INDO-CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS' WELL-BEING: AN INTERSECTIONAL EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH ON AN UNDER-STUDIED POPULATION

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Abstract

There is growing research that is examining the impact of social-economic inequities on peoples'
health and well-being. While there is an increased focus on the pathways between inequities, and
health and well-being, there is a lack of research that specifically addresses how societal power
structures cause these inequities and how people's intersecting social identities are impacted
differently by power structures. Health research predominantly focuses on identity variables as
being categorical rather than interconnected. However, a categorical and disconnected focus
limits the understanding of how people's lived experiences are impacted by interconnected social
and economic inequities. With a social determinants of health (SDOH)-intersectional framework,
this qualitative study explored the pathways between Canadian power structures that result in
social-economic inequities, and how these inequities impact people's well-being on the basis of
their intersecting identities that include being a first-generation immigrant, a visible minority,
and of Indo-Caribbean ethnicity. Examining Indo-Caribbean immigrants' settlement experiences
with an intersectional lens will both deepen and broaden the understanding of how power
structures impact their settlement and well-being experiences. Individual interviews (n = 31) and
2 group interviews (n = 3; n = 2) were thematically analyzed. Themes relating to power-over,
power-with and power-within in the context of SDOH were identified. Power-over themes
included language challenges, deskilling and survival employment, and perceived discrimination.
Gender-specific power-over themes included skilled males' work-life imbalance and post-
secondary educated males' job promotion discrimination. Power-with and power-within themes
included settlement support from family and friends. Gender specific power-with and power-
within themes included male youths' sense of belonging through sport and female mothers'
sense of independence and accomplishment from work. These findings provide new

understanding regarding how nativist power structures result in the dismissal of Indo-Caribbean immigrants' cultural capital. Findings also indicate how Indo-Caribbean immigrants utilize power-with and power-within to socially progress in the face of these inequities. This study contributes to a shift from focusing on singular identity factors to simultaneously including intersecting multiple identities when examining inequities and well-being. This shift will contribute to new understandings and will serve to better inform policies that aim to reduce structural barriers.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Preface

For decades immigration has been a major contributor to Canada's steady population and economic growth as well as to the country's rich cultural diversity. In 2012/2013, immigration accounted for 67.7% of the nation's population growth (Bohnert, Chagnon, & Dion, 2015). Many immigrants indicate that their decision to immigrate to Canada was influenced by a desire to improve their quality of life (Asanin Dean & Wilson, 2008; Elliott & Gillie, 1998; Statistics Canada, 2007). With little population growth due to natural increases, it is predicted that immigration will continue to be the primary contributor behind Canada's population growth (Bohnert et al., 2015). Due to the significant and rapid increase in immigration to Canada, research will be needed to examine what factors contribute to ensuring the optimal settlement and well-being experiences of Canadian immigrants. Research in this area will serve to inform policies that aim to foster a socially cohesive society that promotes the well-being of all its people, promotes a sense of belonging and trust, and protects against exclusion and marginalization.

There has been growing research examining the settlement experiences of immigrants in Canada and the impact of settlement on immigrants' well-being. Findings show that upon arrival to Canada, immigrants often experience settlement challenges including: finding and securing work opportunities in their field of experience; acknowledgement of their education credentials; acquiring financial stability; adjusting to language, culture and customs; coping with the separation from family, friends and cultural experiences from their native country; and

discrimination. When immigrants leave their home country they leave behind familiar cultural norms (e.g., language, food, values and beliefs, and habits or norms of daily living) and relationships. Adjusting to their new environment in their receiving country often requires having to adjust to new cultural norms and developing new relationships. This adjustment can result in changes to immigrants' well-being as the process of settlement is considered a major life event that involves stress and challenges (Guruge, Thomson, & Seifi, 2015).

The social determinants of health (SDOH) literature has shown that social and economic inequities can negatively impact people's well-being. However, while the SDOH literature provides a pathway between social-economic-environmental inequities and negative well-being experiences it does not specifically address societal power mechanisms that drive these inequities. The SDOH framework also does not examine how people respond to these inequities.

Intersectionality is a framework that stems from the examination of how societal power structures impact people on the basis of their multiple intersecting social identity characteristics (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender, age, education level, immigration status, occupation etc.). The intersectional framework focuses on causal mechanisms between power structures and people's lived experiences. This framework seeks to steer the mainstream focus on fixed and singular identity variables such as race, ethnicity, gender, age etc. when examining lived experiences to including an intersecting multiple social identity (otherwise referred to as an intra-categorical) focus. Importantly, this framework does not seek to merely highlight differences among people's lived experiences due to their differing social identities. Rather, it aims to expand the perspective and narrative that power structures and inequities do not impact people similarly due to fixed

singular social identity factors but rather impacts people uniquely due to their intersecting social identities.

Using a SDOH-intersectional lens, this qualitative study explored the settlement and well-being experiences of an under-studied and under-recognized immigrant group in Canada, Indo-Caribbean immigrants. This study offers a unique contribution to the immigrant and well-being literature by considering the power-mechanisms that operate on Indo-Caribbean immigrants' multiple intersecting social identities. By utilizing a dual lens, this study addresses the limitations of the SDOH framework and it expands the examination of inequities to consider multiple intersecting identities. For Indo-Caribbean immigrants, their multiple intersecting identities include (but are not limited to) being a first-generation immigrant, a visible minority, and of Indo-Caribbean ethnicity. The inclusion of an intersecting focus on multiple identity factors is an important approach because a singular identity focus (e.g., being an immigrant or being a visible-minority) limits the understanding of how people's lived experiences are impacted on multiple pathways. Examining these people's settlement experiences with an intersectional lens will serve to both deepen and broaden the understanding of the how structural barriers impact their lives and what policy considerations need to be considered to appropriately address these structural barriers. Hence, an intersectional focus serves to advance knowledge and advocacy of the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community in Canada.

1.2 Social Determinants of Health

Traditionally there has been a focus on linking individual-level health behaviours (e.g., diet and lifestyle) and characteristics (e.g., genetics, age, etc.) to health and well-being. However, over

the last few decades the SDOH framework has been applied to examine how people's living

conditions (which are influenced by social-economic policies) impact their health and well-

being. Since its original application, which considered income stratification and health and well-

being outcomes, SDOH have expanded to include other social factors such as social exclusion,

employment, education, gender, ethnicity and housing conditions.

At its core, the SDOH framework highlights how unfair economic arrangements and poor social

policies create living conditions that place segments of the population at an disadvantage and

these disadvantages are likely to negatively impact their health and well-being (Commission on

Social Determinants of Health, 2008). For example, SDOH literature indicates that financially

secure adults have a decreased risk of depression (Kim & Chin, 2011; Samuelsson, McCamish-

Svensson, Hagberg, Sundstrom, & Dehlin, 2005) while older adults who are economically

disadvantaged are at a greater risk of experiencing depression (Fiske, Wetherell, & Gatz, 2009;

Jang, Chiriboga, Kim, & Phillips, 2008; Kim & Chin, 2011; Mojtabai & Olfson, 2004). Socio-

economic pathways have been suggested as plausible mechanisms that negatively impact

people's health and well-being (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014). For example, it has been suggested

that poverty and material deficits can prevent access to high value nutritional food and this

inaccessibility increases the likelihood of consuming poorer food choices and in turn increases

the susceptibility to longer term negative physiological health conditions (Burgess, 2016; Faught,

Williams, Willows, Asbridge, & Veugelers, 2017; Li, Dachner, & Tarasuk, 2016). Lower socio-

economic status has also been linked to increased stress and decreased access to social resources

that increase the likelihood of poorer psychological conditions (Matthews & Gallo, 2011).

1.2.1 Social exclusion as a social determinant of health.

Canada's population has been undergoing demographic change due to increased immigration that serves to sustain the country's economic growth. With an increasing demographically diverse population, policymakers will be required to address social cohesion and social exclusion. Social exclusion occurs when there is unequal access to social, cultural, economic and political resources. When people are socially excluded, the result is marginalized people and unequal power relations between groups in society (Galabuzi, 2009). Social exclusion is considered a SDOH because it is linked to poorer living conditions that are in turn linked to poorer health experiences. People who are socially excluded have higher rates of unemployment, are more likely to live in poverty, experience more barriers to accessing education, and report poorer mental and physical health (Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013; Toye, 2007). Discrimination is a form of social exclusion. In Canada, visible minority immigrants are also more likely to report experiences of discrimination than non-visible minority immigrants (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013; Toye, 2007).

1.2.1.1 Employment exclusion encountered by visible-minority immigrants in Canada. Economic exclusion is a form of social exclusion and occurs when individuals do not have access to economic resources such as good employment opportunities (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010). Access to good employment is considered a SDOH but not all individuals have equal opportunities to access good employment. Many individuals are prevented from applying for stable and good jobs by policies that emphasize Canadian work experience and educational credentials (Lamba, 2008; Sakamoto, Chin, & Young, 2010). These policies provide access to

good employment for some while for others these policies function as barriers to accessing good work and result in people having little choice but to seek precarious unstable employment. The presence of such labour policies results in segments of the population that become more susceptible to being unemployed, underemployed and entering poverty, and poverty is linked to poorer health and well-being experiences.

Research indicates that visible minorities (also referred to as racialized groups) living in Canada fare worse than non-visible minorities with regards to income, labour market participation and experiences of discrimination (Galabuzi, 2006; Senate Committee On Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013; Toye, 2007). Canadian immigrants are twice as likely to be unemployed, and when employed they earn half as much as the average Canadian and are more likely to have restricted Employment Insurance (Senate Committee On Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Visible-minority immigrants are even more likely to be unemployed (Senate Committee On Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Visible-minority immigrants are more likely to fill low-income jobs (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005), are less represented in the high-income sector, and are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed when compared to the Canadian population as a whole (Galabuzi, 2001, 2005; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013; Ng, Wilkins, Gendron, & Berthelot, 2005). Visible minorities earn 81.4 cents for every dollar paid to non-visible minority earners (Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Block and Galabuzi (2011) have suggested that the persistent employment inequities experienced by racialized people in Canada is suggestive of a societal 'colour code' that blocks them from accessing employment and earning potentials that are available to non-racialized Canadians.

Lower income, unemployment and precarious work conditions are all pathways that lead to poverty and racialized immigrants are more likely to experience all three of these conditions compared to non-racialized Canadians (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Precarious employment and lower income earnings also force people to work multiple jobs and longer hours which have negative impacts on mental and physical health and social relationships (Benach et al., 2014). Studies show that low income and low status occupational position are also associated with higher levels of mortality and morbidity (Mackenbach & Bakker, 2002; Smith, Blane, & Bartley, 1994), and chronic conditions such as adult-diabetes, respiratory and cardiovascular diseases (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010). Moreover, living with chronic diseases increases household expenditures, decreases the ability to work and worsens already existing poverty (Elmslie, 2012).

1.3 Power – the driver behind social inequities

Although governing policies have sought to promote social cohesion, social exclusion remains a pervasive issue, particularly for newcomers to Canada (Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Reports of discrimination against work experience and education credentials have been cited as reasons for the high rates of unemployment among newcomers (Labonté et al., 2015; Papillon, 2002). Promoting income distribution, social institutions and social capital are objectives geared toward establishing social cohesion but why does social exclusion remain a major barrier for some? To understand this issue an examination of how unequal relations of power between groups of people in society are sustained is required.

1.3.1 Power-over – hierarchical stratifications on the basis of socio-economic positions.

The Commission of Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) framework that was developed in part from the work of Diderichsen, Evans, and Whitehead (2001) applies a social causation perspective that identifies structural determinants as drivers that create and reinforce socio-economic stratifications. These socio-economic stratifications function to categorize individuals in society on the basis of their socio-economic status, or in other words, their social location. These stratifications create a hierarchy wherein some people will experience more social and economic advantages compared to others due to their social location (that is determined by their race, ethnicity, gender, social class, income level, occupational status, educational achievement and ability, to list a few). Socio-economic stratifications result in "systematically unequal distribution of power, prestige and resources among groups in society" (Solar & Irwin, 2010, p. 23). People who are situated higher in the socio-economic hierarchy have more power than those who are situated in a lower position. Power can come in the form of having more access and influence in shaping social, economic and political policies. When there is unequal access and influence in shaping policies that function to determine people's living conditions, this results in policies that create inequities in living conditions. Those who have power to influence their living conditions seek to maintain this socio-economic advantage while those who do not have power to shape policies continue to experience disadvantages, for example, in terms of accessing good income earnings, employment opportunities and access to good health care (Solar & Irwin, 2010). This unequal power dynamic reinforces the existence of 'power-over' structures (Rowlands, 1997) that exist through socio-economic stratifications. Power-over

structures form when "an actor or group achieves its strategic ends by determining the behaviour of another actor or group " (Solar & Irwin, 2010, p. 21) and is systematically reproduced by economic, political and social policies (Rowlands, 1997).

1.4 Nativism – a 'power over' driver behind socio-economic stratification in Canada

Nativism has been identified as a societal driver for socio-economic stratification that serves to create a hierarchical group order. It is an umbrella term that describes the attempt to make dominant a core culture, ethnicity and religion (Katerberg, 1995). One of the primary functions of nativism is to distinguish those who are inside (i.e. a dominant social group) from those who are from the outside (i.e. minority social group(s)) and are considered foreign (Galindo & Vigil, 2006). In Canada nativism functions to protect and favour Anglo culture and institutions from the threat of exposure to immigrant's culture. By creating distinctions between a dominant culture and minority cultures, nativism marginalizes minorities into a singular category as the 'other'. It is exclusionary, produces power divisions, and creates socio-economic divisions that maintain the dominant group status and serves as a form of social control (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Although power divisions based on preserving Anglo culture and institutions have contributed to systemic racism and other forms of social exclusion, the discussion of nativism as a driving force behind these systemic issues has not been adequately addressed in the media, particularly in the context of systemic racism, and thus continues to elude mainstream public attention (Galindo & Vigil, 2006). The distinction between nativism and racism is also important, as nativism promotes assimilation into the dominant culture (e.g. not accepting foreign traits such as

languages other than English) while racism functions to systematically exclude or lower the

social status of groups who are deemed to be inferior. This is not to say that nativism can not be

considered racism, as nativism focuses on establishing a dominant racial ideal (Galindo & Vigil,

2006).

1.4.1 Institutionalized cultural capital – nativism in action.

Although immigration is necessary to maintain Canada's population and economic growth, the

underlying covert influences from nativism are seen in the form of policies that promote and

standardize Anglo ideals such as language, education, cultural practices and economic customs.

These policies promote deculturation of the 'other's' culture and promotion of the dominant

culture (Wiley & Wright, 2004). Although it is socially not acceptable to exclude people on the

basis of race, it is still socially acceptable to exclude people on the basis of their cultural capital

(Akkaymak, 2017; Bauder, 2003; Lai, Shankar, & Khalema, 2017). The exclusion of

immigrants' cultural capital can be seen when Canadian work experience and education

credentials are preferred and in some cases insisted upon (Akkaymak, 2017; Lai et al., 2017;

Lamba, 2008; Sakamoto et al., 2010). The continuing practice of excluding immigrants' cultural

capital reinforces the dominant group's status and ideals and has been proposed to be an attempt

from the dominant culture to maintain power (Bauder, 2003).

In the social literature, the term 'capital' is generally applied to describe non-monetary assets

such as knowledge, skills, work experiences and social resources that a person has accumulated.

These forms of capital facilitate access to social opportunities such as good employment and

income, and good education. Depending on the context, the terms human capital and social

capital are often used when considering an individual's non-monetary assets. Importantly, once acquired, these forms of capital can not be separated from the individual (Becker, 1994). Although a person's accumulated capital should reflect their access to social opportunities, growing evidence indicates that inequities exist in the acknowledgement of capital in terms of acquiring employment, particularly for newcomers and immigrants. Canadian research has shown that although the level of education of immigrants has increased over the past several decades, their level of education does not reflect their labour-market performance (Akbari, 1999; Bauder, 2003; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Boyd & Vickers, 2000; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Ley, 1999; Reitz, 2001a, 2001b; Thomas, 2000).

Harald Bauder (2003) proposed a theoretical position to address the non-recognition of foreign credentials and the systematic exclusion of immigrant workers from accessing higher employment positions in the labour market. Bauder's position builds on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of institutionalized cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) described institutionalized cultural capital as cultural competence that was originally recognized via the possession of educational credentials in France. According to Bourdieu (1986), education credentials were used pre-war to hierarchically stratify the working class from the upper class and this stratification prevented the working class for accessing upper labour-market segments. However, after World War II, education became increasingly accessible to the working class and cultural capital shifted from education attainment to access to the fine arts, sports, language and etiquette to reinforce stratifications between the working and upper classes.

Bauder (2003) describes how shifts in institutionalized cultural capital have also occurred in the Canadian labour-market landscape. These shifts have occurred in the context of immigration. Although immigrants possess education credentials from their native countries, these education credentials and work experiences have been excluded by Canadian institutions and not recognized as valid. Bauder (2003) suggests that the lack of recognition of foreign cultural capital is an attempt to create hierarchical divisions that stratify immigrants from Canadian-born and Canadian educated workers. The stratification between foreign and Canadian education and work credentials prevents immigrants from *accessing* opportunities to work in upper labour-market segments. Using findings from Thomas (2000), Bauder (2003) further notes that stratification also exists between foreign education and work credentials for immigrants who immigrate from different places of origin, hence not all immigrants' cultural capital is interpreted similarly or equally in Canada. The stratification of immigrants' cultural capital exemplifies the covert underpinnings of nativism that serves to preserve the 'prestige' of the dominant culture's standards. Recent studies have applied and/or provided support for Bauder's conceptual framework that describe how systematic institutional practices assign lesser values to some immigrants' cultural capital and in the process of doing so excludes these individuals from appropriate employment opportunities with regards to their work and education credentials (Akkaymak, 2017; Föbker & Imani, 2017; Lai et al., 2017; Wessendorf, 2018).

1.5 Intersectionality in the context of Social Determinants of Health Inequities

As noted in the previous sections, social inequities exist among different sections of the Canadian population and these social inequities will have varying impacts on the well-being of those that are negatively impacted. Newcomers and particularly visible-minority immigrants are

susceptible to social inequities such as social exclusion. However, lumping 'newcomers' and 'visible-minority' immigrants into homogenous or singular categories ignores the diversity or heterogenous composition within these groups. Not all newcomers and not all visible-minority immigrants will encounter similar social and economic barriers, nor will they be similarly impacted by these barriers.

The intersectionality framework acknowledges that power hierarchies exist that produce social inequities and that these inequities will have differing impacts on individuals based on their socially constructed identities. For example, a newcomer from England who is a white male and speaks English-as-a-first-language may not be similarly impacted by social exclusion when compared to a black female from Ghana who speaks English-as-a second-language. In turn, the differing impact of social inequities based on people's unique social identities is likely to have differing impacts on their well-being. The intersectionality approach stresses that binary conceptualizations that compare peoples' experiences on the basis of singular identities (e.g., male vs. female, white vs. racialized, young vs. old) ignore how social inequities can simultaneously rather than additively impact people based on multiple categories of differences (Caiola, Docherty, Relf, & Barroso, 2014; Mullings & Schulz, 2006). The intersectional approach emphasizes the inclusion of multiple categories of analysis (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender, social class, age, etc.) to simultaneously examine how systems and processes of power and oppression function to create advantages/disadvantages to accessing resources (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2009).

While the SDOH framework provides an important lens in terms of considering how social forces drive health determinants, it does not explicitly address the causal mechanisms that create and perpetuate these inequities. The intersectional lens addresses this limitation of the SDOH framework by considering how power dynamics create the social and economic inequities and how these inequities in turn have differing impacts on people's well-being on the basis of their intersecting social identities (Hankivsky & Christoffersen, 2008). The SDOH framework does not recognize that people are impacted on the basis of multiple intersecting identities. Rather the SDOH framework focuses on singular fixed factors such as gender, race/ethnicity, or age, etc. The intersectional lens asserts that numerous social identity factors are simultaneously at play in terms of contributing to people's lived experiences, and in turn, it seeks to understand the interacting consequences that these factors have on multiple and interacting social identities (Hankivsky & Christoffersen, 2008). Hence, the intersectional focus seeks to expand the inequities narrative from focusing on fixed singular social identity factors to focusing on multiple intersecting social identity factors.

1.6 Aims of Current Study

Previous studies show that Canadian immigrants face unique challenges and that the nature of these challenges will differ based on a number of characteristics, including age, language, gender, race, ethnicity, education level and country of origin (to name a few). For example, it has been shown that racialized immigrants and female immigrants encounter different settlement challenges (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Dyck, 1995; Newbold, 2005; Newbold & Danforth, 2003; Oxman-Martinez, Abdool, & Loiselle-Léonard, 2000; Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005). In a 2015 scoping review of health research examining visible minority immigrants' health in Canada the

authors concluded that there is a lack of data regarding the general and mental health experiences of visible minorities and visible minority immigrants (Khan, Kobayashi, Lee, & Vang, 2015). Khan et al. suggest that more research that examines the settlement, health and well-being experiences of the diverse cultural immigrant groups in Canada is needed. However, there still is a paucity of research exploring how settlement experiences impact immigrants' well-being on the basis of their social identities.

The SDOH literature has shown that social forces that operate as structural barriers negatively impact people's well-being. Studies that have applied an intersectional lens to examine inequities have shown that experiences of social and economic disadvantages differ among people due to the varying interconnected pathways between structural barriers and the intersections of social identity factors. Using a SDOH-intersectional lens, this study explored the settlement and well-being experiences of an understudied group, namely, Indo-Caribbean immigrants, with the aim of better understanding how power structures drive social-economic inequities in this group and affect their well-being. There is now ample evidence of how inequities are structured for immigrants in Canada overall, laying the groundwork for a more nuanced exploration of the differences between and within immigrant groups. The inclusion of an intersecting focus on multiple identity factors is an important approach because a singular identity focus (e.g., being an immigrant or being a visible-minority) limits the understanding of how people's lived experiences are impacted on multiple pathways and may fail to recognize distinct experiences of underrepresented groups. For Indo-Caribbean immigrants, their multiple intersecting identities include (but are not limited to) being a first-generation immigrant, a visible minority, and of Indo-Caribbean ethnicity. Examining these people's settlement experiences with an

intersectional lens will both deepen and broaden the understanding of how power structures impact their settlement and well-being experiences and may highlight unique points of resistance and agency in response to these structural forces.

A core epistemological position of the intersectional approach is that knowledge development is derived from the position of the group that is being marginalized and not the dominant or majority group (Kelly, 2009). Health and well-being research in Western societies has traditionally applied a dominant Eurocentric approach to framing research objectives and constructing and applying methods with the intention of deriving insights. However, this approach can neglect to acknowledge the perspectives and experiences that are of *importance* to the marginalized populations that are being studied. The traditional approach is problematic because it assumes that diverse groups of people who are not part of the dominant group all have similar issues and experiences. It also assumes that Eurocentric perspectives and findings are relevant and applicable to diverse groups of people. These assumptions reflect a core underpinning of nativism that functions to discount the experiences of the 'other' in favour of the dominant group. To address limitations associated with this traditional Eurocentric approach to health and well-being research, the current study utilized an intersectional lens to develop an understanding of how structural forces uniquely shape Indo-Caribbean immigrants' settlement and well-being experiences.

1.6.1 Indo-Caribbean immigrants - history, culture and migration.

Before embarking on a study of Indo-Caribbean immigrants is it necessary to highlight who these people are. The term Caribbean defines a geographic region that comprises of multiple

nations and reflects a wide range of diversity in terms of languages, religion, political-social

institutions, ideologies, ancestral linage and phenotypes. However, research examining

Caribbean immigrants have lumped together this heterogeneous group of people under the

umbrella of Caribbean ethnicity. In the health research literature there has been a tendency for

Afro-Caribbean experiences or 'Black-Caribbean' experiences to be the reference point for

making generalizations about the Caribbean immigrant experience (Plaza, 2004). Unfortunately,

this reference point neglects Caribbean immigrants who identify with Indian, Chinese, Middle-

Eastern, Amerindian (Aboriginal), European or Mixed ancestral lineages.

The term 'Indo-Caribbean' is a socially constructed term that is used to refer to individuals who

have emigrated from the English-speaking Caribbean region and have ancestral linkages to South

Asia, particularly India. The origins of this term can be traced back to the 1980s when it began

appearing in books published in Toronto and community newspapers such as *Indo-Caribbean*

World (Lokaisingh-Meighoo, 1998). It is important to note that not all individuals with

Caribbean and South Asian ancestral lineages identify as Indo-Caribbean. There is variation with

the ethnic identification terms used, some of the other common terms include: West Indian, East-

Indian Caribbean, Mixed or Other.

Between 1838-1917, after the era of African slavery in the Caribbean, 400,000 to 500,000 Indian

indentured labourers were brought to work for very low wages on sugar and cocoa plantations in

the Caribbean geographic region and Guyana (an English-speaking country located in South

America but has social-cultural-economic-political ties to the English-speaking Caribbean

region; Razack, 2003). It is estimated that 55% of the Indians were shipped to Guyana, 33.5% to

Trinidad and the rest to Surinam, Martinique, Jamaica, and other West Indian countries (Khan, 2007). This wave of Indian indentureship drastically shifted the population demographics of Guyana and Trinidad, with Indians comprising half or more of the populations in each of these countries (Razack, 2003; Roopnarine, Krishnakumar, & Xu, 2009). When indentureship came to an end, 80% of the Indians remained in the Caribbean while the others returned to India (Roopnarine et al., 2009). Modern day Indian Caribbean identity reflects the process of "creolization". Creolization describes the process of cultural mixing between the diverse people of the Caribbean region and is reflective of social, economic and political dynamics (Plaza, 2004).

1.6.2 Indo-Caribbean immigrants in Canada.

Between 1946-1966, when Canada introduced the immigration point system, the percentage of all Caribbean immigrants was 1.1%. Between 1967-1988 during a period of immigration reform, the percentage of Caribbean immigrants increased to 8.3%, with the peak of Caribbean immigration occurring in the 1970s (Plaza, 2004; Razack, 2003). In the 2001 Census, 28% of Caribbean immigrants reported having arrived in the past 10 years. Some of the reasons given why Caribbean people immigrated to Canada include seeking better employment and education opportunities, and the aspiration for upward mobility. These were and continue to be the main motivations for these immigrants' move to Canada (Bleeker & Deonandan, 2016; Lokaisingh-Meighoo, 1998).

