

**Participation Engendering Belonging:
A Study of Lived Experiences of Immigrants Living in Halifax**

by

Wendy Robinson

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and Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
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Abstract:

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This thesis explores whether, and how, political participation engenders belonging. Political participation includes both formal and informal politics in this study. The connections between political participation and belonging are investigated through qualitative analysis, of the experiences of the ten immigrant residents of the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM), using a modified intersectionality theory approach. This thesis underscores the need to broaden this approach by adding “place” to the variables of race, gender, and class. The addition of “place” serves to incorporate the specific history of the municipality, which is unique to the rest of Canada and has helped shape the experiences of immigrants currently choosing to settle in the area. The ten participants in this study, coming from various countries of origin, all belong to an organization of some type and all found their political participation, broadly conceived, engendered a sense of belonging to the broader Canadian society.

DATE: August 31, 2010

Dedication

This Master's thesis is dedicated to my many friends who have helped me in ways they will never know, nor can I thank them for being such an invaluable part of my life. I thank Karin, Ninny, Cathy, Lucy, Wanda, and Heather in particular. A special thanks to my sister Merridy who is my logical side. I treasure my children, Rebecca and Isaac, who never thought their mom could not do it! Finally, there are no more rubber trees.

This study would not have been possible without the help of the wonderful immigrants who took the time to allow me to probe into their personal experience of moving to another country and finding a way to call Halifax their home.

Finally, thank you to Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou and Dr. Alexandra Doborowolsky who so willingly and wonderfully helped me achieve my goal. Also, I thank Dr. Edna Keeble for her valuable contribution as the second reader. Not only was I lucky to have Dr. Mythili Rajiva as a graduate methodology professor, she also encouraged me to finish this project and graciously agreed to be the external examiner as well.

“They should take credit for refining my thinking, although I take responsibility for my words” (Didi Khayatt, 2001, p2)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Personal Terms of Reference:

“Patchwork quilts put together in random fashion are called “crazy quilts”... The crazy quilts of the late nineteenth century, unlike earlier quilts, generally included scraps of silk, satin, or velvet in addition to the customary cotton patches. The luxurious quality of the fabrics was emphasized by the manner in which the oddly shaped patches were pieced together...the seams were sewn in elaborate embroidery stitches. This crazy quilt combines a variety of ornate and colorful fabrics joined by embroidery in contrasting hues.” (NGA, 2007)

The crazy quilt is created by carefully joining oddly shaped pieces of fabric together. It becomes a unique final production that can never be replicated by the same quilter, let alone another person. When a crazy quilter begins the process, they assess the pieces laid out and plays with these pieces to see how best to create some semblance of a pattern. Often the pattern is not discernable until the quilt is finished, and sometimes even then, only with an embellishment treatment can the pieces be tied together. What becomes clear in the process of quilting, is that each piece of fabric is studied to see what will be the best shape and best position to produce the best results in the quilt overall. Sometimes the piece needs to be trimmed, leaving the important parts to fit in.

This thesis is like a “crazy quilt” in terms of how I have pieced together seemingly unrelated snippets of diverse information to create a finished blanket that vividly incorporates the rich textures and colours of the lives of the immigrants whom I interviewed. I have done so from an historical perspective, contextualizing Canadian immigration policies and their effects on Nova Scotia’s immigrants. I also add contemporary socio-political context and the politics of place to this study. For example, Nova Scotia has a unique history that provides a different lived experience for those born here and for those who make it their adopted home (Ralston, 1996). Similarly, the history

of Halifax and its relationship with non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants become a crucial consideration. Just as the pieces of the crazy quilt are diverse, I tried to find a diverse group of participants to gain a broader understanding of the experiences people have when moving to Nova Scotia.

Katherine Borland (1991) states “...when we do interpretations, we bring our own knowledge, experience, and concerns to our material, and the result, we hope, is a richer, more textured understanding of its meaning” (p 73). I made deliberate choices as to which pieces I would add to my crazy quilt and how I would join them together. These decisions were made and reflect many factors, such as, who I am, my academic career, and my personal life experiences. This thesis is a melding together of me and my academic requirements. The analogy of the crazy quilt is symbolic of my love of, and great experience with, creating a wide variety of things from a vast array of fabrics throughout my life. I trust that I have created a vibrant “quilt” that has a unique style that is as rich as the lives of the people interviewed for this study. The fabric of my study also, therefore, reflects the ‘mosaic’ culture Canada’s immigrants have created.

This thesis arises out of my passion for immigrants and my deep respect for the difficulties they face in trying to attain what I take for granted: my Canadian citizenship. My passion comes from working side by side with immigrants in a workplace in the north end of Halifax that produced garments, parachutes for an electronic company, and various sundry items. To an outsider the ‘shop’ had the appearance of a ‘sweatshop’; however, it was redolent with languages, food smells and tastes, and music from many areas of the world in a mutually respectful interplay. Indeed I was one of only two people in the workplace for whom English is a first language. I witnessed one immigrant

study for, and successfully attain Canadian citizenship, with much pride and excitement. I was once even asked to lead a group of workers in a round of “Oh Canada” so that the immigrant woman having her Canadian citizenship conferred would be able to practice singing Canada’s national anthem before her ceremony.

I was privy to many of my co-workers’ daily lives and struggles to merely exist in an English speaking environment that differed greatly from their countries of origin. Simple actions such as banking transactions were complicated for those just arriving. I saw how difficult it was for some immigrants to adjust and how others seemed to take it all in stride. One woman was from Afghanistan and spoke four languages, yet she worked as a sewing machine operator in a small manufacturing plant in Halifax, as her English was not her first or second language and she doubted her ability to compete for a job requiring fluency in English. In addition she struggled with the “rules of conduct” that her father promoted from his home in Afghanistan while she wanted to live according to Canadian “rules” now that she had become a Canadian citizen. She struggled with her cultural identity and her newly found independence.

The women and men I worked with ran the gamut from speaking English at a high functioning level to those who could only manage a basic conversation. Everyone’s comfort level with the English language was respected, yet some of the immigrants sought to constantly improve their pronunciation. My command of rules of English grammar was pushed to the limits by some seeking knowledge, while others did not want their pronunciation or grammatical errors corrected. For eight hours a day, I found myself in a world in which English was not the first language. Therefore, I could not join in on the easy banter among co-workers as the flavour was often lost in translation. This made

informal chats difficult and seldom reflected easy repartee among friends. The women were happy to include me in polite conversation but lengthy discussions were confined to those speaking the same language as cultural nuances had to be explained at length.

With this work experience, I consider myself lucky in that I had the opportunity to imagine what it would feel like to not be a part of the dominant culture. At the same time, I am also acutely aware that I was able to leave work at five o'clock and re-enter a familiar world where I could navigate easily, whereas the immigrant women leaving work would then have to face a harsher world in which they felt a much more encompassing exclusion than I had experienced earlier in the day. The world outside offered nothing familiar to them, as it did for me.

Although I have had the privilege of working with such wonderful women and men from around the globe, most Nova Scotians will never have that opportunity, not as a result of choices they make, but rather as a result of the history of immigration in Canada in general, and Nova Scotia in particular. This history has left the Atlantic Canada region: "more authoritarian and ethnocentric than residents from other Anglophone regions (Berry et. al, 1980, p 263) as well as "the most prone to show discrimination against immigrants" (p 265). This attitude of racism may be a result of the region being "... the most unilingual and one of the most uni-cultural regions in Canada" (Driedger, 2003, p 84).

While there is an increase in the number of immigrants from non-White countries, the majority of the population remains of British descent in Nova Scotia (Proportion of Foreign-born Population, 2009). This has significant ramifications for the new arrivals and has an impact on their ability to develop a sense of belonging to the area they now

call home. This thesis will look at various means of engendering that sense of belonging through participating in formal and informal politics and the role that “place” plays in the opportunities to join such organizations. There are many reasons to explore these possible connections, some of which will be laid out in the following section.

Rationale for Study:

Researchers are beginning to recognize that there is a gap in the literature that examines the lives of immigrants living in areas outside of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Radford, 2007). For those interested in the gendered aspect of the research there is even less available. In fact, Worsford (2002) recommended that qualitative research be conducted in small regions, on smaller populations, and that data on gender and ethnicity be tied together, while being contextualized.

My exploration of the literature did uncover a limited amount of research conducted in the Maritime Provinces by Ralston (1996), Tastsoglou and Miedema (2003) and Ab dul-Razzaq (2008) who have studied specific groups of immigrant women in the area. However, they have not explored the connection, if any, between participation in informal and formal politics and a sense of belonging to the community in which they reside.

While there have been discussions surrounding the experiences female immigrants have, as compared to male immigrants, including the series of Round Table Discussions held by the province, there is still very little research overall on general immigration and political participation, in Nova Scotia, and especially Halifax.

It is hoped that this study will help to fill several literature gaps through both its literature review and the interviews with immigrant women and men, and thereby providing a firsthand “understanding of the dynamics of immigration, citizenship, and political behavior” (Foner, 2008, p 251).

Thesis Chapter Overview:

In this chapter, Chapter I, I set the stage for this thesis. I reviewed the reasons why the topic of immigration is important to me, and the rationale for the study. This is followed by a discussion of the need to add the concept of “place” to intersectionality theory.

Chapter II, I will discuss the theoretical and conceptual considerations included in this thesis. The concept of citizenship and what it means to be an ideal citizen will be explored in further detail. Formal political participation will be broken down into separate behaviors, and the parameters of informal politics will be addressed. Feelings of belonging, especially those generated by participation in organizations, will be examined along with related concepts of “home” and “identity”.

In Chapter III, I will review the history of the waves of immigrants to Canada and the policies that encouraged immigrants from some countries while excluding people from other countries. I proceed to summarize the history of Nova Scotia, and specifically Halifax. What will follow is a brief analysis of the political landscape of Nova Scotia and how it impacts current immigrants trying to find a sense of belonging to the Halifax. I also highlight the gendered impacts of Canadian immigration policies.

In Chapter IV, I focus on the political landscape of the Halifax in an effort to explain why so few women immigrants take part in formal politics in the region. Chapter V outlines the methodology for this study, and information on the methods, participants, and procedures used. Chapter VI explores the findings of the research and analyzes them. This is followed by the conclusion, limitations and future research.

Major Theoretical Contribution:

The theory of intersectionality takes the three dimensions, race, gender, and class, into account by allowing for the dynamic interaction of all three on the analysis of women's experiences. Intersectionality theory "provides an interpretive framework for thinking through how intersections of race and class, or race and gender, or gender and class shape any group's experience across specific social contexts (Mann, p 208). There is no uniform way of organizing all three factors because one factor may be more salient for some, less-so than for others, with any combination creating a more complex effect than the separate factors. Thus, the theory of intersectionality posits that race, gender, and class are not separate entities, but are in fact "inseparable determinates of inequities" (Chow, 1996, p 87). Not only are they inseparable, their relation to one another is dynamic with cumulative effects on each other. All three elements interact together in differing ways, rather than just as the direct sum of the three parts and any one element can be predominant (Burgess-Proctor, 2006). As such, one woman has many influences on her life (Calliste et al., 2000).

First, the construction of gender roles placed on a woman by the society in which she is born and subsequently lives plays a major role in her lived experience. This

dimension alone is unstable as it can change through time within one culture and can be altered through crossing into other cultures, which are also fluid. For example, being a Canadian woman in the early 1900's is far different for a woman in the early 2000s. Many opportunities, such as the right to vote, that were not available for women in the 1900s are now taken for granted by some women. There are other influences in the creation of the role of womanhood within any given society.

The construction of race also impacts the construction of womanhood. The term race is inextricably linked to racism because once races are distinguished they become ranked in order of superiority to inferiority (Driedger & Halli, 2000). Canada came into being as a result of colonialism by White Europeans, whose legacy is the ranking of those with White characteristics higher than non-White inhabitants (Driedger & Halli, 2000). This ideology continues to present difficulties for the more recent immigrants as they tend to come from non-White countries. The shift in sending countries has gone from Western Europe to Asia, Africa, South and Central America, as well as the Middle East since the early 1980s (Akbari et al., 2007, p 12). As a result of the residual post-colonial thinking, those whose race is not Anglo-Saxon, specifically those from the new sending countries, are marginalized and will have a different experience than those who more closely resemble the Anglo-Saxon "center". For example, "[v]isible minorities who are of Asian and African origin often find themselves, involuntarily, restricted from participation because of prejudice, discrimination and racism" (Driedger & Halli, 2000a, p 76).

Racism is not just an individual characteristic, but rather can be found in institutions through their traditional practices and structures (Berry & Kalin, 2000). Racial discrimination involves negative behaviors leveled at certain groups of people based on membership in certain racial categories (Taylor, Wright, & Ruggiero, 2000). Discrimination can be displayed in obvious behaviors, such as the past practice of segregation in public spaces. It also takes the form of subtle behaviors that appear to be helpful, but in reality are as destructive as the overt forms of discrimination, such as tokenism, or the creation of quotas for hiring marginalized people (Taylor, Wright, & Ruggiero, 2000). Ralston (2000) argues that the discriminatory practices of the past that are still in play today in Halifax are a product of its immigration history. A recent survey of businesses in Halifax shows that 95 % of those businesses agree with the importance of having immigrants work for them, however, when it comes to actually hiring them to work in their organization, none of the same businesses actually did so (Nova Scotia Office of Immigration, 2005).

In addition to race, class status has an influence on the lived experience of women. For this thesis class has been operationally defined by the “woman’s education, occupation and family income as indicators of the social and economic position within the system of productive relations” (Ralston, 1988, p 65). Coming from a higher class presents women with significantly more opportunities not afforded to women who come from lower classes. For example, postsecondary education is difficult to achieve for most women from the lower classes as the cost is prohibitive to them. Credentials conferred as a result of higher education bring potential career opportunities, which in turn, create opportunities for class advancement.

Intersectionality theory, typically, focuses on gender, race and class; however, in this thesis the variable of “place” becomes a crucial consideration that will be used to supplement the analysis. Ralston (1991) infers the significance of “place” when she refers to the importance of the “interconnectedness in specific Canadian contexts” (p 129). In 2000, she stated that “it is therefore important to consider *where the women have settled* as well as their origins” (p 204) (author’s emphasis). Ralston argued that immigrant women who move to larger metropolis centers experience Canada differently from those who move to Atlantic Canada. She believed the differences in the histories of the regions impact the number of immigrants to that region. With fewer immigrants in the Atlantic Canada region, there is less emotional support for those choosing to settle there as their social networks are smaller. The economic condition to which immigrants move also impacts their ability to engage in the labour force at levels commensurate to their credentials. These factors affect the possibility of fully engaging in all aspect of citizenship.

“[C]itizenship exists specifically, historically, and changes continually as relationships are negotiated and re-negotiated in variable national and international conditions” (Stasiulis & Bakan, 1997, p 389), with conditions in the host country playing an important role in the naturalization process (Yang, 1994). As will be discussed at length in subsequent sections on the history and the political landscape of the Maritime Provinces, the latter and Halifax in particular have a unique history that is not replicated in any other part of Canada, thus having a distinctive effect on the lived experience of newcomers to Halifax. I argue that as a result of this history intersectionality theory alone does not suffice to analyze the experiences of immigrants in this part of Canada. Building

on the findings of Ralston, the research of this thesis will underscore that dimension of “place” which, along with gender, race, and class, becomes salient for most of the participants in this study.

Rankin (2002) also supports the inclusion of place when she states “the spatial location in which women engage in politics is relevant in terms of where within the political system they choose to be active and the opportunities and constraints available in particular sites. Ralston (2000) stated that “immigrant and settlement policies and programs... involve complex relations among federal, provincial, municipal and non-government community organizations which, in turn, influence the lived experience of immigrant women ” (p 206). Rankin suggests that “women’s strategies will adapt to particular political contexts” (2002, p 12). The participants in this study personify those strategies and will highlight the importance of the addition of place to intersectionality theory.

To operationalize place, I include more than just the geographic location of a settlement. While the geographic location of Halifax as an eastern seaport greatly impacted the history of the area, the flow of immigrants through to the western region of Canada, and the lack of natural resources available for immigrants’ use, there is much more to the term. I include the historical impacts of the founding nations of Canada, the prevailing attitudes of the dominant White society towards the non-White immigrants, and the history of economic conditions found that still affect the region today. The political climate has changed very little in the Atlantic region and in Halifax, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters. This impacts how newcomers are treated in the political arena and how they perceive their chances of success in that arena.

Individual country histories are beyond the scope of this thesis, but it will become clear that some individual participants' lived experiences in their country of origin played a large part in what formal political behaviors they participated in Halifax. These participants understood their rights and obligations to Canada as citizens, yet some were unable to fulfill them, not because of the circumstances of the location where they now lived, but rather as a direct result of how they experienced formal politics in their country of origin. Place is as relevant as gender, race and class for the participants of this study.

Chapter II: Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations

There are many theoretical and conceptual considerations in this thesis. The terms “immigrant women”, “formal and informal politics”, “citizenship”, “belonging”, and “home” are all integral to this thesis and will now be defined in relation to this thesis.

Immigrant Women:

Just who are the immigrant women referred to in this thesis? Even though there are many definitions of the term immigrant women, this thesis will use the definition of immigrant women as described by Tastsoglou and Miedema (2000) when they looked at immigrant women in the Maritimes. They used the following parameter to define immigrant women “are members of ‘visible minorities’ or do not speak English well, or speak with it with an accent other than British, American, or Australian” (p 83). This refers to the fact that the woman does not fit the “ideal White woman” stereotype. In other words, for the purposes of this thesis, immigrant does not refer to the legality of citizenship, but rather to the way in which their lived experiences are shaped due to the history of that place.

Das Gupta (1999) argues that the term “immigrant women” is often interchanged with “women of colour” which is more an indication of who belongs to Canada and who does not. Ralston (1988) further states that the term, immigrant women, is “seldom applied to White, Anglophone, Western women who have entered Canada from Australia, New Zealand, northern Europe, or the United States” (p 293). Being Canadian, or belonging to Canada, can implicitly mean being White, as subsequent chapters will discuss.

Das Gupta (1999) also indicates that the term “immigrant women” is enjoyed by some newcomers as it makes a statement of their dual identities; however some women find the term offensive as it indicates that they do not belong to Canada despite their citizenship status. I use the term, not as way of separating the people who have chosen Canada as their home from those who were born here, or are sufficiently “White” as to fit into the dominant culture of Canada, but rather as a way to recognize the challenging task of adjusting to a new country and culture. I also apply the broad definition to the men included in my study as immigrant men are often as marginalized as immigrant women in Halifax.

Citizenship:

Citizenship can be defined as “membership in a political community” as stated by Kymlicka (2003, p 147). As it also encompasses many dimensions, citizenship is a highly “contested concept” and there has never been a universally agreed upon definition (Lister, 2003, p 3). In 1997 however, Lister argued that that the following definition by T. H. Marshall is one that is generally accepted and is often cited in the majority of the literature on citizenship. “Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (Marshall, 1950, p 28-29). Lister (Ibid) suggests that the membership and the rights and duties stemming from that status of being a citizen, as well as equality, are the main elements of that definition.

T.H. Marshall's work (1965) is also renowned for outlining three dimensions of citizenship: civil, political, and social (p 91). Each of these citizenship categories has implications for women in general, and immigrant women in particular. For example, Marshall's civil component of citizenship appears to be gender neutral; however, Denis (2006) makes the case that it is far from equal to both genders as many immigrant women are not free to choose many things such as life partners, timing of reproduction, place of residence, or modes of transportation.

