller towns and cities than in bigger ones, but they are apparent – and tremendously damaging – everywhere.

The following speaker describes the alienating effects of racism, as experienced in schools and other institutions, on young people in particular:

> There is the tale of two Canadas: one is the cosmopolitan, multicultural Canada of the city, of my college years, and the other is the Canada of the suburbs – ghettoized and segmented, which is mirrored on some campuses, like Waterloo, where my brother went to school, and is definitely different from downtown Toronto. Worryingly, [it affects] a segment of the younger generation that is radicalized. They are not especially violent but they are … prone to indulging in expressions of identity formation that involve patriotism and nationalism. It is empty rhetoric but it involves Tiger flags … It may not be violent but it can do a lot of harm. It can be used by the government in Sri Lanka as a threat and a reason to keep on oppressing Tamils. If I tried to talk to these young guys I would be labelled a traitor. The damage they do is mainly back home and not here, but it is also here, in that they are seen to be anti-Canadian.
> *(N., Tamil man, 33, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 9)*

Rexdale is in one of the "priority" neighbourhoods in Toronto – neighbourhoods identified by certain poverty and quality of living indicators such as low median incomes, low levels of educational attainment, and poor access to services. The pattern that a number of respondents described is one in which children are made to feel that they will not succeed in school. Over time they dislike it and stop trying, and eventually they find themselves out on the street and in trouble with the law. Black boys, in particular, are, over time, criminalized by a pattern of rejection by school and a predisposition by police and the justice system to send them to juvenile detention for small infractions as teenagers, which lead them to bigger infractions and a criminal record.[60]

> I want to do advocacy work now for my community, for people who are marginalized, who have to deal with a lot of discrimination and racism. Males are pushed out of the schools. My younger brother is in the youth detention centre. I can name a lot of people who've served time in jail. Do they even have a viable future in this country when they get out? It will be hard to make a living even if they want to change. I can name you so many people I know who've died. This violence did not come from Somalia. These people were mostly born here. They didn't bring this from anywhere. It comes from being racialized and marginalized. It is from conditions here.
> *(A., Somali man, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation, raised in Rexdale)*

> I grew up at Jane and Dundas – in Rexdale, where I was the only brown kid, the only Muslim. I felt the backlash personally. I was teased and tried to hide my identity. I didn't want people to know I was Afghan. It felt like a bad thing. I don't know if I felt it was a bad thing or just that people saw it as a bad thing. I had to struggle through school. I was placed in a pool with other people who were not good students and told to take college courses, trade courses – things that would not lead to university. They forced that idea on me. When we moved to Mississauga I had this idea in me and didn't try very hard. In grade 11 I had a 49 average, a failing average. Some friends and some good teachers convinced me that I could do it. So I did a 5th year and got an 85 average. I think it is because I am from Afghanistan and because of the area we lived in: there was the idea that if you are here you are going to be stuck here and not able to move up.
> *(P., Afghan man, 24, b. Peshawar, to Canada at 2, currently in a selective graduate program)*

> Many people in the community are isolated, depressed, shamed. They have been through so much and now there is this [racism that youth are faced with]. They have no energy to fight it anymore.
> *(A., Somali man, 55, b. Somalia, to Toronto at 31)*

> I have so many friends in and out of juvy [juvenile detention] … It's so sad; they could be doing anything."
> *(S., Somali man, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation, raised in Rexdale)*

Respondents' stories were replete with instances of racist teachers and school officials in other provinces as well:

> I started school here [Edmonton] in grade 12. It was not as diverse. There is a lot of racism here. The first day I walked into school, not even wearing hijab, just skinny jeans and a tee-shirt, and I spoke to them in perfect English and they asked if I needed ESL. Yes, there were refugees at the school but I have been speaking English since birth – it was so stereotypical. What about my perfect Canadian English do you not like?
> *(B., Somali woman, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> I played a lot of sports and I used to play basketball. I was pretty good, and I was on the A basketball team for two years, in grades 7 and 8. Then the coach changed and I was cut from the A team, and so was an Aboriginal girl, and we were replaced by two white girls who were not as good as we were. Other people told me, she's racist. And it's true that all the girls on the team were white. I started wearing the scarf in grade 11, so it wasn't that, but it was my skin colour.
> *(K., Libyan woman, 22, b., Tripoli, to Canada at 4, describing her time in a small Albertan town)*

> It is hard for children. They are often bullied. I have had to go and speak to the principal – not for my children [but for others]. They have really suffered. Principals need to be more responsible. And skin colour also matters.
> *(M., Pakistani woman, 52, b. Pakistan, to Canada [Newfoundland] at 39)*

> When I was a kid in Montreal, the centrality of my identity was Islam, because I was the only Muslim

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[60] See also Rima Berns-McGown, 2013, *'I am Canadian': Challenging Stereotypes about Young Somali Canadians* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy).

> in a Caucasian, Italian school. I hated every day when I was growing up. I could never fit in. Fortunately I was a studious kid. My head was always buried in my books, so I got by … I don't want to stay in Canada: I feel out of place, like a penguin in the jungle.
> *(D., North Sudanese man, 25, b. Sudan, to Canada [Montreal] at 3, returned to Middle East at 10 for 7 years)*

Racism affects the way that children perform at school, but it also affects people's ability to get jobs, even jobs that require little training, and to work in an environment that is not poisoned by hatred.

A Somali correspondent recently painted as "toxic" the rig camp environment in which she worked. One incident she described involved the cook fulfilling the request, from a white male worker, for a birthday cake in the shape of black male genitals, because "I want to see how big it is"; another involved a worker describing the kitchen as being "as hot as a Jew oven." The Somali worker asked to leave and was pessimistic about her ability to find another placement. She did not believe that her complaints to the company for which she worked would result in changes, as it was her belief that the human resources personnel do not see the problem as being the racist environment itself, but rather individual workers' ability to deal with it.[61]

> Racism? Yeah – I work in oil and gas [in Fort McMurray] so – of course. People are uneducated. You have foremen and tradesmen who can't write their own names. You get jobs by how much someone likes you.
> *(J., Somali woman, 27, b. Somalia, to Canada at 9)*
>
> I was a businessman when I was in Somalia but here could not find work. I couldn't have a job because I had no Canadian experience. I said let me volunteer so I can get the experience. They said no, we can't do that. So I was forced to do cheap labour that no one else wanted. They forced me to take a cheap labour job to get Canadian experience. It is an excuse. That is why you have doctors working as cab drivers. It makes you hate … I did more college studying computers but could only get work standing outside signalling airplanes. There are real barriers. It makes you come back inside yourself. Youth can't get jobs either, even when they graduate, which makes them hate themselves. One of my daughters wanted to join the police [in Edmonton]. She had a college degree and was qualified. She had no luck. I don't believe they were serious that they wanted to hire Somalis. I don't believe them anymore than they are serious about hiring Somalis.
> *(B., Somali man, 70, b. Somalia, to Canada at 52)*

Respondents reported racism in universities and in institutions like the judiciary as well:

> I never experienced racism until 9/11 happened. I wasn't aware of it until then. Then I began to notice it … I overheard a prof at Mac who was saying to a student as I passed, "George Bush should just take a big bomb and blow the whole place up." At a university? I was shocked. My sense is that Muslims are still an oppressed group. They have challenges like women, gays, blacks have challenges. My becoming more visibly Muslim was my way of resisting. How dare you tell me to be ashamed? Now I don't label myself as Canadian. I haven't for the last three years; it's been a process. I have come to the realization that Canada's history is founded upon what I have been actively resisting – occupation, oppression, colonialism.
> *(B., Afghan Pashtun, 32, b. Kabul, to Canada at 6)*
>
> There was a case where I was winning bigtime and then when I put on the hijab I was treated differently by the courts and began to lose. I got grilled by court clerks and judges. It was just not worth it.
> *(L., Palestinian Muslim woman, 49, b. Kuwait, to Canada at 40)*

Respondents in provinces with less diverse populations or whose political culture does not always encourage inclusion were more likely to express having experienced racism.

> I did not experience racism in Ottawa. It was a shock when I came here [Edmonton, in the 1990s]. There used not to be a lot of Africans. If you sat down on a bus the Canadian next to you would stand

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[61] Personal correspondence with Somali-Canadian woman, 25 January 2014, Alberta.

> up and not want to sit next to you. We kept sitting and making them stand up, if that is what they were going to do.
> *(B., South Sudanese man, 43, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 29)*
>
> Montreal was a real reality check. They don't see you praying; you don't announce it. But when you take on a Muslim identity it's a whole different ballgame. In Montreal everyone was cold and closed. Once you've taken a Muslim identity they make you feel like you're the smallest person on earth. They would swear at me, raise their finger at me, even in front of the kids. It happened every day, every single day, I swear to God. Everywhere, even downtown, and on a regular basis. The hijab wasn't so bad but the niqab was a trigger for hate.
> *(R., Indian Muslim woman, 30, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*
>
> As a Muslim who was born in Pakistan but raised in Canada I feel divided. I am not fully Canadian but cannot accept myself as Pakistani. I am in-between, trying to find my place, but who isn't here? I don't ever have an issue with Hindus. I can be friends with anyone. I did not feel comfortable in Montreal: I had brown skin, I was not seen as beautiful; I wanted to belong so badly.
> *(L., Pakistani, 25, b. Pakistan, to Montreal at 4)*
>
> OMG I love Toronto. I went to the Université de Montréal and there was a lot of racism. John Abbott Cegep was amazing, but at U of M if you are different, you are out. There was a lot of talk about unreasonable accommodation, and "why are you putting your values onto us" and 'if you don't like it, go back to your country." One Jewish woman didn't want to be on call on Shabbat and she was told, "you're in this country, adapt to what we do here." I don't have a lot of French Canadian friends. I felt suffocated. You couldn't be comfortable being who you are. Toronto is heaven. You can be who you are, you are embraced for who you are. People at U of M were always calling me "personne d'une autre race" or asking "c'est quoi ta race?" It's very racist. They won't come out and admit it but it is. It's gross.
> *(C., Armenian, 27, b., Montreal, 2nd generation)*
>
> Toronto is in general more open-minded. I feel that Montreal is more racist and there is a problem if you don't speak French fluently. I don't want to stay here once my husband finishes his residency. It is less family-friendly.
> *(F., Palestinian woman, 29, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 18)*
>
> I have noticed people judge you before they know you. French Canadians were not welcoming to me. I was not welcome in Quebec. People are a lot more welcoming in Halifax.
> *(T., Algerian man, 30, b. Tunisia, to Canada at 23)*

Many black men interviewed had stories of having been stopped randomly by police for walking or driving, regardless of location.

> There is racism as well. Two years ago my car was wrongly reported to the police as being wanted and when I got off the 401 onto Hurontario [in Mississauga] there were 6 cruisers waiting for me. I was in a suit and the officer made me get out of the car and lie down on the road. It was humiliating. Then he yelled out, "the person lying here is wearing a suit!" I felt marginalized. I demanded a meeting later with the supervisor. He felt bad. I got a written apology and they cleaned the suit. We are here in Canada, the land of opportunity, but sometimes people feel oppressed – especially if they have excellent credentials but are not permitted to practice their skills. They are not given the opportunity to share in the Canadian growth. It teaches you to think about equality and what it means to be equal. Multiculturalism teaches us to empathize with different cultures.
> *(K., South Sudanese man, 41, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 28)*

Sikh respondents in British Columbia discussed the many ways in which racism has affected the community, particularly in the wake of the Air India bombing.

> In the GTA, people coming in were more educated. They had professional backgrounds and they entered banking, software engineering firms, the professions. The community had a different face. It meant they could carry on a different conversation, on the same level as the media, which had different results in terms of being able to convey different information about the community and its perceptions. There was a different trajectory in BC, where the community took the jobs nobody wanted so that their kids wouldn't have to take them. It's a community that's constantly labelled and not able to explain properly what is going on or who they were or what they believed. This resulted in silencing. It didn't feel comfortable discussing it with anybody.
> *(H., Sikh woman, 30, b. Burnaby, 2nd generation)*

> And it is not safe in Vancouver. There is ongoing racism. With all the South Asians here, there are no adequate translation services, so people don't know how to use their medications ... The translation services are there in theory but people are told not to use them, so people are going home with meds they don't know how to take. There is deep institutionalized racism ... It is painful to be othered, and this is my home. I have nowhere else to go "back" to. My partner calls himself "Harry" – but he is a brown man. "Harry" opens doors [in business] that wouldn't be open if he used his Sikh name ... What do you do?
> *(R., Sikh woman, 43, b. Vancouver, 2nd generation)*

> There was a lot of racism. My brother, who was in the grade right behind me, wore a turban. We used to hang out together. People would tug on our hair. It was pulled. We were told we were dirty and needed a shower. It was a form of bullying. We couldn't say anything or we would have been tattletales. I had a strong sense I didn't belong, which increased after I was baptized ... I am against violence but not everyone feels the same way: at the end of the day, what do you do if you are frustrated? Everybody's boundaries are different.
> *(T., Sikh woman, 32, b. Vancouver, raised in a small BC town, 2nd generation)*

> People who are fundamentalists are people who are not secure in themselves, and could have an association with culture or a gang and use religion that way. They become stricter with religion. If they are unhappy, I think they do it to have control, to belong to a group. Perhaps they are not well-liked and are not well-educated so are not critical thinkers. It gives them a sense of belonging. If you're doing well you move beyond it but if you are not ...
> *(S., Sikh woman, 42, b. Vancouver, 2nd generation)*

Official racism against Sikhs was noted by respondents in Ontario as well.

> The Canadian government is now doing the work of labelling young people as extremists and radicals, when all they are doing is standing up and asking for justice. Take a look at the billion dollars that went into security for the G8/G20. How many Sikh households were visited by CSIS asking stupid questions about what is your view of Air India? Are you going to the protests? What is your position on Khalistan? It was insulting. There was a fear that there is always someone there watching ... there is less of a fear now. We have nothing to hide.
> *(H., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*

Professional immigrants described with anguish the racism they endure:

> It is killing me. It is really painful. Last summer I found a good job and went to three interviews. The woman I would have reported to all but gave me the job and needed me just to meet her boss. He came from Vancouver and we met – you could see he was rejecting me right away. He didn't even want to speak to me. He rejected me because of the way I looked. He was extremely offensive. You could tell by his eyes, his body language. He was saying I hate your colour. I was trying to tell him, "I'm a human being." He was saying, "you're not Canadian." I did not come from a war or a tent. I have experience, ability. He kept closing me down. It is not fair. If I never travelled I would hate this country. But I don't hate it. I love this country. This country invited people and has given equality to everyone, so there should be a strategy to create equal opportunities.
> *(H., Jordanian man, 42, b. Amman, to Canada at 40)*

> [Canada is] a lot more accepting, but it makes no sense to bring people here and then tell them their diplomas are worthless. It is the main problem with this country. My parents were stripped of their dignity … Why are you proud of bringing immigrants when your immigrants are super-educated and you are taking advantage of them? It's kind of embarrassing.
> *(N., Serbian/Croatian woman, 22, b. Sarajevo, to Canada [GTA] at 3)*

Again and again, respondents lamented the waste of human potential, the loss of hopes and dreams, and the bitterness and social problems that result:

> Racism is everywhere … In the workplaces, in the opportunities that are given and not given, in the policies towards immigrants. Some of them are not fair. You bring people here, you bring your workforce, to contribute to society. So give them training and let them work in their fields. They leave people and make it hard for them to work in their fields. They just throw you out there to take whatever comes your way because you have to put food on the table. People get frustrated and angry. It doesn't take a lot to train people and ensure there are opportunities for them. People get frustrated; parents lose control; they end up a broken family. Kids drop out and get into trouble and it becomes a social issue: it would be easier to ensure people have good jobs from the beginning. Kids born in Canada have issues and don't know where they started. This is where they start. If the system breaks down, it trickles down to the next generation, so it is a big problem.
> *(F., South Sudanese man, 55, b. Juba, to Canada [Alberta] at 43)*

> We are experiencing exactly that: men whose status was thrown in the garbage because they cannot get work have been comparing themselves with what they could have been doing at home, and they get on the hills and run, so we have families where the husbands have left and have got remarried back home. The women are struggling here, and others who are not prepared to leave – some become community leaders or sit and talk politics and are very embedded in the politics back home, which consoles their grief. In their minds they are half here, half there. It is all back back back.
> *(B., South Sudanese man, 43, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 29)*

The following sentiment was expressed in different ways and demonstrates how racism and exclusion affect people's attachment to Canada:

> My sense is that Muslims are still an oppressed group. They have challenges like women, gays, blacks have challenges. Before that I felt like I was Canadian. Now I never refer to myself as Canadian without thinking of all the other identities I am. Now I don't label myself as Canadian. I haven't for the last three years; it's been a process. I have come to the realization that Canada's history is founded upon what I have been actively resisting – occupation, oppression, colonialism. But I pay taxes to a country that uses them to bomb my country and has done terrible things to the natives, which is why I can live here and am here. I am uncomfortable living here. But I also know that I can conveniently take off my Canadian hat and put on my Afghan, person-of-colour hat, and be a person who is from a country with a history of resistance. I do label myself as Canadian when it's important to take ownership about being an accomplice and being part of this society. I live a Canadian lifestyle – school, work, friends from everywhere – and at the end of the day, I am woven into this society, whatever I call it. So I am Canadian in the context of social change and my reaction to war. I don't use it in the sense that many people do: when I am travelling, I say I am from Afghanistan but living in Canada. What are appropriate forms of resistance? Is it enough to wave banners, write poems, and go back home? Is it legitimate to be more violent? And in the current state of things it would just be a waste of another precious life. No one group I can think of is worth supporting. So I have resolved the situation by saying that the pen *can* be mightier than the sword. I write poetry. Some of it is resistance poetry, like a recipe that implicitly and explicitly has references to war/resistance/genocide.
> *(B., Pashtun man, 32, b. Kabul, to Canada at 6)*

FINDING #8: THE SHARED STRUGGLE TO FIGHT RACISM AND EXCLUSION CAN HAVE THE EFFECT OF ERASING CONFLICT-RELATED DIVIDES.

