Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Against Immigrant Women Living in Canada: Blending Big Data and Critical Discourse Approaches to News Media Representations

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my mother, Jacqueline, and to all the other women who have crossed the oceans to settle in new lands, to start new lives riddled with hardships so that their children may be able to have better lives.

To God for giving me the strength and the discipline to put in the work needed to fulfill this requirement and to my cheerleading team, who encouraged and pushed me without them, completing this thesis would not have been possible.

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Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Against Immigrant Women Living in Canada: Blending Big Data and Critical Discourse Approaches in Understanding News Media Reports

By Kharisse Thompson

Abstract

Discussions on the role of gender in migration have increased significantly in the last few years. This study explores the impact of gender-based violence (GBV) on immigrant women living in Canada as reported and constructed by news media. The study was carried out using Big Data, with the aid of several clustering and classifying artificial intelligence (AI) technologies (Machine Learning Tools). After a significant amount of news media data was gleaned through such technologies, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to examine how discourse, specifically from Canadian news media, reports and thus constructs GBV against immigrant women living in Canada. Through this critical lens, it was concluded that immigrant women were often viewed as passive victims and never as heroes / survivors / or agents in their lives; they were also presented as 'other' in Canadian society by news media reflecting stereotypical images of them and exoticizing their GBV experiences. Such constructions, in turn, contributed to aggravating and perpetuating their GBV experiences as well as magnifying pre-existing inequalities.

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acronyms

GBV- Gender-Based Violence

IMO-international Organization for Migration

VAW- Violence Against Women

IPV- Intimate Partner Violence

OCASI- Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants

WHO- World Health Organisation

SALCO- South Asian legal Clinic of Ontario

PHC- Primary Health Care

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

IRPR- Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations

IRCC- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Canada is known for its mosaic approach to multiculturalism, where people from all cultures supposedly live in harmony while also maintaining their cultural heritage and religious practices. Canada is also considered to be one of the most inclusive countries in the world. Canada has worked hard to promote this image of benevolence. Unfortunately, benevolence is not always the reality. Today, immigrants often come to Canada for reasons such as economic gain, politics, to escape war/conflict, family reunification, access to better education, etc. (Jeffery, 2014). Canada also needs immigrants as Canada's population growth could be close to zero in 20 years. "The population continues to age and fertility rates are projected to remain below the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman" (Statistics Canada, 2018). Research has shown that there is a relationship between migration and development as well as between migration and gender literature (Glick Schiller,1992; Lucas, 2005; Le Goff, 2016). While the advantages and disadvantages of migration for immigrants themselves have been widely studied, few studies focus on the violence immigrant women, girls, and members of the LGBTQ+ community face once they get to their destinations (Lee, & Brotman, 2011: Lee, & Brotman, 2013: Kalich, Heinemann, & Ghahari, 2016).

Gender inequality is present in many areas of life today, including politics, religion, media, cultural norms, school, and the workplace (Anand & Sen, 1995; Kabeer, 2005; Bunch, 2007; Matoo, Mann, & Romano, 2017). Both men and women receive many messages, both overt and covert, based on society's standards that assume it is natural for men to have more social power than women (Padavic, Ely, & Reid, 2020). While the feminist movement has come a long way in its fight against gender inequality, scholars and activists have increasingly recognized the importance of intersectionality and that inequality is not experienced equally by

all women. The social identities of people can overlap to create unique experiences of discrimination (UN Women, 2020). In the migration scholarship, it is recognized that gender and migration intersect and simultaneously affect each other. Intersectionality here implies: "the importance of including the perspectives of multiply-marginalized people, especially women of color; an analytic shift from addition of multiple independent strands of inequality toward a multiplication and thus transformation of their main effects into interactions; and a focus on seeing multiple institutions as overlapping in their co-determination of inequalities to produce complex configurations from the start, rather than "extra" interactive processes that are added onto main effects" (Choo & Ferree, 2010, p. 131). Studies have indicated that the effects of migration on gender relations are further mediated by class, ethnicity, and race (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). In other words, people are often disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression. Women and girls are significantly more vulnerable because of their sex. They are seen as easy prey and are at risk for various forms of exploitation and violence, which are gender-based (Burke, Amaya, & Dillon, 2020). It is essential to note that boys, girls, women, and members of the LGBTQ+(Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) community all experience migration and resettlement differently (Lee & Brotman, 2013).

This study will look at the impact of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) on immigrant women living in Canada as reported and thus constructed by news media. Canada is considered very liberal and is internationally known for its stand on women's rights and its fight against gender inequality. In 2019, over three-quarters of a million temporary residents and over a quarter of a million permanent residents arrived in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019). While permanent migration has remained remarkably steady in Canada, temporary migration has grown rapidly over the past decade. Particularly, temporary migration of foreign workers has quadrupled between 2000 and 2019, with a small dip in 2015 (Canadian International Development Platform,

2019). In 2020 Immigration Minister Marco Mendicino announced the new targets for bringing skilled workers, family members and refugees into Canada. He said that Canada aims to bring 401,000 new permanent residents in 2021, 411,000 in 2022 and 421,000 in 2023 (Harris, 2020). This has been done to make up for the shortfall in immigration during the Covid-19 pandemic.

This study attempts to understand the impact of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) on immigrant women living in Canada. I am examining these issues by focusing on how the Canadian news media frames GBV in immigrant women's lives and whether the media contributes to the inequalities and vulnerabilities faced by immigrant women/girls and minorities. More specifically, my thesis aims to examine GBV against immigrant women/girls in Canada as reported, constructed, and re-constructed in the news media. The "critical questions" I pose through applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) refer to (i) what these constructions are, (ii) how they compare to research findings about immigrant women's experiences of inequality and violence, and (iii) what the consequences of these constructions are in immigrant women's lives in terms of perpetuating and (re) producing social inequalities and contributing directly or indirectly to GBV. My focus is on immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, individuals with undocumented status who identify as women or members of the LGBTQ+ community.

To accomplish my research objectives, I deployed an interdisciplinary methodology, combining traditional social science qualitative research, with Computer Science machine-learning techniques and tools. More specifically, working together with a computer science post-doctoral fellow, we were able, through a series of successive iterations of "training" a "classifier[1]", to glean from "big data" highly relevant news media samples. From this sample, I

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[1] Classification in machine learning is a supervised machine learning approach in which the computer program "learns" from the data given to it (after the data has been screened as "relevant" by a human eye, that is the "area specialist", i.e. the social scientist) and makes new observations or classifications of online news articles.

acquired data on the types of violence immigrant women face in Canada and examined the media framing of gender-based violence on immigrants, following classical social science qualitative research methods. A qualitative approach is generally used to understand people's beliefs, experiences, attitudes, behaviour, and interactions. It generates non-numerical data (Pathak, Jena, & Kalra, 2013). This qualitative research can be categorized as a documentary/textual analysis of various written records. I performed a thematic analysis first and then a critical discourse analysis of the major themes. In this process I used QDA Miner for coding, and secondary literature on gender and migration, gender inequality and feminism, and gender-based violence in migration to understand and interpret the themes found.

This study underscores the importance of gender and intersectionality in immigrant women's experiences of violence in migration into countries of the "Global North." My findings provide an analysis of how news media produces, constructs, and re-constructs the experiences of GBV by immigrant women. The study highlights what the constructions are (e.g., victim/hero) in news media, and how these constructions affect the experiences of immigrant women in settlement in Canada. Through the analysis of news media articles, the present study indicates that immigrant women or women without status who live in Canada are saddled with additional vulnerabilities that compound the gender-based experience of inequality and increase their risk to GBV. Additionally, the critical discourse analysis clarifies that the narratives of Canadian media houses paint contradictory images of immigrant women and GBV, in that they are both enhancing awareness of GBV while at the same time reinforcing stereotypes of immigrant women's lived experiences of GBV. In doing so, the Canadian news media are exacerbating immigrant women's and girls' socially produced vulnerabilities.

This paper is divided into five chapters. Following this introduction, in chapter two, I present the theoretical approaches which are relevant to this research and which I have used in

the analysis of my findings. In the third chapter, I outline my research methodology in detail and describe how Big Data, machine learning tools, and news media were used to garner the data needed for this thesis. In the fourth chapter, I discuss and present my findings on the impact news media has on GBV and immigrant women living in Canada, paying keen attention to the main themes that were produced during the data collection process. Finally, in the fifth chapter, I conclude by summarizing the key findings of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMWORK

This chapter addresses my key theoretical concepts and approaches to the subject matter of this thesis. First, I look at the relationship between gender and migration and how this has changed over the years. Then, I write about the social construction of gender and explain its role in reinforcing gender inequality in society. After this, I analyze the position gender plays in migration and examine the importance of integrating a gendered section to the migration scholarship focusing on how gender affects women's experiences as migrants. I then move on to gender and intersectionality in migration, which is essential in understanding the specific experiences of inequality faced by immigrant women. Under this section, I also highlight LGBTQ+ experiences in migration and the manifestations of patriarchy across cultures in order to support my argument of gender inequality. I then look at Gender-Based Violence in migration, briefly discussing the most prevalent types of GBV in Canada and the social dimensions of development. A discussion on the evolution of ideas about gender and development will follow, because this is crucial for understanding gendered experiences of immigrant women. I then end the chapter by establishing the value of using discourse analysis to examine how Canadian news media reports the experiences of immigrant women.

This thesis research is firmly grounded in the field of international development. I consider immigration to Canada as a dimension of a transnational process linking Canada to numerous countries of origin, the overwhelming majority of which are developing countries. As research has shown, there is an ongoing relationship between migration and development.

Economic and social remittances from migrants to their home of origin help to connect migration

and development (Faist, & Fauser, 2011). On average, each of the world's international migrants

is sending home more remittances today than in the past. There is no convincing explanation for

why this is so, but it has substantial economic development implications in migrants' countries of

origin (Ratha, Eigen-Zucchi, & Plaza, 2016). My study assumes that gaps in development

between developing countries and Canada have driven migration processes. Thus, migration

impacts development in the countries of origin, but also poor economic conditions are important

drivers of migration. However, people also migrate for various other reasons, including

education, family reunion, and escaping violence (Czaika and de Haas 2011). Finally, GBV

issues, both in Canada and countries of origin, are development-related issues. Women survivors

of GBV in Canada encounter additional challenges to their socio-economic integration into

Canada. Gender-based violence against migrant women and girls prevents them from fully

exercising their human rights and realizing their potential as human beings. These barriers affect

women's ability to contribute as equals to the social and economic development of both Canada

and their country of origin.

2.1 Gender and Migration

The International Organization of Migration (IMO) defines migration as "the movement

of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or

within a State" (International Organization for Migration, 2020). Migration has been around for

centuries and often can be tied to massive world events that caused people to want to leave their

usual place of residence for somewhere else. International migration specifically looks at people

moving "across an international border to a country where they are not nationals" (International

Organization for Migration, 2020). Over the years, researchers have studied migration to

understand why people leave, the circumstances under which they might return, how this movement affects the global economy and a host of associated questions. Today, researchers are expanding their scope to look at differences between international and transnational migration, gender and intersectionality in migration, the linkages created by migration, and the relationships formed through the migration process. In the past, researchers thought migration was a one-time thing without any direction or clear structure (Amelina, 2019, p. 33). Contemporary migration studies have moved from focusing on demographics, statistics, and governance, to an increasing focus on mobilities, migration-related diversity, gender, and health (Pisarevskaya et al., 2019). Researchers have analyzed migration and associated processes from many different angles using various theories and methodologies to understand the complexity of the migration phenomenon.

The Social Construction of Gender

In the late 1970s, to distinguish between biological characteristics and the social aspects of maleness and femaleness, feminists adopted the term gender. Rhoda Unger, a feminist psychologist, introduced this formulation to mainstream psychology in 1979 and defined gender as "those characteristics and traits socio-culturally considered appropriate to males and females," which she termed masculinity and femininity (Marecek, Crawford, & Popp, 2004, p. 1085). The WHO (2021) defines gender as "the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed. This includes norms, behaviours and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, and relationships with each other. As a social construct, gender varies from society to society and can change over time". The concept of inequality in gender is based on the feminist theory and may exist independently, based on sexual difference and differential strength associated with having male and female bodies (Anderson, 1995). It can also be based on a hierarchy that intersects with the social and economic disparities within society (WHO, 2021).

Men and women are not just socio-culturally different. Most cultures consider men superior to women. Most people find it hard to believe that gender is constantly created and re-created out of human interaction, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life. Yet gender, like culture, is a human production that depends on everyone constantly "doing gender" (West and 'Zimmerman 1987). As we will see, social scientists generally agree that certain inequalities in a society are created and sustained by embedding membership in a particular category (e.g., being a man or woman) in systems of control over material resources and power (Jackman 1994; Jackson 1998; Tilly 1998; Ridgeway, 2011).

The goal of Feminism as a political movement is to make women and men equal legally, socially, and culturally (Lorber, 2001). Feminist theory offers some analysis and explanation of how and why women have less power than men and how this imbalance can be challenged and transformed (Stacey, 1993). There are four basic categories of feminist theory. The first is known as liberal Feminism. These feminists argue that gender inequality lies in the denial of rights to women primarily in the fields of education and employment. It holds individual choice as supreme (Walby, 1990). The second is Marxist Feminism. For Marxist Feminists, male domination over women is seen as a by-product of the current system of production within this Capitalist epoch. The third is Radical Feminism. Radical feminists see gender equality as a system whereby men benefit from female subordination created through Patriarchy. The final theory is known as the Dual Systems Theory of Feminism. This theory is a synthesis of the Marxists and Radical feminist theory. Therefore, neither Capitalism nor Patriarchy takes a position of greater importance as we are in a capitalist-patriarchal society where both systems work together (Walby,1990, p.5). Feminists of the first and second waves of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fought for rights we take for granted today. It is hard to believe that rights such as the right to vote (suffrage), to own property and capital, to borrow money, to

inherit, to keep money earned, to initiate a divorce, to retain custody of children, to go to college, etc. were among those once denied to women of every social class, racial category, ethnicity, and religion (Lorber, 2001).

In recent years the idea of gender equality has taken root in policies such as the Millennium Development Goals that promoted gender equality and women's empowerment. With the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the United Nations and member countries have decided to focus on gender equality, the fifth (SDGs) goal. Over the years, Feminists have produced broad competing theories about the general patterns of inequality and the overall structures, belief systems, and institutions that make and organize gendered experiences to analyze, understand, and, hopefully, challenge women's subordination (Stacey, 1993). Gender inequality is defined as the difference in outcome (social and economic) between men and women. According to Baudassé and Bazillier (2014), these differences result from two distinct phenomena: discrimination (based on gender prejudices characterized by attitudes or beliefs) and differences of preferences. However, not all feminist approaches center on inequality, as some approaches are more radical than others. They go well beyond inequality and talk about oppression and domination. They are certainly not only about socio-cultural differences between men and women.