In terms of the political dimension of citizenship, two of the rights Canada offers its citizens are the right to vote in any level of legislature and to be eligible to stand for office therein (Department of Justice Canada, 2008). Stasiulis & Bakan (1997) argue that "Canadian citizenship offers the 'best' rights among liberal democratic capitalist countries in the late 1990's, women's rights notwithstanding" (p 391). For the purpose of this thesis, it is the "notwithstanding' rights that are of paramount interest and importance. As Denis (2006) maintains, immigrant women, who are legal citizens, are unable to fully exercise their political dimension of citizenship as they often do not have adequate time or financial resources generally to negotiate the formal political arena.

In terms of the social dimension of Marshall's work, Oldfield (1990) refers to citizenship in two ways: "citizenship as status" or the legal dimension (discussed below) as compared to "citizenship as practice" or the social dimension (p 54). The social aspect of citizenship is the primary focus of this thesis. One example of how this dimension plays out is access to education. Women, for example often do not have the same access to education as men have (Denis, 2006). This becomes significant for women seeking Canadian citizenship as their entrance and subsequent citizenship depends on the

educational points in the screening process, as will also be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The legal aspect of citizenship carries with it a demarcation of those who are citizens from those who are not. Castles & Davidson (2000) suggest that the status of citizenship is granted to those who are members of a nation-state that have documentation to verify their membership which is “generally a certificate of birth or naturalization, and an identity card or passport” (p vii). This membership entitles them to certain rights, with the pivotal right being participation in law-making and government. These rights are balanced by obligations of the citizen to the state. The ideal citizen is one who fulfills their citizenship obligations, such as standing for office.

If citizenship is about who belongs, by default, then it is also about who does not belong (DePass & Qureshi, 2002). Since its inception, the Canadian government has clearly defined who was included as good citizens and who was excluded. For example, the following poem declares who does belong in Canada, and was included in official immigration literature circulated in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Although 80 years have passed, many would argue that gender is still an issue for women trying to become fully participating citizens.

Citizenship

The good citizen
Loves God
Loves the Empire
Loves Canada
Loves his own family
Protects women and children
Works hard
Does his work well
Helps his neighbor

Is truthful
Is just
Is honest
Is brave
Keeps his promise
His body is clean
Is every inch a Man.

(Fitzpatrick, 1930, cited in Russell, 2002, p 143-144)

What if the citizen is a woman, believed in Allah and did not serve in the military? Whose measure of brave or clean would be the standard? Is that woman a bad citizen, and did the “ideal citizen” mean to exclude women? Could you feel you truly belong when you do not meet the standards set out by the very government that has granted you citizenship? Other classifications can be altered, such as immigrant status after a generation or two, or economic status by changing jobs; however, the status of gender is seen as “a life-long affliction” (Toren, 1999, p 78).

Marshall stated “[t]here is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed” (1965, p 92). However, the model of the ideal citizen also creates the model of the citizen who does not “fit” (Lister, 2003). Many restrictions are placed on women and immigrants through the implementation of barriers to full citizenship, and due to explicit and implicit “ideals” (Lister, 1997) as this thesis will demonstrate.

For example, despite the change of language used in the current literature produced by the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Canada describes the ideal potential citizen as one who can provide Canada with economic benefits. The

literature states very clearly that the first strategic objective in building a stronger nation is “ensuring that immigration results in the greatest possible economic and social benefits for Canada” (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2002, p 3). However, as stated later in the publication, it is stressed that “economic benefits are the deciding factor when changes need to be made to the flow of immigrants” and thus here the social benefits, such as their contribution to the mosaic culture of Canada, are not considered (Ibid, p 38). Although the exclusions are not as explicit, it still remains that women are less able to meet the ideal immigrant standard set forth. As will be discussed later in the thesis, many women do not have access to the financial resources required to enter Canada in the economic stream and are therefore relegated to the dependent category: 11 % females verse 33 % male enter Canada as the principal applicant (Statistics Canada, 2009). This creates a barrier for immigrant women to become the ideal economic citizens sought by Canada, in that many do not have access to the same resources as men independently of men.

Once the immigrant meets the criteria and are admitted to Canada, they are expected to become the ideal citizen. The federal government now frames the ideal citizen as one who: a) understands and obeys Canadian laws; b) participates in Canada’s democratic political system; and c) votes in elections. In addition, all Canadians are encouraged to become informed about political activities, and to help better their communities and the country (CIC Fact Sheet, 1997). While all citizens are expected to engage in the above behaviors, women are not able to fully participate in formal citizenship as the very definition of citizenship precludes women from being able to perform the prescribed rights and responsibilities (Jaggar, 2005). It takes resources, such

as time and money, to be able to participate in the political system. And it is more often only leisured elite who can accomplish these undertakings and they tend to be male (Ibid). Men and women's day-to-day lives are structured very differently and they have access to unequal amounts and types of financial resources, as stated previously (Sapiro, 2006). This unequal division of resources "confines political citizenship to the formal political sphere of government" (Lister, 1997, p 8) and out of reach of many women. While formal political participation is a non-gender specific requirement of full citizenship, men tend to be more able to become full citizens than women, as will be discussed further in a subsequent section.

In addition to the difficulties that most women endure to become fully engaged citizens, immigrant women are at a greater disadvantage as "[c]itizenship and identity have generally been seen as the prerogative of men who could bestow it on their wives and children" (Afshar, 2007, Miraftab, 2006), just as the government bestows citizenship on men. As a result of Canadian immigration laws, under which women tend to immigrate as dependants rather than as the principal applicant in the economic stream, immigrant women experience challenges, such as language acquisition difficulties that hinder their ability to understand the laws or become informed about political activities (Boyd, 1999). Without a full comprehension of the language, their ability to meet full citizenship requirements is inhibited.

While there are definitive rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, there is another dimension that cannot be legislated. The acquisition of citizenship represents a shift in psychological membership with the host country from the mother country (Garcia, 1981). The sense of belonging is a manifestation of that dimension of

citizenship (Tastsoglou, 2006, Dobrowolsky & Lister, 2007, Strong-Boag, 2002) and is a feeling of attachment to a group of people, whether that is a local group or a group of people living in a country (Carens, 2000). This means more than just identifying one's self with that group, but actually feeling a part of it.

Immigrants' level of attachment, or sense of belonging, has traditionally been measured by their willingness to commit to becoming a citizen, but this is no longer considered an accurate measure (Chow, 2007). Instead, belonging is better measured by the interest in society in general, the amount of time participating in a wide range of organizations, and the degree of identification with Canada (Ibid). Ryder et al. (2000) argue that people identify themselves as a member of a specific ethno-cultural group. The level of identification of an immigrant to his or her ethnic background depends on several elements such as age of arrival in the new country, sex, educational background, economic status, and access to ethnic media (Palmer, 1997).

The duration of the intended stay in a particular location was "the single most important determinant of the degree of identification and commitment" that reveals the identification of a new immigrant with his or her host country (Goldlust & Richmond, 1997, p 134). Identification with the host culture comes with some configuration of the following factors: development of new reference groups, 'a feeling of belonging', perceptions that the migrants are accepted in the host culture, and a feeling of a collective fate in terms of current events in the host country (Brislin, 1981). Economic success and social integration at the primary (close family) and secondary (community) levels also play key roles in helping with identification (Goldlust & Richmond, 1997).

If the criteria for citizenship are set so that some people are automatically excluded from fully realizing citizenship, and truly identifying themselves as Canadians, how can these marginalized people ever feel a sense of belonging to their new homeland? It is the argument of this thesis that feelings of belonging can be engendered through participation in formal and informal politics. The line in the sand between belonging and not belonging is not a sharp, distinctive line, but is often blurred by creating different levels of belonging as “[t]he voices who sing ‘O Canada’ often do so in a differentiated hierarchy” (DePass & Qureshi, 2002, p 182). The sense of belonging is not an either/or feeling but has many levels that range from not at all to totally, and all the points in between. Some immigrants are able to more fully participate and others negotiate arrangements to participate as best they can.

As previously described, participation is a responsibility of full citizenship and the following section will explore the term and look at the implications for women, and immigrant women in particular.

Formal Political Participation and Gender:

Politics requires action and involves political participation. Participation, in terms of formal politics, is defined as “those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the section of the governmental personnel and/or actions they take” (Verba & Nie, 1972, p 2). However, there are many activities that constitute formal political participation. This study utilizes a combination of the following variables as identified by Verba & Nie (1972), Milbrath & Goel (1977) and Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995). These variables include the following: a) vote in elections; b) attend

political rallies; c) belong to political club/organization; d) contribute money to campaign/candidate; e) work on campaign; f) persuade someone to vote a certain way; and g) felt strong enough for/against issue to protest.

All the aforementioned activities can be analyzed in terms of gendered participation as “[p]olitical space belongs to all, but men tend to monopolize it” (Human Development Report, 1995, p 41). Even the act of voting has some gendered implications. Gidengil et al (2004) suggest that women exercise their right to vote as often as men, if not slightly more than men, as women tend to feel more of a moral obligation to do so than men. While voting patterns favour female participation over male participation, the literature shows that often other political activities tend to be dominated by non-immigrant males. This increased political participation in non-voting activities, by the dominant group, is a result of the fact that they tend to possess the “skills, motivations, and opportunities, and are exposed to group pressures that induce or help them to participate” (Di Palma, 1970, p 3). The underlying assumption of this increased non-voting participation by non-immigrant males over immigrants and women is that these men have been able to accrue more participatory prerequisites, such as financial resources; hence they have higher participation rates than the non-dominant group of immigrants and women (Ibid).

Not only do women require money for political participation, time is also an essential factor (Schlozman & Brady, 1995). Lister (2003) refers to time as a “resource for citizenship” (p 132). The imbalance of leisure time for men and women can be termed the “gendered division of time” (Lister, 1997a) as women tend to be more restricted by their childcare responsibilities and emotional care activities than men. Mothers who want

to fully participate, at more than just the local level of politics, tend to need partners who are willing to fully engage in the household duties or who possess the financial resources necessary to hire domestic help to replace themselves at home (Naples, 1991). Thus, women have the same capacity to be involved in politics, just not the same opportunity (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001).

Not only do women need the resources, women tend to need to have a role model to enter formal politics and they generally need to be invited to take a leadership role (Bond et al., 2008). When women do enter the formal political realm, they are often criticized for stepping beyond their gender role. As political groundbreaker, explained, early in her political career, it is often seen as a “horrendously irresponsible thing for a woman, with children that age, to do, to run and get elected to federal parliament and abandon my children” (McDonough, 2003, p 140). This sentiment is echoed in the following quote: “[i]f she’s married with children, she’s clearly neglecting them. If she’s married and without children, then it’s her husband who is being neglected. If she’s single, she’s probably a little “funny”, as they say. And if she’s a widow, it’s obvious that she killed the poor guy.” (Senator Barbara Mikulski, cited in Hartman, 1999, p 4).

Bashevkin (2009) argues that the dis-ease with women in top positions creates a “*women plus power equals discomfort* equation” (authors’ emphasis, p 8) that “is revealed and reinforced regularly, notably in assessments of leadership styles, personal appearances, and private lives of female politicians-which declare each to be somehow deficient” (p 8). Bashevkin (Ibid) suggests that no matter how a women speaks in terms of tone (soft-spoken verses aggressive) or how she dresses (stylish verses dowdy), her age (young verses mature) she can never get it “just right” (p 82) enough to instill the

confidence required to be viewed as a serious contender of a top leadership position. If a White Canadian can not be seen as a viable leader, how can an immigrant woman of colour?

Should a woman actually seize the opportunity to run and then succeed in winning an election, as McDonough did, then she must also overcome the public vision of a leader, as the current patriarchal stereotypical leader is male. Patriarchal thinking refers to the idea that men are superior and women are inferior, therefore men are better suited to lead the country than women (Brodie, 1985). For example, when a reference is made to a woman in a leadership role, the adjective “lady” is often used, signifying the position is held by a woman and not the more common “male” (Hartman, 1999).

Not only does a woman’s domestic situation, in terms of marital and motherhood status, affect her participation in formal politics, age (Bond, et al. 2008) also plays a role in her participation level in addition to education, income, and occupation (Verba & Nie, 1972). For many women, it is only after roots are put down, children arrive, and family-related political issues arise, such as school related issues, that a greater interest in public policies and decisions may also develop. And yet for many women, later years in life also may be fraught with having to deal with a reduction in financial resources. Thus, they may never have the opportunity to engage in formal politics (Ibid).

Women who do enter the formal political arena, tend not to enter at the political party level, but instead enter at the municipal level. It is expensive to run an election at any level, including the municipal level, yet women who become involved in groups with a local focus after their early adulthood overwhelmingly sought office in municipalities (Brodie, 1985). Opportunities at the municipal level are more likely to occur than at the

provincial or federal level because municipal politics is more accepting of women as less power is held by those offices (Bashevkin, 2006). As a result of the lack of power men are more likely to relinquish those positions to women than in the other levels of government that hold more power (Ibid).

In addition to these barriers to participation in formal politics that all women face, immigrant women face further obstacles. As well as the day-to-day household duties, immigrant women perform “an unfair share” (Alicea, 2000, p 325) of the kin-work necessary to create and maintain transnational communities, further reducing their precious time resources. Additionally, the timeline of participation can be interrupted somewhat differently for immigrants as the first ten years in a new country are primarily focused on settlement activities (Gidengil et al., 2004) as political participation takes time and generally comes after economic integration occurs (Garcia, 1987). Language is another barrier to full participation for many immigrants (Winnemore, 2005). English language acquisition and proficiency have been difficult for immigrant women for many reasons, such as uneven distribution of household chores and the responsibility of childcare, therefore, resulting in, for example, less understanding of the political process (Tossutti, 2007) as previously stated.

Some immigrant women also have to overcome more restrictive gender roles to enter formal politics, let alone to successfully contest a seat at any level of legislature (Brodie, 1985). Crosby (2005) quotes an immigrant who stated: “[o]urs are political societies, we have to do what our fathers and husbands say. The men don’t like it when we get involved in politics, and our mothers-in-law scold us because of how it looks in the community” ... “[W]e don’t get involved because traditionally the women look after

the family and children, and politics have been part of the man's role in the family. We leave it to them without thinking about it" (Ibid, p 32).

Not only does gender play a role in the opportunity for immigrant women to fully participate in formal politics within their family unit, they also face sexism within formal political parties (Naples, 1991). This is evident when competent women are passed over for less competent men, simply because of their gender as there is often a sexual division of labour in political parties by not preventing women from doing more than just secretarial or organizational work within the party (Brodie, 1985). These parties tend to create "old-boys clubs" in which women are not welcome in the inner circles of power. For reasons discussed in the historical and political perspectives of Halifax, women of colour are even less likely to be able to break into that inner circle as language and skill acquisition are not always as readily available to the female immigrant population as it is to the males. Not only does colour affect their ability to participate, so too does their class status. Many immigrants do not enjoy the same level of income as the dominant group, thus reducing their chances of becoming the "leisured elite", as previously described. This intersection of gender (female), class (not of the elite status), race (non-British) and place (Halifax) culminates to create barriers for these non-British immigrant women to enter the formal political fray.

In addition, political party gatekeepers tend to reflect and maintain the status quo which is then difficult to circumvent (Brodie, 1985). Should she be deemed as admissible by the gatekeepers, an immigrant woman would have to wrestle with incumbency (Ibid). Historically, candidates need to have a long history in a riding to be successful which can be difficult, or outright impossible, for newcomers challenging the incumbent (Alicea,

2000). Nova Scotia, in particular, has a long history of traditional politics and immigrant women are not a part of that tradition, as will be discussed later on in the thesis.

Few women are able, or wish, to cross the formal political barriers of time, financial resource divide, gender roles, racism, or be exposed publicly, yet they are still politically active. Rankin (2000) argues that women are “politically active” as “many women embrace non-conventional political arenas as their preferred sites of political action” (p 1). Rankin (2002) finds the traditional definition of participation too restrictive and argues that participation is a contested construct with male Eurocentric standards of behavior as the yardstick of measurement to which women’s behaviors are held. Therefore, when women ‘do’ politics it is often different from the way men ‘do’ politics. The barriers to the male way of doing politics are only barriers for the women who choose to participate in the male dominated political arena (Ibid). “Women, in particular, have tended to practice their politics at their local stage” (Lister, 2003, p 29) and in the informal political sector.

The following section discusses the realm of informal politics in which women find value and personal power. Higgins (1997) states that “a sense of personal power or control, and being valued as a citizen, constitutes a necessary primary, but usually forgotten, element in gaining the participation of citizens” (p 273).

Informal Politics:

Western-style democracy is a gendered issue typically viewed as an extension of male dominated space (Heinen, 1997). Men dominate the public domain in most of the world, and women are relegated to the private sphere (Bystydziensky, 1992). The private

sphere includes the family, and for some, neighborhoods or other units at the local community level (Ibid). While activities in the private domain were historically considered apolitical, women have challenged these assumptions in theory and practice.

Even though women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries seemed fixated on obtaining the right to vote, many did not hold formal politics in high esteem. Many women tended to view formal politics as an ineffective vehicle for implementing the necessary changes to improve everyday life for the average citizen (Vickers, Rankin Appelle, 1993). For many women, formal politics is about accruing individual power and not helping those who are disempowered, and for example, financially challenged (Phillips, 1999). Thus it is in the informal political realm where many women have felt they could affect substantial political change.

So instead of turning to the formal political arena, often women look to community organizations to mitigate their own issues (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). This informal pattern of organizations refers to organizations such as religious groups, parent-teacher associations, or grassroots organizations. Grass-roots organizations tend to refer to a group of marginalized people that come together to meet a specific need within their specific community, with most being formed by the “disadvantaged groups for economic and survival purposes” (Zellerer & Vyortkin, 2004, p 440).

Some women found grass-roots organizations better able to identify the gaps in services provided by government and to provide the services needed to bridge the gap, thus ensuring a better quality of life for the affected community (Vickers, Rankin & Appelle, 1993). There also appears to be a trend for governments to fund volunteer women’s organizations to deliver social services, thus removing the services and the

women who deliver them from the formal political world (Harper, 2003). Even though many women tend to view their work as just doing “what needed to be done” for their families and communities to garner respect and a decent lifestyle for all (Naples, 1999, p 478), these organizations were not completely separate from formal politics as the women used them to apply political pressure for changes the women felt necessary.

In addition to grass-roots politics being separated from traditional politics, there is a hierarchy of the two. Rankin (2002) suggests that the language surrounding women’s ways of doing politics reduces the legitimacy of women’s politics by identifying it as “‘social’ rather than ‘political’” (author’s emphasis, p 6) thus making it subordinate to “real”, or male dominated, politics (p 6).

Not only do men not recognize these organizations as apolitical, many women do not view their ‘social’ work in grass-roots organizations as political. They claim to know nothing about politics and see their work as more closely intertwined with their personal lives (Naples, 1999). However, Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995) argue that the boundary between political and non-political activity is ambiguous at best. Many times membership in any organization can become a political experience, even if the founding guidelines of the organization are non-political in nature. They cite organizations such as Parent Teacher Associations who tend not to organize to directly or indirectly influence government activities, yet they do offer indirect training for political work through the development of necessary skills and knowledge to engage in political activity. Support for voluntary organizations, such as the National Rifle Association, that do intend to affect political change is a mode of passive participation (Verba, Schlozman & Brady,

1995). While the women may not view their activities as political as they are outside the formal political sphere, they are indeed political actors (Lister, 1997).

Regardless of whether the organization is outside or inside the formal political sphere, there are many factors that determine the amount of time and type of organization for which an individual can 'afford' to volunteer. According to the literature, gender is one of those factors. In general women are more active in voluntary organizations that focus on women's issues as well as service groups and religious organizations, whereas men tend to be focused on work-oriented organizations and sport associations (Gidengil et al., 2004).

Gidengil et al. (2004) also posit that economic circumstances are indicative of the level of involvement in voluntary organizations. They also state that less affluent women are generally more apt to belong to women focused organizations. The higher the level of education the more organizations to which a Canadian is likely to belong. Income level generally affects the type of organization and not the participation level. Neither income nor education has an effect on participation in religious organizations.