In the 2001 Census, 12% of immigrants from the Caribbean had university degrees, compared to 15% of the Canadian population overall, perhaps reflecting that more formal educational

opportunities might exist in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007). Despite their motivation to find

employment, unemployment rates were found to be higher among Caribbean immigrants than

among the Canadian population (9.3% versus 7.4%) and average incomes were about $4000

lower than the Canadian average (Statistics Canada, 2007). This is consistent with more recent

reports of barriers to employment reported by racialized immigrants (Block & Galabuzi, 2011;

Galabuzi, 2001, 2005). In 2002 the majority (82%) of all Caribbean immigrants indicated feeling

a strong sense of belonging to Canada but 41% also reported experiencing discrimination or

unfair treatment based on their ethnicity, race, religion, language or accent. Of those who had

experienced discrimination, 89% said that they felt it was based on their race or skin colour

(Statistics Canada, 2007).

Although Caribbean immigrants to Canada are heterogeneous groups, Canadian research of these

groups has been scarce (Plaza, 2004; Upadhya, 2011). Particularly, the migration, settlement and

acculturation experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants have generally been neglected in

Canadian research (Plaza, 2004; Upadhya, 2011). Between 1968-1975, 19% of Caribbean

immigrants in Canada identified as Indo-Caribbean people. However, estimated population

statistics for this group are inconsistent (Plaza, 2004). Examination of the 2006 Canadian Census

statistics shows that 25,180 Canadian immigrants living in Ontario identified as East Indian but

from the Caribbean region, and 21,875 of these immigrants identified as living in the Toronto

Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) (Statistics Canada, 2008). Examination of the 1996 Canadian

Census shows that 23,860 Canadian immigrants identified as East Indian from the Caribbean

region with 19,715 living in Ontario and 17,085 living in Toronto CMA (Statistics Canada,

1998). It is important to note that these statistics do not include Canadian immigrants identified

as South Asian or East Indian and emigrating from Guyana. Guyana is a country that is located

in South America but its people commonly claim a Caribbean identity. Statistics Canada does

not acknowledge the social-cultural and political affiliations of Guyana to the Caribbean

geographic region and hence categorizes data regarding people from Guyana under the

geographic South American category. In 2001, of all the people who reported being of Caribbean

origins living in Canada, 10% reported being Guyanese (Statistics Canada, 2007). Examination

of the 2006 Canadian Census shows that 27,320 immigrants who identified as Guyanese lived in

Ontario and of these, 23,835 lived in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2008).[1]

Due to phenotypic similarities, Indo-Caribbean immigrants are commonly classified as South

Asians (which is a broad category that does not capture the heterogenous makeup of the people

from that geographic region either). This is problematic because most Indo-Caribbean

immigrants do not consider themselves as South Asians (Birbalsingh, 1997; Plaza, 2004).

Moreover, Indo-Caribbean immigrants differ from South-Asian immigrants on socio-cultural-

political histories and experiences. For example, Indo-Caribbean immigrants do not share the

same migratory histories, social networks and social capital as immigrants from South Asian

countries (it is important to note that South Asian immigrants also have varying experiences

within this heterogenous group). Importantly, the classification of Indo-Caribbean immigrants as

South Asian immigrants on the basis of phenotypic features is demonstrative of how Canadian

society does not acknowledge the unique experiences and contributions of diverse people. This is

also a covert form of cultural marginalization and the discounting of experiences of diverse

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[1] Due to the voluntary reporting option of the 2011 long-form Canadian Census that includes the National Household Survey (NHS), Statistics Canada data from the 2011 Census was omitted because of the inability to ensure accurate population statistics.

people by grouping them in a broader category that is singularly defined by phenotypic features. Moreover, the underpinnings of nativism remain at play when cultural diversity of groups of people are categorized into singular categories that function to distinguish them from the dominant group.

As previously noted, Canadian research that has studied Caribbean immigrants usually includes people of African ancestral heritage. This is likely because immigrants of African-Caribbean heritage represent a larger population size when compared to Caribbean immigrants of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Researchers aim to capture data that serve to inform policies that will have an impact on a larger subset of the population, hence, from an economic perspective, it is more valuable to allocate research funding to examine the experiences of a larger subset of the Caribbean immigrant population. However, the result is that Caribbean immigrants with different social identities including Indo-Caribbean immigrants have been excluded from the literature that serves to inform policies. As the experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants are likely to be distinct based on their social identities, examining the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants will provide unique and new understandings that can serve to better inform employment and social policies that are geared towards addressing how nativist practices drive social and economic inequities, and how people's unique social identity locations are impacted by these structural barriers. Importantly, examining Indo-Caribbean immigrants' unique experiences that is based on their intersecting social identities will serve to deepen and broaden the understanding of the impact of structural barriers on their lives and factors that need to be considered to appropriately address oppressive policies. Hence, an intersectional focus will

serve to advance knowledge and advocacy of the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community in Canada.

1.6.3 Specific objectives.

As the experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants are likely to be distinct, an exploration of the settlement and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants will serve to better inform policies geared towards improving social inclusion and addressing social inequities. Employment and social exclusion were the focus of this study. Employment and social exclusion are considered to be central to SDOH. Unemployment increases the likelihood of chronic illness and psychosocial distress (Layte & Maître, 2010; Mathers & Schofield, 1998; Paul & Moser, 2009) and, in turn, negatively affects physical and mental health (Mathers & Schofield, 1998; Paul & Moser, 2009). Social exclusion such as the experience of perceived discrimination is associated with negative physical and mental health outcomes such as depression (Brown & Williams, 2000; Williams & Mohammed, 2009) and high blood pressure (Ryan, Gee, & Laflamme, 2006). Based on the links between employment, social exclusion and well-being, this study sought to explore these factors in the context of Indo-Caribbean immigrants' settlement experiences. Studies that have examined SDOH outcomes using survey data acquired by Statistics Canada and other larger population-based surveys generally do not address how the intersection of social identity (i.e. race, ethnicity, gender, age, class, etc.) factors are associated with employment and social exclusion experiences. As a result, the impact of intersecting demographic diversity is usually under-represented in the findings. There is research that suggests that people of different ethnic backgrounds are impacted differently by SDOH (Kobayashi, Prus, & Lin, 2008; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). This study aimed to address this specific limitation linked to larger survey

research by qualitatively exploring employment and discrimination experiences with an under-studied Indo-Caribbean immigrant population. Furthermore, being an Indo-Caribbean female immigrant, the researcher of this study explored the settlement and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants with the intention of providing a 'voice' for the perspectives and experiences of this under-recognized and under-studied group of people.

The following sub-questions addressed SDOH with respect to this group:

(1) What are the employment experiences of Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants?

(2) What are the social exclusion experiences of Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants?

The following sub-questions explored the well-being of Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants:

(3) What does the term well-being mean to Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants?

(4) What factors contribute to the well-being of Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants?

The intersectional approach considers the power and social identity dynamics that may be influencing these settlement experiences and well-being.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

The original proposed study followed a critical realist approach and incorporated a concurrent

mixed-methods design that included a qualitative semi-structured interview **(Appendix A)** and a

quantitative survey **(Appendix B)**. Quantitative and qualitative data collection was planned to

occur concurrently with the intention of utilizing the findings from both methods to develop a

comprehensive understanding of the settlement, health and well-being experiences of this group.

A critical realist mixed-method strategy was chosen to facilitate the development of a deeper or

more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of study (Bashkar, 1978; Eastwood,

Kemp, & Jalaludin, 2016; Ebenso et al., 2017; Fleetwood, 2005; Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010;

McEvoy & Richards, 2006; Modell, 2009; Sayer, 2000). A critical realist ontological perspective

assumes that reality is the interplay between stratified dimensions of a reality. These dimensions

include an *empirical* dimension of reality (this dimension can be experienced through emotions,

beliefs and values, and thus is influenced by varying contexts and perspectives), an *actual*

dimension of reality (this dimension may not necessarily be experienced), and a *real* dimension

of reality that consist of deep structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena. The causal

mechanisms of this real dimension can not be directly determined or measured but can be

inferred through empirical investigation and theory construction. (Bashkar, 1978; Eastwood et

al., 2016; Fleetwood, 2005; Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010; McEvoy & Richards, 2006; Modell,

2009; Sayer, 2000). Social hierarchal structures that create socio-economic power dynamics are

interpreted as the *real* dimension. Policies that are driven and reinforce the ideology behind

social structures are interpreted as the *actual* dimension. People's thoughts, beliefs and values

represent the *empirical* dimension. As an interplay between multiple dimensions occur, reality is

interpreted as an open process and is not fixed. Moreover, as this open process is shaped by varying contexts (e.g. emotions, beliefs and values), this variability can result in multiple perspectives. In following, the epistemological position of critical realism is to theorize causal relationships between the multiple dimensions by recognizing the interplay of contextual factors (e.g. multiple perspectives). Theory then becomes the medium for understanding the interplay between the dimensions (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010; Modell, 2009).

A mixed-method strategy aimed to explore the empirical dimension of reality experienced by Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Patterns in the data captured by the survey aimed to provide contextual information regarding intra-group differences (i.e. how factors such as length of residency, employment status, gender, religious affiliation, etc. are associated with physical and mental health, stress, quality of life, social support, coping, employment and social exclusion experiences). The original study sought to collect 400 survey responses (this sample size was identified as appropriate to conduct between-group analysis). The qualitative component aimed to capture contextual information regarding participants beliefs, emotions and values. Individual semi-structured interviews with 8-12 participants and 6 focus groups (5-8 persons per group) with Indo-Caribbean immigrants were incorporated into the original study proposal. In addition, 3 semi-structured interviews with community outreach workers were also planned.

A critical realist strategy applies abductive inquiry to develop a deeper understanding of the circumstances that contribute to theory development (Eastwood et al., 2016; Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010; McEvoy & Richards, 2006; Modell, 2009). Theorizing is interpreted as an on-going process because varying contexts will shape empirical reality, and this in turn will result in

continuous theory development. A mixed-method strategy facilitates abduction by considering data from multiple modes of inquiry that will contribute to on-going theory development (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010; Modell, 2009).

The current study does not incorporate the original proposed mixed-method design. Due to a low survey recruitment response (i.e. 26 surveys were completed during a 6-month recruitment period, well under the estimated projection of 400 surveys), the researcher opted to focus on conducting the semi-structured interviews and omitted the survey. Strategies for advertising the survey included utilizing social media, in-person pamphlet distribution and traditional poster methods. The researcher received permission from leaders of culturally-affiliated organizations including literacy circles, religious centers, cricket clubs, a local Indo-Caribbean community newspaper, an Indo-Caribbean cultural television program, and student groups at colleges and universities to advertise the study and the survey. The researcher also distributed study flyers that included survey information at coffee shops and shopping centers. As recruitment efforts did not achieve the projected target, the study was re-designed to include only a qualitative investigation. The qualitative investigation included 31 individual interviews and 2 smaller group interviews. Outreach worker interviews were carried out as planned. However, due to the inability of the outreach workers to generally or specifically discuss their working experiences with individuals from the Indo-Caribbean community the data obtained from these interviews were not included in the analysis.

2.1 Research Framework

The study applied a SDOH-intersectional framework to organize and interpret the analysis of the settlement and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants. This framework considers: (1) social-cultural-environmental factors that function as barriers to experiencing optimal living conditions and that impact people's well-being; and (2) the power dynamics at play that create these barriers and that have differing impact on peoples' lived experiences on the basis on their social identity. The SDOH lens considers the social-cultural-environmental factors that impact people's well-being. The intersectional lens focuses on how power dynamics create structural barriers that result in social inequities and how these inequities have differing impacts on people's lived experiences on the basis of the intersections of their social identities. Thus, the application of SDOH-intersectional framework facilitates the understanding of potential pathways and relationships that social determinants have on well-being experiences and how these social determinants are the result of macro-power dynamics that impact people differently based on their social identities (Caiola et al., 2014).

The decision to study Indo-Caribbean immigrants is driven by the intersectional lens. This lens acknowledges that not all immigrants will have similar settlement experiences due to differences in their social identities. This lens acknowledges that Indo-Caribbean immigrants experience a unique socially constructed identity. Macro-power dynamics will impact this unique social identity in differing ways when compared to other immigrant groups. The intersectional approach focuses on knowledge development of non-dominant, minority groups, and Indo-Caribbean immigrants, by virtue of their population statistics, are considered a minority immigrant group in Canada, thus the application of this lens is appropriate. Specifically, the study applied an intra-categorical intersectional approach. The intra-categorical approach focuses

on one social group (i.e. Indo-Caribbean immigrants) at the intersections of multiple identities (e.g. gender and social roles such as occupations, family roles etc.). This allows for deriving knowledge of intra-group differences as well as larger social forces that may be influencing these differences (Caiola et al., 2014).

2.2 Qualitative Design

Individual interviews as well as small group interviews (i.e. group size varied between 2-3 participants) were used to explore the settlement and well-being experiences of the participants. Semi-structured interviews were used to allow for flexibility within the defined interview schedule. Individual interviews and small group interviews were employed to facilitate the expression of personal ideas and experiences that may be difficult or personally/socially uncomfortable to express within a larger group context. Importantly, the study originally aimed to gather data from focus groups. Efforts from the researcher, as well as from community leaders associated with local religious and sport organizations were unfruitful in terms of recruiting participants to participate in focus groups. As a result, the focus group component of the study was not achieved.

2.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was utilized because it is a method for identifying and reporting patterns in the data (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis can involve a theoretical or deductive (i.e. top-down) approach to analysis. This approach is theoretically or analyst-driven and is influenced by pre-existing literature that informs the analytic process. Thematic analysis can also involve an inductive (i.e. bottom-up) approach that is data-driven. The inductive

approach is a process of coding the data without an attempt to fit the data into a pre-existing framework or theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

This research was theoretically driven at the level of design but inductively driven at the level of analysis. The conceptualization of this research was influenced by the SDOH literature as the aim was to identify social factors that impact settlement experiences that are known to be strong determinants of health. Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews, it could be argued that the themes that emerged from the interviews were influenced by a pre-existing framework and the researcher's study interests. However, during thematic analysis, an inductive data-driven approach was utilized with no emphasis on searching for themes that were related to the SDOH framework. Analysis focused on being inclusive to the data and identifying codes that consisted of frequently occurring words and statements with similar semantic meanings. Although the semi-structured interview approach influenced the data that were collected for analysis, the analysis was determined by the contents in the data. Themes were derived primarily from the data and were not specifically identified based on the SDOH framework. The intention of deriving themes was not to make claims relating to participants' experiences in the context of SDOH, rather the intention was to explore the themes that developed from participants' experiences of settlement and their experiences of well-being.

2.4 Interview Schedule

A semi-structured interview schedule **(Appendix C)** was used to allow for flexibility in terms of maintaining an in-depth exploration of participants' experiences while also focusing on the research questions (Charmez, 2006). Originally, data-collection involved the use of a semi-

structured interview that sought to collect information on the following: participants' settlement

experiences in terms of the challenges encountered, experiences of receiving assistance, social

experiences, and experiences and interpretations of health and well-being **(Appendix A)**. During

the pilot interviews with a male and female participant, the participants stated that the questions

were vague and difficult to respond to. The semi-structure interview was redeveloped based on

feedback from pilot interviews. Data from the pilot interviews were not included in the current

analysis. The participants in the current analysis were asked questions from the modified

interview schedule **(Appendix C)**. Additional probes were included throughout the data-

collection interview process. The inclusion of probes was informed by participants' responses

and participants' suggestions (i.e. participants in the current analysis). These probes were

included to elicit further detail from participants. Questions were designed to be open-ended and

prompts were used to acquire more detail. A conversational approach was used to carry out the

interviews which resulted in the questions and prompts being asked in a different order between

participants. The semi-structure interview schedule was used for the individual interviews and

for the group interviews.

2.5 Permission and Ethics

Ethics approval was granted by the York University Human Participant Review Committee

(Appendix D). The study adhered to the guidelines of the Tri-Council Policy Statement for

research involving humans.

2.5.1 Informed consent.

Written informed consent was received from all participants who participated in the in-person

interviews **(Appendix E & F)**. Verbal informed consent was received from all participants who

participated in the over-the-telephone interviews **(Appendix G)**. All informed consents were

received prior to the conduction of the interviews. All participants were informed that their

names in addition to all personally identifying information provided during the interviews would

be kept confidential.

2.6 Participants

    2.6.1 Selection criteria.

First generation Indo-Caribbean Canadian immigrants who were currently living in Canada for 3

months or more were recruited. The criterion for duration of time lived in Canada is based on the

3-month period, which is the minimum residency period required for new immigrants to obtain

government funded health insurance in Ontario (i.e. Ontario Health Insurance Plan - OHIP).

Indo-Caribbean participants are defined as individuals who self-identify with Indian

ancestry/heritage (i.e. ancestral lineage originating from South Asia) and whose birth and main

country of residence prior to immigrating to Canada includes one of the English-speaking

Caribbean nations (otherwise referred to as the West-Indies), which includes Guyana. All

participants were 18 years or older and had a good verbal command of the English language.

    2.6.2 Recruitment.

Recruitment occurred between July 2016 to October 2016 in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). A

purposive sampling design was utilized to recruit first generation Indo-Caribbean immigrants as

this demographic group was the focus of the current study. Purposive sampling is defined as

deliberately choosing participants with qualities that can contribute to answering the research question(s) and the researcher decides which participants can best contribute to this objective (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Specifically, a purposive sampling design was applied to intentionally recruit participants that represented Indo-Caribbean immigrants of varying genders (i.e. male and female), ages (i.e. 18 to 30 years, 31 to 65 years, and ≥ 66 years) and length of residency in Canada (i.e. ≤ 5 years of residency, 6 to 10 years of residency, and more than 11 years of residency). The aim of applying a purposive sampling design was to capture differences in settlement experiences that may have uniquely impacted individuals from the different gender, age and length of residency groups. The recruitment of individuals from these differing demographic categories was intended to facilitate intra-categorical intersectional comparisons between participants. Various recruitment strategies that included visiting public spaces in neighbourhoods that are known to have a Caribbean immigrant community were employed. Cricket clubs, mandirs and mosques that have Caribbean immigrant members, and student groups at universities and colleges were also contacted and visited. Shopping centers and coffee shops in the GTA neighbourhoods known to have a Caribbean community were canvassed and the researcher approached individuals informing them of the study. Acquaintances of the researcher who are Indo-Caribbean immigrants helped inform the researcher of shopping centers and cricket clubs that Indo-Caribbean immigrants frequented. Mandirs and mosques located in the GTA were contacted via email and/or telephone and were presented with information pertaining to the study. The presidents from a mandir and a mosque expressed interest in assisting with recruitment and invited the researcher to visit and recruit from the respective religious establishments. Study flyers were posted at the mandir and mosque and written information was handed out to individuals. During recruitment initiatives, potential participants

who were approached in-person were provided with written information pertaining to the study as well as a study consent form that included additional information pertaining to participants' confidentiality and privacy rights. Snowball recruitment methods and social media were also utilized to recruit individuals. Participants were asked if they had acquaintances that may be interested in participating and were asked to provide information about the study including contact email and telephone information to their acquaintances. Interview times and locations were arranged directly with participants. Some participants decided to be interviewed in person (n = 22), in which case interviews took place in coffee shops or at cricket clubs. Other participants preferred to be interviewed over the telephone (n = 14). All interview questions outlined in the semi-structured interview schedule **(Appendix C)** were asked during the in-person and telephone interviews. Although it is plausible that conducting interviews using two different formats (i.e. in-person and telephone) may have influenced the quality of participants' disclosure, the researcher did not detect noticeable differences in the content of disclosure with regards to the average length of interview time or topic(s) of focus. The researcher observed that the majority of telephone interviews were conducted with female participants who stated that they preferred being interviewed using the telephone format due to time/scheduling concerns. Additionally, the female participants who participated using the telephone format were recruited via referrals from previous interviewees and the initial contact regarding study participation for the majority of female participants was conducted using either telephone or email methods.

2.6.3 Participant demographics.

Details pertaining to the participants' demographics are outlined in table 1. Eighteen males and eighteen female interviews were analyzed for this research. Participants were asked about their gender and age to capture information regarding participant diversity.

Table 1: *Participant demographics*

Interview Number	Gender	Age (years)	Immigration Year	Immigration Age (years)	Country of Immigration	Type of Interview	Interview Length (minutes)	Current Vocational Status
I-01	Male	64	1974	22	Guyana	In-person	77	Employed –Unknown job sector*
I-02	Female	56	1974	13	Trinidad	In-person	88	Retired -Accounting
I-03	Male	35	2012	31	Guyana	In-person	26	Employed – Welder
I-04	Male	42	1984	10	Guyana	In-person	23	Employed – IT engineer
I-05	Male	27	2013	24	Guyana	In-person	37	Employed - Welder
I-06	Male	18	2012	14	Guyana	In-person	14	Full-time student – High school

I-07	Male	30	1999	11	Guyana	In-person	19	Employed – Unknown job sector
I-08	Male	23	2011	18	Trinidad	In-person	62	Employed - Mechanic
I-09	Male	40	1996	20	Trinidad	In-person	47	Self-employed - Carpenter
I-10	Female	48	1990	23	Guyana	In-person	27	Employed – Low skill factory work
I-11	Female	30	1991	06	Trinidad	In-person	47	Full-time student – Doctorate level
I-12	Male	60	1988	34	Trinidad	In-person	72	Retired – Skill/trade worker, factory environment
I-13	Male	60	1970	20	Guyana	In-person	34	Employed – Private sector (science) and academic
I-14	Female	70	1982	36	Guyana	In-person	29	Retired – Low skill factory work
I-15	Female	54	1979	17	Guyana	In-person	43	Employed – Mental health care worker, social services

I-16	Male	68	1969	21	Trinidad	In-person	62	Retired – Evaluator, banking
I-17	Female	26	2008	18	Guyana	Telephone	34	Stay-at-home mother
I-18	Male	73	1966	23	Trinidad	In-person	84	Retired – Elementary school teacher
I-19	Female	74	1974	34	Guyana	Telephone	45	Retired – Seamstress (factory work) and interior designer
I-20	Female	72	1968	23	Guyana	Telephone	44	Retired – Social worker
I-21	Female	79	1962	25	Trinidad	Telephone	56	Retired – Occupational therapist assistant
I-22	Female	38	1992	14	Guyana	Telephone	61	Employed – Administrator, government services
I-23	Female	60	1975	22	Guyana	Telephone	132	Self-employed – Consultant, human rights

I-24	Female	62	1975	21	Trinidad	Telephone	69	Employed – Accountant, private sector
I-25	Male	28	2002	11	Guyana	Telephone	66	Full-time student – Undergraduate level
I-26	Female	20	2009	12	Guyana	Telephone	43	Full-time student – Undergraduate level
I-27	Female	73	1972	26	Trinidad	Telephone	57	Retired - Nurse
I-28	Female	70	1968	21	Trinidad	Telephone	64	Retired – Small business owner, hairstylist
I-29	Female	74	1969	26	Trinidad	Telephone	82	Retired – Administrator, government services
I-30	Female	63	1969	16	Trinidad	Telephone	56	Employed – Elementary school teaching assistant
I-31	Female	73	1972	29	Guyana	Telephone	69	Retired – Nursing assistant for the elderly

FG-01	Male	61	1993	36	Trinidad	In-person	65	Employed – Electrical worker, factory environment
FG-01	Male	70	1991	45	Trinidad	In-person	65	Retired – Low skill factory work
FG-01	Male	80	1970	35	Trinidad	In-person	65	Retired – Mechanic, public transportation services
FG-02	Male	58	1989	31	Trinidad	In-person	94	Employed – Millwright, factory environment
FG-02	Male	59	1989	31	Trinidad	In-person	94	Employed – Electrician, factory environment

*The participant did not disclose his current occupational status during the interview. Participants were not explicitly asked about their current occupational status. Information regarding current occupational status was derived from participants' self-disclosure.

2.7 Data Collection

Prior to the individual interviews and focus groups and during the informed consent process, participants were informed that the interviews and group interviews would be audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim with the exception of transcribing names and other personally identifying information such as home addresses. Individual interviews (n = 31) and 2 group

interviews (n = 2; n = 3) were recorded with a digital voice recorder. The duration of the

individual interviews varied from 14 minutes to 132 minutes with an average duration of 54

minutes. The average duration of the group interviews was 80 minutes. The youngest participant

(age = 18yrs) completed the in-person interview in 14 minutes. Although all the interview

questions were asked, due to his limited employment experiences and brief interview response

style the interview length was shorter when compared to the other interviews.

2.7.1 Transcription.

Audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim with the grammar being

transcribed as it appeared in prose and reflecting the listening experience. This approach to

transcription was used following Potter and Wetherell (1987) convention that asserts the

semantic concept of speech is retained for analysis.

2.8 Theme Development

Thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used for analyzing the data. As

the two group interviews contained 2 and 3 participants respectively and the participants

responded to each of the questions in turn, it was decided that the group interviews would be

analyzed following the same analysis procedures used to analyze the individual interviews. The

process of identifying codes and themes was an iterative process and the constant comparison

method was utilized (Glaser, 1965). Codes were identified by frequently occurring words or

phrases that captured similar concepts. Themes were repeatedly re-checked against other

interviews to identify patterns and inconsistencies.

Analysis was an ongoing process that began during the interview stage. The researcher modified the semi-structure interview schedule to reflect patterns in responses that were identified during the pilot interviews and during the first 3 interviews. During the pilot interviews with a male and female participant, and due to reoccurring topics of discussion between participants, the semi-structure interview guide was restructured to also include experiences of employment, education (if applicable), and quality of life. Before and/or after interviews, the researcher wrote reflexivity notes reflecting questions, thoughts and observations relating to the recruitment process and the interview experiences. Interviews were transcribed in the order that they were carried out. During the transcription process, the researcher included margin notes that captured thoughts and areas of interest pertaining to reoccurring patterns in the data. This allowed the researcher to develop familiarity with the data and identify rudimentary ideas relating to possible themes. All transcripts were reread three times. After all the interviews were transcribed, the transcripts were converted into a spreadsheet format with interviewer questions appearing in one column and participants' responses appearing in the following adjacent column. The spreadsheet format was used to identify codes and themes. Repeating words and phrases were highlighted in the text and noted as codes in the column adjacent to interviewee responses. Based on the codes, themes were identified that represented the underlying meaning of the codes. Themes were noted in the column adjacent to the column containing codes. Coding was completed using an inductive approach and was driven by the data and not purposely driven by the research question or the SDOH research framework. This approach was used with the aim of not setting pre-identified boundaries for the data analysis, which may have constrained any themes from arising that strayed from the study's SDOH focus.

The codes were identified based on reoccurring patterns of consistencies and inconsistencies (including negative cases). Related codes were connected together to form themes. During the process of theme identification, the copy and paste function of the spreadsheet program was used to group codes under themed categories. When themes were identified for each of the interviews, another spreadsheet was created that consisted of rows of themes (with the codes) that came from all of the interviews. This 'master' spreadsheet was used to identify the similarly occurring themes from all of the interviews.