Gender has many implications for people's lives, but one of the most consequential is that it acts as a basis for inequality between persons (Ridgeway, 2011). This inequality produces environments that place immigrant women at a higher risk of experiencing violence. As a social institution, gender creates different social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities. The stratified system ranks these statuses unequally as gender is a significant building block in the social structures built on these unequal statuses (Lorber, 1994). Contemporary repertoires of gender serve both to maintain the boundaries and distinctions

between men and women and keep women subordinated to men. They often naturalize or conceal unequal power relations, injustice, and even violent coercion (Marecek, Crawford, & Popp, 2004).

Gender and Migration

Migrants are becoming omnipresent in societies all over the world because of the rise in international migration. Today, more human beings are migrating from countryside to city, from city to city, and from country to country than at any other time in human history. This movement is often fueled by poverty, violence, and environmental disasters, and the promise of a better life elsewhere (Bastia, 2013). In the 1980s, the migration scholarship broadened due to the feminization of international labour migration as new interests in this issue emerged. Women migrants were no longer viewed as 'tied movers' (someone who moves with a partner even though the person's employment outlook is better at the current location) anymore, as the literature began to consider the dynamics of collective behaviour within households or communities (Baudassé, Bazillier, 2014). Contemporary gender and migration theory typically seeks to dispel this assumption by engendering the migration experience to acknowledge the unique journeys that women undertake (Rudnick, 2009).

Most decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social, and political pressures and incentives. Inequalities within and between countries create incentives to move. Seeking to make money for a better quality of life is a critical motivator of migration for women and men equally (Jolly, Reeves, & Piper, 2005). The feminist scholarship shows that gender, the social and cultural ideals/ displays of masculinity and femininity and associated practices organize and shape our opportunities and life chances. However, the concept of gender

as an organizing principle of social life has historically encountered resistance and even some indifference in immigration scholarship (Hondagneu-Sotelo, & Cranford, 2006).

Initial attempts to focus on women migrants in the 1970s were met at best with indifference, and at worst, with hostility (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Cranford, 2006). However, the beginning of the 1970s saw the scholarship focusing on gender as a relational concept and a significant category in the migration process, influencing choices, conditions, and consequences of migration. Female migration began to emerge on a parallel with the increasingly visible phenomenon of the working woman. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003) postulated that gender is a constitutive element of immigration and stated that gender permeates various practices, identities, and institutions implicated in immigration. Gender and migration research has produced numerous and complex understandings of how gendered institutions and gender relations are reconstituted and transformed. Through these processes, inequalities are increased for immigrant women, further making them vulnerable to all kinds of violence.

Feminist migration scholars over the years have shifted their analysis from studying women to studying gender, the difference being that instead of contrasting women to men, they have focused instead on gender as a system of relations that was influenced by (as well as influences) migration. Several qualitative studies show that the perceptions and experiences of migration and incorporation vary by gender (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Pessar, 1999; Itzigsohn, & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). In the past, the migration literature in various disciplines obscured women's participation in migration. However, over the years, new approaches to migration have been developed. They include women in migration, gender in migration, gender and migration, and the intersectionality of migration.

The impacts of migration for women and men depend on many factors, all of which have gender implications. These include the type of migration (temporary, permanent, irregular,

regular, labor, natural disaster- or conflict-induced, independent or as a dependent spouse);

policies and attitudes of the sending and receiving countries; and gender relations within the

household (Jolly, Reeves, & Piper, 2005). "Transnational migration outcomes, processes, and

institutional contexts are the main focus of gender and migration" (Tastsoglou, 2019, p. 5).

Gender has been conceptualized intersectionally in the last two decades. "Several studies indicate

that the effects of migration on gender relations are mediated by the intersections of class,

ethnicity, race, and gender ideologies (Itzigsohn, Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). At the same time,

women provide a valuable access point in analyzing gender and intersectional inequality.

However, if gender inequality underlies social institutions and structures, then there is a power

deficit for individuals positioned as women (Tastsoglou, 2019).

Gender & Intersectionality in Migration

As argued earlier, "gender "has been recently included in the field of migration, as

"mainstream social inequality research gave little attention to gender relations." The authors

Amelina and Lutz (2018) discuss the social construction of gender under two broad

conceptualizations. The first one examines the social construction of gender and postulates the

idea of biological gender binarism that considers how gender is produced. The second

conceptualization centres on intersectionality and opposes the idea of gender being the focal point

of analysis, arguing that other social categories such as class, race or sexuality should also be

utilized" (Amelina, 2019, p. 1).

Patricia Hill Collins defined intersectionality as:

> "The critical insight that race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nation ability and age
>
> operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing
>
> phenomena that in turn shape complex inequalities" (Collins, 2015, p. 2).

According to Collins, the framework for intersectionality analysis is malleable, which works well for the future growth of the theory (Collins, 2015, p. 10). The idea of the gender binary as a knowledge system paved the way for different approaches to conceptualizing gender, in a manner relevant to the contemporary world. The intersectionality debate was founded in the civil rights movement in America and was concerned with race, class, and gender (Amelina, 2019, p. 7).

The migration process highlights unequal economic relationships and social inequalities perpetuated and reorganized at the micro and macro levels (Amelina, 2019, p. 15). These processes contribute to the risks of immigrant women to certain forms of GBV, especially as it relates to one's gender and class. For example, families who immigrate to Canada will often face economic challenges. They can find it challenging to find suitable and sustainable employment due to many factors such as lack of credential recognition, employer expectations of Canadian work experience, and language/accent barriers (Chaze, 2017; Hasmath, 2016). As a consequence of these barriers, immigrant families often suffer downward social mobility (Chaze, 2017; Matsuoka et al., 2012). It is often worse for the immigrant women as some women are socially isolated by their partners and families and have no access to money, hence becoming utterly dependent on their abusers to cover personal and household costs (Chaze, 2017). Family violence is also associated with the resentment migrant men feel about their loss of financial status, the lack of recognition of their overseas qualifications and employment experience, and women's increased access to financial independence, as women often have more opportunities/access to socioeconomic tools such as education or working outside the household after migration. (Khawaja, & Milner, 2012). Even with greater opportunities in Canada, economic instability often binds a woman to her abuser (Conner, 2013). Lack of financial self-sufficiency makes

immigrant women more vulnerable to domestic violence (Matsuoka et al., 2012) and makes it harder for them to leave abusive relationships.

The discriminatory tendencies in Canada adversely affect immigrants and their families, leading to other problems with the capacity to affect Canadian society (Kaduuli, 2011). Immigrant women in Canada often find themselves overwhelmingly impoverished, underemployed, and overworked in low-paying, exploitative jobs (Creese, & Wiebe, 2012; Siar, 2013; Premji et.al, 2014). This occurs because gender interacts with class, race, and one's state of origin in the global economy, and women are especially systematically excluded from the higher echelons of the labor market (Parreñas, 2000; Kofman, 2004; Tastsoglou & Jaya, 2011). Many of these problems are perpetuated by Canadian immigration laws and domestic policies that discriminate against women, especially women from the Global South (Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic, 2018).

Media and Intersectionality

Isabelle Rigoni (2012) states that the concept of intersectionality is "closely linked to the postmodern condition and the recognition of multidimensional identities, which are in flux and constructed through processes of hybridity and the fragmentation of spaces of belonging" (838). In a recent German study, Lind & Meltzer used the intersectional framework to determine the salience of migrant women in migration news over time, their salience relative to migrant men, and across media outlets with different political leanings (Lind & Meltzer, 2021). They used a computer-assisted content analysis approach for their research, precisely a dictionary approach, which is similar to the method I will use in this study. This study took place over 17 years, and the results include that woman migrant persons were salient in about 12 to 26 percent of migration-related articles. Although women migrants' salience increased from 2003 to about

2009, starting in 2011—the beginning of the Syrian civil war—their visibility decreased

considerably. The study concluded that women migrants are generally underrepresented in

migration news coverage compared to their actual share in the German population (Lind &

Meltzer, 2021). In Lünenborg & Fürsich's (2014) study, their use of intersectionality was used to

examine the intersectional other. The study's focus was on class. The study found that a

problematic class distinction was articulated on German television through ethnic and gender

differences. The study also found that female migrants were often "othered" as lower-class. This

prevented gender and migrant solidarity (solidarity of migrant women with German women) and

created systemic struggles over female/migrant identities (Lünenborg & Fürsich, 2014).

Therefore, a "forced" division took place that excluded migrant women from the totality of

women in Germany. Due to the multiplicity of intersecting exclusions: class, gender, and migrant

status. Both studies maintained that German television, whether they are news media or

television shows, provides migrant women with only minimal opportunities for cultural

participation visibility, and they are significantly underrepresented (Lünenborg & Fürsich, 2014;

Lind & Meltzer, 2021).

     I used an intersectional lens for this thesis because the theory will help migration scholars

better understand how the different intersections, such as race, sex, religion, ethnicity, and

gender, affect how the media portrays the experiences of immigrant women dealing with

instances of GBV. Intersectionality allows me to examine the systemic and structural forces that

often contribute to the marginalization of immigrant women whose intersecting identities place

them at greater risk for experiencing discrimination (Rigoni, 2012; Amelina and Lutz, 2018).

This will help to fully address my research questions concerning how social constructions by the

media reproduce and perpetuate instances of social inequality that contribute to GBV. To fully

embrace the intent of intersectionality, it is not enough for migration scholars to examine systems

and structures that oppress some immigrant women while privileging others (Lünenborg &

Fürsich, 2014; Lind & Meltzer, 2021). Using this theory will help increase knowledge and teach

us to use our positionality and privileges to interrogate, challenge, and dismantle biased systems

and structures (Proctor et al., 2017) in news media that produce social constructions of immigrant

women who experience instances of GBV in Canada.

LGBTQ+ in Migration

The scholarship of migration has recently started to include the experiences of persons who identify as LGBTQ+[2]. Because research in this area is relatively new, there is not yet much literature available on the specific issues these individuals face. The current literature usually examines the role of heterosexism and homophobia within Canadian society and its effects on how sexual minorities access (or don't access) health and social services (Brotman et al., 2002; Mulé, 2005). As a result, there is an uneven distribution of public funding and resources for services for sexual minorities across Canada's geographic regions and inconsistencies between Canadian and provincial policies and practices (Kamgain et al., 2020). In Canada, people submit refugee claims related to their sexual orientation on the following bases: mental, physical, and sexual assault and abuse, discrimination, harassment, ostracism, criminal punishment, and death (Liew, 2017). However, the issue most claimants have is proving credibility, and this is still a problem for LGBTQ+ claims. The Canadian Women's Foundation Fact Sheet (2017) reports that gay, lesbian, or bisexual individuals are three times more likely than heterosexual individuals to report experiencing violence. Transgendered people are nearly twice as likely as cisgendered[3] women to experience intimate partner violence in their lifetime. For members of the LGBTQ+ community who have experienced violence, there are fewer assistance services. Sometimes these services operate in a homophobic or heterosexist way, isolating the victim and further increasing their insecurity.

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[2] LGBTQ+ stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (or sometimes questioning), and others. The "plus" represents other sexual identities including pansexual and Two-Spirit.

[3] Relating to, or being a person whose gender identity corresponds with the sex the person had or was identified as having at birth

Manifestations of Patriarchy Across Cultures

Patriarchy is universal and gender-based violence knows no cultural boundaries but takes particular forms in different cultures. We should be aware of such cultural manifestations of patriarchy without associating GBV with specific cultures, as it happens across cultures. In the context of migration, the literature suggests that men are generally considered the principal actors and have more agency in deciding when and where to emigrate. This quickly puts a woman in a position of lesser power, given her choice to immigrate may not have been her own to begin with (Okeke-Ihejirika & Salami, 2018). There are many cultural beliefs and practices that affect the violence that racialized immigrant women face. Migrants often continue to practice their cultural beliefs even after resettlement. Strong patriarchal values can normalize women's subordination in relationships, and these values can be used as an excuse for abuse and violence (Ahmed et al., 2015). It has been found that these values can sometimes be so culturally ingrained that some women agree with patriarchal norms and are less likely to see spousal abuse as a form of violence (Ahmed et al., 2004). Domestic violence becomes a family issue within certain cultures that families may normalize, tolerate, or even ignore to protect themselves from the stigma and shame that may occur in the community if the abuse was to be uncovered. There can also be fear of losing status in the community (Baobaid, 2002). The intersectional approach therefore highlights the interconnections of the multiple sources of women's oppression and focuses on the experiences of those who have been excluded thus far from feminist analysis (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Nash, 2008).

2.2 Gender-Based Violence in Migration

Definitions of GBV and Violence Against Women

This section will provide brief definitions of key terms and will explain the relevant types of GBV relating to this project. The United Nations Refugee Agency (2021) states that GBV refers to harmful acts directed at an individual based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms. Gender-based violence (GBV) is a serious violation of human rights and a life-threatening health and protection issue. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (United Nations General Assembly 1993) defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." Violence against women is the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights violation in the world (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002; Hayes, 2007). "Gender-based violence includes a host of harmful behaviors that are directed at women and girls because of their sex, including wife abuse, sexual assault, dowry-related murder, marital rape, selective malnourishment of female children, forced prostitution, female genital mutilation, and sexual abuse of female children" (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002 p. 6). It is important to note that while the majority of victims of GBV are women, many victims of GBV are male. Gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals are often especially targeted due to their perceived failure to conform to societal gender norms (Stemple, 2009).

GBV can take various forms, as stated in the United Nations' Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (OHCHR, 2020). These include:

Physical: it results in injuries, distress, and health problems. Typical forms of physical violence are beating, strangling, pushing, and the use of weapons.

Sexual: it includes sexual acts, attempts to obtain a sexual act, acts to traffic, or acts otherwise directed against a person's sexuality without the person's consent.

Psychological: includes psychologically abusive behaviors, such as controlling, coercion, economic violence, and blackmail.

Structural: Refers to any scenario in which a social structure perpetuates inequity, thus causing preventable suffering. These social structures include economic, political, medical, and legal systems.

Globally, an estimated one in three women will experience gender-based violence in their lifetime (The World Bank, 2019). The UN Women report (2017) states that decreasing violence against a woman is all-together positive, improving both in her personal life and how she performs at work. Gender-based violence drastically affects a victim's confidence, her chance to continue with education, or her ability to thrive in the workplace. It also significantly lowers the productivity of businesses. Measuring gender-based violence can be complex. Indicators summarize complex data into a form that is meaningful for policy makers and the public. They are selected to specifically address one issue or question, and can be expressed as rates, percentages, ratios or numbers (United Nations, 2007). Those experiencing violence and those perpetrating it may not perceive its underlying causes and motivations, which can be rooted in a culture that perpetuates gender inequalities (Jewkes, 2014). Therefore, quantifying the cost of GBV in terms of human suffering and economic indicators is difficult; its hidden nature makes prevalence hard to establish and this is a part of the problem.

