

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF STATELESSNESS IN CANADA:  
A STUDY OF NATIONAL MEDIA 1930-2011

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ABSTRACT

To explore notions of knowledge production and narratives of truth surrounding statelessness in Canada, this study employs a mixed quantitative and qualitative methodology to a media analysis of 616 newspaper articles from Canada's two largest national newspapers, *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. Within a social constructivist analytical framework, it finds that using citizenship as a tool to divide 'us' from 'them', statelessness is constructed in such a way that reinforces power relations between those who belong in Canada and those who do not. This divide is achieved via the construction of the stateless person as the 'other' in Canadian society, the ill-recognition of statelessness as a phenomenon in and of itself, and thirdly, the construction of statelessness contributes to a blurring of the definitional clarity of statelessness, further complicating our understanding of statelessness as a separate and distinct form of status in the Canadian context.

Keywords: statelessness, stateless person, Canada, social construction, settlement

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## Introduction

As one of the top-destination resettlement countries in the world, Canada keeps very little data on, and provides inadequate legislative provisions for, its stateless persons - those who are without citizenship of any country. Given that there are 12 million stateless persons in the world without such citizenship, and therefore without political, economic, social and legal rights, this is a perplexing aspect of Canadian immigration and settlement policy. This paper, therefore, seeks to understand the influences of these legislative and policy gaps and is concerned with the place that stateless persons occupy in the hierarchy of belonging in Canada. Specifically, it asks how stateless people have been constructed within national newspaper media in Canada, and how this construction has impacted the way Canadians regard statelessness and subsequently, stateless persons. Secondly, this paper explores the implications of the construction of statelessness in Canada on the settlement experiences of stateless persons in Canada.

This paper, therefore, explores the social construction of statelessness in the Canadian context with an examination of two national newspapers from 1930-2011. Through a mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis of 616 newspaper articles written in the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* over an 82 year time span, this study uses a social constructivist analytical framework to explore notions of knowledge production and narratives surrounding statelessness in Canada. This study approaches the subject matter in a unique way by utilizing social constructivism as the framework for a quantitative and qualitative mixed methods approach to a large body of data.

This paper argues that statelessness is constructed in specific ways in Canadian national media that must be considered when investigating both the legislative gaps that stateless persons fall into as well as their resettlement experiences. It finds that using citizenship as a tool to divide 'us' from 'them', statelessness is constructed in such a way that reinforces power relations between those who 'belong' in Canada and those who do not. This divide is achieved via the construction of the stateless person as the 'other' in Canadian society, occupying the lowest position in Canada's hierarchy of belonging. Secondly, statelessness is applied to persons or groups of people, and is rarely recognized as a phenomenon in and of itself. Thirdly, the construction of statelessness contributes to a blurring of the definitional clarity of statelessness, further complicating our understanding of statelessness as a separate and distinct form of status in the Canadian context. As a result settlement in Canada of stateless persons is built upon a discriminatory, misunderstood and ill-defined foundation.

The first section of this paper addresses the research problem influencing this study. The second section outlines the social constructivist analytical framework employed throughout this study. Section three reviews the literature concerning the construction of those within the hierarchy of belonging in Canada. Section four outlines the research questions, followed by an outline of the study's mixed methodological approaches in section five. The sixth section details the findings of this study, with a discussion that follows in section seven. Section eight provides a set of policy recommendations followed by areas of further research in section nine. This paper concludes in section ten.

## I. Research Problem

Employing a methodological approach using national newspapers in Canada, this research study seeks to understand how the construction of statelessness in Canada has impacted the way Canadians regard statelessness and stateless persons in Canada. In addition the paper will explore the implications of the construction of statelessness in Canada on the settlement experiences of stateless persons in Canada.

International law holds that a person is deemed 'stateless' if no state considers her or him to be a citizen under the "operation of its law" (UNHCR 1954, 1). This is manifested in two ways: *de jure* statelessness, when no state law recognizes the person as a citizen, and secondly, *de facto* statelessness, when the person is, in theory, entitled to citizenship but is not recognized as such under the application of state law (CCR 2009, 2). Statelessness affects an estimated 12 million people worldwide, and "although stateless people may sometimes also be refugees, the two categories are distinct and both groups are of concern to UNHCR" (UNHCR 2013).

Statelessness can occur in a myriad of ways. These include "discrimination against minority groups in nationality legislation, failure to include all residents in the body of citizens when a state becomes independent (state succession) and conflicts of laws between states" (UNHCR 2013). How statelessness is addressed nationally is guided by principles in international law. Article 15 (1) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* states "everyone has the right to a nationality" (UN 1948). The United Nations has produced two Conventions on statelessness, The 1954 *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* and the 1961 *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*. These Conventions stipulate the rights and responsibilities of stateless peoples and the states in which they reside. Canada is a party to the 1961



Convention but is not a party to the preceding 1954 *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*. Though Canada is not a signatory to the 1954 Convention, stateless persons are protected under Section 7 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guarantees the fundamental right of everyone to “life, liberty and security of the person, and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice”. Despite Canada’s liberal citizenship policy, those who “have no nationality and are not recognized as refugees or protected persons, remain very vulnerable” (Brouwer 2012, 9).

According to Brouwer “It is this group of individuals, albeit small, who face the greatest problems in Canada and elsewhere. They are vulnerable and marginalized” (2012, 12).

Brouwer (2012) outlines the series of gaps in Canadian legislation in which stateless persons in

Canada fall:

- Canada’s *Citizenship Act* creates the possibility for statelessness by imposing “a limit on the ability of parents to pass on Canadian citizenship to their children” (11)
- Canada’s legislation “makes no specific provision for the protection of non-refugee stateless persons” (37)
- Canadian legislation does not acknowledge “the unique situation and vulnerability of stateless persons” (37)
- Statelessness, distinct from stateless refugees, is not a path to legal status. In other words, a stateless person who is *not* a refugee cannot be admitted to Canada, *because s/he is stateless* (38).
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) data collection does not correlate to data collected by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) (38)
- CIC, IRB and Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) do not collect adequate data on demographic information, and detention, and deportations
- Canada does not include non-refugee stateless persons in its resettlement programs (51)
- No provisions are made for stateless persons in the context of removal. For example, there are no provisions that take into consideration “the likely status of a stateless person in the receiving country” (54).
- Statelessness is not recognized as a category eligible for humanitarian and compassionate (H&C) applications (48). Stateless applicants must, therefore, meet the normal requirements for being granted H&C consideration, including the ‘establishment’ factor, posing difficulty because of precarious status.

These realities that stateless persons face in Canada are unlike those faced by any other category of migrant. Not having status as a permanent resident or a citizen in Canada can leave stateless persons ineligible to leave Canada and ineligible to enter any other country. If stateless persons are able to leave Canada they have no right of return (Brouwer 2012, 13). They are also ineligible to bring their children and spouses to Canada, cannot access subsidized health care, student loans, have difficulties in obtaining legal and legitimate employment and are often forced to live in sub-standard housing. In addition stateless persons in Canada are subject to lengthy detention (Brouwer 2012, 38). For Brouwer “If there is one overarching conclusion to be drawn from this review of international and Canadian law and policy with respect to statelessness, it is that the stateless person remains essentially invisible. Canada’s laws and policies read as if statelessness does not exist outside the refugee context” (2012, 64). These realities suggest that stateless persons do not enjoy protection in Canada under section 15 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which stipulates “Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability” (15(1)).

It is these findings that influence this study. Questions emerging from these findings are: what has influenced these legislative gaps? What is the discourse of statelessness in Canadian government and public domains? How has statelessness been understood and addressed in

Canada throughout history? In order to explore these questions this study employs an analytical framework founded upon social constructivist theory.

## II. Analytical Framework

As a theoretical attempt at understanding how knowledge is produced, social constructivism has its roots in education and psychology. Thomas Kuhn writes “It is the realization that knowledge is never neutral, that the ways in which knowledge is mediated and created are as dynamic and important as the knowledge itself” (Cited by O’Leary 1998, 54). For the purpose of this study, however, it is necessary to employ social constructivism as it relates to international relations theory and political philosophy. The core tenet of social constructivism in this domain concerns “how ideas define the international structure that constructs the identities, interests, and foreign policy practices of states, how state and non-state actors reproduce that structure – and at times transform it” (Barnett 2005, 252). Fincham states “knowledge of the nation is not simply handed down to individuals by governments. Rather, ‘citizens’ construct stories of the nation and are in turn constructed by these available cultural narratives. In this way, members of the nation are co-producers in the construction of meaning (2012, 309). Furthermore, “As nations are social constructs, it is through the construction and performance of a symbolic image of the community that a nation’s uniqueness and difference from other nations is maintained” (2012, 308). Duncan argues that “states fashion their political self on the example set by ideational hegemons; significant others with similar identities; and in relation to the international community as a whole. Norms are generally defined as ‘a standard

of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity". As such, norms play an important role in states' domestic and international policies" (2012, 73).

Social constructivism theory holds that "things we typically take for granted (e.g. the objectivity of scientific facts) are actually products of contingent social processes" (Khalifa 2010, 46). Furthermore, truth "hinges on social conditions" (*Ibid.*) and evolves over time and space. This is a shift in paradigm, and reflects a change in one way of thinking to another. Kuhn claimed that "scientific progress [and, therefore, knowledge production] occurs not by evolving through a steady, linear accumulation of facts, but through sudden and strife-ridden successions of paradigms, or ways of looking at the world" (Cited by O'Leary 1998, 54). It is in this context that this paper seeks to contribute to the literature on statelessness, in both the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon, and the practical reality of statelessness in the Canadian context.

Constructivism holds that there are core aspects to knowledge production. Dewey calls language the 'tool of tools', and treats "logic as a tool of purposeful action", both of which are instrumental in the meaning of knowledge (Cited by Weber, 2010, 57). Social facts are "those things whose existence is dependent upon human agreement and... taken for granted" (Barnett 2005, 259). Rules define and regulate practices of actors, power relations and appropriate behaviour, and subsequently influence norms. Norms are evolutionary in the political process and become institutionalized over time (Barnett 2005, 265). Barkin states that inter-subjectivity is a core component of constructivism, in that we "hold ideas and understandings in common" in a subjective way (2010, 27). This inter-subjectivity of social facts, rules and norms manifest the co-constitution of ideas and relations. In other words, "constructivism gives

neither agents, nor structures ontological priority, but that these simultaneously constitute each other” (2010, 28). It is these reciprocal relationships between these tools of production and productions of truths that allow for the construction of power relations. Michel Foucault writes the “‘manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body’ cannot ‘be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, and circulation and functioning of a discourse’ and that we ‘are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth’” (Cited by Austin 2010, 21).

This study uses constructivism theory because it answers a specific set of questions, which are identified below. Barnett argues “social construction denaturalizes what is taken for granted, asks questions about the origins of what is now accepted as a fact of life and considers the alternative pathways that might have produced and can produce alternative worlds” (2005, 263). In addition, “constructivists attempt to recover the meanings that actors give to their practices and the objects that they construct” (Barnett 2005, 260). Weber summarizes Rawls’ claim that “the aim of political philosophy, when it presents itself in the public culture of a democratic society, is to articulate and to make explicit those shared notions and principles thought to be latent in common sense” (Weber 2010, 58). As John Ruggie says “constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life” (Barnett 2005, 258), social constructivism is able to adhere to its human rights obligations.

This study approaches the understanding of the social construction of statelessness in Canada by utilising a quantitative and a qualitative methodology to a media analysis of two Canadian national newspapers. As an analysis of media can uncover several overlapping

themes, it is useful to apply an analytical framework that allows for intersectional analysis across gender, ethnicity, and social and power relations across time. Social constructivism allows for a rounded dissection of these different realities.

Because of the interpretative nature of social constructivism, its use in analysing quantitative data has been criticized. The methodology employed in this study allows for social constructivism, however, to unpack and make sense of a large body of both quantitative and qualitative data. It provides an avenue through which the reciprocal processes of how public policy has changed the construction of statelessness, and vice versa, can be illuminated. Social constructivism allows for the deconstruction of narratives over time, providing an appropriate tool through which to analyse a large quantitative body of narratives. While other theoretical frameworks offer ways of understanding “relationship[s] between actors and their environment”, social constructivism makes claims about the choices that influence these relationships (Barnett 2005, 258). In other words, constructivism holds that not only do these preferences and objectives change over time, but that by which they are influenced must also be taken into account. As this study is concerned with human rights and notions of inclusion, and these concepts have changed dramatically over time and continue to do so, a qualitative and quantitative approach of social constructivism is best utilized in this context.

### III. Literature Review

In order to understand how the ‘other’ has been created and sustained in Canadian society, a literature review explores the social construction of the ‘other’ in Canada and specifically within Canada’s hierarchy of belonging.

### *The Construction of Canadian Identity*

It is no secret that Canada's history is founded upon and sustained by an immigration fuelled nation-building exercise (Biles, John, Meyer Burnstein, and James Frideres 2008; Duncan, Natasha T. 2012; Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller 2003; Lacroix, M. 2004; Siemiatycki, Myer 2010; Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010). It is also no secret that Canada's multiculturalism policy "did not stem from an expansive understanding of Canada's manifold diversity. Rather it came from attempts to solve long-standing tensions between French and English Canada by way of a 'bicultural' and 'bilingual' framework" (Chazan, *et al*, 2011, 2). Chazan *et al* argue that multiculturalism is a socially constructed attempt at mitigating English and French conflicts. Eva Mackey writes that the "development of a pluralist national identity was a flexible strategy developed to manage diverse populations" (2002, 3). She argues that

"contrary to the common sense that circulates about national identity and cultural pluralism in Canada, national identity is not so much in a constant state of crisis, but that the reproduction of 'crisis' allows the national to be a site of a constantly regulated politics of identity. Institutions of the state constantly enact policies to intervene in the production of identity and culture". Furthermore, that the "complex patterns of colonisation and cultural and economic development that created Canada have resulted in a situation in which the multiple identities which make up the nation are constantly at battle with each other, and in which the boundaries, inclusions and exclusions of identity are unstable and constantly changing" (2002, 13).

Winter challenges Canada's pluralist strategy: "Pluralism [in Canada is] a negotiated compromise. It reveals that the 'multicultural we' is, in fact, constructed as a triangular relation where the compromise between two, often unequal, groups becomes meaningful only through the presence of third person. Pluralism is thus best understood as overlapping and dynamic sets of triangular relations, where the conditional association between 'us' and 'others' is rendered possible through the exclusion of 'them'" (2011, 6). This echoes Mackey's sentiment

that the insider/outsider dichotomy is created strategically to manage Canadian politics (2002, 14). Caron and Laforest state that since the multiculturalism era, Canada executes a 'Trudeauist' federalist vision in which multinational diversity is neither recognized nor accommodated (2009, 36). Manning (2003) echoes this sentiment in her reading of "the language of the nation... [demonstrating] the ways in which nationalism and the discourses of exclusion it generates are contained within and contaminated by this vocabulary of (dis)qualification" (xvi). She reveals the myth of Canadian benevolence as it disguises the practices in Canadian policy of "us and them" (2003, vxii).

#### *The Construction of First Nations and Quebecois*

How 'us and them' is manifested in the context of multinational Canada is revealed in several works. Austin writes that despite Canada's master-narrative consisting of two founding nations – France and Britain – there are two opposing versions. Quebec's version of the narrative depicts the founding nations as unequal and separate, while Canada's version maintains the two's coexistence and solidarity. Austin states, however, that "[b]oth narratives provide fertile soil for the modern exclusion of non-White groups (2010, 27). Kymlicka states that the Canadian constitution is intentionally vague so as to allow Canada and Quebec to both advocate and interpret their distinct conceptions of nationalism (1998, 5). The Quebec society is denied and "does not exist as a collective political entity, autonomous and differentiated. Its unique character is only significant to the extent that it is fundamental for the well-being of Canada" (Rocher *et al*, 2001, 195).



This master narrative both strategically masks and facilitates a hierarchy of 'Canadian', one that embodies tiered places that specific people occupy. First Nations peoples in Canada have always been the 'other', occupying a place lower than the Quebecker in this hierarchy of belonging. Austin writes that Canada's multicultural narrative "ultimately treats non-Whites as a kind of natural environment, outside of history and in need of taming. In this process, First Nations are both negated and, expediently, recognised. In what might be described as Canada's Indigenous policy of recognition, First Nations' collective rights and identities are at times acknowledged by the state in return for, as Glen Coulthard argues, tacit recognition and legitimisation of the state's authority – but only in so far as Indigenous claims to land and identity do not fundamentally threaten state-corporate interest" (Cited by Austin 2010, 22). This strategic recognition is evident in official government discourse. In preparation of the centennial celebrations of 1967, the Canadian government released a policy paper in 1964 on First Nations and their identities in the Canadian landscape. Mackey writes of the 'failure' of the Canadian government to define First Nations cultures "means that they do not fit into any group in Canadian society, either of the two 'founding races' of Canada, or the 'third area' (immigrant/ethnic groups). [...] Defining native people, and accounting for their difference and marginalisation became part of a process of managing them. It is part of the process of prodding them to reach the 'level of organisational structure (European style) which would make it possible for government to deal with them'. Recognising difference, then, was integrally linked to state management of difference" (2002, 62).