A number of respondents – and young people, in particular – do not see the conflict "back home" as salient for their current struggles, which are primarily against racism and exclusion. In response, they often form alliances with people who would have been the "other" in the conflict "back home" but here are allies in the same struggle. As a result, often the true cleavages that threaten social cohesion exist not between groups that were formerly in conflict, but between racialized and otherwise excluded Canadians and mainstream society.

Young people in particular – whether born in Canada or who immigrated as children – often unite in common cause across "back home" conflict divides.

> My thing is how can you be religious if you don't speak out against injustice against anyone, regardless of who they are? The wonderful thing about growing up in Toronto is that it is the most multicultural place in the world and I have friends who are Muslims and Sikhs, Hindus from Punjab and from other parts of India, from South India, from Benghal, from the West Indies. The ones born here are on board. They've seen it; they're down. They know there's a Hindu undertone to India; it is not secular at all. My Muslim friends relate more; they get it. They are part of the same struggle in Kashmir, in Gujarat.
> *(B., Sikh man, 30, b. Brampton, 2nd generation)*
>
> I feel passion for Ethiopians and Eritreans and I don't hate Ethiopians any more. My passion was wanting to understand what happened and to understand them. My position is that I think the conflict makes no sense in a Canadian context: we are all racialized here and the wider society does not differentiate between Eritreans and Ethiopians and doesn't care that there is a difference. We are all racialized and discriminated against. We are living in Canada now and we are all struggling to have a decent life. It is silly to still be fighting here when we could all be working to better life here. It motivated me to not choose a side by dwelling on a war that happened so many years ago. In university I made friends from both sides; we were trying to build bridges and to build a better life as racialized minorities in Canada and as black Canadians, and to leave the arguing about the war to our parents.
> *(G., Eritrean woman, 28, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 9)*
>
> We should all come together here. We all had to leave the country. Why should we hold a grudge for each other? Critique when it is necessary but acknowledge when good things have happened. We in the community need to create a safe space for everyone regardless of their views.
> *(N., Ethiopian man, 57, b. Ethiopia, to Canada at 28)*
>
> A lot of my perspective comes from being Canadian. I was born and raised here: the beauty of a multicultural society – in spite of the struggles – the black struggle, the Asian struggle, the first nations' struggle.
> *(S., Somali woman, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*
>
> Within the Sikh religion we are also aware of Muslim struggles, especially in Kashmir. Growing up I felt a deep affinity between Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians of all backgrounds. I had close friends who were Hindu. Palestinian solidarity is also important. One of my best friends in elementary school was a hijabi. In high school one of my closest friends was Palestinian ... Sikhs don't buy into the idea that they are there to defend Hindus or that we are one religion. We don't accept the idea that Sikhism is a sect of Hinduism. That one guru, the ninth guru, was acting in defence of the universal principle of social justice, not because they were Hindus. Sikhs should defend human rights for everyone, including the queer community. It is our job to defend against injustice.
> *(H., Sikh man, 27, b. London, 2nd generation)*

Young people are also more willing to entertain thoughts of marriage across ethnoreligious lines that would be taboo for their parents. The interviews were replete with tales of intermarriage, with or without parental approval. This quote from a young Hindu woman is illustrative of young people's sentiments:

> It will be different for our kids, since we don't care. We are all melting into one big intermingled family. Here, not everywhere. This will solve a lot of religious conflicts.
> *(N., Hindu woman, 22, b. Punjab, to Canada at 12)*

FINDING #9: CANADIANS WITH CONNECTION TO CONFLICT OFTEN FIND THAT THEIR FAITH OR SPIRITUAL PRACTICES BECOME MORE PROFOUND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO AMPLIFY AND REFLECT WHAT THEY SEE AS CANADIAN VALUES.

This finding also held across conflict areas and faith/spiritual practices. Respondents – and in particular young people – often spoke about deepening spirituality – often in ways that were very different from the traditional practices of "back home" and that involved greater knowledge and comparative understanding of the practice of their faith or religions. They almost always spoke about the ways in which these deeper understandings of faith reflected and amplified Canadian values of respect for difference.

This finding is significant because it demonstrates that faith practice – regardless of religion – frequently magnifies, rather than detracts from core Canadian values.

The following quotes illustrate the wide variety of ways in which people discuss an increasing or evolving relationship with faith, and the ways in which that relationship relates to living in Canada.

We included quotes from a variety of faith groups but have emphasized quotes from Muslims. We did this both because a plurality of people interviewed were Muslim, but also because the quotes serve eloquently to counter Islamophobic depictions of the faith and its observant practitioners as antithetical to Canada and Canadian core values.

The quotes also make clear that it is counterproductive and deeply problematic for Canada's security apparatus to target observant Muslims on the basis of their observance: to do so risks alienating them and undermining their attachment to Canada as a collective space, thereby, again, damaging social cohesion.

Religion as it is practiced is often very far from mainstream depictions of it as narrow and conservative:

> God and I have been through a lot. I have come to know Her. It is not a ritualistic understanding. What God wants you to be is what you need to be for your own sake. I'm queer and have been in love with people who identify in different ways. It's been a struggle for others and for me and God. I have struggled to be in the affirming relationship with God that I grew up with. And then realizing that what God wants me to do is what I want to do. People's relationship with God evolves when they come here. In a conflict zone you have a bargaining relationship with God: help me through this and I will fast or pray or whatever it is. And there is also anger with God if you want someone to come back and they don't, or when you believe that bad things won't happen to good people and they do. You see people lose so much, it's easy to be angry. When you come here, God sits on the back burner for while, or it becomes a cultural, not a spiritual thing. Things I used to pray for were trivial compared with 10 years ago when I was praying to Allah for an uncle to come back or my father to come and live with us. Now I was praying for the streetcar to come on time. I have a personal relationship with God, not structured by ritual. It is informed by my politics. God is in everything, not an omniscient being in the sky hanging on to the True Islam. I see God in people. That is political. The political me is the reason I have that understanding of God. Culturally I consider myself Muslim. I love the ritual. It is who I am. I love the community. The political me is a feminist. I understand my struggle in relation to everyone else's story. My struggle and lack of privilege and privilege are constructed in terms of others' privilege and lack of privilege and struggle. The way I see the world is coloured by my body and my being an African queer Muslim black woman. Loss, war, community, healing, all inform the way I see politics. I know that I don't know. A lot

> of my perspective is due to being Canadian. Living in the space that is Canada has given me the ability to meet people who are extremely different from who I am. I love sharing people's personal narratives and stories.
> *(S., North Sudanese woman, 24, b. Cairo, to Canada at 13)*

> I am very much Muslim now. This city has allowed me the freedom to see different ways of practicing Islam. There are so many rich practices, many of which embody resistance to mainstream Islam. I can embrace social justice, queer-positive, leftist, feminist Islam. I can have a Muslim identity and still express all those other parts of myself. It is inspiring to be in Toronto and see all those communities merge. It's a journey and I am still in the early stages of it. It is my own personal jihad. This city showed me you can leave all that baggage behind and can live with people as neighbours even if you don't agree. That is because we have security here. The stakes here are just not that high. We are not in Uganda – not at war. We are safe when we walk the streets, there is food on the table. So the cleavages can melt away …
> *(M., Kenyan/Arab woman, 29, to Canada at 18)*

People often understand increased faith as a way of dealing with the after-effects of trauma:

> Once you go through those experiences, you want something to give you hope. We all suffered from severe depression … Over the course of this everyone in the family became more religious. We did it individually, not as a group … My perspective on all of this is definitely a result of my Canadianness. When I put the hijab on I became more confident. I had always felt like I was hiding a part of me. I always had the desire and then afterwards I felt like I had nothing to hide. I can voice my opinions without being scared of how people will judge me … I always am keen to tell stories about Afghanistan and about my religion. You can ask me anything.
> *(N., Afghan Pashtun woman, 23, b. Kabul, to Canada at 10)*

> I converted to the Pentecostal church because it is how I found healing. It has increased my faith and helped me to tap into deeper faith and to walk with healing. Methodist Tamils still practice many Hindu rituals, which I stopped when I converted to the Pentecostal church. I now have a deeper relationship with God. I could replace my longing for my father with the idea that God cares no matter what; that he is always with me.
> *(P., Tamil woman, 33, b. Sri Lanka, to Canada at 10)*

> In some cases, increased faith helped respondents counter cultural assumptions: I turned to religion for answers. I used religion as a defence. But my dad was religious too. He prayed 5 times daily. He had been on the hajj. But I convinced them that it was against Islam to force a daughter to marry against her will. I went to [Reviving the Islamic Spirit] and found speakers who referred me to the Qur'anic references that showed this. It was hard for my parents because I was able to show them that religiously I was right. It became a reminder to turn to God and submit. There was a clash for them between culture and religion and when there was a clash religion had to win.
> *(J., Afghan woman, 26, b. Jelalabad, to Canada at 8)*

In some cases, respondents described the way that faith sometimes helped them to come to a different understanding of the conflict, one that saw their opponents as equally deserving of respect:

> Islam had always been part of my life: I respected and admired it and I was well-versed in the Qur'an. And Arab racism made me ask why being dark can possibly be a bad thing? I had been sheltered by money in Egypt but was very exposed to it in Canada. I am repelled by Arab racism, but I love and practice Arab culture. I began to feel a need for a connection to God. Deep down I had always had an interest and I had curbed it for many years. In university I took on a more proactive approach. I took courses in Near and Middle Eastern Civilization, I joined the Muslim Students Association, I had Muslim friends. It was nice to connect. There was pressure to wear the hijab that I resisted, but I began to pray. It was my way to unload. I was doing it because I wanted to. My own respect, appreciation, love

> for Islam grew. It has definitely affected me deeply. It also allowed me to have a different stand on the Ethiopian/Eritrean conflict, to work to build bridges and not to take sides, to preserve human life. It's not about preserving hatred over what happened.
> *(A., Eritrean woman, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 9)*

Respondents redefined their understanding of the practice of Islam and talked about the creation of "Canadian Islam," which reflects Canadian cultural norms and values:

> We need to create a Canadian Islam. It is very necessary … Saudi Islam can't be the measure. And we need a Muslim leader who understands Canadian society, politics, the fabric of society – as well as Islam – and who is respectable. Not to import someone from Egypt who can't speak English.
> *(S., Somali woman, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> The values my parents instilled in us are good civic values – that there should be no borders, that you should treat people with compassion, kindness, caring. These are Muslim values and Canadian values; the only difference is the shahada [declaration of faith].
> *(F., Pakistani woman, 52, b. Pakistan, to Canada at 39)*

> My way of practice has changed. It has become liberalized. For instance, drinking. It is a big taboo in Islam but I think that doesn't make sense. Muslims used to be allowed to drink at the time of the Prophet but then they abused it so they were forbidden. I think if you drink once in a while that's okay. It's not okay if you get drunk and kill people or rape someone. I don't care about eating halal. It's not possible to kill every chicken by hand in this day and age. God cares about the big things – not killing anyone, stealing their land, chopping off their hands, raping, and so on. He doesn't care if I have a drink or eat chicken from Tim Horton's.
> *(U., Afghan man, 26, b. in the Afghan/Pakistan border area, to Canada at 17)*

> My Canadian upbringing has allowed me to see things in an open light and to question things. Back home even my educated cousins follow backwards superstitions. It helps you realize things. Back home Muslim is just the identity you were born with but here you accept the religion more. It helps you to identify more as Muslim because you have to think about it, because it's such a diverse country.
> *(L., Indian Muslim man, 25, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*

> My own understanding is that different people have different ways of being devout. God instils different passions in different people: some pray, some do community work, some show leadership. For me it is my academic work. I feel blessed to do it and it seems to be what I am supposed to be doing.
> *(A., Palestinian Muslim woman, 26, b. Abu Dhabi, to Canada as a baby)*

Muslims made up the plurality of respondents, but similar comments were made by practitioners of other faiths:

> I don't throw my religious practice in with other Sikhs. I care about Sikhi: I studied Sikh philosophy academically but didn't rote-memorize passages. For me it's about principles: that's what I adopted. It's the version I got from my parents. My father's father and mother wore turbans. There was no why back then. "Why is a Canadian invention," my father says. I don't ask people about their practice. It is not my place to put my practice onto you. I really try not to judge. For me religion is principle-driven. And the values are the same as a Sikh and as a Canadian – they embody the same values. So being political is a concern for human rights around the world, and wanting justice and fair treatment for all. I use that translation in my political engagements.
> *(H., Sikh woman, 30, b. BC, 2nd generation)*

> Sikhs should defend human rights for everyone, including the queer community. It is our job to defend against injustice. We should always do that, which is why we stand by Idle No More … A lot of my perspective has to do with being Canadian, and also my lived experience as a child of a Sikh family with

> these values, being in a country where we are allowed to freely be a Sikh family and hold these values.
> *(H., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*
>
> My spiritual identity has been growing stronger. Both my parents are Buddhists and it is the most important part of my identity. It shapes the way I see the world and that island. People's ego and pride dictate their choices as opposed to compassion. I strive to be more compassionate. I want to rise above class and ethnicity to where I want my spirit to be. Canada is not perfect but my upbringing in Canada was a lot better. I recently made my FB cover photo the Canadian flag. I had a happy upbringing here. I define myself as androgynous, neither male or female, and I can do that because I am here.
> *(L., Sinhalese woman, 23, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*
>
> It's interesting that the conflict was never Christians versus Muslims. Serbians versus Croatians is just as strong because the Serbians would never accept the pope. The Serbians are the original people and would not accept the invasions of the Catholics or the Ottomans...You didn't used to be able to tell the difference between people but now you can. Muslims will cover and wear the hijab and Croatians will wear a big cross...My parents always say, don't be a big nationalist. Don't show three fingers. They wouldn't let people do that at my sister's wedding or let the band play nationalist music. They demanded that the Canadian flag, the Bosnia-Herzegovina flag, and the Serbian flag all be there... Expressions of religion changed after the war, but that is what it is. It is about personal choice...Canada was really an important part of this. You are exposed to everything. People in Mississauga are from everywhere in the world and it makes you more accepting of difference.
> *(S., Serbian woman, 22, b. Herzegovina, to Canada at 5)*
>
> I grew up in the Croatian community church. There can be thousands of people at a festival; people come from all over the community. It's a pretty tight community...People get mad about Serbs and Muslims but it's pretty much all hot air. They get emotional but would never pick up a weapon.
> *(L., Croatian man, 23, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

FINDING #10: INTRA-COMMUNITY DYNAMICS CAN AFFECT THE WAYS IN WHICH CANADIANS DESCRIBE THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO CONFLICT, AND MAY THEREFORE DISTORT NOT ONLY THE WAY THOSE CONFLICTS ARE UNDERSTOOD BY COMMUNITY MEMBERS, BUT ALSO THE WAY IN WHICH THE COMMUNITIES THEMSELVES ARE PERCEIVED BY THE LARGER CANADIAN COMMUNITY.

For the most part, the feedback we gained from the dozen focus groups we conducted across three dyads of communities aligned with what respondents were saying in the course of the in-depth interviews, and we were struck by the consistency of responses. As with the interviews, focus group participants repudiate the use of violence in Canada to address or resolve conflict; report that their perspective on the historical conflicts to which they are most closely associated has been changed by virtue of living in Canada; and attest to a strong attachment to Canada and embrace of their Canadian identity, regardless of how they "perform" it.

That said, we also noticed some ways in which the feedback from our focus groups diverged from what our interviewees told us. There was, in some cases, a tendency for people in groups comprised exclusively of members from their own ethnoreligious communities to express more strongly negative opinions about their traditional adversaries and to demonstrate greater defensiveness of their own community's role in whatever conflict they were connected to. This phenomenon – combined with an observable tendency for stronger voices and personalities in certain focus groups to dominate and cow their fellow community members into either vocal or tacit agreement with less conciliatory positions – served as a reminder that intra-community dynamics can serve as a powerful factor in shaping the nature of discourse about conflict within Canada, as well as the perceptions and assumptions that can then be perpetuated into the broader community.