GBV and Canada as a Safe Place for Women and Girls

Canada is widely recognised as a safe place for women and girls. Canada has supported international initiatives, signed conventions, and endorsed programs aimed at ending gender-based violence. For example, Canada is a party to the 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Criminal Code of Canada codifies criminal behavior and states that it is against the law to harm or threaten to harm another person or to engage in harassing conduct, which implicitly recognizes violence against women as a crime (Tastsoglou et al. 2020). It is crucial to note that while Canada has signed treaties and updated certain laws, due to the structure of Canadian legislative the implementation of these laws is sometimes conflicting. However, while no criminal offense laws cater directly to GBV, domestic/ family violence is considered a criminal act and there is a mandatory charge policy regardless of whether the victim wants to press charges (Tastsoglou et al. 2020). It has been only five years since GBV has been incorporated into Canada's policy agenda. It worth noting that the Canadian Human Rights Act is yet to explore the extent of violence against women in Canada and the impact of GBV on immigrant women living in Canada. To conclude, while on paper Canada is safe for women and girls because of all these treaties, laws, and policies, unfortunately, it is not entirely safe, especially for vulnerable immigrant women.

Canada's feminist movement's establishment of a network of safe houses and domestic violence shelters for women in the 1970's led to the first wave of GBV work in Canada. Unfortunately, broader political discourse did not actively start talking about GBV in Canada until the 1980s. It was the 1989 Montreal Massacre that resulted in the death of 14 female engineering students that galvanized the government to enforce a national action plan on gender-based violence in Canada (Tastsoglou, et.al, 2020).

Today, Canada has entered a new era as it is now in a better position and has some of the best systems and services for addressing gender-based violence in the world. Police services have become increasingly responsive to the challenges of investigating violence against women, and both government and non-government organizations are widely committed to providing support to victims. Unfortunately, despite these efforts, abuse, the tragic consequences of abuse, and the challenges involved in identifying and preventing GBV persist. Many Canadians remain unaware of the extent of gender-based violence in Canada because it is perceived as a problem of less morally advanced societies (Matoo, D., Mann, R., & Romano, J. (2017).

The 2019 Women, Peace, and Security Index ranked Canada in the 11th spot from the 7th spot in 2018. This index ranks countries based on their safety for women. Even though it has dropped in these rankings, Canada's domestic violence policies are some of the most advanced globally and are coupled with a well-articulated policy of multiculturalism. However, understanding immigrant women's experiences of violence in Canada is lacking. It is reasonable to argue that immigrant women are in a double jeopardy situation concerning violence (Brownridge & Halli, 2002). However, Canadian policies do not appear to meet the complex needs of abused immigrant women (Shirwadkar, 2004, p. 861). The following section outlines the various forms of gender-based violence related to migration / settlement in Canada.

Gender-Based Violence and Migration

Gender-based violence as a cause of migration has also become an authentic reality in the world today. Gender-based violence may be the cause, aggravating factor, or consequence of displacement and forced migration, enabled by, or contributing to displaced people's precarious

status, particularly women and girls (European Commission, 2019). According to a report by Support Kind (2018), GBV perpetrated by family members, gangs and drug traffickers forces many women, girls, and LGBTQI individuals to leave El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. GBV, particularly sexual violence, is used to maintain control over territories and populations, as gang members punish women, girls and their families for not complying with their demands. While migration does not cause GBV. Some migrants face situations where they are more vulnerable to violence. "Numerous factors influence a person's risks and vulnerabilities throughout their migration journey. Alongside gender, a key factor is whether the migration route is safe and regular (Support Kind, 2018, P. 4).

Different types of Gender-Based Violence affect female migrants on their journey, in transit, and when they get to their destination (Alaggia, Regehr, & Rishchynski, 2009; Ahmed et al. 2016). These include but are not limited to the following: domestic and family violence, forced marriage, spouse/intimate partner violence, female genital mutilation, and human trafficking. The marginalization and stigmatization of poor and racialized immigrant women exacerbates their risk of exposure to violence and reduces the protection they receive (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). In other words, anyone living with more than one of these factors will be at a higher risk of GBV (Statistics Canada, 2020). GBV is closely linked to structural and cultural factors such as unequal access to education, healthcare and employment based on discrimination (Cottrell, Tastsoglou, & Moncayo, 2009). This subordinates women and underscores how gender inequalities intersect with other forms of inequalities. It is important to note that each immigrant may also face other challenges based on their status, refugee, asylum seeker, temporary foreign worker, dependent spouse, or permanent resident (Han, 2018; Erez, Adelman, & Gregory, 2009).

The challenges and lived experiences of migrant women will differ from category to category, person to person, depending upon the specific identities, place and point in time. The

social forms of divisions and group identities play a role in causing discrimination in access to support services for immigrants, thus increasing vulnerability and inequalities (Lee, Brotman, 2013). The following sections differentiate between various forms of GBV experienced by migrant women and the terms used to describe these, including domestic violence and intimate partner violence, domestic homicide, honor killings, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, and human trafficking.

Domestic Violence

Today, the terms "domestic violence" and "intimate partner violence" are used synonymously to describe some form of abusive behaviour by one individual upon another person in a relationship. Donald Dutton (2011) states that domestic violence "refers to any violence occurring between intimate partners (same-sex or other sex, married or unmarried) and against children". While these two terms are used interchangeably to describe the same criminal offence, they have different origins and meanings. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is the experience of a threat of physical, sexual, emotional/psychological abuse, or violence by a current or previous marital, dating, or cohabiting intimate partner (Saltzman et al., 1999). IPV is a serious problem in Canada, accounting for one-quarter of all violent crimes reported to the police (Sinha 2015). However, little is known about the extent and consequences of IPV among immigrant women (Du Mont, Forte, 2012).

Knowledge of immigrants' experiences with domestic violence is culled mainly from case studies of discrete communities. Due primarily to the depth of social and cultural capital required to conduct such sensitive research with members of marginalized immigrant communities, researchers tend to focus on small, local samples of battered women from specific immigrant communities (Erez, Adelman, Gregory, 2009, p. 37). Brownridge's analysis of Statistics Canada

data (2009; Brownridge & Halli, 2003) found that immigrant women from developed countries have lower domestic violence rates than Canadian-born women. It is important to note that this underreporting may be because immigrant women are less likely to report incidences of domestic violence than Canadian-born women. However, robust national-level statistics on prevalence rates of domestic violence for immigrant women are lacking. It is problematic to group immigrant women, despite differences in ethnic origins, class, and religious backgrounds, into one sample. It is important to note that domestic violence may be linked to other forms of gender-based violence unfamiliar to public service providers, including honour- and dowry-related crimes and child- and forced marriages (Baker, 2015; Korteweg, 2012; Tastsoglou et al., 2020, p 50). This lack of awareness may prevent service providers from implementing more inclusive policies to tackle different forms of GBV instead of just focusing on domestic violence.

Domestic Homicides

In 2019, 118 women and girls were killed in Canada, and in cases when the relationship between the victim and accused were known, 57% shared a current or former relationship with the accused (Tastsoglou et al., 2020). According to the Canadian Domestic Homicide Prevention Initiative (Dawson et al., 2018), at least 99 immigrants and refugees were victims of domestic homicide between 2010 and 2018, and 87% of the victims were women. Women killed by partners are known as domestic homicides, and, unless especially gruesome, they are not highlighted in the media. Domestic homicide involves the death of an individual and/or the individual's children by a current or former intimate partner (WHO, 2013). Domestic violence can result in a homicide in rare situations and in the presence of certain risk factors (Campbell et al., 2003; Kalaichandran, 2018). Research has shown that between 65% to 80% of victims of intimate partner femicide were previously abused by the partners who killed them (Campbell,

2004; Pataki, 2004; Straatman, Doherty, & Banman, 2020). Recent research has revealed that immigrant and refugee victims experience unique risk factors that may render them more vulnerable to this form of violence (Kalaichandran, 2018). Yet, despite this burgeoning research area and Canada's diverse population of approximately 6 million immigrants, there is a shortage of research on domestic violence risk factors facing immigrant victims in a Canadian context. This is unfortunate as more people, particularly women and girls, are entering the country every year.

There is a need for research to start utilizing innovative research tools to investigate the intersection between domestic abuse and the Canadian immigrant context (Kalaichandran, 2018). Stressors experienced by immigrants continue to be significant after relocation. These include the stress of relocation itself, challenges brought on by physical and emotional distress, acculturation stress, and, where it exists, a prejudicial host environment. Evolving family power dynamics that occur after relocation may also increase incidences of domestic violence (Yakushko, Watson, & Thompson, 2008). Over the years, as studies on domestic violence and domestic homicide expanded, research-based domestic violence risk assessment tools were developed to provide practitioners with information about the risk of homicide or the risk or re-assault faced by victims of domestic violence (Messing, Campbell, Snyder, 2017, & Kalaichandran, 2018).

Honor Killings

Family violence is described as a family member's action that will likely cause physical pain to another family member (Gelles and Straus,1979). In other words, the terms domestic or family violence are broad categories that encompass acts between individuals who share other familial relationships (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). The gruesome act of Honor killings is a topic that has made headlines in the past, primarily because of how the mainstream media portrays the

massacre of young women by their family members. Honor killing is described as the murder of a woman or girl by male family members. The killers justify their actions by claiming that the victim has brought dishonor upon the family name or prestige (The Human Rights Watch, 2001). For some reason, the term honor killings seem to be reserved for murders committed by male family members against daughters or sisters in South Asian or Middle Eastern communities (Caplan, 2010). "The mere perception that a woman has behaved in a way that 'dishonors' her family is sufficient to trigger an attack on her life" (The Human Rights Watch, 2001, quoted in Ballard, 2011, p. 125). While honor killings are rare, these are a part of a continuum of GBV. Feminist theories about power and control offer a valuable framework for discussing how honor killings emerge from the perceived need to support and restore patriarchal authority within the family (Aujla & Gill, 2014, p. 154). At the same time, honor killings seem to occur less often than other forms of GBV in Canada. However, this could be because only a few cultures frame the killing of women as honor killings or it could be an issue with how domestic homicides of women are defined culturally.

Forced Marriage

Forced marriages are an issue that is often misunderstood or misrepresented. These are marriages in which one or both parties have not personally expressed their full and free consent to the union (OHCHR, 2020). Despite its prohibition by international law and many national legislations, the practice remains widespread. It can happen to either gender, at any age. It may describe a marriage that is threatened or one that has already taken place, either in the country of resettlement or abroad. An arranged marriage is not the same as a forced marriage. Anis et al. (2013) stress the need to avoid the conflation of forced and arranged marriage, stating "lack of consent is the critical distinguishing factor in a forced marriage" (p. 4). Forced marriage is a form

of gender-based violence. It has been estimated that 70 cases of forced marriage were found per year in Ontario, with 92% of the victims being women (Anis, Konanur, & Mattoo, 2013, p. 9; Tastsoglou et al., 2020). Forced marriages can be motivated by several factors

> "Including insecurity, gender inequality, increased risks of sexual and gender-based violence, breakdown of the rule of law and state authority, the misconception of protecting marriage, the use of forced marriage as a tactic in conflict, lack of access to education, the stigma of pregnancy outside of marriage, absence of family planning services, disruption of social networks and routines, increased poverty, and the absence of livelihood opportunities, among others" (OHCHR, 2020).

Canadian law bans forced marriage and represents it as a "barbaric cultural act" of certain migrant populations. "The short title for Bill S-7 – Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act – suggests that violence against women and children is a cultural issue limited to certain communities. It is divisive, misleading, and oversimplifies the factors that contribute to discrimination and violence against women and children" (Fatoyinbo, 2020, p.1). This highlights that even Canadian laws help to exoticize the experiences of immigrant women expressing that these are 'foreign' forms of violence due to 'barbaric cultures'. In a study done by the South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario (SALCO), evidence across the world has found that forced marriage incidents have increased during COVID-19 (SALCO, 2020).

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in Canada is a crime. It was added to Canada's Criminal Code in 1997 under Section 268 in the form of "aggravated assault." Under this code, it is prohibited to aid, abet, or counsel such assault and to interfere with genitalia for non-medical

reasons (Packer et al., 2015). The subject of FGM in Canada was thrown into the spotlight in the

summer of 2017 when news broke about a 2016 study authored by an anti-FGM organization

called Sahiyo. FGM (sometimes represented as female circumcision) is defined as "all procedures

that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or another injury to the

female genital organs for non-medical reasons" (World Health Organization, 2016, p. 20). FGM

is recognized internationally as a violation of human rights and as extreme child abuse rooted in

gender inequality and discrimination against women (WHO, 2016; Im, Swan, & Heaton,

2020). Although there is a scarcity of data on FGM in Canada, it is expected that girls in Canada

are not safe from the practice. The Sahiyo organization did a study that found that Canadian girls

are being taken out of the country to have FGM performed and that immigrants in the country are

not being provided with support to cope with issues that may arise even years after FGM occurs.

The study surveyed 385 women worldwide, primarily from the Dawoodi Bohra community, and

found that of those women (who are originally from India), 18 (5%) lived in Canada and had all

undergone FGM. Two had had the procedure in Canada itself (Taher, 2017).

Human Trafficking

The United Nations *Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its Protocol*

to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children defines

trafficking in persons as:

"The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the

threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of

the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of

payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another

person, for exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation or the

prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services,

slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (OHCHR,

2000).

Though data is relatively limited due to the hidden nature of the crime, distrust of police by

victims, language barriers, or lack of information about rights, the federal government

implemented Canada's National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking between 2012-2016.

This led to creating a National Human Trafficking Hotline and vowing to develop a new, more

comprehensive strategy to address human trafficking (Tastsoglou et al., 2020). Over the last

decade, Canada has been consistently characterized as a transit country to the United States in

international and national reports. However, there has been minimal discussion of the nature and

extent of this problem. Furthermore, the securitization of migration has increased vulnerability

and precarity for women and girls (Atak, Hudson, & Nakache, 2018). This "precariousness" is

experienced differently depending on gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, language, social

location, and the health and migration path used (Oxman-Martinez and Lapierre-Vincent, 2002;

Oxman-Martinez, Hanley, et al., 2005). International economic inequality has hit women

especially hard, and it is the feminization of migration for economic reasons that fuels human

trafficking (Hanley, Oxman-Martinez, Lacroix, & Gal, 2006, p. 89).

2.3 Development and Migration

This body of work can be considered a development thesis because of the following reasons:

There has been increasing recognition during the last few decades that migration can be a factor

in promoting international development (Vargas, 2011, p. 2). As such, migration and

development are inextricably connected as there can be an essential exchange of money,

knowledge and ideas between the host and home countries through migrants. From a political

economy (or Marxist) perspective, "the focus of migration and development analysis is on what might be described as the labour migration dynamics of the capitalist development process, or the migration–development nexus" (Wise 2018, p. 316). According to Faist (2008), ultimately, the migration development nexus is linked to migration control and the incorporation of migrants into the economy of receiving countries. According to Wise (2018) the great paradox of the migration–development agenda is that it leaves the principles that underpin neoliberal globalization intact and does not affect the specific way in which neoliberal policies are applied in migrant-sending countries. This is particularly visible in the regulation of immigration and does not address the fundamental issues of development.