How First Nations are 'managed' becomes evident when exploring how perceptions of First Nations peoples are formed. In their study on the engagement of First Nations women in

health care policy in British Columbia, Fiske and Browne find that public discourse “such as those that occur in the justice system, the media, social services, and debates and negotiations about the sovereignty of First Nations saturate our consciousness and shape the public’s view of Aboriginal peoples and their behaviour as moral or immoral, and deserving or undeserving, both as citizens and as medical subjects (2008, 12). Retzlaff finds that “In the mass media of the dominant Euro-Canadian discourse Native people and their issues are either omitted altogether, or presented mostly in a negative light in stereotypical roles. When covering Aboriginal issues, non-Native newspapers often reduce the complexity of Aboriginal histories to ‘problems’: the ‘Indian land problem,’ the ‘unemployed Indian problem’ or the ‘Indian self-government problem’” (2006, 26). Harding builds upon these analyses in arguing that “A primary function of the media is to construct the *common sense* that audiences use to interpret news. Content analysis of [...] news texts indicates that common sense about Aboriginal people is constructed by the media in ways that preclude their being “ready” to exercise complete control over their lives” (2005, 311). Perceptions of First Nations peoples are formed by discourse that results in a status-quo understanding of the ‘true’ characteristics of this group.

### *The Construction of the Immigrant*

Immigrants are also constructed in strategic ways within Canada’s hierarchy of belonging. Folsom concisely summarizes the foundations for nationalist narratives concerning immigrants: “Citizenship and exile built the basis for inclusion and exclusion, and migrants increasingly found themselves at the hard end of the contradictions of nationalist ideologies” (2004, 21). Peter Li expands this argument in addressing how immigrants are assessed and ultimately categorized in Canadian society. He states “Assessments of immigrants and their influence on

Canadian society are contingent not only on immigrants' social features, but also on who the assessors are and what conceptual yardstick they use to benchmark immigrants" (2003, 38). He argues immigrants are socially constructed and this "has a serious bearing on the outcome of the assessment" (2003, 38). He argues that immigrants are socially constructed into three categories: bureaucratically via classes and various paths of entry into Canada; analytically, whereby the migrant is categorized as first, second generation immigrant, via legal status and class; and thirdly, the folk version of categorization distinguishes immigrants by foreign-ness, and relationship to Canadian cultural values and social markings. These different ways of constructing the immigrant "mean that there are rather different expectations placed on immigrants depending on the specific social value being emphasized" (Li 2003, 56). This categorization encourages us to question how ethnicity and gender are constructed and where these characteristics fit in the assessment of the immigrant.

This categorization strategy was adopted at the beginning of Canada's history, and is still practiced today. Throughout Canada's history, Canada has explicitly preferred some immigrants over others, constructing the undesirable as threats to economic stability, security, cultural and religious stability, among others. In the 1930s, for example, "four preferred classes of immigrants were designated: British subjects with adequate financial means from the UK, Ireland and four other domains of the crown; US citizens; dependants of permanent residents of Canada; and agriculturalists" (Castles and Miller 2003, 58). In the early 1900s the Indian immigrant was not desired, but still placed above other non-British subject migrants (Sharma 2004, 37).

Sharma writes a compelling account of the construction of the immigrant woman in Canada: “It is important to understand [the] particular historical construction of South Asian women, only as spouses and daughters of South Asian men, because it contrasts with, for example, the way Black Caribbean women or Filipinas were later constructed as domestics, nurses and nannies. These latter women have been constructed as independent migrants and were in fact not allowed to bring spouses or children. Therefore, they are only seen as responsible for the cultivation for *ethnic* communities but never as mothers of a Canadian nation” (2003, 41). Sakamoto *et al* find in their examination of public discourse through English-language print media in Toronto, that “recurring discourses construct “desirable” immigrants, often through archetypes of “successful”, “humble” and “unlucky” immigrants. While print media may involve multiple voices, it represents immigrants largely as a problem to be solved within the legal and social policy context” (2013, 1). These studies highlight the strategic categorization of the immigrant based upon Canadian nation-building interests.

### *The Construction of the Migrant Worker*

Canadian immigration policy, as outlined above, “has bent sharply to accommodate market interests and principles” with immigrants as “economic inputs paying their own settlement and integration costs” (Siemiatycki 2010, 62). The employer controlled and disposable migrant workforce is a state-constructed labour market, and has been achieved through strategic governing measures in order to weaken the labour force, including “cuts to social assistance and employment insurance, erosion of collective bargaining and employment standards legislation” (*Ibid.*). Nandita Sharma argues that through these labour constructs, Canada has

consequently produced a category of people “we have come to know as migrant workers” (2001, 425). Sharma outlines that migrant workers are used as a “cheap and largely unprotected form of labour power” by way of their inherent qualities and because of the “state regulations that render them powerless. Since they have been categorized as non-immigrants, people admitted as migrant workers do not have many of the either *de facto* or *de jure* social, economic or political rights associated with Canadian citizenship” (2001, 425-6). Valerie Molina argues that migrant workers are constructed as “a market commodity with a restricted, normative and economic functionality” but remain “forever excluded from the national imagination” – that which “protects and encompasses national values and identities and, as such, should be understood as a way of sanctifying a particular culture” (2011, 37). She goes further by stating the “government’s negative representation of non-status workers is conveniently constructed to avoid policy changes and consequently sustains the irregular movement of migrants” (2011, iii).

Bidone-Kramer highlights Ramsome’s argument that Canadian government discourse surrounding migrant workers and the debate concerning low and high-skilled workers, “becomes embedded ‘into the material practices and institutions of the society’” and allows the state to exercise power over these groups of people (2011, 36-7). Bidone-Kramer states that it is the government’s representation of this dichotomy that serves to delineate further understandings of who is ‘skilled’ enough to be temporary and who is not (2011, 36-7). In their study on public discourse on foreign farm workers in Ontario, Bauder and Corbin discover “a set of complex and dynamic representations of foreign farm workers in Ontario. Public discourse represents foreign farm workers not only as new consumers and friendly customers, but also as

labour that competes with locals for their jobs, as exploited workers, or as threat to local culture” (2002, 3). Sharma argues that it is the “acceptance of the oppositional categories of citizen/migrant worker [that] helps to secure the organisation of ‘difference’ within Canada, where difference is constructed as diversity but hides the reality of substantive inequality. The notion of citizen, then, needs to be understood as the dominant, oppressive half of a binary code of negative dualities. As such, the notion of citizenship is not a philosophical absolute but the mark of a particular kind of *relationship* that people have with one another” (2001, 418-9).

### *The Construction of the Refugee*

Refugees, too, are constructed in a particular way within the hierarchy of belonging in Canada. Laura Anne McDonough states that “Refugees/asylum-seekers represent a socially constructed, universally discriminated against group of people in nation-states all over the world... [R]efugees are subject to discriminatory policies, intended to mitigate the socially constructed [political, economic and cultural] threat[s] they represent” (2009, 2). The logic of the threat is evident when exploring nation-state ‘gatekeeper’ ideology. Lacroix writes that refugee claimants in Canada are confronted both “with practices stemming from a ‘gatekeeper’ ideological position reminding them that they were but refugee claimants, and with the official discourse of Canada’s openness to refugees” (2004, 164). Furthermore, Lacroix argues that “Everyday political practices towards refugees in Canada reflect not only how the state relates to the uprooted, but also the question of how, in the long term, refugees will be incorporated into the polity” (2004, 164).

Everyday political practices are translated into the construction of the refugee through what Esses and Hodson outline as a hostile and dehumanizing process (2008, 5). The authors argue that “individuals who are higher in social dominance orientation were especially likely to dehumanize refugees by perceiving them as less characterized by human qualities of morality” (16). In addition, they “expressed more negative emotions toward refugees, which resulted in more negative attitudes toward refugees and toward Canada’s current refugee policy” (*Ibid.*). They also found that the Canadian media played a crucial role in influencing perceptions of refugees, and consequently, support for Canadian refugee policy (2008, 21). This study brings to light the role that class plays in the construction of the ‘other’. In her textual analysis of Canadian and Trinidadian newspapers’ discourse surrounding Indo-Trinidadian refugees, Siew finds “these refugees were casted [sic] as bogus and fraudulent refugees, who used visa permits to escape Trinidad’s economic recession and the decline of the agricultural sector (2012, 2). Klocker and Dunn conducted a content analysis of Australian government media releases and newspaper reporting in 2001 and 2002, and revealed “the unrelentingly negative way in which the federal government portrayed asylum seekers. While the government’s negative tenor was constant during the period under study, the specific terms of reference altered, from ‘threat’ through ‘other’, to ‘illegality’ and to ‘burden’. The negative construction of asylum seekers was clearly mutable” (2003, 71). It is made apparent in this study the importance of language in discourse, specifically how the construction process is fluid and contextualized.

In their 140-million-word corpus of UK press articles published between 1996 and 2005, Gabrielatos and Baker examine “the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers”

and find “the analyses point to a number of (mainly negative) categories of representation, the existence and development of nonsensical terms (e.g., *illegal refugee*), and media confusion and conflation of definitions” (2008, 5). On the global scale, Franke explores the practice of mapping refugees as a technological initiative employed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Franke argues that citizenship spatializes citizens against refugees: “There are no rights-bearing subjects *per se*, who simply enjoy life within sites that happen to be free, but only subjects whose rights become recognisable in relations that situated them as free against their others” (2008, 353). The refugee cannot be mapped, as the refugee is constantly negotiating her/his identity within the realm of human rights, and more narrowly, within the realm of the nation-state’s understanding of refugeeness (2008, 358). While Gabrielatos and Baker identify the practices and developments of definitional (un)clarity, Franke brings to light the importance of understanding identity and place as a matter of context, with identity constructions changing between international and national spaces.

### *The Construction of the Stateless*

There are several studies of the political construction of statelessness all over the world (Blitz and Lynch, 2011; on Sri Lanka and Assam, Subramanya 1989; on Ethiopia-Eritrea, Southwick, 2009; on Dominican Republic, Wooding, 2008; on Bangladesh, Hussain, 2009; on Kuwait, Beaugrand 2011; on Greece, Gruberg, 2011; on Vanuatu, Rawlings, 2012).

There are few studies, however, exploring the *social* construction of statelessness (Blitz 2011, 453). Linda Kerber writes that “statelessness is the formal description of lack. But statelessness is also a condition that changes over time, dynamically created and re-created by



sovereignties in their own interests, defining the vulnerable in ways that affirm the invulnerable, and in the process revealing changing domestic values and changing power relations across international boundaries” (2007, 9). Kerber outlines that the United States defined Aboriginal Peoples conveniently as ‘foreign’, then ‘organised in force’, then ‘led by chiefs’, then ‘resembling a state’ in order to prohibit the ‘Indian’ from committing treason against America (2007, 16). She outlines further, that “Statelessness is not a static conceptual matter; it now breaks along the fault lines of perceptions of state security, race and ethnicity, ideal workers, and gender. Indeed, the fault lines are not themselves always clear” (2007, 30).

In her study on Palestinian camps in Lebanon, Kathleen Fincham argues that the national identities and ‘senses of belonging’ of the stateless Palestinians “become largely constructed and ‘naturalized’ in the ‘banality’ of everyday processes and practices” (2012, 304). She states “Issues of identity, belonging and citizenship are particularly complex for exiles, whose relocation and interaction with another culture have been forced upon them” (2012, 306). She finds that the stateless Palestinian residents of the camps actively construct their identities in relation to their legal statelessness and social markings within their host societies: “identity is relational and can only be understood within a particular system of relationships at a particular time and in a particular space. [...] Identity is, thus, marked by ‘difference’, and difference is underpinned by exclusion and the erection of physical, structural and symbolic ‘boundaries’ between communities (2012, 307). Furthermore, the histories that Palestinians share serve to separate Palestinians from ‘others’, and discursively construct the borders of the Palestinian nation (2012, 312).

Potts (2012) reveals compelling findings in her large corpus-based analysis of major American news and business print publications in the year following Hurricane Katrina. She examines “discursive cues of underlying ideological discrimination and inequality [...] with special attention on the contested use, metaphorical attributes, and linguistic agency of the ‘refugee’”. She finds that “certain naming strategies function as a method of engineered ‘other-ing’ through which a division of (mostly poor, black) Americans were repeatedly disassociated from their society”. Potts discusses social disassociation on three levels “from the nation (by use of nomination denoting statelessness), from the human race (through assignment of non-human qualities and employment of non-human metaphors), and from power (through lack of positive agency in transitivity analysis).” The power of language is once again highlighted, highlighting that not only words, but lyrical tools such as metaphors, possess and reproduce specific meanings and values.

As statelessness is concerned with birth registration, migration, international law, and nationality (Manly and Persaud 2009, 7), the legal definition is narrow and addresses *de jure* statelessness. The second, more complex, form of statelessness, *de facto* statelessness, and has been built upon by several authors. Kretsedemas writes that *de facto* statelessness characterises what he calls the ‘non-immigrant flow’ and is manifested in contemporary forms and patterns of migrant labour, resulting in exclusionary laws and practices “that make it very difficult to exercise [...] claim to membership” (2012, 20). Margaret Somers states that contemporary “market-driven inequalities and social exclusions deny adequate ontological foundations for access to the rights-based institution of the state - the courts of justice, quality public education, adequate health care, in short, all the aspects of life necessary to live the life

of a civilized being – the consequences are people without that primary foundational right or personhood” (2006, 55), rendering such persons *de facto* stateless. Blitz quotes Marshall’s claim that “although political and civil rights are derived from formal membership of a state, many aspects of social citizenship apply to noncitizens, above all the right to economic security and the right to “live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society” (Cited by Blitz 2006, 455).

In his article, *Statelessness and the Social (De)Construction of Citizenship: Political Restructuring and Ethnic Discrimination in Slovenia*, Brad K. Blitz presents a constructivist account of *de facto* statelessness in Slovenia. He “investigates the processes that created thousands of stateless persons during a period of intense national homogenization when political activists and the state-sponsored media militated to devise elite-driven cultural policies that were subsequently institutionalized in a hierarchy of restrictive citizenship laws” (2006, 454). He finds that the Slovenian government’s “revocation and reconfiguration of citizenship” was a product of strategic political restructuring, and consequently a socially constructed categorization process or ‘insiders and outsiders’ (2006, 475). Blitz also found that “The role of nationalist politicians and the mass media in channeling and defining public dissent is central to understanding how the ‘erasure’ was permitted and persists today” (2006, 475).

Blitz provides several compelling points for consideration. He states there is a growing need to deconstruct the notion that statelessness is a product of conflict, and to demonstrate that statelessness can result from a democratic and peaceful process of governance (2006, 473). Secondly, his study finds that public perceptions of the ‘outsiders’ have direct influence upon the distinction between those who have rights in Slovenia and those who do not, recalling

“the usefulness of constructivist approaches to understanding how identity formation and state creation interact and bear on the conferral of citizenship” (2006, 474).

#### IV. Research Question

Canada is a prominent member of the international human rights regime, participating in the creation of many of the world’s human rights instruments. In developing a deeper understanding of Canada’s role in both domestic and global human rights discourse, it is necessary to acknowledge Erin Manning’s argument that

“those who have curtailed access to the vocabulary of the nation – due to their renunciation of, expulsion from, or incomprehension of the nation’s semantics – are invariably politically disqualified: as a noncitizen, I am denied access not only to your passport but also to your language, guaranteed nothing more than the amorphous vocabulary of homelessness and statelessness” (2003, xv).

Manning’s dynamic of citizenship and statelessness in the Canadian context as manifested through a language of “us and them” is compelling in light of Canada’s abstention from the ratification of the 1954 *Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*.

As the review of literature above makes clear, the ‘other’ is manifested in several ways creating a hierarchy of belonging in Canada. The ‘other’ is the foreigner, the immigrant; then the categorized immigrant according to skills and characteristics. These are the skilled worker, the migrant worker and lastly the refugee - the refugee encompassing one who is unwanted, her/his acceptance and tolerance dictated by notions of compassion. What needs to be addressed, however, is the construction of the stateless person in Canada.

This paper seeks to determine how the Canadian narrative of ‘us and them’ affects the world’s stateless persons who seek entry into Canada. How do these questions relate to Kretsedemas’ and Somers’ concepts of *de facto* statelessness and claims to membership? What

of the stateless persons around the world who are consistently denied Arendt's notion of 'the right to have rights'?

The review of literature has also made transparent the role that media play in the shaping of identities, the forming of social facts and the construction of societal norms within the conversation on the 'other' taking place in Canada. Using media in Canada as its methodological approach, this study asks how the construction of statelessness in Canada has impacted the way Canadians regard statelessness and consequently people who are stateless. Secondly, what are the implications on the settlement experiences of stateless persons in Canada?

#### V. Methodology

Harding writes "A primary function of the media is to construct the *common sense* that audiences use to interpret news" (2005, 311). As the literature review for this study makes clear, media is a useful tool in attempts to deconstruct discourse of migrants in Canada. This study, therefore, uniquely employs a mixed quantitative and qualitative methodology in the analysis of discourse surrounding the social construction of statelessness in Canadian media. Quantitatively, this study analyses a large body of data, 616 newspaper articles, and qualitative analysis provides an interpretative exploration of the same data set.