When themes were derived from each of the interviews, the interviews were separated into two gender categories, males and females. Gender has been shown to both influence and is also influenced by migration trends (Boyd, 1989; George & Chaze, 2009). Previous research also finds differences in males' and females' settlement and SDOH experiences (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005; Pottie, Ng, Spitzer, Mohammed, & Glazier, 2008). Once separated into gender categories, a 'male' spreadsheet was created that included all the themes (with codes) that were identified from all the male interviews. Similarly, a 'female' spreadsheet was created that included all the themes (with codes) that were identified from all the female interviews. A comparison of themes within gender was conducted to determine whether existing patterns occurred between the themes, gender and other socio-demographic variables.

2.9 Validity

Validity refers to the evaluation of quality, character and integrity of inferences that are made relative to a purpose or circumstance (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985). A critical realist concept of validity focuses on the relationship between the claim and the phenomenon of study rather than

focusing on the procedural design (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010). This approach to validity also considers alternative interpretations for which the claim is making. By exploring alternative interpretations, checks for validity threats (i.e. conclusion(s) that may be wrong or incomplete) are considered (Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2010).

2.9.1 Data rigor.

Over the past 2 decades, a qualitative methodological conservatism has emerged in the social sciences (Denzin & Giardina, 2008). Tracy (2010) argues this shift is related to governmental and funding agencies preference for evaluating validity, reliability and generalizability of findings. Due to this shift, qualitative researchers have sought to develop guidelines for achieving 'data rigor'. Data rigor refers to the strength of the research design (i.e. the quality of being thorough or accurate) and the appropriateness of the method to carry out the aim(s) of the research. The evaluation of data rigor considers the inquiry stages of research (Cypress, 2017) with the intention of determining the trustworthiness or the confidence that the readers have in the results (Billups, 2014; Cypress, 2017). *Credibility* (i.e. are the findings believable and do they capture a holistic representation of the phenomenon?), *transferability* (i.e. are the findings comparable for similar settings?), *dependability* (i.e. are the findings stable and consistent across conditions?), and *confirmability* (i.e. are there other ways to corroborate the results?) are overlapping concepts that have been applied to evaluate data rigor (Billups, 2014). Triangulation procedures (e.g. method triangulation, data triangulation and theory triangulation) for cross-checking data and interpretations, negative-cases, member checks, member reflections, purposive sampling, data audits, researcher reflexivity and bracketing are techniques used to achieve data rigor (Billups, 2014; Cypress, 2017; Tracy, 2010).

To strive for credibility, the researcher employed theory triangulation by including a SDOH-intersectional lens to provide multiple perspectives for data interpretation. Data-triangulation was utilized by incorporating findings from diverse demographic profiles of the participants. The researcher also strived for credibility by aiming to achieve category saturation from a diverse demographic sample (i.e. in terms of gender, age, social class). A purposive sampling method was employed to capture 36 interviews with participants from different community spaces and demographics. Literature regarding data saturation suggest category saturation can be achieved with 20 to 30 interviews (Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano, & Morales, 2007). Member-reflections were carried out to achieve data credibility with the aim of corroborating the findings and interpretations with the participants' experiences. After all the interviews were transcribed, the researcher contacted only the participants who had expressed interest (at the time of the interviews) in learning of the study's findings. Member reflections were obtained from 4 female participants and 3 male participants. These participants indicated that the findings appropriately reflected their experiences. During the interviews the researcher asked all the participants if they would be interested in receiving a copy of their interview transcripts and if they would be interested in providing accuracy feedback regarding the transcription and content of the interviews. However, all the participants expressed that they would not be interested in either receiving a copy of their transcripts or engaging in member checking of the accuracy of their transcripts.

Reflexivity also contributed to promoting data credibility by facilitating the integration of the researcher's pre-existing perspectives and biases with data analysis and interpretation. The use of

a semi-structured interview schedule facilitated transferability of findings by providing a

standard data capture method that can be used to compare findings from other similarly-focused

research. To strive for dependability and confirmability in terms of stability and consistency of

the findings and interpretations, the researcher transcribed all the interviews. Interviews were

transcribed in the order that they were carried out. After the interviews were transcribed the

researcher listened to all the interviews once over while cross-checking the transcribed data. All

transcripts were reread three times prior to and during thematic development. This process was

carried out to ensure that the transcribed data accurately reflected, verbatim, the audio-recorded

interviews. Although the data-set was not audited by an independent reviewer (which would

strengthen confirmability of the findings), the method of transcribing the data verbatim provides

a means of ensuring that the data can be corroborated by an independent source. Periodically

during thematic development, the researcher returned to the audio extracts of specific data items

to ensure accurate transcription of the audio data. The use of the constant comparison method

also promoted dependability of the data. This method served to capture the existence of negative

cases that may provide an alternative interpretation of the data.

2.10 Reflexivity

The researcher acknowledges her socio-cultural connection to the participants and has reflected

on her socio-cultural identity and motivations for conducting this study. Engaging in reflexivity

is the researcher's attempt to disclose how her experiences may contribute to the research focus

and knowledge development. As an Indo-Caribbean first-generation immigrant, the researcher

acknowledges the active role that she played in devising the research study and constructing the

interview questions. The position of a neutral observer cannot be claimed as the researcher's

previous experiences and current understandings were interconnected in the process of constructing the study and during the analysis. The researcher took reflexivity notes before and after conducting interviews and while analyzing the data. The purpose of the reflexivity notes was to assist the researcher in becoming aware of and identifying how her perspectives and experiences may have possibly contributed to the construction of the research and analysis. The researcher's reflexivity is discussed in Chapter 7.

The researcher's interest in exploring Indo-Caribbean immigrants' settlement and well-being developed from her background as being a first-generation Indo-Caribbean immigrant, and from her curiosity pertaining to the ways that Indo-Caribbean immigrants living in Canada navigated their settlement experiences. The researcher was also interested in exploring what well-being meant to Indo-Caribbean immigrants, how they experienced well-being and what contributed to their well-being. The interpretation of well-being may vary between different cultural groups and as SDOH pathways include psychological factors, it is important to identify how well-being is interpreted to better gage the pathways between SDOH and well-being for specific cultural groups. The researcher's educational background is grounded in clinical psychology, cultural psychology and health sciences. Her educational background has influenced her interest in understanding what factors contribute to experiences of fitting in or what factors contribute to a sense of belonging and what factors contribute to a sense of well-being. Studying the SDOH, the researcher became aware that not all individuals who are immigrants will have similar experiences of adjusting to life in a new country and that multiple factors can contribute to immigrants' settlement experiences and well-being outcomes. With the understanding that SDOH can have a differing impact on people based on their social-demographics, the researcher

believed it was important to ask questions pertaining to Indo-Caribbean immigrants' experiences as this is an under-explored population. Furthermore, the researcher believed that having conversations with people of similar cultural backgrounds would provide a unique opportunity to gain insight into how her experiences of living as an Indo-Caribbean immigrant may be similar and different from those of other Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Having such conversations would provide her an opportunity to explore from a different and broader perspective how living as an Indo-Caribbean immigrant has impacted experiences of well-being.

CHAPTER 3

Themes and Critical Analysis

The findings reveal socio-economic factors that were at play during immigration and settlement

for Indo-Caribbean immigrants. The analysis connects macro-power dynamics to these socio-

economic factors, and these factors are linked to known impacts on well-being. The intention of

linking power dynamics to these specific socio-economic factors is to uncover how socio-

economic inequities that were identified by Indo-Caribbean immigrants impact their well-being.

The analysis serves to elucidate and inform how social inequities impact Indo-Caribbean

immigrants as these people are a minority group that has remained under-represented in the

Canadian social and health literature. The findings are presented in the following subsections:

(3.1) Settlement considerations and surprises

(3.2) Power-over: nativism and its associated inequities with Indo-Caribbean immigrants

(3.3) Power-with and power-within: extrinsic and intrinsic pathways to resilience

3.1 Settlement considerations and surprises

   3.1.1 Hoping for betterment.

The terms 'push' and 'pull' have been used to describe factors that influence people to

immigrate. Push factors are reasons why people leave their native country and pull factors are

reasons why people are attracted to their host country. Hoping for betterment in multiple

domains of living rather than in a singular domain was identified by participants. These domains

included both push and pull factors. For example, safety concerns that were related to political

turmoil was identified as a push factor, and financial and educational opportunities were

identified as pull factors by a participant who immigrated at the age of 10 years in 1984:

My family migrated here… they moved because of betterment, my parents wanted to have a better life for themselves and for the kids… **financial, educational, safety** was one of them because Guyana was in a **turmoil with political corruption** so a lot of turmoil was in the country so they wanted betterment for their kids and betterment for their family so a lot of Guyanese migrated to Canada and the US (Male, 42 years, Indo-Guyanese)

The political instability in Guyana was linked to racial-political tensions between Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese political parties that occurred between 1964 to 1992 (Brown, 1999). During the period of pre-independence elections, national labour unrest loomed in Guyana. This resulted in increases in ethnic violence and voting along ethnic lines with the main Afro-Guyanese political party winning victory. Victory of the Afro-Guyanese main political party between the 1960s to the early 1990s translated into growing uncertainty of future labour prospects, safety and allegations of ethnic discrimination by many Indo-Guyanese (Brown, 1999). For Indo-Guyanese with young children, political unrest resulted in uncertainties for their children's futures. Concern for their children served as major push factor even for individuals who enjoyed their economic and employment situations in their native country. For example, seeking safer conditions for her young female children was the push factor for immigration for a participant who immigrated from Guyana at the age of 34 years in 1974:

For the sake of my children… I had no expectations about living in Canada because I had a good life in Guyana and **I was hoping that my children would be safe**… my

husband was at the top of his career, he was the first non-white to be a partner is an auditing firm [referring to employment in Guyana]... **Growing up Guyana was a bed of roses for us but when the politics took over and things became, they wanted all girls to go to national service…and we decided no this is not for us** (Female, 74 years, Indo-Guyanese)

The political landscape in Trinidad shared similarities with that of Guyana in terms of racial-political tensions between main political parties but Indo-Trinidadians in the current study did not describe political insecurity as a push factor for immigration. Rather, rising crime rate was identified by Indo-Trinidadian immigrants as a push factor for immigration. For example, a participant who immigrated at the age of 6 years in 1991 stated that rising crime influenced her family's decision to immigrate:

My dad was looking for better quality of life I guess for us because Trinidad was starting to get, **the crime rate was getting, was rising** and we came here and then between the moves **it was job related because he said Canada had better opportunities and he thought the crime rate was increasing in Trinidad and it wasn't safe** (Female, 30 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

In 1970 the homicide rate in Trinidad and Tobago was 5.95/100 000 compared to the U.S. which was 7.9/100 000 (Greenberg & Agozino, 2012). However, between 1991 to 1997 the rate of serious crime in Trinidad and Tobago increased dramatically to 150/100 000 by 1997 (Maharajh & Ali, 2004). Between 1990 to 2013 the number of murders increased by an average of 14% per

year with the average murder rate being 423 by 2013 (Seepersad, 2016). This participant also described that hope for her father to obtain better employment in Canada served as a pull factor for immigration.

The political climate of a country is interconnected with the country's economic and employment outlook. Specifically, countries that are rated high for political corruption and crime also experience poorer economic, employment, social stability, and growth, particularly in terms of higher costs associated with living, higher unemployment rates and reduced employment opportunities (Gyimah-Brempong, 2002; Mo, 2001). Given that political instability is linked to increased political corruption and crime rates, it is not surprising that participants coupled push factors of political turmoil and crime with pull factors that included seeking better employment and income earning opportunities as reasons for immigration. The oppressive power-over dynamics that were at work in participants' native countries pushed them to immigrate with hopes of experiencing better social, economic and political living conditions.

Some participants also stated that they immigrated to reunite with family who had previously moved to Canada. These individuals also had hopes for obtaining better income earning opportunities and/or educational opportunities in Canada. For example, a participant who immigrated from Guyana in 2012 stated that he immigrated with the intention of reuniting with his family members and finding better income and educational opportunities:

> I decided that there are more opportunities here if you want to further your studies or get a better income… **I am a family of 12 kids and back home I was by myself, here all my**

family is here, my mom, my father, my sister, everybody is here so like I have that

emotional stability and social, like **my family is here so I get a kind of stability here**…

my basic thing was I'm going to come to Canada, my family is here and I'm going to

be happy being around them, I'm going to get a good well paying job, get a good

down payment for a house, set up here (Male, 35years, Indo-Guyanese)

These pull factors suggest that participants also focused on developing power-within and power-with dynamics. Power-within dynamics serve to develop a person's sense of self-worth and personal agency which can be acquired through good education and employment opportunities, as well as with close and trusting social networks such as those experienced with family and friends. Power-with dynamics help groups build connections and networks that assist with acquiring social resources (Rowlands, 1997). These coping strategies were a response from oppressive power structures in their native countries. It is necessary to highlight that Indo-Caribbean immigrants' decisions to immigrate were influenced by political dysfunctions in their native countries that resulted in fears of safety and economic-social-political uncertainties. Seeking betterment reflected action strategies for building personal and social resilience. Given that push factors involved safety concerns, their focus on regaining personal and social agency resulted in the neglect of considering how environmental and lifestyle differences in Canada would impact their well-being.

3.1.2 Unprepared for the cold climate.

Having migrated from warm and tropical geographic regions, the physiological and psychological experience of colder temperatures was a negative surprise. The participants did not

anticipate how uncomfortable a colder climate could feel and when they experienced cold temperatures for the first time it was described as psychologically and physically difficult to endure. For example, a participant who immigrated to Canada as a teenager shared that the cold weather was a huge shock that was unbearable:

Originally we moved to Edmonton Alberta where I lived for 8 years and it was extremely cold and the extremities of the weather change, **I found that it was unbearable, the cold there was unbearable**. Imagine you have to plug in your cars over night before you can drive them the next morning. It was a **real huge shock for me**. … it was so bitterly cold. **I could not fathom that the beautiful snow that I saw in the movies was actually in reality going to be so drastically cold**, I could not handle the change in weather and for 2 years I badgered my mom to go back I really gave her a hard time, I gave her such a hard time (Female, 54 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Participants also shared how they were not commonsensically and materially prepared for the colder temperatures. For example, a participant shared that not knowing how it felt to live in colder temperatures resulted in him not knowing how to appropriately dress for the cold. As a result, he had not acquired the appropriate type of coat to cope with the colder temperatures:

The Canadian weather was so unpredictable and I couldn't imagine any place being this cold…I came in September and I never experienced winter and **I didn't know what winter was like and I remember borrowing my friends coat** and jumped on the subway and took the bus and the bus stopped on the edge of the street and the snow was

very high and blowing and drifting and **he had an old winter coat and it didn't have any buttons and I was trying to hold it in to keep warm**… it was around 4:30 that day and I went into a building and they had a radiator and I sat there and these people going back and forth and they felt so sorry for me and one guy said you got to go home, you're going to die and he dropped me to the bus station and I jumped on the bus and I came back home (Male, 64 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant shared how his lack of understanding of snow resulted in him wearing shoes rather than appropriate boots. He wore shoes (on a day that had a lot of snow fall) and headed out to search for employment. Snow entered his shoes and he experienced such discomfort that he was required to hire a taxi to return home, a taxi that he could not financially afford at the time:

> **My first day I went out I remember I get snow all in my shoes because I was wearing sneakers and there was snow about almost a foot on the ground. I was so cold and I went in a donut shop and call a taxi to get me out because I didn't know where I was to get a bus and I was freezing and I had to get a bus and travel because I couldn't afford all the time to take taxi**... I didn't really know what type of clothing you need and all that stuff, I came with the stuff I had you know … yeah because **I wear running shoes and I thought that was adequate and then I realize I had to get snow boots**… the coldness it takes a toll on your emotional health (Male, 58 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

When participants migrated from Guyana and Trinidad they experienced an economic disadvantage because their native countries' currency exchange values were substantially lower

compared to that of the Canadian dollar. This resulted in having significantly less capital for acquiring basic material resources including proper clothing. The financial struggle to acquire adequate winter clothing was an additional financial burden for those who were already at an economic disadvantage. Access to material resources can improve well-being scores for people living in colder climates (Fischer & Van de Vliert, 2011). The participants described that upon arrival they did not have suitable material resources such as winter attire like coats and boots etc. Therefore, the impact of the colder climate on their well-being was likely to have been experienced more negatively than newcomers who have immigrated from colder regions and have access to winter attire and are also psychologically prepared to cope with the colder temperatures.

Challenges of settling and adjusting to colder climates have also been reported by other studies (Bleeker & Deonandan, 2016; Fischer & Van de Vliert, 2011; Frijters & Van Praag, 1998; Martins & Reid, 2007; Rehdanz & Maddison, 2005; Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007). These studies support the current study findings that the cold climate had a negative impact on participants general well-being as newcomers. For example, participants in the current study used emotional descriptors such as "*unbearable*", "*rough*", "*toll on emotional health*", and "*struggle health wise*" to describe their experiences of emotional hardship that were related to the colder temperatures. The current findings deepen the understanding of how colder temperatures negatively impact newcomer's well-being by indicating that the challenges of enduring the colder temperatures were connected to not only participants psychological unpreparedness for colder temperatures, but also their material unpreparedness such as lacking appropriate clothing and financial capital to purchase appropriate clothing.

3.1.3 Adjusting to apartment and urban lifestyles.

Another unexpected and negative surprise for participants was how the type of housing in Canada would impact their well-being. Prior to immigrating, participants lived in houses and described spending more time in their outdoor living spaces, and in the company of neighbours, friends and family. When participants immigrated many lived in apartment buildings and basement apartments as newcomers. They had not considered how living in apartment units would result in feeling confined and socially isolated, particularly because the social interactions that occur during outdoor living was absent. For example, a participant described how moving from her home in Guyana which was a house with a lot of space to an apartment in Canada left her feeling isolated, in part because she missed being able to socially interact with her neighbours:

> It was very different, because I came in July and I lived in an apartment with my brother for a few weeks and the living arrangement was a bit of isolation because **I grew up in the country and a house with lots of space and open windows and when you come here the apartment was like an enclosed area so it felt isolated** and I was home sick… that adaptation, I use the word adaptation, climatically, socially…not knowing people, and remember **this is an industrialized country, everybody is going about their business so you are not having that small town atmosphere** so that was a big difference (Female, 60 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Participants mostly described immigrating to metropolitan locations in Canada, with the majority

moving to the GTA. These urbanized areas differed from the town and village areas that the

participants were accustomed to living in their native countries. Literature examining

urbanization and social contact suggest that a social order is produced in urban areas. This social

order promotes anonymity, individualism and competition, and reduces traditional encounters of

close kinship links, shared religious and moral values and reduced community-shared spaces

(Aizlewood, Bevelander, & Pendakur, 2006). Urbanization has also been linked to reduced

quality of neighbourhood and community life in terms of relational networks, reduced

opportunities for social interactions, and lower sense of community (Farrell, Aubry, &

Coulombe, 2004; Weenig, Schmidt, & Midden, 1990). A sense of community has been described

in the literature as the feeling that one has when they are a part of a network of relationships,

relationships that may be defined in geographic terms such as with neighbours. This sense of

community can also be defined in relational terms such as sharing common interests with

individuals (Farrell et al., 2004). A sense of community fosters experiences of membership,

influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection (McMillan &

Chavis, 1986). Participants described experiencing a diminished sense of neighbouring after

immigrating. Many described not knowing who their neighbours were and having little social

interactions with their neighbours. For example, one participant described how in Guyana he was

able to visit his neighbours but in Canada he had very little social contact with neighbours:

> I miss more the way we, the routine we had in Guyana or the lifestyle… That kind of
>
> relationship is, **in Guyana you live in village you can go to the next door neighbour**
>
> **they are like family, everybody is like family. I have been living here for over 30**

years and I can count how many times I have spoken to the neighbours next to me…
I mean sitting in the apartment and the time took forever to go by and you don't have a
person to talk to on the phone and you don't know anybody (Male, 64 years, Indo-
Guyanese)

Participants described missing neighbouring experiences that were available to them in their
native countries. These forms of social interactions can facilitate a sense of trust and social
reciprocity, as well as provide opportunities for informational and instrumental support that have
been positively associated with well-being (Baiden, den Dunnen, & Fallon, 2017; Dunn & Dyck,
2000; Simich, Beiser, & Mawani, 2003). These forms of social interactions have also been
identified as factors that facilitate settlement and adaptation for newcomers to Canada (George &
Fuller-Thomson, 1999; George & Tsang, 2000; George & Chaze, 2009).

Other countries have begun examining housing type and well-being correlates. For example, in
2016, the English Housing Survey (EHS) showed that the most important property-related
predictor of life satisfaction was the type of dwelling. People who lived in high-rise housing
reported lower life satisfaction when compared to people who lived in detached and bungalow
style homes (Department for Communties and Local Government, 2016). Importantly, the EHS
study does not specifically identify the experiences of newcomers and immigrants who may not
have previously lived in high-rise housing and therefore may experience more adjustment
difficulties adapting to these forms of housing.

Identifying how the type of housing is linked to well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants serves as a gateway to addressing how societal power dynamics create socio-economic inequities, which in turn have varying impacts on people's well-being. For example, it is well documented that economic status and income levels are associated with access to better housing options and safer neighbourhoods, and that newcomers are more susceptible to living in poorer housing conditions because of barriers to earning good incomes (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008; Conley, 2001; Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Phelan, Link, & Tehranifar, 2010; Savage, Watt, & Arber, 1992; Watt, 1996).

Moreover, the impact that urbanized living has on people's well-being, particularly in terms of the form of housing and its connection to psychological experiences is not generally captured by SDOH or newcomer health and well-being research. Perhaps the underrepresentation of research in this area is due in part because apartment living is a normalized form of housing in Canada and thus may not be considered as a challenge to health or newcomer adaptation. Additionally, many immigrants who have settled in Canada have immigrated from nations where apartment living and urbanized communities are a normalized experience and thus may not be a settlement concern. The current study's findings indicate how studying people from diverse demographic backgrounds can reveal social factors that are not adequately captured when research focuses on issues that are predominantly raised by the majority group. The highlighting of housing challenges that were described by participants in the current study provides an entrance point for examining the following: (1) how covert Canadian societal power dynamics create experiences of socio-economic disadvantage for Indo-Caribbean immigrants; and (2) how Indo-Caribbean immigrants develop individual and group power in response to being disadvantaged. The

following subsections of the analysis will focus on (1) experiences of power-over that are linked to SDOH factors, and (2) experiences of power-with and power-within that function to develop individual and intra-group power for Indo-Caribbean immigrants.

3.2 Power-over: nativism and its associated inequities with Indo-Caribbean immigrants

Immigrants commonly identify hopes of improving their quality of life as a main motivation for settling in Canada (Frank, Hou, & Schellenberg, 2014). However, it has been well documented that immigrants and particularly newcomers and racialized immigrants experience inequalities in terms of accessing suitable and good employment and fair income earnings (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Nativism is suggested to operate as a covert causal societal driver that creates socio-economic inequities in North America (Galindo & Vigil, 2006; Katerberg, 1995; Wiley & Wright, 2004). The 'colour code' identified by Block and Galabuzi (2011) exemplifies how modern day societal practices reinforce the underlying mechanisms of nativist ideology. Participants in the current study described experiences of social and economic challenges in terms of language, employment and racism. These challenges resulted in socio-economic disadvantages. The mechanisms of nativism will be discussed in relation to these challenges in the following subsections.

3.2.1 Language challenges.

Many immigrants arrive in Canada knowing minimum or no English. For these immigrants, language is often identified as a barrier to adjusting to their new country, particularly in terms of finding employment (Senate Committee On Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). For

immigrants who arrive in Canada from the English-speaking Caribbean, English is the official language and often the only language spoken. However, due to the variety of English dialects and accents that stem from the English-speaking Caribbean region, immigrants from these regions are also likely to have communication challenges in Canada. Some participants believed that being able to communicate in English was a social advantage in comparison to immigrants who did not have a good command of English. For example, a participant who arrived as a teenager in the 1970s stated that she could not imagine the difficulties of not being able to understand English as a newcomer in Canada:

> I think one of the advantages for us coming from the West Indies was the fact that we spoke English and English was our national language so that helped enough. **I can not imagine having English as a second language and not knowing English and having to come to an English-speaking country** so speaking English helped a lot because we were able to converse and ask questions (Female, 54 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant indicated that speaking English was a social advantage in terms of understanding what others were saying and also being understood by others:

> **The language part was easy for me because we speak a sort of English**, maybe sometimes certain words would come out differently because of the fact that we speak a derivative of English but **it wasn't like I can't understand what you are trying to say, they understood what I was saying most of the time anyways**, certain words might be

unfamiliar but they would have to explain what do you mean when you say that but communication wise it wasn't a problem (Male, 28 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Although participants generally believed that their command of English was a social advantage in comparison to other immigrants who do not speak English, some shared that they encountered difficulties being understood by others because of how they pronounced English. For example, a participant believed people had difficulty understanding her because of how she pronounced English words:

The most challenge that I had…probably my English but that's a given…**it was more like how I pronounced and enunciated words**, it was just different and the way that I talked at first in broken English. When you use to talk to other students **it was like I was talking a different language because they would not understand** (Female, 73 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Although some participants shared that they experienced language challenges in Canada, they did not explicitly link their language challenges with difficulties such as finding employment or experiencing social exclusion. However, it is important to note that many of the participants described finding employment in the low-skill sector and this is the sector where many immigrants including those with language difficulties find employment. Very little research has been conducted to examine the impact that non-native accents have on newcomer's experiences of adjusting to their host country, particularly in terms of obtaining employment. Moreover, research that has been conducted on accents and non-native accents have predominantly studied

people who have accents due to their mother tongue being a different language from the language of study, and thus these participants have acquired accents due to second language influences. This study found that participants whose mother tongue is English also experienced language challenges due to their foreign-English accents.

As many of the participants described finding employment in the low-skill sector it is necessary to connect their language challenges in the context of employment. Research examining attitudes and perceptions of English accents in Canada indicate that 'foreign' English accents that are not British, American, or Australian elicit different attitudes and treatments and can have a negative impact on people's ability to acquire employment (Carlson & McHenry, 2006; Creese & Kambere, 2003; Kalin, Rayko, & Love, 1980). This suggest that the mechanisms of nativism are at work in terms of (1) preferences for Canadian English accents, and (2) an ethnic hierarchy that places Anglo-English accents (particularly British English accents) higher on the social order (Carlson & McHenry, 2006; Creese & Kambere, 2003; Kalin et al., 1980). Furthermore, having a non-native accent has been found to negatively impact the perception of sense of belonging for immigrants (Derwing, 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). These findings suggest that having a non-Anglo-English accent can negatively impact immigrants in terms of (1) acquiring employment that puts them at an economic disadvantage, and (2) at a social disadvantage in terms of experiencing a sense of belonging.