Informal political involvement offers participants an opportunity to enhance the lives of others, as well as being an important element in the process of acculturation (Frideres, 1997). These types of organizations offer more than just 'help' to their clients, but often provide valuable lessons for those running the organization. In addition to offering teaching opportunities about Canadian culture, volunteer organizations provide a vehicle to help develop a sense of community among immigrant women (Agnew, 1996), as civic organizations promote connections between people in accord with one another (Hawkesworth, 2001). They are a group of like minded people that come together on a

mostly non-remunerated basis to enjoy mutual association and to help their community in some way (Bansfield & Wilson, 1974). “Many women participate in volunteer and organizational activity for the express purpose of creating community” (Favor, 2001, as cited in Sapiro, 2006, p 176).

Volunteer organizations often oscillate between comradeship and politics because they bring together people with the same interest (Philips, 1999). These organizations offer opportunities to intermingle with others and create a community to fill the void of family left behind (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). In a study conducted by Miedema & Tastsoglou (2000) the participants self-identified community participation as important in their adjustment process as it provided a space to meet others, aided them in making personal connections, and “ helped them make a home for themselves in Canadian society” (Ibid, p 89). Often members of the organization help overcome that isolation and aid in the settlement process (Chai, 1983) which can take ten years (Gidengil et al., 2004). Gidengil et al. (2004) also assert recent immigrants, immigrants in Canada less than ten years, are less likely to become involved in voluntary organizations, but after the ten year mark, the difference dissipates.

Although it is still difficult for some immigrants to become involved in informal politics, for varied reasons including exclusion for the organization itself, there are clear benefits for those who push past the boundaries. Lister (2003) argues that participation in informal activities provides an opportunity for marginalized women to enhance their self-esteem. This empowerment may be enough for a woman to believe she is capable of engaging more fully in the formal political sphere.

Another benefit of participation in informal politics is identity re-formation. In her research, Ralston (2006) found that women of South Asian origin tend to reconstruct their identities, which have been disrupted and / or dissolved in their physical relocation, through participating in organizations that allow their multidimensional citizenships to flourish. Therefore they may join ethno-cultural and ethno-religious organizations to “reconstruct their own identity in the Canadian context ...and to share facets of that identity with Canadians” (Ralston, 1985, p 141). The women accomplished this by reinforcing their culture through these types of associations and offering a glimpse of that identity to the general public through festivals and other special events. This provides a way to create a stronger sense of belonging by breaking down some barriers between their ethnic realm and the wider public, by allowing the outside world into their world in a controlled and temporary manner. At the same time however, some immigrants are compelled to turn to ethnic associations, particularly when not all of their needs are, or can be, met by associations of the dominant culture (Schoeneberg, 1985). Also, membership in non-ethnic associations is not always an option for some immigrants, therefore leaving only ethnic associations open to them.

These ethnic associations generally begin as a small number of dedicated individuals who help others from their ethnic community to navigate the complicated social service system and are usually established in a small meeting space at the local church or member’s house (Agnew, 1996). The associations then become a place to retain their country of origin’s culture and provide a place where immigrants can take part in public affairs when the host society remains closed to them. Many women join ethnic groups as a way to find a sense of belonging in terms of lessening the feeling of

being viewed as the “other” (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). Ralston (1995) argues that women who belong to ethno-cultural and ethno-religious organizations found their ethnic identities “reconstituted and reinforced” thus maintaining the separation from non-immigrant women. (p132). The women can find a sense of belonging to their own ethnic community and perhaps not to the wider society through membership in these associations.

While membership in an ethnic organization may provide a sense of belonging to others who share the same or similar cultural backgrounds, it can serve to maintain the widening gap between an immigrant and the wider community. By not engaging in organizations that include members from the dominant group, immigrant women are often left isolated from the wider society, for many reasons. As will be discussed in the analysis, conversations with non-ethnic people offer chances to learn the local customs and relevant information pertaining to everyday life. Furthermore, these very women may have ‘book-knowledge’ of the English language; they may not understand the nuances of the language.

Some immigrant women, who are able to join mainstream organizations, experience empowerment by developing better communication skills with the dominant society as they have more opportunities to engage in dialogue with members of that society (Miraftab, 2006). Goldlust and Richmond (1977) argue knowledge of the host society language is imperative for identification with the receiving country because the new immigrant must be able to communicate with the host society in order to enter the labour market and the public arena. As discussed previously, immigrant women are often denied access to language training for various reasons so membership in non-political

organizations, which can provide an opportunity to gain those necessary skills and networks, is important.

Having a wide network is also beneficial when trying to enter into the local economy. Volunteer organizations are a way to gain those necessary opportunities to network (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003) in order to increase the likelihood of finding employment. Securing suitable employment is often difficult for immigrants. Generally employers require Canadian experience, and these organizations not only provide this experience, but also the opportunity to gain important Canadian references.

Not only do voluntary organizations offer the above mentioned skills and opportunities to network, “[v]oluntary groups provide apprenticeship structures for adult political learning, a process that is especially important among political women” (Brodie, 1985, p 44). The training garnered through volunteer activities bridges the gap to formal politics by offering opportunity to learn political systems (Gidengil et al, 2004). This training can be invaluable for those who are willing to challenge the barriers to formal political participation.

Membership in informal political organizations offers more than just training for immigrant women. Miedema & Tastsoglou (2000) purport that immigrant women in their study self-identified that community involvement was important in their adjustment process and provided a space to meet others and make personal connections. “[m]ost of the women stated that volunteering, organizing and involvement helped them make a home for themselves in Canadian society” (Ibid, p 89).

While there are few immigrant women actively involved in formal political organizations, for reasons previously discussed, there are benefits, such as language skill

enhancement and integration into the community. There appears to be a greater likelihood for immigrant women to gain these and many more skills in the informal political arena than in the formal political arena. Integration into a community may lead to a sense of belonging to that community and the term belonging will be explored in the next section.

Belonging:

There is another important dimension of citizenship that cannot be legislated, through sets of duties and responsibilities. It is the psychological aspect of citizenship: belonging. A sense of belonging to a place is another salient concept that "...shifts over time and space..." (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2000, p 74) just as citizenship does. Belonging is an emotional attachment that allows a person to "feel at home" in their surroundings, wherever that is at the time (Yuval-Davis, 2006). When individuals move from one geographical area to another, they do not automatically replace feelings of attachment to the original location with feelings of attachment to the new locale. Often they do not immediately identify with their new home nor do they necessarily forget their original home (Barber, 2006). Just as each individual has a unique history, each has a unique sense of belonging that may be impacted by that history.

There are many individual factors that contribute to the sense of belonging, of which the contribution of family and friendship ties are pertinent to this thesis. The sense of belonging is often augmented by the "development of local friendships" which can become intricate to the feelings of attachment to a particular place. These community ties

may also include mainstream society which may further the sense of belonging for immigrant women by (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003)

“... a feeling of belonging, of fitting in and feeling right with one’s social location, is a lifelong process of interaction between and within the self and the surrounding socio-economic and political environments.... And one’s sense of belonging or being a part of any community is dependent on the level of acceptance that one experiences within the community, and the freedom with which one is able to interact with the community.”
(Abraham, 2003, p 126)

Lochhead (2005) agrees that there is a connection between active involvement in the community, or civic participation, and a sense of belonging. His contention is based on statistics obtained from the 2003 General Social Survey on Social Engagement (GSS-SE) which reveals that immigrants arriving between 1990 and 2003 are less likely to belong to organizations or become involved in political pursuits than those arriving previously, and they tended not to feel as strong sense of belonging as their previous cohorts . Lochhead (Ibid) acknowledges that some other variables may be in play such as the change in source country or education levels, but he contends that there is a strong connection nevertheless.

Several immigrant women in the study conducted by Miedema and Tastsoglou (2000) reiterate the findings of the GSS-SE. They specifically stated there is a direct connection between participation in local organizations or activist activities and a sense of belonging. One woman made the connection between volunteer work and citizenship when she stated “I became a Canadian citizen by doing community work. A real Canadian citizen by doing community work” (A2, Ibid, p 87).

In addition, Reed-Danahay & Brettell (2008) suggest there is the possibility of “transnational belonging” in which an immigrant belongs to more than one home (p 20).

Tastsoglou (2006) argues that feelings of “home” have little to do with actual physical location and can vary with time and circumstances as well as being multi-locational simultaneously. In other words, an immigrant woman can feel that she belongs to two, or more, homes at the same time and hold varying degrees of attachment that can fluctuate when different circumstances arise in each “home”. For some immigrant women, belonging can be “simultaneously local, national, and transnational” (Ibid, p 225).

Migrants often become more attached to their country of origin, and thus identify themselves with their culture of origin once they leave their homeland. Brislin (1981) suggests that these migrants become more aware of what was previously taken for granted when they were in their own country. When immigrants explain their culture of origin to others not from their country they do so with emotions that reinforces strong patriotic attitudes (Brislin, 1981).

Holding on to feelings of belonging to a country of origin in addition to the host country requires a network of kin and friends in both countries. The important connections made through organizations provide networks of kin and non-kin that assist immigrant women feel less alienated, and more able to adjust to their host country (Chai, 1983), by providing a sense of belonging for women struggling to settle in their new homes (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). This kin-work requires the valuable resources of time, energy, and often money that once spent on kin-work is not available for traditional political participation. Some researchers suggest that despite the fact that kin-work is resource consuming; having ties is an important element in the settlement process (Khoo, 2003). Individual immigrants have various reasons for their choice of host country and specific communities within the country but most have some type of tie, either friends or

family, already familiar with that geographical location. These personal connections aid in the cultivation of the sense of belonging.

Belonging is a complex mixture of feelings (Worbs, 2006) that can also be cultivated through an immigrant's identity. Identity is a fluid concept that can be altered through time (Wilkinson, 2008). "In many respects one's racial and ethnic identity is inextricably linked to feelings of acceptance and belonging." (Abraham, 2003, p 127). National identity provides a "sense of security and belonging" (Harty & Murphy, 2005, p157). For those immigrants who wish to retain their country of origin citizenship, while holding a Canadian passport, the sense of identity may be multi-dimensional.

Thus the emergence of the term "Hyphen-Nation" (Mahtani, 2006, p 163) that refers to the use of both the national and ethnic identities that are inextricably linked. James (2003) argues that "in pluralist societies, individuals commonly identify themselves in multiple ways" (p 28). One way is through their citizenship, such as Canadian, while another is through their ethnic ancestry (Ibid) and neither of these identities are mutually exclusive. All Canadians have the right to hold a Canadian citizenship while identifying with "the cultural tradition of their choice" (Mahtani, 2006, p 163). The Canadian government encourages immigrants to retain their ethnicity, and most tend to become "ethnic Canadians", meaning they retain their ethnicity but also incorporate the Canadian way of life (Howard-Hassmann, 2006). Even though the Canadian multicultural policy provides space for immigrants to identify themselves by both their country of origin and Canadian citizenship, the result is still a way of differentiating from the "real" Canadian (author's emphasis, Mahtani, 2006, p 170).

The implicit assumption is that this 'real' Canadian is an individual who looks like a Canadian in terms of ethnicity, meaning a White, Anglo-Saxon or those of British descent, as they are the dominant ethnic group (James, 2006). This vision of the 'real' Canadian is exclusionary for those who are not Anglo-Saxon. This racialization deepens the rift between those who belong, due to their perceived ethnicity, from those who do not belong.

For inhabitants of European ancestry, claiming ethnicity is optional, and situational, as they are part of the dominant, ethnic majority (Waters, 2006). In contrast, non-White individuals do not have the option to hide or ignore their ethnicity as it is evident in their skin-tone (Waters, 2006). "[F]or all the ways in which ethnicity does not matter for White Americans, it does matter for Non-whites. Who your ancestors are does affect your choice of spouse, where you live, what job you have, who your friends are , and what your chances of success are in American society" (Waters, 2006, p 138). While Waters refers to Americans, I argue that the same holds true in Canadian society as the dominant group in Atlantic Canada is Anglo-Saxon, with just over 10 percent of 1,757,000 being foreign-born and less than 1 % of immigrants arriving from places other than the United States of America and Europe (Proportion of Foreign-born Population, 2001).

Identification with the dominant host culture comes with percentage of all or most of the following factors: development of new reference groups, a feeling of belonging, and perceptions that the migrants are accepted in the host culture (Brislin, 1981). Economic success and social integration at the primary (close family) and secondary (community) levels also play key roles in helping with identification (Goldlust &

Richmond, 1997). For example, Ralston (2000) argues that place is a major component in the formation of identity as the women from South Asia who move to Atlantic Canada find few others who share the same country of origin or background. The demographics of a region play an intricate role in the construction of identities and Ralston (Ibid) refers South Asian women living in Atlantic Canada as having “limited identities” (p 204). This is a result of the few numbers of immigrants who are geographically scattered throughout a sparsely populated region, leading to isolation for these women.

With so few immigrants living in Halifax, as will be discussed in the following chapter, it is understandable that the number of ethnic institutions is also very limited in Nova Scotia, with the most number of these institutions being found in Halifax (Akbari et al., 2007, p 1). Even with the majority of these few organizations being located in Halifax, the opportunity to maintain an exclusive ethnic identity is difficult at best in the Halifax area.

The disproportionately small number of immigrants, and ethnic organizations, currently in Halifax is a direct result of the history of the creation of Canada as a nation and the policies that affected the population settlement patterns thereafter. Present day Halifax is very much a product of that history and this history is imperative to the understanding of how the non-White population has been and still is received in the area. It can also help explain why some of the participants in this thesis research have a sense of belonging while others do not feel as tied to their new home. History often repeats itself as “the history of a country and its historical relationship to the immigrant populations entering its borders affects the modes of belonging possible for immigrants” (Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, p 19),

Chapter III : Canada's Economic and Immigration History and Policy:

An Overview

This chapter reviews Canada's immigration history from its inception to current day and will help to illuminate the specific reasons why the Atlantic region is not very mosaic. This homogeneously populated area of Atlantic Canada was home to a population of Aborigines for centuries, and it was not until the fifteenth century, when Europeans needed new sources for supplies, that Atlantic Canada became important to the Europeans. This set in motion changes to the culture of the area that impact the immigrants coming to the area today.

The Canadian Maritime coast offered those resources to both the English and the French with neither country seeing the need to settle the area as they were able to fish the shores and return home (Brodie, 1990). While the French were able to transport their catches home without the need to remain shore-side for any length of time, the English processed their catches in such a way that required drying time. This necessitated small, seasonal, shoreline settlements, thereby creating a sense of ownership of the area for the English (Ibid).

Subsequently, the British government created a stronghold on the interior of Canada by granting the Hudson Bay Company the rights to the fur trade in the interior region by the early seventeenth century (Brodie, 1990). Originally this area, known as Upper Canada, was populated by former Americans (Knowles, 2007). Around 1812, however, the tides turned as Canadian officials felt the need to protect their new territory and populate it with those who pledged allegiance to Britain and by 1867 "two-thirds of

British North America's population was British in origin" (Ibid, p 49). Between 1846 and 1854, over 400,000 emigrants came from Britain and mainly from Ireland. This changed the majority ethnic origin of Upper Canadians from American Loyalist to Irish.

Significant immigration resulted from the timber trade expansion during the early part of the nineteenth century (Brodie, 1990). What is now New Brunswick was the main source, with some coming from Quebec and Ontario. The timber trade differed from the fish and fur trades as there were no monopolies in the timber industry. Ships carrying timber back to Europe filled their cargo holds with immigrants who tended to settle in Upper Canada. The clearing of forests left fertile agricultural land for the new arrivals seeking opportunities to become farmers (Brodie, 1990). This newly farmed land produced much needed wheat for Britain, who in turn protected the trade to Britain. Wheat production turned into a diversification of agricultural products. Industries sprang up in response to the needs of the agricultural sector, which in turn led to the political and economic dominance of Ontario (Ibid).

Immigration to Canada fell off once the Crimean War of 1853-1856 created a shortage of manpower in Britain (Knowles, 2007). Not only did the supply of new immigrants dry up, many former Americans and French Canadians moved back to the United States. With the British firmly in control of most of the newly founded Canada, the government established immigration regulations that would ensure their continued dominance. The 'ideal' citizen was explicitly of "British-origin and Protestant" (Abu-Laban, 2002). Economic considerations also drove immigration policies at this juncture in history.

Over the subsequent years, many waves of immigrants have arrived on the shores of Canada. Chinese males were sought after to help complete the national railroad from 1867 to 1885. During the years between 1870 and 1890 large groups of Mennonites, Icelanders, Hungarians, Scandinavians, and Russian Doukhobors sought Canadian citizenship. In contrast American Blacks “received a decidedly cold reception from Canadian immigration agents” (Knowles, 2007, p 91), thus fulfilling the mandate to keep Canada racially pure.

There was a new class of British immigrants entering Canada in the early 1900’s as the more affluent, mid to upper class society sought Canadian citizenship. This was a departure from the farmer class of the previous years. Britain also sent less fortunate children to Canada as forms of cheap labour for farms from 1890 to 1939. In addition there was an influx of Ukrainians to the West during that time. There was an anomaly of immigrant types when Sikhs immigrated to British Columbia in large numbers from 1904 to 1908.

Immigration slowed greatly for four decades as the two world wars changed the focus of the Canadian government and general population from expansion to survival. This was followed by an era of war-brides from Britain and farmers from the Netherlands. The early 1970s saw immigrants from Tibet and Ugandan Asian refugees in addition to Americans, dodging the Vietnam draft, along with Chilean refugees. The early 1980s found many Indo-Chinese refugees moving from Vietnam and area, seeking asylum in Canada. Refugees also came from Kosovo between 1999 and 2000.

In contrast to the rest of Canada, Atlantic Canada has a specific history that creates the current climate of reception for the immigrants now settling in region of the Atlantic Provinces, which includes New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988). As stated previously, it was the initial point of entry to the rest of what would become Canada by the Europeans seeking new sources for resources, commerce and trade in the 1400s (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988). The region flourished for the first few centuries, with Nova Scotia having “the most diversified economic base” of all the Maritime Provinces (Brodie, 1990, p 89).

The French had claimed jurisdiction initially (Knowles, 2007). Most of the original settlers were men so the governing body of France offered young, unmarried French women passage to the new colony for free with the guarantee of a marrying a French settler as a way of creating a stronghold for the French in the region. At approximately the same time, the English arrived on the shores of the Atlantic Provinces. After several battles with the French, the British secured the peninsula of Nova Scotia by 1713 and took over Cape Breton by 1758. The British expelled the Acadians [French] from Nova Scotia in 1756, thus opening an opportunity for Loyalists from New England to immigrate and take over the fertile farm land formally worked by the Acadians (Knowles, 2007). The Loyalists included a group of free Blacks who settled along the South Shore of Nova Scotia (Knowles, 2007). They did not receive the same generous offer of free land as the White Loyalists, however. Discouraged, nearly one half of the original group of free Blacks left due to the harsh climate and infertile land, leaving the region relatively homogenous once more.

In the mid nineteenth century Nova Scotia “was a world-class maritime power, ranking fourth in the registered tonnage of shipping” (Brodie, 1990, p 89). The Maritime Provinces anticipated industrialization as a result of this economic position and were expected to “become the industrial heartland of the new Dominion” (Ibid, p 108). Indeed, Nova Scotia’s industrial growth rate far surpassed any other province in the country. However, the distance from the markets in the developing west created difficulties as the cost of shipping was crippling. That, combined with overproduction, an economic recession, consolidation of businesses to companies in Montreal, left the Maritime Provinces in an economic downturn (Ibid). The banking system did not support any investment necessary to compete in the new markets, and moved westward, leaving only three banks instead of the previous thirteen. This loss impaired the Maritime Provinces’ ability to regain the former position of being a prosperous region.