For example, when there is state intervention in the economy due to austerity measures and programs, there will be less state financing or support for social protection, especially for the most vulnerable groups in developing countries - the poor, women, LGBTQ peoples, etc. Scholars such as Munck (2018) and Gamboa (2021) explain that social exclusion arising from discriminatory state policies in developing countries encourages migration to countries in the Global North. Neoliberalism manifested itself in Canadian economic migration regulations and changed the discourse around immigration to focus on financial responsibility, market competition, and duties and obligations of citizenship (Dobrowolsky 2008). One such policy change includes commodifying the domestic care sector and its construction as a gendered and "racialized" labour market. The Canadian government introduced the Live-In Caregiver Program, which predominantly employs Filipino women in providing domestic and household labour (Tannock 2011). This program notably subordinates women, often leading to challenging and prolonged working periods, minimal income, and abusive environments (Hodge, 2006).

Another neoliberal policy that has impacted women and development is the introduction of the points-based system. The points-based system was inherently structured in ways that subordinate immigrant women and their access to the labour market. In its ability to define and categorize what is "valuable work" and "valuable experience," the points-based system perpetuates patriarchal standards (Strong-Boag, 2018). This patriarchal notion upholds that the points system reinforces the socially constructed dichotomy between (women's) less valuable private household work and (men's) more valuable public work (Strong-Boag, 2018). It also highlights that women's work is outside of the sphere of formal and recognized labour (Strong-Boag 2018; Tannock, 2011).

Therefore, a neoliberal focus on market competition reinforced a masculinized migration agenda, intentionally creating a "feminized sector" that is seen as secondary in the labour market (Kofman, 2004). The introduction of neo-liberal policies would then fail to address the fundamental issues of development, which include but are not limited to those mentioned above. Some of the other problems with the introduction of these policies would consist of the failure to reduce the growing asymmetries that exist between sending and receiving countries that are at the core of the capitalist trend towards uneven development; its development implications on migrant remittances; and the development implications of a North-South brain drain" (Wise, 2018).

However, it is essential to note that the migration-development nexus has failed to recognize how experiences and impacts of both migration and development are gendered (King, Dalipaj, and Mai, 2006). Specific consideration of the role of women was not seen as necessary in understanding the migration-development nexus until after the 1980s when the experiences of female migrants became more prominent in the migration literature as feminist scholars fought to include women and their contributions to scholarship that had been male dominated (Morokvasic,

1983). One of the limitations of the migration-development nexus approach is that it only understands development from an economic perspective and does not include a human or social development approach (Baycan, & Nijkamp, 2012). It neglects the gender perspective in migration and development and tends to ignore the importance of transnational communities (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013).

Gender and Development

Theorists and practitioners have increasingly realized that there is no actual development without the equal participation of men and women and that there is no development without gender equity. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach focuses on the socially constructed differences between men and women, the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations, and the creation and effects of class differences on development. In contrast, the Women in Development approach is understood to mean the integration of women into global processes of economic, political, and social growth and change. In the late 1980s the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was developed with the idea of improving the Women in Development (WID) model by "removing disparities in social, economic, and political balances between women and men as a pre-condition for achieving people-centred development" (GWA, 2006:11). However, since the 1990's the gender perspective is still struggling for a position in the development agenda of international treaties or objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals. The SDGs are limited because they only focus on gender equality in isolation and do not concentrate enough on women's centrality to other development areas (Bunch, 2016). For example, The SDGs fail to consider the structural and underlying causes and social norms that influence and perpetuate gender inequality. Therefore, it becomes difficult to see how the isolated initiatives it proposes can succeed in delivering a truly

gender-transformative agenda that is essential in preventing the progress of women and girls

(Esquivel 2016). Equality for women is impossible within the existing economic, political, and

cultural processes that reserve resources, power, and control for small elite groups. But neither is

development possible without greater equity for and participation by women (Sen & Grown,

1987, p. 20).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Interdisciplinary Collaboration with Computer Science

This chapter describes the research methodology that was adopted in this study. First, I will introduce the research project. Second, I will explain the necessary technical terms and then detail and introduce how Big Data and Machine learning tools were used to produce relevant data. Due to the unprecedented events of the Covid-19 pandemic that started in the early part of 2020, my supervisor and I decided to explore a new path in interdisciplinary methodology leading to an original master's thesis, in lieu of the traditional field research methods for the collection of social science data. This new pathway meant engaging in a dialogue with scientists well outside of social science fields, mainly in Computer Science. This collaboration led to the crafting of an interdisciplinary methodology that is at the heart of this research.

The collaboration between social scientists and computer scientists enabled access to and use of "Big Data" through an interactive process until the data became meaningful to my research topic. This filtering of data required a close collaboration between myself and a graduate student in Computer Science. In practical terms this meant that the Computer Science graduate student was using the outcomes of my repeated rounds of selection of relevant news items for "machine learning" purposes, i.e., "training a classifier" that ultimately led to the compilation of a much smaller set of data that I used for my own qualitative Critical Discourse analysis. Details about the exact process I used are described in the following sections. Both I, an International Development Studies graduate student, and the Computer Science graduate student were supervised and guided in this process by our respective supervisors in these fields. This study is

multidisciplinary as it combines knowledge, methodological tools, and operations from both the Social Sciences and Computer Science. It is also interdisciplinary as it involves the "dialogue" described earlier and the amalgamation of operations between the two very different disciplines. From the Computer Science point of view, the machine learning through the highly honed algorithms[4], was the "final" product of research. This "final product" was fully put to use by myself as an "end user" in coming up with a "sample" of selected, meaningful data for my social-scientific analysis. This methodology is innovative as various artificial intelligence (AI) technologies and machine learning tools (classifying and clustering tools) were used to collect the data required for this study. My own social scientific analysis and "final" product were, of course, different. My study looks at the impact of gender-based violence on immigrant women living in Canada as reported and thus constructed by news media. Through critical discourse analysis, I illustrate how such construction re(produces) stereotypes, even if it occasionally challenges them. It is hoped that others will also use this innovative methodology in future studies. In this methodological chapter, I will first introduce the methodology and value of critical discourse analysis as it relates to my research topic, followed by definitions of some key terminology and concepts used for the computer analysis of Big data. I will then present the interdisciplinary collaboration with the Computer Science team and how this collaboration yielded, through machine learning and big data, the more limited pool of news media stories that I used as data in my research. Then I will explain the coding and thematic analysis I performed on the research data and, finally, the critical discourse analysis component and how I utilized this analysis in my thesis.

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[4] Highly honed algorithms describe the last step in the production stage of data generation and is a machining process that produces precise data once the tool has been trained.

3.2 Discourse Analysis

For this research, I will be using news media discourse to understand how GBV experiences against immigrant women are reported in the Canadian media. Discourse analysis is a research method for studying written or spoken language in relation to its social context (van Dijk, 2018). Discourse has as an active relation to reality (Fairclough, 1992, p.41). A researcher can use discourse in various ways (1) meaning making as an element of the social process, (2) the language associated with a particular social field or practice, and (3) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a specific social perspective (Fairclough, 2013, p. 179). Conducting discourse analysis means examining how language functions and how meaning is created in different social contexts. It can be applied to any instance of written or oral language and to non-verbal aspects of communication such as tone and gestures. Discourse analysis emphasizes the contextual meaning of language. It focuses on the social aspects of communication and how people use language to achieve specific effects to build trust, create doubt, evoke emotions, or manage conflict (Luo, 2019). For this study, the discourse being critically analyzed is that of Canadian written media, which deals explicitly with reporting of GBV in the context of immigration to Canada.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be defined as a problem-orientated interdisciplinary research approach, subsuming various approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agendas (Fairclough, 2013). What unites all approaches is a shared interest in the thematic dimensions of power, injustice, and political-economic, social, or cultural change in society (Fairclough, 2013). CDA "officially" started with the launch of van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* (1990). The focus on dominance and inequality implies that CDA does not primarily aim to contribute to a specific discipline, paradigm, school, or discourse theory, unlike other domains or approaches in discourse analysis.

This methodological approach is predominantly interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which CDA hopes to understand better (Van Dijk,1993, p. 252). Critical discourse analysis examines the form, structure, and content of discourse, from the grammar and wording employed in its creation to its reception and interpretation by a wider audience. The methodology facilitates an assessment based upon more than simple quotations but upon what the discourse is doing and what it is being asked to do in its production, dissemination, and consumption (Bakhtin,1984).

Due to the nature of this research project involving the use of written news media items, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen to analyze the data. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining how discourses construct, maintain, and legitimize social inequalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). According to Fairclough (2013), CDA brings the critical tradition in social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis, focusing on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, social identities). It allows researchers to uncover deeply held attitudes and perceptions that are important in society and to evaluate communication practices that maintain, dispel or legitimize certain social equalities that might not be discovered by any other methods.

Critical Discourse Analysis is an explanatory critique; it does not simply describe and evaluate existing realities but seeks to explain them by revealing the hidden operations of power (Fairclough, 2013). For example, in this study, I examine how news media reports about the experiences of Gender-Based Violence of immigrant women living in Canada, including inequalities, gender, and citizenship issues. At the same time, I consider the role the media has on generating these realities. Critical social analysis consequently has an interdisciplinary character since the nature of its 'objects' requires it to bring together disciplines whose primary concern is

with material facets of social realities with disciplines whose primary concern is with semiotic or discourse facets (Fairclough, 2013, p. 179). This study will be using CDA to focus on social agents' strategies as manifested in texts, in this case, written media. Since the data collected comes from news media, I need to establish the relationship between the media and its influence on society.

Through my research, I argue that the media plays a vital role in shaping our understanding of social issues in migration, specifically Gender-Based Violence against immigrant women. The question here is whether or not the news reinforces certain inequalities and stereotypes of immigrant women and their experiences. Following Poulantzas, it is of central importance to understand HOW news media is implicated in the reproduction of existing relations of inequality at the everyday level of reporting news. How are these issues framed by journalists and does this hinder the immigrant women's social mobility and access to a better quality of life? According to Nicos Poulantzas:

> "This social-imaginary relation, which performs a real practical-social function, cannot be reduced to the problematic of alienation and false consciousness. It follows that, through its constitution, ideology is involved in the functioning of this social-imaginary relation and is therefore necessarily false; its social function is not to give agents a true knowledge of the social structure but to insert them as it were into their practical activities supporting this structure. Precisely because it is determined by its structure, at the level of experience the social whole remains opaque to the agents" (Hall, Hobson, Lowe, Willis, 2003, p. 110).

There is, therefore, a level of 'deep structure of society,' which is 'invisible' and 'unconscious,' which continually structures our immediate conscious perceptions in this distorted way (Hall, Hobson, Lowe, Willis, 2003).

In his research on media, Stuart Hall has stated that "Media content serves as a trigger—into a framework that drew much more on what can broadly be defined as the 'ideological' role of the media. This position concerns how social relations and political problems were defined and produced" (Hall, Hobson, Lowe, Willis, 2003, p. 104). Based on the above theories, for this particular study, I am interested in: 1. The media representations of migration and Gender-Based Violence in the Canadian context and 2. The importance such representations play in shaping social practices toward immigrants, and more specifically women who are GBV survivors.

My thesis is preoccupied with the social issue of GBV among the immigrant female population in Canada. This approach to understanding GBV as reported by the media is a critical discourse approach because I aim to make explicit the opaque relationship between power, dominant ideology and practical representations of immigrant / migrants surviving / coping with gender-based violence in news media (Fairclough, 2013, p. 304).

Key Terms

Classifying: Classification in machine learning is a supervised machine learning approach in which the computer program "learns" from the data given to it (after the data has been screened as "relevant" by a human eye, that is the "area specialist", i.e. the social scientist) and makes new observations or classifications of online news articles.

Clustering process: Clustering, is an unsupervised machine learning task. It involves automatically discovering natural groupings in data based on key terms.

Coding: Coding is the process of labeling and organizing data to identify different themes and the relationships between them. This is the language used in multiple fields, including social science. Coding refers to the stage and operations that lead to the analysis of social science data. In this case the codes are terms that were derived using QDA miner.

Clusters: This represents the groups the data was assigned to after the clustering process.

Word cloud: This represents the graphical representations of words that appear more frequently in a source text, on the basis of which clusters were created.

Researcher generated clusters: These are the categories into which the data was manually placed by the researcher after the reorganisation of the previous automatically produced clusters.

Researcher generated sub-clusters: These are the sub-clusters that were derived by the researcher upon the completion of the manual clustering process.

Codes: This represents the commonalities found by me under each sub-cluster which were derived from existing literature and news items.

Number of times coded: This represents the number of times a code was used in QDA Miner.

Data: This term for the purpose of this research is used in reference to the collection of online news items that were collected and used in the various machine learning tools.

3.3 Research Operations

Preliminary Operations to Define the Topic

The data for this project was collected in an iterative process involving a number of stages. I started by using five keywords for an internet search. These words were chosen based on the topic of the research Gender-Based Violence and immigrants. The terms used were:

1. Gender-Based violence (Canada/ Jamaica)
2. Immigrant households
3. Immigrant families
4. Domestic violence
5. Family violence

After I chose these words, a basic internet search (using Google) followed where I looked for news stories (written, verbal, audio) under each category—these news stories needed to be about an immigrant woman/en and her/their Gender-Based violence/ migration experience. The

first search was an extensive search of Canada and Jamaica (my country of origin) and was not specific to a province or place. Unfortunately, I could not find much information on Jamaica and thus decided that doing a case study on this country was not an option. I also found items on news websites, videos on YouTube, and some Facebook content in the first search. As my research progressed, I decided to revise the keywords/phrases to include other words. For future internet searches, I looked into small agencies that dealt with transnational families, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and other forms of social media such as (Reddit and Twitter).

During the second round of preliminary research, some keywords did not produce any relevant information (armed conflict, family violence), and I omitted them from the list. This step was slightly different from the last as I decided to increase the keywords using all the applicable words based on the research topic of GBV and immigrant women. I then found one news item on each topic, and then proceeded to document the total number of news items located on the internet based on the specific keyword used. Then I continued to do the same thing for articles that were not considered to be news items. At this point in the experiment, I decided to see what could be found on social media platforms (Reddit and Twitter) using the new keywords. It is essential to note that I was still in the infant stages of the project and both myself and the computer scientists working with me needed to see the kinds of available data before moving on. It is important to note, that during this stage the work of the computer scientist was as an advisor (giving advice on how to accurately do an internet search). No machine learning processes were used during this stage.

Results from second data search (including news media and social media)

1. **Newcomer Violence** about 6,140,000 results
2. **Domestic Violence** about 533,000,00 results

3. **Intimate partner violence** about 47,000,000 results
4. **Violence against women** about 59,900,000 results
5. **Female genital mutilation** about 89,300 results
6. **Human trafficking** about 86,900,000 results
7. **Sexual assault/ workplace** about 41,500,000 results
8. **Family Violence** about 104,000,000 results
9. **Armed conflict** (and gender) about 348,000 results

For the third round, I used Google News, Twitter, and Reddit. I decided not to use Facebook because it would be too difficult to extract data from this social media site. For this search, I used the location of Canada as my primary guiding tool for each keyword. I found one news story for each, and then proceeded to document the total number of news items located on the internet. I read each news story thoroughly, and common words were extracted. This was done to get an idea of the kinds of words journalists use to describe incidences of Gender-Based Violence against immigrant women. I then added new words to the next list.