#### *Objective*

The objective of this study is to understand how the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are constructed in national newspapers in Canada. This study does not compare national newspapers in Canada, but addresses the construction of statelessness within both the *Toronto*

*Star and The Globe and Mail* in concert. More specifically, the goal is to both qualitatively uncover the themes and trends surrounding these terms that emerge in the literature, and understand these themes and trends in a quantitative fashion within a large body of data. It is essential to synthesize the results of the analysis to gain a better understanding of the concepts and values that contribute to the evolving understandings of statelessness. Finally, applying a social constructivist framework to the findings is necessary to contribute to existing theoretical literature, and ultimately the conceptual framework.

#### *Operationalization*

To develop a clear conceptual framework of this study, the conceptual elements of the research question need to be deconstructed and briefly investigated. The purpose is to set a basis for theoretical implications and concept operationalization.

International law holds that a person is deemed stateless if no state considers him or her to be a citizen under the “operation of its law” (UNHCR 1954, 1). This is manifested in two ways: *de jure* statelessness, when no state law recognizes the person as a citizen and secondly, *de facto* statelessness, when the person is, in theory, entitled to citizenship but is not recognized as such under the application of state law (CCR 2009, 2). A person is stateless when s/he is not recognized as a citizen, and statelessness is the occurrence/manifestation of being stateless.

*De jure* statelessness occurs when a person is recognized by no state as a citizen. Thus, state law prohibits recognition of citizenship. This can occur in a myriad of ways: state succession (Soviet Union, Yugoslavia); someone born into a disputed territory (Palestinians); and children who do not acquire the nationality of naturalizing parents (country of birth recognizes only *jus sanguinis* as basis for citizenship, and country of parental birth recognizes

only *jus soli* as basis for citizenship) (Spiro 2004, 93). *De jure* statelessness as a matter of law concerns citizenship based on *jus sanguinis* “granted on the basis of descent to children born to nationals of the state” and *jus soli* “granted to children on the basis of their place of birth” (Brouwer 2012, 5).

*De facto* statelessness occurs when a person is entitled to citizenship but is not recognized as such under the application of state law. This also occurs in a myriad of ways: women who are trafficked often have their travel documents taken, leaving them unable to prove their identities (Brouwer 2012, 4); women’s nationalities that are stripped upon marriage to a foreigner (Spiro 2004, 93); women unable to obtain the citizenship of their foreign-born husbands (*Ibid*); renunciation of citizenship without the acquisition of another nationality; administrative and legislative hurdles rendering obtaining or proving one’s identity virtually impossible (Brouwer 2012, 6).

Though both ‘stateless’ and ‘statelessness’ are interconnected with multiple concepts including inclusion and membership, the concepts were not manipulated to include associations of concepts. The concepts ‘stateless’ and ‘statelessness’ are used independently of others, so as to maintain conceptual clarity.

#### *Search Parameters*

A systematic review was undertaken of 616 newspaper articles utilizing two national Canadian newspapers in the entire search capacity available for each. The databases consulted are ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail (1844 - 2009), and ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Toronto Star (1894 - 2011). Both databases were searched within all available parameters, and each concept was inputted into each database. Therefore, ‘stateless’ was

inputted into *The Globe and Mail* database from 1844 – 2009, as well as the *Toronto Star* database from 1894 – 2011. The same was done for ‘statelessness’.

As this study concerns the construction of the statelessness over time, a temporal element must be factored into the search parameters. Secondly, as statelessness is a phenomenon that has evolved significantly throughout the mid to late 1900s, it is essential that Canadian media in this context be explored within the entire time frame possible. The quantitative approach used in this study, therefore, allows for the precise exploration of the construction of statelessness over a significant time period, contributing to the understanding of this construction as it changes, and evolves, over time.

### Qualitative Methodology

#### *Design*

The research design for the qualitative aspect of this research study is factor-centric, seeking to explore the causal factors of the construction of statelessness in Canadian national media. This methodology relies on a general inductive approach, allowing for a focus on the narrow, more specific and inductive interpretations of the data.

#### *Data Analysis*

The data was inductively analyzed using open, axial and selective coding: locating general patterns and trends, tagging specific instances of each theme, and random verification processes, respectively. These coding processes allow all relevant data to be exhausted and ensure data reliability. Categorization occurred resulting in a clear capture of pertinent themes and sub-themes. As some sources overlapped in themes and sub-themes, such sources were coded as theme1subtheme1, theme1subtheme2, theme2subtheme1, and so forth.



### *Trustworthiness*

- i. Credibility – achieved through extensive search parameters, and clear conceptual framework and operationalization. This was not a sampled data set, but an analysis of each available piece of data within all available parameters.
- ii. Transferability – the subject nature relies on a global phenomenon of statelessness and applies it to the national context. This case-study can, therefore, be applied to other states and their media relationships with statelessness.
- iii. Dependability – indicators and search parameters are clear, transparent and conceptually sound.
- iv. Confirmability – recognition of subjectivity is outlined below under Ethical Considerations.

### *Limitations*

The data is subject to interpretation and bias and may not necessarily be replicable.

Categorization by theme and sub-theme is also subjective.

### Quantitative Methodology

In analysing the discourse within this data set it is important to be able to explore not only qualitative understandings of the construction of statelessness, but to do so alongside a quantitative methodological approach that enables a robust inquiry within large search parameters.

### *Design*

A systematic review was undertaken of newspapers within the search parameters listed above.

This is a non-random sample, executed within specific time frames and databases, using interval, nominal and ordinal-level variables, allowing for potential ranking of ideas and concepts sourced in the literature review. These sources were coded in light of their structural and substantive features, the latter in light of their ideas, frequency, and intensity. This methodology relies on a discourse analysis of the literature, and given that there is a temporal

aspect to this methodology, a longitudinal analysis was undertaken. A quantitative approach is utilized specifically in this study to analyse the discourse on statelessness in Canada within a large data set, so as to uncover trends and themes over a significant period of time.

### *Hypothesis*

The concepts 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are constructed in specific ways according to the variables selected. It is assumed that patterns exist, that the concepts occupy a specific place in Canadian national newspaper media within thematic areas, and their constructions are thematic in nature.

### *Variables*

There are twelve independent variables in this study. These are: source, search term, type of article, year/date of publication, relevance, level of focus, tone, theme, entity, type, gender, and reference.

Type of article includes regular, classified, obituary, opinion editorial, You Asked Us Poll, Question and Answer, letter, and snippet. A snippet is a small article typically under ten lines. Articles not classified as any other type of article or aspect of the newspaper, for example, letter or editor's note, were categorized as regular. Relevance is the degree of relevance of statelessness to the article. This degree is broken down into 'focus', 'sub-theme' and 'passing'. If either term was of high relevance to the article itself, for example detailing the experience of statelessness, or answering a reader's questions about statelessness, the degree of relevance was labeled 'focus'. If the terms indicated a lesser degree of prominence to the article, for example, an obituary detailing someone's past involving statelessness, but statelessness was not the focus of the article, the degree of relevance was labeled 'sub-theme'. Finally, if the

article made a passing reference to statelessness, or used the term in a descriptive fashion, the relevance was labeled 'passing'.

As the degree of relevance of either term to an article did not speak to the level of focus upon statelessness *within* the article, it was necessary to further explore the level of focus of the terms in each article. These levels of focus were labeled 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. Articles that focused heavily on statelessness were labeled 'high'. These included articles that dealt strictly with statelessness, similar to the 'focused' relevance above. It was possible, however, for an article to have a 'focus' degree of relevance, but have a 'low' or 'medium' level of focus *within* the article. For example, the article could be called "The stateless plight of Palestinians", but focused on the results of recent peace talks. Therefore, the degree of relevance is high, or 'focus', because of the presence of either term in the title, or the nature of the plight mentioned, but the level of focus on statelessness is 'low' because the article is commenting on the participants, location, and results of the peace talks, and not necessarily the fact that Palestinians are stateless. The tone of each article was analysed as 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. An article was deemed positive in tone if the article was favourable in nature towards statelessness, and similarly, negative if the article was deemed unfavourable in nature towards statelessness. An article was deemed to be neutral in tone if it was either flat in attitude towards statelessness, for example, if the article did not use emotive writing in any way.

Thematic area was included as a variable, comprised of several themes. Themes included are 'crime and violence', 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'criticizing government', 'immigration policy and law', 'desperation and perpetuity', 'descriptive', 'worth and value', 'abandonment', 'terrorism', 'resettlement', 'oppression', 'abuse of immigration system (abuse)', 'responsibility',

'sovereignty', 'global context', 'Holocaust', 'international human rights regime', 'Canadian citizenship', 'compassion', 'metaphor', 'deportation', and 'romanticisation'.

Each article explored statelessness in ways relating to varying entities. These references included 'person', 'group of people', 'general persons', and 'thing'. The variable type is an extension of entity, in that it recorded characteristics like ethnicity and thing type, for example garbage, or terrorism. Gender was divided into female, male, child, and family. Reference categorized the person or group who referenced statelessness in the newspaper article. These are author, NGO, United Nations, government, subject/community (this refers to either the stateless person herself, or the community surrounding that person, friends, supporters, or employers), 'enemy group' (this included groups like Black September or Black Panthers), lawyer and legal institution. The latter includes courts of law, and independent tribunals, among others.

The independent variables in this study are title, subject and details, and are interpretive in nature due to their multiple details and thematic associations. The stateless persons' names were recorded simply for documentation and reference purposes. Author is not included as a variable as no analysis is made involving authors because of the inability to extract characteristic information such as gender, and any relevant biases would be extracted from the details of the article itself.

Table 1. Operationalization of Variables

Measurement	Variable	Attributes	Indicators
<b>Dependent</b>			
Nominal	Stateless	de jure, de facto	de jure - explicit reference, de facto - explicit or implicit reference to situations involving exercise of citizenship
Nominal	Statelessness	de jure, de facto	de jure - explicit reference, de facto - explicit or implicit reference to situations involving exercise of citizenship
<b>Independent</b>			
Nominal	Source	<i>The Globe and Mail</i> and <i>The Toronto Star</i>	explicit reference
Nominal	Type of article	regular, classified, obituary, opinion editorial, You Asked Us Poll, Question and Answer, letter, and snippet	explicit reference
Interval	Year/date	all years between 1930 and 2011	explicit reference
Ordinal	Relevance	focus, sub-theme and passing	degree to which statelessness was relevant to the article's subject matter
Ordinal	Level of focus	high, medium and low	degree to which the article concentrated upon statelessness
Ordinal	Tone	positive, neutral, negative	quality or character of the reference to statelessness in the article, not to be confused with the quality or character of the article
Nominal	Theme	crime and violence, Israeli/Palestinian conflict, criticizing government, immigration policy and law, desperation and perpetuity, descriptive, worth and value, abandonment, terrorism, resettlement, oppression, abuse, responsibility, sovereignty, global context, Holocaust, international human rights regime, Canadian citizenship, compassion, metaphor, deportation, and romanticisation	interpretative grouping
Nominal	Entity	person, persons in general, group of people, thing	explicit reference;
Nominal	Gender	female, male, family, child	explicit reference
Nominal	Reference	author, NGO, government, legal institution, lawyer, subject/community, enemy group	explicit reference

### *Data Analysis*

An inferential statistical method was used to draw inferences and conclusions with the population parameters. Because there are multiple variables investigated in this research study, the method for analysis most appropriate is the multivariate analysis tool. This tool allows for examination of linear relationships and subsequently reduced error and provided greater reliability.

### *Trustworthiness*

- i. Measurement Validity – achieved through search parameters. Accuracy in measurement is ensured by way of a high ‘degree of fit’ between the concepts and the variables and the variables and the indicators.
- ii. External Validity – considering the interdisciplinary nature of this research study, it is anticipated that the results can be generalized beyond the specific context of this study.
- iii. Reliability – due to the specific search parameters and indicators (specific databases and time frames), it is anticipated that this study can be replicated achieving the same results.
- iv. Objectivity – the theoretical framework for this quantitative approach clarifies the objectivity of the study, in light of the anticipation that temporal shifts in policy and discourse occur naturally.

### *Limitations*

Because of such a large sample size, the population is more difficult to control, and the coding process was laborious and time-consuming. It was important to contextualize each source, as thematic categories were not pre-selected. Contextualization is important because a large sample size resulted in normally insignificant data becoming significant. This resulted in omissions of specific sources due to irrelevance. Theme as a variable was constructed in an interpretative fashion thereby increasing the subjectivity of this variable.

### *Ethical Considerations*

As no human subjects are part of this research methodology, ethical considerations are limited.

A quantitative content analysis is unobtrusive and does not risk affecting that which is

reviewed. Informed consent and confidentiality are not factors in either methodology. Securing access to each source reviewed is also not a factor as this access is granted a priori through my access to Ryerson University's library system. The section on trustworthiness outlined above briefly touched upon the subjectivity and bias of the qualitative approach to this study. The inclusion of such a robust and large population size is useful for minimizing findings being overly interpretive.

Immigration and settlement, despite its location in the social sciences, can be an ethical discipline in nature. As such, it is important to demonstrate the overall objective of the study, that being to contribute to the under-researched area of statelessness in the Canadian context. The study seeks to contribute to the rich body of immigration research in Canada, addressing the social and ethical relevance of stateless persons in Canada and throughout the world. This study seeks to mobilize knowledge and transfer that knowledge to the multiple disciplines this study sources. Despite this study not involving human participants, the study is still premised on core values of respect for persons, concern for welfare and justice, making it not a neutral paper, but an inherently ethical one. As this study seeks to understand the construction of statelessness in Canadian national newspaper media, it is understood that such a context and subject matter could be published and used for alternative or unintended purposes.

## VI. Findings

As this study undertakes two separate methodologies, the findings are presented separately, beginning with quantitative findings.

## Quantitative Findings

The two databases sourced yielded an initial data set of 826 articles. This data set, however, contained several articles that were omitted. These included those too light or unclear to read; those missing a page; articles that were artistic reviews including theatre, books and film; advertisements, and where either term was used to reference an article already sourced, for example a table of contents. In addition, the terms were often used in descriptive ways that were unrelated to statelessness as operationalized in this study. These articles included references to the global economy and the internet, food products in transport, sports and the name of a department or office, for example, 'the Office for Stateless Persons'. These usages of 'stateless' and 'statelessness' do not contribute to the understanding of the construction of statelessness, which is the objective of this study. These articles numbered 210 and were omitted to produce the final data set.

The final data set, therefore, is comprised of 616 articles, with 416 from *The Globe and Mail* and 200 articles from the *Toronto Star*. The term 'stateless' resulted in the overwhelming majority of results, numbering 588, or 95.5% of the total data set, while 'statelessness' resulted in the remaining 28, or 4.5% of results.

Table 2. Articles by Source and Term

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	Total	% of Data Set
'stateless'	399	189	588	95.5%
'statelessness'	17	11	28	4.5%
<b>Total</b>	416	200	<b>616</b>	100.0%
<b>% of Data Set</b>	67.5%	32.5%		

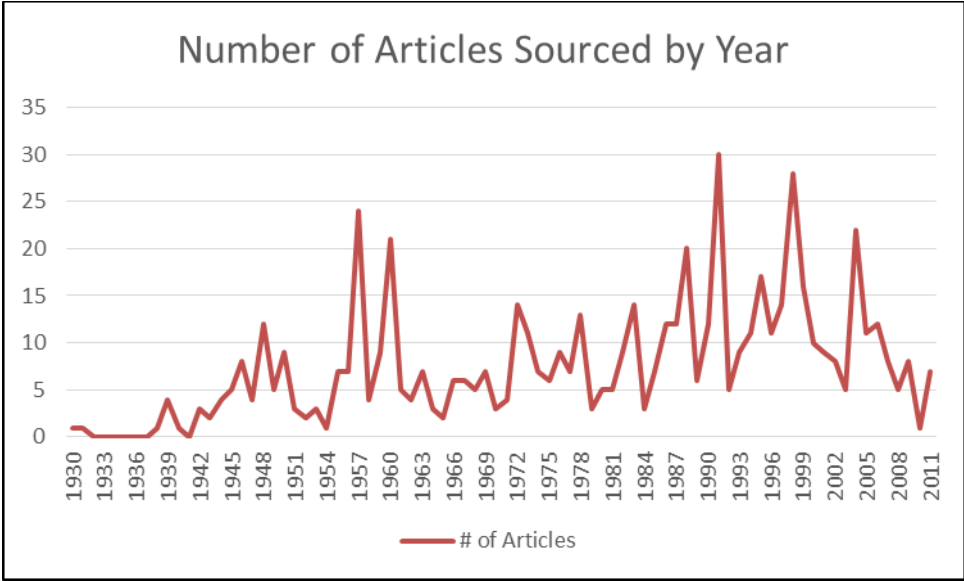


The majority of articles, 544 or 88.3%, were regular articles. Letters were the second most populous source of data, comprising 30, or 4.9% of the data set. Thirdly, opinion editorials numbered 25, or 4.6%, while obituaries numbered 4, or 0.6% of the data set.

*Years of Publication*

The searchable years of publications in *The Globe and Mail* database ranged from 1844-2009, while the *Toronto Star* database ranged from 1894 to 2011. The earliest year found was 1930 and the last year was 2011, resulting in a data set spanning 82 years. The number of articles varied over this period comprising peak and low years. The graph below outlines the year in which each of the 616 articles sourced were published, resulting in a detailed view of the publications over eight decades.