As economic conditions deteriorated, the Maritimes were left with a lack of opportunities in relation to the rest of the country by the middle of the nineteenth century (Jabbra & Cospier, 1988). When the fur trade was shifted from Montreal to Hudson’s Bay and the Pacific coast, Montreal focused on developing the St. Lawrence waterway (Brodie, 1990). This precipitated a fast rate of population growth that exploded by 1850 in the West, as a result of the expansion of wheat and related industries (Ibid).

Not only did the development of the new waterway impact the position of the Maritimes as a gateway, the Intercolonial Railway Project left the province of Nova Scotia with 400 miles of track at the cost of \$10.5 million dollars (Brodie, 1990). This heavy debt load did result in new markets for coal, fish, and manufactured goods that had been projected.

Instead, it “encouraged a concentration of firms and consolidation of industry activity in growing urban centers such as Montreal, Hamilton, and Montreal” (Ibid, p 95). The enormous railway debt also forced the province to raise tariffs, as did the rest of the country. This created difficulties in the previously reciprocal relationship with the United States, leaving the United States to reduce the flow of goods through its borders from Canada.

In addition to the tough economic conditions the Maritime Provinces were experiencing, potential immigrants were courted by the Canadian federal government of 1896 with a massive campaign to attract immigrants from over-populated Western European countries to settle the West (Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1996). The railway offered free homesteading land (Coulter, 2006). This strategy saw the West become a “viable agricultural economy” (Brodie, 1990, p 100). Much of the best agricultural land in Nova Scotia had already been settled by the early 1900’s; thus new arrivals looking for farmland had little choice but to keep pushing westward (Carrigan, 1988) In addition, the Mi’kmaq thwarted settlement inland, forcing immigrants to remain closer to the urban core (Murray, 2008). With so few industries left in the Maritime Provinces at that time, any nonagricultural worker needed to move to more industrial areas of Canada to find employment. Once the first wave of new Canadians put down roots in Western Canada, subsequent immigrants were encouraged to join their family and friends. This created a pattern of passing through the Maritimes to the rest of Canada for non-British origin immigrants.

Not only did the immigrants pass through the Maritimes in search of a better life than could be found in the region, so too did the people already established there (Brodie, 1990). It is estimated that between 1900 and 1930 at least 30,000 Maritimers left to follow job opportunities in New England and Ontario (Ibid, p 124). “By the mid-1920s, the Maritime provinces had become stagnant debtor economies” (Ibid, p 124). This had significant political ramifications that will be discussed subsequently.

The traditional settlers in the Maritime Provinces were from Britain, as previously stated, thus creating a predominantly English speaking and a relatively homogenous population (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988). The number of non-White immigrants arriving in Nova Scotia was low, despite an effort to settle a group of Black Jamaicans in the late 1700s (Gysbroughacademy, 2009). Nova Scotia did not receive the influx of Sikhs that British Columbia saw in the early 1900’s, thus maintaining the low level of that ethnic population in the region.

The Maritime region shares a similar immigration history, yet each city within the region has evolved its own unique history. Halifax, Nova Scotia is no exception and this history has an impact on the current immigrant residents. The following is a synopsis of that history.

Halifax, on the mainland of Nova Scotia, was founded by the British in 1749 with the installation of approximately 3,000 British colonists (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988). By the late 1800s, the port city became the official gateway for immigrants wanting to make Canada their home (Coulter, 2006). They came through the now famous Pier 21 in a steady stream, even during the depression years. At the time Atlantic Canada’s ethnic population matched those of Central Canada (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988).

The immigrant experience for White¹ migrants born in countries under British rule was a generally a favorable one in Metro Halifax. In sharp contrast, however, non-British and residents of colour faced discrimination and prejudice (Ibid). For example, in 1766 Roman Catholics could not have a separate school and until 1823, they were not permitted to hold office (Jabbara & Cosper, 1988). The Irish fared somewhat better, but only marginally. Discrimination against aboriginals and Afro-Canadians was prevalent (Ibid). In 1784 there were 1,232 or more Black slaves in Nova Scotia. In addition to the slaves, there were many former slaves in the area as well (Carrigan, 1988). The ideology of servitude by the Black population to the White resulted in discrimination based on colour with the Nova Scotia House of Assembly warning that Blacks were not desirable residents in 1815 (Ibid). In Halifax, Blacks were not allowed to attend White schools, were only hired for menial jobs, were segregated in public places, as well as barred from Presbyterian Church services (Ibid). In response to this institutionalized discrimination, the Black population self-segregated into their own community within the city limits, in 1850 known as Africville.

Africville sat on a piece of property that eventually became valuable to the city of Halifax too become an industrial section for the city and made adjustments to the designation of the property as such (Africville, 2010). The city located a dumpsite near

¹ Garner (2006) argues that the salient standard of White is contextual over time and culture. Not all European immigrants are treated equally in Canada. Garner (Ibid) offers that there are varying shades of White, with those of Anglo-Saxon heritage being 'Whiter' than those of Anglo-Celtic origin. He argues that the difference results from the belief that "...within the White 'race', Anglo-Saxons were particularly capable of civilization in comparison to the Celts, Slavs, and Latins" (p 206) (author's emphasis). Guglielmo and Salemo (2003) argued that Irish, Italians, and other European immigrants were considered to be different from or lesser than other White immigrants. This hierarchy was only formulated when these people arrived in America, and not in their country of origin. This cultural hierarchy was reproduced in Halifax as it was, and remains, a mainly British settlement. The general point made here is that ethnicity and race are socially constructed and thus variable by time and place (Tastsoglou, 2001).

the community in the mid-1950s before it purchased the land from the residents from 1964 to 1967 and relocated the residents throughout the city (Ibid).

The racial discrimination felt by the long established Black population in Halifax was also felt by the other Black immigrants from Jamaica and other British ruled islands when they began arriving during World War I (Carrigan, 1988). Jewish immigrants began arriving in Halifax in 1751 and established their own community within the city by 1901 (Ibid). Although they were not segregated, they felt the discrimination the Blacks did.

The small Chinese population fared better than their cohorts of the time in the rest of the country as they were not overtly segregated. The children went to White schools but most were not allowed to mix with their White friends outside of school. They too performed the more menial jobs such as running laundries and restaurants. Despite the discrimination experienced by the minority immigrants, there were not perceived to be a threat to society, culturally or economically, as they were too few in numbers (Carrigan, 1988).

These policies impacted the settlement patterns of immigrants coming to Halifax today, so it is not surprising that if, as the research states that over 75 % of immigrants settle where they had originally chosen and of the other 25%, most moved to larger urban centers after a brief stay in smaller urban centers in Canada, that few stay in Halifax (Immigrants' Choice of Destination, 2001). According to Statistics Canada (Immigrants' Choice of Destination, 2001) Halifax did not register as a metropolitan area of destination for immigrants coming to Canada in 2001. Previous statistics reveal that most immigrants still follow the well-worn path to the West (Statistics Canada, 2006). However, very recent statistics reveal a slight change in the traditional pattern of immigration in 2009 as

Nova Scotia experienced a slight increase in population due to international immigration (The Daily, 2009, Canada's Population Estimates).

The majority of the population in Nova Scotia remains White. Statistics reveal that approximately seven percent of the population of Halifax was considered foreign-born between 1996 and 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2010). However, the face of the immigration is changing. As previously mentioned, sending countries have shifted from Western Europe to Asia, South-East Asia, Africa, South and Central America since the early 1980s (Akbari et al., 2007, p 12). Of the 45,195 immigrants welcomed to Nova Scotia in 2006, 22,565 emigrated from Europe; 9,910 come from Asia and the Middle East; 7,960 from the United States; 1,020 from Central and South America; 980 from the Caribbean and Bermuda; and 630 people from Oceania and other countries (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Although the economic history of Halifax has a unique impact on the reception on new immigrants, so too do federal policies impact immigrants choosing to move to Canada. Canada offers the best rights, women's rights notwithstanding, and as previously stated, the rights of women remain significant. The following discussion will lay out the evolution of women's rights in Canada. The discussion will include a gender analysis of immigration policies and subsequent impact on women who seek, and in some cases succeed, in becoming naturalized Canadian citizens.

Canadian Immigration Acts and Their Gendered Impacts:

As previously discussed, the fledgling country of Canada was populated by groups of people encouraged to come in droves so as to accrue a large enough group of

people to maintain loyalty to the 'ruling' country. By the late 1800's some consideration were given to exercise control over the 'quality' of the potential citizens and immigration policies were discussed for the first time (Knowles, 2007). The 'quality' citizen was described as a farmer or agricultural worker from the United Kingdom and Germany.

This first attempt to solidify quality came with the first Immigration Act that was passed in 1869 (Knowles, 2007). The Act was amended in 1872 to include criteria to be met by prospective immigrants. By 1879 potential immigrants could not be considered without personal financial resources or if they had a criminal background; however, the criminal criteria were somewhat ambiguous.

In 1906 the Immigration Act addressed this ambiguity and created legal deportation (Knowles, 2007). Unlimited discretionary power to regulate levels of ethnic and occupational background of immigrants was conferred on the government in 1910. For the first time immigrants were required to have personal financial resources of \$25 to enter Canada. The following year steps were taken to openly ban Blacks from entering Canada. Not only were Blacks banned, so too were people from India by creating an almost insurmountable stipulation of having to make a continuous journey from India to Canada (Ibid).

These bans were overt attempts to keep Canada's 'White' settler façade which was more important than human rights to the government of the time. The attitude of White supremacy was clearly evident in the speech by Prime Minister Macdonald that referred to children of Chinese immigrants as "mongrel" (Dua, 2004 p 75). Further support for the White supremacist attitude is evidenced when Macdonald is quoted as saying "... I do not think that it would be to the advantage of Canada or any other country

occupied by Aryans for members of the Mongolian race to become permanent inhabitants of the country” (Ibid, p 75). The subsequent immigration laws were derived from Macdonald’s position on “inferior races”.

However, the population of Canada could not meet the labour requirements at that time, thus creating a situation in which men of ‘inferior’ races were permitted to enter Canada, resulting in Asian and Chinese men being recruited to work on the Transnational Railroad. Yet, women from Asia and China were not granted entry along with their husbands as they had the capacity to reproduce “alternative cultural practices” (Dua, 2004, p 76). Dua (Ibid) states that while the capitalist politicians encouraged male immigrants to come to further the Canadian economy, by way of cheap labour, they did not want the men to take up permanent residence. Having the wives and daughters of these men living in Canada would lead to families taking up long term residence in Canada and establish ethnic communities, thus, changing the demographic landscape from ‘White’ to less ‘White’. Immigrant men require women to make these feared changes; therefore, women needed to be prevented from entering the country. Yet that fear was eventually met by the realization that single men from India, Japan and China may marry interracially, creating a less ‘pure’ race; thus the eventual decision was made to allow wives to accompany their husbands. Simply, the Canadian White-settler society did not want to have non-White populations gaining a foothold. Dua (Ibid) attributed the position as a residual of colonial thinking, meaning the inherent hierarchy of the colonial system. Within that system, the colonizing country is superior to the colonized country and anyone from those countries would automatically be awarded the appropriate status in Canada.

In contrast to excluding Asian and Chinese women, the phenomena of “war brides” occurred just after World War II which saw an influx of British women, from Great Britain and northern Europe, as mentioned previously (Veteran Affairs, 2007). The Canadian government brought 48,000 women to Canada to join the Canadian men they had married on European soil during the war. These brides came from predominantly Anglo-Saxon heritage, therefore meeting the standards for acceptability for immigration. These women could produce ideal citizens that would enter the labour force while keeping the race pure.

The prevailing focus of the federal government changed from one of concern for retention of racial purity to one of economic concern by the mid 1960's. The federal government of Canada created a point system in 1967 that was to eliminate overt racial discrimination and offer a ‘fair’ set of criteria (CIC, 2008). This system is based on a set of criteria, each of which is given a point value and includes educational attainment and knowledge of official languages, both of which are given high ranking (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Skills that are normally attributed to women, such as domestic labour, do not garner points under the system. Therefore many women can only enter Canada under the family class as they do not have the required number of points to meet the independent category criteria. The point system favors the education and wealth of the applicant over skill level (Ralston, 1996). As a result, statistics reveal that most of the immigrants arriving pre-1967 were likely involved in primary industries in rural areas whereas the more recent immigrants, or post-1967 have entered the labour market at the professional or technical level (Cosper, 1984) and increasingly migrate to larger cities, such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

By implementing a high standard, the point system attracts and accepts the “*crème de la crème*” from around the globe (Arat-Koc, 1999) as only those who can access the resources needed to meet the criteria can begin the immigration process. Therefore, discrimination remains inherent in the system at a subliminal level. Without access to education migrants from non-colonized countries are at a disadvantage as they will not have had the opportunity to learn either or both English and French, nor do they have the desired skills needed be able to meet the minimum entrance requirement (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Grown, et al. (2005) cite United Nations reports that while access to education at the primary level for females is on the rise worldwide, girls still remain disproportionately disadvantaged. The uneven division of males to females remains high at the post-secondary level (Ibid). This presents difficulties for women who want to come to Canada as the point system places an emphasis on educational attainment and occupations resulting from higher education. This lack of access to education has prevented women from gaining parity with men in the financial realm. The United Nations state that “six out of ten of the world’s poorest people are women”; however, over three quarters of the women in the world cannot access bank loans as they do not have any collateral such as property (Gender and Poverty, 2010).

Again, this plays a major role in how families immigrate to Canada as women are less likely to have the minimum financial requirement to even apply to the Canadian government. A single applicant needs \$10, 168 in Canadian funds in their own personal bank account to submit an application. This lump sum increases incrementally to \$26, 910 for 7 or more family members (IP 2, CIC, 2009). Without access to education, professional jobs, or even to credit to improve one’s life situation, most women

worldwide are denied the prospect of even hoping to make it to Canadian shores, through the point system.

Despite the inequality of opportunity, the numbers are relatively equal between males and females entering the country. However, the new point system requires that one person is deemed head of the household for members of a family to immigrate together. The head of the household is considered most likely to be the male, an assumption that relegates the wife as a dependent (Estable, 1986). This assumption is based on the fact that in order to sponsor a family member, the sponsor must meet the minimum financial requirement to come from Canadian sources in addition to the previously accrued funds (IP 2, CIC, 2009).

The system of having a single head of the household sets up three obstacles for immigrant women wishing to immigrate to Canada. The first is that the head of the household is granted access to social assistance, subsidized housing, and other government services, while the sponsored members of the family are not eligible until three years after they become permanent residents (IP 2, CIC, 2009). As most women enter through the family class, few women are eligible for those benefits. There are normally three times as many women admitted to Canada through the family class than those immigrating independently, thus tying most immigrant women to their husbands for a minimum of three years as laid out by government policy.

Secondly, the difference in access to language acquisition classes creates a further disparity between immigrant men and women as women are not likely to learn the new language enough to fully participate in the labour market, keeping her tied to her husband until she is able to acquire the necessary competency. And thirdly, the restrictions placed

on the wives of the heads of the household means the condition of marriage is also placed on the entering family. Canada does recognize some non-traditional forms of marital arrangements, including same sex marriages and common-law partners (Overseas Processing Manual, 2009). The age of the spouse is also factor in admission as there is a minimum set of 16 years, and they must not be an immediate family member (IP 2, CIC, p 23). This may be an obstacle for women who are now entering from the non-traditional countries of origin.

While the federal government sets out the country-wide criteria, provinces have some leeway in their specific provincial regulations. The province of Nova Scotia has a vested interest in boosting its immigration levels in order to “meet the labour market and economic needs of the province” (NSNP, 2009). In response to the increasing demand for more labourers, the province developed a system to expedite the immigration process that allows immigrants to apply through four streams under the Nova Scotia Provincial Nominee Program. The program identifies how many immigrant workers are needed to fill the labour market requirements for Nova Scotia yearly and sets targets in conjunction with the federal government. Once potential immigrants are identified, the province nominates the immigrants and the process of obtaining permanent status are expedited through the federal immigration system. The province is assuring the federal government that potential immigrants have the necessary qualifications and their skills are required at that time.

The first stream is the Skilled Worker Stream that fast-tracks potential immigrants who have guaranteed fulltime employment with an income of over \$20,000/year waiting for them in Nova Scotia (NSNP, 2009). This poses a barrier as the women currently

living in Nova Scotia are not likely to be employed in jobs that generate that income level as two out of every three women living in Nova Scotia are employed in the retail and clerical sectors in which they are not well paid and are restricted to part-time work (Status of Women, 2004). Of the approximately 23,000 female immigrants living in Nova Scotia only 1126 filed income tax forms for 2007-2008 (NS Gov Finance, 2009). As less than half of immigrant women are working outside of their homes, the majority of immigrant women could not have applied through this stream.

The second stream is the Family Business Worker stream that only allows a family member to join a business owner in Nova Scotia, for the purpose of working in the family owned business, if there are no other current residents of Nova Scotia who have the skills required to complete the job. The third is Community Identified Stream in which an individual has the potential to find employment as identified by a specific community to fill labour shortages. The fourth is the International Graduate Stream which identifies students who have established ties to Nova Scotia and can fill the labour shortage. By setting these criteria, the province is, in essence, protecting its current residents from immigrants taking over their jobs while simultaneously recruiting immigrants to fill the labour market shortfall with the best from other countries. The overarching reason for the program is not to benefit the immigrant who is seeking to come through the system, but rather, as it clearly states on the website, it is to benefit the province economically: "It allows Nova Scotia to recruit and select immigrants who can contribute to meeting the labour market and economic needs of the province" (NSNP, 2009).

The focus on economics as the primary criteria for the 'ideal citizen' to belong to Nova Scotia has a negative effect on women who are more disadvantaged when trying to immigrate through an economic stream independently. There is a minimum amount of equity investment required to qualify for this stream of \$400,000 CDN with \$200,000 in liquid assets (NSNP, 2009). Individuals must also prove that they have the financial resources to settle in Nova Scotia for at least two years after purchasing or establishing a new business, or part owner of existing business, for a minimum of \$150,000. These requirements constitute huge, if not insurmountable, barriers for many women in the world when we take into consideration that women only hold the title to approximately 1% of the world's land, and that they represent over 70% of the population living below the poverty line, and that over 650,000,000 women are illiterate and are without access to education (Gender Facts, 2009). All provincial nominees must speak English (NSPN, 2009), which again presents a barrier for women as they tend to have less access to education in their home countries. Thus, class and gender discrimination remain within the 'officially' non-discriminatory immigration system.

Not only do immigrant women have to struggle for equality in the process of becoming Canadian citizens, their struggles continue in order to gain all the entitlements that full citizenship brings. As stated earlier, the demographics of the area of settlement play an important role in the settlement and belonging process. As Halifax has a specific immigrant history, so too does it have a political history that impacts new Canadians choosing to make it 'home'. The following chapter discusses the intricacies of politics in Nova Scotia in general, and more specifically focuses on Halifax, where the participants of this research are located.

CHAPTER IV: POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF NOVA SCOTIA

The previous chapter presented an outline of the historical events of Canada and their impact on Nova Scotia. This chapter will provide an overarching view of how those events shaped the current political climate. Immigrants of yesterday and today trying to engender some sense of belonging in Halifax were met with a unique set of factors that enhanced the experience for some, while creating barriers for others. More succinctly stated, the social norms of the society in which an individual resides will have an impact on the participation level achieved by the individual (Almond & Verba, 1963).