It also reminds us that to know what community members are thinking requires looking beyond the positions of community organizations, which should not be presumed to speak for the entire community.

Finally, it speaks to the limitations of focus groups as a means of establishing the true perspectives of community members.

One individual, interviewed separately a couple of weeks after the focus group in which she had participated, expressly stated that while in the focus group she had felt pressured to articulate opinions that she felt were expected of her and that she felt her views were being policed by an elder in the group.

This phenomenon was observable in all three of the focus group dyads we examined – Indian Sikhs and Hindus; Sri Lankan Tamils and Sinhalese; and Arabs and Jews.

With regard to the Hindu-Sikh dyad, for instance, Sikhs in individual interviews expressed uniformly the view that their conflict was with the Indian government, which they saw as orchestrating the pogroms of 1984, not Hindus as a group. No individual Sikhs held Hindus, as a religious group, responsible for the pogroms, and this remained true for the focus groups as well.

Furthermore, in the individual interviews, while there was a lively division of opinion as to whether an independent Khalistan or Punjab is necessary in order for Sikhs to achieve equality, many Sikhs – both in Ontario and in British Columbia – believe they have the right to explore the option in the same way that Québec has the right to discuss separation, and they strongly resist any attempt to equate this discussion with "fundamentalism" or "extremism."

> There needs to be self-determination: I personally believe in it for everyone. And people should be able to sort out democratically what they want. Call it whatever, but it has to be in the hands of the people to decide what they want. There are a number of possible paths. One is the struggle for social justice and human rights – human rights for all; the second is to reconcile the distrust between the Sikh community and the Indian state; and the third is for them to just give us our own state.
> *(B., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd gen*eration)

> Khalistan is a dirty word. Just mentioning it here makes you an extremist. But if you can talk about an independent Palestine, you should be able to talk about Khalistan. It is not extremist or criminal.
> *(K., Sikh woman, 30, b. Burnaby, 2nd generation)*

> Respect isn't going to happen, because racism is promoted. So it comes back to separation – whether you say it clearly or indirectly
> *(A., Sikh man, 61, b. Punjab, to British Columbia at 25)*

> Why should we feel that we can't talk? Whether you support or don't support Khalistan, we should be able to talk and communicate our differences. Quebec does that and they are not viewed as terrorists.
> *(D., Sikh man, 30, b. Brampton, 2nd generation)*

In the focus groups, however, Sikhs were less willing to engage in a discussion of whether an independent Khalistan/Punjab is seen to be desirable. Focus groups members were doubtless aware of the discussions that occur at the many community events and galas that are held, annually, on the topic of 1984 and what is seen as the ongoing persecution of Sikhs in Punjab. Sikh focus group members may, however, have been concerned with how the focus group information was intended to be used, and with how their participation would be seen, particularly in the light of Canadian politicians' statements in the fall of 2012 that expressed concern about Sikh "extremism" in Canada.[62]

At the same time, Sikhs in the focus groups seemed oblivious to the degree to which this issue causes consternation for Canadian Hindus. They did acknowledge the increasing immigration to Canada of devout young Sikhs, and the increasing number of young people, including young women, who were now wearing turbans. However, unlike their Hindu counterparts, they did not see this as a phenomenon that revealed growing distance between Canadians of Sikh, Hindu or other Indian backgrounds so much as a demonstration that young Sikhs are eagerly embracing their identity and pride as Sikhs. Consistent with individual interviews and with interviews with other faith groups, they attributed this increased performance of religion, approvingly, to the freedom that Canada provides its citizens to fully express themselves culturally and religiously:

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[62] See, for instance, Les Whittington, 2012, "John Baird vows to prevent Sikh extremism in Canada," *Toronto Star*, 12 September 12 2012, Retrieved online from: http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/09/12/john_baird_vows_to_prevent_sikh_extremism_in_canada.html.

> The longer we've been here, you can feel more comfortable doing something like that: when my parents first came to Canada in the 70s, (my father) wouldn't wear a turban.[63]

In the interviews, Sikhs described being aware of a certain tension with Hindu Canadians, which they describe as being the result of the Indian government's narrative that the pogroms were a spontaneous Hindu uprising, and they stressed how very important it is to counter that narrative and to stress that it was an orchestrated series of events, so that their problem is with the Indian government and not with Hindus as a group.

> I'm not surprised that there are some Hindus who are afraid that tension is rising. Sikhs don't buy into the idea that they are there to defend Hindus or that we are one religion. We don't accept the idea that Sikhism is a sect of Hinduism.
> *(B., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*

Hindus in the focus groups, on the other hand, were more likely than in individual interviews to emphasize their desire for one united "Indo-Canadian" community, and described feeling threatened by distinctions they saw being drawn by Sikhs, including separation or an unwillingness to forget the past, and the emergence of what they described as "fundamentalism" among some young members of the Canadian Sikh community, as shown by the following comments:

> It's them starting it; I think we're the peaceful ones. Get over it [the lack of an independent Punjab].[64]

By the end of their two hours together, when the focus group members had developed a greater sense of mutual trust, there was a strong and popular call among Hindu participants for the Canadian government to monitor Sikh youth in Canadian schools:

> Young Sikhs, they're more into it. At the universities and colleges, there is very one-sided knowledge spreading.[65]

In individual interviews, Hindus sometimes expressed concerns about tensions, but were also more likely to talk about the bonds they have with Sikhs and to understand Sikh perspectives and suffering during and after 1984.

These same group dynamics – and differences from the individual interviews – were visible within the Jewish focus groups. On an individual basis, we spoke with a number of Canadian Jews who professed their discontent with what they perceived to be the unquestioningly pro-Israel views of a small number of Jewish advocacy organizations that they thought presented Canadians with a distorted picture of their community as a whole. In the intimacy and confidentiality of their one-on-one interviews, several acknowledged that they were no longer referring to themselves as Zionists, or, at very least, they were increasingly torn about the word and its connotations. For instance:

> I do think Zionism is racist and the politics are racist and the crimes and sins of the state are things that Jews should denounce. I certainly can't say I'm a Zionist but I can't say I'm an anti-Zionist – but I oppose Zionism. I am trying not to claim belonging or deny it ... it is an uncomfortable place. I am also attuned to rhetorics that have hateful language towards Jews. Mostly I am harsh in my criticism towards Israel.
> *(B., Jewish Israeli woman, 56, b. Israel, to Canada at 7)*

Such nuances were largely absent from the two all-Jewish focus groups convened in relation to this project. While not everyone was equally "hard line" in the Jewish groups, there was clearly pressure exerted by a small handful of extremely dominant participants to quell dissent from fellow participants who at first voiced more moderate views. A few of the younger, female participants, and to some extent some of the native-born Israelis, were more inclined to see some subtleties and nuances when discussing the Jews' relationship with Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular, but they did not directly contradict their more strident colleagues on such issues. There were several comments made to the effect that high-profile members of the Jewish diaspora who are critical of Israel were "*self-hating Jews*."[66]

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[63] The Strategic Counsel, 2013, *A Report to the Mosaic Institute - Findings of Focus Groups: Communities in Conflict (Hindu/Sikh; Sri Lanka Tamils/Sinhalese; Jews/Arabs)* (Toronto: The Mosaic Institute) P.11.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., P. 12.

While there was some sense among a minority that being critical of Israel is not inherently anti-Semitic ("*I don't think opposing Israel is anti-Semitic*"), most of the Canadian Jews who had not lived in Israel saw any criticism of Israel as being "anti-Jewish." "*I'm a supporter of Israel, but if I disagree [with Israel], I don't criticize*," said one. Again, this was in stark contrast to the more nuanced feedback we received during the course of the one-on-one interviews.[67]

It was obvious, in observing the Jewish focus groups, that some of the focus group participants were clearly uncomfortable with the dominant views expressed but were unwilling to press their criticisms after they were roundly criticized by other members of the group.

Interestingly, the Arab focus groups were consistent with the many individual interviews. (See "the Middle East, with emphasis on Israel and Palestine" at p.128)

The same pressures were on display in the Tamil and Sinhalese focus groups, however.

Sinhalese in the focus groups were much less likely than Sinhalese in the interviews to be sympathetic to Tamil perspectives, and were less willing to admit that there is validity to ongoing Tamil concerns.

At the same time, within the Tamil focus groups, there was less willingness to be critical of the LTTE than there was in the individual interviews, where people were much more nuanced in their perspectives.

To the extent that these discourses do not remain private to the participating community members only, but, rather, become an integral part of the larger discourse about those conflicts that occurs in the political arena, in the media, and in the world at large, the resulting general impressions that are formed of a particular community's relationship to or perception of a particular issue or set of issues may not represent the views of even a plurality of its members. Exactly how these intra-group dynamics function to shape opinion and the potential for various forms of violence or extremism within different ethnocultural communities is a topic that demands further exploration.

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[66] Ibid., P. 18.
[67] Ibid., P. 19.

>THE CONFLICTS

What follow are more specific comments on what respondents had to say about the individual conflicts. We have had to keep these sections very brief and to include just a very small selection of participants' thoughtful quotes; as with all the quotes in the report, they represent the approximate range and balance of perspectives.

AFGHANISTAN

Regardless of ethnic group, Afghan respondents did not see the conflict reproducing itself in Canada, either with regard to inter-ethnic tensions or in response to foreign intervention, whatever their view of the latter.

As with respondents from other conflicts, Afghans tend to avoid discussing the conflict with friends from the "other side" of the conflict:

> I do have some Afghan friends here but not too many. I make my friendships with people who think like me. I have a good Pashtun friend here, yes, but I don't want people who are going to watch over me and tell people back home about me. My friends and I don't talk about ethnic issues back home. We avoid them.
> *(B., Hazara woman, 25, b. Afghanistan, to Canada at 24)*

Respondents expressed a strong concern for the behaviour of American troops, in particular, in Afghanistan, which they described as insensitive to the local population and as increasing, not decreasing, tensions and anger.

> Until I left in 2007 I saw terrible things happening. The Americans bombed weddings and celebrations, over and over again. Sometimes they said sorry but sometimes they didn't and it happened many times. and the weddings are huge. When people get married you can have two huge tents, one for women and one for men, with 1000 people there ... They air-bombed weddings. How could the people not watch that and rise against NATO?
> *(O., Pashtun man, 30, b. near Kabul, to Canada at 23)*

Respondents described the conflict primarily as both an American desire for control over land and resources and a war on Muslims and Islam.

> Now the conflict seemed to be different: about Americans coming in and telling you how to run your home and country and "liberate your women." It was seen as interference. Who are you to come in and tell me how to live my life?... Let Afghans figure this out: don't come in here on the pretext of kicking out the Taliban because they protected Osama bin Laden and then start telling us what to do. Don't come in here for one reason and then turn around and say you're here to liberate us. Now I see the [Afghan] conflict as a war on Islam that is happening globally and manifesting itself differently in different places. I can't comprehend why anyone would want to attack the sweetness of this faith ...
> *(M., Pashtun woman, 26, b. near Jalalabad, to Canada at 8)*

More than one respondent indicated that all resistance to the foreign intervention was described as "Taliban," so that it became impossible to determine who the Taliban were after a time.

> In Afghanistan people are not educated. And the people who are recruited for combat are not educated, even in religion. And the people who are recruiting use religion to convince them. If you educate and give them the tools to make a living, this won't be an issue. People are starving; they are told that if they blow themselves up people will look after their families ... Most of the Taliban are trained in madrassas in Pakistan. They use violent language and are brainwashed ...
> *(B., Pashtun woman, 23, b. Kabul, to Canada at 10)*

> So many people whose innocent family members were killed by NATO airstrikes became very angry: those are the people who went back and became suicide bombers.
> *(O., Pashtun man, 26, b. Peshawar, to Canada at 16)*

> The women and children are innocent. They don't deserve to be killed because their relatives are Taliban. And at this point, you have to ask why would they become Taliban? Many are Taliban who did not start out that way. For the first two years the Americans were successful, and then ... They pissed people off, who then became Taliban. And the Taliban have a strong argument when they talk to people. The Americans rape and murder – not everyone, but it happens. If you have no control over your army, it is still your fault.
> *(A., Uzbeki man, 37, b. Kabul, to Canada at 33)*

For the most part, respondents indicated that their understanding was that Afghans tended to blame Americans troops for this problematic behaviour, not Canadians, either because Canadians did not engage in the same behaviour or because they were assumed to be American.

> At the same time, Canada seemed to be able to control its troops whereas the US troops were out of control – raping, killing ... The other thing is that when a soldier is in uniform the people assume they are Americans, even if they are Canadians. So the Americans get blamed for everything.
> *(A., Uzbeki man, 37, b. Kabul, to Canada at 33)*

> The real reason Canada is in Afghanistan is because we had to follow the US. We have no choice. They're Big Brother -- all our trade is with them. We still see it as Christians against Muslims. If there were 50 Muslim MPs, do you think we would have gone to Afghanistan? I don't think so. But back home Canada is still liked and thanked for its open arms and the fact that we could come here as refugees in large numbers. We couldn't do that in the US or the UK on the same scale. Canada is respected.
> *(D., Pashtun man, 26, b. in the Afghan/Pakistan border area, to Canada at 17)*

> No one complains about Canadians. I've heard about the British and Americans but never Canadians. We must be doing something right because Canadian soldiers are not hated.
> *(B., Pashtun woman, 23, b. Kabul, to Canada at 10)*

> I never heard anything bad about Canada or the Canadian soldiers, even when I was working in Kandahar and they were there. People did not complain about them. I am not angry at Canada. I had no bad experiences with them.
> *(K., Pashtun man, 30, b. near Kabul, to Canada at 23)*

A minority of respondents thought that western intervention had been beneficial to the country:

> I thought the US intervention was a good thing; I still think so. Lots of people say we should not interfere but life was not better before. I argue with my sister-in-law about this. The Taliban – what kind of life is that? – but people like her who actually lived there (until 2004) contradict what the media say and say that it wasn't that chaotic or bad then, not as much as now. I think she's in denial.
> *(F., Pashtun man, b. Peshawar, to Canada at 2)*

> We have bigger issues – our generation wants unity against what is currently the big issues – to get rid of the Taliban and to restore democracy, and to get Americans out of the country. I do see America as being needed now. They have to help rebuild what they helped to destroy. Canada went into the war to protect itself and to maintain its alliance with the united states – it's because of the US.
> *(A., Pashtun/Dari woman, 23, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

Nonetheless, respondents also universally – without exception – decried violence outside of Afghanistan as an unacceptable response, however uncomfortable or upset about the invasion of their homeland they were, and whatever they saw as its cause.

> Violence works for Afghanistan – there. Putting fear in foreigners' minds and telling them to get out. But the September 11 bombings and London bombings don't achieve results in favour of Islam or Muslims.
> *(M., Pashtun woman, 26, b. near Jalalabad, to Canada at 8)*

ARMENIA-TURKEY

Armenian-Canadian respondents – those who were old enough to remember the stories of their parents' and grandparents' experiences and young people, many of whom were educated in Armenian schools in Canada – were adamant that Turkey needs to recognize the events of 1914-15 as a genocide in the same way that Germany recognized the Holocaust and paid restitution to its victims. At the same time, there was no support for violence as a strategy to further Armenian goals.

As with other conflict regions, respondents described doing their best to avoid arguments or altercations with people from the "other" side.

> Now I can hate what happened without blaming individual Turks. I don't hold individual Turks responsible unless they talk openly about the genocide and are unsympathetic or say Armenians got what they deserved or something.
> *(B., Armenian man, 88, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> It is still an open wound. It doesn't matter how much assimilation or integration there is, we need to talk to the perpetrators about what happened. Denial is the last stage of genocide. It causes trauma to still be inflicted on the survivors and their children. Today's Turks are not guilty of the killings but they are responsible for the recognition of them, and for recognizing the destruction of my roots, my people, my culture.
> *(L., Armenian man, 65, b. Lebanon, to Canada at 25)*

> Teaching kids about their history is very important in our culture … I have always been political. I don't really know why. I feel that now that I am here I can effect something positive, which I couldn't have done in Iran. My interest is in protecting Armenian rights overseas wherever they are endangered. Personally I would not hate a Turk but I wouldn't want to be best friends with them either. Today I won't have anything against them unless they make statements against me or my history.
> *(N., Armenian man, 22, b. Iran, to Canada at 10)*

> The diaspora will disappear, and it would be important for Armenia to continue. It's not a 200-300-year-old contribution; it's a well-over-3000-year old civilization that has contributed tangibly to world civilization … Not only do I not have a problem with a Turk or a Kurd if he apologizes, but I want to be in synch with Canadian values – human rights, fairness, etc.
> *(D., Armenian man, 66, b. Istanbul, to Canada at 26)*

> If you encounter Jews they have no conflict with German people. Part of putting it in the past is that they have to recognize what happened. That is the biggest setback. It is still being denied. There are so many sources about this but it hasn't been acknowledged. It's hard not to focus on it. It would be great to be able to just remember it, but the fact that it is not acknowledged makes people want to fight. It's hard to defend that when you live in Canada where you're supposed to love everyone. It's a lot to handle to have an opinion or to express it. I don't talk about it – only to a select few who have gone through a similar experience.
> *(P., Armenian woman, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*

> It is important to me not to let go – to be a social activist teaching people about the genocide. I find solidarity among immigrants who are all victims. I understand the Arab plight and their suffering. It's important to me to maintain an understanding of the genocide … Those are my preconditions for friendship. It is not racism. If you don't acknowledge the genocide I will not be your friend. When someone is

> rude about it in my head I am choking them but on the outside I keep calm and explain and try to give them a history lesson. Obviously I want recognition. Recognition needs to lead to compensation, like what Germany pays to Israel or to Jews. It should go to the Armenian government or to charities, like the general benefits fund. And it is not just blood money but also property needs to be compensated for. The political goal would be to redraw the borders.
> *(T., Armenian man, 24, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*

Turkish Canadians were more reticent to discuss the issue. Most took the position that the violence occurred in the context of a world war and did not reflect official genocidal policy. One Canadian-born Turkish respondent did suggest that Turkey should just accept that the violence amounted to genocide and move on.