Figure 1. Number of Articles Sourced by Year



As the graph outlines, there are several time periods where articles containing the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are prevalent. These are the 1950's, the late 1980's to the early

1990's, and the late 1990's and the early 2000's. The prevalence of these articles in the 1950's is not surprising as this post-war period saw the creation of the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, the 1954 *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*, and the 1961 *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*. The late 1980's and early 1990's saw the buildup to, and fall of, the Iron Curtain, presenting newly independent former satellite Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) countries with new concerns about notions of citizenship and nationality. The early 1990's also saw the Gulf War which resulted in new cases of statelessness arising within the Arab Bedouin and Kurdish populations of the region. The Yugoslavian wars of the late 1990's resulted in thousands of cases of statelessness throughout the region, affecting the region's Roma populations specifically. The early 2000's saw similar intense conflicts with the war in Afghanistan in 2001 and the second war in Iraq in 2004. It is plausible that these global events and resulting concerns of statelessness would become the subject of news media in Canada. Conversely, articles that contained the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' were less prevalent in the periods from the 1930's to the 1950's, the 1960's and 1970's. The inter-war period of the 1930's and the early post-war period of the late 1940's and early 1950's is not expected to result in high prevalence of articles, as statelessness only began to crystalize as its own phenomenon in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The minimal prevalence of articles in the period between the 1960's and 1970's is intriguing. This time period saw its share of political and social upheaval with the Vietnam War, the Cambodian genocide and the multiple independence movements across the African continent. What may help to explain this minimal prevalence, however, are the domestic concerns in Canada that may have occupied a more prevalent place in Canadian media. This may coincide with the

Quiet Revolution of the early 1960's, the Canadian Centennial celebrations of 1967, and Canada's multiculturalism policy of 1971. This is unverifiable, however, without a media analysis of such issues.

#### *Degree of relevance of statelessness to the article*

A focused degree of relevance occurred in 185, or 30.0% of the articles. Articles referring to either term in a sub-theme fashion, numbered 200, or 32.5% of the data set, slightly higher than focused articles. Articles that made a passing reference to either term numbered the highest, at 231, or 37.5%. This suggests that the relevance of statelessness to each article in this data set is close to evenly distributed between focused, sub-theme and passing degrees, highlighting the variance in relevance that statelessness occupies in this data set.

#### *Level of focus upon statelessness within the article*

Articles with a high level of focus numbered 200, or 32.5% of the data set. Articles with a medium level of focus numbered lower, at 109, 17.7% of the data set, and finally, those articles with a low level of focus numbered the highest, at 307, or 49.8% of the data set. Statelessness therefore tends to occupy a high or a low level of focus within each article, suggesting that statelessness is either specifically addressed, or it is merely mentioned.

#### *Tone*

The tone of each article was analysed as 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. Articles that had a positive tone numbered 201, or 32.6% of the data set; negative tone articles numbered the lowest at 124, or 20.1%, and articles neutral in tone accounted for 291, or 47.2%, the highest of the three recorded tones. The majority of articles, therefore, referred to statelessness in either a neutral or positive way, regardless of the degree of relevance or the level of focus each article

had. A quantitative analysis allows us to understand tone in each article over time in a robust fashion, strengthening the understanding of the social construction of statelessness in Canadian national media over the last 82 years.

*Theme*

Each article was investigated thematically, with some articles encompassing more than one theme. Over twenty themes were recorded in the data set.

Table 3. Number and Percentage of Articles by Theme

<b>Theme</b>	<b># of Occurrences</b>	<b>% of Total Articles</b>
crime and violence	91	14.8%
Israeli/Palestinian conflict	62	10.1%
criticizing government	51	8.3%
immigration policy and law	49	8.0%
desperation and perpetuity	48	7.8%
descriptive	42	6.8%
worth and value	37	6.0%
abandonment	33	5.4%
terrorism	30	4.9%
resettlement	30	4.9%
oppression	24	3.9%
abuse of immigration system	21	3.4%
responsibility	21	3.4%
sovereignty	21	3.4%
global context	20	3.2%
Holocaust	15	2.4%
international human rights regime	12	1.9%
Canadian citizenship	11	1.8%
compassion	11	1.8%
metaphor	9	1.5%
deportation	5	0.8%
romanticisation	4	0.6%

These thematic areas cannot be placed along a spectrum, but because many of these themes overlap, some can be grouped together for purposes of analysis. The themes ‘abandonment’, ‘oppression’, ‘compassion’, ‘criticizing government’ and ‘responsibility’ can, therefore, be grouped based on notions of empathy, humanitarianism and ethics. ‘Crime and violence’ and ‘terrorism’ can be grouped based on impressions of negativity, inhumanity and immorality. ‘Abuse’, ‘deportation’ and ‘sovereignty’ can be grouped based on notions of border protection, and protection of values and laws. ‘International human rights regime’ and ‘global context’ can be grouped as these themes relate heavily to the international arena and transcend the national context. ‘Immigration policy and law’ and ‘Canadian citizenship’ can be grouped as these themes are concerned with domestic immigration legislation in Canada as well as other countries. Some themes were broken down into sub-themes.

Table 4. Themes and Sub-themes

Theme	Sub-theme
crime and violence	crime, violence
criticizing government	Canada, Britain, Kuwait, etc
immigration policy and law	federal decision-making, changes to law, denial of entry or departure
desperation and perpetuity	hopelessness, perpetuity, helplessness, desperation
descriptive	situational, historical
worth and value	desirability, disease, mental capacity, employability, disability, success, deserving
resettlement	settlement experiences, case decision issues, racism
responsibility	ethics, burden-sharing, acceptance of migrants
sovereignty	security, entry decisions, Quebec

### *Entity*

Specific persons numbered 216, or 35.1% of the data set; groups of people were the most referenced at 331 times, or 53.7%; persons in general numbered 49, or 8.0% and things were recorded as stateless 20 times, or 3.2% of the data set. The articles in this data set are,

therefore, addressing statelessness in the context of groups of people, or specific persons, rather than in general. This is relevant to our understanding of how statelessness is constructed in that it is apparent here that statelessness in general, that is, as its own phenomenon does not occupy a high level of focus within Canadian national newspapers. Statelessness is not being discussed on its own, but rather in relation to other factors. This speaks to our understanding of statelessness not as an issue in and of itself, but rather as a facet of another circumstance, whether personal or group association.

*Type*

The top ten ethnicities of those stateless persons or groups of persons referenced are listed below. Of the entire data set, Palestinians were referenced as stateless 107 times, or 19.6% of the data set. It must be noted that 53.6% of stateless persons in this data set are non-white.

Table 5. Number and Percentage of Articles by Ethnicity

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b># of References</b>	<b>% of person/group of people</b>
Palestinian	107	19.6%
Jewish	44	8.0%
Russian/Soviet	32	5.9%
European	25	4.6%
Ugandan Asian	23	4.2%
Egyptian	23	4.2%
Bedouin	20	3.7%
German	17	3.1%
Chinese	14	2.6%
Kurdish	10	1.8%

Roma were the focus of just 9 articles, or 1.6% of the data set. This is intriguing given the recent prominence of Roma in Canadian media in relation to asylum claims made at Canadian

ports of entry, and subsequently the highly criticized Designated Country of Origin policy of 2012 implemented to curb such claims. Regardless of how Roma are portrayed in the recent media stories, this study makes apparent that Roma are *not* being associated with statelessness in this data set.

### *Gender*

Articles that referenced a person as stateless numbered 216, or 35.1%, of the total data set. Of these 216 articles referencing a person, 27, or 12.5% were female; 158, or 73.1% were male; 2, or less than 1% were children, and 29, or 13.4% were families. It is important to illuminate how statelessness is constructed on gender lines in this data set. As this study shows, females are represented as stateless in just 12.5% of the data set, despite being disproportionately affected by global statelessness (Edwards 2009, 39). The gender division in global statelessness is not adequately represented in the eight decades of articles in *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*, painting a false picture of gender based discrimination as it relates to citizenship. A quantitative approach within a social constructivist framework allows us to understand that statelessness has been constructed in a specific way within this data set to depict a male dominated phenomenon, whereas in reality, females are those who are most affected by statelessness.

### *Who is Referencing Statelessness?*

The author of an article referenced statelessness in the overwhelming majority of articles sourced, numbering 461, or 74.8% of the data set.

Table 6. Number and Percentage of Articles by Reference

Reference	# of Occurrences	% of Data Set
author	461	74.8%
government	68	11.0%
subject/community	42	6.8%
NGO	27	4.4%
legal institution	7	1.1%
lawyer	7	1.1%
enemy group	5	0.8%
United Nations	5	0.8%

*Type of Article, Tone and Theme*

Of the 544 'regular' articles, 172 or 31.6% were positive in tone, 111 or 20.4% were negative in tone, and 261 or 48.0% were neutral in tone. The top ten themes of the regular articles almost mirror those of the entire data set.

Table 7. Number and Percentage of Articles by Theme

Theme	# of Occurrences	% of regular articles
crime and violence	82	15.1%
desperation and perpetuity	44	8.1%
Israeli/Palestinian conflict	44	8.1%
criticizing government	42	7.7%
immigration policy and law	42	7.7%
descriptive	41	7.6%
worth and value	34	6.3%
abandonment	31	5.7%
resettlement	29	5.3%
terrorism	27	5.0%
oppression	22	4.0%
sovereignty	20	3.7%

Of the 30 letters sourced, 13 or 43.3% were positive in tone, 4 or 13.3% were negative in tone, and 13 or 43.3%, were neutral in tone. The top three themes of all letters were



'Israeli/Palestinian conflict' with 10, or a third of the articles, 'Canadian citizenship' with 4, or 13.3%, and finally 'criticizing government' with 3, or a tenth of the articles.

Of the 25 opinion editorial articles, 11 or 44% were positive in tone, 6 or 24% were negative in tone and 8 or 32% were neutral in tone. The top four themes determined in this category were 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict' with 8, or 32%, 'criticizing government' with a fifth of the themes, 'crime and violence' and 'terrorism' totalling 2, or 8% each.

Of the 4 obituaries, 3 or 75% were positive in tone and 1, or 25% was neutral in tone. The three positive toned obituaries were 'successful' in theme, under the large theme of 'worth and value'. The remaining obituary was 'descriptive' in theme.

The tones did not vary much within the differing types of articles. The majority of tones were either positive or neutral across all of the top four categories, suggesting that statelessness occupied a similar place in various types of newspaper articles.

#### *Degree of Relevance, Level of Focus and Tone*

Of the 185 articles where the relevance of statelessness was 'focus', 138 or 74.6% of the tones were either positive or neutral. When the relevance was sub-theme, 161 or 80.5%, of the tones were positive or neutral. When the relevance of statelessness to the article was 'passing', 193 or 83.5% of the tones were positive or neutral. That is to say, the degree of relevance of statelessness to the article has a direct effect upon the tone of statelessness, and the higher the relevance, the more negative the tone, and the lower the relevance, the more positive the tone.

When an article had a high level of focus it had a positive tone in 90, or 45% of the articles, 47 or 23.5% were negative in tone, and 63, or 31.5%, were neutral in tone. Of the articles with

a medium level of focus 36, or 33.0% were positive in tone, 30 or 27.5% were negative in tone, and 43 or 39.4% were neutral in tone. Of the articles with a low level of focus 75, or 24.4% were positive in tone, 47 or 15.3% were negative in tone, and 185 or 60.2% were neutral in tone.

In other words, the higher the level of focus of statelessness *within* the article, the more likely the tone of the article is to be positive. Conversely, the lower the level of focus, the more likely the article is to have a neutral tone. Negative tones are highest when the focus is at the medium level, and lowest when at the low level of focus. The author's construction of statelessness is therefore dependent upon the level of focus upon statelessness within the article. That is, the way statelessness is constructed has a direct relationship to the level of focus it has in the article in the first place. This suggests that a high focus on statelessness could yield a more thorough examination of the issue, eliciting a more positive construction of statelessness. Conversely, a low level of focus suggests a surface-level approach to statelessness and, therefore, a less invested approach to the topic.

#### *Degree of Relevance, Level of Focus, and Theme*

Themes where the degree of relevance of statelessness to the article was likely to be 'focus' included 'crime and violence', 'sovereignty', 'abandonment', 'compassion' and 'deportation'.

Themes where the degree of relevance was likely to be 'sub-theme' included 'oppression', 'desperation and perpetuity', 'immigration policy and law' and 'criticizing government'.

Themes where the degree of relevance was 'passing' included 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'Holocaust', 'descriptive', 'worth and value', and 'terrorism'.

Themes where the level of focus was 'low' included 'crime and violence', 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'immigration policy and law', 'desperation and perpetuity', 'descriptive', 'worth and value', 'terrorism', 'resettlement', 'global context' and 'Holocaust'.

Themes where the level of focus was more likely to be 'high' included 'criticizing government', 'abandonment', 'abuse', 'sovereignty' and 'compassion'.

A notable trend is that themes with a focused degree of relevance to statelessness tend to have a high level of focus ('sovereignty', 'abandonment', and 'compassion'). Similarly, those themes with a passing or sub-theme degree of relevance tended to have a low level of focus ('desperation and perpetuity', 'immigration policy and law', 'descriptive', 'worth and value', 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'Holocaust' and 'terrorism'). The theme 'crime and violence' presents an interesting dynamic regarding how statelessness is constructed. Statelessness was likely to be of focused relevance to the theme 'crime and violence', yet within this theme, statelessness tended to occupy a low level of focus. That is to say when talking about crime and violence, statelessness was pertinent to the subject matter of the articles, but statelessness itself was not the subject matter. Statelessness, therefore, occupies a substantive place in the article with regards to crime and violence, but remains on the periphery in regards to notions of citizenship and the lack thereof.

#### *Theme and Entity*

Persons were the most prevalent stateless beings in the following themes: 'crime and violence', 'worth and value', 'terrorism', 'resettlement', 'deportation' and 'romanticisation'. Groups of people were the majority of beings recorded as stateless in the 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'criticizing government', 'immigration policy and law', 'desperation and perpetuity',

'descriptive', 'abandonment', 'oppression', 'abuse', 'responsibility', 'sovereignty', 'compassion' and 'global context' themes. Persons in general were recorded as most prevalent in only one theme, 'Canadian citizenship'. Once again, it must be noted that in the overwhelming majority of articles, statelessness is constructed as it relates to specific persons or groups of people, rather than as an experience in and of itself.

#### *Theme and Gender*

Males were the overwhelming majority of stateless persons in almost every theme, with the exception of 'abandonment' and 'sovereignty', where females were the majority, and 'romanticisation', where females and males were represented equally at 50%. It must be noted that families recorded as very prevalent in the 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'criticizing government', and 'resettlement' themes.

#### *Theme and Ethnicity*

Of all themes there were only four where ethnicity was statistically relevant. Of the theme 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', Palestinians were referenced as stateless in 58, or 93.5% of the articles. The 'Holocaust' theme featured Jews as stateless in 45.5% of the articles. Palestinians were 50% of those referenced as stateless in the thematic area of 'terrorism', and finally in the 'worth and value' theme, 23, or 62.2% of those considered stateless were from Western or European countries.

#### *Theme and Reference*

Authors were the majority of those who referenced statelessness within the data set.

Government was a prevalent reference in the 'criticizing government' and 'immigration policy and law', 'abuse' and 'abandonment' themes. There was very little NGO or United Nations

presence in this category, however, the two groups made heavier contributions in the ‘worth and value’, ‘global context’ and ‘international human rights regime’ themes. Lawyers and legal institutions made references to statelessness in the ‘criticizing government’, ‘abuse’ and ‘immigration policy and law’ themes. Subject/community references were prevalent in the ‘crime and violence’, ‘worth and value’, ‘criticizing government’, and ‘descriptive’ themes. These findings suggest that those who reference statelessness in this data set do so in a varied and widespread fashion.

#### *Theme and Type of Article*

Regular articles were the majority of article types in every theme. In the ‘Canadian citizenship’ theme, letters were a close second with almost half of the article types recorded, and letters were almost a quarter of articles under the ‘Israeli/Palestinian conflict’ theme. Opinion editorials were most prevalent in the ‘Israeli/Palestinian conflict’ and ‘criticizing government’ themes.

#### *Theme and Tone*

For the purpose of developing a generalization about subject matter and tone, tones are grouped thematically, coinciding with the grouping identified in the theme section above.

The ‘abandonment’ theme was neutral in tone in 42.4% of the articles, 42.4% positive in tone, and 15.1% negative in tone. The majority of articles in the ‘criticizing government’ theme were positively toned, at 64.7%, with 31.4% neutral in tone and just 3.9% negative in tone. The ‘compassion’ theme was mostly positive in tone, with 45% of the articles, while 30% of the articles were neutral in tone and 25% of the articles were negative in tone. Over half of the articles in the ‘responsibility’ theme were neutrally toned, at 57.1%, and 42.9% positively

toned. Articles in the 'oppression' theme were 50% neutrally toned, 41.6% of the articles positively toned, and 8.3% negatively toned.