As previously discussed, the basis of Nova Scotia's economic strength was left behind when the new railway system forever altered its ability to compete with the newly emerging economic centers west of the Maritime Provinces. This left a deficit in political power from 1891 to 1921 (Brodie, 1990). The number of federal seats for the Maritimes was reduced to 24, while simultaneously blocking growth potential. Prime Minister Borden, who was a Maritimer, was pressured into allowing the railway to run like a business, thus removing the Maritime advantage of reduced shipping rates. The political power had shifted with the economic power. The West had the ear of the federal government and the rates remained high (Brodie, 1990). However, the government did make a few subsidy concessions but "[t]he balance of class and political forces had shifted-seemingly unalterably to the Maritime Provinces' disadvantage" (Ibid, p 128). The region had become "ghettoized" (Ibid, p 128).

In 1957 John Diefenbaker won the federal election which ushered in a change for the Maritime Provinces and the West (Brodie, 1990). The ruling Liberals had focused on the central region and the new Conservative government spoke to the marginalized regions to the west and east. He promised to breathe new economic life into the Atlantic region. "Indeed, it effected a major political realignment in federal politics that continued into the 1970s and 1980s" (Ibid, p 163-164).

The regional income discrepancy between people living in the Atlantic Provinces and Ontario, Albert and British Colombia was substantial before the 1957 election (Brodie, 1990). This inequity became a key focus of the Conservatives and they developed a fund to help "improve the region's infrastructure" (Ibid, p 170). This fund continued under the Liberal Party, through to 1969 when the party disbanded it. The fund was considered a "vehicle for Liberal Party patronage" (Ibid, p 171). The 1960s and 1970s saw federal government policies that tried to entice industries into the Atlantic region, with multiple millions of dollars being invested in different programs (Brodie, 1990).

With all of this money being directed to the region by both the Conservative and Liberal governments at the federal level, it is not hard to understand why the following description of Nova Scotians developed. Nova Scotians who engage in political life, have been stereotyped as political players that are viewed as "traditional-bound, [and] adverse to innovation" (Bickerton, 1996, p 20). In comparison to the rest of Canada, Martimers were characterized as being "more receptive to patronage, more traditionalistic and more conservative (Stewart, 1994). The political process of Nova Scotia was based on clientelism as a result of being derived from colonial British North American traditions

with Nova Scotian politicians following suit (MacLeod, 2006). The patron/client dyad is the “cornerstone of the political structure in Nova Scotia politics” (MacLeod, 2006, p 568). MacLeod (Ibid) argues that despite the best efforts of any one particular politician or government to eradicate the tradition, the roots are too entrenched and entwined to be permanently removed.

Although this is the prevailing characterization of politics in Nova Scotia, it does not necessarily provide an accurate or complete picture (O’Neill & Erickson, 2003). O’Neill and Erickson (2003) argue that perhaps the prevailing characterization of the political arena in Nova Scotia can be attributed to the entrenched religious attitudes of the residents that is more fervent than anywhere in the rest of Canada. They also suggest that the fact that the two major parties, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, have had such a stronghold on the region federally, and until recently no new party has even made a showing in the polls affects the political attitude of the residents.

To be sure, some women have gone against the traditional political current and have won major victories and claim several ‘firsts’ for women in the Canadian electoral arena. For example:

1960: The first woman across Canada was elected to the Nova Scotia Provincial Legislature

1969: The first Native woman in Canada was elected as Band Chief in a Nova Scotia reserve.

1974: The first woman was elected to a seat in Parliament to represent Nova Scotia.

1980: The first woman to become a party leader was a Nova Scotian

1983: Two women held seats in the provincial legislature concurrently

1984: The first Black woman mayor of Canada was elected in Nova Scotia

(Source: NSACSW, 1991, p 35-37)

More recently, in the 2006 federal election the Liberal Party elected, 21 of their 79 women candidates; the Conservative Party of Canada elected 14 of their 38 candidates; and the New Democratic Party elected 12 of their 108 female candidates (Status of Women Elected, 2009). Currently there are 11 Members of Parliament representing Nova Scotia and only one of whom is a woman (House of Commons, 2010). Megan Leslie represents the federal riding of Halifax for the New Democratic Party. She took over from Alexa McDonough who held the seat from 1997 until 2008 (CBC, 2008). The rest of the province elected five male Liberals and five male Conservative Party of Canada candidates and one New Democratic Party male candidate (House of Commons, 2010). This does not bode well for women in general, and even more so for immigrant women, who seek role models in the parliamentary system.

As the New Democratic Party has a better history of running women candidates, the change in the political landscape of the province offers some hope to women looking to become members of the provincial legislature. In the 2000 provincial election the New Democratic Party (NDP) made great strides by capturing 17 percent of the vote (O'Neill & Erickson, 2003). In the provincial election of 2009 Nova Scotia broke out of its tradition of electing either the Progressive Conservative Party or the Liberal Party by electing a NDP majority (CBC, June 9, 2009). In this historic election, 31 of the 52 seats across the province went NDP and of the 31 elected members 7 are women: 4 of these women hold cabinet positions (CBC, June 9, 2009). The previous cabinet under the Progressive Conservative Party had 3 women Members of The Legislative Assembly (MLA) out of 18 (Halifax Live, June 26, 2006).

This marks a change in the politics of the province but not the ‘face’ of provincial politics. Even though there have been great strides for women in politics, race remains a barrier for immigrants seeking office. Of the male members of the legislature there are two MLAs who are visible minorities, Leonard Preyra, and he was elected in Halifax, as well as Percy Paris. One female member of the new government emigrated from Australia (personal correspondence, 2009). There is only one member who is Black. The rest of the members are White. The current Lieutenant Governor, May Ann Francis, is an Afro-Nova Scotian.

These election results reflect the gender division within the Halifax Regional Municipality Council. In the fall of 2008, voters in Halifax elected women to 9 of the 24 seats (Halifax Regional Municipality Council, 2008). There are no visible minorities in this council; however the Halifax Regional Municipality School Board has 1 visible immigrant minority and 1 Afro-Nova Scotian representative.

This lack of diversity is reflected in the following table:

Table 1: Proportionality Indices 2001:

	%of Elected Officials	% of Population	Proportionality Index
Gender: Male	70	48	1.46
Female	30	52	0.58
Visible Minority	0	7	0
Immigrant/Foreign born	4	7	0.57

Source: Murray, 2008, page 181.

While women in general have made significant strides, immigrants in Halifax have not fared as well, as indicated by the above table. Murray (2008) describes the political system within Halifax as racist and discriminatory towards non-White residents, as the

previous discussion of Africville illustrates. Despite the fact there are long standing communities of 13,270 Blacks and 5,230 Mi'kmaq (HRM Community Profile, 2006) living within the geographical boundaries, few have succeeded in becoming elected officials.

In an effort to offer improved representation for some of its non-White citizens, and to encourage a more diverse political profile, the municipality redrew political boundaries to encourage Blacks and Mi'kmaq to hold offices (Murray, 2008). Murray (2008) argues that policies put in place to ensure seats for visible minorities have not been successful as there is a "legacy of colonial oppression" that prevents the policies from being effective. By that, he means that the population of Halifax predominantly has a British ancestry that entails a history of colonization that stratifies classes of people into those who colonize and those who are colonized. This sentiment of superiority, as laid out by Dua (2004) in the previous chapter, continues today and affects the ability of non-white people to gain any political ground.

This legacy has created social norms that are difficult to overcome for immigrant women who want to become more politically active. The norm is for White males to dominate the political field as candidates within the traditional parties and for the traditional parties to dominate the level of government. As long as the social norm is for these men to become elected, as evidenced by the election results in the past, it will be difficult for immigrant women to surmount these barriers as discussed earlier. Some immigrants have felt that they had to alter their public identity to become elected. A study of Lebanese immigrants in Nova Scotia conducted in 1997 argued that in order for immigrants to become successful candidates in political arenas they must first anglicize

themselves to fit the norm of a homogeneous province (Jabbara, 1997). The social norm of having an anglicized name precludes many immigrant women from fully participating in formal politics in Nova Scotia, and in Halifax in particular.

As previously discussed, participation in informal political organizations tends to lead to participation in more formal politics. However, it does not appear to be the case for immigrants in Atlantic Canada, even though immigrants are as active in community-based politics as their majority counterparts (Carbert and Black, 2003). Nova Scotia has the highest level of involvement in volunteer groups in Canada with 87 percent of the population joining one or more group (Gidengil et al., 2004, p 152). In particular, Halifax has a long history of women organizing for change in other women's lives as well as their own (Fingard, J. & Guildford, 2005). Yet, few immigrants translate that experience into formal political participation as a result of the politics of place.

Change is needed for the immigrant women residing in Halifax, as conditions are still not optimal. Those conditions include the fact that women fare the same as women elsewhere in terms of reproductive work: they are charged with the majority of it within their household (Status of Women, 2004). Additionally, many immigrant women arriving in Nova Scotia do not have their credentials recognized and are excluded from the workforce or are forced to seek employment at lower levels than their qualifications (Tastsoglou, Neumann, & McFadyen, 2004). It is even worse for women of African descent as they find themselves at an even more significant disadvantage when looking for suitable employment (Status of Women, 2004). While research reveals that there is explicit endorsement of becoming a diverse workforce in Halifax, implicit practices serve to reduce that to lip service only.

So who are the immigrants who now live in Halifax? The following provides an overview of some of the basic demographics of them. According to the Community Profiles of Halifax, as of 2006, there are 13,180 male immigrants and 14,225 females, 7,875 males and 8,710 females arrived before 1991. Between 2001 and 2006, 2,450 males and 2,610 females arrived. In 2006 there were 4,345 males and 4,750 females who did not have their Canadian citizenship. Of the total population of Halifax (369,265), 14,130 males and 14,720 females were first generation immigrants, 13,305 males and 14,545 females were second generation, leaving 119,380 males and 133,020 females being third generation immigrants. These statistics reveal that there are relatively equal numbers of men and women who immigrate to Canada with slightly more subsequent generations of women stay in Nova Scotia.

Only 20,645 people in Halifax claimed a language other than English or French as their Mother tongue. Of the 369,265 people living in HALIFAX, 337,525 claimed English as their Mother tongue as compared to 10,080 claiming French as their Mother tongue. Only 3,700 spoke French at home, 354,140 spoke English at home and 9,340 spoke neither. These language statistics are not surprising as there are 7,775 people registering as African; 7,405 as Arab; 6,030 as East and Southeast Asian; and 3,895 as Lebanese. The remaining immigrant populations come from Eastern Europe, Britain; and the United States of America (See Table 2 for further breakdown of countries of origin). With only 18% of the population speaking something other than English, it is easy to understand why Halifax, as a part of the Maritime Provinces, is considered very homogeneous.

It is from this pool of immigrants that I was able to find ten volunteers to participate in my study. The following chapter discusses the methodology I used to collect the data for my study and the theoretical considerations of how that research was conducted. I further explore the interview method, explain the criteria for the participants, as well as provide individual biographies of the participants.

CHAPTER V: METHODOLOGY

Methods:

Feminist researchers have sought out the voices of the women who are generous enough to give their time offering insights into personal issues with the hope that those insights will work towards the goal of emancipation for all members of their group. I have chosen to use a qualitative interviewing technique, with open-ended questions that allows participants' voices to be heard, following basic feminist tenets for the following reason:

“The interview is a way of having a conversation which gathers information to be used as data for a research study. The conversation must be structured enough to guide the participant through the required questions. The researcher must become both empathetic and objective in order to elicit the data in a compassionate manner that treats the responder as a person, not the object of the study” (Oakly, 1981, p 32).

To elaborate, feminist research implements the same tools of the trade that non-feminist researchers employ, but the former implement them based on a different philosophy. Feminists researchers do not believe that pure objectivity is either achievable nor is it desirable. Feminist scholars also recognize research affects the researched; therefore, the researcher must strive to understand the psychological effects of the research on the participants (Kirsch, 1999). By being attuned to all the aspects of data collection, important information is less likely to be overlooked, thus the resulting data will be more comprehensive.

By not being rigid in the collection process, feminists are able to adjust their study to valorize ordinary actions and daily events that the participants perform (Kirsch, 1999). Conducting research in this way aims to be respectful of the participants and to maintain

equality for all involved, and as a result, to reduce the psychological impact on the researched.

The feminist approach is to honor the voices of the participants of the research (Kirsch, 1999). There are four specific attributes of feminist research: “reflexivity; an action orientation; attention to the affective components of research; and the use of the situation at hand” (Fonow & Cook cited in Kirsch, p 3). Kirsch (1999) contends that the process of reflexivity creates an opportunity for the researcher to be responsive to the participants’ needs and alter the study to reflect these needs. This allows the researcher to better comprehend the researched.

With only one chance of capturing the desired information, the researcher must ensure the interviewee immediately feels reassured about the process and the researcher’s intentions. It is difficult to develop rapport with just one short interview (Oakly, 1981). Therefore, it is imperative to develop some level of rapport quickly and sincerely, or full answers may not be forthcoming. Phoenix (1994) states “[s]imply being women discussing ‘women’s issues’ in the context of a research interview is not sufficient for the establishment of rapport and the seamless flow of an interview” (p 50). Phoenix (Ibid) furthers her argument by suggesting that in addition to gender, class and/or colour, can be elements of the rapport. She warns that just because the researcher and the researched are of the same gender, gender does not always override the lack of connection in other aspects of identification such as colour or class. Furthermore, a number of behavioral reactions can help to build rapport. A connection can be forged by not presenting oneself as superior to the person to be interviewed, or appearing as if one is sitting in judgment of

them when they do offer their responses (Oakly, 1981). People will be freer with their personal information when it is met with empathy rather than judgment.

Having empathy for the participants is one of the most crucial elements of feminist research (MacDonald, 2003). Qualitative research, which embodies feminist tenets, involves an emotional closeness to the person studied (Humm, 1995). By becoming emotionally close there is an opportunity for the researcher to become more aware of the researched person's life experiences and to develop empathy which remaining emotionally distant does not permit. Qualitative studies garner more access to the experience people have as they provide an opportunity to expand on issues rather than simply providing a yes/no or number on a Likert scale (Driscoll & McFarland, no date). They also offer a more thorough comprehension of the data collected as they provide more context for the data, and do not rely solely on isolated facts. An understanding of an individual's life experiences offers insight into the answers she provides in an interview by way of setting up the situation that leads to the answer. For example, if an individual experienced discrimination in the workplace she may very likely view work through the lens of racism and answer interview questions differently than if that had not been her experience. A deeper, more comprehensive understanding can allow space for empathy by the researcher for the researched.

In addition, an action orientation refers to the aspect that deals with creating the possibility of changes in the lives of the women studied, that ideally leads to emancipation. The researcher must not simply extract data for the sake of merely collecting data, but rather for empowerment and improvement of quality of life for the participants (Kirsch, 1999). Action oriented research contributes to the eradication of

oppression of women (Klein, 1983). To comply with the feminist tenets of research, both parties must feel that they are receiving ample compensation for their time. The researcher receives the research data required, but the participant must be provided with some recompense as well. Generally respondents will feel adequately rewarded by contributing to research and having their opinion heard (Forcese & Richer, 1974).

Thus, qualitative research fits well with feminist research principles, whereby interaction amongst all the people involved with the study works to remove the division between the researcher and the researched. The objective is to end, or at least minimize, any potential exploitation of the participants (Klein, no date). Non-feminist research can create a hierarchy by way of the division between the researcher and the researched that can be removed by the researcher's identifying with the participants of the research. This identification does not have to include every aspect of the participant's life; rather the researcher and the researched may share a common denominator, such as gender or race, yet not status or ethnicity (Mies, 1987). Research conducted by women with women may create a more equal status. Even when women from one culture interview women from different cultures they create a bond as they share the experience of womanhood (Edwards, 1993). A common thread could lead to the reduction of that division between researcher and the researched.

Edwards (1993) contends that in-depth interviews are considered to be a feminist approach to data collection. Research conducted via an interview is one of the most intimate processes where there is a social exchange (Forcese & Richer, 1974) since "[i]nterviewing women was, then, a strategy for documenting women's own accounts of

their lives” (Oakly, 1981,p 48). Therefore, great care must be taken to treat the participant with humility and respect (Edwards, 1993).

People generally perceive the public sphere to be easy to discuss, but view their private lives as a different matter. These sensitive topics are the very data desired by the researcher. Differences in attributes attached to topics vary from culture to culture. For example; discussions surrounding women’s personal health may be open and frank in one culture whereas in another culture it may be taboo. Therefore, all interview topics should be regarded as sensitive unless otherwise directed by the participant (Lee & Renzetti, 1993).

There is a large body of literature that deals with sensitive issues through the insider/outsider dichotomy of a researcher in relation to the interviewee’s community. When looking at the insider status there are both positive and negative aspects to being considered an “insider” on a particular issue. Being an “insider” would be advantageous where an intimate knowledge of customs and language is beneficial; therefore, the researcher who comes from within a community can offer insights of the cultural issue under study not available to the outsider researcher (Sherif, 2001).As previously stated, some subjects are not to be talked about in certain cultures; therefore, discussing them with “insiders” violates certain social norms as the community would have high expectations that the researcher has a full comprehension of them (Sheriff, 2001). Yet these same discussions with “outsiders” may not have the same negative impact on the participant as it would have had the discussion occurred with an insider (Wolf, 1996). There is an opportunity for the “outsider” researcher to be less judgmental if they do not

comprehend the subject matter as taboo for the participant and full disclosure may occur if there is no moral judgment on the part of the researcher infraction.

Given the diverse dimensions of an individual, the insider/ outsider borders are continually shifting throughout the research, and often as topics change (Best, 2003). No one person is identical to another in all regards. There are many more facets to the persona of individuals than just their ethnicity such as their gender, race, sexual orientation, skills and abilities, language, and family dynamics, religion, and so on. Thus no two people can share the same “insider” status on every issue with another individual. Life experiences are also unique for each person and, therefore, the ability for a researcher to “know” more than an “outsider” is limited. Just as the common ground shifts from person to person, so too does it shift from topic to topic. In addition, age impacts the border with great consequences for the “insider”. The relationship becomes “fragile” and continuously altering (Best, 2003, p 24).

While there are disadvantages to being an “outsider”, there is one advantage “outsiders” have and that is the goal of emancipation can be achieved by “outsiders” who are able to comprehend the situation and work towards emancipation for others (Harding, 1987). Harding cites Marx and Engels as two examples of men who used their voice to emancipate the proletariat even though the men were not insiders of that group. The goal is still the same no matter who is working towards it. Humans can empathize with others when they see injustices, no matter whether they belong to the group causing the injustice or experiencing it. Those who are suffering under the oppression may not be totally aware of the gravity of their situation and under those circumstances; it may take an “outsider” to comprehend to the wider picture.

Situating Myself Within My Research:

Benmayor (1991) postulates that all researchers are “outsiders” in all situations, despite sharing class, ethnicity, educational experiences, or gender. Within this framework, I situate myself as an insider in some aspects and as an outsider for other reasons. First and foremost, I am an “outsider” as I am not an immigrant. However, I have worked with women and men from many parts of the world so I have had some exposure to the experiences of immigrants as a few of these people shared their experiences with me. I observed many of their struggles in adjusting to the new language and culture. Although each person had a unique story, there were common threads that ran through their stories. Having the opportunity to become personally connected with these people, I was able to make the same types of bonds with the women and men who participated in my study. Some experiences transcend all national borders and provide the ties that bind strangers together.

Not only have I not migrated, I have not travelled extensively and will not have firsthand experience of my interviewee’s country of origin. Nor do I speak any other language; however, this did not present difficulties as all the participants had a minimal level of English. I have nominal experience conversing with women who do not have English as their first language from my previous work experience at the manufacturing plant in Halifax.

Yet within the gender domain I was an “insider” with six of the ten participants. Most of the immigrant women who have settled in the Maritime Provinces are more educated than the general population in their areas (CIC, 2005) and as a Master’s student,

I also have more post secondary education than the average woman in Nova Scotia, creating a point of convergence on education with half of the participants.