These previous findings support the position that there is a colour code or ethnic code that impacts employability that is played out through accent. Canadian-English has been adopted as a social marker that distinguishes individuals who are the most assimilated to Canadian Anglo

culture from those who are not. Moreover, Oreopoulos (2011) showed that Canadian employers are hesitant to hire individuals with foreign names, even those who have earned degrees from Western English-speaking institutions, because employers believe that they will not have a good command of English. The findings from Oreopoulos (2011) are applied to suggest that having a foreign-English accent is also likely to reduce employability in Canada because employers fear that these individuals will not be understood by co-workers and customers. Interestingly, research that examines the cognitive processing of foreign-accents have repeatedly shown that language processing occurs in lower-level brain regions or non-executive brain regions and that people can readily comprehend foreign-accents within a matter of minutes (Adank, Evans, Stuart-Smith, & Scott, 2009; Clarke & Garrett, 2004). Therefore, the position that people with accents are a liability for employers because they can not be understood is weakly supported by science that demonstrates that it only takes as short as one minute to demonstrate good comprehension of a foreign accent (Clarke & Garrett, 2004). Rather, the belief that some foreign-English accents are a liability in the workplace is more reflective of nativist ideology that emphasizes preference for Anglo customs. Although participants did not explicitly connect their language challenges to experiences of obtaining employment, based on previous research it is not a stretch to suggest that participants non-Anglo-English accents were likely to be a factor in terms of accessing employment opportunities that did not have minimal language requirements.

3.2.2 Deskilling and survival employment.

Participants, and predominantly male participants who immigrated as skilled workers, described the necessity to undergo requalification in order to acquire Canadian credentials and employment in their field of work. Underdoing requalification was negatively experienced, both economically

and socially in terms of being able to spend valued time with family. In a longitudinal study of immigrants to Canada, not finding employment due to the lack of Canadian work experience was reported as the most serious challenge in resettlement by 19% of newcomers to Canada; 9% of newcomers reported that their most serious challenge to finding employment was due to the lack of recognition of their foreign work experience; and 12% of newcomers reported that the lack of acceptance of foreign qualifications was their most serious challenge to employment (Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007). Bauder (2003) termed the discounting of immigrants' education and foreign work skills as 'deskilling'. The term 'deskilling' refers to the dismissal of a person's education and work experiences that results in a lack of *access* to certain occupations (Bauder, 2003). This is in contrast to 'under-employment,' which refers to being employed in a position for which a person is over-qualified in terms of their educational and work credentials but that does not capture the lack of access to certain occupations due to the discounting of these credentials. Although predominantly male participants described their negative experiences of deskilling, the study did capture the deskilling experience of a female participant who was a practicing nurse in her native country. This participant described the emotional struggle she encountered of having to leave her young infant to embark on the process of skill requalification:

> **When I came here I couldn't practice as a nurse…the first couple of years was struggling to get my license**… when I came here I did get a job as a nurse's aid …I decide to go back to school…it was a setback, I was a nurse in Trinidad and come here and couldn't do anything so that motivated me to get my license… **it was tough, it was tough because you have to leave, my child was born in November and I started school in January…it was a big sacrifice** (Female, 72 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Another male participant described experiencing work-life imbalance when he had to undergo requalification. He shared how he did not have leisure time to spend with his family because he spent his time working and undergoing requalification:

> I work in a steel plant as an industrial millwright and then I become a supervisor and they made me a deputy manager in a day shift [referring to work experience in Trinidad] and when I come here I thought I would excel but I had to start back all over and it take you a while and still you're not there from where you left from a mechanic, I had to go back to school and get the prequalification's and all that here, they do not recognize your stuff too much...I didn't have to do that home, I was already qualified and was working. **Here I had to go to school afternoons and weekends and I didn't have a life** (Male, 58 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

All the participants who experienced deskilling experienced emotional and income difficulties. They shared that had they known that they would encounter deskilling they would not have quit their jobs and immigrated. Many of these participants described having good employment positions in their native countries, some were managers and supervisors. They explained that had they returned to their native countries they would not be able to obtain their former positions and would have to occupy lower positions. As a result, those with children considered the welfare of their children and decided to remain in Canada.

The process of undergoing requalification for participants in the current study was an emotional

hardship because it took a negative toll on their work-life balance. Research has shown that

Canadian newcomers who reported being overqualified in employment (i.e. when occupational

status is lower than a person's training, skills, or experience) were also more likely to indicate a

decline in their mental health but not their physical health since immigrating, with perceptions of

job satisfaction serving as a mediator for this relationship (Chen, Smith, & Mustard, 2010).

Newcomers who have difficulty having their foreign work credentials and experiences

recognized usually resort to survival employment in the low-skilled sectors when other forms of

employment can not be obtained and income is a necessity (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Huot, Chen,

King, Painter-Zykmund, & Watt, 2016).

Creese and Wiebe (2012) termed the experience of taking any job that one can find as 'survival

employment'. The discourse of survival employment originated from work that found that

Canadian settlement counselors would influence immigrants in taking any job that they could

find – jobs that were typically low-skilled and low-wages (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

Participants described having to accept survivor employment in low-skilled positions because

their work experience and education credentials from their native countries were not recognized

by Canadian employers. For example, a participant described how he worked as a bank

administrator but when he immigrated he found employment in a factory because he was

desperate to earn an income and his work and education experiences were not considered

translatable in the Canadian context:

I use to work in the bank back home but coming here it was a different scenario, **banking over here is different from what we had in Guyana, the education system is different, so what you learn over here or what you learn in Guyana may not apply over here.** It's kind of difficult getting a banking job when you come over here… I would say within the first month [referring to acquiring employment]…**it was hard labour [referring to factory employment], it was a total switch from what I am accustomed to. It was tough, we did manual menial stuff** and I had to be working throughout winter in the cold, outdoors and it was something I wasn't accustomed to… **I am desperate for a job and I had to pretty much take what was presented for me** (Male, 35 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant who was a teacher in his native country found low-skill employment working in a factory because his teaching credentials were not recognized in Canada. Prior to receiving a wage for his labour he also worked without pay to obtain Canadian work experience:

I use to teach back home and I don't want to work in the factory so it took me a bit of time… I have to learn a trade because you are looking for cash so I tried to learn a trade that I think would benefit me so I adopt to the welding because my friend use to do welding, he had a body shop and I use to go and help him… I learned welding and machining, **I wasn't getting paid to do that because I asked to learn so it took me 4 months to learn it and adapt to it** (Male, 27 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Working without pay in order to obtain Canadian work experience was also reported by other men in the study. For example, a participant described feeling frustrated after he was continually refused employment because he lacked Canadian work experience. As a result, he offered to work without pay so that he could obtain Canadian work experience:

> I was a mechanic back home…and **to get a job with the Canadian, they tell you, do you have Canadian experience, I said no, ok we sure call you back, they never call you**…**I walked in a garage on College street and I tell the guy look, I want to get a job, I don't want no pay, just want to get experience**…**He said yes man it have something so I get a job without pay**. When the Saturday reach I get a small pay of $41 (Male, 80 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Many participants believed that their skills and credentials were translatable, and they could not understand why they needed Canadian work experience. They explained that the same skills that they utilized in their native countries were the same skills being utilized in Canada. Some believed that individuals who occupied higher positions in their Canadian workplaces were less skilled that they were.

As noted in Creese and Wiebe (2012), Bourdieu (1986) described that the deskilling of immigrants occurs through the operation of cultural capital in which Western power, privilege and inequality is imposed onto immigrants via the dismissal of their education and foreign work credentials. The discounting of immigrants' skills and work experiences is a form of discounting

their cultural capital on the basis of the belief that what is foreign is also incompetent and this is representative of nativist ideology.

3.2.2.1 Working class males' work-family/social life balance

The process of requalification to obtain Canadian credentials was described as an economic and emotional challenge because it resulted in an imbalance inwork-family/social time. The diminishment in work-life balance was a surprise for participants because they believed that living in Canada would result in more leisure time. This belief is understandable when the time period of immigration is considered. For example, many of the participants immigrated to Canada in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s. During this period there was a notion that advances in technology would result in an increase in leisure time. Advances in technology are typically adopted in developed countries before they are introduced in developing countries (Zuzanek, 1998, 2015). This explains why participants believed Canadians enjoyed more leisure time.

Male participants emphasized that the imbalance in time spent working and obtaining Canadian qualifications versus socializing with family and friends and engaging in leisurely activities was experienced as an emotional hardship and was a negative surprise because in their native countries they experienced a better work-life balance. For example, a participant described the difference between his work-life balance before and after immigrating in terms of having more leisurely time with friends in his native country:

I have been here for over 20 years…and the experience is it took a lot and honestly

speaking it is do or die [referring to experience in Canada]…I'm not a lazy person, but to

be here in this country, you have to be a hard working individual…**lifestyle is different**

from here to back home because you cover school, you cover from work, you do

whatever you got to do right and you always have time to go and hang out with your

friends [referring to experience in Trinidad]. Over here you go to work, you come

back home, you don't have time for your friends. It is pretty tough because you

don't have time for friends here. Here you come from work, you can't do nothing

(Male, 40 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Studies have shown that work-family balance predicts self-reported well-being and overall

quality of life (Gropel & Kuhl, 2009; Montazer & Young, 2017). Canadian research that has

compared the impact of work-family conflict between immigrants and Canadian-born individuals

found that recent (i.e. living in Canada for < 10 years) and established immigrants (i.e. living in

Canada between 11-20 years) from developing countries had higher reports of work-family

conflict (Montazer & Young, 2017). These findings are supported by other research that show

work-to-family role conflict is associated with increased risk of emotional exhaustion

(Leineweber, Baltzer, Magnusson Hanson, & Westerlund, 2013), elevated levels of self-reported

depression symptoms, self-reported poor physical health, and elevated levels of alcohol

consumption (Frone, Yardley, & Markel, 1997). Other research have shown a negative

relationship between all types of work-family/family-work conflict, happiness, job satisfaction

and life satisfaction (Golden & Wiens-Tuers, 2006; Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Kossek

& Ozeki, 1998). Long working hours have also been associated with poorer health, including

cardiovascular disease, diabetes, disability retirement, fatigue (van der Hulst, 2003), unhealthy weight gain, increased alcohol consumption (Schmitt, Caruso, Hitchcock, Dick, & Russo, 2004), increased stress, illness and injury risk (Danna & Griffin, 1999; Dembe, 2005; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001). In addition to long working hours, other job demands such as involuntary overtime and conflict with co-workers have been shown to reduce non-supervisory manufacturing workers' ability to balance work and family responsibilities (Berg, Kalleberg & Appelbaum, 2003). Participants in the current study attributed the necessity to work longer hours to lower wages and the higher cost of basic living necessities. The diminishment in work-life balance that resulted from financial necessity was described as a form of 'slavery'. One participant described the diminished work-life imbalance that he experienced in Canada as 'economic slavery':

I had to requalify and get papers… I had go to school on weekends and work. Here I had to go to school afternoons and weekends and I didn't have a life, up to now… **yeah most of my time working and I work 6 days a week up to now… I call it economic slavery** … my biggest surprises was the way people operate here and I never knew when it was a Friday here, home I know when it is a Friday because everyone winding down for the end of the week but here you don't know that… **I was always on the go, always busy, busier life here, no time for yourself and your family because you spending all your life to provide for them**… You spend most of your life working when your bills are above your wages (Male, 58 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Another participant also used the term 'slavery' to describe the work-life imbalance that he experienced, and resulted from financial necessity to work in order to afford the cost of living:

> **When you come to Canada as a new immigrant you are like a slave to this place**…**to make ends meet you had to work 16-17 hrs a day**… I missed going to the beach, I missed socializing, I missed going and watching cricket and playing soccer. I missed going fishing because when you come here all your life taken up only working, you don't even have a family life here at the beginning (Male, 61 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants were surprised that they experienced a work-life imbalance in Canada and they linked this work-life imbalance to the higher cost of living and deskilling. An imbalance in work-life roles can increase work-related stress (Lunau, Bambra, Eikemo, van der Wel, & Dragano, 2014). Consistent with the findings from the current study, findings by Montazer and Young (2017) showed that immigrant men from developing countries reported higher rates of work-family conflict. The authors suggest that these findings may be linked to a lower-return on immigrants' foreign education credentials. When individuals have little option but to work in lower-skilled sectors, they often are also required to work longer hours due to financial necessity. Longer working hours may then contribute to increased work stress and less time allocated for family and leisurely activities.

Emphasizing Canadian work and education experience and dismissing non-Canadian credentials is one mechanism of nativism that prevented Indo-Caribbean male immigrants from obtaining appropriate employment. Another nativist mechanism that blocks Indo-Caribbean immigrants

from obtaining appropriate wages is linked to racial stratification in employment hiring practices.

Racial stratification in hiring practices has been found when Canadian employment statistics are

examined. Block and Galabuzi (2011) examined 2006 Statistics Canada data and found a large

pay gap exists between visible minorities and white Canadians. The data showed that first-

generation visible minority male immigrants earned 68.7 cents for every dollar earned by white

male immigrants, and visible minority Canadians earned 81.4 cents for every dollar earned by

white Canadians (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). It has also been shown that visible minorities have

less access to full-time and full-year employment (Cranford & Vosko, 2006). These findings

suggest that nativist ideology that manifest in Canadian employment practices results in social,

economic and health inequities for those who are marginalized. Moreover, the link between

deskilling, income earnings, work-life imbalance and work-related stress illustrate a mechanism

of how nativist practices impact health and well-being, particularly for newcomer's who are

expecting better employment opportunities but instead encounter deskilling.

3.2.3 Overt and Covert Racism.

Discrimination has been defined by the *Collins Dictionary of Sociology* as "the process by which

a member, or members, of a socially defined group is, or are, treated differently (especially

unfairly) because of his/her/their membership of that group" (Jary & Jary, 1985, p. 169 as cited

in Krieger, 1999). Discrimination can take on multiple forms, for example, race, ethnicity and

gender discrimination (Krieger, 1999). Other definitions such as that included by *The Concise*

Oxford Dictionary of Sociology describe discrimination as involving 'patterns of dominance and

oppression, viewed as expressions of a struggle for power and privilege" (Marshall, 1994, p.

125-126 as cited in Krieger, 1999). The emphasis on 'patterns' implies that the act of

discrimination is not a random experience but rather it is socially structured to maintain

privileges for members of dominant groups (Krieger, 1999). Systemic racial discrimination (i.e.

systemic racism) is a form of social exclusion that is driven by institutionalized policies that

exclude some groups based on their racial identity. In Canada systemic racism is influenced by

nativist ideology that gives preference for Anglo ideals that are rooted in British colonial history.

When participants were asked if they had experienced being treated differently, were made to

feel uncomfortable, or had experienced discrimination in Canada, participants described being

the recipients of racism and/or perceiving racism committed to others. Participants described

experiencing racism when searching for living accommodations, in employment settings, at

school and in their neighbourhoods. For example, a participant described how his colleagues told

him that they would "take him back to where he came from" (referring to his native country):

> You meet a lot of racism…up to now people think, even at the lunch table you hear
>
> people making those comments, where you guys come from, and this and that and oh **if**
>
> **you want to go back we will take you and carry you in a van and drop you off kind**
>
> **of thing**…isn't that racial, isn't that racial comments (Male, 58 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants who arrived in the 1970s were more likely to share how they had difficulty finding

housing (compared to participants who arrived in the 1980s and later) because tenants refused to

rent property to them because of their skin colour. For example, a participant shared how she was

denied a place to rent while her white boyfriend was told the place was available for rent:

Finding an apartment here was not very easy either. After 2 ½ years **I had a boyfriend he is white**…**I wanted to get an apartment** right but I saw this advertisement and I went and I rang the doorbell… and a white man came out and I said I am looking for the apartment in the advertisement and I showed him the newspaper and I said I am looking for this room to rent and **he said sorry it is already taken so I went back to my boyfriend and he said I don't believe that so my boyfriend went and he said I see you have an apartment for rent how much is it and he says ok you come in and you check** and he went in and he looked and he said it was a nice place… yes in those days they discriminated a lot so he came back and he said no no no it is not rented it is because you are black and so he told me lets go to the police and I said no (Female, 74 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants who immigrated as children also shared their experiences of racism in their schools. One participant described not knowing how to feel when she was a young child and other children made fun of her skin colour:

I went through the school thing, when I moved to Montreal **it was hard because they use to make fun of you…like there is certain things that people say to you that hurt, you are the colour of shit, you don't know how to feel, grade 4, 5 or 6, I think 4 or 5 to be honest, and you know, for someone to tell you that it's just what do you do, what do you say, I've been taken advantage of and treated badly**… for me I guess when people criticize you, you feel like, people make you feel like you are different and things like that…it's just, honestly it's the little things, it's just knowing that people look at you

differently, like you are an immigrant, that you shouldn't be able to speak English properly…**but it bothers you and it makes you know that you are different** but you try your best to put it aside and do the best that you can (Female, 30 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Another participant shared how at the age of 14 years and being a newcomer to Canada that she encountered racism for the first time. She recalled being repeatedly called 'paki' and being bullied because of her race at school:

I remember in my classroom I was the visible minority… I certainly felt when I was in school I was bullied… yeah in Canada I was bullied and so that was the big thing for me. **What I remember one day I came home crying… I remember because the lack of knowledge they use to call me paki and I wasn't a paki so I use to say I'm not from Pakistan**, I am from the Caribbean … so that happened in high school, it started in grade 9 (Female, 38 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Participants described feeling *angry, unsafe*, *sad, upset, disturbed* and '*feeling taken advantage of*', when they encountered everyday racism. 'Everyday racism' or 'microaggressions' are terms used to describe the overt, reoccurring and familiar forms of being devalued in various ways and contexts (Essed, 1991). These overt forms of racism function to emphasize racial differences and is a direct attempt to socially exclude people from the dominant racial group. The everyday racist messages that participants described signalled to them that they were not welcomed in their communities. For example, a participant's sentiment that *"it bothers you and it makes it know that you are different"* succinctly captures similar sentiments shared by other participants who

stated, *'people make you feel like you are different'* and '*they always say this is their country'.* These descriptors indicate that everyday racism negatively impacted their sense of belonging in their communities, particularly as newcomers in Canada. Importantly, a lower sense of belonging is linked to lower health and well-being measures (Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, Master, & Brzustoski, 2006; Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Jetten, Haslam, Haslam, Dingle, & Jones, 2014). Moreover, everyday racism reflects nativist ideology that seeks to marginalize immigrants who do not share attributes of the majority group.

Data shows that visible minority immigrants living in Canada are more likely to report experiences of discrimination than non-visible minority immigrants (Senate Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). For individuals in disadvantaged groups, discrimination experiences are also more likely to be interpreted as more stable rather than isolated or unusual events (Schmitt et al., 2002). When experiences of discrimination are examined at the group level, findings show that disadvantaged groups are more likely to perceive discrimination as occurring across a wider variety of contexts than do privileged groups (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). Visible minority immigrants have reported experiences of racial and economic discrimination pertaining to acquiring a place to live, acquiring employment according to skilled credentials and receiving employment promotions (Edge & Newbold, 2013; Murphy, 2010). Importantly, a growing body of evidence suggest that perceived racial/ethnic discrimination functions as a type of stressor that negatively impacts both mental health (e.g. depression, anxiety, self-esteem, perceptions of control or mastery, and life satisfaction) and physical health (e.g. self-rated physical health, blood pressure and atherosclerotic disease)

(Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

Participants also described subtle or covert forms of racism that were predominantly experienced in workplaces. For example, a participant described noticing subtle forms of racism in the context of employment practices that preference white employees for higher positions:

> I would say that I know what it is like to **feel invisible** and that you kind of like start to wonder whether it is to do with colour… I would have to say that did I experience discrimination in terms of being a coloured female…**I think one of the things about discrimination is that you don't at first recognize it**… I saw some people didn't have the skills set and they got a better job than I did and I put it down to being too a large extent immigrant colour, female all add up to I don't see you really…I am not saying that this discrimination is deliberately happening. **It's indirectly happening…a certain culture hiring their own culture. Who were the managers, who are the directors, who are the vice presidents, you know what I am saying… it is still very much white dominant role**… one time I told my boss that the days of the plantation are over and he said what do you mean and I said it is over. I was a bold person, I spoke up (Female, 60 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant described a subtle form of racism in her workplace in the context of white colleagues receiving first preference for selecting vacation days:

I wouldn't say it is less racists, **it is under the carpet, it is subtle**… **I work with 2 white**

people and I was the dark one there, **in the summer they want all the long weekend, ok,**

in the winter, if I ask for vacation, they say you only allow 2 weeks, and so then I will say

I want Christmas vacation and they say no you have to come to work for

Christmas… **so in the summer they get all the long weekends, in the winter I could**

only get one long weekend right so if I ask for a long weekend in the summer I wouldn't

get it, what do you call that… so when I started talking about how come these 2 people

can get weekends in the summer and I cant get it so then I made a fuss… eventually I got

the union involved (Female, 74 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

While overt racism functions to negatively emphasize participants' racial differences, subtle

racism functions to make participants feel invisible, as if they did not exist. The perception

and/or experience of subtle racism is supported by literature that has applied the terms 'modern

racism' (McConahay, 1986), 'aversive racism' (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), and 'ambivalent

racism' (Katz & Hass, 1988) . Research has shown that discrimination can take on subtle forms

that may be difficult to identify objectively and publicly (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, &

Rummens, 1999) and that both subtle and overt forms of discrimination have similar

relationships of comparable magnitude to well-being correlates (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, &

Gray, 2016). Although participants did not directly link their experiences of overt and subtle

forms of racism to their health and well-being, it can be deduced from their descriptions that

their experiences of both overt and covert forms of racism negatively impacted their sense of

belonging, and having a lower sense of belonging is related to social exclusion and is linked to

poorer health and well-being outcomes (Cohen et al., 2006; Haslam et al., 2009; Jetten et al.,

2014). The findings of both overt and covert forms of racism also show that nativist ideology that devalues people on the basis of race can manifest in differing ways.

3.2.3.1 Exclusion in the context of job promotions

Some participants described experiencing subtle forms of racism at their workplaces, specifically in the context of not being considered for job promotions. Dipboye and Halverson (2004) define work discrimination as occurring when "persons in a 'social category'… are put at a disadvantage in the workplace relative to other groups with comparable potential or proven success" (p. 131). Male participants who were in their 20s when they immigrated during the late 1960's and early to mid 1970's and pursued post-secondary education at college or university in Canada, shared their experiences of racism in the context of job promotions. These males suggested that their skin colour was connected to being excluded from receiving job promotions. For example, a male participant described that he knew for certain that at his company racism occurred when hiring people because he was involved in the hiring process:

> Well at that time you know finding a job it's probably you might be qualified but then
> again colour of your skin may play a part and up to now it still plays a part, yep yep yep
> because I am part of that sometimes, when you are interviewing applicants for a job, I
> alone don't make decisions, decision are made with a couple of people, for them
> **qualification is 1, experience is 2 and the colour of your skin in 3**, I'm telling you, you
> may think that is not true but it is true, yep yep, no that never change (Male, 60 years,
> Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant described how white employees that he had trained received promotions at work while he remained in the same job position:

> Sometime I might have gotten passed down for promotions or that kind of thing… like for instance in my job you will find, if, I want to be honest**, a number of times guys who I trained and they were white and younger and eventually they would move on and ahead of me** (Male, 64 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Participants' descriptions of being passed-over for job promotions due to their skin colour are examples of *selective incivility* because these prejudicial attitudes that were enacted by hiring managers resulted in experiences of emotional disappointment. Selective incivility, a term coined by Cortina and Cortina (2008), describes low-intensity workplace misconduct that lacks a clear intention to harm but violates social norms and harms targeted employees. Selective incivility is considered a form of modern discrimination in organizations. It reflects "subtle types of prejudice, held even by egalitarian-minded persons who harbor no discriminatory intent" (Cortina & Cortina, 2008, p. 1580). Although participants in the current study did not explicitly connect experiences of workplace discrimination to work stress, they did experience negative emotions due to continuously being passed-over for work promotions. These exclusionary experiences served as a workplace stressor that resulted in emotional disappointment. Previous research has shown a negative relationship between employment discrimination and work stress (Di Marco et al., 2016; Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper, 2015). Based on these previous findings, it is reasonable to suggest that participants in the current study who perceived workplace discrimination were more likely to experience increased work-related stress.

Canadian literature that has examined employment discrimination pertaining to race has primarily focused on access to employment and employment earnings. Research examining within-workplace discrimination such as job promotion practices in the context of race and well-being outcomes is lacking, and particularly recent research. The few Canadian studies that have examined workplace discrimination in the context of job promotion practices have shown that visible minorities are more likely to perceive racial discrimination in terms of being passed over for promotions (Banerjee, 2008; Yap & Konrad, 2009)). Considering that the racialized population is growing due to immigration (Block & Galabuzi, 2011), research examining within-organization discrimination practices and well-being is needed. The few studies that have examined job promotion and race variables in Canada suggest that there is a colour code in terms of job promotion practices. Banerjee (2008) showed that in terms of time spent in Canada, visible minorities who lived in Canada the longest were more likely to report perceived workplace discrimination. Male visible minority immigrants were also more likely to perceive discrimination in terms of income earnings when compared to female visible minority immigrants. Higher educated visible minority immigrants were also more likely to report perceived workplace discrimination. The current study's findings also support these previous findings as the male participants who had higher formal education (and Canadian tertiary education credentials) and lived longer in Canada focused on their experiences of discriminatory job promotion practices.

Participants in the current study also described using rationalization as a coping strategy to minimize their emotional discomfort. For example, a participant explained his rationale or

interpretation for not receiving job promotions due to his skin colour. He described the belief at his company (a large financing company) was that clients would not be receptive to working with visible minorities even if they were qualified for the job:

Discrimination at work wasn't very open… I have seen it…we as West Indians always say well because we are black or whatever we always have a reason for it which may not be the reason and if you think about it and **I have to put you in a job and you have all the skills what have you but you have to deal with people who would see you differently I wouldn't probably put you in that job**, I respect your abilities and what have you but the placement would have to be appropriate for you for your own growth and the company you worked for, that's how I saw it… **but the disappointment you feel when you don't get a promotion or what have you it make you think all kinds of stuff**…there were times when there were promotions and I didn't get it (Male, 68 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Racism in terms of job promotion practices was described as a common occurrence. Participants explained that they believed they could not challenge this form of workplace discrimination and they feared repercussions if they were to try. For example, a participant shared that he did not want to risk being blacklisted by speaking up against racist job promotion practices at his workplace:

I am lucky I have a job, I am lucky I am doing what I like to do, that counts for something. **Rocking the boat and creating an issue for yourself, sometimes it is not**

worth the effort. You know and then you get blacklisted and you are out of the job

(Male, 64 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Due to fear of losing their jobs or repercussions from 'rocking the boat' these participants focused on being grateful for having a job and avoided trying to challenge this form of workplace racism. This suggests that when employees observe racialized exclusionary job promotion practices and they are not in a position of power to effectively address the situation, they may employ rationalization as a coping strategy to minimize their emotional discomfort. These findings provide a deeper perspective to the selective incivility literature regarding employment discrimination by highlighting coping mechanisms that are used by individuals who are negatively impacted and do not believe that they have the power to bring about positive reform.