The 'crime and violence' theme had an overwhelmingly high prevalence of negative tone at 74.7%. A neutral tone was recorded in 20.9% of the theme, and a positive tone was recorded in 4.4% of the articles. The 'terrorism' theme was overwhelmingly negative in tone, with 96.7% of the articles, and 3.3% positively toned.

Articles in the 'abuse' theme were 38.1%, 33.3% and 28.6% negatively, neutrally and positively toned respectively. Those articles falling under the 'sovereignty' theme were 42.8% neutral, 42.8% positive and 14.3% negatively toned. Articles in the 'deportation' theme were 80% neutral in tone, and 20% negative in tone.

The 'international human rights regime' theme saw half of the articles positively toned, and half negatively toned. Half of the articles in the 'global context' theme were positively toned, 40% were neutral in tone and 10% were negative in tone.

The majority of articles in the 'immigration policy and law' theme were neutrally toned, at 71.4%, with positively toned articles numbering 24.5%, and 4.1% of the articles recording a negative tone. The majority of the articles in the 'Canadian citizenship' theme were neutral in tone, at 72.7% and 27.3% of the articles positively toned.

The 'desperation and perpetuity' theme recorded neutrally toned articles at 41.2% and positively toned articles at 43.8% with negative tones at 14.6%. 'Descriptive' themed articles recorded 81% of its tone as neutral, with 14.2% as positively toned, and 4.8% negatively toned. Positive tones were the majority of the 'worth and value' theme, at 59.5% articles, while neutral toned articles were recorded at 24.3%, and negative tones at 16.2%. Articles neutral in

tone were the majority of the ‘resettlement’ themed articles at 73.3%, with positively toned articles at 20%, and negative tones at 6.7%.

Almost all articles in the ‘Holocaust’ theme were recorded as neutral, at 86.6%, with 6.6% both negative and positively toned articles. The ‘Israeli/Palestinian conflict’ themed articles are largely neutral, recording 59.7% of the articles. Positive toned articles were recorded at 38.7% while only 1.6% were recorded as negatively toned.

The articles in the ‘metaphor’ theme were mostly negative, with 44.4% of the articles. Positive toned articles numbered 33.3% and 22.2% of the articles were neutral in tone. Articles in the ‘romanticisation’ were half positive and half neutral in tone.

Table 8. Percentage of Tone by Theme

Theme	Positive	Negative	Neutral
crime and violence	4.4%	74.7%	20.9%
desperation and perpetuity	43.8%	14.6%	41.2%
Israeli/Palestinian conflict	38.7%	1.6%	59.7%
criticizing government	64.7%	3.9%	31.4%
immigration policy and law	24.5%	4.1%	71.4%
descriptive	14.2%	4.8%	81.0%
worth and value	59.5%	16.2%	24.3%
abandonment	42.4%	15.1%	42.4%
resettlement	20.0%	6.7%	73.3%
terrorism	3.3%	96.7%	
oppression	41.6%	8.3%	50.0%
sovereignty	42.8%	14.3%	42.8%
responsibility	42.9%		57.1%
abuse	28.6%	38.1%	33.3%
global context	50.0%	10.0%	40.0%
Holocaust	6.6%	6.6%	86.6%
international human rights regime	50.0%		50.0%
compassion	45.0%	25.0%	30.0%

metaphor	33.3%	44.4%	22.2%
Canadian citizenship	27.3%		72.7%
romanticisation	50.0%		50.0%
deportation		20.0%	80.0%

To summarise, a negative tone was recorded as most prevalent in the following themes: ‘crime and violence’, ‘terrorism’, ‘abuse’, and ‘metaphor’. A positive tone was recorded as most prevalent in the ‘criticizing government’, ‘desperation and perpetuity’, ‘worth and value’, ‘global context’, and ‘compassion’ themes. The majority of themes were neutral in tone. These included ‘Israeli/Palestinian conflict’, ‘immigration policy and law’, ‘descriptive’, ‘oppression’, ‘resettlement’, ‘responsibility’, ‘Holocaust’, ‘Canadian citizenship’, and ‘deportation’. Those themes that had no clear majority in tone were ‘abandonment’, ‘sovereignty’, ‘romanticisation’ at positive and neutral, and ‘international human rights regime’ having strong positive and negative tones.

It is clear that negativity is dominant in those themes wherein notions of immorality or illegality are prevalent, and that positivity is dominant in themes which embody notions of helplessness, responsibility and empathy. These are clear usages of emotion and characterisation to construct statelessness as relevant to the subject matter of each article.

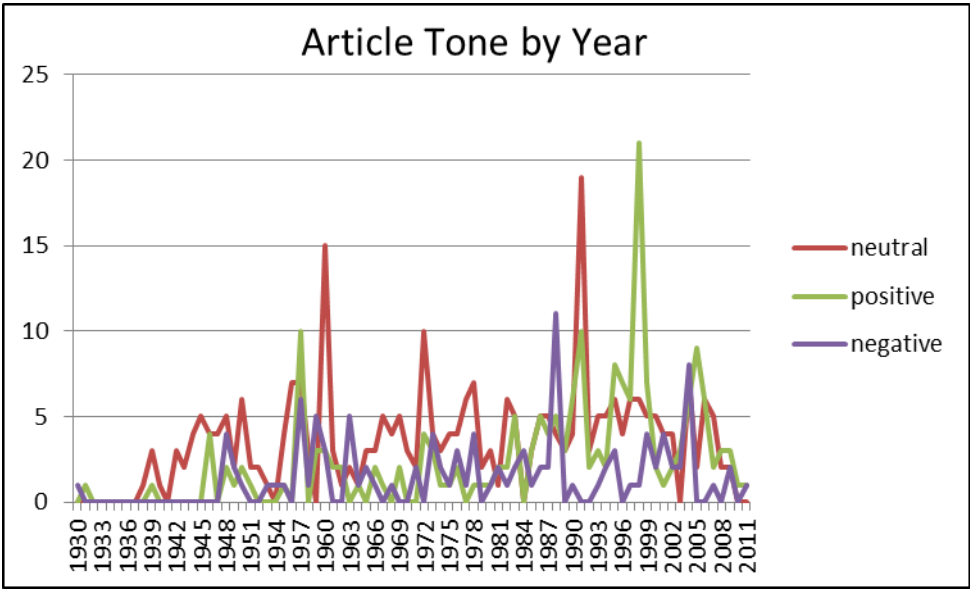
### *Time and Tone*

The tone of an article varied greatly over the time period in this data set. Articles with negative tones peaked in the mid to late 1950’s and early 1960’s, the late 1980’s and the mid 2000’s. The articles with positive tones peaked in the mid to late 1950’s and again not until the early and late 1990’s and mid 2000’s. Neutral toned articles were most prevalent in the early 1960’s, the early 1970’s and the early 1990’s. The quantitative approach undertaken in this study



allows us to understand how the construction of statelessness in Canadian national media is manifested over time. A robust quantitative approach allows us to understand how neutral, negative and positive tones evolve and change over time, allowing us to correlate these changes directly to domestic and global events that take part in the process of constructing.

Figure 2. Article Tone by Year



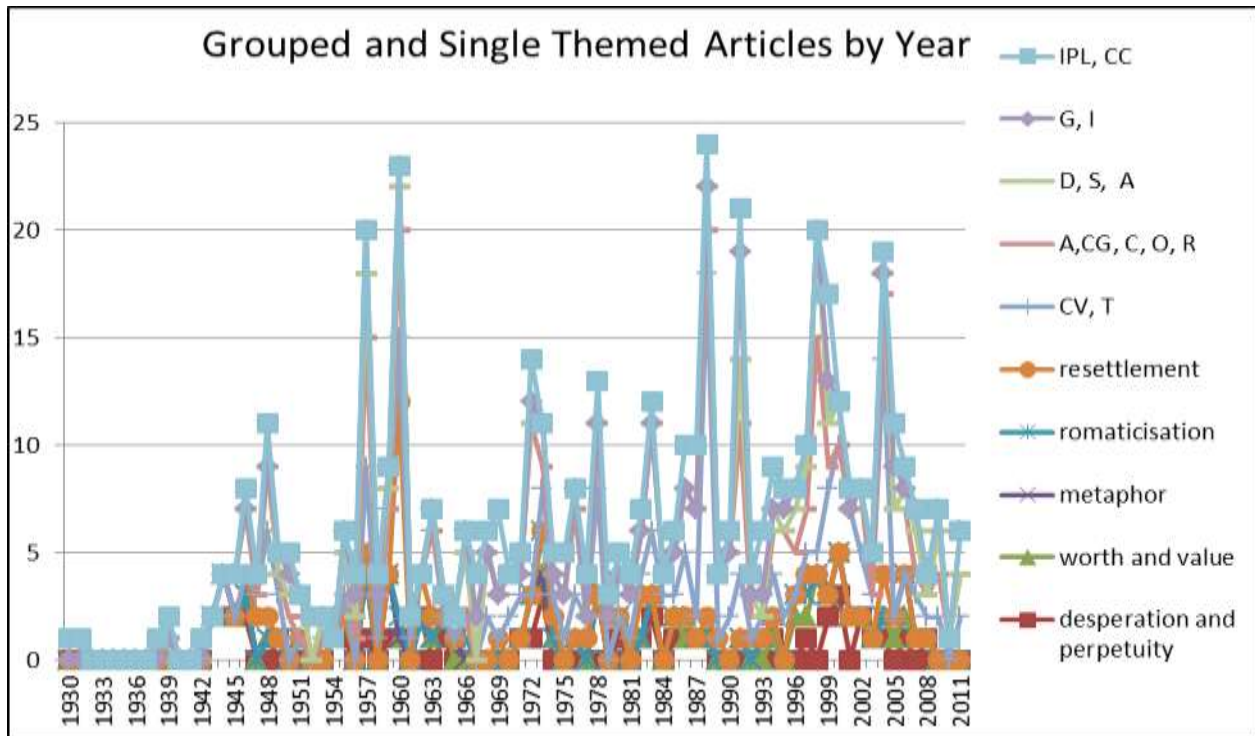
It is notable that the spike time periods tend to be similar across tones. The post war period of late 1950’s and early 1960s produced high prevalence across all three tones<sup>1</sup>. The era of the breakup of the Soviet Union in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s, and the Gulf and Balkan wars of the 1990’s saw additional spikes among all three tones. Aside from slight aberrations as noted above, the similarities in peaks and lows across time for all three tones suggests that the construction of statelessness in this data set has evolved in concert. The overall trend is relatively fluid, in that all three tones follow similar patterns.

<sup>1</sup> It must be recalled that the Refugee Convention, Stateless Convention and Statelessness Convention were drafted in 1951, 1954, and 1961 respectively.

### Time and Theme

Utilizing a quantitative approach within a social constructivist framework allows us to understand the prevalence and evolution of trends and thematic areas in this data set. For the purposes of depicting thematic areas over time in a statistically relevant way, themes were grouped into umbrella categories. 'Immigration policy and law' and 'Canadian citizenship' were grouped into IPL, CC. 'Global context' and 'international human rights regime' were grouped into the category G, I. The themes 'deportation', 'sovereignty', and 'abuse' were grouped into D, S, A. The themes 'abandonment', 'criticizing government', 'compassion', 'oppression' and 'responsibility' were grouped together in the category A, CG, C, O, R. 'Crime and violence' and 'terrorism' were grouped into CV, T. These groupings resulted in a temporal grasp of ten broad thematic trends.

Figure 3. Grouped and Single Themed Articles by Year



There are few statistically relevant findings with regards to these thematic trends. That is, each thematic area tends to be represented equally over time, with a few exceptions. The 'resettlement' theme peaks in 1960, speaking to post war resettlement efforts. The A, CG, C, O, R thematic groupings spike in the early 1970's and late 1990's. That is, notions of empathy and humanitarianism are present in the articles in these time periods. This speaks to the Ugandan crises of the early 1970's and the Gulf and European wars in the earlier 1990's, and the subsequent issues of statelessness following each. The D, S, A thematic area remains consistent over time but peaks in 1998. What is notable about the G, I thematic area is that it is not spoken of at all from 1972 to 1991, but peaks in 1991. 'Crime and violence' and 'terrorism' spike in 1998 and 2004.

What is clear is the development and evolution of rhetoric over time. Notions of empathy, resettlement and responsibility are prevalent in the 1960's and 1970's. This when Canada eliminated all forms of racial discrimination from its immigration policy in 1962; the points system was created in Canada in 1967; and Canada adopted its Multiculturalism Policy in 1971. There is a discernible shift in rhetoric concerning statelessness in the late 1990's and 2000's. The discourse becomes one of abuse and sovereignty, with notions of crime, violence and terrorism permeating the construction of statelessness and stateless persons. This is notable in light of the attempt in 1998 to reform Canada's Citizenship Act to restrict grants of citizenship, and the September 11, 2001 attacks which resulted in increased anti-immigrant rhetoric in North America. The media narrative in this data set is therefore not at odds with the state discourse, but instead, mirrors it, adapting to the fluidity of government rhetoric over time.

## Qualitative Findings

Qualitative analysis uncovered several themes that are grouped into four broad categories.

These categories are meanings of 'stateless' and 'statelessness', how the terms are used, how the terms are constructed in specific themes, and finally, Canada's protectionist strategies.

Each is discussed below.

### *Meanings of stateless and statelessness*

This data set encompasses multiple meanings and interpretations of the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness'. As mentioned above, 'stateless' was used to refer to supranational entities, such as the internet and the global economy. Articles that used the terms in this way were removed from the initial data set. As such, the terms described and defined subjects both in literal, figurative, accurate and inaccurate ways.

The terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' were written about in a literal way, referencing the global phenomenon of statelessness as defined in this paper, that being without citizenship. This did not occur often, and in fact was rare, but when this definitional approach was taken, it was done so thoroughly and with clarity.

The term 'stateless' was used to define failed states, or countries that are lawless. This is a fairly recent practice. In 1994 John Darnton of *The Globe and Mail* detailed Zaire's failing, stateless existence in his "Presiding over Zaire's Descent into Chaos". A decade later in 2004, Afyare Abdi Elmi of the *Toronto Star* outlines Somalia's struggles in his "Somalia Needs Canada's Help". He writes "as a result, the Somali people remain stateless. No institution is left functioning." It is clear that he is using the term to refer to the absence of working government, but this is misleading as he is moving the term away from citizenship-ness to

country function. In 2008, Doug Saunders uses 'stateless' in a similar way to refer to the vulnerability of Kosovo after the Serbian war. He states Kosovo has become a "stateless protectorate" (*The Globe and Mail*, "We Live like Animals Here"). Again, the use of the term in this way is misleading. Andrew Chung in 2011 quotes Canadian Immigration Minister Jason Kenney speaking about migrants from Haiti. On why adoptions of Haitian children into Canada have been suspended, Kenney states Haiti's adoption verifications have been compromised due to Haiti being "a basically stateless country" (*Toronto Star*, "Canada Exceeds Target for Granting Visas to Haitians").

The term 'stateless' takes on another meaning when applied to the global context. An unknown author in 1970 depicts the efforts of the Black Panthers advocating for a stateless, communist world. Here the focus is on achieving the goal of a world without countries (*The Globe and Mail*, "Rejects Separatism, Black Nationalism: Panther Leader Reveals Aim of Stateless, Red Society"). Ken Wiwa in 2006 comments in *The Globe and Mail's* "Crossing New Borders of Thinking" on contemporary understandings and practices of immigration. He begins with an outline of statelessness and concludes with comments on the controversial open-border debate. He challenges notions of the nation suggests that the African continent may benefit from eradicating its borders, becoming a 'stateless' continent.

There are several articles where the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are used inaccurately to describe situations involving refugees, individual stories of persecution, being left 'abandoned' by one's government. These articles either refer to the refugee as the

stateless person, or failing to provide clarity between the two.<sup>2</sup> Adam LeBor writes in *The Globe and Mail's* 1999 article "Serbian Opposition regrouping in Hungary", Serbian draft dodgers migrate to Budapest "in effect, stateless". An opinion editorial in 1990, "Migrants Deserve a Quick Amnesty", in the *Toronto Star* criticizes Canada's failure to clear its refugee backlog, and refers to these refugees as stateless persons. Multiple references are made to Europe's post World War II refugees, presumably stateless Jews, but no clarity is offered, nor is the ethnicity of the stateless identified. Elle Wiesel writes of the Cambodian genocide in the *Toronto Star* in 1980. In his article, "Will We Let This Child Die?" he states the stateless "will grow and grow, we will get tired of hearing about it and will forget it". He is referring not to Cambodians who are stateless, but to the Cambodian refugees fleeing Cambodia into Thailand. He confuses the term. This is repeated by Paul Watson in his 1994 article "Victims Tell of the Agony of Rwanda" in the *Toronto Star*. He depicts the genocide in Rwanda and refers to the fleeing Rwandans into neighbouring countries as stateless refugees.

There are several articles where the subject himself describes himself as a stateless refugee, but holds citizenship to one or more countries. In Marina Jimenez's *The Globe and Mail* article in 2004, "Canada's Treatment of Dissident Condemned", a North Korean refugee describes himself as "a stateless person" amidst his fight for asylum and deportation to North Korea. In Geoffrey York's 1990 *Toronto Star* article "Error Acknowledged in Refugee Rejection", a South African refugee facing deportation to South Africa claims he is stateless as well.