In addition to gender and education, I have felt the barriers to political participation as described in the literature, such as time constraints and financial resources. I also have worked with many grass-root organizations throughout my life time and have found many of the benefits referred to in the literature to be real for me, including improving my skills and comprehension of processes.

As I am not an insider to the immigrant community I was interviewing, and in order to obtain a pool of participants, I used the snowball sampling technique. This technique gathers participants by having one or more immigrant who is willing to be interviewed by me, bring other participants into the study through their informal network. This technique is predicated on the assumption that immigrant women are more likely to trust other immigrant women's judgment (Forcese & Richer, 1973). Therefore, the participants were more likely to trust the process as their acquaintance or friend had recommended me to them. The trust factor is very important as I was privy to personal knowledge and participants needed to feel that they could be frank with me. Once one of the participants went through the process and was pleased with the outcome, others followed. Every participant was an individual and was treated as such.

While I choose to use the snowball method of recruitment, it was not without consideration of the implications for the possible participant pool. As previously discussed, the concept of place is an important addition to intersectionality theory when researching immigrants in Halifax. Not only does it shape the experiences of immigrants, along with gender, race and class, but also it also plays a significant role as to who I was

able to recruit as participants in Halifax and as a result of my identity as a White woman. Previous statistics revealed that only 7% of the population in the area are immigrants and even fewer are immigrants of colour. With so few immigrants as possible participants, coupled with the fact that I am a 'White', Anglo-Saxon, third generation, Irish immigrant living in a rural area outside of Halifax with limited exposure to non-White immigrants, the snowball recruitment method presented difficulties. The likelihood of having access to potential participants of color was marginal for me at best. Fortunately, I was able to interview two visible minority women. However, I was not able to tap further into those networks for more participants. I was a true outsider to those networks.

Had my study been conducted in a larger metropolitan region of Canada I would have had a larger pool to be exposed to and recruit from. Thus, the place where I conducted this research impacted my recruitment method in two ways. First, as a White researcher I could not access subjects among the few visible minority immigrants. Second, the demographics of the population determined who I could access. The intersection of those two factors greatly diminished the probability of me recruiting more than the two visible minority women I was able to interview.

Segal & Demos (1996) argue immigrant women are not a homogeneous category. As a feminist researcher it is my intention to "take care to consider how those being studied are not simply objects of investigation, but subjects who are actively involved in a research relationship" (Segal & Demos, 1996, p 7). I was not merely looking for "facts" but rather seeking personal histories that revealed as much about them as it did about my culture in which they find themselves immersed. They were informing me so I took the "attitude of learner" as suggested by Segal and Demos (Ibid). As I interviewed the

participants I did not presume to understand their particular situation as I could not possibly know what it was like for them, even if I had heard a similar story many times before. Each person's lived experience is unique and much can be learned from every story. In doing so I "acknowledge the significance of daily lived experience" (Kirsch, 1999, p 4) for each of the participants who generously offered their time and story to me.

In the context of a thesis written from a feminist perspective, I chose to include men as a way to gauge the validity of the literature in terms of gender roles for the female participants. I feel that "[t]alking about women without talking about men is like clapping hands with one hand only" (Eric Cohen cited in Yuval-Davis, 1997, p 1). I also concur with Campbell's (2003) argument that men's experiences should not be rejected simply because they are not women's experiences, but rather should be evaluated based on the same merits as women's experiences in terms of validity and knowledge production. Flax (1990) argued that the category of gender is as fluid and unstable as any other identity; therefore, men should not be excluded from feminist research. Campbell (Ibid) also argues that it is the knowledge that is important and not the source if the appropriate research methods are followed. In light of this, I included men as I believed I would be able to create a rapport with the men I interviewed and was able to have some empathy for their situations. Immigrant men in Halifax are generally as marginalized as immigrant women. I do not feel that I compromised the feminist respondents in any way by interviewing men, as I truly applied the same principles to everyone.

In order to achieve some semblance of order, certain criteria were set to recruit potential participants.

Participants:

The qualifying participants met the following criteria: a) between the ages of 22 and 64. The rationale for exclusion of persons under the age of 22 was to eliminate the likelihood of having Canadian educational experiences influence political behaviors. In addition, the reasoning behind eliminating those over the age of 64 was that retirement brings about a different set of behaviors as their time restrictions tend not to be limited by family or work. b) The participants all lived within the boundaries of Halifax, Nova Scotia for a minimum of one year. c) The participants' citizenship status was irrelevant, as was their work situation. d) Their education level was not relevant with the exception that the majority of any post-secondary education must have been completed in their country of origin. e) They must not have been born in Canada and do not have Canadian parents. f) They also had to be able to comprehend English and speak at a minimum of a grade five level in order for me to be able to communicate without the assistance of a translator. g) the participants were not required to volunteer in any organization.

I was able to recruit ten participants that met my criteria for my study. I interviewed four men and six women who emigrated from various countries around the world. The following is a short biographical sketch of each of the participants of this study. Szekely (1990) states that immigrant women are not without histories that affect their behaviors within Canada, but that each one is different as their "social and personal histories were formed outside of Canada" (p 129). It is the contention of this thesis that the men who participated also have individual histories that can offer insight into the

“lived” experiences of each participant, regardless of their gender. The following is a short biography of each participant, using the pseudonym of their choice.

Olga is a 54 year old woman who moved to Halifax thirteen years ago with her husband and two children from the former Soviet Union. As an adult she moved to another country for five years before moving to Canada. She had obtained a Bachelor degree and held a teaching certificate in her country of origin and obtained a Community College trade in Halifax a few years ago. Her family has a combined income of over \$60,000 per year. She knew another couple residing in Halifax before she moved here.

George is a 45 year old man who moved here from the former Soviet Union with his wife and children thirteen years ago. He lived for a short period in another country before moving to Metro Halifax. His formal education in his country of origin has allowed him to find employment in his field in Halifax. His family has a combined income of over \$60,000 per year. George knew another couple living in Nova Scotia before he moved here.

Oleana moved to Halifax eight years ago at the age of 36 with a Bachelor degree obtained in the former Soviet Union. Oleana immigrated with her husband and son. She has not found employment commensurate with her education as she has not pursued having her credentials recognized. She did find employment in the manufacturing sector in Halifax and is currently working in a management position. She knew another couple, from her hometown, living in Halifax before coming to Nova Scotia. She and her husband have a family income level of over \$60,000.

Anne came to Halifax 28 years ago and is now 56. She came as a North Vietnamese refugee through Malaysia with her husband and two children. She did not finish high school in North Vietnam, nor did she further her education in Canada. Anne is no longer married to her Vietnamese husband and works outside her home earning between \$20,000 and \$60,000 per year. Anne’s sister had previously immigrated to Halifax and then became a sponsor for Anne and her family.

Jake, a 41 year old Bosnian, has lived in Halifax with his wife and two sons, for ten years now. He and his family lived in Quebec for ten months when they first arrived in Canada but moved to Halifax where his brother already resided. He was trained as an electrician in his country of origin and has found work as such in Metro Halifax. He also became certified as a heavy equipment operator since his move to Halifax. His family maintains an income between \$20,000 and \$60,000 per year.

Jane is a 46 year old woman living in Halifax who was born in Croatia. She chose to move to HALIFAX with her husband and two daughters ten years ago. She had completed a college course in seamstress work in Croatia and has found employment in

that field in Halifax. She and her family knew one other family living in Halifax before they made the move.

Joe, a 46 year old man, moved to Halifax from Bosnia ten years ago with his wife and two children. He came as a trained electrician and has found employment utilizing that skill. His family earns between \$20,000 and \$60,000 per year.

Gary is a 45 year old man who was born in the former Soviet Union. However, Gary refers to himself as Russian. He moved to Halifax eight years ago with his wife and young son. Gary held a bachelor degree in mechanical engineering and was able to find work with his credentials after he arrived. He has taken a few continuing education courses for work but has not altered his career path. Gary's family knew another family already living in Halifax when they chose to move to Nova Scotia. Gary and his family earn over \$60,000 per year.

Sarah is a woman of Turkish descent who was born in 1975 in the United States of America. Her family moved to Turkey when she was two. She moved around the Middle East before she moved to Regina, Canada. Nine years ago she moved to Halifax with her husband with their two children. Sarah completed a Bachelor of Science degree in Turkey and is currently working on a Masters degree in Halifax.

Barbara moved to Halifax in 2004 as a 29 year old African woman to further her education. She had obtained a Bachelor degree in Africa and completed her Master's degree in Halifax. She has not lived elsewhere and is in the process of gaining her Canadian citizenship. She is not married nor does she have children. Barbara is currently working in a position that provides her with an income between \$20,000 and \$60,000 annually.

Procedure:

I chose to use the interview method with semi-structured questions as "semi-structured interviewing has become an important element in feminist qualitative methods for its ability to record women's thoughts and beliefs and values employed in development of feminist theory" (O'Neill, 2000, pg 69). I used a short questionnaire at the beginning of the interview to capture the demographic information required for background information such as country of birth, arrival date, and general income level.

In my estimation the interview method best delivered the information I was seeking, while keeping within the feminist framework.

Once I arrived at a mutually agreed upon interview time I took a few minutes to develop a rapport with the participant. I then proceeded to review the Informed Consent Form with them and requested their signature (See appendix B). I placed the signed form in a sealed envelope to keep separate from the rest of the information I would gather. I also requested consent to tape the entire dialogue. I began the questioning by gathering the biographical information and then proceeded with the rest of the Aide Mémoire (See appendix C), which took approximately one hour for each participant. I followed the questions and used the prompts when necessary, recording the conversation. Once the interview was over I provided a copy of the Debriefing Letter (See Appendix D). If they chose to have a copy of the summary of the study forwarded to them, I had them sign the Data Request Form that was also placed in a separate sealed envelope (See Appendix E). I thanked them again for their time and effort and left

Once I returned to my home I placed the sealed envelopes in separate places, to remove the possibility of cross-referencing. I then transcribed the tapes which were stored separately from the written documents after which the process of analysis began.

My study is designed to be “descriptive and exploratory” (Kirsch, 1999, p 19) as I only interviewed ten immigrants recruited through the snowball technique. The small number of participants and the recruitment method do not lend themselves to statistical analysis and therefore there cannot be any direct inference to other immigrants. Statistics require large groups of participants that are chosen randomly to offer any significance. This was only meant to give voice to the ten specific participants in an effort to better

understand their lived experiences and perhaps offer some insight to other immigrants' lived experiences since as humans we share common concerns and emotions. While the following quote refers to women, I believe that standpoint goes beyond gender to include marginalized men as they can fall victim to the same discriminations.

“The standpoint of women... can't be equated with perspective or worldview. It does not universalize a particular experience. It is rather a method which, on the outset of inquiry, creates a space for the absent subject and absent experiences which is to be filled with the presence and spoken experience of actual women speaking of and in the actualities of their everyday worlds.” (Smith, 1987, p 3)

The responses to the interview schedule were then analyzed using the augmented intersectionality theory, as previously described.

CHAPTER VI: FINDINGS: A REPORT AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will describe the findings of the research conducted with the aforementioned participants. The findings are broken into the major topics of research and the responses are synthesized to better present the findings. The participants often responded with very similar answers; however, often one or two would provide an atypical response. These differences are highlighted and discussed in-depth in the analysis. I have used the words of the participants whenever possible as it is their voices that are important in feminist research. I have analyzed the findings aware of my inherent biases, given my insider/outsider status as previously discussed.

Albanesi, et al. (2007) suggest that there is a connection between group membership, participation, and a sense of belonging to community. This analysis will highlight the connections among and between the all three variables.

Citizenship:

One of the topics of discussion in the interview schedule involved questions regarding the term citizenship, and when asked what the term meant to them there were several responses. Gary answered with: “belonging to the group of people who live in this country, support this country, contribute to this country”.

On the other hand, Barbara saw her potential Canadian citizenship in instrumental terms. Barbara referred to both rights and obligations when she stated:

“The nationality of the country with the responsibility of rights and obligations”

Wendy: “Any further connection... any personal connection?”

Barbara: “Yes I do... I make sure that I do things that will promote the well-being of the people within it and I see it as a duty not to be self centered but to

look to the broader group of people with that nationality to do things that will promote development and everything that will make that country reach its potential"

Wendy: "Why would you want the Canadian citizenship if you are so strongly connected to your Ghanaian citizenship?"

Barbara: "It is also a case of privileges ... like I will take the Canadian citizenship and I will go home ... I am going to live in Ghana eventually ... travel in other countries, I would need a visa ... my kids would get come here with some adaptive ways in terms of schooling higher education, they will be paying just like the local kids unlike me... coming in and paying the full amount ... so it has its own little, little privileges so it would be great to have that on paper..."

Wendy: "What is the difference between how you feel about your Ghanaian citizenship and a Canadian one?"

Barbara: " It is more emotional to Ghana ... more privileges to Canada."

In contrast to Barbara, George considers holding a country's citizenship as belonging to that country.

"It first of all... belonging to a country as a whole just getting to legal to take that passport and travel with it also important but to share, as I was referring to that I didn't just move for a different place ... I wanted to move to a different culture and be a part of it...and understand it so that's I guess being...sharing the country's views and understanding the reasoning behind it either culturally or politically... belonging to the country many ways ..I guess not just the rights and freedoms that are given to citizens.

Jane, a 46 year old married woman from Croatia who arrived in Nova Scotia 12 years ago and works full-time echoed that sentiment with:

"I belong to somebody, you know, somebody offer me better life or something like that. I don't know...can be both emotional and rights and duties... but more emotional."

For Anne and Sarah, citizenship meant freedom. Sarah responded with:

"I guess the textbook answer would be rights and responsibilities, for me, just for me it gives me...freedom...to be able to stay where my children are, they are Canadian, that really gave me a hard time; I have to get this, to stay with them, where they are"

The Canadian government permits its new citizens to retain their citizenship from their country of origin in the naturalization process. However, Anne was not able to retain

her Vietnamese citizenship as she had to relinquish her it when she fled that country.

Barbara holds only her Ghanaian citizenship to date and is in the midst of the naturalization process. Sarah holds three citizenships simultaneously; Turkish, American, and Canadian. The rest of the seven hold dual citizenship with their country of origin and Canada.

Only Barbara identified herself in terms of her country of origin as she is still in the process of becoming a Canadian. The rest referred to themselves as hyphenated Canadians. They must feel some sense of belonging as they did not view themselves completely in terms of their ethnicity.

Thus the question concerning citizenship garnered two types of answers. Barbara views Canadian citizenship from a purely instrumental perspective as she is interested in the privileges for her future children associated with naturalization. She envisions her Canadian citizenship eliminating the cost differential for international students that she has had to pay as her children will be considered Canadians. Only those of a higher class standing can anticipate having the financial resources to cover the cost of post secondary education in a foreign country. Barbara's class status trumps her gender or race. This does not pose difficulties for Barbara as discriminates against Black women as women from other countries are able to access higher education based on their financial and educational merits rather than gender or race

The second type of answer related to belonging to the country regardless of political or civic participation. Participants of both genders, all classes, and races directly associated Canadian citizenship with a sense of belonging to Canada. Joe indicated he felt he belonged even before he left his of country of origin. The process of belonging has

been gradual for the remaining participants and relates more to their family situations than other factors. It appears that gender, race, or class did not play a role in feeling some sense of belonging to Halifax as some of the women belonged to all types of organizations. Country of origin is more likely to play a critical role in the transference of attachment from country of origin to host country than any other factor. Anne is an example as she was forced to leave her country of origin under extreme circumstance and is no longer considered a citizen of that country.

Formal Political Participation:

Each participant was interviewed following the predetermined interview schedule and the following is an overview of their responses. Although each participant has a unique life path, there are many similarities in their answers. While there were many common threads, there were also dissimilar answers that are worth noting.

The first non-demographic question was in relation to their formal political participation. When asked if they participated in politics, eight responded with a clear no. However, two of the participants answered differently. Gary, a 48 year old male from the Former Soviet Union, who is a professional engineer, responded with:

“probably I should but I...I don't. I participate just in elections... I personally think that every person should be involved in politics, I really don't like people who say they don't care, because if you say you don't care about politics, politics do care about you, you have to be active, I have my opinion, I have certain convictions beliefs, probably I should be involved but I really don't want to join any party, but I will be voting.”

The literature review, states that “[p]olitical space belongs to all, but men tend to monopolize it” (Human Development Report, 1995, p 41). The findings of this study reveal that only one man engaged in any formal political activities, other than voting in

all levels of government, which contradicts those assertions. The men all felt it was their duty to vote, and in doing so they fulfilled that requirement of the ideal citizen. Gidengil et al (2004) suggest that women exercise their right to vote as often as men, if not slightly more than men, as women tend to feel more of a moral obligation to do so than men. Again, the literature is contradicted as both genders exercised their right to vote. One female participant did not vote as she was not eligible to do so.

Sarah contradicted the formal political participation literature when she answered that she did do more than just vote. She expanded on her answer when asked the prompting questions from the interview schedule and these responses will be revealed later.

The literature breaks down political participation into many activities that may not immediately come to mind when asked about political participation. The initial general question regarding political participation was divided into the separate behaviors that comprise more broadly political participation. The first activity was voting behavior, with nine of the ten participants stating they vote in elections. Barbara, a 30 year old woman from Ghana, is ineligible to vote as she had not received her Canadian citizenship at the time of the interview.

Contributing money to a campaign is considered political participation. While it is considered an important act of participation, the implications for contributing to political organizations in the post 9/11 climate may have affected the responses provided as contributions to certain organizations within Canada is illegal (Canada and Terrorism, January, 2004). Only two of the ten participants responded positively. George, a 47 year old male professional from the former Soviet Union, indicated that he had once give

money to a candidate. Olga, a woman from the Former Soviet Union, stated that “as a family I think we did once”. Neither participant elaborated on the circumstances surrounding the donation. Class does not appear to be the major influence in their decision to donate money as other participants held the same class standing, yet did not donate funds.

Gidengil et al, (2004) report that less than one out of every ten people lent their physical support to a campaign or candidate during the 2000 federal campaign, so it is not surprising that when asked if they had donated personal time to a candidate, eight participants responded negatively. Sarah responded with “yes, I have worked on a lot of campaigns”. Olga expressed a desire to do so but was never afforded the opportunity to do so as she was waiting to be asked to participate therefore, gender did affect Olga’s participation level while it did not impact Sarah’s.

In relation to other formal political activities, one man, George, did make a one-time financial contribution to a political party but did not make any non-financial contributions. He had explained that he was not interested in Canadian formal politics as a result of his lived experience in his country of origin; thus the place dimension is most salient for him as he is archetypical of the gender (male), class (middle class), and race (White Western European appearance) who would be more likely to be fully engaged, according to the literature.

As previously mentioned, Sarah is the only participant to be involved in formal politics at a deeper level than voting. Sarah had attended political rallies in Canada in the past. When asked if she had ever tried to persuade someone to vote a certain way she saw that as part of her door-to-door campaign work:

Sarah: “Well campaigning is that, no? I did not sit down and have a conversation with someone, but I did go campaigning.”

Sarah is also the only participant to belong to a political party even though she is not currently active within the party due to time constraints. When Gary, a professional from the Ukraine, was asked about his membership status, he replied that he felt an obligation to join but has not taken any action to date.

Sarah was the only participant who belonged to a political party and therefore is the only respondent to the query as to what belonging to a political party had to offer her as a person. She responded with:

“Well I learned a lot, I learned about the Canadian public, I learned a lot how the system worked”

Wendy: “Which systems are you referring to?”

Sarah: “The representation and all levels of representation, that’s when I learned. I didn’t know the before...but once that you are involved provincially, federal means and I learned a lot about the ... how should I say... about the Canadian political culture and about the Canadian people culture. I have to put it that way ...you know I remember sitting down at many political meetings and I was just watching people how they converse and trying to interpret the emotion, like the way they put them in sentences and words, it was interesting, I liked it ...particularly when I was involved in the campaigns for the MLA’s I was really involved in the community issues

Wendy: “Did your involvement lead to a job?”