> It is hard for people who lost relatives, but there were Turks from that region who lost relatives as well. Our archives show that there were massacres on both sides, and there were Armenians in other parts of the Ottoman Empire who were not killed, so it was not government policy or a plan to massacre them. But I am not from that region so I don't feel that I have the right to comment on it. I just wish people would do better research and research from all the archives, and not just publish selectively.
> *(M., Turkish woman, 44, b. Turkey, to Canada at 34)*

> I don't believe it was a genocide but I believe something bad happened. There are always two sides to any story. During the war, Turks displaced Armenians from our location to theirs. People died, but there was no deliberate plan to massacre them or to wipe them out. We Turks really care about our image. We want to be friendly and provide help, and when people say bad stuff, it feels like it is tarnishing our image; why should we be accused of something when it wasn't what we were trying to do?
> *(O., Turkish man, 22, b. Turkey, to Canada at 7)*

> Armenians were given brotherhood by Turks, although it is true that in the rural areas they may have been neglected, but at that time every nation had its problems. It was hard not being in urban areas. War, killing occurred on both sides, but the numbers have been inflated and ballooned. People went and saw Turkish villages being dismantled, burned. Some soldiers may have become furious when they saw these things and got out of hand. But there was no genocide. There was stupidness on both sides.
> *(S., Turkish man, 61, b. Istanbul, to Canada at 26)*

> I did do my research and learn about it. I decided I didn't care. If there is a legitimate genocide gripe we should accept it and move on. I never let nationalism get in the way. I don't care about politics.
> *(B., Turkish man, 32, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Many young Balkan Canadians are generation 1.5, which means they were born in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and arrived in Canada as young children – and lived through the conflict themselves. Often, their earliest memories are of traumatic experiences during the conflict. They, and their second-generation peers – born in Canada before or during the conflict – describe people who act out Balkan partisanship as being "nationalistic." To be nationalistic in this context is to wear clothing or make hand gestures that express a strong attachment to one or another Balkan country.

Many Balkan Canadians who came to Canada because of the conflict in the early 1990s established their social, communal, and cultural lives around religious institutions – Serbian Orthodox or Croatian churches, or Bosnian mosques, for instance. Compared with their Tito-era grandparents, they describe increases in religious expression, both in Canada and "back home." This is unsurprising, both because religious expression was discouraged during the Communist era, but also because national conflict aligned to a significant extent with religious practice.

Depending on their individual perspectives and experiences, respondents describe different relationships with people from opposing Balkan countries – ranging from calculated impoliteness to forced civility to warm friendships and even intermarriage. And while identity is clearly a strong motivator for nationalism among many young people, and some engage in clear demonstrations of nationalism, there is also pushback from a great many, who view expressions of nationalism as "extra" – or over the top and unnecessary.

Scuffles sometimes occur at alcohol-infused gatherings of young Balkan Canadians – such as a concert or football game – but otherwise people who hold grudges tend to stay away from one another or not engage with the conflict if they find themselves in one another's company.

Even activists, such as this woman, recognize that pain and suffering was felt on all sides:

> The conflict was my childhood. We lived in Bosnia. We always felt Bosnian. We didn't associate that with being Muslim. My dad always said he was fighting for a multi-ethnic country. He felt everyone who lived in Bosnia was Bosnian. It was an ethnic conflict and most of the victims were Bosnian Muslims but there were civilians hurt on all sides. I have to treat people as people and can't hold every Serb responsible for what happened. Even in Bosnia I can't hate those people. I am an activist: I make sure that people know about the Bosnian genocide. I educate Canadian audiences about the Bosnian genocide, and fight genocide denial.
> *(G., Bosnian woman, 24, to Canada at 6)*

People clearly think differently about relations with their former adversaries in Canada.

> It was not so much about religion but about land. I used to know Serbs in school. I didn't hang out with them after school but we didn't fight either. It's a free country and I don't want to fight here. I can't hate them: I am not allowed to hate by my religion. But if the war started again in Bosnia and I were there, they would be looking at me over a gun.
> *(A., Bosnian Muslim man, 28, b. Sarajevo, to Canada at 17)*

> It has made me deeply sad, but not patriotic. And when you come to Canada you realize so many other people have had to deal with difficult and similar conflicts.
> *(F., Bosnian Muslim woman, 34, to Canada at 16)*

> It helped me to understand that not all Serbs are bad; some Serbs helped Bosnians during the war. What I mean is that when people say bad things about you and you know you don't deserve them, it helps you to see the way other people are painted unfairly with that brush ... I used to wear the moon and stars. My dad was against me wearing it because he didn't want me seen just in that way.
> *(M., Bosnian Muslim woman, 21, b. near Sarajevo, to Canada at 9)*

Because nationalism was intertwined with religion in the Balkan conflicts, respondents thought carefully about this particular context of religious expression.

> It didn't start out as a religious conflict but I feel like religion emerged as the differentiating factor. It is how you told people apart. And there are little differences – like the way we cross ourselves or the way the Serbs cross themselves – that became a big deal. Now people wear the hijab or crosses – why? It's so extra. Why are you doing that if it's not for belief but just to make a point?
> *(D., Croatian woman, 21, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

Some respondents expressed being stifled by narrow, nationalist expressions of identity:

> I am Croatian, but because my parents are from Bosnia I don't consider myself too hardcore a Croatian. Back home I have Muslim friends. I love Canada because I am so open for other cultures. I felt trapped in Croatia with a monoculture. Canada feels like a better fit for me. I want to do outreach and make a community for young people from the Balkans – from all different places – business, culture, tourism –

> whatever. I am going to try to include young people, not the old Croatians who are stuck in their own minds – but young people who have no problem with each other.
> *(Y., Croatian woman, 30, b. Zagreb, to Canada at 17)*

Not surprisingly, respondents whose parents were from different communities were especially likely to reject a narrow or nationalist identity:

> But when we moved to Canada all our friends were from mixed marriages. The people my parents knew had all just arrived and were trying to put their lives back together and the last thing they wanted to do was fight. This was another fight for survival. They had kids. Their degrees meant nothing. It was hard. This brought them together. I'm so neutral in all of this. But it takes more than one country to start a war. We were all at fault. That Serb is no better than what Croatians did to Serbs or Bosnians. It's irrelevant who killed more.
> *(M., Serbian-Croatian woman, 22, b. Sarajevo, to Canada at 3)*

> To this day it affects me in terms of the way I view life. I am thankful that my parents survived; that my mother was not raped when she was pregnant and that my brother was born and safe; that my family stayed together; that my grandmother has learned from her mistakes. She doesn't hate my mother anymore. She recognizes that my mother has helped and supported her. She realizes that being a good person is not about religion … Most of my friends are also mixed – and that works to bring us together … When I started hanging out with Serb nationalists I once did what they do, holding up three fingers, in front of my mom. I don't think my mom has ever been madder at me.
> *(L., Bosnian Muslim-Serbian Orthodox woman, 22, b. Bosnia, to Canada at 7)*

Young people think carefully, as well, about the performance of their national and religious identity, and the relationship between that performance and healing:

> We always live with the idea that you should not forget what happened but there is no need to march around.. screaming it out only perpetuates conflict. Yes, there are young people who end up fighting at soccer games. They are the ones who were born here and I think they hear things from their parents. I stay away from them. I cheer for Serbia at soccer games but it is not intelligent to be super nationalistic.
> *(N., Serbian woman, 22, born Mostar, to Canada at 5)*

Balkan Canadians who settled in Canada prior to the conflict in the early 1990s do not have the same perspectives and frequently see a gulf between their attitudes and those of the newer wave of conflict survivors.

> I had the same view of the conflict as Croatians of my generation. There was no rift between us. The difference came between our view and that of the newcomers.
> *(L., Serbian woman, 54, b. Canada, 3rd generation)*

HORN OF AFRICA

The Horn of Africa includes conflicts in both Ethiopia-Eritrea and Somalia.

ETHIOPIA-ERITREA

Respondents describe older, first-generation men as more invested in community organizations that refuse to cooperate with one another and as suffering from what one respondent called "post-stress community impairment." Women describe themselves – and are described by men – as being less involved in back-home conflict and more concerned with creating a positive environment for their children in Canada.

> I noticed that Ethiopian and Eritrean women worked really well together in women's health groups and daycare groups. The problem wasn't them. It was the men. But when I noticed the women, I thought, what is happening? The [male] leaders are still stuck in their own narratives and are not integrated. The young people – sons and daughters – create their own spaces of meaning and in which they can blossom. The ability to live in the moment as Canadians is not there for older people. Their sense of reason and presence doesn't seem to exist … This is why I talk about post-stress community impairment. It is a serious problem that we need to do something about.
> *(D., Eritrean man, 50, b. Asmara, to Canada at 28)*

> It is always the men who argue politics and religion. Women, not so much. Women talk about kids and life. Women follow their kids and that leads them to talk to other women no matter what their background … .
> *(T., Ethiopian woman, 39, b. Ethiopia, to Canada at 19)*

Young people, however, whether second generation or who came to Canada as children, tend not to care about what happened in the conflict back home, nor do they maintain strong boundaries between themselves – whoever they are – and other East African youth. They are far more conscious of the racism they encounter in Canadian society – much of it systemic, and of the barriers they encounter as racialized youth. This means that they see advantages to solidarity with other racialized youth, regardless of religious or ethnocultural backgrounds.

> We are all racialized here and the wider society does not differentiate between Eritreans and Ethiopians and doesn't care that there is a difference … I wanted to understand why the elders are still so upset, but we are living in Canada now and we are all struggling to have a decent life. It is silly to still be fighting here when we could all be working to better life here.
> *(G., Eritrean woman, 28, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 9)*

As with other racialized communities, people of all ages discussed the difficulty of finding work and fitting into a society that is riddled with racism, which impairs successful integration.

> The real problems here are not with the conflict that Eritreans experienced back home but with the difficulty of finding secure jobs. Without secure jobs you cannot build a secure future or raise your children or boost them.
> *(A., Eritrean man, 52, b. Asmara, to Canada at 23)*

SOMALIA

The Somali Canadians who were interviewed constituted a wide swath of the community and included all generations. There was strong uniformity on the part of interview participants with relation to the conflict – and the fact that it does not have much salience in Canada – and also with regard to the role of al Shabaab. Participants expressed nearly universal antipathy toward al Shabaab, as well as anger at the public perception that the organization claims strong support in the community. Attitudes toward al Shabaab appear to have shifted over time. The few young Somali Canadians who returned to the country to fight with the group did so in the wake of the Ethiopian invasion of the country in 2006, when they were seen to be a credible resistance movement. But al Shabaab subsequently lost credibility dramatically as the perception grew that it was an agent of conflict and disorder in Somali. Those who did leave to fight in Somalia are widely viewed with pity and concern by the community in Canada. (***See "Reality" Finding #1, above***.)

> Our major arch-enemy was allowed to invade. It was a slap in our face. It touched our ego. The thought of Ethiopian soldiers in Mogadishu was inconceivable. No matter what you support, you are against Ethiopia. At that point, Shabaab was seen as resistance. We didn't know who they were. There was no real understanding of what/who they were until the famine of 2011.
> *(K., Somali man, 55, b. Mogadishu, to Canada at 35)*

> I was very upset about the Ethiopia invasion. Ethiopia was given the green light to invade a country that already had instability. When I was back home I didn't feel tribalism but I did hear strong dislike for Ethiopia.
> *(M., Somali woman, 26, b. Hargeisa, to Canada at 5)*

Somali youth and adults – even those who have gone back to live for short periods – are much more concerned with conditions in Canada – with systemic racism in school boards, social services, and police forces – that they see as creating conditions under which it is terribly difficult for young people, especially boys, to thrive. ***(See "Reality" Finding #7, above.)*** Most do not see the conflict in Somalia as having particular salience in Canada.

> I still don't understand the conflict. There are different versions. It depends on who you ask and is always complicated. We focus on finding the 'objective' story but there is no objective Somali history. People all advocate for their own tribe. It is like trying to find a needle in a haystack to figure out what happened and is still happening … The Ethiopia invasion: I know it happened but it was not prominent for me. The pirates, al Shabaab, all that stuff was under the table. Not a big deal for me … I don't care what tribe people are and my parents don't care.
> *(H., Somali woman, 24, b. Mogadishu, to Canada at 6)*

> At the beginning I hoped I would go back. That hope disappeared. For a nation, 20 years is nothing but for a person it is a lot. I accepted Canada as my new home, and even though I hang out in Somali spots and eat Somali food a lot, outside the house I am Canadian and I want to be treated as a Canadian. I try to keep both Somali and Canadian.
> *(A., Somali man, 37, b. Hargeisa, to Canada at 15)*

> I haven't ever heard of youth fighting each other over it but it does affect them. People do marry across tribal lines. If you came older you tend to marry your own tribe. I feel the more educated the parents are the less it matters.
> *(O., Somali woman, 28, b. Abu Dhabi, to Canadaat 11)*

> I do notice tribe but I don't care. I say, how can I help my community? How can I get involved? Why are there so many community associations? What is an issue is the killing of boys. I just think of my brothers. Some of the boys who died were in the wrong place at the wrong time and some weren't into anything but some were into shady things. I remember a few years ago a boy was killed and his mother was sure it was because of tribe. But it wasn't – it was drugs or something. The parents don't know what their kids are doing and then they blame it on their own issue. That is because they are traumatized still and it is the only thing they think of. So they refuse to believe it is about gangs and drugs and put their own issue on it.
> *(R., Somali woman, 21, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*.

> I don't know that much about the conflict still. It is a he-said, she-said story and everyone's pain should be validated. But I don't know what or whom to believe, it is all very biased. People are all in pain. People were killed. Tribalism has a lot to do with it. There is a lot of discrimination within tribalism. Somali people are so prideful. The people my heart goes out to are the Bantu and Rahenwein tribes, who are still caught in the crossfire and suffering injustice. I am very strongly Canadian. It just feels normal.
> *(N., Somali woman, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

> I would love to … be able to empower youth in marginalized neighbourhoods. I figure I was born here for a reason. I owe Canada something. I want to help my people here. then I can think of going back home to help.
> *(A., Somali man, 22, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Respondents from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh talked about conflict as it had affected themselves and their families. In practice, this meant discussing the effects and aftermath of Partition – the relationships between and among individuals of religious and/or language groups that found themselves in conflict during the time of Partition and in the years hence. For some, there had been little impact, while for others Partition and its aftermath had been the source of immense upheaval and trauma.

> My grandparents on both sides lived through Partition. My dad gets shaken up talking about it. He still has troubled memories, even though he wasn't alive at the time of partition. He feels that Muslims were treated as a minority and discriminated against in India ... [Now] he has no problems with Sikhs or Hindus and does a lot of business with big Sikh hotels and restaurants, even though Sikhs aren't supposed to eat ritually slaughtered meat. They buy from him so that they can serve their Muslim clients halal meat.
> *(M., Indian Muslim man, 25, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

Young people spoke again and again of disavowing their parents' preconceptions of people of other faiths and ethnocultural backgrounds. Older people, as well, often described a change over time in their ability to work with or even befriend South Asians from the "other" religious backgrounds, once they moved to Canada.