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<sup>2</sup> All of these 28 articles were written during or after 1951, the year which the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* was drafted and advocated for a separate convention dealing with statelessness because the two issues were distinct.

### *How the terms are used*

Along with interchangeably meaning several different things, the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are used in multiple ways. These include as an analogy or a metaphor, to describe an inanimate object, in quotations for effect, or emphasis, and finally, synonymously, or in consistent conjunction with other adjectives. Each usage is deconstructed below.

To begin, the term 'stateless' is used in a linguistic fashion to convey an image of negativity. In a *Toronto Star* article in 1975, "The Bloody Trail that Led to a Rostrum at the UN", Yasser Arafat cannot condemn attacks on Israel "until he is sure Palestinians will at last come in from the stateless cold". Andrew Cohen writes in *The Globe and Mail's* 1996 article "Taiwan Struggles to End Isolation", that when abroad, Taiwan's citizens are treated "like stateless people, like second class citizens". When writing on the U.S. congress plan to strip citizenship from communists, a *The Globe and Mail* writer in 1954 writes "Alternatively, they might be put on board ship and sent on perpetual cruises from port to port like the stateless people who sometimes get into the papers" ("Outlaws of 1954"). Paul Watson in his 1997 *Toronto Star* article "Fighting for the Freedom to Choose", depicts East Timor's struggles for independence and likens these struggles to the stateless situation a pre-orbit Soviet astronaut found himself in after he landed back on Earth after the break-up of the U.S.S.R. Statelessness in this article is freedom-less, and dominated by other's freedom's to choose. The theme of freedom is elaborated upon in Nicholas Keung's 2005 *Toronto Star* article "Stateless feel 'trapped in an open prison'". He writes about failed refugee claimants in Canada who are awaiting deportation. They are withheld status, trapped, unable to travel, work, "wasting" their lives. David Suzuki, in his 1994 *Toronto Star* article "Are these two reporters on same planet?" on the

media's depiction of environmentalism, writes "exacerbated by the scourge of AIDS, government control evaporates, national borders crumble beneath the pressure of environmental refugees and local populations revert to tribalism to settle old scores or defend against fleeing masses and marauding bands of stateless nomads". These stateless nomads are elegantly depicted as looters and killers. Wilson Harford writes in his 1993 letter to the *Toronto Star* that Ukrainian war criminal John Demjanjuk should be returned to Ukraine stateless, implying statelessness should be his punishment for his war crimes.

The two terms are also used to refer to inanimate objects. As mentioned above, references made to the stateless internet, or the stateless global economy, were removed from this data set. In this data set several other non-citizenship based references were made to statelessness, including several references to inanimate objects and to non-human living things. These were included in the data set because 'statelessness' in each article was presented as an important characteristic of the object in question, and commentary on its statelessness was often made.

The first such reference is made to a vehicle. In this 1954 *The Globe and Mail* article, entitled "Stateless Car", a car travelling on a boat as a gift to a shipmate is without documentation. The car is not accepted at any country port, and is subsequently dumped into the ocean by the Chilean authorities. In *The Globe and Mail's* 1987 article "A Growl in Every Port", the story is of a barge containing garbage that is moored in Louisiana after rejected by two other states. The author writes "the barge has become the stateless person of interstate commerce, wandering this way and that, and denied entry to two other states before making its unwelcome presence felt in Louisiana".



*The Globe and Mail's* 1978 article, "Nary a Growl or Peep", depicts the journey of a dead lion denied entry into the United States because it is without documentation. The author writes in detention the lion "languishes like some stateless person in a ship's cabin... silently suffering the indignity of being swathed in red tape". Bacteria are the subject of Stephen Strauss' 1986 *The Globe and Mail* article "No One Doubts Safety, but Suitcase Bacteria Unwelcome in Canada". In it, Strauss describes the journey of bacteria brought from the Netherlands to Toronto by Dutch science student. Of the "stateless bacteria" ultimately denied entry into Toronto, Strauss writes "without the proper papers, Agriculture Canada sees them as just so many tiny, illegal immigrants". Stateless cockroaches are the subject of Brian Magner's 1965 *The Globe and Mail* article "Pity the Poor Cockroaches – Everybody Hates Them". The article describes cockroaches as terrible, abhorrent creatures, and writes "Nevertheless, he is found in every type of building in the city, according to Toronto's department of health. He is the unwanted guest in hotels and restaurants, the furtive interloper in hospital kitchens, and the hardy, stateless stowaway in many incoming ships".

In the 2000's the terms are applied to less concrete, living things, and to more abstract, intangible objects. In his 2000 *The Globe and Mail* article on global peace, entitled "Peace in Our Time? Not Likely?", Robert Kaplan writes of stateless terrorists "of which the world has enough". Laurie Mylroie of *The Globe and Mail* repeats the claim a year later in her article outlining relations between Iraq and the United States in "Who is to Blame?" (2001). Terrorism is called stateless in no less than 6 articles between 2001 and 2009, with Paul Koring writing on the war on terror, and "stateless terrorist networks" in half of all such articles.

Another conversation taking place in this period is the statelessness of the enemy. Vanden Heuvel and Joel Rogers co-wrote an opinion editorial in the *Toronto Star* 2001 titled “An Opportunity for the Taking”. In it they write on big and small governments, and that “taking on the stateless enemy” requires big government. In Haroon Siddiqui’s 2004 *Toronto Star* piece, “Republican Propaganda Machine Rolls On”, he states the status of the stateless terrorist has been elevated to the negative status of the Nazis and communists. He quotes John McCain as saying “the enemy we face today is bent on our destruction”, and Dick Cheney as saying “it’s an enemy whose hatred is limitless”.

The ways in which these objects are depicted as stateless, or the ways in which their experiences of statelessness are translated are consistently negative. All of these stateless objects are the enemy. Whether they are a vehicle, animal or potentially infectious bacteria, they are collectively constructed as unverified, without status, dangerous, denied and discarded. The construction of non-human subjects within the realm of legality, status and essentially human rights, results in a reciprocal association with stateless persons and statelessness. In one instant authors in this data set have constructed a figurative world of non-humanity, but in another, the imagery used and the impressions forged are applied to and understood as the literal realities of human stateless subjects. The stateless person thus embodies the characteristics of the non-human stateless subjects and becomes equated with the latter’s negative imagery, simply through the use of language.

Another way the terms are used is with the use of quotations. Several articles utilized quotations when referring to statelessness. These articles were spread out over the 82 year span, beginning in 1930. In this *The Globe and Mail* article, the quotations are used in the title:

“Ask Amended Legislation for ‘Stateless’ Woman”. The simple descriptive is used several times referring to the ‘stateless’ persons, or ‘stateless’ peoples, who travel on ‘stateless papers’, or refugees pending resettlement who are ‘virtually stateless’, waiting in a ‘stateless limbo’. Failed refugee claimants pending deportation are therefore ‘stateless’. Moses Znaimer writes in *The Globe and Mail* in 2001’s “Leaving a Shattered World Behind”, “for a child being 'stateless'... is not all bad. You see the world, you pick up languages, you hear different musics and eat different foods. You begin to understand the riches of the world... open to all its cultures”. Kenneth McRoberts in *The Globe and Mail* writes in his 1999 article “Recognize what Quebec and Catalonia Mean to Each Other”, Catalonia is one of the leading representatives of ‘stateless nations’ in Europe.

Regardless if the person, the papers, or the ‘limbo’ of statelessness is in quotations, the quotations themselves symbolize a troubling way the terms are presented and the experiences captured. When a person’s statelessness is captured in quotations it conveys the notion that the experience is temporary, or is labelled in a way that is dramatized. It is important to understand the context in which each article and quoted term is written as each instance is relative, but many of these articles are flat in nature, being factual in scope and without commentary. In these articles, a quoted ‘stateless’ is unnecessary and problematic, as it risks implying a double *entendre*. Statelessness can become emphasized in such a way that it becomes abstract, an intangible reality that is not grounded. What is implied is a false impression of the reality of statelessness.

Another way the terms are used is synonymously with other terms, specifically ‘homeless’ and ‘penniless’. These two terms are used in conjunction with ‘stateless’ and ‘statelessness’ in

descriptive fashions in this data set. Many of these articles refer to the stateless Jews of Europe during and after World War II, made stateless and penniless overnight. Many persons and groups of people are described as hopeless and stateless, with statelessness equated with homelessness and hopelessness. A 1959 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Century of the Homeless Man", quotes a local church leader as saying "more than 40 million of the world's people are stateless or homeless refugees". Commenting on Christian George Hanna's attempt at permanent residence in Canada in the 1950s, George Bain writes on Hanna's hopelessness in *The Globe and Mail's* "Minding your Business" in 1957. Bain quotes Canadian Immigration Minister Pickersgill as stating "Why all this excitement over Hanna? He can't do anything. He is just hopeless" and "I'm just waiting for him to ask for aid next winter when he is unemployed... and I'm requested to deport him". Pickersgill later claims he was misunderstood, and it is not Hanna who is hopeless, but this potentially precedent-setting case for the Immigration Board could become hopeless.

In a similar vein to the church leader's comments above, several articles make reference to the global situation of homeless and stateless refugees, further blurring the distinctions between the two, and complicating our understanding of statelessness. Articles refer to Uganda's Asian exiled population in the 1970s, Yugoslavians in the 1990s, Palestinians and Roma. No distinction is made concerning whether these groups of people are stateless because of a lack of citizenship, or whether their flight from persecution is equated with homelessness, and therefore statelessness.

### *How the terms are constructed within specific themes*

A third theme uncovered within the qualitative analysis of this data set explores how the terms are constructed within specific themes. Most notably, the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' convey specific impressions within specific subject matters, such as gender, ethnicity, crime and violence, a person's worth or desirability for immigration, and one's legal and resident status.

Beginning with gender, it must be recalled that the overwhelming majority of articles speak of stateless persons as male, with a small percentage discussing a female as the stateless person. As such, the ways in which the two sexes are spoken of are starkly contrasted. Women are individualized as pretty and attractive. In the 1970 *The Globe and Mail* article "Racism First and Last", the story is of a Kenyan born Asian girl of British citizenship, denied entry into both the U.K. and Kenya, rendering her stateless. The "pretty" young girl is ultimately permitted entry into the United Kingdom. In his 1973 *The Globe and Mail* article "The Ballerina who is Through with Nureyev", John Fraser tells the story of a ballerina who was a stateless Russian who defected to the west in 1970. Her statelessness is masked by her striking beauty, doe eyes, high cheek bones and her voice that fairly purrs. In the 1960's the fight for Irene Rebrin's Canadian residency status was won as she was granted status as a landed immigrant. Her stateless experience was captured by the 1964 *The Globe and Mail* article "Freed of Deportation, Irene Rebrin Feels at Home" where she is described as shy, pretty, honest, educated and of a rich family. When speaking of actress Susan Clark in "Only good things happen to Susan Clark" Bruce Lawson of *The Globe and Mail* in 1966 writes "raised in Toronto, she speaks with an elusive stateless accent, a product of the west end more than anything

else". It is unclear whether Susan herself is a stateless person. These women are constructed as beautiful and mysterious, and honest and good.

Males in this data set are constructed quite differently. Males are constructed as either wealthy and successful, or as terrorists and criminals. Just under 40% of the males in this data set fell into the theme of crime and violence, with almost all of these articles yielding a negative tone. Words used to describe this group include criminal, thief, alien, manipulator, forger, dodger, biker, pimp, swarthy, chunky, convicted killer, spy, traitor, liar, terrorist, bitter, nomad, wanderer and rootless cosmopolitan. These men are implicated in crimes of the person, the business and the state. Many articles cite statelessness as an abetter to these accused males, allowing them to facilitate their wrongdoings. In the 1950s especially, statelessness provides an avenue through which these men are able to apply for multiple residencies in order to set up multiple criminal enterprises.

Of those who were the subjects of articles with positive tones, almost half were either wealthy, successful or deserving of resettlement in Canada. These men are good, deserving, devoted, cultured, happy, committed, dedicated, and eager. These men occupy high positions and social standing as writers, professors, art critics, musicians, artists, business men, and conductors. The titles of these success stories are just as interesting: "The Greatest Genius was a Babe Magnet"; "KeChin Wang Brought Law down to Earth"; "Doing the Right Thing at the Hong Kong Trade Talks"; "Classical Superstar Rostropovich gets High on North American Life"; and "An Old Success Story Replayed in Ranks of Toronto Symphony". The titles alone signify success and achievement, and triumph over past struggles.

The construction of femininity and masculinity is apparent here, with females constructed as feminine, fragile, and of good stock. Men on the other hand are either constructed as manipulating criminals to be wary of, or strong, determined men who are up to the task of achieving great success and wealth.

Findings concerning ethnicity vary greatly across each theme and each ethnicity. The lone exception is the construction of Palestinians. In the *Toronto Star's* 1984 opinion editorial "Sullyng the Halls of Parliament", the PLO is criticized heavily for its terrorist activities. The author distinguishes between the ruthless PLO terrorists, who are undeserving of political recognition, and innocent Palestinians. This distinction is not made in three notable articles in the early 2000's. Rosie DiManno in her 2002 *Toronto Star* article "Arafat's Condemnations Ring Hollow", condemns Palestinian violent attempts at statehood. She groups all Palestinians when she writes "because they are willing to accept murders upon murders on their behalf, these Palestinians have proven themselves unworthy of the state they covet". Two separate *Toronto Star* opinion editorials in 2004 call for Palestinians to "shun terror" ("Time to Revive Mideast Hope") and "get out of terror" ("Shaking That Mideast Torpor"). Ian Urbina of *The Globe and Mail* in his 2001 article "Sharon's Fatal Mistake" claims that the world must beware as "stateless Palestinians with nothing left to lose are the last thing he should hope for".

Many of the articles in the data set overlap in thematic interpretation, and must be discussed in terms of overall desirability of the immigrant to Canada. Within the thematic area of worth and value, there were several sub-themes identified, including undesirable, disease,

and mental capacity. Of these articles, stateless persons with disease and mental challenges were conveyed as undesirable in Canada.

As noted above, several articles depicted success as part of the resettlement process of stateless persons to Canada. Many are constructed as innovators or apt entrepreneurs. In contrast, those with physical disabilities and mental challenges are constructed as vulnerable and denied. Mary E. James writes in her 1959 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Parish-Adopt-A-Family is Plan", she outlines how church organisers have agreed to sponsor families with mental challenges because of the lack of government effort in doing the same. In *The Globe and Mail's* 1948 article, "600,000 DP's Remain, Problem is Still Acute", the International Organisation for Refugees (predecessor to the UNHCR) states the remaining 600,000 stateless persons of Europe are undesirables, as they are elderly and maimed. The positive note in this article is that there was noticeably less hostility on part of potential resettlement countries. In the 1963 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Ease Stricture in Mental Case, MP Asks House", MP David G. Hahn asks the House of Commons that stateless persons with mental conditions are allowed status in Canada, just like rehabilitated criminals are allowed status.

In Lynda Hurst's 1997 *Toronto Star* article, "Portrait of a marriage", she outlines how Prince Philip was the perfect candidate for marriage to Queen Elizabeth but his statelessness was a point of concern for the royal family. His bloodlines were right, but Philip was stateless, homeless, penniless, and foreign. Val Ross' 1998 *The Globe and Mail* article, "The Bitter Legacy of Hitler's Love for Art", tells the story of those working towards returning Nazi looted art to rightful owners. The article states British organisers return art more easily to wealthy Europeans instead of stateless Jews, those owners "with high social standing".



The 1946 *The Globe and Mail* article, “New Immigration Policy Demanded in Commons”, highlights the debate on who should be admitted and targeted in Canada’s immigration strategies. Some urged for the time being concentrating on refugees and stateless people, while others debated that Canada’s immigration policy should be reformed, ensuring the folks of the best type are admitted. The article states “Some members stressed the need for an overall immigration policy, while others said there should be no ‘open-door’ policy until ‘our own house is in order’”. This debate is highlighted again in the 1972 *The Globe and Mail* article “Asians waiting for flights out after deadline”. This article details the newly stateless Ugandan Asians' exile in Uganda, residing in UNHCR camps. Reports detail that those persons who are mentally challenged and physically ill are being resettled in European countries, but Canada, a prominent voice in the resettlement process was not receiving these particular persons.

The notion of desirability, or ‘best-type wanted’ permeates the experience of statelessness whether dealing with entry regulations concerning physical and mental status, or social suitability or asset management. One’s physical, mental, financial, and social characteristics play a large role in the ‘risk’ factor of entry into Canada.

As crime and violence understandably implies wrongdoing and illegalities, it is important to discuss illegality as it relates not just to law, and violations of it, but to people, and residency status in Canada. Many of the stateless people entering Canada depicted in this data set are framed as fraudsters, circumventing the legal channels of immigration to Canada, and therefore ‘illegal aliens’.