Sarah: “No job, no job, no”

Wendy: “Did you learn any skills?”

Sarah: “Just one or two. In terms of skills, I did have public presentation, that was good, some organizing skills. Yes. Some convincing skills from my own party members...”

The participants were asked whether they had ever considered becoming a candidate themselves since they arrived in Halifax. Seven participants had never considered becoming a political candidate. Although Sarah was confident in her skills

and abilities, she had never considered becoming a candidate herself. When asked the reason for not putting herself forward as a candidate she answered:

“Well no, it is in our heads, as a woman I don’t think I would stand a chance running in my riding”

Wendy: “Was it because of the immigrant status as opposed to the women status”

Sarah: “Well I come first, I mean I have the answer, because in our... Federally our MP is a woman and she was a very successful candidate for a long time but I think it is more than being a woman, but it is my accent”

In sharp contrast to the literature that asserts women are not interested in formal politics, one woman did become involved with a formal political party. As an immigrant who looks like a White, Western European, middle class woman, Sarah fits the racial profile of the “British-looking” immigrant who is more readily accepted in the Halifax area. Her economic status afforded her the resources required in terms of time. When looking at the salience of her gender, she felt that there were enough female role models for her to consider becoming a candidate herself. The literature reveals that women in Nova Scotia did set a precedent by having the first woman to become a member of a provincial legislature, hold a seat in parliament, and to become a party leader. She felt that her gender was not a barrier to be overcome.

What she did see as insurmountable was her foreign accent. Her race did not make her a visible minority, but in her mind her accent was something that would prevent her from seeking a seat at any level. I argue that place plays a major role in her thought process. As stated earlier, Halifax has a sparse immigrant population and there are only two elected immigrants in all three levels of representation in Nova Scotia. Had this woman lived in an area in which her accent was not unusual, a more immigrant rich area, perhaps she would have pursued a career in formal politics as she displayed a keen

interest in political affairs. Sarah did follow gender tendencies when she had to withdraw from political activities due to growing responsibilities with her children.

Gary, on the other hand felt his lack of experience and small sphere of influence prohibited him from considering running for office.

“Maybe I don’t have enough experience for that as a politician, but maybe it would be a good idea if I could get in a certain environment, start at the municipal level and maybe try something ...but I don’t have any connections with those people, how can I go? What can I do, can I go I go in the Mayor house and see Peter Kelly and say I want to be a politician. What should I do? I don’t even know how to start or where to go.”

George just did not entertain the notion of becoming a candidate for a different reason; his ethnicity.

“Probably not, just for personal reasons, from my background I am slightly... I don’t like politics, being involved in politics and it is from prior experience, but it still has that bit of carry over.”

Wendy: “Where you grew up and lived?”

George: “Where I grew up yeah and because of the political system over there, and it is just that I tried to stay away from it and I still do that just how it is”

Jane indicated that there was a lack of interest in her social network of fellow Croatians as they had suffered enough political strife in their own country and were generally not interested in formal Canadian politics.

While for some immigrants, the importance of place relates to their new physical location, for others the behaviors shaped by place are a result of the place from which they came. Their current political climate had little impact on how they perceived political participation as their attitudes towards formal politics had been shaped by forces in their country of origin. They understood their rights and duties in relation to voting, but did not want to be involved otherwise in the political system. The other dimensions of race, gender, and class were not salient for them.

Of the six women interviewed, four did not participate in any formal political activities other than voting. This supports the literature in terms of gender, however, not in terms of class as two of the women are from the middle class and presumably have the financial resources to move into the political arena. From a place perspective, there are few female role models to which the women could refer to in the Halifax area at any level. One of the other women, Olga, contributed money to a campaign once, but had no other affiliation with a political party at any level. She also expressed an interest in participating in formal politics by working for a candidate but stated that she was waiting to be asked, just as the literature suggests for women. The dimension of gender was most salient for her as her class, race, or place did not appear to influence her reluctance to enter into the formal political arena.

Informal Politics:

Politics are played out in informal ways as the literature indicates. Each of the participants was asked if they belonged to any informal political organizations, in what capacity they served within the organization and what belonging to those organizations offered them.

Anne, Jane, and Sarah all belonged to a religious organization. Only Jane was involved in “after-service” activities.

When asked her role, Jane stated:

“People will be coming and ... I just, you know, organize and whatever, bring for food or something, you know, I call priest to see that he is coming... I do these things ...somebody else calls me and I call other people, ok we need to do this and that.”

Jake and Joe, both Croatian immigrants, played on an organized sports team but did not hold any office within that organization. The team was made up of players from various ethnicities, including Canadians. Joe indicated that belonging to this sports organization offered him opportunities to learn about Canada:

“It’s helps me to know more people, you know, Canadians...and because I was playing with Canadians, I learned culture and everything else...little bit about Canada.

Joe also recognized the sports team provided networking possibilities:

“That’s happening a lot, you play and they... they are usually looking for somebody who knows how to do some work at home or in the city ...oh yeah... It happens a lot. They offer you a job. I know that some people say ‘my company looking for workers and you bring your resume. Oh, it helps a lot...those connections...”

In addition to networking prospects, Joe felt that the sports team presented a place in which he could hone his language skills.

“You have to practice [English]on the field because when we are playing we just talking just English. It is not like home we just talk our language at home... when you are outside you talk English and they [the teammates] just helped me a lot ... a lot.”

Jake used his time on his sports team to connect with immigrants who had lived in Halifax longer than he had. He found them to be a fount of information regarding the area and the local practices. He felt it is an important step in the acculturation process:

“Yeah you find people who came a long time ago and they have enough information. Actually I work with Croatian guys. I played soccer with these guys...that it’s very important getting involved, you play here with everybody. It is important for people from every country that comes here to get involved in some community...some organization, soccer or anything... I think it’s the best if you play some kind of sport ... you just find the right good people around you... especially immigrants from England... from Germany, they play a lot of soccer”

Of all ten participants only two men participated in sports organizations. Gidengil et al. (2004) predicted that men are more likely to belong to sports associations than women. Both of these men are from the middle class and worked as non-professionals. Although neither held any leadership positions, both used the organization to gain employment opportunities and to learn about Canadian culture, systems, and language. Due to the demographics of the local population, ethnic segregation did not occur as there are too few immigrants to form ethnic specific teams within the league, should they want to. Thus gender was the most prevalent dimension for these men and not class, or race: all the classes mixed as did the races. The place dimension did not come into play for them.

The participants were specifically asked if they belonged to any ethnic organizations and if they held any offices within those organizations. Jake responded that in the past he had belonged to a Croatian organization but did not hold any office during his tenure. The Russian Studies Department in Dalhousie University would come together periodically and organize parties.

“People read some poems aloud and there are children dancing. We exchange views and sometimes movie actors come here, very rarely, but they still come some times. In this case I go for that.”

Gary simply went to enjoy the activities and did not get involved in any of the background work of the organization as a whole or any event planning.

Olga belonged to a similar organization that met yearly; however she did take on some responsibility for a part of the event.

“I wasn’t a leader there; I just prepared my son to perform. I had to prepare two or more pieces with myself and some more people, with a friend; we did two acts, that’s all I did.”

Women are more likely to be involved in religious organizations according to Gidengil et al. (2004). In keeping with that assertion, Anne, Jane, and Sarah related they attended religious services. As we saw, Anne only attended the services, whereas Sarah engaged in a group within the organization but did not hold any office. Jane was more involved in her organization by arranging food for special events, in accordance with Ralston's 1995 assertion that women are most often left to perform the productive and reproductive work such as food preparation and the men held the leadership roles. Jane did not hold any office either. All three women follow the predicted path for their gender. Place has little influence in this situation as gender roles are fairly universal within standard religious organizations. Olga fulfilled the predicted role of cultural maintenance by teaching her son cultural performances to be given at her ethnic association. Once again, gender is the most salient factor in this activity.

In contrast to these participants, Barbara belonged to a more formally organized ethnic association where she was asked to become the president. Barbara declined as she had intended to return to Ghana before the tenure would have been up and did not feel it responsible to take on the position knowing she could not see her term to completion.

“Ghanaian association, they were persuading me so much to take the position of the presidency ... they wanted a younger person but at that time I was even more likely to go back ... at that time my leaving was so close, that I didn't want to start”

The leadership literature proposes that men are more likely to become leaders. For example, Bystydziensky (1992) state that men dominate the public domain in most of the world, and women are relegated to the private sphere, therefore, men are more likely to become leaders as women tend to take a less public role. In sharp contrast, only Barbara

was asked to take the presidency role in her ethnic organization. It is unclear if that organization has both genders as members or not. Her class status would be relevant as she holds a Master's degree and earns a middle class income and was perhaps considered the most qualified of the membership.

In addition, Barbara belonged to an organization that dealt with women specific issues, and again, did not hold any office. Barbara felt she had not gained any skills during her time in the organizations. Although she feels she did not increase her skill levels, she did make an important connection to her country of origin:

“[I felt] connection to my moods, like the Africans, and the Ghanians in particular...and I got friendship from them ...basically those are the two main things...socialization too.”

Wendy: “Socialization to Canada?”

Barbara: “With people from my same culture...yes they always say that you don't know what you have until you don't have it any more so that now anything that is like home is “whoo, whoo” even food ... that we used to eat back home that we used to take for granted and when we get together and somebody brings it we go for it... we feel the connections to our country ...you don't have it routinely so you appreciate those things much more... sometimes you meet and you feel that you don't belong and you want to feel accepted, you look around and see the food and listen to music from Ghana so while you are here you are a little bit closer to home.”

Barbara also indicated that she places great importance on food and music from her country. It is her way of maintaining a connection with her culture and finds herself seeking it out. She very carefully explained the different foods that she looked forward to and extended me an invitation to a Ghanaian celebration so I could experience her country in a small way. Barbara was the only participant who was involved in an organization that reached back to the country of origin.

Perhaps her interest in that organization can be explained by Castles and Davidson (2000) who argue that homeland politics are more relevant to new immigrants

as the “expectations of return combined with a lack of political rights” in the new country. Castles and Davidson (Ibid) mean that when the immigrant is not planning on making the new country their home they retain a stronger interest in the well being of that country as they will be returning to live there at some time in the near future. They often have little political clout in the new country as they are not granted the right to participate in elections until they have been granted citizenship in the new country. If they do not plan to become citizens, they will not have that right granted and therefore remain on the periphery of the formal political arena. Barbara had only planned to stay in Halifax long enough to finish her education and did not seek out non-ethnic organizations.

Both George and Gary belonged to professional organizations related to their respective occupations and simply paid their dues without getting involved in any activities within the organization. Gary offered that the only thing he gained from his membership was:

“I have some health insurance there, so, but realistically it doesn’t give me anything and that is not only my opinion... I will probably drop off next year.”

George felt he actually benefited from his membership in the professional association:

“It was not mandatory, but it was being involved in the industry where I was working, sharing of information that was in my field and being able to get exposure to the workforce and more opportunities in the community in Halifax. ...I would say Canadian business culture and I’ll try to explain that in a way that...because it is non-existent in my country...belonging to a professional organization was not mandatory when you were trying to get into any business so after graduation you had your degree and you get to go on with that, now when we moved here I had to learn that’s how things work here, so that was part of it ...that gave the exposure to the way things are organized from a business point of view and as well the cultural, because...so there are cultural connection there too. I would say yes, in a way it helped me to consider myself part of this country and its ... being a part of an organization that was recognized in this country as one of the steps...”

The literature was affirmed in regards to women and school organizations. Women tend to be more involved in school related activities than men as Sarah is the only participant who was a member of her children's school associations. Sarah also thought her work with the school board and the political party also provided the opportunity to learn more about Canadian culture. Sarah felt a connection to the wider society when she participated with school related activities.

The ability to join an organization and fully participate is not always afforded to an immigrant. Anne only attended church services as she was never called upon to participate in any other way within the religious organization. She stated:

“I go to pray and meet people, but they never ask me to do anything...yes, if they ask I would do it, I go and pray. I think it is because of my accent they don't ask me.... I can do a lot of my own language, but for English, my language is a problem... my niece is in the choir but they don't ask her to do anything else.... my son does do things because like it he grew up here...they thinking I don't speak good enough so they never ask”

Race and place are the most salient dimensions in Anne's lived experience in Halifax She is a visible minority and lives in Halifax; the most homogeneous part of the country. As a result of her looks, accent, and the history of the region, she 'felt' the discrimination. Had she chosen to live in a larger metropolis, where there are more people of her ethnicity, her experience would most likely have been different.

Olga, Sarah, George, Gary, Jake, and Barbara overtly stated that belonging to an organization increased their sense of belonging. Barbara was referring to belonging to her ethnic organization and that the membership provided her the occasion to connect with others of her ethnicity through food, music, and dance. "...connection to my moods, like the Africans, the Ghanaians in particular... I get friendship from them ... basically those are the two main things ... Socialization with people from my same culture.”

It does not appear that any variable, gender, class, or race of the intersectionality theory is at play here, but rather the intent to stay as she had entered Halifax as a student planning on returning to her country of origin. This is an important variable as sojourners, or those who do not intend to stay for extended periods of time, tend to focus their “attention and energies on their homeland” (Bloemmraad, 2010).

Similarly Gary became a member of his ethnic society for the connection with fellow Russians. It was not to become more integrated into the wider society. Place, gender, race and gender are not salient for Gary either as he did not feel discrimination like Anne did, but rather attributed his lack of integration to his overriding sense of connection to his country of origin that were not impacted by the climate in which he found himself.

In contrast, Olga indicated that her membership in the Russian organization presented the chance to connect with both those of her background and to others in the wider society. Sarah felt her tenure on the school board helped her form a connection to the general population.

Home:

The participants were asked where they felt “home” was and Anne, Jake, George, Joe, and Oleana felt that Halifax was now their home. Likewise, Sarah has mixed feelings about where home really is now.

“...if you look outside and inside, from outside I cannot think of living anywhere else than Canada, but I have no intention of going back to Turkey, or any other country, I love it here, I love the way things work, my kids are here, obviously they are not going anywhere but. When I look inside, the things that make me, are not Canadian; they are Turkish, so I do feel that I have roots there, but now I passed the point of return this is my home.

Gary on the other hand is very clear that HALIFAX is not home:

“Probably home is not here, no. This is really safe and comfortable place and friendly place but not home for me...”

Russia was, and is still, where he considers his home to be. Like Gary, Barbara feels her home is in her of country of origin, but unlike Gary, Barbara believes that could change with time and changes in circumstances. She is now becoming a landed immigrant and is open to having things change in her life that may result in her staying in Canada permanently.

“That evolved ... I found myself taking on landed immigrant status, so who knows what will happen ... I will take on the citizenship and something might happen and I will not go back home ...right now I intend to go back home in a year. Within that span of time anything can happen. I can change...so it evolves... If I find myself being involved through my day to day activities ... I can get a job...I can meet somebody from Ghana or here that I want to marry ... they might not readily want to go back to Ghana or wherever and that means by one way or the other, by default I'm here ... there are no strings that I am tied to Ghana”

Barbara offered the following insight as to why some immigrants feel their home is in the host country and why others never do:

“Some people call Canada home by default, for instance, they find all their kids here and don't know anybody left in Ghana, so they end up bringing up their kids here and they make friends from this mainstream society and it become difficult to move back home not knowing what will happen to their kids, will they be ok when they marry and leave home .They may think that now that my kids are grown they can go back home knowing that even if things do not work out in terms of work, they will be getting remittances from their kids. Some people stay because the privileges the society offers them ... there are a lot of things that they have to renegotiate so they would rather stay here than go back home and start from scratch. Those who have stayed have negotiated their lives in a way that works. They have to make it work but to do so you have to unlearn all the things you have learned and forget the things you have learned in Canada. If you are going to try to live the same way as you did in Canada you are going to be frustrated like the sense of time...if you move back home you have to forget that. If you stayed here 50 years that is how are you going to navigate your future there, you have to start over, even your pension; it is difficult that way. So this becomes home by default.”

The process of transferring the feelings of home from one location to another takes time for some of the participants yet was instant for others. For some, the realization that “home” had shifted to their host country without them even taking notice came when they returned to their country of origin. Anne returned to Vietnam after leaving ten years prior and this is how she describes that pivotal moment:

“Well probably have to be at least 10 years. I escaped Vietnam and went to Malaysia, and I came to live here. I remember the first trip. I went to Vietnam I was sure here was my home I was in the middle of something but when I came home I knew this was my home. I found freedom. I don’t have back there. I have to follow whatever they say ... the government...my parents... I’m here. It’s a freedom country...”

Joe made the transition before he even left his of country of origin:

“It changed when we moved to Canada, because we apply for to move to Canada and the day I left to come to Canada that was it”

Wendy: “When you landed you decided this was home?”

Joe: “We decided before we came. When we write letter to the government to immigrate to Canada, we decided would be Canadians and that would be our home. For sure that would be our home.”

Carnes (2000) argues that “immigrants and their descendants often feel a sense of loyalty and attachment to the country of origin, regardless of whether they retain legal standing as citizens there” (p 167). Jane feels home is in both her of country of origin and the host country:

“It’s less home, but still because there is still family there, all the time you are thinking about them and you know some part of you want it to be there, some part of you. You know you have to take care of family there and here. I can’t say it is equally split, you know one part of it split and have both sides of it...here is more like home than over there now with connections to our kids and new life here”

Barbara does not expect to stay in Canada; therefore she does not anticipate her feelings of home will alter.

Gary does not consider HALIFAX is his home despite the fact that he feels welcomed by locals.

“I still feel the same as when I came here even though it is really a friendly and comfortable place and easy to live and make business. But the feeling of home for me is those places I lived before”

Wendy: “Is there anything that Canadians have done or can do to change that?”

Gary: “Oh, no, there is nothing.”

All the participants were asked how often they returned to their country of origin, and on average they returned every 2 to 3 years. Anne only returned to Vietnam 3 times in 27 years, and in contrast, Barbara visited her home yearly. Gary has returned to the Ukraine every four years.

All participants revealed that they were in constant contact with family and friends in their country of origin on a weekly, if not daily basis via the telephone or over the internet. Nine of the ten participants had some network connection to the region and chose to move to the area as a result of that connection. Unlike the majority of immigrants, they all chose to settle in Halifax instead of the larger major centers in Canada. They are following the trend to remain in the city of destination except for perhaps two probably because their occupation may take them from the area.

While the literature states that women tend to the kin-work to keep families together transnationally, both the male and female participants in this study talk about their connections with those remaining in their country of origin. All, but one of the participants have been able to return to their country of origin on a yearly basis or every other year. Only Anne is unable to return to her of country of origin on a frequent basis due to her class position as her income does not permit her to make the expensive journey. In contrast, Barbara is able to return to her of country of origin on a yearly basis because

her class positions in both her of country of origin and her host country provide her with the financial resources required.

When the participants were queried about social networks that were established in Halifax before their arrival Anne noted that her only connection was her sister.

Barbara and Sarah had no pre-established network of friends or family upon their arrival in Halifax. Other than Anne, Jake is the only other participant who did have relatives already settled in Halifax. The remaining four participants knew at least one couple living in Halifax before they made the decision to immigrate.

George indicated that friends residing in Halifax influenced his decision to move to the area when he immigrated with his family.

“...I did I have a couple of friends that helped me when I came over ... we came in particular to Halifax, not Canada, but Halifax for sure. We had friends in the province, not necessarily in Halifax; it did influence my decision, our decision...”

Anne now enjoys a wide network of friends from various ethnic backgrounds, not just fellow nationals, yet the rest considered their circle of close friends to generally only include fellow nationals, with others in the outer circles of friendship.