3.2.4 Summary of power-over findings.

Participants described experiencing challenges that related to language, deskilling of foreign work experience and education credentials, and racism. Male participants in particular highlighted challenges relating to work-life imbalance and racism at work specifically in the context of job promotions. These social and employment disadvantages placed them at an economic disadvantage in terms of accessing fair income earnings, and at a social disadvantage in terms of experiencing a sense of belonging and community. The income and social disadvantages also likely increased their susceptibility to declined health and well-being.

These findings are indicative that nativist mechanisms have been at play in terms of devaluing or discrediting what is considered foreign. When newcomers and immigrants are unable to access good employment and income and they experience racism, these experiences have repercussions in terms of negatively impacting other aspects of their lives, for example, accessing suitable housing and the time spent engaging in leisurely activities with family and friends. (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013; Standing Committee on Social Affairs Science and Technology, 2013). Importantly, these social factors are linked to negative health and well-being experiences.

3.3 Power-with and power-within: extrinsic and intrinsic pathways to resilience

3.3.1 Friend and family settlement support.

Settling as an immigrant in a new country usually entails having to find a place to live, acquiring employment, enrolling children in a new school, adjusting to a new neighborhood and its amenities, and becoming familiar with the receiving country's civic and cultural norms and practices. Newcomers can benefit from access to social support to navigate these settlement challenges (Baiden et al., 2017). Social support can take on different forms that include instrumental, informational and emotional support (Baiden et al., 2017). Instrumental support occurs when resources are provided. Resources can include monetary resources, time, housing, food, booking/scheduling appointments, etc. Informational support includes exchanging information such as where to look for employment, how to enrol in school, where to access health care, how to set-up banking etc. Emotional support includes having a trusted person to speak openly to and with whom to share experiences (Baiden et al., 2017). Receiving instrumental, informational and emotional support has been suggested to provide a buffer for

settlement stress that is commonly experienced among newcomers (Baiden et al., 2017; Dunn & Dyck, 2000; George & Fuller-Thomson, 1999; George & Tsang, 2000; George & Chaze, 2009; Simich et al., 2003). Participants described that friends and family were support systems for helping them navigate settlement challenges such as obtaining material resources (e.g. providing clothing and housing) and accessing employment. For example, a participant described finding employment through the help of a family member:

I was in a cricket game when **my uncle and my uncle cousin** was at the game that I was at and they were working in the same place and **I asked them, are they hiring, and they said yes**…my uncle was the supervisor there and his cousin husband was actually the manager in the warehouse **so I started working there** and I worked there for about 2 to 3 years (Male, 40 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Another participant described how her family lived with her aunt for the first several months while her father focused on finding employment and housing. She described her aunt as helping her family adjust to new cultural norms and providing emotional support in terms of connecting them with other Trinidadians who had immigrated. These new social networks served as support systems for her family:

I could tell you from like a few months later like to almost a year later where like **we moved with my dad's sister and we stayed with them for like 6 months**…then we had help, **my dad's sister helped us move** and then where we moved actually close to somebody who was actually our neighbour in Trinidad so we knew people… **little**

support systems that we had and they stayed with us all our life (Female, 30 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants also described that family and friends provided them with informational support in terms of adjusting to new social-cultural practices. For example, a participant shared how his family helped him become familiar with everyday Canadian customs:

I had my **family to help me adjust to how life goes here and how the people works and how they community and society works** together so I did learn a lot from my family (Male, 23 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants who had family and friends in Canada shared that having these relationships provided them with emotional support, particularly when they experienced loneliness. For example, a participant shared how friends who were from Guyana and Trinidad helped him emotionally adjust as a newcomer:

When I got here the loneliness I wanted to return, within a month, I was fortunate that within a month **I met some friends and I moved out, a bunch of guys, we started living together and that's the only way I stayed on… it was very hard and I mean I wanted to return so badly but it was only because being part of this bunch of guys you feel more comfortable** and it was a bunch of guys and quite a few of us…**it was kind of like strength in numbers**…(Male, 64 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Participants who arrived before the mid 1990s described feeling very aware that they were racial and ethnic minorities. Experiences of racism contributed to experiencing this heightened racial difference. Family and friends provided emotional support in terms of helping to cope with the socio-cultural differences, as well as providing a sense of familiarity or connection with their native cultural customs.

Similar to the current study's findings, other research with diverse immigrant groups also show that newcomers initially seek emotional, instrumental and informational support from informal social networks that include family members, relatives, and friends who were already established in Canada. After experiencing some traction as newcomers, they then widened their social networks to also include bridging social capital by seeking assistance from new sources such as neighbours and other formal social support structures that include community institutions (Stewart et al., 2008). These previous findings are supported by the current study's finding that participants primarily relied on family and friends as sources of emotional, instrumental and informational support when they were newcomers. Family members, relatives and friends can provide support that is more holistic (i.e., encompasses emotional, instrumental and informational support) when compared to formal sources of support. Hernández-Plaza, Pozo, and Alonso-Morillejo (2004) suggest that there are several advantages to seeking support from informal social networks which include the following: (1) *accessibility* – obtaining help from familiar people often occurs in natural contexts and information is often exchanged in a fluid manner. When searching for employment, family members or friends may have direct contacts to employment sources as compared to formal employment resource centers; (2) *congruence* – there is often more alignment between the newcomer and their family members and friends in

terms of understanding the situation and norms of being a newcomer. Individuals who have

undergone similar migration experiences have relatable experiences that can be shared and may

be more readily understood by newcomers; (3) *stability* – compared to accessing information

from various individuals at resource/information centers, family members and friends provide a

stable and predictable source of information and assistance; (4) *multiplicity* – members of the

informal support network often provide multiple forms of support, i.e. instrumental,

informational and emotional support as compared to formal support networks; (5) *equity* –

newcomers are also able to provide support to their family and friends because they are also a

source of familiar customs and this reciprocity in providing and receiving support is preferred;

(6) *relevance* – the knowledge that is provided by informal support networks often emerges in

naturalized settings and cater to the specific needs of the individual. Individuals are able to ask

for information that meets their proximal needs rather than receive information that may not be

immediately pertinent; (7) *flexibility* – informal support is often more readily available and

flexible to specific needs when it is required compared to formal support that may be inflexible

to the specific needs of the individual. Support from family members and friends does not

require navigating bureaucratic processes that can be formal, rigid and does not cater to the

specific needs of the individual.

Another way of thinking about the role of social networks in well-being is through the lens of

social capital. Social capital is defined by Bourdieu (1986) as the embedded resources in social

networks that can be used for accessing more resources, for example employment opportunities

(Bourdieu, 1986 as cited in Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013). Social capital can have varying

impacts on the access to and exchange of social resources such as informational and instrumental

support, depending on the form that it takes (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013). Literature has identified social capital as taking on different forms that include bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is defined as having access to within-group connections (i.e. family and friends) that foster trust and help an individual 'get by', whereas bridging social capital is defined as having between-group connections (i.e. work colleagues, organizational contacts) that help an individual 'get ahead'(Lancee, 2010; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013; Ooka & Wellman, 2001; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 2000). The current study found that gender differences in the use of bonding and bridging capital, particularly in the context of employment occurred, and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

When participants arrived, they experienced socio-economic disadvantages that included economic and social exclusion and these barriers prevented them from accessing resources such as good employment and housing. Their reliance on family and friend support for finding employment and housing demonstrates that they coped with power-over structures by developing their power-with connections. These power-with connections supported their settlement goals of accessing work and income opportunities and facilitated the development of their resilience to adverse social conditions. Importantly, participants described power-over structures in their native countries that functioned as push factors for immigrating. They also described having a strong sense of community and neighbouring in their native countries. It is possible that their value for interpersonal networks was developed in-part from adversity experienced in their native countries and their value for interpersonal networks continued in Canada due to distrust of power-over structures in Canada. Interestingly, participants described the challenges of living in an urbanized environment. Urban environments have been described as fostering anonymity and

individualism (Zuzanek, 1998, 2015). The impact of moving to an urban environment may have functioned as a social-environmental barrier to the development of interpersonal social networks when these immigrants were newcomers.

3.3.1.1 Well-being linked to family and friends

When participants were asked, what well-being means to them and what contributes to their overall health and well-being, the majority indicated that having social relationships with family and/or friends contribute to their well-being. Male participants also emphasized that physical activity contributed to their well-being. For example, a participant described that being involved in sports with his friends contributes to his well-being:

> What does well-being mean for you? **I enjoy sports, I play cricket, I play golf, I am very active, I enjoy being with friends, we play cricket** and we take a few drinks after (Male, 64 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant described being able to care for his family and spend his leisure time with them, as well as playing cricket contributed to his well-being:

> What does wellness or well-being mean to you? Wellness means like also being healthy, **being able to take care of my family**, to do things on my own... **being able to play cricket**…**being able to go out with family for a day picnic and walk** and do stuff (Male, 42 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Female participants emphasized that nurturing internal states of happiness, peace of mind, and their relationships with family contribute to their well-being. For example, a participant described that her well-being was linked to promoting her sense of happiness and having the emotional support of her family:

What does wellness or well-being mean to you? Well-being I would say again would be like you have a sense of yourself, **you know what makes you happy, you know what makes you stress, you would also have strong relationships in your life that you can depend on…surrounding myself with your family mostly and kind of creating that support system**. When you go home from school you have to have that strong family connection

What has contributed to your overall health and wellness? I think my family and my friends (Female, 20 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant shared how having a peace of mind that was linked with being in the company of her family contributed to her well-being:

What does the term wellness or well-being mean to you? **Peace of mind** honestly peace of mind

What do you think contributed to your overall health and wellness? I would think peace of mind… **I think we stay quite stable because my family is here**… **and we all get together very often** (Female, 79 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants described that their relationships with family and friends were connected to their well-being. This suggest that these relationships facilitated their sense of agency and contributed to the development of their power-within. This finding that links participants social interactions with family and friends to their well-being is similar to other studies that have found relations with family and friends impact well-being in terms of happiness, life satisfaction and quality of life (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2008; Brajsa-Zganec, Merkas, & Sverko, 2011; Chilman, 1982; Hynie, Crooks, & Barragan, 2011; Lelkes, 2006; Lloyd & Auld, 2002).

Participants indicated that social engagement and leisurely involvement with family and friends, as well as being able to provide care for their family and create support systems were contributors to their personal well-being. Previous research also suggest having strong social ties to family, friends, neighbours and the community that involves personal investment, trust and the ability to reciprocate in social relations may be more important for well-being than only receiving support or the perception that support is available from others (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Nieminen et al., 2010). Importantly, these previous findings did not distinguish whether differences between social engagement between friends and family exist and if differences exist whether they had a differing impact on health and well-being. The current study findings specifically distinguish that being able to provide care for family members is important for Indo-Caribbean immigrants' well-being.

Gender differences in terms of what contributed to participants' well-being indicate that males emphasized physical activity such as involvement with sports, and particularly cricket, contributed to their well-being. Females indicated that their internal cognitive/emotional state

such as having a peace of mind or positive thinking contributed to their well-being. These gender

findings are supported by previous research that has shown males prefer engaging in physical

activities such as sports, and females prefer engaging in emotional sharing about their feelings,

helping others, and spending time with family and children (Bryce & Haworth, 2002; Caldwell

& Peplau, 1982; Crossley & Langdridge, 2005). The findings that Indo-Caribbean immigrant

males and females build power-within using different pathways suggest that the type of

resources that are available will have varying impacts on their well-being. Supporting this

reasoning are findings from the current study that indicate youth male Indo-Caribbean

immigrants and adult working female immigrants (who were also married and mothers to young

children) built power-within through different pathways. The different pathways to building

power-within suggest that gender influences how power-within is developed. These differences

that are linked to differences in intersections of the participants social identities will be discussed

below.

3.3.2 Sport facilitating youth male immigrants' sense of belonging.

Male Indo-Caribbean participants who immigrated as youth described that making friends and

fitting in to their new environment were concerns when they were newcomers. For example, a

participant who immigrated at the age of 11 shared that he felt lonely because he had not made

friends. When he began playing sports at school he met other students and developed

friendships:

> I didn't have friends as much but it feel kind of strange, you are in a strange place, you
>
> don't know anybody, there are certain things that I didn't know about…not having that

social network … **emotionally I was a bit lonely, not in a sense that I needed to seek medical attention, it was just my emotional thing was a bit lonely in the sense that I hadn't made any friends or they don't understand me**… **after the first year pretty much people got to know me…playing sports in the school yard or whatever they got to know me**, I got to know them, maybe I adapted a bit… so they saw that this guy is not a bad guy, I'm thinking maybe this is what it is… I want to play sports, they want to play sports… at the end of the day we all had some commonalities (Male, 28 years, Indo-Guyanese)

The majority of male participants described how playing cricket facilitated their adjustment by providing a space for them to meet other individuals of a similar West Indian cultural heritage. For example, a participant described how he made friends with other West Indian immigrants and how playing cricket strengthened their social bonds:

When I came here I started playing cricket. **My brother and I started playing cricket…Saturday and Sunday was mostly cricket… I met my friends…we have all since been friends and we have actually become like a family now we play together, we use to all play cricket together** and now we still have one big family and we created something nice in terms of that… **in school I met Trinidadian guys and my brother was more into the cricket than I was and we started playing for different clubs**…(Male, 40 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

Participants engagement in sports and specifically cricket facilitated their adjustment by providing a social network that helped with meeting people and with adjusting to new social norms. The cricket space provided the opportunity to meet individuals of similar West Indian cultural heritage and this helped them maintain a connection with their native culture as well as adjust to new cultural norms. Similar to the current study's findings, other research indicates that immigrant youths tend to establish friendships with individuals who are from the same culture. These friendships help with settlement by facilitating the sharing of information and experiences, providing a sense of acceptance and personal value, and providing a space for constructing and preserving ethnic community and social networks (Chin, 2016; Seat, 2000). Newcomer and immigrant youth participation in leisure activities such as sports has also been linked to a sense of belonging, feeling accepted with peers, experiencing a sense of self-competence, facilitating the development of social networks both within and outside the cultural group, and familiarizing individuals to a new cultural space and social network (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Sam, 2000; Sampson & Gifford, 2010; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Taylor, 2001; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Whitley, Coble, & Jewell, 2016). The male participants gravitation towards cricket suggests that a familiar social 'space' or 'place', i.e. the cricket 'space' was used as a coping mechanism for adapting. Research has shown that 'place' matters when it comes to well-being, particularly for youth (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). When the male participants who immigrated as youth participated in cricket, they were engaging in 'place making', that is, they were creating a familiar place that facilitated the process of adapting and fitting in. The cricket ground served as a social and culturally familiar place that facilitated the restoration of emotional and cultural attachments from their native country and helped them develop a sense of belonging in their new country.

The process of 'place making' through the pathway of sport is interpreted as both power-with and power-within dynamics. Indo-Caribbean who immigrated as youth developed friendships and social networks through sport participation. These social networks were sources of instrumental, informational and emotional support that assisted in navigating settlement challenges. Sports participation also contributed to their well-being by developing their sense of agency via supporting their sense of belonging, as well as through the pathway of physical activity and fitness as findings from this study indicate that physical fitness contributes to male's well-being.

3.3.3 Work facilitating women's sense of independence and accomplishment.

For participants who immigrated as adults, finding employment was a financial necessity. Some of the women who immigrated to Canada with no prior formal work experience were now required to find employment to contribute to their family's living expenses. The requirement to work was a settlement surprise for these women. For example, one participant described that her biggest settlement surprise was having to find employment out of financial necessity. She had never previously worked and having to work full-time and sometimes overtime in a factory environment in addition to taking care of her young children was experienced as an emotional hardship:

> **I didn't expected to work hard in this country because I never worked hard at home so the first year was kind of tough because hard working** … I don't think I could work because **back home you don't work so that's my biggest surprise when they told me I**

have to work… I didn't know what the situation was because if you don't work you get nothing so it is kind of difficult… **I use to work 6 days a week, 3 to 11**… … because you never work over there you just wake up in the morning, cook, eat, clean and relax all day until in the evening and **here you have to work 8 hours at work, come home, you have to work again look after the kids and you know you never have time for yourself sometimes**… **here if you don't work 1 day 2 day you don't have, the bills, you have to work everyday, that's the hardest part, you have to work** (Female, 48 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant who had no previous formal work experience and lived a middle class and financially comfortable lifestyle in Guyana described the decline in her mental health that resulted from having to adjust to living in a basement apartment, raising young children, and finding employment in a factory due to financial necessity:

My mental health was not that good because I wanted to go back home, it was hard to adjust like everything else, it was a big big change. **I never worked before in my life, I had everything and I had to come here…you are renting somebody's basement and you had to get a car, you had to go to work, you had to take care of the children, it was tough, it was stressful but you deal with it because you had to work** (Female, 74 years, Indo-Guyanese)

The women who were required to work for the first time were also mothers to young children and they experienced emotional difficulties adjusting to managing multiple roles. Previous

research has shown that for women, the requirement to work is usually coupled with household labour, and that working women with young children (i.e. under the age of 5 years) report lower levels of life satisfaction when compared to working women with older children (Zuzanek, 2015). Based on these findings, it is likely that the women in the current study who juggled their roles of being first-time workers in the Canadian labour force with their roles as mothers to young children experienced diminished levels of life satisfaction. The women also described that due to their limited training and work experience, they found employment in the low-wage and low-skilled labour sectors. One participant described finding employment in a factory sewing drapes after 2 weeks of immigrating:

> Because my husband found a good job [referring to experience in Guyana] I never worked before but I went out and I found a job within 2 weeks that I came to Canada…**you had to find money to live right, you came with Guyana dollars which didn't go that far so you had to work to pay your bills… I got a job and it was a factory that was making drapes for homes**, an interior decorating place (Female, 74 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant found work in a food packaging factory where she engaged in hard physical labour that included lifting heaving items:

> When I came there was no money or anything and there are bills…my husband was working there and he get me the job and I am still there… have been there for 35 years

> since I came here I work there, **it's a food company, packing heavy stuff, it was hard**
>
> (Female, 48 years, Indo-Guyanese)

These women did not describe having extrinsic expectations from employment (e.g. receiving job promotions etc.) other than earning an income to help take care of their families. They also did not indicate that the type of work and hours of work provided them with satisfaction. Rather, they shared how the type of work was physically difficult and balancing working hours with taking care of their families was physically and emotionally challenging. Previous research that has examined women's job satisfaction and well-being show that having lower expectations from employment influenced overall job-satisfaction and well-being and that women were more likely to indicate that they were concerned with the intrinsic value from employment such as the type of relationships formed at work, the type of work itself, and the hours of work (Clark, 1997). Importantly, these previous findings did not distinguish between newcomer and immigrant women work experiences and the employment sectors in which women worked. Moreover, the current study findings indicate that the type of work and the hours of work can negatively impact women's well-being, particularly if they juggle taking care of their family and work in factory environments that require manual labour.

Although the women experienced challenges adjusting to employment, they also described that working and earning an income provided them with a sense of independence and accomplishment. Work served as a place to develop friendships and to learn about new opportunities (particularly pertaining to further work training and educational programs). Their work experiences also provided them with confidence to later volunteer in their communities.

These experiences contributed to their sense of independence and accomplishment. For example, a participant shared how working as a seamstress in a factory motivated her to enrol in college and pursue training in interior design. She also shared how being a student facilitated new experiences such as going skiing and bowling for the first time with classmates. Her work experiences also equipped her with confidence to become involved in her community as a volunteer:

> I never worked before but I went out and I found a job within 2 weeks that I came to Canada and I worked…and when I left [referring to her first job] I went to college… it was a necessity. If I am going to work I have to be good in what I am doing. I enjoyed it, **I graduated into a designer so it was a job, I enjoyed it… college was a very good experience. I did things that I didn't think I could do, downhill skiing, cross-country skiing, bowling**…I mean in Guyana most women didn't work so you had to depend on your husband or family or whatever but here women are independent women. So I think that is a positive for women... you spend the time, you give it your best shot, you got the job, you take care of your home… **Right now I am on my condo board as a director and the only East Indian but my voice counts. At the mandir my voice counts. I volunteer as much as I can** (Female, 74 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant described how working motivated her to take night courses to improve her employment prospects. At night school she was able to meet new people, develop friendships and engage in social experiences that provided her with new perspectives:

I want to do something instead of staying at home… I did pursue an education and I did work for a while…**I thought I would go to college and I do some night course so I could you know better myself… I just wanted to do something and I get to meet more people…I get to talk about people more and expand my horizon**…I got satisfaction of knowing that I did something and not just sit at home you know and do nothing (Female, 73 years, Indo-Guyanese)

In the current study, accomplishment was a theme that was connected to the women's sense of contribution to their family and community and accomplishment was also connected to their sense of independence that they experienced from social opportunities that they initially accessed through employment. Similar to the current findings, other research has shown that when immigrant women enter the labour market, they also access other social and public spheres (Zentgraf, 2002). Menjivar (1999) suggests that the social processes that accompany work, such as exposure to new behaviours and ideas, provides women with the ability to select and incorporate new practices into their usual or traditional customs and routines and this contributes to their sense of identity and independence.

The women in the current study also described that their well-being is linked to caring for their families. Although they did not explicitly state that working contributed to their well-being, it is likely that their financial contributions to their household positively impacted their well-being because they were able to financially support their families. Other research that has studied the work experiences of immigrant women in Canada have found that employment positively contribute to their well-being by providing them with a sense of identity and independence, as

well as a sense of financial security, even for women who work in lower-waged jobs (Benería & Roldán, 1987; Espiritu, 1997; Foner, 1998; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Lamphere, 1987; Menjivar , 1999; Pedraza, 1991; Pessar, 1987; Pessar, 1995; Rezazadeh & Hoover, 2017, Safa, 1990; Safa, 1995; Salaff, 1990; Stichter, 1988; Wong & Ko, 1984; Zentgraf, 2002).

Women who immigrated as youth also described the sense of independence that they experienced when they were able to travel on their own without being accompanied by others. For example, a participant who had immigrated as a 14 year old described feeling sheltered or overly protected in Guyana but in Canada she enjoyed being able to travel on her own:

> **In Guyana it was more kind of protected in a way and sheltered** in a way and being in Canada it was like ok you have new grounds to explore. **I remember going to school and having to take the school bus versus when I was in Guyana my mom had hired a taxi to take me to school and pick me up back… yeah I was more of a, more independent for me in a way**… like for instance, my mom figure ok I guess the bus system here is very safe and I have to learn the system and I should take the bus and that type of thing…versus in Guyana it was more like kind of protective in a way…you have other family members assisting (Female, 38 years, Indo-Guyanese)

Another participant who immigrated as a 13 year old and began working full-time rather than attending school (due to financial necessity) described the independence that she experienced from earning an income, being able to obtain her driver's license at the age of 16, purchasing her

own vehicle, and being able to travel without having the accompaniment of another, feats she believed would be difficult to accomplish in her native country:

> I guess maybe not having your own independence and you are too dependent on people down there [referring to Trinidad] to go from A to B and like you can't go alone you don't have that freedom compared to North America…**I was already working and I was financially independent…lot of people at my age didn't even have that, I already had my car and I bought an Oldsmobile car brand new…I got my license when I was 16 and I bought my car** (Female, 56 years, Indo-Trinidadian)

These findings are similar to those by Zentgraf (2002) who reported that Salvadoran immigrant women living in the U.S. described a sense of freedom from having greater physical mobility that was linked to not feeling overly regulated and watched, a gender-cultural-social norm experienced in their native country. The current study findings differ from Zentgraf (2002) as the women were youth when they described the independence that they experienced as a result of greater physical mobility. Zentgraf (2002) noted that the women's sense of freedom was not linked to actively challenging their native traditional roles but rather it was related to them having more opportunities to socialize with different people, explore new places, doing usual things in new ways, all without being 'watched' by their families and neighbours. Similar to Zentgraf, the women in the current study described feeling less socially protected by family in Canada and this gave them the opportunity to explore new places and meet new people without being accompanied by a family member.

The findings that women experienced a sense of independence and accomplishment through work experiences suggest that they were able to build power-with and power-within. Power-with stemmed from access to social networks and financial resources that employment and community engagement provided. Working, furthering their education, and community involvement were also likely contributors to their power-within by providing them with opportunities to experience a greater sense of autonomy and accomplishment. Research has identified that experiencing autonomy is a predictor of life satisfaction for individuals who have access to basic material resources (Delhey, 2010). By extension, it can be suggested that the sense of independence or autonomy that the women in the current study experienced likely positively impacted their life satisfaction and their overall well-being.

3.3.4 Summary of power-with and power-within findings.

Research on resilience as it pertains to developing personal and group resources in response to structural barriers has been scarce and the literature that exist on resilience indicate that it is not a unified concept (Hart et al., 2016; VanderPlaat, 2016). Moreover, resilience research has mainly focused on people's intrinsic qualities that help them deal with stressors but has ignored the social impact of adversity (Hart et al., 2016; VanderPlaat, 2016). VanderPlaat (2016) suggest that addressing how social factors including home life, workplaces, community settings and social networks contribute to accessing resources is needed in research that examines resilience. Sociological definitions of resilience have included a person's capacity to access resources and the availability of the resources in the person's community (Ungar, 2006). Resilience has also been conceptualized as a dynamic process of positive adaptation by accessing internal and external resources to cope with and recover from frequent adversity (Grafton, Gillespie, &

Henderson, 2010). Applying a sociological perspective on resilience, Hart et al. (2016) define

resilience as "overcoming adversity, whilst also potentially subtly changing, or even dramatically

transforming, (aspects of) that adversity" (p.6).

People who are marginalized by structural barriers are prevented from accessing material

resources that contribute to optimal well-being. They also experience social exclusion that

negatively impacts their sense of community and belongingness. Barriers that prevent people

from accessing these resources reduce their sense of agency which has been described as a

person's, (1) ability to define a goal, (2) take action by accessing resources, and (3) achieve the

goal (Kabeer, 1999). Access to material and social resources is considered a precondition to a

person's agency and the achievement of attaining one's goals are linked to their well-being

experiences (Kabeer, 1999). When marginalized groups are able to develop and build resources,

this serves to promote their individual and group agency and is interpreted as resilience (Keck &

Sakdapolrak, 2013; Noltemeyer & Bush, 2013).