> I work well with people from both Bangladesh and India, regardless of religion, which I probably wouldn't have when I first came.
> *(R., Pakistani Muslim man, 55, b. Pakistan, to Canada at 22)*
>
> I came to Canada as part of arranged marriage in '81. The first few years here were very depressing. Now I get along well with Sikh and Hindu Canadians. We go out. Here it is different from back home. You don't meet on a religious basis; you meet on the basis of work and you either like or don't like them, but not because of religion.
> *(B., Muslim woman, 62, b. Pakistan, to Canada at 30)*
>
> I have a lot of friends from all three religions and both countries. It would come up randomly but not to a point to cause a rift, just a little argument here or there. It's very popular for Muslims to marry Sikhs or Hindus. With Sikhs and Hindus it's more acceptable. It's more of a thing if a Muslim marries a Hindu.
> *(D., Indian Muslim man, 25, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*
>
> My dad's family is very involved in Hindu nationalism ... I don't know where this fervour for Hindu nationalism comes from, but I have never defined myself by being Hindu specifically ... Race was more of an issue.
> *(H., Hindu woman, 23, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*
>
> My dad [a first-generation Canadian] is very racist ... He has become part of the Hindu Council to Protect Hindu Temples in India. His own village [in India] has become a city and a number of conservative Muslims have moved in. He has tried to fight their ability to set up mosques in the city. ... [But] this is home for me. I don't identify as Indian, and when we went back every year we were always treated as outsiders. Growing up I saw myself as Canadian; then in my 20s East Indian-South Asian Canadian. Now I am South Asian and Canadian and proud to be both. This all works because [Toronto] is an inclusive society and allows each of us to be acknowledged and to acknowledge others in this space.
> *(K., 34, Hindu woman, b. Toronto, 2nd generation, married to a Muslim man)*

One particularly salient dimension of conflict relates to Punjab and post-Partition tensions between the Indian state and Sikhs, particularly during 1984 but continuing to this day. The position of Punjab, and the way Sikhs have been dealt with by the Indian state, is experienced much differently in British Columbia than in Ontario. This is primarily due to the way the west-coast community experienced the aftermath of the Air India bombing and the way it felt targeted and tarnished by the official investigation. Interview participants suggested that in British Columbia there is tension associated with open discussions of Khalistan – the proposed independent Sikh state in Punjab – whereas in Ontario, this question can be openly addressed without drawing accusations of "extremism."

Importantly, to a person, Sikh interview participants did not attribute blame for the anti-Sikh pogroms – which they consider a genocide – of 1984 to Hindus, but rather to the Indian state, which they view as an active facilitator and contributor that has never taken responsibility for its actions.

> 1984 was a huge thing. When you learn about what happened, it can be difficult to deal with the trauma. A pivotal part of how you cope is what outlets you have to deal with it ... The community believes that India will never acknowledge what happened. There have been no convictions for those who were responsible. Not only that, but there is asymmetry in the political system. Sikhs are locked up and imprisoned all the time. It is often framed as a Hindu-Sikh conflict but it is not. ... It was not the Hindu community who came out to kill Sikhs. The conflict was between the state and the community. It is important to highlight those things. The solution? There need to be stages of healing, reconciliation, and recovery from trauma. Justice. The perpetrators need to be held accountable. Fairness. A truthful rendering of accounts of what happened. There needs to be self-determination: I personally believe in it for everyone. And people should be able to sort out democratically what they want. Call it whatever, but it has to be in the hands of the people to decide what they want.
> *(B., Sikh man, 27, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*

> India needs to acknowledge what happened ... Perhaps we need healing circles like the Indigenous Canadian ones.
> *(D., Sikh woman, 43, b. Vancouver, 2nd generation)*

> Being Sikh in the Lower Mainland is extremely heavy stuff. Every element of it comes with baggage. I have cousins in their 50s and my sisters are in their 20s. When my cousins were young it was not cool to be brown. They were ashamed of their names and ashamed if someone didn't look Canadian or kept their hair. It was a generation that tried to shorten their names and look more western. Then came the generation that started asking questions. And the Canadian conversation changed as well. Diversity was good. Sharing cultures was good. It is a timeline of 30 years. It became less uncool to be visibly Muslim or Sikh or Hindu. So there was tension between those who insisted we aren't brown and those who thought we can be both. I don't want to feed the narrative of "Sikh extremism". I at least want to make someone think twice, to look beyond who is talking to what they are talking about. I am not baggage. Khalistan is a dirty word. Just mentioning it here makes you an extremist. But if you can talk about an independent Palestine, you should be able to talk about Khalistan. It is not extremist or criminal. The way to get past this is to deal with the issues, not to hide them. It's our differences that make us stronger. We need to provide space for people to clarify issues, space to dialogue.
> *(K., Sikh woman, 30, b. Burnaby, 2nd generation)*

THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH EMPHASIS ON ISRAEL-PALESTINE

Arabs constituted the largest proportion of interviewees. This reflects the internal diversity of the community, as well as its current centrality in geopolitics. One sharp finding of the interviews was that, without exception, Arabs draw a strong distinction between Jews - practitioners of the Jewish faith - and supporters of a state that favours Jews over other religious and ethnic groups. In other words, they do not attribute blame to the Jewish community, broadly understood, for the condition of conflict in Israel/Palestine.

The following quotes are illustrative of this widely held perspective:

> One should not conflate Judaism with Israelis, and the problem is not all Israelis but the Israeli government. I have a few friends who are Israeli and are doing good work from the inside. As a person who has suffered a cultural stigma, I am very aware of the problems of labelling people and refuse to do it. It's not about being Jewish. It has nothing to do with that. When I meet Jews here, I make no assumptions about what they think or their knowledge. I don't want people to make assumptions about me, so I don't make them about other people.
> *(D., Palestinian Muslim woman, 26, to Canada as a baby)*

> It is not a Jewish/Muslim conflict and there is no place for it here in Canada.
> *(W., Palestinian Muslim man, 25, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

Arabs described reluctance and fear to speak publicly about the Israel/Palestine conflict, and even more to participate in political mobilization around the issue, because of what they perceived as a tendency on the part of mainstream Canadian society to equate criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism. They suggested that a powerful "chill" exists in the wider society, as people self-censor to avoid attracting the stigma of anti-Semitism.

> The fear is that you will be labelled anti-semitic, although secondarily there is a concern that you will be seen as pro-terrorism.
> *(K., Lebanese woman, 52, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

> I stay away from the topic with everyone. It is not an appropriate topic at work.
> *(J., Palestinian Muslim woman, 31, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 18)*

It did not appear that there are significant intra-Arab differences between national communities in Canada with regard to the Israel/Palestine conflict. There were also no meaningful differences between Muslim and Christian Arabs with respect to how they viewed the conflict. The tendency of interviewees was to favour a "one-state solution"; they commonly expressed a view that the two-state solution was once, but is no longer, viable.

> I don't believe in a two-state solution any more. I believe in one state, binational, perhaps with a divided government like Lebanon got after the civil war.
> *(H., Palestinian Muslim man, 36, to Canada at 27)*

> Two states won't work any more – the divisions and borders are burdensome and fragmented. Israel's attachment to its status as a Jewish state is a problem and there can be no solution while Israel remains a Jewish state.
> *(L., Moroccan woman, 20, b. Montreal, 2nd generation)*

> If you are going to have a social justice model, it needs to be one state with equal rights for everyone. Everything else is predicated on inequality.
> *(K., Lebanese woman, 52, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

> The only solution is one-state – because the country has already been so broken up. One state with equal rights for everyone, and it can't be a Jewish state but it can be a state that protects Jewish culture and identity.
> *(T., Iraqi woman, 42, b. Canada, 2nd generation)*

We sought a broad cross-section of Jewish Canadian participants as well, and the diversity of thinking with respect to the Israel/Palestine conflict in the Middle East was significant. An unexpectedly large proportion of participants were critical of Zionism and the Israeli state. These people also complained that they did not feel free to express their political views, out of fear of various kinds of sanctions by establishment Jewish Canadian community organizations that typically adopted a more pro-Israel posture. They suggested that the balance of public opinion in the Jewish community in Canada was not as it is often represented in mass media, and that skewed public perceptions are partly a result of reliance on the organized community, or establishment organizations, to speak on behalf of the entire community.

This is perhaps not surprising: as one self-described member of the organized Jewish community described how, while Canadian Jews come from diverse places and diverse perspectives,

> When we are talking the organized Jewish community we are really talking about the established Ashkenazi community that originated in eastern or northern Europe.

Moreover, in this same respondent's words,

> Also younger people don't believe there's anti-semitism anymore, but the older generation does.
> *(L., Jewish man, 65, b. Toronto, 3rd generation)*

Notably, even Jews who are strong advocates for a Jewish state believe that there are significant problems with how Israel has dealt with the conflict:

> If politics means building a city and the government of a city, they have built an amazing city – in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem – and yet their political accomplishments in the lands they conquered in 1967 – with the unique exception of the land they conquered from Syria – have been abysmal.
> *(M., Jewish man, 30, b. Toronto, 3rd generation)*

Others expressed dismay with regard to internal conflict within the Jewish community:

> The conflict expresses itself here in myriad ways. As a member of the Jewish community, there is a huge internal conflict and controversy. It cannot deal with the fact that Israel is not the most pluralistic country in the world and censors real discussion about the problems. It has become impossible to talk about this. I feel the conflict within my own community, with friends and family. I cannot talk about how I feel. Half my family live in Jerusalem (brother and sister) and half in Toronto.
> *(H., Jewish woman, 56, b. Toronto, raised in Israel)*
>
> I have no time for people who have bigoted views. I find the bigotry in the Jewish community disturbing ... We have to recognize one another as the same. It doesn't matter whether you're black, white, Jewish, Muslim ... It doesn't matter. Insha'allah ... ..
> *(F., Jewish man, 82, Holocaust survivor, b. Czechoslovakia, to Canada in his 20s)*

The relationship between Arabs and Jews, as it was related through interviews, is not openly conflictual in Canada. Participants on all sides of the issue again described exercising self-censorship in the course of meeting or having conversations with members of the opposite group, for fear of causing offense or provoking an argument. The fraught nature of the debate leads both Arab and Jewish Canadians to navigate with sensitivity, rather than engage each other antagonistically.

> I won't discuss it with Jews because I will assume it is a touchy subject for them. I wouldn't bring it up.
> *(A., Palestinian man, 25, b. Saudi Arabia, to Canada at 16)*

In contrast, a current of strong conflictual feeling rooted in regional politics was notably present in the Coptic community. This was apparent in some interviews, and in other interviews Coptic Canadians confirmed the presence of strong attitudes in the community. This appears to be a reflection of deep trauma stemming from the repression of the Coptic minority in Egypt. For some Coptic Canadians, that experience has been translated into wariness towards Muslims in general.

> I am concerned here about bending over backwards for Muslims – prayers in schools, maternity wards just for Muslims, welfare centres for Muslims only. They are converting the country.
> *(L., Egyptian Coptic woman, 43, b. Cairo, to Canada at 19)*

For others, living in Canada has led to a greater openness of perspective and a working with and alongside Muslims and Jews:

> We felt that as Christians in Egypt, we were not safe. It was not like now but it was always there ... But here it is not a problem ... What we need is integrity of the gut and mind and heart. The heart is the integrator. The heart is a better holder of the truth.
> *(R., Egyptian Coptic woman, 57, b. Cairo, to Canada at 30)*

SRI LANKA

Sinhalese Canadians were generally reticent to discuss the conflict, and proved to be one of the communities from which it was most difficult to recruit interview participants. This may be due to a perception that they have felt "bullied" in Canada, because the Tamil community is significantly larger here. They described having been made to feel that they were directly complicit in oppression, and as a result, they have little appetite for rehashing the conflict, which they perceived as a war that hurt them as well.

> I have lots of Tamil friends. We all said, it's all bullshit and it stopped there. It was stupid. There was nothing to talk about ... The war had to end but the casualties of war were sad. There is still unfairness and inequality and we still need to get people together. Prabhakaran was using human shields and was a conniving man.I agree that there was a cultural genocide, but Sinhalese deaths were as bad as Tamil ones.
> *(B., Sinhalese man, 33, b. Colombo, to Canada at 11)*

> I hated that incident in high school and it marked me. They blamed me for everything. I was scared, and it was just my mother and sister at home. Sri Lanka is not designed to separate into two separate states. It is 1/16th the size of Ontario. As a Sinhalese, I feel that we have been in Sri Lanka for so long – it is our language, culture, religion, civilization. We cannot allow anyone to divide it into two.The Tamils are in the north, but they are from India, where Tamil culture has thrived for years. Most Tamils in Sri Lanka now live in Colombo. The war had to happen. People were dying from both sides and the government had to end the war, but there was no policy to kill Tamils, no genocide. Sri Lanka is not viewed fairly. This line of war crimes and genocide has taken over the issue of coming to a fair settlement. The solution is not partition, but a united Sri Lanka where everyone is treated equally and people are free to roam and to live wherever they want.
> *(L., Sinhalese man, 28, b. Colombo, to Canada at 13)*

> I don't want to come off as apathetic and uncaring and unsympathetic to the Tamil position but I am also considerate of the Sinhalese community and understand why they see the island as they do ... I want them to understand each other. What are the issues we hold in common? It doesn't just affect the Tamil community. There are issues of equality and class. The Tamil solution is not the solution for that whole island.
> *(K., Sinhalese woman, 23, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*

The Tamil Canadian community is large, complex and heterogeneous, and many Tamils were eager to speak. Interview participants represented all sides of the issue but were united in an understanding that Tamils were systematically persecuted by the Sri Lankan government. A number did express the perspective that their enemy was not the Sinhalese people but the government itself. Tamil respondents had differing views of the Tigers. Some were strongly supportive of the group and argued that they had defended the Tamil people with integrity. Others disapproved of many of the tactics employed by the Tigers, but maintain that they were the only presence on the island with the capacity and willingness to protect Tamil citizens against the Sri Lankan state. Still others revile the Tigers, and shared deeply troubling personal stories about violence visited on their families by the Tigers because of political dissent.

Many young people in the Tamil diaspora do not believe that the conflict has ended, although the war certainly has, at least for the time being. For the time being, they are watching events "back home" unfold, occasionally visiting, and debating the best options for participation in development and politics. For most, education is the primary tool of choice to contest the conflict in the future. However, some also suggested that a renewal of violence in Sri Lanka is possible after other means are exhausted. As with all other conflicts, no participants believed that violence in Canada was desirable or would be productive.

As with other conflicts, young Tamils also described the conflict in human rights rather than nationalistic terms, and described seeking allies – other communities they perceive to have been victimized by overbearing states – in their pursuit of justice. Many respondents, moreover, believe that the Canadian example offers possible solutions to the conflict.

Tamil identity – especially in the face of what many see as cultural genocide in Sri Lanka – is particularly salient among young people in Canada.

> People are more progressive now in Colombo but the cultural genocide is still proceeding: the population is being diluted with forced migration from the south to the north and east. I didn't agree with everything the Tigers did but the only reason the Sri Lankan Tamil people exist today is because of the Tigers. What is happening now would have happened 35 years ago. I continue to advocate for engagement with other anti-oppression groups – solidarity. It helps to reach out to wider society that way.
> *(B., Tamil man, 33, b. Ontario, 2nd generation)*
>
> There is no armed struggle. That is universally understood. But when the young people wave the LTTE flag it does not stand for armed struggle. It is the sense of Tamil identity that they need. PTSD will intensify if it is not addressed. And these young people have all suffered from racism here – and that exacerbates the pain. The conversation has shifted. It used to be about defeating the rebels but that was accomplished and now it is about destroying our culture completely.
> *(P., Tamil woman, 34, b. Killinochchi, to Canada at 16)*
>
> There is no physical violence: the community values education and being involved in criminal activity has a stigma attached. The focus is on upward mobility. People just shut down and don't engage with Sinhalese. But we are in a lull. How long will it last? Are we waiting to see if the Sri Lankan government does anything different? Will there be a post-lull reaction?
> *(T., Tamil woman, 23, b. Colombo, to Canada at 6)*
>
> We want the army out of the north and east and a state system like in Canada or India. We want to have equal opportunity like we do in this country. The community now sees it through Canadian eyes and says, what's wrong with Canada's system? We got to this country and can see it working; we see the beauty of the system. The final phase of the war made that the only way. We gave up the idea of a homeland; not everyone can accept it because they have been preaching something else their whole lives and it's hard to admit that we lost.
> *(N., Tamil man, 40, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 18)*
>
> I won't criticize the Tigers. I won't go there. I understand why they picked up the fight again after 2004 but that was their opportunity to stop. They shouldn't have gone on fighting. I am critical of the final phase of the conflict but I don't want to judge them; I wasn't there. In the north everything is gone. They didn't gain anything at all. People in the north just want to rebuild.
> *(K., Tamil woman, 33, b. Jaffna, to Canada at 8)*
>
> We use a Canadian approach to problem-solving. We understand what it means to be oppressed and when another people is experiencing that pain, we share it.
> *(A., Tamil woman, late 50s, to Canada in her late 30s)*
>
> I am not a full-fledged Tamil Tiger supporter because of the atrocities they committed, but it's true they were one of the few groups who supported the Tamils when they needed the help and were oppressed. So I am on the fence. They did lead a movement after the political means were clearly not working. I support their struggle but not their means.
> *(L., Tamil woman, 24, b. Toronto, 2nd generation)*
>
> Being Canadian means being away from that brutality and violence … Why hate the Sinhalese people? They are just people too. What is the point? That is the trouble. Sinhalese people have been affected as well.
> *(N., Tamil woman, 30, b. eastern province, to Canada at 10)*

Some expressed the idea that it was time to use different imagery than the tainted Tiger and bands of bullets.