When asked about his closest friends, George replied:

“Same as me, yes, I would say generally they would be the Russian speaking community and that is a generalized term because they are not necessarily Russian they can be of any nationality that lived in the former Soviet Union.”

In addition, he included non-Russians in his outer circles.

When asked about their ties to their country of origin, in terms of formal organizations, only Barbara maintained any. The ethnic organization she held a membership in did work within her of country of origin.

“They are helping development projects; they collect money, books and things that help in development back home and here too we have our ways of

helping around here”

Barbara expected to return to Ghana whereas Sarah and Olga felt they would stay in Canada but it would depend on the availability of appropriate work opportunities.

George echoes that sentiment:

“I cannot answer that question right away because just because of my work. It can take me to other places after ... it’s too far away I cannot plan that far...but for the time being we will live in Halifax.”

Jane felt the decision as to where she would live long-term would depend on her children: “I think so, it depends on children, if they move back home, we will move back home, if they not, we just stay here.”

The participants crossed all strata of class and race, and both genders, yet everyone but George related to home in roughly the same manner. They spoke to friends and family in their country of origin very frequently and visited as often as possible. The long-term plans reflected the intentions of length of stay upon arrival rather than the climate of Halifax. For example, Barbara intended to return but was now open to the possibility of remaining in Canada. George was not emotionally settled in Halifax but felt it had nothing to do with Halifax, but rather his connection to home. For some, the effect of place is more related to the circumstances they left and how possible their return was. Such is the case for Anne; she will remain in Halifax as she is no longer a citizen of her country of origin; therefore place is irrelevant in terms of her current location, but highly relevant in terms of returning. None indicated that their class had an effect on their connections to their country of origin.

Not only did Sarah allude to overt discrimination with her reference to her accent being an impediment to formal political participation, so too did Anne. Anne discussed her outward appearance as problematic in terms of her identity and participation in

informal politics. Anne became a Canadian citizen after she fled her country of origin of Vietnam, yet finds that others refer to her as Vietnamese despite that fact that she no longer holds a Vietnamese passport. Although she identifies herself as Canadian and she feels that her Canadian citizenship endows her with a sense of belonging, she does not feel that others see her as matching the “ideal” Canadian image no matter what her behaviors are. In her experience, her physical appearance is all that matters to fellow Canadians. She is the only visible minority participant who is a visible minority to comment on her appearance.

Anne belongs to a mainstream religious organization, along with her niece and nephew, both of whom are of the same ethnicity. She states that neither she nor her niece is asked to engage in the service and she attributes that to her accent. Her nephew on the other hand does participate in more public ways within the church and Anne surmises that it is a direct result of him being born in Halifax and therefore does not have the same accent. Presumably Anne’s class is irrelevant, as it is a religious organization, but perhaps gender plays a more important role than she realizes as her nephew would have the same physical characteristics as she and her niece. Therefore, her race is less salient than her gender in this instance. In a more immigrant-rich society she may not feel she is limited by her accent as she perceives she is currently.

In keeping with the literature review on how White immigrants are received, such as Prime Minister Macdonald’s comments on mongrel races, Gary, a White, Western European looking immigrant has not encountered discrimination from the local population. He feels that people are generally friendly and notes that there is less discrimination here than he is accustomed to as he indicates that people in Halifax do not

differentiate between European ethnicities, whereas, in his country of origin the differences are acknowledged. Again, place plays an integral part of Gary's lived experience, because he better fits the image of the ideal citizen. In contrast, Anne, who does not meet the standard of ideal, experiences discrimination based on her appearance. Within one of the most "White" regions of the country, Anne will always stand apart from the ideal image.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, this thesis touched on many issues relating to the current cohort of immigrants living in Halifax. It offers insight into the lives of ten immigrants living in Halifax that touch on their ways in which they may or may not engendering belonging to the region. The study was designed to explore the lived reality of immigrants in Halifax against the current literature regarding belonging through becoming an ideal Canadian citizen. I hope that the pieces of the 'crazy quilt' have come together to form a cohesive thesis.

Citizenship is one of those "pieces", as it pertains to the "ideal" citizen of Canada that forms the literature review of the thesis. This lofty goal was acknowledged by the participants indirectly when they discussed their participation in formal politics, or lack thereof. All of the participants were aware of their duty to do more than just vote in elections, yet only one woman did so. As the "ideal" Canadian citizen speaks with a version of English, the woman with the Turkish accent felt she could never be a successful political candidate for that very reason. She felt she did not fit the "ideal" model.

It would seem the federal government sees the “ideal” citizen as one who needs to fully participate in formal political activities, as was defined. The literature review suggested, and the research played out for the most part, immigrant women do not fit this idea. They appear to be systematically excluded from the political process at all entry points, from not being given the opportunity to perform more than just secretarial duties, to not being chosen as the candidate, to not being successfully elected by the general public who view “those” women as undesirable. However, these immigrant women have found a way to become the “ideal” citizen through another avenue.

An ideal citizen needs to perform civic duties as well, and just as the literature describes, the women in this study participated in informal politics as a way of accomplishing that. Some were involved in religious organizations in non-leadership roles, while another woman became involved in her children’s Parent Teacher’s Association in the same level of authority. The men tended to be involved sports or work related associations. The major divergence from the literature was the woman who was very interested in formal politics, despite the fact the literature suggests that women generally do not enter the formal political world, for various reasons. However; the only two participants expressed any interest in more than voting were women. One, as previously stated held herself back on account of her accent and the other woman was waiting to be asked to join the party; an invitation yet to come. For both of those women, gender was not a barrier to the political arena, but other dimensions of their lives were.

Intersectionality theory better encompasses the full lived experiences of women with the addition of place to race, gender, and class. The analysis revealed that place, and in this thesis it refers to the Halifax region of Atlantic Canada is an important to the

application of intersectionality theory. Both the resulting political and cultural dimensions as a result of the history of Halifax exerted an influence on the political participation of these individual immigrants residing in Halifax.

While race is the overt dimension, it is not always a salient factor in a lived experience; however, place played a significant role in the effect of race for one woman. She felt that she could never become an “ideal” Canadian as the local population did not see her as a Canadian. She felt her foreign accent excluded her from full participation in her church. However, race was not an issue for the White participants as none recounted any stories of having personally felt discrimination. In fact, one White participant stated that he felt that there was less discrimination towards people here than in his country of origin where there were distinctions made between people of what Canadians would consider the same race. This again speaks to the relevance of place in terms of race with the ‘place’ of Halifax is highly racialized as evidenced by the expulsion of Blacks in Africville. The racial discrimination the first participant felt and the second did not feel, is a result of the history of the region. The overview of the history of Canadian immigration in general, and the specific history of Halifax supported the addition of place to the theory of Intersectionality. One of the foundational pieces of this thesis is the history of the formation of the nation of Canada, its subsequent economic policies, and their impact on the Atlantic Canada region in general and the Halifax Regional Municipality specifically.

Although the population of Halifax has undergone much political change and is seeing an influx of non-White inhabitants, it appears that the old attitude of who belongs and who does not will linger for some time. For one participant, there is nothing fellow

Canadians can do to help foster that sense of belonging while for another the simple act of acceptance to the country made the participant feel that he/she belonged. According to Berckman, et al. (2000) “socially oriented behaviors, and the feelings of belonging to a meaningful social context, increase social well-being and reinforce both participation and civic engagement” (p 97). The information garnered from this study, in conjunction with other similar studies, can help foster an understanding of how immigrant women engender a sense of belonging to Halifax. However, there is no single answer as to how that can be accomplished.

Given the aforementioned analysis, it is my contention that participation in formal and/or informal political organizations can engender belonging as I found in my interviews of the ten participants. This study was designed to be a glimpse into the lived experience of these ten participants and their answers reflect a positive connection between engaging in the organizational life of Halifax and feelings of belonging to Halifax.

Limitations and Future Research:

As feminist researchers purport, every voice is important to hear and the participants in this study are as important as any, for so little is really known of how immigrants are carving out a sense of belonging. Even though this study included six women and four men, their lived experiences are not necessarily representative of the wider immigrant population in Halifax. I sought a diverse group of immigrants, but as I had to rely on the snowball technique, my sample is neither random nor definitive. I was not able to reach participants who do not speak English at a level high enough for me to

carry on a conversation. Phoenix (1994) states that few potential participants decline the invitation to join the study, even though some may participate reluctantly and this may well have been the case for me with some of my participants, thus further reducing the randomness and generalizability of the study.

Although I did interview immigrants from several geographical regions of the world, I was not able to reach any from South America or the Caribbean. The one woman from Africa who was involved in the study came to Halifax for educational purposes and had not intended to stay in Halifax after her graduation and therefore may have experienced the city differently should she have tried to find employment with her credentials from her country of origin.

This study is also affected by the time constraints within each interview. Szekely (1990) states that immigrant women are not without histories that affect their behaviors within Canada, but that each one is different as their "social and personal histories were formed outside of Canada" (p 129) and therefore different from each other. Time did not permit me to ask more in-depth questions about their lived experiences in their country of origin and how it affects their behaviours in Halifax. Luckily some participants were forthcoming with that information to a certain degree.

As a non-immigrant, my outsider position may have prevented the participants from truly revealing their thoughts on the questions. They may have perceived that as a member of the majority I may be offended by any claims of discrimination. I feel that my class, gender and geography did not place any restrictions on the information any participant may have offered. However, perhaps an immigrant would be able to access participants through their personal networks.

The research that was conducted for this study opened up some other areas of interest. As two of the participants stated that their involvement in the formal political arena is a direct result of their lived experiences in their country of origin, I recommend that future studies explore more deeply the relationship between the political climate of the country of origin and the host region. If agencies want to understand how they can more fully engage new citizens in the democratic process, they need to understand that relationship. If new citizens will not engage further than exercising their right to vote, it may not matter how much effort a government expends on encouraging more formal political participation by immigrants.

As globalization has an impact on citizenship, research in that direction would be beneficial. I would suggest that participants be questioned on how their identities and belonging have been affected by globalization. Does access to the country of heritage via the internet and/or increased access to international travel affect the sense of belonging by lessening the 'distance' between Halifax and their country of origin?

Women need to be able to enter the labour force at the same rate and level as men and then they will be able to personally have the resources needed to fulfill citizenship requirements (Lister, 2003) and become the ideal citizen. Currently the immigrant women in Halifax are prevented from doing so by the lack of recognition of their credentials; self-efficacy; and time resources; therefore full belonging to the wider society is difficult at best. More research into a possible connection would also be beneficial for those wanting to retain the immigrant population.

Much more research is needed before anyone can say, with any credibility, how immigrants engender a sense of belonging to the Halifax.

APPENDIX A: DIRECT CONTACT WITH PARTICIPANT

Telephone or email text (based on the assumption that the participant has prior knowledge of my study through an acquaintance)

Hello (Participant)

My name is Wendy Robinson. I spoke with..... who thought you may be interested in participating in a study I am conducting with immigrants living in Metro Halifax. I am interested in immigrant participation in various organizations such as political parties or religious groups. I will ask you a few questions to direct our conversation and with your permission, I will tape our time together. The interview will take approximately one hour and can be arranged to suit your schedule. The place we meet will be up to you. I am willing to come to your home or meet somewhere else we could talk privately. I will be in available to meet do you think you could meet during that time frame?

Thank you for taking the time to consider my offer. I look forward to meeting you on If you would like to get a hold of me in the meantime, for any reason, please feel free to contact me at : wjr@ns.sympatico.ca, (902) 639-1729, or PO Box 252, Stewiacke, NS, B0N 2J0

Thank you,
Wendy Robinson

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

**Participation Engendering Belonging:
A Study of Ten Immigrants Living in Halifax**

Wendy Robinson

Department of women's Studies

Saint Mary's University

Halifax, NS B3H 3C3

902-639-1729

wjr@ns.sympatico.ca

I am graduate student in the Department of Women's Studies at Saint Mary's University. As part of my Masters thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Evie Tastsoglou and Dr. Alexandra Dobrowolsky. I am inviting you to participate in my study. This study is meant to explore how immigrants participate in their community and political organizations and the benefits they derive from their participation.

This study involves an interview that will take approximately an hour and will ask questions regarding your non-work related activities. A sample question is: Have you participated in any community organizations? Participation in this study will allow you to contribute to academic research while giving you an opportunity to have your voice heard. There are no risks associated with participation in this study. **Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.**

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly **confidential and anonymous**. I will be asking you for a pseudonym that will be referred to through out the rest of the process. I will not use any other identifying information that would allow others to connect you to the study. Please do not put any identifying information on any of the forms. To protect individual identities, this consent form will be sealed in an envelope and stored separately. Furthermore, the results of this study will be presented as a group and no individual participants will be identified.

If you have any questions, please contact Wendy Robinson, the principal researcher, at (902) 639-1729, or wjr@ns.sympatico.ca. In addition, you may contact either Dr. Evie Tastsoglou at (Evangelia.Tastsoglou@smu.ca) or at 420-5884. Or Dr. Alexandra Dobrowolsky at (a.dobrowolsky@smu.ca) or at 420-5836.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about the study, you may contact Dr. Veronica Stinson, Chair of the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or 420-5728.

By signing this consent form, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

By signing this section of the consent form, you are indicating that you are giving your permission to audiotape the interview in its entirety.

Participant's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Please keep one copy of this form for your own records.

APPENDIX C: AIDE MÉMORIE

Biographic information

I would like to start by asking you a few questions that will help me to understand your situation and I just want to make sure I have the correct information, so please bear with me as I ask the following questions. And please remember that you do not have to answer anything that you are not comfortable with.

What pseudonym would you like me to refer to you as? _____

Your year of birth _____

Female _____ Male _____

Where were you born? _____

How long have you been living in Metro Halifax? _____

Have you lived elsewhere (besides Halifax and your place of birth) and for how long?

Are you married? _____

Do you have any dependants living with you? _____

What level of education have you achieved in your country of origin? _____

Are you working for pay outside of your home? _____

Would you say that your family income level is:

- category A (meaning under \$20,000, lower class) _____
- category B (meaning between \$20,000 and \$60,000, middle class) _____
- category C (over \$60,000, upper class) _____

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your experience in organizations in Metro Halifax. I appreciate any information you offer me so do not feel obligated to answer any questions that you are uncomfortable with.

1) Have you ever been involved in politics in Canada? If so, how?

Probes:

(a) Do you do things like:

- Vote in the elections
- Attend political meetings or rallies?

- Do you contribute money to a candidate or party
- Work on a campaign
- Ever try to persuade someone else to vote a certain way
- Ever felt strongly enough against or for something to protest in the public view, or privately by offering background support
- Belong to a political party or club? What does belonging to this organization offer you? For example: friendship, a chance to learn about Canadian politics and culture, connection with others in that community, connections for job opportunities, skills, self-confidence

(b) Did you ever consider becoming a candidate yourself in an election? If not, why not? If yes, how did you do?

2) Have you participated in any community organizations? If so, how?

Probes: a) did you for instance:

- pay dues only
- become an active member
- hold an office

b) what type of organization is/was it?

- ethnic
- political
- women specific groups
- school/childcare
- work related
- religious: are the members all from the same country of origin as you
- any other groups you can think of

c) what does belonging to this organization offer you? For example:

- For example: friendship, a chance to learn about Canadian politics and culture, connection with others in that community, connections for job opportunities, skills, self-confidence

3) How do you identify yourself in terms of your nationality?

4) What does the term citizenship mean to you?

5) What citizenship do you hold?

Probe: do you hold more than one? If so, from where?

6) Where do you feel your home is?

Probes: Has that changed in the last few years?

What made you feel that way?

7) How long have you been in Canada?

Probe: Do you have friends or family here?

8) How often do you visit your country of origin?

Probe: If not, why not?

9) What is your relationship with your country of origin?

Probes: - Do you have family and friends in your country of origin?

- Are you in contact with them often?

- Do you participate in any organizations that deal with issues in your country of origin? Such as political groups, charitable groups, other groups related to your country of origin

9) What is the ethnic background of your closest friends?

Probes: - same as you

- other ethnicities

- non-immigrant Canadians

10) Where do you plan to live in the long term?

Is there anything you would like to tell me that I have not asked about, but should know?

Thank you for your time and answers. You have been most helpful and I appreciate all that you have shared with me.

APPENDIX D: DEBRIEFING

Wendy Robinson
PO Box 252
Stewiacke, NS
BON 2J0
(902) 39-1729
wjr@ns.sympatico.ca

Thank you for participating in my research. I have asked you many personal questions and your candor is greatly appreciated.

The purpose of the study is to better understand the experience immigrants living in Metro-Halifax and how they create a sense of belonging to their new home. While there has been some research on immigrants in Halifax, there is little research on participation in formal and informal politics.

Again, thank you for your participation in this study. There is no reason to believe that anyone will experience anxiety or distress as a result of participation. However, in the unlikely event you do experience difficulties as a direct result of participating in my study you may contact me at (902) 639-1729 or wjr@ns.sympatico.ca. You may also contact either supervisor: Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou at (902) 420-5871 or at evie.tastsoglou@smu.ca; or Dr. Alexandra Dobrowolsky at (902) 420-5836 or a.dobrowolsky@smu.ca. You may also contact Dr. Veronica Stinson, Chair of the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or (902) 420-5728

The results of the study will be available after May 30, 2008. If you wish to have a copy sent directly to you, please let me know now, or anytime before May 30, 2009 through any of the following: email (immigrantwomen@hotmail.com), telephone (902-639-1729), or regular mail (see above).

Sincerely,

Wendy Robinson

APPENDIX E: DATA REQUEST FORM

**Participation Engendering Belonging:
A Study of Ten Immigrants Living in Halifax**

Wendy Robinson

Department of women's Studies

Saint Mary's University

Halifax, NS B3H 3C3

902-639-1729

wjr@ns.sympatico.ca

I _____ would like to have a copy of the results of
the study that will be available after May, 2009.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Contact information:

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TABLE 2: Selected Measures of Social Engagement

	Immigrated 1990-2003	Immigrated 1980-1989	Immigrated before 1980	Canadian- born
Sense of belong to Canada (% saying "very strong")	42.8	50.3	64.6	51.2
Sense of belonging to province of residence (% saying "very strong")	23.1	28.3	36.7	32.9
Sense of belonging to local community (% saying "very strong")	14.6	16.7	22.0	19.2
Involved in at least one organization* (% of persons aged 25-54)	48.6	53.6	63.1	65
Participated in political activities* (% of persons aged 25-54)	14.6	16.6	22.2	24.0
▪ Attended a public meeting				
▪ Signed a petition	12.2	22.0	29.3	24.0
▪ Contacted newspaper or politician	8.6	11.6	16.3	13.7

* During previous 12 months

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Labour and Business Centre using Statistics Canada, 2003 General Social Survey on Social Engagement, cycle 17: an overview of findings. Catalogue no. 89-598-XIE found in Lochhead, 2005.

Table 3: Population by selected ethnic origins, by census metropolitan areas
(2006 Census)

Halifax	
Total - Ethnic origin	369,455
British Isles origins	226,300
Other North American origins	141,725
Canadian	139,055
English	126,255
Scottish	110,085
Irish	90,670
European origins	85,500
French origins	69,425
French	66,415
Western European origins	56,480
German	44,625
Aboriginal origins	15,565
Dutch (Netherlands)	14,645
Southern European origins	13,910
Eastern European origins	13,045
North American Indian	12,740

Welsh	8,220
African origins	7,775
Arab origins	7,405
Northern European origins	7,110
British Isles, not included elsewhere	7,040
Italian	6,700
Scandinavian origins	6,495
East and Southeast Asian origins	6,030
Polish	5,375
Acadian	5,270
Ukrainian	4,030
Lebanese	3,895

Source: Statistics Canada (2010)



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