1. **Domestic violence Canada** news items 332,000
2. **Newcomer women in Canada** news items 9,830
3. **Immigrant women in Canada** news items 130,000
4. **Covid-19 and women in Canada** news items 90,700,000
5. **Reddit- not successful- Retrieving relevant data proved to be inconsistent**
6. **Twitter- not successful- Retrieving relevant data proved to be inconsistent**

The idea for the third round of internet searches was to see how feasible it was to do a case study on Canada by using the internet to collect primary data. I determined that enough information was available to move on to the next phase of the research. However, I decided that the social media sites of Reddit and Twitter would not be used because we had enough news items available on the news media on the internet and because accessing relevant data from these sites proved to be inconsistent and problematic. Reddit mainly consisted of policy and the effectiveness of specific policies on women in general. It was challenging to find appropriate documents on the research topic. Twitter, on the other hand, had little data on the subject.

For the fourth round of the internet searches, I decided to use the keywords, domestic violence, newcomer violence, Immigrant women in Canada, and Covid-19 and women in Canada to guide this search. I proceeded to locate three news items for each category, along with other news stories that spoke about immigrant women and their experiences with gender-based violence. After much deliberation, I then decided that the following keywords/phrases would be used to extract news stories relevant to the research topic. With the addition of more words to the keywords/phrases I significantly reduced the number of news items for each category. Also, it is important to note that the data we sought was from the last five years.

1. **Intimate partner violence in Canada** 929,000 results
2. **Female genital mutilation in Canada** 27,500 results
3. **Forced marriages in Canada** 39,600 results
4. **Domestic violence in Canada** 1,940,000 results
5. **Newcomer violence in Canada** 31,200 results
6. **Immigrant women Canada** 264,000 results

Following the computer scientists' instructions for each keyword/phrase, I was required to find five relevant stories and five non-relevant stories for the classifying stage. I obtained the news stories from (Google news) Canadian media communications. Most of the items acquired were written stories as these were easier to produce and would be better for analysis. Once this was completed, we were ready to move on to our first artificial intelligence tool, the classifier.

Classifying

Artificial intelligence (AI) classification holds promise as a novel and new tool used by Social Scientists to gather data on research topics. The classifier can be described as an artificial intelligence tool trained by the user (domain expert, myself in this case) to "classify" (i.e., create classifications of news items) specific pieces of data. This data was garnered in the first place through my multiple rounds of experimental searches with different key terms and retrieval of "relevant" and "irrelevant" stories. Relevance was decided based on the content of each article. If

the article spoke about instances of GBV related to immigrant women then the article was relevant. This was the "data" that trained the classifier enabling it to collect all the relevant data. With the direction of the computer scientists, we created different models and trained them for a specific desired purpose (to give us specific news items relating to Gender-based violence and immigrant women). This required many hours of training the tool to produce and classify the most relevant news items. This training was done with the direction of the (domain expert on the topic/myself) along with the guidance of the computer scientist. This was done because the computer scientists would not be familiar with the kinds of information I needed for my thesis project. The first step was to do an 'initial training' just to see how the model would respond to the instructions it was given by the computer scientists. For this, the researcher used three relevant and three irrelevant examples of news for this 'initial training' (named KModel)[5].

EXAMPLES:

RELEVANT https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/newcomers-vulnerable-to-domestic-violence-while-high-demand-cultural-services-nearing-breaking-point-1.5486660

IRRELEVANT https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/armed-man-seizes-bus-holds-10-people-hostage-in-ukraine-1.5032361 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/women-manitoba-facing-pandemic-pain-job-parenting-1.5653969

Then, we proceeded with the classification made by the domain expert on the subject. The tool gave us four documents to be classified by (me) the researcher. However, I noticed that all the news produced from this first search were from the USA or UK. For this study, we wanted

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[5] KModel was the name given to the classifying tool and was created by the computer scientist for easy use and recognition by myself for the training of the tool.

information from only Canada. We then proceeded to make more searches with the keywords

including (Canada and each province of Canada), this gave us 200/300 news items for each

search. In order to aid the computer scientist, I gave some other examples of relevant/non

relevant news, and the model was re-trained. Once the computer scientist did the re-training, we

proceeded with the classification that was done by me. This time the model also gave us news

from Canada. We then went through three loops of classification that was done by the domain

expert/myself.

In the initial stages we had classified some of the news as NOT-relevant only because

they were from outside of Canada. We decided to recheck these Not-relevant news items to see if

they contained relevant content. This was done in an effort to prevent the model from being

confused. Once this was done the model was then updated by the computer scientist. At this stage

of the training, it was estimated that 20 or 30 hours of human classification for training purposes

in total were needed to complete the training of the tool. In total, 242 news items out of 2935

(that is about 8% of the news) were classified by the researcher and computer scientist. This was

done by going through different loops where I would read the news items and select whether or

not they were relevant. This process trained the tool and helped it to decide what was relevant.

Then the classifier proceeded to rank the news items according to the percentage of

relevance given to us by a graph (see figure below). The tool ranked them from 50% relevance to

100%, this process was done by the computer. Once this process was completed, I was required

to check the news items under each rank to see how accurate they were based on the percentage

they were given. I found that the model was indeed learning and processing information from the

classification training because the articles closer to the 85-100% rank were all relevant in the first

few checks. It is important to note that the training of the model was ongoing. The checking of

news items based on their rank was done periodically to ensure that the tool was doing its job. This process of checking was repeated many times (five times) until I was satisfied with the results. The idea was to inspect documents starting from the end (like from the very relevant ones) and moving towards the middle. Checking the percentage ranks gives us an idea of how close to the middle (50% relevance mark) we can get. In other words, we can define the percentage of certainty (the percentage that is guaranteed to produce relevant news items) that we need from the model to get all the news above that percentage to use in the clustering process.

Figure 1
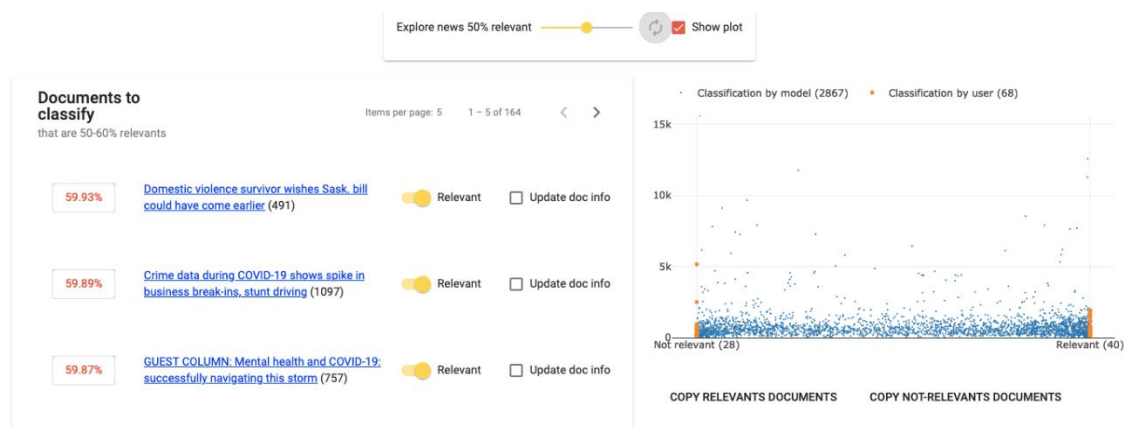
The tool needed some kind of visualization so that the computer scientist and myself would have more information about the impact of my classification for the training of the model. In the diagram above, the blue dots represent news items and show an equal separation of irrelevant and relevant news items. During the training of the tool, we would be able to identify the progress of the tool based on which section of the graph had more dots. The computer scientist used the plot to see the distribution of the news as far as relevance. After this was done, we began the final stages of classifying, where we chose news items classified from 75%-100% relevant. These items would be used in the clustering tool.

Clustering

Cluster analysis, or clustering, is usually an unsupervised machine learning task. It involves automatically discovering natural grouping in data, i.e., placing raw data into a machine learning tool that would organise it into groups/clusters based on the similarities of content in the data set. Unlike supervised learning (like predictive modelling), clustering algorithms only interpret the input data and find natural groups or clusters in feature space. After classifying the documents, the next step was to use the clustering tool that would take the data and automatically place them into different categories or subgroups based on common content/words. As the researcher some of the things I was most concerned with were:

1. How the tool would decide to cluster the data.

2. The number of files in each document.

This research aims to investigate specific experiences faced by immigrant women regarding Gender-Based Violence in Canada. Therefore, terms like migration, immigrants, and refugees were an essential component of the word cloud (this represents the graphical representations of words that appear more frequently in a source text). Unfortunately, during the first search, I could not identify these terms in the word cloud. However, I understood that this did not indicate that news items containing these specific keywords were not present. Rather, it meant that these terms were not used often enough to appear in the word view/cloud. The computer scientist did an initial check to see if the terms "immigrant women," "immigration," or "immigrant" appeared in the content, and we found 83 news items with at least one of those terms. The news items came from the range of 90% relevance. We also had to take into consideration that the classifying tool searches for EXACT words. Therefore, if there exists some

variation in terms meaning "immigrant women," such as "newcomer women," all terms needed to be considered.

To speed up the clustering process, I decided that a revision of the previous data was needed to make things easier on the clustering tool. Initially we started with 1400 new items which was too large for the clustering tool. The computer scientists and I tried another approach by selecting only the documents of 90% relevance from the classifying tool. We managed to get 737 documents after everything was done. While this number was smaller and more manageable for the clustering tool, we decided to repeat the process to get an even smaller number. Instead of working with 737 documents, a further re-classification was done using the classifying tool where 95% relevance was chosen, which produced 218 documents. I then clustered and downloaded the documents using the clustering tool. The researcher ended up with the following four clusters. These clusters were based on the results of the clustering tool and are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1

Clusters derived from the Clustering Tool

CLUSTER NAME	KEYWORDS BASED ON WORD CLOUD	NUMBER OF ARTICLES
A	Responders, hockey, multitasking, trouble	14
B	Gunman, mass, bound	17
C	Awareness, death, court, husband, dead	106
D	Pandemic, covid-19, isolation, distancing	97

After the files were downloaded, I proceeded to do a brief read-through of the documents to continue sorting the data to begin the coding process. However, upon investigation, it was

discovered that many new items had been repeated, or some documents only contained one sentence and not the entire news story. These documents were deleted, and only 112 documents remained. Unfortunately, during this investigation, it was also discovered that only a small number of items spoke about the actual research issue. The (table above) represents the clusters that were derived from the clustering tool but were never used. As a result, myself and the computer scientist were forced to go back to the classifying tool (90% relevance) to see what else could be done to retrieve the missing data.

Manual Clustering

Due to time constraints, the researcher revisited the initial 737 documents and manually went through each to see if relevant data was found. Since the "machine" failed to do this unsupervised, I resorted to manually clustering the data. During this manual clustering, the researcher found 120 relevant news items. The criteria used to determine relevance is described below. I then placed the newly retrieved news items into categories based on similarities in content. The addition of this process indicates that the classifying tool did not work as well as we had hoped.

Criteria for choosing relevant news stories:

News items

1. Stories had to mention immigrant women's experiences and were not limited to just instances of Gender-Based Violence.

2. Words concerning immigration, migration, refugee, immigrant status needed to be used in news stories.

3. Stories had to be from Canadian news outlets; it was preferred if news items came from major media groups like CBC, The Global and Mail, Toronto Star, CTV News, etc.

4. The researcher only chose stories that occurred over the last five years.

Criteria for placing news stories into categories/clusters:

1. Based on similarities in content

2. A requirement that over 5 articles were needed to make a category / cluster.

These were the first set of clusters which were created after the manual clustering process took place. This was done with a total of 120 articles. It is important to note that none of the clusters overlapped or dealt with several issues. As manual clustering was done, the possibility of this was prevented as I read and placed each news story into a cluster based on its subject/content.

1. Asylum/Refugee Claimant

2. Domestic Homicide

3. Domestic Violence

4. Economic Challenges

5. Family Violence

6. Female Genital Mutilation

7. Forced Marriage

8. Human Trafficking/ Sex Work

9. LGBTQ+

10. Newcomer Resilience

11. Social Services/ Covid-19

12. Undocumented Women

Coding and Thematic Analysis

The news items were read, and preliminary thematic codes were created. Then using the mixed methods and qualitative data analysis software (QDA Miner) coding was done. I went through all the articles that were already placed into broad headings (e.g., domestic violence), then after reading the articles under each heading, I came up with matching codes. These codes were derived from the literature, from the content of the articles themselves and from the observation of common trends or themes related to the topic that would have come from the literature and the news items (e.g., the articles on family violence would make mention of reoccurring topics like family honor and having traditional parents).

Preliminary clusters and codes

Below, I've listed the broad headings (which are highlighted) that represent the clusters under which the news items were categorized. The bullet points represent the common codes identified based on my reading of the literature and the news items.

1. **Asylum/ Refugee Claimant**
   - Gender-Based Persecution
   - Human Rights
   - Role of Canada
   - Power imbalance

2. **Domestic Homicide**
   - Frequency of Incidence
   - Effectiveness of the law
   - Vulnerable Groups
   - Helpline

3. **Domestic Violence**
   - Gender Equality
   - Physical Violence
   - Need for more housing

- Isolation
- Need for Cultural Understanding
- Government response Non-Profit/ Law
- Fear

4. **Economic Challenges**
   - Increased vulnerability
   - Income inequality
   - Working conditions
   - Economic/ Human Development

5. **Family Violence**
   - Family Honor
   - Traditional Parents
   - Masculine Honor

6. **Female Genital Mutilation**
   - Cultural Expectation
   - Gender Persecution
   - Strength of Law and Policy
   - Canadian Awareness

7. **Forced Marriage**
   - Women's Rights
   - Traditional Expectations

8. **Human Trafficking/Sex Work**
   - Criminalization of Sex Work
   - Specialized Support

9. **LGBTQ+**
   - Canada a Safe Haven
   - Gender Identity
   - LGBTQ+ Rights/Laws
   - Discrimination
   - Specialized Services

10. **Newcomer Resilience**
    - Cultural Assimilation
    - Underemployment
    - Abandonment
    - Feeling Trauma

11. **Social Services/ Covid-19**
    - Lack of Funding
    - Increase in Crisis Calls
    - Awareness Training

- Canadian Law and Gender
- Barriers to accessing support
- Migrant Workers Rights

12. **Undocumented Women**
    - Increase in Deportation
    - Subjectivity of Refugee Law
    - Increase in Precarity

Using the QDA Miner, I went through all the articles and proceeded to code the data according to the previous codes that I had created under the broad headings above. After this was done, I made short summaries of each category. Then I made a comparison with the existing literature on the topic. I made further modifications to the summaries and proceeded to make some changes to the clusters (name changes, deletions, merging of codes). I then proceeded to reorganize clusters and sub-clusters.

I proceeded to reorganize the clusters and the sub-clusters. This occurred after I went over the already coded news items and realized that some of them could be coded together (merged), or I realized that some of the initial codes did not apply to the study and therefore would no longer be needed.