The current study identified social factors that indicate how Indo-Caribbean immigrants

developed their individual and community resilience while experiencing adverse social

conditions (i.e. power-over) in Canada. Themes that demonstrated resilience include: (1) friend

and family settlement support, (2) sport facilitating youth male immigrants' sense of belonging,

and (3) work facilitating women's sense of independence and accomplishment. These findings

support previous research that suggest when groups are blocked from accessing material and

social resources, they can sometimes circumvent around these barriers by developing their own

resources (Rowlands, 1997). Rowlands (1997) has described the development of collective group

power that is based on mutual support and collaboration as power-with strategies that build

group resilience. Power-with can involve building social networks and resources to overcome

adversity. Connected with power-with strategies are power-within dynamics. Power-within

strategies reflect the development of personal agency that facilitates an individual's goal of

experiencing self-worth and fulfillment (Rowlands, 1997).

The findings in this section focus on power-with and power-within dynamics of people who have

been marginalized by power-over societal structures. However, these findings are not presented

to suggest that participants were able to successfully overcome adversity through individual and

collective group actions. The findings are presented to illustrate that people build resilience

through different power pathways in response to structural barriers. Importantly, they were not

presented to suggest that societal inequities can be solved by power-with and power-within

dynamics. Rather, drawing attention to power-with and power-within serves to highlight how

Indo-Caribbean immigrants strive to transform their social disadvantages by exercising collective

and individual agency, and how these transformations can vary based on their intersecting

identities.

Importantly, reducing structural barriers that result in inequities requires structural-level

interventions. However, Hart et al. (2016) and Solar and Irwin (2010) both warn that there is a

tendency for policies to focus on personal responsibility with the intention on reducing the

nation/state involvement in addressing inequities. The depoliticized strategy to shift focus away

from the nation/state and towards individual and community characteristics, values and lifestyles

can serve to create the narrative that "communities can take care of their own health problems by

generating social capital" (Solar & Irwin, 2010, p. 42). The focus on communities can reduce

the focus on governments in terms of taking responsibility and properly addressing social and

health inequities.

CHAPTER 4

An Intersectional Analysis of Indo-Caribbean Immigrants' Migration and Settlement in Canada

In the previous section, a SDOH-intersectional framework was applied to discuss, (1) what social factors impacted Indo-Caribbean immigrant participants and (2) how nativism is a causal driver behind these structural barriers. Findings indicated that participants were differently impacted by structural barriers on the basis of their social location. For example, male participants who were seeking skilled employment shared how they struggled to find appropriate employment that matched their credentials. Male participants who acquired post-secondary education and work credentials in Canada perceived that their race and ethnicity were barriers to receiving job promotion opportunities. Female participants who immigrated with little to no previous formal work experience shared how finding employment provided them with opportunities to form new social networks and pursue further education. This section will expand on the discussion of why examining Indo-Caribbean immigrants' migration and settlement experiences through an intersectional lens is necessary to identify how structural processes have differing impacts on migration and settlement experiences on the basis on social identity factors.

This section will discuss how race, gender and social status are not fixed identity variables but rather formed by social processes. The social processes at play intersect with social identity variables in varying ways and result in different social experiences. Importantly, we know from the SDOH literature that different social experiences result in differences in people's health and well-being. Hence, an intersectional analysis of Indo-Caribbean immigrants' migration and settlement experiences highlights the nuances that are at play in terms of how social processes

result in different well-being experiences within this community. As argued by Dill-Thornton and Zambrana (2009), applying an intersectional analysis will serve to (1) centralize the experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants, (2) explore the diverse experiences within the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community, (3) demonstrate how social processes have differing impacts within the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community, and (4) promote social awareness, social advocacy and social justice through these research findings. On the last point, hooks (1994, p. 74) emphasizes that theorizing from the struggles of those who are marginalized serves to "recover and remember ourselves." As such, "a fundamental tenet of intersectionality is that the advancement of knowledge of any oppressed population should begin with the perspective of those that are oppressed and not that of the dominant culture" (Constance-Huggins, 2018, p. 83).

4.1 An Overview of Intersectionality

Before discussing the intersectional nuances at work within the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community a general discussion of intersectionality will be provided. This is necessary because since intersectionality was formally introduced over 30 years ago in the academic arena, it has become a 'travelling' theory or approach to research that has been applied across disciplines (Bilge, 2013). As a result, its application has been misinterpreted and misrepresented in some contexts (Bilge, 2013; Bowleg, 2008; Chang & Culp, 2002; Davis, 2008; Jordan-Zachery, 2000; McCall, 2005; Mehrotra, 2010; Nash, 2008). A discussion of how intersectionality has been misrepresented will also serve to inform how an intersectional analysis was applied in the context of understanding Indo-Caribbean immigrants' experiences.

Kimberlé Crenshaw is credited for the formal introduction of intersectionality as an approach for understanding how structural barriers that are based on multiple forms of oppression result in diverse experiences of marginalization for women of colour (Mehrotra, 2010). Crenshaw along with other feminists of colour such as Patricia Hill-Collins, bell hooks, and Sherene Razack have noted that wider systems of domination shape and structure people's lives through the interplay of categories of difference that include but are not limited to race, class and gender (Ferrer, Grenier, Brotman, & Koehn, 2017). These systems of domination are interlocking and interdependent oppressions that are experienced simultaneously (Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 2000; Mehrotra, 2010; Razack, 2001) and an examination of intragroup differences on how marginalization from these oppressions are experienced is required. Interlocked systems of domination include structures of racism, colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism (Ferrer et al., 2017). These systems operate through processes of differentiation by creating hierarchies of race, gender, and social class (to name a few) (Ferrer et al., 2017; Hill Collins, 2000).

Intersectional analysis considers how processes of differentiation (1) organize people's lives in various ways and thereby create dynamics of domination and oppression that result in economic and social exclusion for some, and (2) how people resist these modes of differentiation through various ways such as reliance on family and culturally familiar networks (Ferrer et al., 2017). When a focus on the processes of differentiation occurs, this serves to broaden the understanding of how social processes result in marginalized experiences among racialized groups and how people from racialized and other marginalized communities respond to these experiences. Intersectionality also emphasizes that the specific realties of members of marginalized groups

must be considered as people within marginalized groups will have differing experiences that are influenced by different contexts (Ferrer et al., 2017).

Leslie McCall (2005) suggest that differences in how intersectionality has been applied across disciplines is due to how social categories are understood. McCall (2005) identifies 3 types of intersectional approaches: (1) intra-categorical, (2) inter-categorical, and (3) anti-categorical. The intra-categorical approach is most aligned with the original perspective of intersectionality as it challenges the essentialization of social categories of race, gender, class and assumptions of homogeneity within these categories. This approach interprets social categories as interlocking and argues that social categories are formed from multiple oppressive processes that operate on multiple identity variables simultaneously. Intra-categorical approaches center the unique marginalized experiences of racialized groups and considers how oppressive structures contribute to marginalized experiences due the intersecting multiple identities. In contrast, inter-categorical approaches assume that social categories are discrete and not interlocking. Inter-categorical analysis is usually presented as multi-group comparisons across analytical categories to demonstrate relationships of inequality between social groups. Anti-categorical approaches challenge the idea of social categories as real, fixed, and homogenous and bounded by social structures. Rather, anti-categorical approaches adopt the perspective that social categories are constructed by language and discourse (McCall, 2005).

4.2 Criticisms of 'travelling' intersectional approaches – the colonizing of intersectionality

Crenshaw has stated that, "political strategies that challenge only certain subordinating practices while maintaining existing hierarchies not only marginalize those who are subject to multiple

systems of subordination but also often result in oppositionalizing race and gender discourses." (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 112-113). Criticisms of the various interpretations and applications of intersectionality that stray from the original intersectional perspective state that these applications function to depoliticize intersectionality. Depoliticizing occurs when the focus shifts from how systems of domination are interlocked with the experiences of marginalized people to focusing primarily on 'managing potentially problematic kinds of diversity' without a focus on the wider oppressive structures (Bilge, 2013, p.408). According to Bilge (2013), including a focus on oppressive structures is critical for generating counter-hegemonic and transformative knowledge production and activism. Bilge (2013) refers to the shift from focusing on interlocking power structures to a remarketed focus on 'knowledge of diversity' as *ornamental intersectionality* and argues that depoliticizing intersectionality is not benign; it undermines the potentials for addressing causal power structures and applying social justice advocacy.

Ornamental intersectionality approaches can occur when race is removed or down-played as a central focus (Bilge, 2013). Petzen (2012) argues that removing, shifting and decentralizing the focus on power dynamics that are interconnected with racial hierarchical productions creates a more palatable and less threatening approach to applying intersectionality in different contexts. However, when this occurs the primary focus often becomes understanding multiple forms of diversity and its associated experiences rather than how power structures are interconnected with hierarchical processes that result in diverse experiences. Tomlinson (2013) argues that academic discourses that do not simultaneously interrogate power hierarchies contribute to replicating these hierarchies. For example, when the marginalized experiences of people of colour are grouped under a singular plural category, this perpetuates the colonized approach that 'one can

stand for all' and one racialized category can be substituted for another. This approach can

contribute to conflating the experiences of people who are unidentified by categorizing their

experiences under the umbrella of other marginalized groups (Bilge, 2013; Tomlinson, 2013).

Furthermore, when inter-categorical intersectional approaches are centrally focused on

comparing experiences between marginalized groups without integrating wider power structures

that are interlocked with these experiences, the result is a colonized form of intersectionality that

conveniently ignores the systems of domination (i.e. racism, colonialism, patriarchy and

capitalism; Bilge, 2013).

**4.3 An intra-categorical intersectional analysis of Indo-Caribbean immigrants' migration
and settlement**

The current study utilized an intra-categorical intersectional approach to examining social

processes that impact Indo-Caribbean immigrants' migration and settlement experiences. This

approach was applied to understand the wider interlocking power structures that contribute to

Indo-Caribbean immigrants' experiences of marginalization. This approach was utilized to un-tie

the experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants from those of other marginalized groups with the

objective of understanding the power structures that are interconnected with this group's varying

and unique social identities. The intra-categorical approach is necessary to understand how

differing social locations within the Indo-Caribbean community are linked to various social

experiences that might be expected to be linked to different outcomes in terms of health and

well-being. It is acknowledged that social location is comprised of multiple identity variables

that include race, ethnicity, gender, social class, sexuality, ability, age and migration cohort (to

list a few). This analysis will focus on race, gender, social class, immigration cohort and immigration entry class.

Indo-Caribbean immigrant participants' sense of community and employment experiences were impacted by complex and interconnected relationships between their social identity variables (that included their race, gender, immigration cohort and entry class) and wider social, economic and political processes. This intersectional analysis shows how immigration and labour policies that have been influenced by nativist ideology have impacted the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community, specifically in relation to their sense of community, their development of social capital and their employment experiences. Importantly, this analysis serves to illustrate how people within the Indo-Caribbean immigrant community were similarly, as well as differently impacted, and that identifying these differences provides a deeper understanding of how oppressive structural processes can result in different social and economic experiences within groups. Understanding the pathways that create these differences can serve to better inform policies that aim to reduce societal inequities.

As it is difficult to carryout an intersectional analysis without categorizing the intersecting variables, the researcher acknowledges that the examination will be organized in a categorized manner. The intention of doing so is to examine how the different categories of examination intersect in overlapping ways. Race, gender, immigration cohort and immigration entry class will be examined to reveal how these categories intersected and resulted in differing sense of community experiences. Race, gender, immigration cohort and immigration entry class will also

be examined to reveal how the interplay of these social categories resulted in differing employment experiences for individuals within this community.

4.4 Sense of community

The previous chapter discussed how sense of community for the participants in the current study was negatively impacted after immigration. Prior to immigration, these individuals enjoyed a sense of community and they did not consider or anticipate that they would experience a decline in this domain after immigration. A decline in a sense of community was interconnected to how they experienced race. Gender, immigration cohort and entry class also influenced how a sense of community was experienced and fostered in Canada. These interconnected factors will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.4.1 Race and sense of community.

Participants described experiences of everyday and workplace discrimination. They did not expect to experience racism in Canada and these experiences contributed to feelings of social alienation. Moreover, feeling socially alienated and marginalized because of their colour was a first-time experience for many and some described experiencing confusion when they were told to return to where they came from. Experiences of racism resulted in cognitive dissonance, they were invited to Canada through immigration pathways, but they did not feel welcomed and accepted due to their race.

Participants acknowledged that racism occurred in their native countries, but they described that racism occurred in a political context and was specifically related to tensions between political

parties that were formed along ethnic lines. They did not describe experiencing everyday racism and this is likely related to their dominant group status in their native countries. Indo-Caribbean immigrants belonged to a majority ethnic group (ethnicity is tied to race and other geo-cultural factors such as language, religion and ancestral lineage) in their native countries with Indo-Trinidadians sharing dominant group status with Afro-Trinidadians. As a result, their experiences of sense of belonging and community would differ in the context of race. Moreover, these individuals and their ancestors contributed to the modern-day development of their native countries and so the notion of experiencing messages such as 'go back to where you came from' would not have entered their psyches or belief systems. Thus, these hostile comments caught them by surprise, especially as many came with the intention of finding employment and settling with their families in Canada.

When people are made to feel different, and when they experience social alienation due to their skin colour, this contributes to the socially constructed experience of race, an identity that is shaped by social, political, economic and historical contexts (Constance-Huggins, 2018; Davis, 2016). The social construction of race that stratifies individuals on the basis of skin colour is a mechanism of nativism that aims to create a dominant or preferred race, and in doing so, considers other racial categories as inferior. The stratification of people on the basis of racial categories functions to determine peoples access to resources, which facilitates or hinders a sense of belonging and social support (Basran, 1983; Branker, 2017; Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; James, 2007). When people are systematically blocked from accessing resources such as jobs, when they experience acts of racial aggression in their communities, and when they are treated as though they are invisible in their workplaces because of their racial status, this is referred to as

systemic racism (Feagin, 2006). Systemic racism can be considered a production of nativism that seeks to ensure that the dominant Anglo race receives preference to social opportunities while people who fall lower on the racial hierarchy receive less access. This form of social exclusion has a negative impact on people's sense of belonging to a community (Johnson et al., 2007; Young, Russell, & Powers, 2004) which in turn negatively impacts their health and well-being.

4.4.2 Gender and sense of community.

After immigrating, men and women in the current study developed a sense of belonging and community under different contexts. Participating in the sport of cricket served as a space where men developed social bonds and social capital with other Caribbean immigrants. Women's entrance into the formal labour market served as a gateway for developing social networks and expanding their social capital. These differing pathways indicate that men utilized bonding social capital while women utilized bridging social capital for developing their sense of belonging and community.

In their native countries the sport of cricket was a leisurely activity that was enjoyed by the majority of men who were interviewed. As immigrants, the cricket field became a meeting space for these men to connect with culturally-similar individuals. This space served as a place of leisure where new social bonds formed, and the development of social capital occurred. Some of the men described finding employment opportunities through social connections at the cricket fields. Men also described forming friendships with other West-Indian immigrants and that these friendships helped them develop knowledge of Canadian social customs, as well as helped them maintain a cultural connection to their native countries. Similar to the current study findings,

Plaza (2006) described how the cricket field served as a space that helped male adult Canadian immigrants from the Caribbean to adjust to their new country. Joseph (2014) similarly described how the cricket field functioned as a social space for Afro-Caribbean immigrants and how this space aided with the development of social capital. The men in the current study were able to use their cultural capital (i.e. their social-cultural connection to cricket) too access a familiar space (i.e. the cricket field). They were able to meet people from their native countries or from similar ethnic backgrounds and this helped them establish new social networks. These networks functioned as social capital in terms of assisting in finding employment and developing cultural groups that later grew in size to become cultural organizations, which in turn had more power and resources to offer the members.

Women in the current study who immigrated as adults described their work spaces as a gateway to meet new people, have new social experiences, and expand their human and social capital. For some of the women, entering the formal labour market was a new experience. In their native countries they were housewives and mothers but after immigrating they were required to find employment. Women described forming new social bonds with co-workers and experiencing a social life outside of their homes. For some, work also served as a pathway to further their education credentials and develop their human capital.

Unlike the men who developed bonding social capital through the cricket space, women formed bridging social capital at their workplaces. The difference in developing bonding and bridging capital is linked to the availability of social resources such as sports teams that men and women had differing access to. Organized sports has traditionally been interpreted as a masculine

activity (Hardin & Greer, 2009) and as a result men have predominantly experienced greater social access to these sport spaces. Indo-Caribbean men had access to opportunities for participating in a culturally familiar activity with culturally familiar individuals whereas women did not share equal access to such opportunities. The access that was afforded to men resulted in their ability to broaden their social-cultural bonds and form bonding capital with culturally-familiar individuals. Women, who did not have equal access to socially-cultural familiar spaces (particularly in the late 60s, 70s and 80s when cultural organizations such as religious centers and literary groups were scarce) found new spaces via work environments that helped them develop bridging social capital with co-workers.

Importantly, bonding and bridging social capital have differing impacts on immigrants' employment experiences. While bonding social capital is positively associated with helping newcomers acquire employment, finding employment through relatives and ethnically homogenous friendship networks is also linked to acquiring lower-income and lower-skill employment (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013). On the other hand, finding employment through bridging social capital that includes exposure to heterogenous ethnic groups result in increase probabilities of acquiring higher-income employment (Hou & Picot, 2003; Ooka & Wellman, 2001; Xue, 2008). Women in the current study described how social connections at their initial places of employment provided information pertaining to skill training and this motivated them to pursue further education and work opportunities. Most men in the current study who found lower-skill employment with the help of family members and friends did not describe furthering their education and skills to acquire higher-income employment after immigrating. These findings indicate that although men were considered the main income earners in their families,

the lack of utilizing bridging capital likely reduced their access to higher-income work opportunities.

4.4.3 Entry cohort, immigration class, and a sense of community.

The time of migration and the entrance class used by migrants are connected to the economic-political context in the receiving country and these factors are interconnected with newcomers' social experiences and their sense of community. Participants who immigrated during the late 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s experienced differing social circumstances from those who immigrated in the 1990s and later. Those who immigrated between the late 1960s and throughout the 70s and 80s were considered the first wave of Caribbean immigrants to Canada. This first wave of immigrants commonly described missing their family and friends back in their native countries whereas more recent immigrants described a pull factor was to reunite with family in Canada. These differences in access to community networks also resulted in differing social experiences in terms of finding housing and employment. For example, participants who arrived in the 1990s or later predominantly described receiving help with finding employment and housing from family and friends whereas participants who arrived earlier described having to find employment and housing on their own or with the help from newly formed friendships.

Participants who immigrated in the late 1960s and through to the 1980s also described how they contributed to forming cultural organizations. The first wave of Indo-Caribbean immigrants contributed to establishing cultural roots in Canada that included West-Indian groceries and restaurants, religious institutions, literary circles, cricket clubs and organizations, and annual cultural festivities. These culturally-specific resources and networks served to positively impact

the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants who arrived in the 1990s and later. It is important to note that immigrants who contributed to establishing cultural networks in Canada were more likely to have acquired permanent residency status. Permanent residency allows individuals the opportunity to establish social and cultural roots (Leach, 2013) as there is more certainty pertaining to their ability to stay in Canada on a long-term basis. This certainty provided people with the opportunity to establish community by developing their social capital. After the 1980s permanent residency options for Caribbean residents decreased as Canada promoted temporary worker programs that were more fitting for the needs of the private sector and less influenced by government social immigration policies (Leach, 2013). Temporary worker programs made it difficult for migrants to transform their residency status from temporary to permanent residency (Leach, 2013). The decrease in permanent residency entry opportunities for Caribbean residents resulted in diminished migration of people from this region. This resulted in a diminished population growth in Canada of Caribbean immigrants in general. The reduction in population growth of Caribbean immigrants and Indo-Caribbean immigrants has resulted in a reduced capacity for sustaining culturally-specific organizations and social networks in Canada when compared to immigrants from other countries such as India and China. This has reduced Indo-Caribbean immigrants' ability to increasingly develop social capital when compared to other immigrant groups in Canada. These findings highlight that smaller immigrant groups such as Indo-Caribbean immigrants have limited social networks (particularly the first wave of Indo-Caribbean immigrants') that can provide access and support to financial and social resources.

Immigration entry class is also connected to immigrants' ability to maintain transnational social connections. Immigrants with permanent residency status were more likely to have the

opportunity to travel back and forth between Canada and their native countries and maintain

transnational connections with family and friends. Individuals who migrated under other entry

pathways such as temporary foreign or domestic worker categories would have reduced

opportunities to maintain transnational relationships (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). Social

status, which is also connected to entry class also influenced the ability to maintain transnational

social connections. Individuals who immigrated under the permanent residency class were more

likely to have skilled work experience and earn higher incomes than individuals who migrated

under temporary migration pathways. Moreover, the children of parents with permanent

residency status had more opportunities to visit their native countries and maintain cultural

connections. Indo-Caribbean immigrants who could financially afford to sponsor family

members such as parents or children to reunite in Canada also had more opportunities to

maintain social relationships. Indo-Caribbean migrants who worked as domestic and seasonal

workers or as temporary foreign workers were less likely to have the ability to sponsor their

families to join them in Canada due to economic and/or immigration policies. Moreover, they

experienced more uncertainty in terms of their future residency status in Canada. These

uncertainties are likely to have negatively impacted their sense of belonging and social networks

in Canada, and thus would have impacted their well-being in differing ways when compared to

Indo-Caribbean immigrants with permanent residency status.

4.5 Employment

Hoping for better income opportunities that is linked to the hope for better employment

opportunities was a common pull factor for immigration. The study findings showed that the

experience of employment varied along gender lines, where men described more dissatisfactory

experiences in comparison to women. Race and entry class also influenced employment experiences for this group. The followings subsections will examine how the experience of employment was interconnected to gender, race, immigration cohort and immigration entry class.

4.5.1 Race and employment.

Participants described encountering and/or observing racial discrimination in their workplaces. Racial discrimination was commonly described as being subtle and was linked to not being considered for job promotions. When systemic societal practices function to create advantages for some and disadvantages for others because of skin colour this creates a societal belief that skin colour determines a person's value. This societal belief is reflected in systemic racism that occurs in Canada, particularly through employment and immigration pathways. Evidence for this is seen when Canada's labour and immigration policies are examined. For example, prior to 1962, Canada's immigration policies were openly discriminatory by restricting entry to people from countries that were predominately considered non-white. These nativist practices where carried out to ensure that Canada's population characteristics in terms of race underwent little change (Branker, 2017; Green & Green, 2004; James, 2010; Knowles, 2007; Satzewich, 1991). It was not until 1967 when Canada experienced a skilled labour shortage that nativist immigration policies were lifted (Branker, 2017). This was the period in which the first wave of Indo-Caribbean skilled migration to Canada occurred. However, when these immigrants arrived, rather than obtaining employment in the skilled service sectors many were forced to work in the lower-skilled sectors. This occurred because their foreign skills and work experiences were devalued in comparison to Canadian credentials. As previously noted, the broad devaluing of foreign experience reflects nativist ideology. Moreover, post 1960s when there has been a steady

increase of visible-minority immigrants to sustain the Canadian economic growth, nativist ideology still functions to devalue their foreign credentials. This devaluing has resulted in labour and economic patterns that make it more likely for immigrants of colour, including Indo-Caribbean immigrants, to occupy lower-skilled and lower-income employment positions.

4.5.2 Gender and employment.

Men and women in the current study described differing experiences related to employment. When examining the intersections between gender and employment it is important to consider the historical, political, economic and social contexts that shape the employment experiences of men and women. In their native countries, Trinidadian and Guyanese men were more likely to join the skills, manufacturing and agricultural sectors. Women were more likely to join the teaching, nursing and service sectors as these roles fit under the feminine 'caregiver' ideology (Roopnarine, 2016). In the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s there was a Canadian labour demand for skilled workers. This demand provided more opportunities for men to immigrate under the skilled worker permanent residency entry class. These opportunities were not afforded to women because very few women worked in the skilled and manufacturing sectors. Linking the Canadian labour-economic context to Canada's immigration policies is integral for explaining why more men in the current study described experiences of deskilling. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter, although there was a Canadian need for skilled workers, nativist ideology downgraded their foreign credentials as an attempt to ensure that non-immigrants received employment preference.

For women in the current study, and particularly those who had no previous formal work experience (although some may have earned income from non-formal work activities such as baking or sewing), employment served as a pathway for experiencing a sense of independence and accomplishment. These women described obtaining employment in Canada was due to financial necessity and that they worked in the low-skilled labour force. The adjustment to work was difficult particularly for those who had young children to care for. These women described the fatigue that they experienced having to balance caring for their families while also working, some of whom worked full time hours. Although adjusting to work was difficult the women also described the intrinsic satisfaction derived from their work experiences such as forming new social relationships. For example, women commonly described developing friendships and learning new perspectives from others at work.

Some gender and migration narratives interpret women's necessity to follow their husbands (who are viewed as the primary migrants) as linked to patriarchal-driven, economic, labour and immigration processes that result in marginalized economic and social experiences for women (Raghuram, 2004). These Western feminist interpretations consider the dual roles that women often undertake in terms of working outside of the home and also bearing primary responsibility for family caretaking as detrimental to women's well-being. The premise for this position stems from connecting the low-wage labour sectors that women occupy to their reduced ability to exercise work-place agency such as being able to make work-related decisions (Anitha, Pearson, & McDowell, 2012). However, utilizing a Western lens does not adequately capture the cultural, historical, and gender dynamics at play within the lives of Indo-Caribbean women and their families.

Other feminist narratives interpret women's decision to immigrate and find employment as a process of love and empowerment (Baldwin & Mortley, 2016; Raghuram, 2004). These interpretations consider women's work roles outside of their households as empowering and suggest that these roles provide women with opportunities to develop social networks and personal agency that shape their lives (Anitha et al., 2012). This perspective is supported by findings from the current study in that women experienced a sense of independence and developed power-within and power-with from their work experiences. Baldwin and Mortley (2016) applied a love/power lens to suggest that Anglo-Caribbean women (that includes Indo-Caribbean women, regardless of social class and race) define themselves in terms of their family and as such, place the welfare of their family first and foremost. In doing so, these women make caretaking decisions that will benefit their families and their extended social networks. If their households require additional income, then these women extend their caretaking roles to finding additional income sources such as acquiring formal employment and/or using their creative and industrious abilities such as baking, sewing, cooking etc. to earn income. Baldwin and Mortley (2016) also connect love/power with the promotion of these women's personal agency that is formed in part through the development of social networks that contribute to their individual and community empowerment.