> Images of the past struggle shouldn't affect the current struggle … It's not over. It angers me so much. It is still a struggle. Injustice is still being done …
> *(M., Tamil man, 24, b. Oman, to Canada at 6)*

THE SUDANS

Sudanese-Canadian respondents generally described the conflict as based in the North Sudanese government's creation of Muslim-Christian or Arab-African cleavages. Respondents also described the conflict as being partly rooted in competition over scarce natural and political resources, masked in religion or ethnicity.

The Northern Sudanese community in Canada is composed primarily of people who left because they are opposed to the theocratic authoritarian regime of Omar al-Bashir. Northern Sudanese Canadians self-identify in complex ways, and often not as purely "Arab" – and they have sometimes been subject to racist treatment from other Arab groups.

Many Northern Sudanese people in Canada are intent on reaching out to and connecting with southerners to develop relationships. This is especially true of young Sudanese Canadians, who are involved in a number of intercommunity initiatives across the country. They express a belief that the conflict in Sudan has no application in Canada, as both southerners and northerners share the basic experience of being racialized minorities and dealing with the effects of systemic racism.

In general, North-South community relations in Canada are aided by the fact of a common enemy in the government in Khartoum, as well as barriers to integration in Canada, which creates the ground for people to come together across religious and ethnic boundaries to work for common wellbeing.

As with other conflicts, respondents see Canadian federalism, multiculturalism and diversity management as a good model for both North and South Sudan to follow:

> The conflict was political, then economic, then military, then North-South, then Arab-African, then religious. But really it is none of those; they are the symptoms not the cause … The conflict is really about resources … You can't rule people against their will and you can't impose any single kind of Islam on them either. Politics should never be combined with religion. You have to make room for diversity. And what about non-Muslims? There are also many human interpretations of the religion. So you should never impose one type of Islam.
> *(D., North Sudanese man, 65, to Canada at 28)*

> The racism discourse maps onto the conflict in Sudan except that it's worse: It is militant, institutionalized racism. Had it kept going it would have made Rwanda look like nothing.
> *(O., North Sudanese man, 25, b. Sudan, to Canada at 3 – with 7 years as a teenager in the Middle East)*

> I think of folks from South Sudan as my people but I realize that people who look like me have caused them pain. I am aware of shadeism and ethnocentrism – aware that a lot of healing needs to happen. I never think of them as 'other'. It is really not about South versus North Sudan but about southern and northern people against the Sudanese government …
> *(N., North Sudanese woman, 24, b. Cairo, to Canada at 13)*

> The conflict is a big topic. First there is the ethnic part. We are different from the north. We are Africans. They are pseudo-Arabs. We are different in culture, traditions, norms, beliefs, religion. So when I was born, the only way to get education was to learn Arabic. The aim of the northerners was to indoctrinate the southern identity to Arabic. The main thing for us was to have our own identity as southern Sudanese. Religion: the North was trying to force us to their religion through all possible means, against the will of southerners. People should not be forced. Also the North looked on us as second-class citizens. They looked down on us and deprived us of opportunities. We were oppressed economi-

cally and educationally and culturally. That was bad. That was the fuel for the conflict. That was too much.
(J., South Sudanese man, 55, b. Juba, to Canada at 43)

I experienced conflict with other southerners, but the original conflict was because of the Islamization. The northerners wanted to clear the south to find a way for Islam to penetrate to the east of Africa. But they met resistance from the south. My perspective has changed because of how I see life here in Canada. The process of reconciliation in South Sudan is not yet there. People need to ask for forgiveness and not just grab land. People in the diaspora need to send our voices.
(H., South Sudanese man, 44, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 30)

We knew from the beginning it was political, economic, racial – all of the above. Whiling living in Khartoum I realized that South Sudanese have no problem with ordinary North Sudanese ... Now when I meet ordinary North Sudanese they are very apologetic. They realized they were misled by the political leaders ...
(M., South Sudanese woman, 64, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 45)

When I look at the system in Canada where the provinces are autonomous, I think this would have been the best system to work in Sudan: one where the regions develop themselves. The major resources, like oil, could have been put to the federal government for the good of all. Here also people have come to believe in multiculturalism and living within the law, respecting each other and where they do not agree, agreeing to disagree – but that doesn't work in Sudan, where people believe in tribalism. People in power monopolize it and use bribes to get people onside. The minor tribes have no say in affairs that affect everyone ... It's working: there is less ignorance and less racism. We went on the offensive. We did a lot of presentations in schools to educate the officials and the teachers about south Sudanese education and also how we lived with Arabs so we can live with white kids.
(C., South Sudanese man, 43, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 31)

I do have friends from North Sudan. I am not angry with them. I don't even think about the war anymore. It's politics back home. It has nothing to do with us. We are great friends ... Canada is a good place but there is a lot of frustration. You can see the opportunities but it is hard to get them. They don't give you what you need. They turn down what you have and want you to start from the beginning. But you have to feed the kids, so you drop down and say okay I'll just raise the kids. You don't know where else to go ... If I am willing to work but I can't, what can I do? You are squeezed like a sandwich. If you invite me to come here, I expect something to happen. I don't expect it to be worse.
(M., South Sudanese 53, b. South Sudan, to Canada at 40)

>COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTION AND REALITY OF "IMPORTED CONFLICT" IN CANADA

We began this project from the assumption that perceptions of "imported conflict" are largely based on incomplete information and anecdotes. As a result, we suspected that perceptions may diverge from the lived reality of Canadians with connections to conflict in some important ways. It was an essential task of the project to compare the perceptions observed in survey data with those lived realities, for several reasons.

An unresolved gap between perceptions and reality threatens to generate misguided public policy responses. More than that, it can even exacerbate gaps between communities, contribute to civil society segmentation, and foster social unrest. After all, social cohesion begins with having some accurate understanding of one's neighbours.

Our blend of methodologies has allowed us to develop a reasonably strong image of what the general population believes "imported conflict" to be. It has also allowed us to give voice to the narratives of those Canadians who have intimate knowledge of global conflict, and must live with its effects. This allows us to map out the gap between perceptions and reality, so that we can accurately engage governments, the media, and civil society actors and correct misconceptions.

Our survey indicates that a majority of Canadians think that "imported conflict" is a problem. It also indicates that Canadians care about conflict overseas and feel "connected" to various conflicts, even if they and their families do not hail from the region in question or belong to one of the ethnocultural or ethnoreligious groups involved in the conflict.

This speaks volumes.

It means that we are not an insular nation and that we care about the various ways in which we are connected to the rest of the world. It means that we want to understand the ways in which our diversity and our open borders affect the communal space we're creating here at home.

It means that we as Canadians are very aware of conflict overseas and feel connected to it, even if we don't come from it ourselves.

It also means that it is vital that we understand what happens to conflict when people who come from it move to Canada and become Canadians.

Because most of the people who filled out the survey – and do feel "connected" to the conflicts in question – do not belong to the ethnoreligious and ethnocultural groups involved in the conflicts, we consider the survey to primarily measure Canadians' "perceptions" of intercommunity conflict and diaspora politics.

That is also why we held in-depth conversations with 220 people who came to Canada directly from eight different conflict-affected regions, or who belong to an ethnoreligious or ethnocultural group involved in one of the conflicts, to ask them how living in Canada affects the way they see conflict "back home" or in the conflict region. And it's why we also convened focus groups on three of the conflict dyads, so we could get a sense of how communal group dynamics affect the way people talk about their understanding of "their" conflicts.

We were careful to speak with people with a wide range of experiences with conflict overseas, as well as a diversity of experiences here in Canada.Some of the people with whom we spoke had been in Canada for only a short time, while some had been here their entire lives. We also went to lengths to ensure they represented a diversity of socioeconomic statuses, genders, and ages, all in an effort to ensure that we were achieving "saturation" within the various communities – meaning that we were hearing a full range of responses.

Naturally, when people move to Canada, the conflict doesn't disappear from their heads. They don't stop caring about what happens to their friends and family, their old neighbourhoods, or their community – however they define that community.

But what is important is not just that the conflict remains in their heads – but how they think about it now that they are here, what they do about it, and how they get along here with the folks who used to be on the "other" side.

Most importantly, of course, "they" become "us" – so the real question is, how do "we," as a collective, change when we welcome people who come from conflict?

What our research found is that regardless of where or what conflict people come from, or what we endured during that conflict or as a result of it, *we don't "import" conflict in its "back-home" form when we come to Canada*.

Being away from it gives us distance, but being in Canada shows us new ways of problem-solving and of relating to people who are different from ourselves – even the folks who were on the other side of the conflict "back home."

Our research has told us that we as Canadians *imagine* that overseas conflict will hurt us, and we imagine that newer Canadians, or Canadians who come from places where violent conflict persists, will bring their conflict with them in ways that could hurt us. Fully 57% of Canadians believe that it is somewhat or very common for people from conflict regions of the world to continue to experience "tensions within or between their communities here in Canada", including incidents of prejudice, vandalism, and violence.[68]

But our research also tells us that in reality, Canada, as a community, is remarkably resilient – primarily because when people come here, *especially if they find themselves in inclusive environments*, they learn different ways of dealing with difference and diversity, and it changes the way they view conflict and its possible solutions.

In fairly short order, Canadians who come from conflict don't view violence in Canada as helpful to their cause, their people, or their "side" of the overseas conflict.

It turns out that we would prefer to use words, diplomacy, and education to convince other Canadians that we are right. The survey tells us that we are overwhelmingly proud to be Canadian, and this is most true for Canadians who have recently arrived. We also come to see Canadian federalism, multiculturalism and the Canadian way of managing diversity – and of living with people who are different from us – as possible solutions to the conflict.

As we have stressed, this is not to suggest that no individual Canadians ever become radicalized in Canada, or support extremist and even violently extremist viewpoints or organizations. However, our study confirms to us that, in all of the communities that we surveyed and spoken with, and universally across the entire data set, there is a decisive repudiation of the use of violent means to act out traditional conflicts. No whole communities of Canadians, in other words, are "importers" of foreign conflicts to Canada.

All of this is good.

Of course, it doesn't mean we stop caring about the overseas conflicts we have left behind, nor that we no longer feel connected to them in various ways.

Such conflicts remain a part of our complex identity. We are Canadians who are inflected with conflict, who hold conflict within us and who often view the world through the lens that we learned because of one particular conflict or another.

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[68] The Strategic Counsel, 2013, *A Study of Canadians' Relationship to and Perceptions of Selected International Conflicts and their Impact on Canada*, supra, P.30-31.

Sometimes we hold this identity with pride and sometimes defensively. Sometimes we continue to see ourselves as victims.

It can make us pugnacious and there are times that we get angry. But if we do, chances are that someone else will tell us to calm down and take us away from the confrontation – because cooler heads will tell us that even petty violence won't do us, or our cause, any good.

We often learn to work, live, and play alongside, and occasionally even love, someone whose family was on the "other" side of the conflict. We don't always like it, but we figure out how to make it work more often than we don't.

This is good, too.

But it isn't all a good-news story.

Even though our survey has confirmed once again the significant extent to which we adhere to a common set of recognizably Canadian values, our interviews and focus groups revealed that some of us are reluctant to let old enmities go entirely, sometimes even several generations after living here. We are changed for the better by the uniquely Canadian approach to rights-based multiculturalism that forms part of our national "wallpaper" and we eschew the use of violence to confront our old adversaries that have also found their way here, but yet some of us continue to experience residual inter- or intra-community tensions that can interfere with our full enjoyment of the diversity that life in Canada has to offer.

We are civil towards one another – for that is the Canadian way – but for some of us, when we talk with Canadians from the "other side" of the conflicts that led us to Canada in the first place, we avoid doing so in the context of a constructive dialogue about our different narratives that might help us to grow in our understanding of one another. In fact, our focus group participants told us that they are collectively wary of inter-community dialogues that might risk stirring up old problems.

That is sad, in part because it means that we are depriving ourselves of the opportunity to build trust and identify common interests and priorities with our fellow Canadians with whom we share a significant part of our history. It is perhaps even sadder that, without pursuing constructive dialogue with those Canadians, we forego the opportunity to identify shared ideals and strategies for helping to bring about just and lasting peace in the overseas regions that we have in common. On the other hand, if we were to work together with our fellow Canadians and former antagonists to promote peace "back home", we would arguably be demonstrating the ultimate value of the multiculturalism that the vast majority of us hold so dear.

We have other, more insidious challenges, too.

Some of us have darker skin than others, and the darker our skin, the more systemic barriers we face – at school, in the workforce, on the street. And some of us find that we encounter systemic racism because of the way we "perform" our religious identity – because of the hijab, the turbans, the beards, or the kippahs that we wear. That systemic racism – including the way that some of us are targeted by border agencies, politicians, or security and policing agencies – feels to us like systemic and sometimes official stigmatization and discrimination.

When we encounter systemic racism, we sometimes withdraw and become increasingly detached from other Canadians. We conclude that maybe Canada isn't as welcoming as we were told it would be or hoped it could be.

And in those cases, the victimization that we felt within the conflict zone can shift: the problem is no longer the folks on the "other" side back-home, but a society that is rigged to perpetuate racial and religious privilege for a limited few and to keep anyone else from meaningful participation – including holding power in key economic, political, and social positions.

That, then – the barriers, the systemic racism, not the conflict itself – becomes the problem that hurts all of us as Canadians and damages the communal space we are creating.

There's another thing: many of us experienced terrible trauma during the conflict. This means we were either physically injured or threatened with serious injury or death, or we witnessed the physical injury or death of loved ones.

If that trauma was experienced by our parents, they sometimes can't parent – or live – as they would have in the absence of trauma, and that, in turn, hurts and traumatizes us. Furthermore, they tell us stories of what happened to them, and how we lost grandparents, uncles and aunts, or siblings in the conflict. That can traumatize us as well.

Trauma can have a very long tail. Some of us are still reacting to horrific trauma perpetrated on our communities or great-grandparents many decades ago. We may not know anyone personally who was murdered, but we still act and react because of the agony that we can imagine.

Collectively, we Canadians don't do a very good job of helping people who are suffering the after-effects of trauma – and *that* can hurt us as well: *untreated trauma hurts those of us who are suffering from it as individuals but it also can damage our social cohesion as a nation.*

The other news that is singularly important is that, as a collective, we share some key core values. In this regard, the view of the perceivers (as measured by the survey) matches the view of those who come from conflict precisely: we believe that Canadians should have the right to express their views, even if we don't agree with them; we believe that everyone should respect democratic decision-making; and we believe that it's important to respect people who are different from us even if we don't agree with their views or choices. We are proud of our diversity. We are proud of the way Canada works to foster new intercultural relationships. And none are prouder of this than recently-arrived Canadians and Canadians reporting a connection to global conflict.

Most of us recognize that racism is a problem that we need to eradicate.

In other ways, too, the perception and the reality match: Canada has the effect of opening our eyes to wider perspectives, whether we come from conflict or whether we observe it. Our Canadian experience offers us the chance to learn about different sides of different conflicts – both because we have access to media that highlights various perspectives, and because we have increased opportunities to meet people who are connected by background to both sides of the conflict. All Canadians welcome opportunities to share their stories, and broker inter-community understanding through education.

The survey didn't ask Canadians about their views of faith or non-Judeo-Christian religious practice, but we did start having conversations about it in the course of doing the interviews, because it became apparent that many people – including many young people – took their faith more seriously in the wake of conflict and a move to Canada. Here, perceptions and reality depart dramatically. Often, popular discussions about acceptance and diversity turn on questions about the divergent values of various faith groups, and the danger of "unCanadian values" living inside of religion. But it seems that when we become more attuned to our faiths, and when we revisit faith in Canada – regardless of what that faith is, it is not to blindly accept traditions, but rather to see how our faiths represent Canadian values, and *vice versa* – to see how they reinforce one another, particularly with regard to respect for difference and diversity.

In short, we as Canadians imagine that "imported conflict" hurts us, but in fact our diversity and inclusion give us the tools as a nation to be remarkably resilient. Our resilience and social cohesion are damaged precisely where inclusion fails – and where some of us face systemic racism, stigmatization, and discrimination. Our resilience and social cohesion are also damaged where we fail to help people who are suffering from the after-effects of trauma.

In one other important way, the survey matches the perspectives of those who come from conflict: most

Canadians view resolving domestic issues related to conflict as a priority for Canada. It turns out that those issues do not lie in the conflict itself, but rather in how some of us are treated when we get here. Fixing these issues – ensuring inclusion for all Canadians and ensuring social cohesion – are critical goals.

These are powerful lessons, and there are concrete steps that we can take to increase our resilience and social cohesion as a national community.

>CONCLUSIONS

The Mosaic Institute set out, in this 18-month-long national study, to examine the perceptions and the reality of the prevalence, persistence, and effects of "imported conflict" in Canada.

The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies – a national survey, focus groups, and extensive, in-depth interviews – to reach its conclusions.

The qualitative survey we put into the field yielded a much stronger random response – from a total of over 4,498 Canadians – than we had expected, which means we have rich and robust insights into the ways that Canadians *believe* that overseas conflict affects us here in Canada.