Reorganization of clusters and sub-clusters

1. **Domestic Violence**
   - Domestic Homicide
2. **Asylum and Refugee claimants**
   - Undocumented women
3. **Honor-Based Violence**
   - Honor Killings
   - Forced Marriage
   - Female Genital Mutilation
4. **Challenges to Resettlement**
   - Newcomer Resilience
5. **Human Trafficking**
6. **LGBTQ+**
7. **Social Services and Covid-19**

At this stage of the data collection process, it was revealed that the categories above were still too abstract and not broad enough, which means that the categories before did not have the potential to include a wide range of different topics and address key gaps in the literature. I decided that a further modification/reorganization of the clusters/codes was needed to extract more meaningful content. I did this to ensure that the content reflected some of the contemporary topics in the migration literature. I want to clarify that while the migration literature was used as a guide to creating the clusters and codes, it did not limit the scope of my research, nor did it keep me within the rigid boundaries of the scholarship.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FINDINGS

4.1 Presentation of Findings

The table below shows how the data was organised after the manual clustering was completed along with the complete reorganisation of the clusters. The table will also give a clear picture of how many times each cluster and their respective codes were coded/used. I will also proceed to explain and define each code according to their relevance in the study.

Table 2: The Major Clusters, Sub-Clusters, Codes and the Number of Times they were used.

Researcher Generated Clusters	Researcher Generated Sub-Clusters	Number of news items in each sub-cluster	Codes	Number of times coded
Types of Gender-Based Violence that Affect Immigrant Women	Domestic Violence	8	**Cultural Understanding** **Need for more social resources** **Physical violence**	53 43 26
	Domestic Homicide	6	**Frequency of incidents** **Effectiveness of law**	46 21
	Honor-Based Violence (honor killings, FGM, forced marriage)	14	**Family honor** **Canadian awareness**	61 43
	Human Trafficking	5	**Criminalization of Sex Work** **Specialized support**	15 10
Intersectionality and Migration	Asylum, refugee claimants and undocumented women	23	**Human Rights** **Legal status precarity**	74 36
	LGBTQ+		**Discrimination** **Legal barriers**	45 37

		16		
Socio-Economic Challenges	Accesses to Social services and covid-19 related services	**17**	**Awareness training** **Barriers to accessing help** **Working conditions** **Increased vulnerability**	41 40 60 54
	Challenges to resettlement	**17**		

The table below represents the final codes that were derived by me the researcher while using

QDA Miner. These codes were derived based on the recurring topics that were recognised in the

(researcher generated clusters) news items.

Table 3: Code Definitions

Codes	Definitions
Cultural Understanding	This code represents the need for more service providers to be more culturally aware as many immigrant women are bound by their traditions and societal expectations.
Need for more social resources	This code talks about the need for an increase in access to housing facilities, health care, re-training and employment for immigrant women who face abuse.
Physical violence	This code emerged as all the incidents reported involved some form of battering. Where the perpetrator usually the man uses physical force to hurt his partner.
Frequency of incidents	This code represents the increase of domestic homicide incidences and that they are becoming way too 'common'. It was also highlighted that the number of incidences has been steadily rising in Canada over the last few years.
Effectiveness of law	This code emerged as many articles pointed out how the laws that were put in place to protect women like (filing a restraining order) have increased a women's risk to losing her life.

Family honor	An unspoken law that is expected to be upheld in order to protect the sacred honor of one's family. The slightest offence of sullying the family's honor is met with harsh punishment. In this case usually death.
Canadian awareness	This code represents the lack of awareness and attention FGM, honor killing and forced marriage receives in Canada.
Criminalization of Sex Work	This code shows that sex work is now seen as a form of trafficking and that this allows the premises for more policing and harsher penalties for victims. This criminalization is now being used as a tool to deport immigrant women who are sex workers.
Specialized support	This code highlights how the media and society have ostracized women who have been trafficked or who work as sex workers as they have very limited access to help when they need it.
Human Rights	This code specifically highlights the rights of women but hints that laws pertaining to asylum and refugee seekers do not include the notion of Gender.
Legal status precarity	This code represents the disturbing trend that deportations in Canada have increased and that there seem to be few options for women to fight this process.
Discrimination against LGBTQ+	This code highlights the discrimination that LGBTQ+ members face after they arrive in Canada. This discrimination prevents them from accessing help.
Legal barriers faced by LGBTQ+ Members	Many LGBTQ+ members have a very hard time settling once they come to Canada because they are not aware of the laws and their rights.
Awareness training	This code highlights the call for more service providers to receive special training when dealing with immigrants and women who have been abused.
Barriers to accessing help	This code represents the many barriers immigrant women face once they get to Canada. The articles make mention of the following: lack of representation, language barriers, deskilling, financial constraints, and Gender-based violence.
Working conditions	This code represents the deplorable conditions some immigrants are forced to work under. It is worthy to note that work conditions seem

	to depend on one's status (permit vs. citizenship). This status will determine the kind/quality of work one can get.
Increased vulnerability	This code highlights the vulnerable positions many newly immigrated families find themselves in once they get to Canada.

4.2 Discussion of Findings

This section analyzes and discusses the findings of this study. As an immigrant woman who has been living in Canada for three years, I have had the unprecedented experience of living through two pandemics - Covid-19 and the silent pandemic of GBV. I aimed to uncover the impact news media had on the framing of GBV and the experiences of immigrant women living in Canada. To do this, I employed critical discourse analysis to explain how discourses construct, maintain, and legitimize social inequalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Types of Gender-Based Violence that affect Immigrant Women

Table 4: The Major Clusters, Sub-Clusters, Codes and the Number of Times they were used: Gender-Based Violence

Researcher Generated Clusters	Researcher Generated Sub-Clusters	Number of news items in each sub-cluster	Codes	Number of times coded
Types of Gender-Based Violence that Affect Immigrant Women	Domestic Violence	8	Cultural Understanding Need for more social resources Physical violence	53 43 26
	Domestic Homicide	6	Frequency of incidents Effectiveness of law	46 21

	Honor-Based Violence (honor killings, FGM, forced marriage)[6]	14	Family honor Canadian awareness	61 43
	Human Trafficking	5	Criminalization of Sex Work Specialized support	15 10

The cluster on "Types of Gender-Based Violence" describes the most common types of violence that immigrant women face in Canada based on the data collected. It is important to note that the list that follows represents some and not all types of violence that immigrant women may face while in transit or at their destination. Based on the data collected it was found that immigrant women are constructed by the media not as survivors of domestic violence but as victims of domestic homicide, honor killings, forced marriage, FGM, and human trafficking. Types of power relations (e.g., inequalities between men and women) are often used in media where they are reinforced once consumed by the viewer, for example, the assignment of gender roles e.g. (a woman's place is in the home). There is, therefore, a level of 'deep structure,' which is 'invisible' and 'unconscious,' which continually structures our immediate conscious perceptions in this distorted way (Hall, Hobson, Lowe, Willis, 2003). For example, the quotes below highlight the power relations between men and women in instances of violence.

> "Hamidah decided she'd had enough.
> Her husband had become enraged while they were talking. He kicked her in the chest, knocking her down, and then punched her in the face several times while she was on the ground. It wasn't the first time he had hit her. It usually

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[6] FGM and forced marriage were grouped under "honour-based violence" because while they are different forms of GBV they are all based of the Idea of honour.

happened when she refused to have sex with him". CBC News (Carman, 2020)

"Natalia Jiménez's boyfriend took her immigration papers, telling her that if he was going to be sent back to Colombia, so was she. She followed him outside to try to get them back. In the streets of London, Ont., he turned around to face Jiménez and hit her. She remembers trying to run and him pushing her down. She fell hard, scraping her knees, and then called for help. Neighbours came to her rescue" Global News (Gerster, 2019)

It is important to note that all the women reported suffering from physical violence in every domestic violence incident, usually by a partner's hand. The act usually happened when the women refuse to have sex, refused to listen to a given command, or when the man was upset about something. This denotes a stereotypical view of a good wife as 'sex provider" and as someone who obeys her husband. Both quotes indicate that women are expected to be subordinate to their husbands. A lack of subordination resulted in abuse which was often physical. Here the link between the manifestations of patriarchy across cultures is highlighted. Strong patriarchal values can normalize women's subordination in relationships, and these values can be used as an excuse for abuse and violence (Ahmed et al., 2015; Okeke-Ihejirika & Salami, 2018). Contemporary repertoires of gender serve both to maintain the boundaries and distinctions between men and women and keep women subordinated to men (Marecek, Crawford, & Popp, 2004). The above examples also have highlighted how gender roles are represented in immigrant communities.

It is important to note that while the media here is reporting what was told to them by immigrant women, this kind of reporting would also be similar in non-immigrant domestic violence cases (Lünenborg & Fürsich, 2014; Lind & Meltzer, 2021). However, the increased vulnerability of an immigrant woman to deportation would make her more vulnerable than other Canadian-born women facing domestic violence (Chaze & Medhekar, 2017). If an immigrant

woman believes that deportation is possible, she may choose not to report the abuse (Tam et al., 2015; Vidales, 2010; Sabri, Simonet, & Campbell, 2018). Sometimes the lack of information pertaining to her status fuels a fear of deportation and will make an immigrant woman vulnerable to abusive relationships (Alaggia et al., 2009; Sabri, Simonet, & Campbell, 2018). This vulnerability will increase significantly if she faces other barriers, such as a language barrier (Chaze & Medhekar, 2017). It will be challenging for her to understand the immigration process and explain her situation to people/law officials. A Canadian-born woman would not face these challenges (Chaze & Medhekar, 2017).

For each sub-cluster (see table 4), different codes were produced based on the themes of the news items. For the sub-cluster of domestic violence, my analysis of the data revealed the codes of 'cultural understanding', 'the need for more social resources', and 'physical violence'. The results suggest that immigrant women need service providers who are more culturally aware to assist them better; this theme was coded 53 times. The 'need for more social resources' and 'physical violence' were coded 43 and 26 times. This data highlights that there are fundamental challenges to providing supportive services to newcomers. Such challenges are linked to more extensive problems of marginalization of immigrants and are not specifically related to gender. The political discourse that has supported neoliberal policies and funding cuts, and the discrepancy between migrants' expectations and the reality of life in Canada (Simich et al., 2005) prevent immigrant women who have been domestically abused from receiving adequate help, further widening the gap of inequality. Also, domestic violence may be linked to other forms of gender-based violence less familiar to public service providers (Baker, 2015; Korteweg, 2012; Tastsoglou et al., 2020, p 50).

For the sub-cluster domestic homicide, the codes 'frequency of incidents' and 'effectiveness of law' were coded 46 and 21 times (see table 4), respectively. The information

ascertained from the codes also indicates that perhaps lawmakers and service providers have not

yet formulated a plausible solution on how to assess the risk of women who come forward after

being abused by a partner. According to a study conducted by the Canadian Femicide

Observatory of Justice and Accountability located at the University of Guelph in Ontario (2019),

160 women died brutally in 2020. The study also highlights that at least 128 of these women

were killed by men, mostly their partners (Canadian femicide observatory for justice and

accountability, 2020). The findings were consistent/aligned, with a report released by Statistics

Canada that showed rates of police-reported family violence against children and youth, intimate

partners, and seniors all rose for their third year in a row in 2019, following a drop from 2009 to

2016 (Statistics Canada, 2021). The code 'effectiveness of law' highlights that sometimes laws

do not adequately protect female victims. The quote below, describing the inadequacy of a peace

bond to protect against GBV, highlights one such incident. A peace bond is a criminal court order

made by a justice of the peace or judge. It is a signed promise to keep the peace and maintain

good behaviour that is often used in cases of domestic abuse. However, this bond often fails to

protect victims from their abusers.

> "Melpa Kamateros, the executive director of Shield of Athena, a
> Montreal emergency shelter for immigrant women, stated that she finds
> the courts are too quick to opt for a peace bond".
> CBC News (Henry, 2020)

> "Thanapalasingam, who has now been charged with the first-degree
> murder of Jeganathan, was charged with assault in March 2017. But after
> breaching the conditions of his release by contacting his wife in May
> 2017, he was given a probation order restricting him from having any
> contact with Jeganathan for a year. In February, a peace bond was again
> issued prohibiting Thanapalasingam from going near his estranged wife.
> It was still in effect when he surrendered to officers at Toronto Police 42
> division Wednesday night after her murder". Global News (McDonald,
> 2019)

The sub-cluster of 'honour-based violence' (which includes honour killings, forced marriage, and FGM) produced the codes of 'family honour' and 'Canadian awareness'. They were coded 63 and 41 times (see table 4) respectively and indicate that the media likes to report stories that are more exotic and sensational – and the number of articles about this reflects a bias in media choosing to report about specific topics. As the Canadian press continues to provide society with information leading to misconceptions about honour-based violence, these misconceptions postulate that heinous acts of violence are most prevalent among immigrants thus perpetuating the narrative that immigrants are more violent than Canadians. When these crimes are mentioned in the media, it is often to highlight the reasons mentioned before or to exoticize the experiences of immigrant women. It can then be concluded that the media, by sensationalizing and preferentially reporting on certain crimes against immigrant women, promotes a discriminatory understanding of other cultures that are non-Canadian/Western. Omorodion, F. I. (2020) highlights that in the Canadian context, rather than designing and implementing policies and programs to educate all Canadians, including refugees and immigrants, the media continues the cycle of discrimination. A popular example that illustrates this is noticeable in the language/verbiage that is used by media practitioners when referencing such incidences as "barbaric/uncivilized". This supports the argument of exoticizing the experiences of immigrant women. The quote below highlights this fact by explicitly stating that it is as a result of one's "culture or religion" that racialized women are prone to experiencing violence, even though this is often not the case. Once again, this is another misconception that is promoted the press.

> "Lalani's boyfriend, whom she had met through their Ismaili community, had become abusive. A lot of the gender-based violence that racialized women experience comes from the cultural and religious norms they're raised in". Global News (Patel, 2021)

"For some Muslim women, regardless of whether they are newcomers to Canada, speaking openly about domestic violence remains a taboo subject, and there's a cultural stigma to talking about what many in their community consider a private matter". Windsor Star (Schmidt, 2017)

"Francis Cole is a female genital mutilation survivor who advocates against the practice. (Amy Dodge/CBC) "When people hear about FGM, they automatically think it's a Muslim thing," said Cole, who has yet to see In the Name of Your Daughter. "I was raised Catholic, and I wasn't spared." CBC News/Radio Canada (2019)

The quotes above have highlighted how the media focuses on "Muslim" violence against women – as the barbaric exotic other. The quotes also show the narrative of Muslim women as being subjects to oppression and violence by blaming their religion. The last quotation is particularly interesting because it points out that what is often blamed on religion is cultural. This representation is often part of a broader negative representation of Islam as a violent culture and it is important to note that these quotes all relate to Muslim women – and are part of this broader and unfair negative representation of Islam by the West. For example, in 2009, the Shafias case was brought to light after the bodies of "sisters Zainab, 19, Sahar, 17, and Geeti, 13, and Rona Amir Mohammad, 52, Mohammad Shafia's childless first wife in a polygamous marriage, were found in June 2009 in a car submerged in a canal in Ontario. It was alleged that the women were murdered by their family members to cleanse them of the shame they perceived their daughters to have brought upon them (The Canadian Press, 2018). This honour killing case quickly became very famous. It captured the attention of many people throughout Canada and beyond as the case received a lot of media coverage. The press constructs images of these forms of GBV not existing in Canada but coming from other, "violent cultures" which helps to perpetuate the (exoticization[7] of violence) of immigrant women. This is often part of a broader narrative that presents Islam as

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[7] Portray (someone or something unfamiliar) as exotic or unusual; romanticize or glamorize.

the exotic, barbaric violent "Other" of the West (Abu-Lughod 2002). Therefore, many immigrant and refugee women's experiences of violence and gender inequality are interlinked with their experiences of racism and discrimination.