The differences in employment experiences of Indo-Caribbean men and women immigrants in the current study were shaped by economic, political, historical and cultural processes that resulted in differing experiences between these groups. Men in the current study were more likely to experience deskilling due to the interplay of Canada's labour, immigration and social

processes that favoured skilled immigration pathways but simultaneously functioned to preserve Canadian nativist ideology. Women in the current study did not share the same immigration opportunities as men due to Canada's labour needs that influenced immigration policies. As a result, women's employment expectations differed, and this impacted how they interpreted and experienced employment. Men had pre-migration employment goals that included obtaining better employment opportunities and income earnings, but these goals were not realized post-migration. Rather, men experienced downward employment mobility and reduced income earnings. The inability for men to achieve their migration goals negatively impacted their well-being. On the other hand, women commonly described not having an expectation to work prior to migration but the financial and social resources that they acquired from work post-migration served to promote their sense of agency and social resources.

4.5.3 Entry cohort, immigration class, and employment.

 Participants employment experiences varied, however, there were patterns in their employment experiences that were linked to entry cohort and entry class. For example, some participants who immigrated as young adults in the late 1960s and early 1970s described obtaining tertiary education in Canada and this influenced their employment and earning prospects. Some of these individuals came as university students. They described finding employment in the service and agricultural sectors during their summer breaks and used these employment experiences as well as their Canadian education credentials to obtain permanent residency status. Adults who immigrated after the late 1970s were less likely to pursue Canadian tertiary education and were more likely to work in the manufacturing and service sectors. This may be linked to changes in the Canadian economy that occurred in late 1970s and 1980s due to a global recession that

resulted in increases in the cost of living in Canada. These changes in the cost of living would have made it more difficult for some to return to school. The SES of participants in their native countries also influenced their immigration entry class and employment experiences. Variations in employment experiences that are linked to entry cohort, entry class and SES will be further examined in the context of Canada's labour and immigration policies.

Canada has a history over the last several decades of permitting entrance to Caribbean immigrants through various entry streams. The streams that Indo-Caribbean immigrants entered Canada impacted their ability to access employment, the type of employment that they could obtain, and their income potentials. For example, immigrants who entered under foreign-worker permits such as the seasonal agricultural worker program (SAWP), the temporary foreign worker program (TFWP), or the live-in caregiver program (LCP) were guaranteed employment from an employer prior to migration. However, these immigrants experienced limits on the type of employment that they could obtain, they also faced precarious work situations, and were more likely to have limited income earning potentials relative to those coming through other streams. Also, due to their temporary residency status, they were permitted to remain in Canada for only a short-term period and, except for live-in caregivers, could not apply for permanent residency status. Individuals who entered under the skilled-worker permanent residency class or the family-entry class had more permanence but may have struggled to find employment. Those who stayed on as irregular migrants would be particularly vulnerable to exploitation and precarious employment (Henry, 1994; Leach, 2013).

The following historical account of the immigration and employment patterns of Caribbean immigrants in Canada is also generalizable to the Indo-Caribbean immigrant population. The entry streams that were available to Caribbean immigrants varied across the last several decades, thus the migration cohort (i.e. the time period or year of immigration) that Indo-Caribbean immigrants entered Canada influenced their employment experiences. In the 1950s and 1960s Canada attracted domestic workers from the Caribbean, and in the 1960s temporary agricultural workers began entering from the Caribbean. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s there was also a flow of permanent residency immigrants who entered as skilled workers (Plaza, 2001). These immigrants were selected on the basis of their work experiences and education credentials and their overall education level was higher than the Canadian-born population (Richmond, 1988). Individuals who could financially afford to enter Canada under the skilled permanent residency stream were also likely be of middle to higher SES in their native countries when compared to migrants who entered under the agricultural and domestic worker scheme.

Between the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s Canadian labour growth was more concentrated in the tertiary industries, particularly in the finance, trade, services and public administration sectors (Richmond, 1988). Due to the higher skill and education levels of the Caribbean permanent residency class immigrants it is reasonable to suggest that they found employment in these higher paying tertiary sectors. However, the statistics suggest that this is more likely the case for those who arrived prior to the 1970s (Richmond, 1988). Moreover, those employed in the tertiary industry would likely have earned higher incomes than those working as domestics or as agricultural workers. Statistics from the 1970s indicate that there was a higher concentration of Caribbean immigrants, and particularly newcomers or recently arrived

immigrants working in the processing and manufacturing industries when compared to the

Canadian-born population. The second highest concentration of employed Caribbean

immigrants, and particularly male Caribbean immigrants, was found in the professional and

technical labour sectors (but only up until 1975 for the latter) (Richmond, 1988). The number of

skilled Caribbean immigrants working in the professional and technical industry was also lower

compared to the average for immigrants in Canada during the 1970s. After the 1970s the number

of skilled Caribbean immigrants in Canada diminished due to the dwindling need for foreign

skilled labour as a result of changes in the Canadian economy and work-force, and increased

population growth due to immigration (Richmond, 1988). After the 1980s permanent residency

options for Caribbean residents decreased while Canada promoted temporary worker programs

that were more fitting for the needs of the private sector and less influenced by government

social immigration policies (Leach, 2013). Temporary worker programs made it difficult for

migrants to transform their residency status from temporary to permanent residency (Leach,

2013) and the decrease in permanent residency entry opportunities resulted in a diminished

migration pattern of people from Caribbean. As a result, family class immigrants became the

largest entry stream of migrants from the Caribbean (Plaza, 2001).

Another entry stream that Caribbean migrants have used for Canada is through the foreign

student visa program. Canada has had a history of carrying out Presbyterian education missions

to the English-speaking Caribbean beginning in the late 1800s. These historical education

missions have attracted Caribbean students to pursue post-secondary education in Canadian

institutions, with some students receiving scholarships to study in Canada (Plaza, 2001;

Samaroo, 1975). In the late 1960s and during the 1970s there was an increase flow of foreign

students from the Caribbean who entered Canada for post-secondary education. These students were likely to be of middle to upper SES in their native countries. Some of these students acquired Canadian work experience during their stay and subsequently applied for permanent residency status. While in the 1960s and throughout the 1990s foreign students were not permitted to legally work, this restriction was subsequently lifted in the late 2000s allowing foreign students to legally work and obtain Canadian work experience during their education training (Leach, 2013).

Some migrants from the Caribbean including Indo-Caribbean migrants decided to enter Canada under temporary visitor status but decided to remain in Canada without formal status. Both men and women (and who may have mostly been of low to middle income status in their native countries) chose this route of entry into Canada. Their main objective was to find better income earning opportunities. This entry pathway resulted in these undocumented migrants occupying low wage employment in precarious work environments. While some women found domestic employment as babysitters and housecleaners other women found employment in the manufacturing sector. Men who stayed without documentation were likely to find precarious employment in the construction and manufacturing industries. Some undocumented migrants who entered Canada were able to find pathways for permanent residency through family sponsorship. Those who were not able to acquire permanent residency status ended up returning to their native countries (Leach, 2013).

Leach (2013) discusses how the changing pattern in entry streams for migrants reflect how Canadian demographic and political objectives that are influenced by capitalist agendas

contribute to the type of migrants (i.e. SES class) and the entry class of migrants to Canada. Specifically, Canadian labour needs is a primary driver behind the types of migrants that are permitted to enter and work. Moreover, the labour needs that influence the entry streams available for migration also influence the social status of migrants (Leach, 2013). For example, women from the Caribbean of lower SES were more likely to enter Canada under the LCP stream in the late 1950s and 1960s. These women often left behind young children and their spouses in their native country with the intention of finding employment to help support their families (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). The women who were able to obtain permanent residency and subsequent Canadian citizenship status later sent for their family members through family sponsorship pathways. In the 1960s, SAWP typically recruited men (~97% men compared to women) from the Caribbean and elsewhere who were also of lower SES (Leach, 2013; Linkton, 1998). The men who entered Canada via SAWP and who had spouses and children left their family members behind in their native countries with the intention of finding employment and providing economic support for their families. This was different for skilled migrants from the Caribbean who entered under the points system and who were more often of middle SES. Skilled migrants, who were more likely to be of mid-age and were mostly men, also often immigrated independently from their spouses and children with the objective of finding employment and housing before their families reunited in Canada. However, some skilled immigrants migrated together with their families. In the 1980s to current times, family class entry has become the main entry stream for Caribbean immigrants to Canada. Indo-Caribbean immigrants who settled in the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s have sponsored their family members through family-sponsorship programs to enter Canada. Family members who are sponsored are often older adults and are the parents of the immigrants. In the last two decades the number of Caribbean immigrants entering

Canada via the SAWP and TFWP have declined. Reasons given for this decline include low esteem for agricultural work which may be influenced by the history of slavery and indentureship in the Caribbean (Khan, 2004; Leach, 2013) and a lack of certainty for permanent residency status and long-term economic success in Canada. Furthermore, people from the Caribbean are now more familiar with the economic and social difficulties that are encountered in Canada and the hardships that are experienced when family dynamics are disrupted due to migration. Caribbean migrants who presently enter Canada through SAWP and TFWP do so out of a lack of economic opportunities in their native countries and are often single men of younger adult age with low incomes and are without children and spouses (Leach, 2013).

The varying entry streams that Indo-Caribbean immigrants used to enter Canada over the last several decades demonstrate how Canadian labour needs influenced the migration patterns of these people. The entry streams also demonstrate how immigration policy in Canada is less concerned about the social welfare of the growing immigrant population and more concerned with regards to meeting labour needs. As a result, Indo-Caribbean immigrants have experienced varying employment, economic and social challenges that are linked to their period of immigration and immigration entry class (Leach, 2013) and these varying social experiences will have impacted their well-being in different ways.

CHAPTER 5

The Power Model of Well-Being

The previous two chapters identified: (1) what social factors impacted Indo-Caribbean immigrants; (2) how nativism is a causal driver behind these structural barriers; and (3) how differences in Indo-Caribbean immigrants sense of community and employment experiences occurred due to their race, gender, immigration cohort and immigration entry class. This chapter integrates these findings to develop a power model of well-being (see figure 1) that connects how the power-over structure of nativism results in structural and social inequities and how these inequities produce negative impacts on participants' well-being. The model also illustrates how power-with and power-within structures that develop from group and individual resilience promotes Indo-Caribbean immigrants' well-being even in the face of structural and social inequities.
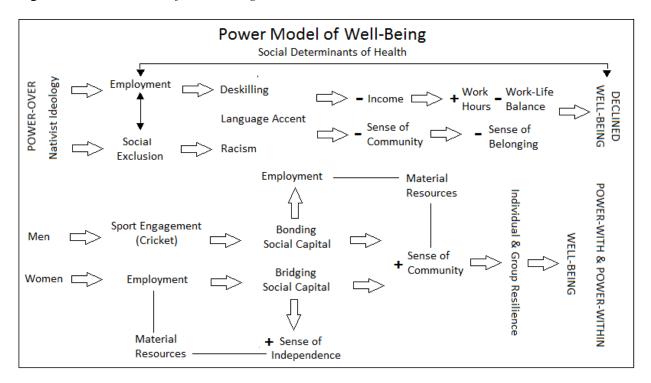
Figure 1. *Power Model of Well-Being*

Figure 1 indicates that power-over nativist ideology operates through two different but overlapping pathways that result in employment inequities and social exclusion. One mechanism of nativism is the creation of structural barriers that prevent Indo-Caribbean immigrants from accessing suitable employment. Employment inequities manifest through the deskilling of foreign work experiences and education credentials. When Indo-Caribbean immigrants' credentials and skills are systemically not accepted due to nativist ideology that devalues and discounts what is foreign, the result in unequal access to appropriate employment opportunities.

Barriers to accessing employment that matches their skills and experiences often result in seeking survival employment (especially as newcomers) that in turn reduces their income earning potentials. Reduced income is a mechanism that increases material deprivation, and this negatively impacts their work-life balance by resulting in longer working hours due to financial necessity and more hours of undergoing requalification. The imbalance in work-life balance results in reduced social and leisurely activities with family and friends, and these factors have been identified by participants in the current study as being important for their well-being. Thus, this pathway illustrates how power-over nativist ideology results in lower income and social deprivation, two SDOH factors that have been connected to reduced health and well-being outcomes (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Raphael, 2002).

It is important to note that power-over structures have differing impacts on people due to their unique social identities but despite the differences, these impacts always result in living experiences that place disadvantaged people and their families at risk for poorer health and well-being. For example, skilled Indo-Caribbean immigrants who have been mostly men (due to tied

economic-immigration policies) are more likely to experience deskilling. However, their reduced income earnings that result from deskilling also negatively impact their families' well-being. This is seen when their wives are required to find low-wage labour (as described by participants in the current study) to help contribute to their families' income, and this also results in an overall reduction in their family-life balance.

Another mechanism of power-over nativist ideology that negatively impacts the well-being of Indo-Caribbean immigrants is via social exclusion which is recognize as a powerful SDOH. When Indo-Caribbean immigrant participants in the current study settled in Canada, they reported experiences of overt everyday racism in their community spaces. They also reported experiences of more subtle or covert forms of racism that were experienced in their workplaces. Experiences of discrimination that are fueled by nativist ideology operate to exclude people from the dominant group. When people are socially excluded they do not experience a sense of community and a sense of personal belonging and these factors have been linked to reduced health and well-being (Walton & Cohen, 2011; Watson, Crawley, & Kane, 2016; Young et al., 2004). Moreover, when people do not feel welcomed, they are less likely to participate in civic and other forms of community engagement (Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007; Baum et al., 2000; Cicognani et al., 2008; Poortinga, 2006; Simmons & Birchall, 2005). This results in a positive feedback loop where those who are socially excluded continue to experience social exclusion in other aspects of community involvement.

Importantly, the model does not consider the nativist mechanisms that cause employment and social inequities as separate pathways. Rather these pathways can blend and result in tied

employment-social exclusion experiences that work to both deprive people of fair income opportunities while simultaneously negatively impacting their sense of belonging. For example, this is seen when language barriers due to foreign-accents are considered. Indo-Caribbean immigrants in the current study experienced challenges of being understood by others due to their foreign-English accents. Speaking with a foreign accent that is not British or an Anglo derivative is connected to reduced experiences of both acquiring skilled employment and feeling a sense of belonging, and as mentioned above, these factors negatively impact well-being.

However, the power model of well-being also identifies pathways to group and individual resilience. These pathways show that resilience is developed when marginalized people access material resources and build their social capital, which then contributes to their sense of community. These pathways are influenced by social identity variables that influence the type of social capital that is developed. For example, men and women in the current study developed resilience through different social pathways. Engagement in the sport of cricket provided men an opportunity to develop bonding social capital that helped with acquiring employment opportunities as well as developing a sense of community. In contrast, for women, work functioned as a space that not only provided women with the opportunity to acquire material resources (i.e. income) but it was also a space where women developed bridging social capital. Bridging social capital facilitated other opportunities such as furthering their skill development and broadening their social networks. These factors contributed to deepening their sense of independence and their sense of community.

Importantly, the power model of well-being is not an additive model. The model does not

suggest that power-with and power-within functions additively to increase well-being that is

reduced because of power-over structures. Rather, the model illustrates that Indo-Caribbean

immigrants' well-being can be impacted in differing ways that are influenced by the

interconnections of their social identities and social factors. For example, according to the

findings from the current study, power-over structures reduced skilled Indo-Caribbean male

immigrants' ability to earn income that is compatible with their credentials and experiences, and

this negatively impacted their well-being. However, for unskilled Indo-Caribbean female

immigrants, work functioned as an opportunity to acquire financial resources and social capital,

and these factors positively contributed to their well-being. Although figure 1 does not explicitly

represent all the intersecting pathways that were discussed in Chapter 4, such as immigration

cohort and immigration class, these factors are nested within the model, moderating the

pathways of employment, social exclusion and sense of belonging experiences.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

This study examined the settlement and well-being experiences of a "minority minority", Indo-Caribbean immigrants in Toronto. A SDOH-intersectional lens was applied to identify: (1) social factors that impacted participants settlement experiences, and (2) how their social identity variables (specifically race, gender, immigration cohort and immigration class) were interconnected with these social experiences. Themes relating to power-over, power-with, and power-within in the context of SDOH were identified. Power-over themes included language challenges, deskilling and survival employment, and overt and covert experiences of racism. Gender-specific power-over themes included skilled males work-life imbalance and post-secondary educated males' exclusion from job promotion opportunities. Power-with and power-within themes included settlement support from family and friends. Gender specific power-with and power-within themes included male youths sense of belonging through sport and women's sense of independence and accomplishment from work.

6.1 Intersectional social factors that were interconnected with the immigration experience

Push factors for immigrating were largely related to the perception of diminishing safety and political instability. Hopes for accessing good education, good employment, increased income earnings, and reuniting with family members were identified as pull factors for immigrating. Upon arrival, participants described that the cold climate was a negative surprise. They described not being psychologically and materially prepared for the colder temperatures such as having appropriate clothing to cope with the cold. Currency differences that left them at a financial disadvantage upon arrival to Canada resulted in even greater economic hardship in terms of

accessing appropriate material resources to cope with the cold climate. Another negative surprise

was the type of housing in Canada. They did not consider how living in apartment units would

negatively impact their well-being, particularly in terms of reduced neighbouring experiences. A

diminished sense of neighbouring reduced their sense of community, and in turn, their sense of

belonging, and these experiences were likely to have negatively impacted their well-being.

Furthermore, upon arrival participants also described social and economic challenges in terms of

language, employment and racism. These challenges were shaped by nativist ideology that

placed them at an economic disadvantage and negatively impacted their sense of community and

sense of belonging. Reduced income opportunities, social exclusion, and reduced sense of

community are considered SDOH because these factors negatively impact people's access to

material resources as well as their psychological experiences (Braveman, Egerter, & Williams,

2011; Flaskerud & DeLilly, 2012; Marmot, Friel, Bell, Houweling, & Taylor, 2008; Raphael,

2016).

An intra-categorical intersectional analysis provided a deeper understanding to show how Indo-

Caribbean immigrants' varying social identities resulted in different social-economic experiences

in Canada. This analysis also explains how within-group differences impacted their well-being in

different ways, particularly in relation to employment and sense of community trajectories.

Specifically, the intra-categorical intersectional analysis showed how economic, labour and

immigration policies impacted Indo-Caribbean immigrants' sense of community and

employment experiences and how these factors were interconnected with race, gender,

immigration cohort and immigration class. For example, men and women in the current study

described differing employment experiences that were interconnected with their entry cohort and

entry class. Between the late 1960s and 1990s men were more likely to immigrate as skilled workers due to Canadian immigration policies. Thus, they had goals of finding employment that was commensurate with their skills. However, their wives had no prior expectations of acquiring employment upon immigrating. When men arrived, they experienced deskilling and developed bonding social capital with individuals of similar cultural backgrounds, and this helped with finding employment. Women found low-skill work to help support their families and they developed bridging social capital at their workplaces. The use of bonding capital by men to acquire employment likely reduced their ability to acquire higher income opportunities because of limited capital within their very small and recent community, while bridging capital likely increased women's opportunities to advance their skills and access higher income opportunities.

These varying employment expectations and experiences, coupled with the use of bonding versus bridging social capital, is likely to impact men and women's well-being in differing ways. For example, women in the current study experienced a sense of independence and accomplishment through employment pathways, but the men described diminished work-life balance because of their employment experiences. In terms of how Indo-Caribbean immigrants' sense of community was differently experienced, participants who arrived between the late 1960s and 1980s did not have the access to community networks and cultural organizations that participants who arrived after the 1990s had access to. Participants who arrived after the 1990s were also more likely to immigrate under the family entrance class and had family networks in Canada. Therefore, the time of immigration had implications for participants' sense of community and sense of belonging and, ultimately, on their well-being.

6.2 The Power Model of Well-Being

The power model of well-being illustrates that power-over structures worked to create social inequities that in turn negatively impacted Indo-Caribbean immigrants' well-being. Specifically, the model identifies employment and social exclusion as main SDOH that impacted Indo-Caribbean immigrants. The model also illustrates that Indo-Caribbean immigrants developed power-with and power-within to cope with being socially disadvantaged.

6.2.1 Power-over findings.

Employment challenges were linked to the discounting and deskilling of participants' foreign credentials. Employment challenges were also interconnected with race, gender, and immigration entry class and cohort. For example, findings from the current study showed that more men and individuals who entered as skilled workers during the 1970s and 1980s described the experience of deskilling. An analysis of the general literature also showed that visible-minority immigrants including Caribbean immigrants are more likely to work in low-skill and low-wage employment. These findings support the position that there is a colour code that impact employability and income earning potential and this is indicative that nativist mechanisms have been at play in terms of devaluing or discrediting what is considered foreign. Nativism is a causal mechanism that propagates this colour code and socio-economic stratification. The power model of well-being illustrates that when people are disadvantaged in terms of accessing appropriate employment, this results in reduced income earnings and this is linked to poorer well-being.

The workings of nativist ideology are also interpreted in the context of social exclusion. Participants described experiencing racism in multiple contexts. The power model of well-being

shows that social exclusion negatively impacts well-being. Participants' experiences of racism contributed to a diminished sense of community and belonging, particularly as newcomers. Racism in the workplace also placed individuals at an economic disadvantage in terms of accessing higher income opportunities and income earnings are a well-documented influence on well-being (Auger & Alix, 2016; Ettner, 1996; Marmot et al., 2008).

6.2.2 Power-with and power-within findings.

Power-with and power-within themes indicate that Indo-Caribbean immigrants were able to build personal and group resilience despite experiencing systemic social disadvantages connected with nativist ideology. Participants received instrumental, informational and emotional support from family and friends to help navigate settlement, particularly in terms of finding employment, housing, and emotionally adjusting to a new community and culture. Their reliance on family and friends demonstrated that they coped with nativist power-over structures by developing bonding social capital and this helped build their power-with connections. Participants emphasized that relationships with family and friends contributed to their well-being, suggesting that these relationships also facilitated their personal resilience.

The power model of well-being also shows that men and women developed individual and group resilience using different pathways. Men in the current study developed individual and group resilience by establishing social networks and bonding capital through sports participation. These social networks assisted men with acquiring employment, but they also provided men with a sense of community. Women in the current study developed individual resilience and a sense of community through employment. Work provided women with an income and they were able to

make financial contributions to their household. They also developed bridging social capital at work. The ability to develop bridging social capital and financially provide for their families contributed to women's sense of independence and accomplishment and these factors promoted their individual and group resilience.

6.3 Future Research

Exploring the settlement and well-being experiences of an understudied Indo-Caribbean immigrant population resulted in findings that have implications for future research both in and outside the field of newcomer settlement. The findings from this research highlight gaps in the Canadian literature where more understanding is required for specific immigrant populations such as females, children and youth. The findings also highlight where more research is needed to examine the impact that urbanization and nativist ideology have on not only newcomer populations but also the larger Canadian population in general.

Nativist ideology emphasizes assimilation and the discounting of what is 'different' and it is suggested to be a causal mechanism for socio-economic stratifications that create a social order or hierarchy. Currently there is a paucity of Canadian literature that specifically addresses how nativist ideology influences the occurrence of social inequities that are linked to health inequities. When the Canadian literature does not address causal mechanisms that drive socio-economic inequities, then these inequities are likely to persist and impact people's well-being due to a lack of attention to these issues. Moreover, research that is not informed by people of varying intersecting identities will not adequately inform the literature about the power

mechanisms that are at work and that reinforce these social hierarchies and the resulting

inequities.

Participants described experiences of job promotion exclusion due to their race. This is a subtle

form of systemic racism and it results in the experience of feeling invisible. It also prevents

marginalized people from accessing higher income earnings. This form of social exclusion is a

form of selective incivility (Cortina & Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, &

Magley, 2013). There is minimal research that has examined the impact of selective incivility on

socio-economic and well-being outcomes. Current research indicates that this form of

discrimination is more likely to be reported by visible minorities living in the U.S., but the

experience of selective incivility requires investigation in a Canadian context. Importantly,

examining the perceptions and attitudes of both employers and employees regarding selective

incivility is also needed. Due to research that has connected perceived discrimination to negative

health experiences (Farrell et al., 2004; Noh et al., 1999; Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart

Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014; Smart Richman et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2003), it is

important that this subtler form of social exclusion be further investigated.

Despite being native English speakers, participants described language challenges due to their

foreign-English accents. Findings from this study indicate that speaking English with a non-

Canadian accent or a non-Anglo accent can negatively impact newcomers' sense of belonging.

The Canadian literature on language challenges mainly examines newcomers and immigrants

whose native language is not English. There is very little research that examines whether English

accents can function as barriers to employment and contribute to social exclusion experiences.

Research that examines language barriers must also consider how having an accent can impact the ability to acquire employment, as well as the sense of belonging for newcomers. Few Canadian studies have examined the impact of non-Canadian English accents on employability, but findings from these studies suggest that the mechanisms of nativism are at work in terms of: (1) preferences for Canadian English accents, and (2) a racial/ethnic hierarchy that places European-English accents (particularly British English accents) higher on the social order.

Participants described having trouble adjusting to living in apartment buildings and a lack of sense of neighbouring. This finding highlighted the impact that urbanization has on newcomers who are not accustomed to urban living. For newcomers who lived in smaller towns or villages, or enjoyed close kinship in their native country, immigrating to metropolitan and urbanized areas can negatively impact their sense of community and neighbouring. From a broader perspective, this finding indicates that more research is required to study the impact that urbanization has, not only on newcomers' adjustment experiences, but also on the general population's sense of community and belongingness.

Social contact contributes to a sense of community but how is social contact experienced in growing urbanized areas and is there a relationship between social contact, neighbouring and well-being? The high and growing cost of living in urban areas often requires longer working hours, particularly for newcomers who tend to work in low-wage jobs and thus particularly need to work longer hours. Longer working hours leave less time for leisurely pursuits and time spent with family and friends. More time spent working has also been associated with feelings of being rushed for time. Feeling rushed for time has been associated with lower levels of general life

satisfaction (Zuzanek, 1998, 2015). Research that examines the impact of urbanization on

newcomers' well-being and also the general population's well-being is required. The lack of

Canadian research examining housing type and well-being suggests that this is not a priority or

an area of interest or concern for those who influence social and health policy.

The current study shows that Indo-Caribbean immigrants' settlement and well-being experiences

vary on the basis of their social identities. For example, male participants who immigrated as

youth described differing adjustment concerns from adult participants. Their settlement concerns

revolved around the sense of fitting in to their new environment. Sports participation,

particularly the culturally familiar sport of cricket, was descried to be an integral factor for

adjusting for males who had immigrated as youth. Further research examining the dynamics

between sports participation, specifically culturally familiar sports versus culturally unfamiliar

sports, and the settlement and well-being experiences for youth newcomers can help develop a

deeper understanding of how youth immigrants adjust to a new culture, the coping mechanisms

that they utilize, and how their well-being is impacted.