The survey told us that a majority - 57% - of all Canadians believe that it is somewhat or very common for people from conflict regions of the world to continue to experience "tensions within or between their communities here in Canada", including incidents of prejudice, vandalism, and violence[69] after they have moved to Canada from places where they have experienced warfare or conflict. Perhaps not surprisingly, the number is generally higher for those Canadians who reported having a personal connection to one of the eight tested conflicts. At the same time, only a third, or 33%, of Canadians believe that 'divisions existing between different ethnic, cultural and religious groups in Canada are deep and unlikely to change.'

Many Canadians in the survey reported to having a personal connection to conflict in the eight regions we studied, even if they and their families do not belong to one of the ethnoreligious or ethnocultural groups involved in the conflict. This is a powerful finding in and of itself – because it suggests that we Canadians, as a people, care about what is going on in the world and how it relates to what happens within our borders.

Among the notable survey findings are the following:

- One-in-five Canadians (20%) indicate that they connect in a personal way to at least one of the eight tested conflicts;
- Among those who connect to one of the tested conflicts, 60% indicate that the "conflict feels very removed from my life in Canada";
- Among those who connect to one of the tested conflicts, just over half report that their feelings about that conflict have intensified as a result of perceived changes in that conflict since they moved to Canada;
- Among those who connect strongly to one of the eight tested conflicts, the likelihood that one will feel that such a conflict has a "major" impact on one's life declines with the length of time spent in Canada;
- Of the eight tested conflicts, the Israel/Palestine conflict is the one about which most respondents claimed knowledge, and it is also the one to which the greatest proportion of Canadians report having a personal connection. 82% of Canadians believe that this conflict resonates in Canada today through incidents of violence, vandalism or prejudice;
- Fully 94% of all 4,498 respondents reported feeling attached to Canada; 86% reported feeling like they belong in Canada; 85% are proud to be Canadian; and 78% report that they feel Canadian 'first and foremost', with any other ethnic, cultural or religious identification they have being of secondary importance. 88% of all Canadians are open to hearing the views of people from different ethnic, cultural or religious communities, and 72% report having close personal relationships with people from different ethnic, cultural or religious communities;
- 76% of Canadians believe that "even though multiculturalism is considered a fundamental characteristic of Canadian identify, racism is still a problem here"; and

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[69] Ibid., P.30-31.

- Nearly three-quarters (72%) of respondents feel that resolving intergroup conflicts in Canada should be a priority for Canada.

To find out how Canadians who come from conflict think about it and find themselves dealing with it after they have come to Canada, we conducted extensive, in-depth interviews with well over 200 people who hail from the eight different regions, or who are connected by family ties to the ethnocultural and ethnoreligious groups involved in the conflicts in question. We also conducted focus groups with Canadians from three of the conflict dyads – Jews and Arabs; Tamils and Sinhalese; and Hindus and Sikhs.

The findings of our qualitative research are powerful ones that we believe carry implications for policy recommendations and changes at every level of government in Canada.

1. We do not, it turns out, "import" violent conflict: communities of Canadians who come from conflict strongly repudiate violence in Canada as a response to, or means of resolving, overseas conflict;
2. Living in Canada transforms newcomers' perceptions of conflict and their view of solutions: they tend to see it through a Canadian, human-rights-based lens after they have lived here for a while, and they tend to advocate for education and talk-based solutions;
3. Canadians with direct or indirect experience of conflict continue to be affected by trauma;
4. Both connection to conflict and experience of the after-effects of exposure to trauma transcend generations;
5. Canadians' complex identities often include a connection to conflict, but this does not, in and of itself, detract from their attachment to Canada;
6. The single most powerful factor at work in achieving the repudiation of violence and reframing of the conflict and its solutions is social, economic, and political inclusion;
7. Conversely, systemic racism and exclusion work to limit the ability of racialized Canadians to achieve their potential, and can undermine attachment to Canada and social cohesion;
8. The shared struggle to fight racism and exclusion can have the effect of erasing conflict-related divides.
9. Canadians who come from conflict often experience a deepening of their faith or religious practice, generally in a way that amplifies and reflects what they see as Canadian values;
10. Intra-community dynamics can distort the way that conflict is understood by community members and the way the communities themselves are perceived by the wider society.

Our research has told us that we as Canadians *imagine* that newer Canadians, or Canadians who come from places where violent conflict persists, will bring their conflicts with them in ways that threaten violence here.

But our research also tells us that in reality, Canada, as a community, is remarkably resilient – primarily because when people come here, *especially if they find themselves in inclusive environments*, they learn different ways of dealing with difference and diversity, and it changes the way they view conflict and its possible solutions.

In fairly short order, Canadians who come from conflict don't view violence in Canada as helpful to their cause, their people, or their "side" of the overseas conflict. In fact, people who come to this country from regions or countries in conflict are particularly keen *not* to replicate the violent conditions from which they fled, and they are particularly keen to live peacefully, even alongside members of the groups that would have been their adversaries in the conflict. They – that is, we – may not always achieve perfect social cohesion, but we do manage to live side-by-side, with people who once were our sworn adversaries, and over time we can even find ourselves forming meaningful, honest, trust-based relationships with them.

Social cohesion in Canada is damaged, however, when systemic racism and other barriers prevent newcomers from integrating fully – whether socially, economically, or politically – at school or at work or on the street.

When we unfairly and inaccurately stigmatize whole communities as "importers of conflict", we are misdirecting energies and resources that should be better spent on ensuring that all Canadians are fully "included" in all of the opportunities, benefits and rights that Canada has to offer. The failure to acknowledge and address such systemic issues as racism and lack of economic opportunity can, we have confirmed, undermine Canada's social cohesion in potentially serious and destructive ways.

In short, we can and must do more to ensure that when people come to Canada, they do not find themselves facing racism and stigmatization at school; barriers that prevent them from finding meaningful employment; and/or stigmatization from the very agencies that are intended to keep us safe but can undermine social cohesion and therefore our safety when they target and stigmatize Canadians because of their identity or religion.

We can and must do more to ensure that Canadians suffering the after-effects of conflict-related trauma can receive help, and that children demonstrating the symptoms of exposure to trauma, even intergenerational trauma, are not misunderstood by their teachers to be misbehaving.

We need a national conversation on the issues raised by the study – the perceptions, the misperceptions, the reality, and the nuances of the intersections of all of those things.

Our social cohesion – the glue that makes Canada work – depends on understanding these questions and getting our answers right. Perhaps the most important lesson we have for the rest of the world is our ability to have deep, thoughtful conversations about how Canada, as a community of communities, should deal with difference – including the differences that arise from conflict.

And yet we could do so much more: this study has told us that we rarely talk with our old adversaries in the context of a constructive dialogue about our different narratives, one that might help us to grow in our understanding of one another. In fact, our focus group participants told us that they are collectively wary of inter-community dialogues that might risk stirring up old problems.

That is sad, in part because it means that we are depriving ourselves of the opportunity to build trust and identify common interests and priorities with our fellow Canadians with whom we share a significant part of our history. It is perhaps even sadder that, without pursuing constructive dialogue with those Canadians, we are foregoing the opportunity to identify shared ideals and strategies for helping to bring about just and lasting peace in the overseas regions that we have in common. On the other hand, if we were to work together with our fellow Canadians and former antagonists to promote peace "back home", we would arguably be demonstrating the ultimate value of the multiculturalism that the vast majority of us hold very dear.

Perhaps this conversation begins with one of the powerful refrains of the interviews undertaken for this study: the stories of Canadians who come from conflict are the stories of the making of Canada, *just as they always have been.*

At their heart they remind us that we Canadians are a very strong and determined people. We have survived violence and bloodshed in both the distant and the more recent past. And, learning from our individual histories of of pain and conflict, we have come together to write a new, collective history of peace through pluralism and mutual respect.

>RECOMMENDATIONS

Through the Mosaic Institute's participation in the Government of Canada's Kanishka Project, we have had the opportunity to speak with and hear from almost 5,000 Canadians about their sense of their own identity, their perceptions of Canada and each other, and how, if at all, and in what form, their past experience of overseas conflict might represent a threat to Canada's safety. Apart from being an immense privilege, this has been a fascinating exercise that has adduced significant amounts of new information and data about Canadians that will not only help to guide and enrich the future work of The Mosaic Institute, but, we trust, will also be helpful to government officials, academics, civil society organizations, ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities, or anyone else with either a personal or a research-based interest in these issues.

Yet while we are hopeful that the findings of our research will generate multiple new areas of inquiry for others, and are therefore valuable in and of themselves, we are also pleased to offer the following Recommendations to Public Safety Canada as a means of both prompting some possible responses to the content of this paper, and identifying certain areas for that much-needed further research.

In generating this list, wherever possible we have tried to focus on and be cognizant of both the expanse and the limitations of the mandate and jurisdiction of Public Safety Canada and its partners in the Kanishka Project.[70] Therefore, we have refrained from directing specific Recommendations towards provincial, territorial, regional or municipal governments or other actors beyond the Government of Canada. That said, as can be seen below, some of our Recommendations do touch upon areas of jurisdiction that may fall beyond the exclusive purview of the Government of Canada (ex. education; health; social service delivery), and which therefore imply the need for the Government of Canada to engage in collaborative discussions both with their non-federal partner governments and with other interested parties in the private sector, academia, and civil society.

We also remind the reader that the purpose of this study has not been to complete an in-depth examination of particular areas of government policy or decision-making in order to arrive at a series of detailed and specific proposals for enhancing those areas. Therefore, while we have attempted to be helpful in formulating these Recommendations, we also stress that they are offered not as specific prescriptions, but, rather, as general ideas that we deem worthy of further consideration and development.

With those qualifications out of the way, and in no particular order, we are pleased to offer the following set of Recommendations to Public Safety Canada and its various partners in the Kanishka Project:

RECOMMENDATION #1:

DEVELOP PUBLIC EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MARKETING STRATEGIES TO RAISE THE PUBLIC PROFILE OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL ROUNDTABLE ON SECURITY (CCRS) SUCH THAT MORE CANADIANS FROM A WIDE DIVERSITY OF ETHNOCULTURAL COMMUNITIES ARE AWARE OF THE WORK AND PURPOSE OF THE ROUNDTABLE.

>RATIONALE:

The CCRS is an excellent example of a citizen-engagement mechanism that has natural credibility by virtue of the fact that its members come from a vast number of different regions, ethnicities, language groups, religions and walks of life. However, it is notable that, in the course of our research for this paper, wherein we spoke to hundreds of Canadians with specific relationship to conflicts that "could" have security-related implications for Canada, nobody mentioned or gave any indication of being aware of the work of the CCRS. This suggests that there is a relative lack of public awareness about this mechanism, and about the interests of the federal government in engaging constructively with those communities who themselves are concerned with or directly affected by security-related issues. This represents an opportunity to help generate a more widespread sense that the Government of Canada is seeking the input from and valuing (read, including) the voices of all Canadians.

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[70] As noted above, although administered by Public Safety Canada, the Kanishka Project is operated in collaboration with several other federal government departments, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), Justice Canada, the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC), Correctional Service of Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Transport Canada and Defense Research and Development Canada. The Kanishka Project's primary focus is on research, but it also supports other activities necessary to build and apply knowledge. The initiative is an ongoing process of learning and exploration of how research and related activities can effectively support countering terrorism, and as such invests in collaborative projects that aim to connect researchers, officials, communities, the private sector, and other partners domestically and abroad.

In other words, beyond merely providing substantive input to government and disseminating key messages to communities of Canadians, the CCRS must also be *seen* to do these things by communities that are often underrepresented within government, or that experience systemic exclusion from or at the hands of public institutions. Therefore, at the same time as it is helping to keep Canadians safer, it is also being seen by oft-marginalized communities to be interested in the views, perceptions and experiences of those communities.

RECOMMENDATION #2

ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL POLICY ENGAGEMENT AND ADVISORY MECHANISMS IN OTHER GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS MODELLED AFTER PUBLIC SAFETY CANADA'S OWN CROSS-CULTURAL ROUNDTABLE ON SECURITY (CCRS). IN PARTICULAR, ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH MECHANISMS WITHIN THOSE DEPARTMENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR POLICY AREAS WHERE EITHER REAL OR PERCEIVED SYSTEMIC BARRIERS ARE PREVENTING THE MEANINGFUL SOCIAL AND/OR ECONOMIC INTEGRATION INTO CANADIAN SOCIETY OF THOSE WITH STRONG CONNECTIONS TO CONFLICT AREAS. SUCH AREAS COULD INCLUDE, BUT NEED NOT BE LIMITED TO, LABOUR AND HUMANRESOURCES (INCLUDING THE RECOGNITION OF FOREIGN CREDENTIALS); PUBLIC HEALTH; IMMIGRATION; CITIZENSHIP; POLICING; AND CORRECTIONS.

>RATIONALE:

Public Safety Canada has arguably established a "best practice" within the Government of Canada through the establishment of the CCRS. As noted above, this mechanism brings together Canadians representing a wide variety of different ethnocultural communities both to provide strategic advice to the department on issues concerning public safety and security, and to disseminate information back to those same communities.

In this paper, we have noted the possibility that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of systemic inclusion experienced by Canadians from communities with a strong connection to armed conflict and their attachment both to Canada and to other Canadians. In other words, the more that Canadians from such communities are excluded from economic opportunity and social mobility, or perceive themselves to suffer prejudice at the hands of the state by virtue of their race or religion, the less likely they may be over time to remain strongly attached to Canada and their fellow Canadians. At an extreme, such tendencies could exacerbate or combine with other factors that might eventually lead to acts of violence. However, if members of those communities were systematically invited to participate in "cross-cultural" roundtables or other consulting mechanisms regarding such areas of public life that contribute to their perceived exclusion – including departments responsible for jobs strategies, public health, policing, etc. – and if their participants were treated as valuable contributors to and partners with the Government of Canada in its work designing policies and programs to help the people of Canada, over time it could help to reinforce those communities' commitment to Canada itself.

RECOMMENDATION #3:

EXPAND THE MISSION AND MANDATE OF THE CCRS TO SPECIFICALLY CONSIDER AND HELP TO ADDRESS BOTH THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES AND THE TRAUMA RELATED PUBLIC HEALTH ISSUES GERMANE TO COMMUNITIES OF CANADIANS WITH A STRONG PERSONAL NEXUS TO VIOLENT CONFLICT. FURTHERMORE, MAKE SPECIFIC EFFORT WHEN RECRUITING NEW MEMBERS FOR THE CCRS TO RECRUIT THOSE WITH A SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE OF AND/OR EXPERTISE IN THE EFFECTS OF CONFLICT-RELATED TRAUMA, AND/OR WITH AN EXPERTISE IN HOW TO ADDRESS SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION INTO CANADIAN LIFE OF THOSE SAME CANADIANS.

>RATIONALE:

Our research shows that Canadians with close connections to regional conflicts around the world are victimized by trauma. In fact, the trauma experienced directly by one generation can often still be felt multiple generations later. Unresolved or untreated trauma is a challenge not only to the peace and security of the sufferers, but to that of their families and the broader community. Our research also suggests that, where Canadians with a strong connection to violent conflict overseas are unable to overcome systemic socio-economic barriers to inclusion and integration in Canada, over time they become less likely to remain strongly attached to notions of Canada or to their fellow Canadians. For these reasons, we believe that both untreated, conflict-related trauma and the socio-economic barriers confronting certain communities who came to Canada to escape violent conflict should be seen as matters germane to the promotion of a comprehensive public safety strategy in Canada.

RECOMMENDATION #4:

HELP ENSURE THAT THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE IS REPRESENTATIVE OF A WIDE PLURALITY OF CANADIANS WITH CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD – INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, THOSE BESET BY REGIONAL CONFLICTS. FURTHER MORE, ENSURE THE LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT OF CIVIL SERVANTS REPRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF RACIAL, LINGUITIC, ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS SUCH THAT CANADIANS OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ARE MORE LIKELY TO ENCOUNTER GOVERMENT OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS WHO REFLECT THEIR FULL DIVERSITY AS CANADIANS.

>RATIONALE:

It is pivotal for all Canadians to be able to see themselves and their communities as contributing to decisions made on behalf of all Canadians. One way of doing this is to ensure that the federal public service is representative of the ethnocultural and ethnoreligious diversity of Canada. Where there are whole communities of Canadian with little representation in the civil service, even generations after their arrival in Canada, their sense of belonging to public life in Canada – and Canada itself – may be affected negatively. Similarly, where there are members of underrepresented communities in the federal public service, their career mobility and advancement within and across government sends an important and encouraging signal to young members of those same communities that the Canadian state values them just as highly as it does other Canadians.

RECOMMENDATION #5:

NOTWITHSTANDING THE GENERALITY OF THE FOREGOING, PUBLIC SAFETY CANADA SHOULD MAKE SPECIFIC EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY THOSE JUSTICE AND SECURITY-RELATED DEPARTMENTS, AGENCIES AND POLICE FORCES WITH WHICH CANADIANS MAY COME INTO CONTACT – INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, JUSTICE CANADA, CORRECTIONAL SERVICES OF CANADA, THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE (RCMP), AND THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (CSIS) – ARE THEMSELVES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FULL DIVERSITY OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION, AND, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THEY INCLUDE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SELF-IDENTIFY AS A MEMBER OF A COMMUNITY IN CANADA WITH A HISTORY OF CONFLICT AND/OR CONFLICT-RELATED TRAUMA.