The sub-cluster of human trafficking produced the codes of 'specialized support' and 'criminalization of sex work'. They were coded 10 and 15 times (see table 4), respectively. This data highlights that media reports that immigrant women who are sex workers do not have much access to help/ social services. Not many organizations specialize in sex worker support, and many government-funded organizations will ask for a Social Insurance Number. Migrant sex workers who are undocumented or have precarious immigration status are not eligible to apply for income support because they do not have a Social Insurance Number (Abji et al. 2020; Langille 2020). This point is very important as it has many policy implications. Criminalization of sex work consistently undermines sex workers' ability to seek justice for crimes against them. The need to avoid arrest— of both sex workers and their clients—means that street-based sex workers must often move to more isolated areas that are less visible to law enforcement and where violence is more prevalent (Shannon, Csete, 2010). In the case of immigrant women, they often fear deportation if found by police officers. This trend indicates that perhaps this agenda of deporting immigrant women, especially those without legal status, is a way for the Canadian government to get rid of undesirables. The quotes below highlights how sex workers are usually treated by police officers.

> "Wendy, a sex worker in Ontario, was visiting three of her friends who were working out of an apartment when two police officers stormed the premises.

> "They immediately asked to speak to the boss," Wendy said of the encounter, details of which are intentionally vague to protect her identity.

> "The migrant sex workers, said they didn't have a boss, an additional five or six officers showed up—some from the Canadian Border Services Agency. The

women were questioned at length before the two undocumented ones were handcuffed and led away, placed in immigration detention, and ultimately deported, Wendy's third friend, a migrant with a work visa, wasn't arrested, but had her work permit confiscated and never got it back, Wendy said". Vice World News (Zoledziowski, 2020)

"Some workers really are afraid they'd be harmed by their family…so they can't work in their home country out of fear of being outed which is why deportation is such a danger to sex workers," Lam said. Vice World News (Zoledziowski, 2020)

In my analysis of the types of GBV that affect immigrant women, I came across some compelling information. Based on my observation, Canadian media reflects what is occurring in our society and reinforces stereotypes of how immigrant women are viewed as victims of violence. If an immigrant woman is dependent on an abusive man, for example, her vulnerability to being deported may increase as it can be used as a tactic by the man to keep her submissive and will prevent her from reporting the abuse (Chaze & Medhekar 2017; Maher & Segrave, 2018). Also, even though sex work in Canada is not criminalized, there are many instances where immigrant sex workers are being deported because they have been caught performing sexual acts for money (Atak, Hudson, & Nakache, 2018), as the examples above have shown. This exploration has highlighted that certain types of GBV such as (FGM, forced marriage etc.) are more likely to attract the attention of Canadian readers.

Intersectionality and Migration

Table 5: The Major Clusters, Sub-clusters, Codes and the Number of Times they were used: Intersectionality and Migration

Clusters Generated by researcher)	Sub-clusters (generated by researcher)	Number of news items in each sub-cluster	Codes/sub-themes	Number of times coded

Intersectionality and Migration	Asylum, refugee claimants and undocumented women	23	Human Rights Legal status precarity	74 36
	LGBTQ+	16	Discrimination Legal barriers	45 37

The sub-cluster of 'asylum, refugee claimants and undocumented women' included the codes of 'human rights' and 'legal status precarity'. These were coded 74 and 36 times (see table 5), respectively. These numbers and associated posts highlight a few things. Firstly, the numbers for the codes of 'human rights' suggest that asylum, refugee claimants and undocumented women have faced human rights violations while in transit or when they get to Canada. When fleeing for safety, they often lack citizenship, have a precarious visa status, and experience other vulnerabilities because of ethnicity and their linguistic and social differences (Piper & Lee, 2016). It also highlights the subjectivity of Canadian immigration and refugee laws as it increases legal status precarity. The lack of valid residency permits brings a growing sense of insecurity to immigrants. Given their irregular status in the country, many are fearful of arrest or detention or feel vulnerable to abuse (Janmyr, 2016). Media reports indicate that deportations seem to be increasing, and many of these women have no protection and are not given the option to fight. Some of them will go back to a country where they know no one. Here the media is not silencing asylum seekers as they are reporting on the increased deportation rates. Canada counted 12,122 people as removed in 2020, which is 875 more than the previous year and the highest number since at least 2015, according to Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA, 2020). The excerpt below will emphasize the points that were just made.

> "An Okanagan Falls woman said she's exhausted almost all legal avenues and will be deported to her home country of South Africa next month. Lea Thorne, a failed refugee claimant, said she fears for her life if she were to return. That fear

of rape and death will never leave me," she told Global News on Monday".
Global News (Thom, 2021)

Getting deported is extremely hard on immigrant women. However, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) maintains that the decision to deport someone is not one they take lightly. The dominant trend in contemporary migration scholarship emphasizes the vulnerability associated with 'illegality' and 'deportability,' which centers on the power of nation-states to surveil, detain, and remove migrants from their respective territories (Menjívar & Kanstroom, 2013).

Here I would like to highlight using intersectionality why different cultural communities are portrayed differently in the media. I will unpack some of the intersecting identities such as race, ethnicity, age group, citizenship, social class and sexual orientation that contribute to vulnerabilities for immigrant women. Max Weber (2019) defines social class as the relationship of a person or number of people to a particular market that has an essential effect on people's lives. Weber (2019) argued that power could take a variety of forms. A person's power can be shown in the social order through their status and in the economic order through their class. Here I want to talk about class and status in terms of income. In Lightman and Gingrich (2018) they have demonstrated that immigrants, especially those coming from "nontraditional" (i.e., predominantly non-White, non-Western European) source countries, have been found to earn less than Canadian-born and in the past 40 years have seen a consistent and disproportionate decline in their earnings upon entering the workforce. This negatively impacts a woman's ability to be financially independent, forcing women to stay dependent on their spouses and to continue staying in abusive relationships (Alaggia et al., 2009; Matsuoka et al., 2012; Chaze, 2017). Lightman and Gingrich (2018) used regression models to show that low-income, immigrant,

women and racialized groups have the lowest income earnings in Canada (Gingrich & Lightman, 2015).

Lünenborg, & Fürsich (2014) found that female migrants were often othered as economically less successful and lower-class in news media. This class position became the default situation of migrants, reinforcing a dominant ideological position that understands the middle-class as the dominant position in society. Ellermann (2020), in her study, explains how the upper-middle-class bias inherent in the pursuit of the "best and brightest" (the points-based system) for immigration has also engendered class-based stratification in immigrants' access to family unification and permanent residence more broadly. In contexts such as Canada, where class status closely maps onto ethnic and religious group membership, immigration policy thus also functions as a means of de facto ethnic and religious (de)selection (Lünenborg & Fürsich 2014; Ellermann, 2020; Lind & Meltzer, 2021). Therefore, high-class status, in particular, could supersede race-based exclusion and facilitate the admission of wealthy and well-educated non-white immigrants (Masuoka, 2017). The multifacetedness of membership reflects the intersectional nature of identity, which allows for different identity markers to function as convertible forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986). Without this social capital one would be faced with many disadvantages. I would also like to highlight that precarious citizenship status is another intersecting identity that will make immigrant women more vulnerable to instances of violence. The ramification of precarious citizenship is reflected in the inability to gain access to basic amenities or social services in the host nation, therefore, resulting in increased economic dependence that can lead to various forms of gender-based violence- for example, domestic violence (Lori, 2017).

Identity markers such as one's ethnicity and even religion also play a role in how the media may perceive an individual. Missing Canadian Aboriginal women receive half the coverage of missing White women and immigrant women (Gilchrist 2010; Moeke-Pickering, Cote-Meek, & Pegoraro, 2018). This can be interpreted as an indicator that relative invisibility can reproduce inequalities based on both racism and sexism. Alberta Giorgi (2012) found that migrant women are mainly portrayed as victims and stress the emerging connection between culture, tradition, and specifically Islam in media coverage. For example. Muslim women have been considered as a specific group of women migrants (Ehrkamp 2010; Özcan 2013). This has been due to the wearing of a veil or headscarf. These items have been identified as a visible mark of both religious and cultural belonging. In most cases, Muslim women are used as a symbol of "Islamization" and represent a supposedly misogynous religious culture that forces women to be obedient (Vliegenthart & Roggeband 2007). In this way, migrant women in the media are made visible to emphasize the out-group stigma migrants face in their host society. Hence, the reason why types of GBV such as forced marriage, honour killings, and FGM has been overly exoticized in Canadian media. It also highlights that Muslim women will face different barriers than non-Muslim immigrant women. This reflects the "us/them" dichotomy and highlights the manifestations of patriarchy in Canadian society, promoting inequality and discrimination (Block, 2016). In addition, research shows that Muslims in Canada have an unemployment rate twice that of the rest of the population (Rahnema, 2006), and there is some evidence of workplace discrimination against especially Muslim immigrant women (Rahnema, 2006).

The sub-cluster of LGBTQ+ had codes of 'discrimination' and 'legal barriers'. They were coded 45 and 37 times (see table 5), respectively. While many of the LGBTQ+ community see Canada as a safe place where they are allowed to be themselves, many of the stories told involved blatant discrimination especially pertaining to immigration, obtaining status in Canada, getting

aid after landing in Canada, and their ability to get jobs. In the context of ethnic minorities and racism, the work of Tuen A. van Dijk illustrates how public discourse circulates through the newsprint media and thereby reproduces and "reformulates" social norms that enable discrimination and ethnic prejudice (van Dijk 1991, p. 7) which leads to inequality. This reformulation is done when foreign-born LGBTQ+ members outside of Canada are portrayed as the 'Other,' who come from a less-civilized culture that is non-western/ Canadian. It highlights that LGBTQ+ immigrants and refugees endure unique experiences that might not be similar to those experienced by other members of the LGBTQ+ community (Lee, Brotman, 2013).

In my readings of the literature on intersectionality and sexuality, particularly that of LGBTQ+ immigrants, the literature usually has been applied when looking at ways to reduce social factors that may cause health disparities among socially disadvantaged groups (McNair 2012; Lopez, & Gadsden, 2016; Chen, 2017). There is a persistent dominant media representation that frames countries of the Global North as LGBTQ+ human rights leaders, compared to those of an often rigidly homophobic and transphobic Global South (Jenicek, Lee, & Wong, 2009; Luibhéid, 2008; Murray, 2016). Over the past decade, Canada has asserted itself as a global leader in LGBTQ+ human rights and a "safe haven" for LGBTQ+ people who are fleeing homophobia or transphobia (Jenicek et al., 2009; Nicol, Gasse-Gates, & Mulé, 2014). The Canadian media has played a significant role in championing this discourse. However, the media's simplistic framing tends to obscure how the movement of LGBTQ+ people from the Global South to Canada is shaped by the complexities of global capitalism, post-colonial nationalism, and national migration laws (El-Hage & Lee, 2016). The quotes below will highlight some of the disparities that LGBTQ+ immigrants face after arriving in Canada.

> "In Iran, Ruby faced death threats for his LGBTQ+ activism. But escaping state-sanctioned homophobia came at a personal cost. He was separated from

his family and culture, and when he arrived in Vancouver, he encountered a new kind of discrimination and isolation, he said. The kind of obstacles faced by another Middle Eastern queer immigrant to Vancouver whose tragic experience was profiled at length in these pages last year". The Tyee News (Dayal, 2020)

"Alexa Ward is a 25-year-old Barbadian refugee who hopes to someday be a flight attendant. Fleeing transphobic treatment in her home country of Barbados, Alexa Ward came to Canada last October with high hopes. She was looking forward to safety, community, and starting a new life as a flight attendant. But her first fall and winter were "very hard" seasons, she told HuffPost Canada, as she knew nobody and experienced misgendering when trying to access services for newcomers like her. I would go to organizations, and they would call me sir, she recalled". I still experience transphobia here in Canada, just like every trans person anywhere in the world. At the end of the day, no matter where you live, there's still fear and anxiety." HuffPost Canada (Donato, 2020).

The quotes above have highlighted that homophobic and transphobic discrimination (either real or anticipated) from health and social practitioners has emerged as a critical factor in both precipitating health issues and a lower rate of help-seeking in members of the LGBTIQ+ community (Lopez, & Gadsden, 2016). This fear is compounded in immigrant and asylum-seeking people who are also LGBTIQ+, who may face difficulties accessing culturally appropriate services or fear the impact that disclosure may have on their visa status (McNair 2012; Lopez, & Gadsden, 2016; Chen, 2017). This lack of cultural training can perpetuate prejudice and discrimination, resulting in a lack of access to proper social services when needed (Hafeez, Zeshan, Tahir, et al., 2017). However, on the other hand, heterosexual immigrant women also face barriers to accessing health care and social services, especially in instances of violence; however, they may have an easier time than people who identify as LGBTQ+ immigrants in accessing help (Lee, Brotman, 2013; Chen, 2017). Gerry Veenstra (2011) stated that from an intersectional perspective, each axis of inequality usually interacts with at least one other form and that poor homosexuals experience multiple jeopardies. Veenstra (2011) also stated that they were less likely to report fair/poor health or seek access to social services when faced

with instances of GBV. Stigmatization, social stress, peer victimization and family rejection are some of the concerning issues facing members of this community (Lee, Brotman, 2013; Hafeez, Zeshan, & Tahir, et al., 2017). The quotes above highlight the effect discrimination has on immigrant LGBTQ+ members. This discrimination comes from the people in the community and the government system to a lesser extent. It also means that the media reports on intersectional discrimination as it is not being hidden or silenced as they have criticized Canadian racism against immigrant LGBTQ+ individuals.

The media does not determine citizens' thoughts and opinions, but it does play a significant role in suggesting to the nation who "we" are, who belongs, and who does not (Bullock, Jafri, 2000). For instance, dominant discourses of immigrant and refugee women and domestic violence tend to "culturalize" violence, seeing it as a product of cultural conflict rather than structural inequality. As a result, the "othering" that occurs with gendered socialization and racialization exacerbates the complex and intersecting forms of violence that immigrant women and members of the LGBTQ+ community experience.