A prominent group featured as 'illegal' are the Roma of Europe, or as they are portrayed so often in this data set, Gypsies. A group of Roma is awaiting appeal of their denied refugee claims in John Slinger's 1973 *The Globe and Mail* article "Gypsies' Appeal of Deportation is Adjourned". After entering Canada "illegally" under false passports, the attention is turned to Germany, whose government plans to curtail illegal entries passed its borders. The airline that allowed the "elusive" group of Roma to land in Toronto may be forced to pay for Canada's lawyer fees in Hubert Bauch's 1976 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Airline May Get Bill for Elusive Gypsies". He outlines the well organised illegal Gypsy migration patterns from Canada to the United States. The U.S. authorities comment: "But then Gypsies are notorious for this kind of thing. They've banded together and have a world-wide organisation that allows them to get into countries illegally". Canadian authorities respond with "there's no way we'll take them back" (1976). The Canadian government speedily tries to deport a group of stateless Roma "Gypsies" because they purchased false West German passport in *The Globe and Mail's* 1973 article "Lawyers Say Canada Acting with Unusual Haste to Deport 45 Gypsies" tells the story of the penniless, desperate, group eager to work but cannot due to their "illegal" status. The same group of Roma are identified in Michael Moore's 1973 *The Globe and Mail* article "No country wants them: Ottawa Has Lost 45 Gypsies it Seeks to Deport", as gone without a trace after their deportation appeal was denied. The Canadian government comments that they "don't have trouble finding such people".

Several stateless persons in this data set leave their countries illegally. An Egyptian man enters Canada illegally and is found to have tricked his way in (*The Globe and Mail*, "Beirut, Norway Clues Prove Canada Hoaxed", 1959); a Jamaican man enters Canada illegally and is

arrested and considered “dangerous” (*Toronto Star*, “After 344 Days, Detainee Still Awaits Fate”, 1983); Kurdish immigrants in Montreal protesting the arrest of the Kurdish independence leader are potentially in Canada illegally (*Toronto Star*, “Kurdish Protestors Injure Three Police in Montreal”, 1999) . Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is found to be stateless and ruling Zambia illegally (*Toronto Star*, “Kaunda Declared Stateless”, 1999); Stateless descendants of desert nomads demand citizenship in Kuwait while they live in squalor. In response they are accused of being illegal refugees and risking turning to extremist groups (*Toronto Star*, “Kuwait”, 2011). Afghan asylum seekers are travelling on false passports and detained in Tokyo (*The Globe and Mail*, “4 on Fast Barred from Entry to Canada”, 1985). Hitler dodged the Austrian draft, falsely claiming statelessness. This action alone is said to have contributed to his settlement in Germany allowing him to pursue his Nazi regime. If it was revealed that Hitler dodged the draft in Austria, the Austrian authorities would have arrested him, preventing his rise to power (*The Globe and Mail*, “Hitler Had Some Good Blood”, 1957). Statelessness is constructed as a mystery here. Those who claim statelessness can be enemies, can be dangerous, tricksters. They are constructed not as lacking citizenship, but as ‘other’ types of migrants – economic migrants, ‘asylum shoppers’ and even war criminals seeking escape. Statelessness is constructed as a status that can mask one’s identity, the truth, and ultimately, where one belongs.

#### *Canada’s own protectionist initiatives*

The question of where one belongs permeates throughout several other themes in this data set. The fourth and final theme uncovered in this qualitative analysis is that of Canada’s own

strategies in terms of its federalist and sovereigntist objectives, its constructions of entitlement and abuse of its immigration system. Each of these themes has a global dimension that has a direct effect upon Canada's relationship with stateless peoples.

In the 1992 *The Globe and Mail* article, "The Stateless Nation of Catalonia", the author writes of Catalonia in Spain, its quest for independence and economic success. Statelessness is spoken of in terms of a nation within a nation. In Howard Ross' 1991 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Baltics Recognition Marks Turnaround in Foreign Policy", Canada welcomes dialogue with newly independent breakaway states from the Soviet Union. The author writes "Traditionally Canada has been very wary of recognizing the independence of stateless peoples, or regions of countries seeking secession. There has been concern [that these] demands for self-determination, would set a dangerous precedent for Quebec", Canada's own nation within a nation. Kenneth McRoberts' article "Recognize What Quebec and Catalonia Mean to Each Other", outlines Catalonia as one of Europe's leading representatives of 'stateless nations', and in fact shares with Quebec the desire to maintain its identity in the face of globalisation. In 1994, J. Stephen Hartman links the stateless Quebec nation in Canada, and statelessness, in his *The Globe and Mail* article "Cheap Play with Unity Card", stating if Quebec wants to secede, a national plan should be in place to avoid statelessness<sup>3</sup>.

This plays into notions of entitlement and privilege. A recurring theme in this data set is the 'right' to Canadian citizenship as one that should be earned, not bestowed upon the stowaway. In the 1990s Canadian citizenship law came under scrutiny when the Immigration Minister Lucienne Bouchard tabled legislation to have the *Citizenship Act* amended to prevent automatic

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<sup>3</sup> Canada has since legislated that in order to renounce Canadian citizenship, one must already possess the citizenship of another country, so as to prevent statelessness. This is in fulfilment of its obligations to the 1961 *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*.

citizenship being given to newborns. This was captured in several articles, and is culminated in the *Toronto Star's* 1998 article, "Overhaul of Rules Unveiled", quoting the Minister as saying "if citizenship has a meaning, has a sense, you must be here to develop that sense of belonging to the country". The only poll in this data set is the 1998 *Toronto Star* "You Asked Us Poll" and comes to the same conclusion. In Walter Stefaniuk's "Citizenship Issue Draws Callers' Ire", readers are asked "Should children born on Canadian soil automatically be granted citizenship, regardless of who their parents are?". The poll mentions the potential of statelessness if citizenship laws are reformed, but statelessness is not a part of the question, and does not address statelessness, its causes or effects, but instead frames the question around citizenship and notion of entitlement by birth, or *jus soli*. The debate comes to a head six years later in Thomas Graff's 2004 letter to the *Toronto Star*. He makes clear Canada cannot strip citizenship if it results in statelessness, but Canada should be therefore more stringent with whom it awards citizenship to. Citizenship is a privilege in this article, not a right and should be coveted and rewarded strictly.

The privilege of Canadian citizenship goes hand in hand with many who feel the Canadian immigration system is 'broken'. In Estanislao Oziwicz's 1991 *The Globe and Mail* article, "Passport Babies' Become Families' Key to Canada", he outlines that many women are coming to Canada as visitors to have 'babies of convenience'. He mentions that foreign officials in 1977 reformed the *Citizenship Act* to allow for *jus soli* to adhere to international obligations to prevent stateless, but now the *jus soli* principle is being abused. Women from Hong Kong, specifically are seeking an "insurance policy" against the communist takeover of Hong Kong in 1997. In the 1988 *Toronto Star* opinion editorial, "60,000 People on Hold", the queue of

refugee claimants seeking status in Canada is infiltrated by abusers of the system, contributing to the large backlog of cases yet to be heard. Canada's refugee determination system is overburdened and abused. In Victor Malarek's 1988 *Toronto Star* article "Minister Urges International Immigration Control", he tells the story of a stateless man ordered deported who claims refugee status to stall deportation. Malarek quotes Immigration Minister Bouchard as saying she was not surprised by Mr. Mohammad's claim of refugee status: "It seems that it's a regular way to stay in Canada for years". Years earlier, in 1957, Immigration Minister Pickersgill is quoted as saying "it's quite a place (Vancouver). All you have to do to get into the Port of Vancouver is to pay someone fifty bucks from Seattle to land you here and then throw your passport away" (*The Globe and Mail*, "Minding Your Business", 1957). In reference to George Christian Hanna, the Egyptian born stateless man later convicted of fabricating his claim to statelessness, the author of a 1960 *The Globe and Mail* article interestingly called "The Immigrant and the Future" writes of Canada's broken immigration system where "under the existing regulations there results in a consistency of inconsistencies". This sentiment is echoed in 1988 when *The Globe and Mail's* "The terrorist and the Open Door" reports that this stateless Palestinian and former PLO member, who was ordered deported, arrived in Canada amidst a broken CSIS system. It is implied in this article that this convicted terrorist was able to enter Canada easily and undetected, and was able to do so because of his stateless status.

What is striking in this data set is the notion of implications, or the consequences that are understood to be part of the process of investigating and verifying statelessness. On granting citizenship to the thousands of non-ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong that will be made stateless upon China's takeover in 1997, Britain's Prime Minister John Major expressed concern that this

will establish precedent in other former colonies who seek independence (*Toronto Star*, "U.K. offers citizenship to 8,000", 1997). Even more striking are the consequences Canada and Canadians may endure should the broken and abused Canadian immigration system continue to allow and harbour manipulating and undeserving enemies of the state. In his 2007 *Toronto Star* article "Stateless Refugees Sit in Limbo", Nicholas Keung outlines how refugee advocates have asked Ottawa to consider allowing statelessness as grounds for refugee and humanitarian applications. He concludes "but given Middle East politics and the millions of potential applicants, it's a hot potato the government has little inclination to pick up". Addressing the debate surrounding residency status for the stateless Christian George Hanna in the 1950s, the Canadian Immigration Board ruled Hanna had no "right" to enter Canada, and in fact Board representative Mr. MacLennan said "if Hanna were admitted and this were made a precedent, it would open the gate to a flood of immigrants who say they are entitled to be here, but can't remember where they came from and say, 'you can't deport us'. This would be a very serious situation for Canada indeed" (*The Globe and Mail*, "Defers Decision on Hanna Plea to Enter Canada", 1957).

## VII. Discussion

This research study makes clear that statelessness has been constructed in Canadian national media in group-specific ways that has resulted in transparent subject formation. Using citizenship as a tool to divide 'us' from 'them', statelessness is constructed in such a way that reinforces power relations between those who belong in Canada and those who do not. This divide is achieved via the construction of the stateless person as the 'other' in Canadian society,

occupying the lowest position in Canada's hierarchy of belonging. Secondly, statelessness is applied to persons or groups of people, and is rarely recognized as a phenomenon in and of itself. Thirdly, the construction of statelessness contributes to a blurring of the definitional clarity of statelessness, further complicating our understanding of statelessness as a separate and distinct form of status in the Canadian context. As a result settlement in Canada of stateless persons is built upon a discriminatory, misunderstood and ill-defined foundation.

### *The Other*

The discourse surrounding the stateless person and statelessness in this data set is one that embodies notions of the 'other', 'us and them', and power dynamics. As those experiencing statelessness undergo subject formation it is clear that a binary between the included (citizens) and excluded (stateless) in Canada has been developed and is based upon lines of legal status. The excluded are so because of their own actions, whether criminal, manipulative, dangerous, or mysterious. Being stateless is also constructed as being vulnerable, desperate and hopeless, but it is these characteristics that can allow one to be reckless and manipulative, determined to gain entry in Canada, masking one's identity and the 'truth'. It is these characterizations that have produced the 'truth' of statelessness as it is understood in Canada. As Aust in writes, "It is this production of truth that generates the caricatured notion of the model, law-abiding, respectable, multiculturalism-loving and peaceful Canadian citizen", the very opposite to the stateless person as constructed in this inclusion/exclusion binary (2010, 21).

The narrative surrounding the stateless person is thus one of the undesirable, and ultimately, one of 'them'. As the construction of the 'other' in Canada hierarchically categorizes different types of immigrant, it places the stateless person on the lowest point on that scale,



one whose justification for entry into Canada is often difficult. Within this hierarchy the intersectional relation between gender and ethnicity must be noted. While women are constructed as pretty, and vulnerable, 89.5% of the females in this data set were of northern Europe or Soviet descent. This is notable as 79.7% of the world's documented stateless people as of 2013, are from non-European or from former Soviet countries (UNHCR, 2013). The quantitative methodological approach in this study allows us to grasp who the 'other' is represented as in this data set. The stateless 'other' is overwhelmingly male, and non-white. This study's robust data set allows us to understand how the construction of the non-white, male stateless person has solidified over time into *the* representative of the stateless person in Canada. This evolution is a misrepresentation of global statelessness as, noted earlier, the majority of stateless persons in the world are in fact female. The gender division in global statelessness is not adequately represented in the eight decades of articles in *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*, painting a false picture of gender based discrimination as it relates to citizenship.

The 'othered' stateless person has also been constructed in such a way that facilitates the myth of Canadian unity and benevolence. In this way, the stateless person has been constructed as the manipulator and abuser of the Canadian immigration system. This narrative services the sovereigntist and protectionist rhetoric that closes the immigration 'door' upon its moral discretion, denying abusers and allowing entry only to those who are deserving of residency within Canada. This is important to note in light of Rose Baaba Folsom's matter-of-fact statement that "There is an absolute consensus in the political arena that government immigration policies should exclusively reflect national economic interests and not ideals of

morality and justice” (2004, 26). As this study has made apparent, it is no secret that Canadian values and interests are protected from outsiders and abusers, but are protected in the *name* of morality and justice. The notion that granting entry and residency status to stateless persons may result in ‘opening the flood gates’ is not just rhetoric. In its rationale for abstaining from signing the 1954 *Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*, for example, Canada has stipulated that “ratification and subsequent inclusion in Canadian legislation of specific provisions governing the status of stateless persons would encourage stateless persons to come to Canada from other countries, and would encourage persons already in Canada to renounce their citizenship” (Brouwer 2003, 17).<sup>4</sup> Protection from the stateless ‘other’ is at the centre of government discourse, the driver of which is the myth of unity and benevolence.

For Sharma “The view of the Self as insider and the Other as foreigner or outsider that nationalist practices aimed at ‘protecting our borders’ organise, consequently helps to naturalize the nation-state system and profoundly shape both material reality as well as a particular ideological understanding of social relationship amongst people” (2001, 418). Canada has succeeded in utilizing the myth of the stateless person to facilitate that person’s experience in an excluded, non-status ‘limbo’ existence. This manifestation is possible because the stateless person narrative both shapes and is shaped by the national debate. Austin refers to a racism that silently shapes national debate, but in the case of stateless persons that conversation is not silent, but rather vocal, permeating Canadian media for decades<sup>5</sup> (2010, 22). As a result, notions of Canadian identity and nationalism have become determinants of this

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<sup>4</sup> The Canadian government has stipulated: “[a]ccession to the Convention would be a ‘pull-factor’ for stateless persons and would encourage those inside Canada to renounce their citizenship in order to remain in Canada” (Brouwer 2012, 32).

<sup>5</sup> It must be recalled that despite most of the quantitative depictions in this data set either positive or neutral, these depictions occurred mostly in articles that did not focus on statelessness specifically, and in fact had a low level of focus, or made a passing reference to statelessness.

understanding, dictating notions of privilege and entitlement to Canadian citizenship under the guise of those who deserve and those who do not and by extension, those who belong and those who do not.

### *Statelessness as a Non-Issue*

Earlier findings reveal that statelessness referring to persons in general was the subject of just 8.0% of the entire data set. This study has found that overall Canadian national media is not interested in the problem of statelessness, but rather the statelessness of specific persons and/or groups of people. This begs the question, then, whether statelessness is considered a phenomenon 'in and of itself', or whether it is a characteristic *befallen* on specific groups and persons. In other words, this study argues that statelessness is regarded as not something that is an entity on its own that *can* happen to people, but something that *has* happened to people. Statelessness in this study is regarded as a reactive occurrence to a problem - a *manifestation* of an issue instead of an issue itself.

Lindsey Kingston's study on the prominence of statelessness in human rights forums finds "Statelessness [...] serves as an example of a social problem that has not yet fully emerged onto the international human rights agenda" (2013, 74). She explains this development as based on the recognition or classification of statelessness as a problem versus an 'issue'. She writes "Successful issue emergence may be defined as the step in the process of mobilization when a preexisting grievance is transformed from a problem into an issue" (2013, 74). Statelessness in this study remains a problem but not a point of concern, and therefore blends into the background. Statelessness is understood in this study as affecting multiple groups of people all over the world (Bedouin, Tibetans, Palestinians, Ugandan Asians, Russians, South Africans), but

is rarely addressed generally as a global human rights issue. It is addressed in localised contexts that minimize the ability to grasp the intricacies of the 'issue'. The lens through which it is viewed remains national, or statist, limiting the conversation to the context of sovereignty, and domestic policy, instead of human rights on an international scale.

The theme of 'Canadian citizenship' was the only theme in this study wherein persons in general were recorded as most prevalently referenced. In the thematic area of 'sovereignty', for example, persons in general are recorded to be relevant in only 9.5% of the data set. This indicates that statelessness is important to the maintenance of Canadian border security, but only when concerning specific stateless persons, or groups of people. The threat becomes apparent only when there is a tangible source of that threat. A source that can be grounded and traced – groups of Roma 'Gypsies' arriving at the border, individual Palestinians as potential members of the PLO. In fact, within the 8% of the data set that refers to statelessness in general, 98% of those articles were positive or neutral in tone. This suggests that when Canadian media refers to statelessness in general it does so in a positive, even sympathetic way – but refers to statelessness in general in less than 10% of the entire data set.

Therefore, as statelessness in this study remains a non-issue, it remains improperly situated in the understanding of human rights in Canada. Stateless persons or groups of people occupy spaces that are grounded, whether they are within thematic areas of worth and value, or crime and violence. On the other hand, statelessness in general occupies a space that remains abstract and ill-addressed.