>RATIONALE:

Many people with whom we spoke for this paper told us of either their direct experience of mistreatment or stigmatization by representatives of the federal justice and/or corrections system, or their perceptions borne of accumulated indirect experience. For instance, whole communities of young men – and the darker the skin, the more likely this was – told of how commonplace it was for them to be stopped and questioned by police officers in relation to incidents involving either property or violent crime to which they had absolutely no connection. On top of the other forms of social and economic exclusion they often face, such negative encounters with the policing or security apparatus of the Government of Canada may risk undermining some of these young Canadians' sense of attachment to this country and to other Canadians.

Therefore, it is important to have a significant critical mass of members from these communities represented within all of those federal departments and agencies that have the authority to interfere with Canadians' physical liberty.

RECOMMENDATION #6:

DEVELOP NEW, COMPREHENSIVE AND MANDATORY CULTURAL COMPETENCY TRAINING PROGRAMS TO ENSURE THAT THE PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY SECURITY-RELATED POLICE FORCES OR AGENCIES WITH WHICH CANADIANS MAY COME INTO CONTACT – INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO, THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE (RCMP) AND THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (CSIS) – ARE ADEPT AT WORKING AND COMMUNICATING EFFECTIVELY ACROSS DIFFERENT CULTURAL CONTEXTS WITHOUT STIGMATIZING PARTICLAR ETHNOCULTURAL AND ETHNORELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

>RATIONALE:

Perceptions of being stigmatized by the Canadian security apparatus were widespread amongst our interview participants. Some reported stories they had heard about friends and family facing surveillance and questioning, which they attributed solely to their belonging to targeted ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities. There is a strong and self-evident moral argument for addressing this outcome, but it is also deeply counter-productive to the maintenance of national security and social cohesion to generate these perceptions amongst communities with a history of conflict or conflict-related trauma. Stigmatization generates profound trust deficits, which in turn erode lines of communication between ethnocultural communities and the security apparatus, create psychological barriers to full social and political integration, and make policing and investigation more difficult. Avoiding stigmatization is challenging, and requires sustained, systematic education and training for security-related personnel. Cultural competency training should not only occur on an ad hoc, opt-in, or limited/short-term basis.

RECOMMENDATION #7:

ENCOURAGE, PROMOTE AND PARTICIPATE IN EFFORTS ACROSS GOVERNMENT, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CANADA, AND PRIVATE SECTOR ACTORS, TO FACILITATE THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMERS TO CANADA, INCLUDING FASTER, MORE EFFICIENT, AND MORE EQUITABLE INTERNATIONAL CREDENTIALS-REOGNITION, AND JOBS STRATEGIES TARGETED TOWARDS YOUNG PEOPLE FROM NEWCOMER COMMUNITIES.

>RATIONALE:

It is incumbent upon Public Safety Canada to recognize how economic conditions often act as the underpinnings of social cohesion problems and the lingering ill-effects of conflict on Canadian lives. Our research revealed the close relationship between socio-economic standing in Canada and individual orientations towards conflict, confirming research conducted in other countries that have suggested that economic integration is one of the most salient determinants of the persistence or relinquishing of prejudicial attitudes. People come to Canada from regions of the world beset with conflict in the interest of establishing new and better lives, and both intent on and desirous of setting aside the cleavages that marred social life in "back home" regions. Frequently, interview participants cited struggles finding employment as the greatest barrier they faced to full participation in the Canadian community, and described the ways that these challenges fed back on their social integration. In the words of one Somali Canadian participant, unemployment "makes you come back inside yourself". Although training and job strategies fall outside the ambit of Public Safety Canada, these policy areas carry heavy implications for the work and focus of the department. The relationship should be recognized, studied, and addressed.

RECOMMENDATION #8:

ENCOURAGE OFFICIALS AT CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA (CIC) TO ENSURE THAT CANADA'S IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE SYSTEM CONTINUES TO WELCOME IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. NOTWITHSTANDING THE GENERALITY OF THE FOREGOING, ENCOURAGE CIC TO RESIST ANY INCLINATION TO REDUCE OR LIMIT THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS OR REFUGEE APPLICANTS COMING TO CANADA FROM PARTS OF THE BESET BY INTER-COMMUNITY CONFLICT FOR FEAR THAT SUCH INDIVIDUALS WILL INEVITABLY "IMPORT" THEIR VIOLENT CONFLICTS WITH THEM. RATHER, CONTINUE TO ASSESS THE SECURITY THREATS POSED BY INDIVIDUAL APPLICANTS, IF ANY, ON A STRICTLY CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

>RATIONALE:

After having spoken with Canadians from multiple communities related to eight different regional conflicts on several different continents, we have found no evidence whatsoever that certain communities of Canadians import violent conflict with them to Canada. Rather, we have been struck by the uniform way in which Canadians from these many different backgrounds describe how their perspective of the conflict and of their traditional adversaries has been fundamentally altered by virtue of living in Canada in a society that is officially committed to multiculturalism and diversity. Therefore, any immigration-related policies that would, over time, undermine the diversity of Canada should be resisted.

RECOMMENDATION #9:

ENCOURAGE OFFICIALS AT CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA TO MAINTAIN OR INCREASE THE AVAILABILITY OF SETTLEMENT DOLLARS FOR COMMUNITY-BASED CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS SEEKING TO DELIVER HIGH-QUALITY LANGUAGE TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT READINESS, AND OTHER PROGRAMS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO HELP PROMOTE THE SOCIAL, LINGUISTIC AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES FROM REGIONS IN CONFLICT INTO THE CANADIAN MAINSTREAM.

>RATIONALE:

As outlined above, creating avenues for social and economic integration is essential to ensuring that the ill effects of international conflict are not experienced in Canadian communities. Often, the actors most well-positioned to facilitate inclusion and integration are civil society organizations with deep roots in particular communities, strong and diverse networks, and possessing an intimate grasp of the specific obstacles encountered by particular communities. It was also observed in the course of research that civil society organizations with service-delivery mandates often acted as important meeting places, and venues for cross-cultural dialogue and interaction. Encouraging Citizenship and Immigration Canada to provide on-going, stable and reliable support to community-based civil society organizations is one of the most direct and effective means for the Government of Canada to facilitate the social and economic integration of newcomers.

RECOMMENDATION #10:

ENCOURAGE OFFICIALS AT CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA TO REVIEW CITIZENSHIP PREPARATION MATERIALS AND PROCESSES TO PLACE GREATER EMPHASIS ON CERTAIN CORE CANADIAN VALUES RELATED TO PEACEBUILDING AND POSITIVE INTERCOMMUNITY RELATIONS. ENCOURAGE THE REVIEW AND ADAPTION OF THESE MATERIALS AND PROCESSES TO ENSURE THAT THEY SPECIFICALLY ACKNOWLEDGE CANADIANS' COMMON EXPERIENCE WITH OVERSEAS CONFLICTS, AND THE WAYS IN WHICH CANADIANS ARE EXPECTED TO FORM AMICABLE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE WHO WOULD AT ONE TIME HAVE BEEN ON THE OPPOSING SIDE OF THOSE CONFLICTS.

>RATIONALE:

Shared values are profoundly important to the condition of social cohesion. Our survey discovered that Canada has done a good job of facilitating the acquisition of ostensibly Canadian values amongst newcomers, and also that newcomers to Canada are willing and keen to take on core Canadian values at an individual and community level. We have argued that no meaningful values cleavage exists between newcomers and longer-established Canadians, but our success is not reason to discontinue the practice of promoting Canadian values in citizenship preparation materials. In particular, our research has suggested that there is deep practical value in emphasizing Canadian models for openness, respect, and conflict resolution – from federalism and bilingualism, to multiculturalism and international peacekeeping. This national orientation towards consensus-building and peaceful management of identity-based cleavages is taken seriously by newcomers, who reflect it in their own orientation towards traditional adversaries. It is also important to ensure that a broad diversity of experiences are reflected in our official telling of "Canadian stories" – via citizenship educational materials, and other platforms where Canada is presented to prospective or recent immigrants. Doing so clarifies expectations for newcomers, and projects and openness on the part of the Canadian community to their full inclusion and participation. In the words of a Tamil Canadian interview participant: "This is my story and it is a Canadian story."

RECOMMENDATION #11:

WORK WITH HEALTH CANADA, AS WELL AS WITH PROVINCIAL AND TERRITORIAL AUTHORITIES WHERE APPROPRIATE, TO FUND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY-APPROPRIATE MENTAL HEALTH STRATEGIES AND TREATMENTS FOR CANADIANS' PAST EXPOSURE TO OR EXPERIENCE OF TRAUMA RELATED TO CONFLICT. THE RELEVANT GOVERNMENT ACTORS SHOULD ALSO EXPLORE THE POTENTIAL FOR INTRODUCING AND/OR STRENGTHENING TRAUMA COUNSELLING SERVICE OFFERINGS WITHIN COMMUNITY-BASED CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS, WHERE THEY WILL BE READILY ACCESSIBLE TO AND CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE FOR 1ST, 1.5, AND 2ND GENERATION CANADIANS WITH CONNECTIONS TO CONFLICT-AFFECTED REGIONS OF THE WORLD, IN RECOGNITION OF THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPORTED TRAUMA AND SOCIAL COHESION.

>RATIONALE:

One of the central findings of our study is that Canada imports trauma – trauma borne by Canadians with personal or family connections to multiple sites of conflict around the world, which can have a profound impact on individual lives and community cohesion over time. We were also told that insufficient resources exist to respond to the lasting emotional and psychological impact of conflict. In many large Canadian cities, civil society organizations exist with mandates to assist the victims of torture. This work should be supported, and broadened to encompass general experiences of war or civil conflict. An effective strategy for addressing trauma must also include recognition of the fact that even those without first-hand experience of war, including 2nd generation Canadians, have often inherited trauma because parents and other community members have been impaired by their own trauma, or simply from hearing stories about suffering on the part of family and community members. It must also recognize that methods for addressing trauma are highly culture-specific, and interventions must be catered to specific ethnocultural and ethnoreligious communities.

RECOMMENDATION #12:

WORK WITH PROVINCIAL, TERRITORIAL, MUNICIPAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY PARTNERS TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL STRATEGY FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH THAT SPECIFICALLY ACKNOWLEDGES AND ADDRESSES MANY CANADIANS' CONNECTION TO OR EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENT INTER-COMMUNITY CONFLICT OVERSEAS. NOTWITHSTANDING THE GENERALITY OF THE FOREGOING, SUCH A STRATEGY SHOULD PROMOTE THE HIRING OF MORE TEACHERS FROM RACIALIZED BACKGROUNDS, AND IN PARTICULAR FROM ETHNORELIGIOUS OR ETHNOCULTURAL COMMUNITIES WHO COME FROM CONFLICT; REQUIRE ALL TEACHERS, SCHOOL, AND SCHOOL BOARD OFFICIALS TO UNDERGO SENSITIVITY TRAINING WITH REGARD TO CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT TRAUMA; AND INCLUDE THE CREATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIALIZED EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM THAT (I) FEATURES A FAIR AND BALANCED ACCOUNTING OF THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF GLOBAL CONFLICTS; (II) CONSIDERS THE WAYS IN WHICH THOSE CONFLICTS HAVE AFFECTED VARIOUS COMMUNITIES OF CANADIANS; AND (III) PROMOTES THE STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AND AMONG CANADIANS WITH CONNECTIONS TO ALL SIDES OF THOSE CONFLICTS.

>RATIONALE:

Schools are critically important spaces in which Canadians learn to respect and get along with people who are different from themselves, even if they don't agree with one another. Over and over again, respondents in our study emphasized just how important these lessons are, both in terms of ensuring an inclusive curriculum and an inclusive learning environment. It is, therefore, vital that teachers recognize post-trauma reactions and not misdiagnose them as "bad" behaviour that requires punishment, and that teachers and school officials have the kind of anti-racism, anti-oppression training that will allow them to create inclusive learning environments.

There are already some excellent examples of civil society actors working with public Boards of Education to address such issues. To cite just one, the Mosaic Institute has worked in partnership with several large Boards of Education in Ontario and British Columbia to develop and deliver curriculum that promotes an enthusiastic commitment to the principles underlying Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This same curriculum encourages students from different sides of historical conflicts to engage in honest discussions about the issues underlying those conflicts, and to discuss potential "made in Canada" responses to them. Finally, the curriculum encourages young people from a wide variety of communities, including many with a history of conflict with one another, to work together to demonstrate their "common, Canadian commitment" to global citizenship by implementing globally-focused community service projects together that work to address one or more of the issues confronting their communities' home regions overseas. his program or others like it could be "scaled up" in order to benefit more young Canadians.

RECOMMENDATION #13:

WORK WITH PROVINCIAL, TERRITORIAL, AND CIVIL SOCIETY PARTNERS TO DEVELOP, FUND AND IMPLEMENT A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO ASSIST YOUTH AND YOUNG ADULTS FROM CONFLICT-AFFECTED REGIONS OF THE WORLD TO OVERCOME STRUCTURAL BARRIERS TO ACCESSING POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION.

>RATIONALE:

Just as the public education system is an engine for fostering Canadian values, so too does postsecondary education act as a particularly critical venue for promoting intercultural dialogue and understanding. Post-secondary education is a uniquely important site precisely because universities and colleges often introduce young people to new ideas, perspectives, and to their contemporaries belonging to other groups. At the same time, it challenges their perceptions and understanding of homeland conflicts. Several of our participants cited their postsecondary experiences as integral in helping them to re-conceptualize old conflicts. In the words of one Eritrean Canadian woman: "In university I made friends from both sides; we were trying to build bridges and to build a better life ... " Moreover, postsecondary education provides an important social mobility function that can help to overcome the economic conditions favouring conflict, which have been identified elsewhere.

RECOMMENDATION #14:

IN COOPERATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TRADE, AND DEVELOPMENT, ESTABLISH NEW INFORMATIONAL ACCESS POINTS, INCLUDING ONLINE AND TELEPHONE RESOURCES, WHICH ALLOW CANADIANS TO ACCESS INFORMATION MAINTAINED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA ABOUT ONGOING CONFLICT, AS WELL AS INQUIRE AFTER FRIENDS AND FAMILY MEMBERS IN THEATRES OF CONFLICT OVERSEAS.

>RATIONALE:

Making the knowledge resources of the Government of Canada available to all Canadians, and especially Canadians with personal, family and community connections to regions affected by conflict can be an effective way of cultivating trust and opening lines of communication. Interview participants and survey respondents identified ongoing security concerns for friends and family in theatres of conflict overseas as a leading way that global conflict negatively affects their lives in Canada. In many jurisdictions across the world, governments are moving towards instituting systematic mechanisms for diasporic and transnational interactions, either through independent institutions or by building atop existing international relations infrastructure such as embassies and consulates. The Government of Canada can be an innovator in this area, by developing tools to assist Canadians both at home and abroad with accessing people and information in the context of global conflict. The additional value of these established channels is that they can create a two-way flow of information that may improve the Government of Canada's ability to identify and account for Canadian citizens in theatres of conflict.

RECOMMENDATION #15:

ENCOURAGE AND FINANCIALLY SUPPORT COMMUNITY-DRIVEN AND/OR CIVIL SOCIETY-LED INITIATIVES TO BUILD AND REINFORCE BRIDGES OF COMMUNICATION AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN CANADIANS FROM COMMUNITIES REPRESENTING DIFFERENT SIDES OF VIOLENT CONFLICTS, WITH A PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THOSE INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO BOTH INCREASE SOCIAL COHESION HERE IN CANADA, AND TO PROMOTE PEACE THROUGH PLURALISM OVERSEAS.

>RATIONALE:

Anyone who reads the foregoing report as implying that, because Canadians do not import violent conflict, there is no need to undertake additional efforts to improve relationships between or among communities with a shared history of violent conflict, has missed the point. In part, this is because our research also confirms that Canadians from communities connected to violent conflicts overseas often remain "invested" in those conflicts. Moreover, some of those same Canadians who repudiate the use of violence to resolve their inter-community conflicts here in Canada continue to view violent strategies as acceptable for use overseas. In other words, even if they are living peaceably beside their one-time adversaries here in Canada, some Canadians may actually be seen as enemies of peace overseas.

Therefore, the need is even greater for the Government of Canada to encourage and support civil society partners and community-based organizations to design and implement specific initiatives to build trust between and among communities divided by overseas conflict. Such efforts, when successful, cannot only strengthen relationships between Canadians of different backgrounds – the whole purpose of multiculturalism – but also inspire those communities to begin to work together to adopt strategies for addressing the root causes of their common conflict overseas. In this way, such Canadians working together can become part of the solution, rather than helping to perpetuate the problem either by action or omission.

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