Socio-Economic Challenges

Table 6: The Major Clusters, Sub-Clusters, Codes and the Number of Times they were used: Socio-Economic Challenges

Clusters Generated by researcher)	Sub-clusters (generated by researcher)	Number of news items in each sub-cluster	Codes/sub-themes	Number of times coded

Socio-Economic Challenges	Accesses to Social services and covid-19 related services	17	Awareness training Barriers to accessing help	41 40
				60
	Challenges to resettlement	17	Working conditions Increased vulnerability	54

As I begin to address this section of the findings, I want to highlight that every study faces limitations. There were limitations in terms of what the selected key words produced for the news articles as it did not produce the results I originally wanted. For this section I will highlight the similarities and differences in the challenges that both immigrant men and women face after moving to Canada. The data collected from the sub-clusters of 'access to social services and covid-19 related services' and 'challenges to resettlement' highlighted the four Codes of 'awareness training', 'barriers to accessing help', 'working conditions', and 'increased vulnerability'. 'Awareness training' was coded 41 times with 'increased vulnerability' at 60 times (see table 6). This highlights the need for more sensitivity to immigrant women's needs and experiences in resettlement as they are unique. An example of how this is reported in the media is highlighted in the quotes below.

> "For some newcomers a new life in Canada often doesn't go as planned, with relationships and families facing extreme pressures that can sometimes end in violence and relationships turning bad. Immigrant women want to leave violent situations but sometimes don't know where to go to get help or try mainstream shelters only to find their religious and cultural needs aren't being met or understood by staff and fellow clients. Some even end up going back to abusive relationships. "Those women, they contact us and they get help," said Aneela Azeem, president of the Canadian Pakistani Support Group, the organization behind the project, a quiet family home on a sleepy suburban street". CBC News (McGarvey, 2019)

> "Just because I hold a degree from a different country doesn't make me less capable," said Janani Shivshankar, a recent graduate from Memorial University with a postgraduate degree in environmental systems engineering and management. Shivshankar immigrated to Newfoundland and Labrador as an international student

to pursue her higher education in engineering. Within the last year she applied for more than 300 jobs in her field. From those applications, she was called back for three or four interviews. None of them turned out to be fruitful." CBC News (Dixit, 2020)

"You can't imagine how much immigrants are suffering," said Shaimma Yehia, a software engineer who migrated to Canada in 2015 through the Federal Skilled Worker Program. I found it very hard with no family support and four children who depend on me – all while I'm trying to catch up and find work in the tech industry. It seriously drained my mental health," the Lower Mainland resident said. Even with a degree in electronics and communications engineering and a decade of experience, the 40-year-old has only found work in B.C. as a caregiver. Vancouver Island Free Daily (Grochowski, 2021)

While men and women face similar socio-economic barriers, I will use the intersectional theory to highlight in terms of economic means how immigrant women are made more vulnerable, leading to instances of GBV. The representation of immigrant women in the quotes above highlights some of their socio-economic struggles. In comparison to men, some immigrant women face even more challenges when entering the workplace for the first time. Others who have already been working in their countries of origin are likely to change professions and settle for low-status jobs for survival (Lightman and Gingrich, 2018). The new low-status jobs that immigrant women take up are due to immigration policies that have been structured so that women are only their spouses' or parents' dependents during the immigration process. For example, the Canadian government's points system was created to be "non-discriminatory," and gender-neutral but it is not (Chan, 2019). There are gender differences in who applies and under what conditions they are accepted. Among women who received invitations to apply in the Express Entry system, the most frequent occupation was administrative assistant, compared with men, which was software engineer (Tannock 2011; Goldthorpe & Mayor, 2021). Such practices reveal the gender and racialized constructions of occupations and ensure the inequality of incomes between immigrant women and men as groups in Canada. Although the points system is

in theory gender-neutral, in practice, gender biases reveal themselves in the economic outcomes of immigrant women compared to immigrant men. (Lightman & Gingrich, 2018; Chan, 2019; Goldthorpe & Mayor, 2021).

Here the social construction of gender can be seen based on the kinds of jobs and roles immigrant women are expected to play. Childcare and domestic labour are increasingly racialized and discounted as invaluable work that is ordinarily performed by mothers within the home (Strong-Boag, 2018). Canadian immigration policy has made immigrant women invisible by restraining them within domestic work (Lightman and Gingrich, 2018; Chan, 2019). This patriarchal notion upholds that "the point system reinforces the socially constructed dichotomy between women's less valuable private household work and men's more valuable public work" (Strong-Boag, 2018, p. 77). Although oppression of women may not be the point of patriarchy, a social system that is male-identified, male-controlled and male-centred will inevitably value masculinity and masculine traits over femininity and feminine traits (Becker, 1999; Thobani, 2007). In such a system, men (and women) will be encouraged to regard women as beings suited to fulfill male needs (Becker, 1999; Thobani, 2007; Strong-Boag, 2018). Therefore, women and men are privileged or disadvantaged by their positions and the other variables of their social identities. How much privilege a person has depends on the social positions she occupies and how those positions are valued in her society (Becker, 1999; Chan, 2019).

So, while I argue that both male and female immigrants face socio-economic challenges after migrating, there are fundamental nuances and differences. The increase in stress in the household (because of financial strain and finding fulfilling work) increases instances of GBV for immigrant women (Alaggia et al., 2009; Matsuoka et al., 2012; Chaze, 2017). Also, it could equally be a problem if women found jobs and their partners did not. The inability to find employment could indeed keep immigrant women in abusive relationships (Chaze, 2017).

Summary of Findings

Based on a critical analysis of the data collected I found the following. I found that immigrant women are constructed by the media not as **survivors** of domestic violence but as **victims** of domestic homicide, honour killings, forced marriage, FGM, and human trafficking. My data shows that domestic violence and domestic homicides are more media "popular" forms of GBV faced by immigrant women (see table 4). While domestic violence is more common between the two, it is often linked in the media to other forms of gender-based violence less familiar to the public, such as intimate honour killing or forced marriage (Baker, 2015; Korteweg, 2012; Tastsoglou et al., 2020, p 50).

This exploration has highlighted that **certain types of GBV,** such as (FGM, forced marriage etc.) are more likely to attract the attention of Canadian readers. If excessive or disproportionate talk in the media is about such forms of GBV, then, from a critical perspective, one might say that this might be so because these forms of violence are seen as coming to Canada from other cultures. This increases the exoticization of immigrant women and exacerbates the complex and intersecting ways in which immigrant women experience GBV. These other violent cultures are then not wanted in Canada, and thus an anti-immigration climate is being forged.

Dominant discourses of immigrant refugee women and domestic violence tend to "culturalize" violence, seeing it as a product of cultural conflict rather than a product of structural inequality. The reporting of exotic GBV among immigrant communities obscures the structural inequalities immigrant women and men face (difficulty in finding employment, loss of position because they cannot secure an equivalent employment status as in their home country) (Strong-Boag, 2018). This structural inequality might contribute to GBV that is not specifically cultural or intersects with cultural forms of patriarchy (Becker, 1999; Thobani, 2007; Strong-Boag, 2018).

A study done by UN Women (2017) also confirms my findings as it reported in that study that Canadian news media tended to depict female immigrants as 'victims'. They were most commonly described as vulnerable to exploitation owing to the restrictive immigration policies of the Canadian federal government. In the study the category "victim" also implied that another immigrant, husband etc. is the victimizer, killer etc. (UN Women, 2017). Women as heroes in Canadian reporting was a representation attached to some of the experiences of immigrant women. Much of this Canadian reporting along these lines was overtly centered on the Live-in Caregiver Program, which features domestic workers. Women in this program were referred to as "nannies," "caregivers," or even "maids" (Hennebry et al., 2017, p.11).

Here I would like to highlight that my study searched for immigrants and GBV specifically and not for overall representations of immigrant women in the media. Because of that I have probably missed other representations of immigrant women in the media. For example, during the Covid-19 pandemic, many news outlets praised Filipinas as they were regarded or portrayed as heroes during the pandemic. It is important to note that a third of internationally trained nurses in the country are from the Philippines, according to the Canadian Institute for Health Information, with Filipinos making up 90 percent of migrant caregivers providing in-home care under Canada's Caregiver Program (Rodriguez, 2020). This representation did not turn up in my study, however, my study specifically highlighted how the media exoticizes the violence that migrant women face, setting it apart from the general GBV that all women in society face (that is different from GBV related to gendered structural violence and patriarchal relationships).

I often think that it is easier to portray immigrant women as victims and never as heroes. However, immigrant women who are GBV survivors should be highlighted as heroes / heroines for several reasons; they have survived the violence; they have saved their children from abusive

environments, they have resisted cultural or social pressures to succumb / tolerate GBV. Beyond surviving GBV, immigrant women have played a dynamic role in transforming Canadian society socially, politically, and economically (Akbar, & Preston, 2020). Finally, they have influenced positive social change across households and communities in origin and destination countries (UN Women, 2017).

Intersectionality also suggests that one's place of origin and religion will significantly determine how women are depicted by the media. For example, since 9/11 there has been a preoccupation with how the media chooses to handle news items concerning Muslim women. The most common media narrative is based on western stereotypes of Islam as non-western and the main reason why 'Muslim women need saving' (Abu-Lughod, 2013). In comparison Filipina women are seen are heroes, who are caregivers and hard workers (Rodriguez, 2020). Abu-Lughod (2013) argues that "we need to develop, instead, a serious appreciation of differences among women in the world—as products of different histories, expressions of different circumstances, and manifestations of differently structured desires" (p 783). These kinds of intersectional identities are important for understanding media representations of immigrant women and their experiences with GBV.

In conclusion, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to examine how discourse, specifically from Canadian news media, reports and thus constructs GBV against immigrant women living in Canada. Through this critical lens, it was concluded that firstly, immigrant women in GBV posts are portrayed as victims and never as survivors. Secondly, they were often viewed as passive victims and never as heroes or agents in their lives. Thirdly, immigrant women in GBV posts are seen as recipients of "foreign" forms of violence, "imported" into Canada by unwelcome cultures. Also while terminology relating to intersectionality and socio-economic challenges was encountered in reports and coded, CDA analysis revealed that the media does not

recognize the significance intersectional identities, intersectional discriminations and various types of socio-economic challenges play in increasing immigrant women's vulnerability and aggravating their GBV experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In my introduction I had established that the "critical questions" I would pose through applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) refer to (i) what these constructions are, (ii) how they compare to research findings about immigrant women's experiences of inequality and violence, and (iii) what the consequences of these constructions are in immigrant women's lives in terms of perpetuating and (re) producing social inequalities and contributing directly or indirectly to GBV. As I conclude this thesis, my answers to these questions are summarized below:

Through this research, I found that while domestic violence is the most commonly reported form of GBV affecting immigrant women, other forms of gender-based violence are also over reported to the public, including honour- and dowry-related crimes and child- and forced marriages. When this happens, the news stories tend to focus on gender-based violence (particularly exotic forms of violence that can be connected with their culture) rather than other aspects of their lives, and women immigrants are most times portrayed as a passive 'victims' by the media. By doing so, the media reproduces social norms that enable discrimination and ethnic prejudice, even though it reports on intersectional discrimination affecting immigrant women and their experiences with violence. The oversimplification and one-dimensional stories told about the experiences of immigrant women can lead to caricatures and tropes, perpetuating stereotypes and alienating audiences. When this happens, one narrative, be it positive or negative, has a great chance of becoming the 'only' narrative (Bareño, 2020). Also, my study did not find

representations of immigrant women as heroines as they were seen as passive victims and not as agents. This is in contrast to other studies that found immigrant women as heroines when they were caregivers, a nurse, or a nanny - but not as GBV survivors.

Uncovering media discourse through CDA has provided evidence that immigrant women are often portrayed as victims and hardly as heroes in mass media. CDA brought a critical social analysis into the ways racism and discrimination are reproduced. This highlighted the ongoing relations between discourse and other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, social identities) (Fairclough, 2013, p.178). The media contributes to understandings and so-called 'truths' surrounding immigrant women in societies, which shapes knowledge and attitudes. These 'truths' might also influence countries' policies and the provision of rights, protections and services to these largely stereotyped groups (Hennebry et al., 2017).

An Assessment of the Interdisciplinary Methodology and Thesis Contribution to Social Science

During the process of getting data for this research project, I encountered a series of challenges. The novelty of the new interdisciplinary methodology was a challenge from the point of view of constant experimentation with the algorithm, machine training required, and limited time to conduct such experiments. As this model was being used for the first time, it required many updates and adaptations. One of the many issues we had was that the model was moving too slowly, but its speed and efficiency improved significantly over time. The researcher also observed that the clustering software[8] tended to cluster items based on a preponderance of local and regional news, e.g. (the Nova Scotia mass shooting). This probably occurred because the clustering software could detect my location and produced results to match. The software would also produce stories that received a lot of media attention. As a result, all the files in such a cluster would contain only news stories of the same incident. The method, however, is totally scientific as one can repeat the steps and end up with exactly the same results.

On the plus side, this small-size "sample," systematically selected for meaningful results through an iterative process that reduced the "big data" gradually into increasingly smaller sub-sets, appears to be the equivalent of random sampling, i.e., it comes as close as it can be to quantitative studies. Ultimately, I was able to combine quantitative and qualitative components through this interdisciplinary methodology. Therefore, my findings will represent the construction of the experiences of immigrant women through the media.

This new interdisciplinary methodology of using Big Data, Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning in Social Science research is novel and pioneering. As a member of a multi-

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[8] Clustering is an unsupervised machine learning task. It involves automatically discovering natural groupings in data.

disciplinary team of two social science graduate students, two computer science graduate students (one of whom is a doctoral student), two professors of Computer Science and my supervisor (Sociology and IDS professor), we met weekly and virtually over a period of half a year (at the height of the first Covid-19 wave in Canada), learned about each other's disciplinary and project objectives, as well as each other's disciplinary "language" and crafted the steps of the methodology while experimenting with various Machine Learning technologies and adapting them to my MA thesis research project. I feel proud to have been a part of creating this novel and very promising methodology, opening up a new frontier in interdisciplinary research. Big Data and artificial intelligence tools (such as Machine Learning) should be used as an active part of research as there are many advantages and endless possibilities. While traditional research methods are still valuable, we live in a new era of technological innovation. The pandemic has pushed many researchers to work and think "outside of the box" and embrace interdisciplinary possibilities between otherwise unlikely bedfellows.

This interdisciplinary study has shown that the world of research has no bounds. With technologies such as machine learning tools, social science researchers can now create new and sustainable ways of gathering and using large amounts of data. For example, the sample size is an essential consideration for research. Larger sample sizes provide more accurate mean values, identify outliers that could skew the data in a smaller sample and provide a smaller margin of error. This new methodology will give social scientists more options when conducting research instead of focusing only on typical social science research that is usually qualitative. Incorporating big data will provide social scientists with more opportunities to do quantitative research with rich data sets. I along with my teammates have provided a new way for social scientists to conduct research using unconventional tools, venturing into computer science, and utilizing artificial intelligence. This project was a powerful learning experience where a pandemic

of all things birthed an entirely new research methodology. As a researcher, I feel proud to have aided in creating a methodological process that will provide solutions to some of today's most challenging research problems.

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