### *Definitional Clarity*

The ways in which the two terms are constructed in this data set contribute to the blurring of the definitional clarity of statelessness, further complicating our understanding of statelessness as a separate and distinct form of status in the Canadian context. As this study has pointed out, in addition to the term stateless being used to create negative imagery (cockroaches, garbage, abandoned vehicles, animals and bacteria) it is used inappropriately to refer to refugees. This is troubling as the use of 'stateless' as a blanket term applied to refugees masks the distinct realities and legal status' of the two groups. Stateless people can be refugees, and they can be non-refugees. The two realities overlap but it is important to address each situation, whether individual or protracted, in a technically appropriate way. The failure to do so results in a complication of understandings of realities – those which stateless persons experience prior to emigration to Canada, and those which they face when going through the status and resettlement processes upon arrival. This complicated understanding could be considered ignorance as a result of misinformation passed to the public and to the media from the government, and others who are knowledgeable in such legalities. We must be reminded, however, that language influences social facts, creating rules which evolve into norms. Language is the base point from which understandings evolve into narratives and narratives evolve into truths.

Michel Foucault reminds us that power is a crucial component of this process; truth and power enjoy a reciprocal relationship that creates realities. The equations of stateless persons as refugees in this data set are therefore important to consider when examining provisions for non-refugee stateless persons in Canadian legislation – there are none. As outlined in the

research problem section of this paper, Canadian legislation does not accommodate stateless persons *because* they are stateless. There is no definitional clarity that addresses refugee and non-refugee stateless persons. The two groups are conflated, not only blanketing the legal understandings of statelessness that are not associated with persecution and asylum seeking, but relegating non-refugee stateless persons to legal approaches designed for groups to which they do not belong. They are left caught in legislative gaps in Canada, consigning them to inappropriate channels of redress and subsequently limbo status. Policy and legislative realities succeed in suppressing stateless persons in Canada into a position of vulnerability against the benevolent and powerful state. Power relations are maintained between those who have access and those who do not.

This paper does not argue that Canadian newspaper discourse has directly affected Canadian immigration policy and legislation on stateless persons, or vice versa. Instead, it is argued that the construction of the stateless reality in this data set is crucial to the understandings we possess of who these people are, what types of experiences they have, and ultimately, the implications upon their resettlement in Canada.

#### *Resettlement in Canada*

This study finds that the construction of the stateless person as the 'other', the understanding of statelessness as a non-issue, and the struggles with definitional clarity of the terms adversely affect the settlement in Canada of stateless persons.

Andrew Brouwer tells us that as “‘stateless person’ is not grounds for conferral of Protected Person status” in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)*, the stateless person is required to seek status in Canada through one of three ways: recognition as a

Convention refugee or person in need of protection; conferral of permanent residence status; and naturalization (2012, 38). Each path requires that the 'establishment factor' is satisfied, thereby requiring that the stateless person prove their 'established' status. Brouwer reminds us that "This requirement could pose a significant obstacle for stateless persons, however, since the reality of life in Canada as a stateless person makes it difficult to achieve social and economic 'establishment'" (2012, 48). The settlement experiences of stateless persons in Canada are stark. Stateless persons in Canada face significant hurdles with respect to access to health care, education, and appropriate working and living conditions. Deportation and detention is a prominent aspect of stateless persons' challenges with establishing status in Canada, forcing many underground. The abovementioned challenges to establishing status in Canada can result in psychological distress and mental health concerns (Carasco 2012, 295).

In Dominique Arel's study on the Flemish, Quebecois and Catalanian nations in Belgium, Canada and Spain, respectively, he writes that psychological factors, "namely the social status of cultural groups [and] whether there are trends indicating a change in groups' perceptions of themselves and the other" both impact, and are impacted by, political and economic arrangements (2001, 68). This is an important consideration in light of stateless persons' resettlement in Canada. The political, economic, social and legal realities of stateless persons seeking establishment in Canada may have a direct effect upon their psychological experiences.

Weber reminds us that knowledge is affected by knowledge in a reciprocal process of conditioned understanding. That is to say, when perceptions of stateless persons are created by 'Canadians', they can subsequently influence stateless persons' perceptions of themselves. As discourse creates power, and power creates discourse, narratives of truth of statelessness

become truths for both those inside and outside of the stateless experience. Barnett writes “power can be understood... also as the production of identities and interests that limit the ability to control their [subjects] fate” (2005, 264). It must be considered, then, to what extent the construction of the stateless person in Canada in discourse and language is reified into political, economic, social and legal norms, and ultimately into lived realities.

#### VIII. Policy Recommendations

As the legal realities of stateless persons in Canada are formulated by their status as non-citizens of any state, *de jure* statelessness, their lived realities and adverse settlement experiences in Canada prohibit any exercise of citizenship, resulting in an experience of *de facto* statelessness. This ‘double’ statelessness is both the foundation of a spiral into ‘limbo’, and the manifestation of legislative gaps in Canadian immigration law and policy. It is in this context that this paper makes four policy recommendations.

Andrew Brouwer in conjunction with the UNHCR made sixteen policy recommendations in his 2012 discussion paper *Statelessness in the Canadian Context*. This paper echoes each recommendation as each serves to better protect stateless persons both in Canada and abroad. Many of these pertain to detention processes in Canada, data collection methods, overseas resettlement processes, and avoiding statelessness. Though each recommendation Brouwer puts forth are crucial to the well-being of stateless persons in Canada, and to the facilitation of the legal processes they undergo in Canada, there are four policy recommendations that stand out as crucial in light of the settlement experiences that stateless persons in Canada undergo.

These policy recommendations are concerned with protecting stateless persons, immigration to Canada, and status within Canada upon arrival. Firstly, the IRPA should be



amended to include “in the grounds for conferral of Protected Person status those ‘stateless persons’ who are unable to return to and enjoy effective protection in their countries of former habitual residence” (Brouwer 2012, 66). Secondly, stateless person should be defined in the *Act* to include “both the definition of de jure statelessness set out in Article 1(1) of the 1954 Convention and a definition of de facto statelessness based on lack of effective protection in any country of former habitual residence to which the person is able to return” (*Ibid.*). Thirdly, “protection of stateless persons’ as a public policy category for permanent resident status in cases processed both in Canada and overseas, where such stateless persons otherwise lack effective protection” should be created (Brouwer 2012, 67). These three policy recommendations address the legislative gaps that stateless persons fall into in the process of status acquisition. The Canadian government needs to address specifically the settlement needs of non-refugee stateless persons, through status-appropriate programmes that address the unique lived realities within both the emigration and settlement processes. These experiences are different from those who seek asylum and need to be accommodated appropriately.

The fourth policy recommendation concerns immigration to Canada: “With respect to overseas applications, [the] Immigration Manual [...] should be amended to include statelessness as a persuasive factor for the exercise of the officer’s discretion in assessing hardship” (Brouwer 2012, 68). This amendment would enable stateless persons to apply for entry into Canada based on their condition of statelessness, without necessarily having to qualify as a refugee. This would not only strengthen the definitional clarity between the two experiences, but would also forge a path to citizenship for a unique category of people who

remain outside of this opportunity. As a resettlement country that advocates inclusion, Canada needs to acknowledge the specific notions of inclusion and membership that are associated with not possessing citizenship of any state, and therefore 'belonging' nowhere.

#### IX. Areas of Future Research

The topic of stateless persons in Canada is an under-researched area. There are several areas of further research that can contribute to the understanding of their political, economic, social and legal experiences. Who are the stateless persons in Canada? Where do they live, and what are their socio-economic statuses? What are the settlement experiences of those facing deportation and detention? What are the factors driving stateless persons underground? What are their 'illegal' settlement experiences? What roles do gender and ethnicity play? As the literature in Canada has revealed, testimonies from immigrants in the migrant hierarchy reveal striking contributions to the discussions revolving around settlement. These provide robust and intimate accounts of experiences of racialization, marginalization, and notions of belonging and membership, providing evidence-based knowledge challenging the 'true' Canadian narrative of inclusion and benevolence. Undoubtedly, an investigation into the stateless community in Canada would make a valuable contribution to this conversation.

Building upon the social constructivist exploration within this study, this analysis could be extended to explore the social construction of statelessness in other realms beside media. For example, one could explore how statelessness is constructed within Canadian political debates throughout the last century, within all levels of government. Secondly, how statelessness is constructed within refugee and non-status discourse within Canada. In addition, one could

explore how statelessness is constructed within the plenipotentiary meetings of global leaders surrounding each of the 1951 *Convention*, 1954 *Convention* and 1961 *Convention* draft meetings. Undertaking an analysis of the construction of statelessness in Canada within these realms would complement the media analysis within this study, building a robust understanding of the multifaceted process of construction of statelessness within various realms in Canada.

## X. Conclusion

This paper set out to better understand the discourse of statelessness in the Canadian government and public domains, and specifically how media has served to facilitate those understandings throughout history. In addition it set out to explore what impacts these understandings have on the settlement experiences of stateless persons in Canada.

Media was chosen as the method of exploration as the aim of this paper is to understand the perceptions and truths of statelessness that exist, but also *how* they came to being in the public domain. This paper explored the social construction of statelessness in the Canadian context with an examination of two national newspapers from 1930-2011. This study utilized a mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis of 616 newspaper articles written in the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* over an 82 year time span. Hartley reminds us that “The media do not simply ‘remind us of commonsense [sic] notions and classifications that we already *have*, rather they produce and reproduce them out of *raw materials* selected from the cultural and

linguistic environment" (Cited by Harding 2005, 312). It is in this context that statelessness in the Canadian context is explored in this study.

A social constructivist framework was therefore utilized to explore these processes of knowledge production. The temporal aspects of the construction of statelessness speak to shifts in paradigms, values, ethics and identities – factors that can shape and influence understandings of statelessness. Employing a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative approaches allowed the robust data set to be investigated in a unique way, accommodating for statistical relevance over time, and interpretative understandings of isolated pieces of data. Using a social constructivist framework provided an avenue through which both the quantitative and qualitative data could be analysed over time against the intersectional aspects of statelessness, for example domestic legislation, global events, and evolving notions of equity. The utilization of a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative approaches within a social constructivist framework was chosen to address the social construction of statelessness in Canadian media precisely so as to uncover trends and themes within a large body of data, and within expansive search parameters. The result is a robust body of data that provides unique insights into the objectives of this study. Qualitative interpretation resulted in a multi-layered subjective analysis, while quantitative statistical analysis provided a set of findings that could not have been extracted from a qualitative undertaking alone. The quantitative approach utilized in this study contributed to many of the main findings presented, with several findings products of quantitative analysis alone. That is to say, without a quantitative aspect to this study, the understandings of the social construction of statelessness within Canadian national media would be incomplete. This study, therefore,

confirms that discourse analysis can be successfully and fruitfully undertaken within a quantitative methodological approach.

This study uncovered several findings pertinent to our understanding of how statelessness is socially constructed within Canadian national media. The most relevant findings are listed in a table below.

Table 9. Summary of Findings

Quantitative Findings	Qualitative Findings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are prevalent in articles written in the 1950's, the late 1980's to the early 1990's, and the late 1990's and the early 2000's.</li> <li>Articles that contained the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' were less prevalent in the periods from the 1930's to the 1950's, the 1960's and 1970's.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The term stateless is used to define failed states, or countries that are lawless</li> <li>The terms referenced open border concepts, or stateless world, without countries</li> <li>The terms were used inaccurately, to describe situations involving refugees</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The relevance of statelessness to each article in this data set is close to evenly distributed between focused, sub-theme and passing degrees, highlighting the variance in relevance that statelessness occupies in this data set.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The terms stateless and statelessness are used in multiple ways: in an analogy or a metaphor, to describe an inanimate object, in quotations for effect, or emphasis, and synonymously, or in consistent conjunction with other adjectives.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Articles with a low level of focus numbered the highest, at 307, or 49.8% of the data set.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Females are constructed as feminine, fragile, and of good stock. Men are either constructed as manipulating criminals to be wary of, or strong, determined men who are up to the task of achieving great success and wealth.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Articles neutral in tone accounted for 291, or 47.2%, the highest of the three recorded tones</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Those stateless persons with physical disabilities and mental challenges are constructed as vulnerable and denied.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Groups of people were the most referenced at 331 times, or 53.7%.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>One's physical, mental, financial, and social characteristics play a large role in the 'risk' factor of entry into Canada.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Palestinians were referenced as stateless 107 times, or 19.6% of the data set.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many of the stateless people entering Canada in this data set are framed as fraudsters, circumventing the legal channels of immigration to Canada, and therefore 'illegal aliens'.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>158, or 73.1% of the persons referenced were male.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Statelessness is constructed as a status that can mask one's identity, the truth, and ultimately, where one belongs.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The degree of relevance of statelessness to the article has a direct effect upon the tone of statelessness, and the higher the relevance, the more negative the tone, and the lower the relevance, the more positive the tone.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A recurring theme in this data set is the 'right' to Canadian citizenship as one that should be earned.</li> <li>The Canadian immigration system is 'broken'.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The higher the level of focus of statelessness the article, the more likely the tone of the article is to be positive. Conversely, the lower the level of focus, the more likely the article is to have a neutral tone. Negative tones are</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prevalent in this data set is the notion of implications, or the consequences that are understood to be part of the process of investigating and verifying statelessness.</li> </ul>

highest when the focus is at the medium level, and lowest when at the low level of focus.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Themes where the level of focus was 'low' included 'crime and violence', 'Israeli/Palestinian conflict', 'immigration policy and law', 'desperation and perpetuity', 'descriptive', 'worth and value', 'terrorism', 'resettlement', 'global context' and 'Holocaust'.</li> <li>• Themes where the level of focus was more likely to be 'high' included 'criticizing government', 'abandonment', 'abuse', 'sovereignty' and 'compassion'.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A negative tone was recorded as most prevalent in the following themes: 'crime and violence', 'terrorism', 'abuse', and 'metaphor'.</li> <li>• A positive tone was recorded as most prevalent in the 'criticizing government', 'desperation and perpetuity', 'worth and value', 'global context', and 'compassion' themes.</li> <li>• The majority of themes were neutral in tone.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Persons in general were recorded as most prevalent in only one theme, 'Canadian citizenship'</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Articles with negative tones peaked in the mid to late 1950's and early 1960's, the late 1980's and the mid 2000's.</li> <li>• The articles with positive tones peaked in the mid to late 1950's and again not until the early and late 1990's and mid 2000's.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That is, each thematic area tends to be represented equally over time.</li> <li>• The 'resettlement' theme peaks in 1960.</li> <li>• 'Crime and violence' and 'terrorism' spikes in 1998 and 2004.</li> </ul>	

There are specific findings, however, that are crucial to our understanding of the social construction of statelessness in Canadian national media. Firstly, the degree of relevance of statelessness to the article has a direct effect upon the tone of statelessness within each article, and the higher the relevance, the more negative the tone, and the lower the relevance, the more positive the tone. Secondly, gender is constructed in a specific way in this data set that depicts statelessness as a male dominated phenomenon, whereas in reality, females are those who are most affected by statelessness. Thirdly, tone and theme become statistically relevant when investigated in a temporal analysis. That is, the constructions of statelessness in this data set with regards to positive, negative, and neutral tones, as well as thematic areas were

highlighted in individual categorical analysis, but became even more significant when explored over the 82 year time span of the data set. There were specific periods of time when specific tones and themes became more prevalent than others, suggesting that the construction of statelessness in Canadian national media is subject to change over time. Fourthly, there were recurring themes that spoke qualitatively to the constructions and understandings of statelessness: Canadian citizenship is a privilege that should be earned; the Canadian immigration system is 'broken'; and there are consequences that are understood to be part of the process of verifying one's identity in Canada.

The most important findings revealed in this study form the main arguments of this paper. This paper argues that Canadian national media has constructed the stateless person as the 'other' in Canadian society, occupying the lowest position on the migrant, and societal, totem pole. Secondly, this study found that statelessness is constructed in such a way that applies to persons or groups of people, and is rarely recognized as a phenomenon in and of itself. This speaks to our understanding of statelessness not as an issue in and of itself, but rather as a facet of another circumstance, whether personal or group association. Thirdly, the way the terms 'stateless' and 'statelessness' are constructed contributes to the blurring of the definitional clarity of these realities, further complicating our understanding of statelessness as a separate and distinct form of status in the Canadian context. As a result settlement in Canada of stateless persons is built upon a discriminatory, misunderstood and ill-defined foundation. These constructions of statelessness reinforce power relations in Canada between those who belong in Canada and those who do not.

This study finds that the construction of statelessness in the media narrative in this data set is, therefore, not at odds with Canadian state discourse on statelessness, but instead, mirrors and reproduces it, adapting to the fluidity of government rhetoric over time. Though statelessness does not occupy a prominent place in the discourse of belonging in Canada, the Canadian government has not remained silent on the issue of statelessness. Instead, as this study has shown, the Canadian government is vocal about what it considers justified entry into Canada, and subsequently to whom it considers privileged enough to grant entry. Similarly, when statelessness is not prevalent in this data set, it can be surmised that government discourse on the issue is correspondingly silent. Though this study is not an analysis into Canadian government discourse, the patterns and thematic areas found to be prominent in both government and media discourse in this data set lend credibility to the notion that this media narrative mirrors the state discourse on statelessness, whether vocal or silent. The national media in Canada repeats the government and public discourses of statelessness and, therefore, contributes to the ongoing construction of statelessness in Canada. This study shows that citizenship continues to divide 'us' from 'them' in this data set, resulting in a dominated, vulnerable and precarious existence for stateless persons in Canada.



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