While reviewing literature for the analysis of this study, the researcher noticed the lack of

published literature that examines the perceptions and attitudes pertaining to ethnic-cultural

diversity among child and youth aged Canadian students in Canada. Rather, there has been a

focus on examining academic performance, language, and SES in relation to adjusting to a new

school environment. However, there is a deficit in research that examines how adjusting to new

social-cultural norms impact adjustment for newcomer children, particularly in relation to how

school children perceive ethnic and cultural differences. More research that examines whether

ethnic-cultural acceptance exist and/or is developing among students in the Canadian education system will provide a deeper understanding of the experiences that child and youth newcomers undergo in terms of adjusting to their school environment.

An interesting finding from the female participants was the sense of independence and accomplishment that was derived from work experiences post-immigration. This finding is notable because research on immigrants' settlement and well-being generally reveals the employment challenges that immigrants endure and the negative impact that these challenges have on well-being measures. However, employment was linked to women's sense of independence and accomplishment. This suggests that the expectations and experiences of employment should be examined through a more intersectional lens of gender, class, and cultural norms, as these factors may have a differing impact on settlement and well-being. Findings that link employment and females' sense of autonomy mostly stem from research published in the 1980s and 1990s but, since then, there has been little focus on these factors, particularly in the context of Canadian research. Further research is warranted that examines female immigrants' experiences of employment and the impact it has on their sense of autonomy and well-being.

6.4 Summary

Indo-Caribbean immigrants are an under-studied population when it comes to research examining settlement experiences. By examining Indo-Caribbean settlement and well-being experiences, this research was able to shed light on factors that contributed to their settlement and well-being. The findings from this current study can be applied to advance future research to examine how factors such as language accents and urbanization impact newcomers and

immigrants' well-being and how these factors may impact the well-being of the general population. The current study also highlights the need for more research that incorporates an intersectional lens. Research that is not informed by people of varying intersecting identities, and particularly people who are likely to experience marginalization due to race, ethnicity, gender, age and social class demographics will not adequately inform the literature about how these individuals are impacted and how they respond to adversity. Understanding how power dynamics cause inequities and how people's social identities are impacted by these inequities is essential for directing efforts to reduce structural barriers.

CHAPTER 7

Reflexivity & Afterword

At the time this study was conceived, I had a general interest in studying English-speaking Caribbean immigrants' well-being. Why English-speaking Caribbean immigrants and their well-being? I am an English-speaking first generation Canadian immigrant. I immigrated from Trinidad to the GTA as a child. Growing up in the GTA, it has always seemed that the English-speaking Caribbean community is smaller when compared to other immigrant communities. When my family immigrated, we lived in an area of the GTA that had very few Caribbean immigrants. I attended schools that had less than a handful of other students of Caribbean heritage, and I have always resided in areas of the GTA where there was no or very little Caribbean cultural presence. Residing in areas with very little Caribbean community presence may have likely contributed to my perception of a smaller Caribbean immigrant community. I was aware that there were other immigrants from the Caribbean because of the annual Caribana festival that took place every summer in Toronto. I considered myself as part of the broader English-speaking Caribbean community because I was more likely to meet a Guyanese or Jamaican immigrant than a Trinidadian immigrant.

Growing up in the GTA, I only visited my birth country of Trinidad a few times for family vacations. When I visited as a young adult I recall feeling a sense of belonging that I had not experienced as an immigrant living in Canada. It was a feeling of being at home, a place of familiarity, where strangers interacted with me as if I was a member of an extended family. A few years later I decided to return to Trinidad to study. My area of interest was exploring relationships between chronic disease and mental illness. During my stay in Trinidad I always

felt like I was included, that my voice - my opinions and contributions were considered and not dismissed or ignored. Strangers commonly told me, "*your face looks familiar*" or "*you look like someone I know*". Even when a minority number of Trinidadians vocalized their belief that I was a 'foreigner' because I lived away and had developed a Canadianized accent, I did not feel excluded. Many Trinidadians have immigrated and lived away for years and then returned, I was not unique in this regards and knew there were others with migration histories similar to mine.

I returned to Canada with the intention of studying chronic disease and well-being in a Caribbean population. I was interested in studying well-being because I developed a curiosity regarding resiliency and well-being measures such as satisfaction with life. Having explored the literature on the healthy immigrant effect (i.e. upon arrival, immigrants' health are reported to be better than the general population's health but then decline to the national average), I decided to focus on how settlement experiences impact well-being. I also became familiar with the concept that intersections of identity can impact settlement experiences and I decided to focus on the settlement and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants as I identify as an Indo-Caribbean immigrant.

During data collection, analysis and study write-up, I recorded my thoughts about ideas, questions, and observations that arose, either from experiences shared by participants, words from others not-related to the study, friends, family and personal experiences. Returning to my reflexivity notes I noticed a pattern that revealed my interest in well-being was linked to questions that related to a sense of belonging and what contributes to that feeling of belonging in a group and community. I highlighted in my notes that, "the idea of feeling 'normal' is linked to

feeling accepted by others and feeling accepted by others is related to having opportunities to express one's autonomy by feeling comfortable to share one's ideas, beliefs and opinions. Believing that one's contributions are considered and valued contributes to a sense of self-worth." Perhaps my interest in sense of belonging and the immigrant experience was influenced by my own immigration experience as a child. This experience may have contributed to my focus on sense of belonging due to my personal experiences of trying to fit-in as a visible minority immigrant.

'Feeling accepted' and 'feeling familiar' were descriptors that arose during the reflexivity process. These descriptors also appear under thematic categories identified in the analysis. For example, with regards to factors that were attributed to personal well-being, supportive social networks were identified as a main contributor. A sense of community and neighbouring were also discussed in the analysis and are linked to a sense of belonging via social networks. As a child immigrant I recalled seeking a sense of fitting-in with my classmates. Similarly, the theme of fitting in was discussed in the context of settlement concerns for youth immigrants and also in the context of language experiences.

My underlying interest in sense of acceptance and belonging led me to seek how social and environmental forces contribute to perceptions of inclusion and exclusion. During the data-analysis and write-up process, I actively reflected on the participants' descriptions of experiencing subtle forms of discrimination. I engaged in discussions with family members and friends about the study's findings of subtle forms of exclusion and experiences of perceived discrimination. The trigger for this focus was my own experiences of what I interpreted to be

subtle forms of exclusion. Ironically, I encountered these experiences while I was reviewing literature on perceived discrimination and employment discrimination. During study write-up I categorized these experiences of bullying and discrimination as forms of selective incivility which I interpreted as passive aggressive behaviours and attitudes expressed by others that resulted in feelings of exclusion and marginalization.

While reviewing my reflexivity notes, I came across an entry that I included after listening to a town-hall talk that President Barak Obama gave in September 2016. Regarding the U.S. military, Barak Obama indicated that a strong U.S. military presence was necessary to maintain order in other countries. I felt compelled to include this in my notes because my interpretation of this remark is that U.S. cultural beliefs include notions that they are the overseers of 'order' in other countries, countries that are not considered 'developed' according to Western standards. I am also aware that Canada is mostly supportive of U.S. foreign tactics. When I recorded this note I was not sure how it would relate to any of the study's findings. However, several months after encountering personal experiences of selective incivility, this reflexivity note took on new meaning.

My experiences of selective incivility nudged me to connect this individual-level, subtle but hostile manifestation of devaluing another based on perceived differences to a larger societal cause. The societal cause that I attribute manifestations of selective incivility to is nativism. Manifestations of nativism subtly appear as institutionalized policies and practices that function to exclude and create social inequities. Nativism at the most basic level, functions to exclude what is not considered to be part of the dominant and accepted culture. At an individual level

these societal values are reflected in subtle forms of selective incivility towards people's perspectives and experiences that are considered foreign.

The notion that social-cultural forces can influence individual attitudes and behaviours is not new. I propose that at an individual or micro-level, privileged people raised in a culture that perpetrates passive aggressive tactics towards others who are deemed to be different by nativist standards, are more likely to demonstrate passive aggressive tendencies towards people who represent forms of difference. I am not suggesting that everyone raised in a Western nation will exhibit passive aggressive tendencies or that it is an Anglo trait. The position of privilege suggests that there in an underlying interest to reinforce a social order in which the perspectives and experiences of those who appear to be 'other' than that of the dominant culture are excluded and discounted. The reinforcement of a social order is an attempt to maintain power by people who are higher in the social hierarchy.

Nativist power structures that trickle down into individual-level practices of selective incivility are likely to continue, particularly when the perpetrators are unaware of how their attitudes and behaviours are perceived as exclusionary and discriminatory. I suggest that the social-cultural problem of exclusion has not been resolved because the perpetrators of these subtler forms of exclusion may not be aware that their attitudes and actions towards those who are perceived to be different are interpreted as bullying and discrimination. For these perpetrators, their passive aggressive or selective incivility towards the 'other' has not been questioned but rather reinforced at the structural or macro-level.

People who feel that their social contributions are minimized due to their race and ethnicity will likely not experience a national sense of belonging. Research examining nativist ideology that manifests as structural barriers at the macro-level and selective incivility at the micro-level is required to understand its impact on immigrants' inclusion and exclusion experiences. Without identifying the cultural and structural link to subtler forms of exclusion, the societal problem of ongoing exclusionary practices will continue.

I too have experienced exclusionary experiences in the form of having my foreign education and skills discounted in Canada. I also have had the experience of being required to provide 'free labour' in the form of volunteer work to prove my academic capabilities in a Canadian context. I share this because my experience similarly mirrors the experiences that some of the participants in this study described encountering decades ago; specifically, participants who described having to bargain their free labour to demonstrate their work skills in hopes of acquiring Canadian experience. I also share this to confess that even after completing the interviews, critical analysis, conclusion and reflexivity sections of this dissertation I was not able to readily recall this exclusionary experience that occurred only a few years ago. I believe that functioning from a mind-set of gratitude and appreciation for having an opportunity to prove myself and having an opportunity to strive to achieve my longer-term goals resulted in my downplaying or engaging in passive coping of an exclusionary experience. The recollection of this experience also brings to mind a participant who initially described not being able to recall personal experiences of discrimination but who contacted me weeks later to share that they had recalled discrimination experiences from the past. I pondered how it was possible to not remember adverse experiences involving discrimination. I am now suggesting that functioning from a mindset of gratitude and

appreciation, and/or having a drive to succeed may trigger passive coping strategies for some individuals that result in the suppression and/or repression of adverse experiences such as discrimination, and that this psychological coping mechanism can contribute to the development of resilience. The current study did not explicitly explore if/how newcomers sense of gratitude/appreciation influenced their interpretation and experiences of marginalization. Some participants described being consciously aware of marginalized experiences such as discrimination and using gratitude as a coping mechanism. For example, the participant who shared that he was grateful to be employed and that his gratitude helped him rationalize and cope with his negative experience of workplace discrimination. Other participants described being appreciative of having family and friends to help them adjust with the challenges of being a newcomer. This suggests that gratitude can also function as an active coping strategy that helps to foster individual resilience when faced with challenging experiences. Future research examining active and passive forms of coping that encompass gratitude and appreciation will provide more depth to understanding how newcomers' coping strategies impact their settlement experiences, and specifically how their coping strategies influence their experiences of individual and group resilience.

Since completing the analysis, I have been contemplating my experiences as an immigrant, the experiences of the participants in this study, and the experiences of other immigrants from other nations. Our experiences have no doubt varied but we also share commonalities. One commonality is the importance that our cultural resources in Canada have played in terms of supporting our sense of belonging. These resources that include cultural and religious centers, restaurants, and other small business etc. have functioned to help immigrants side-step around

societal disadvantages. I live in a community with immigrants from diverse backgrounds and I now have a deeper understanding and appreciation of how these communities support their members. For example, I have noticed how important small businesses and small business ownership are for immigrants. Small business ownership allows some immigrants to circumvent the structural barriers that immigrants experience in terms of finding employment. They also provide employment opportunities for other immigrants who can not find work in the public and corporate sectors. Small businesses also provide goods, services and capital for supporting immigrant community networks and cultural festivities. The role that small businesses play in terms of coping with structural barriers should not be overlooked but rather examined to determine how these community resources can be further supported. Importantly, I am not suggesting that governments should ignore addressing power-over structures that create inequities for immigrants but rather governments should also identify how immigrants develop community power and aim to support these strategies. Research that examines newcomers' work experiences, particularly as it pertains to establishing small businesses, will provide deeper insight in terms of understanding the relationship between adjusting as a newcomer, establishing agency/resilience, and developing a sense of belonging through the pathway of small business ownership.

Given my education background in clinical psychology, I am not surprised that my initial reflexivity mainly focused on individual and interpersonal factors that contributed to participant's sense of belonging, particularly in terms of their sense of feeling accepted and their sense of personal worth or autonomy. I have been trained to focus on individual level mechanisms that can impact people's emotional well-being and I naturally adopted this lens. It

was not until I noticed commonalities among participants' descriptions of social exclusion that my attention shifted focus in terms of trying to decipher how societal factors could possibly contribute to patterns in individual level experiences of social exclusion. Initially I had difficulty linking a societal mechanism to participants' experiences of social exclusion because I had very little formal training in terms of thinking from a structural perspective and I had very little formal understanding of power structures and processes. While analyzing the study's findings I came across Joanna Rowlands 1997 publication, *Questioning Empowerment.* By applying Rowlands categorization of the different forms of power (i.e. power-over, power-with, and power-within) to the study's findings I was able to readily connect the 'missing' link between structural mechanisms that drive social exclusion and participants' experiences of social exclusion. Rowlands categorization of the different forms and functions of power was the missing link that helped me understand how participants were differently impacted (in terms of their social identities) by structural forms of power and how they coped with structural power mechanisms in terms of developing individual and group resilience.

Understanding power through Rowlands lens deepened my intellectual understanding of how power is embedded in our societal structures (e.g. nativist ideology), how it impacts our individual thoughts and actions (e.g. active and passive coping), and how power dynamics also manifest in our interpersonal relationships with family, friends, colleagues and community institutions (e.g. bonding and bridging social capital). Learning about power mechanisms has developed my intellectual appetite in terms of studying how power dynamics can result in community coping as well as individual level coping. For example, I now interpret small business ownership and community-based organizations through a power lens in terms of power-

to, power-with and power-within whereas previously I did not link these power pathways to individual and community well-being. Understanding power has served to propel my interest in engaging in future examinations of how power structures influence our experiences of the spaces that we occupy (e.g. in employment, school and community spaces), how we respond to power-over, and how power dynamics impact our well-being (e.g. internal coping mechanisms and access to external resources) in differing ways. Developing a power lens has also served to develop my empathy for individuals and groups who encounter systemic disadvantages because this lens has deepened and broadened by understanding of the invisible barriers that result from oppressive power dynamics, dynamics that are often overlooked when there is a primary emphasis on individual and community responsibility for coping with larger oppressive structures. Importantly, developing an understanding of power-with and power-within in the context of resilience has helped me adopt an optimistic lens because I have a new understanding and appreciation of individual and community creativity and resilience and I will include this perspective in future work that explores minority groups well-being experiences in relation to power-over structures.

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Appendix A: Original Interview

Indo-Caribbean focus group semi-structured interview guide:

I am interested in the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Let us start by introducing ourselves:

1. Could you give your first name, where you came from originally, and how long you have been in Toronto?

2. When you were living in your native country, how did you imagine Canada too be like?

3. Tell me how you felt about coming to Canada?

4. Tell me about how you coped with leaving behind family/friends?

5. What were your hopes/expectations about what life would be like in Canada?

6. What is your favourite/fondness memory about being a newcomer?

7. What was the most difficult part or greatest struggle of being a newcomer?

   Probes:

   Why do you think this was a struggle?

   Do you think how you looked like/or spoke made a difference?

   Do you think your gender made a difference?

8. Tell me how you managed to 'get by' in Canada as a newcomer and throughout?

   Probes:

   Did you get help?

   Who helped you?

   What was your greatest source of help?

   How did you figure out how to navigate around a new country?

   What were your biggest frustrations?

9. When you arrived where did you meet people?

   Probes:

   What were your impressions of others?

   How did you feel about socializing?

   Where did you go to socialize?

10. Do you feel like you 'fit in' living in Canada?

    Probes:

    What does 'fitting in' mean to you'?

    Is fitting in important for you?

    What are some of the things you do to fit in?

    What are challenges to "fitting in'?

11. Do you think living in Canada has impacted your health?

    Probes:

    Do you think it has impacted your health positively, negatively?

    What about living in Canada has impacted your health?

    How is your health compared to people you know in your native country?

    What are your greatest sources of stress?

12. Given your experiences, would you do anything differently when immigrating?

    Probe:

    What suggestion would you give to newcomers from your native country?

13. How do you feel about your life here in Toronto now?

14. What are your expectations about your future in Toronto?

Appendix B : Survey

Select the gender category which you identify with:

1. Male

2. Female

3. Other (please specify_____)

Date of birth:_____

Country of Birth:_____

Year and month of Immigration to Canada (if applicable):_____

Indicate the country which you consider to be your home country:_____

Indicate which ethnicity (or ethnicities) you identify with (indicate all that apply):

□ African

□ Afro-Caribbean

□ Asian-Caribbean

□ Asian

□ Black

□ Caribbean

□ East Asian

□ Euro-Caribbean

□ European

□ Hispanic

□ Indo-Caribbean

□ Indo-Canadian

□ Latin-Caribbean

□ Latin/Hispanic

□ South Asian/Indian

□ South/Central American

□ West Indian-Caribbean

□ White

□ Other - (please specify)

Indicate all the countries that you have lived in before arriving to Canada. For each country indicate the length of time in years and/or months lived in that country:

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

Country: _____ Length of Residence:_____(# of years)_____(# of months)

SF-12® Health Survey

This survey asks for your views about your health. This information will help you keep track of how you feel and how well you are able to do your usual activities.

Answer every question by selecting the answer as indicated. If you are unsure about how to answer a question, please give the best answer you can.

1. In general, would you say your health is:

Excellent	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
○	○	○	○	○

2. The following questions are about activities you might do during a typical day. Does your health now limit you in these activities? If so, how much?

	Yes, limited a lot	Yes, limited a little	No, not limited at all
a Moderate activities, such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner, bowling, or playing golf	○	○	○
b Climbing several flights of stairs	○	○	○

3. During the past 4 weeks, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of your physical health?

	Yes	No
a Accomplished less than you would like	○	○
b Were limited in the kind of work or other activities	○	○

4. During the past 4 weeks, have you had any of the following problems with your work or other regular daily activities as a result of any emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious)?

	Yes	No
a Accomplished less than you would like	○	○
b Did work or other activities less carefully than usual	○	○

5. During the past 4 weeks, how much did pain interfere with your normal work (including both work outside the home and housework)?

Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
○	○	○	○	○

6. These questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you during the past 4 weeks. For each question, please give the one answer that comes closest to the way you have been feeling.

How much of the time during the past 4 weeks...

	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
a Have you felt calm and peaceful?	○	○	○	○	○	○
b Did you have a lot of energy?	○	○	○	○	○	○
c Have you felt downhearted and blue?	○	○	○	○	○	○

7. During the past 4 weeks, how much of the time has your physical health or emotional problems interfered with your social activities (like visiting friends, relatives, etc.)?

All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
○	○	○	○	○

World Health Organization Quality of Life – Brief Version

The following questions ask how you feel about your quality of life, health, or other areas of your life. I will read out each question to you, along with the response options. Please choose the answer that appears most appropriate. If you are unsure about which response to give to a question, the first response you think of is often the best one.

Please keep in mind your standards, hopes, pleasures and concerns. We ask that you think about your life **in the last four weeks.**

		Very poor	Poor	Neither poor nor good	Good	Very good
1.	How would you rate your quality of life?	1	2	3	4	5

		Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied
2.	How satisfied are you with your health?	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions ask about **how much** you have experienced certain things in the **last four weeks**.

		Not at all	A little	A moderate amount	Very much	An extreme amount
3.	To what extent do you feel that physical pain prevents you from doing what you need to do?	5	4	3	2	1
4.	How much do you need any medical treatment to function in your daily life?	5	4	3	2	1
5.	How much do you enjoy life?	1	2	3	4	5
6.	To what extent do you feel your life to be meaningful?	1	2	3	4	5

		Not at all	A little	A moderate amount	Very much	Extremely
7.	How well are you able to concentrate?	1	2	3	4	5
8.	How safe do you feel in your daily life?	1	2	3	4	5
9.	How healthy is your physical environment?	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions ask about **how completely** you experience or were able to do certain things in the **last four weeks.**

		Not at all	A little	Moderately	Mostly	Completely
10.	Do you have enough energy for everyday life?	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Are you able to accept your bodily appearance?	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Have you enough money to meet your needs?	1	2	3	4	5
13.	How available to you is the information that you need in your day-to-day life?	1	2	3	4	5
14.	To what extent do you have the opportunity for leisure activities?	1	2	3	4	5

		Very poor	Poor	Neither poor nor good	Good	Very good
15.	How well are you able to get around?	1	2	3	4	5

		Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied
16.	How satisfied are you with your sleep?	1	2	3	4	5

17.	How satisfied are you with your ability to perform your daily living activities?	1	2	3	4	5
18.	How satisfied are you with your capacity for work?	1	2	3	4	5
19.	How satisfied are you with yourself?	1	2	3	4	5

20.	How satisfied are you with your personal relationships?	1	2	3	4	5
21.	How satisfied are you with the support you get from your friends?	1	2	3	4	5
21.	How satisfied are you with the conditions of your living place?	1	2	3	4	5
23.	How satisfied are you with your access to health services?	1	2	3	4	5
24.	How satisfied are you with your transport?	1	2	3	4	5

The following question refers to how often you have felt or experienced certain things in the last four weeks.

		Never	Seldom	Quite often	Very often	Always
25.	How often do you have negative feelings such as blue mood, despair, anxiety, depression?	5	4	3	2	1

Do you have any comments about the assessment?

Perceived Stress Scale

The questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, you will be asked to indicate by circling *how often* you felt or thought a certain way.

0 = Never

1 = Almost Never

2 = Sometimes

3 = Fairly Often

4 = Very Often

1.	In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
2.	In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
3.	In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
4.	In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
5.	In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
6.	In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
7.	In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
8.	In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
9.	In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside of your control?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
10.	In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**

Indicate your marital status

1. Married

2. Single

3. Divorced

4. Separated

5. Common-Law

6. Other (please specify) _____

If applicable, indicate the number of children living in your home: _____

If applicable, please indicate the number of individuals who are financially dependent on you (that is, your financial earnings contribute to their living expenses, e.g. children, parents etc.):_____

How would you describe your overall health before moving to Canada?

1. Excellent

2. Very good

3. Good

4. Fair

3. Poor

How would you describe your overall health when you arrived to Canada?

1. Excellent

2. Very good

3. Good

4. Fair

3. Poor

How would you now describe your overall health?

1. Excellent

2. Very good

3. Good

4. Fair

3. Poor

In the previous 12 months, have you experienced any of the following emotional problems such as?

a) Persistent feelings of sadness

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

b) Depression

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

c) loneliness

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

How would you describe your sense of belonging to your local community?

1. Very strong

2. Somewhat strong

3. Somewhat weak

4. Very weak

5. No opinion

How religious are you, if at all? (circle the number that best represents your answer)

Not at all   Very

Religious   Religious

   0----------------1---------------2----------------3----------------4---------------5----------------6

If yes, list which religion(s) you identify with?_____

Do you attend religious places of worship?

1. Yes

2. No

If yes, how often do you attend places of worship?

1. Several times per week

2. Once per week

2. Once per month

3. Several times per year

3. Once per year

4. Only on religious occasions

5. Other: Please specify_____

Indicate the immigration category you came to Canada under:

1. Skilled worker class

2. Business class

3. Family class

4. Refugee class

5. Other: Please specify_____

Indicate your highest level of schooling that you have completed?

1. Secondary/high school graduate or less (less includes elementary school)

2. Certificate or diploma from a technical institute or college

3. University degree (bachelor's degree)

4. Graduate or professional school degree (above bachelor's degree)

5. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Did you complete your highest level of schooling in your home country?

 1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Did you complete your highest level of schooling in Canada?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Are you currently employed?

1. Yes

2. No

Indicate you current work status (if applicable)

1. Full-time (≥40 hours/week)

2. Part-time (≤40 hours/week)

3. Temporary worker

4. Student

5. Other, if other, please specify: _____

 Indicate your current work/job (if applicable):_____

_____

Does this work meet your expectations?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Indicate your first work/job in Canada after immigration (if applicable):

_____

Did this work meet your expectations?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Indicate your work/job in Canada after 4 years of immigration (if applicable): __

_____

Did this work meet your expectations?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Indicate your last held work/job in the country which you lived prior to immigrating (if applicable):
_____

Did this work meet your expectations?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Indicate your longest held work /job - either living in Canada or another country (if applicable):

_____
____

Did this work meet your expectations?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

Did you have expectations to work when immigrating to Canada?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other, if other, please specify: _____

What work/job position did you expect to have when immigrating to Canada (if applicable)? _____

_____

What work/job position do you expect to have based on your education level and work experience?

_____

How would you describe your family income (please check one)?

    a.   ___We do not have enough money to buy the things we need
    b.   ___We have enough money to buy what we need but not for luxuries
    c.   ___We have enough money for some luxuries

During your first year of living in Canada, How would you describe your family income (please check one)?

    a.   ___We did not have enough money to buy the things we need
    b.   ___We had enough money to buy what we need but not for luxuries
    c.   ___We had enough money for some luxuries

Modified Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada - Social Interactions/Employment (LSIC - SI/EM)

How satisfied are you with your current job or main activity (if applicable)?

1 Very satisfied

2 Satisfied

3 Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

4 Dissatisfied

5 Very dissatisfied

In this job, would you say your qualifications and skills are being…?

1. Adequately used

2. Underused

3. Other - Please specify_____

Compared to before you came to Canada, would you say your employment situation in general is …?

1. Better

2. The same

3. Worse

Compared to before you came to Canada , what aspects of your employment situation are better? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Salary and benefits

2. More hours of work

3. Less hours of work

4. Job security

5. Better match with my specialization/training

6. Work environment (e.g., relations with supervisor or colleagues)

7. Received promotion

8. Opportunities for advancement/promotion/development

9. Other – Please specify_____

10. My employment situation is not better

Compared to before you came to Canada , what aspects of your employment situation are worse? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Salary and benefits

2. More hours of work

3. Less hours of work

4. Job security

5. Poor match with my specialization/training

6. Work environment (e.g., relations with supervisor or colleagues)

7. Have not received a promotion

8. Lack of opportunities for advancement/promotion/development

9. Other – Please specify_____

10. My employment situation is not worse

Since immigrating to Canada have you ever been unemployed?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other - Please specify_____

During this/these time(s) when you were not working or underemployed, how did you support

yourself? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Savings

2. Spouse/other family member(s) working

3. Help from family/relative(s) here in Canada

4. Help from relative(s) outside Canada

5. Help from my sponsor here in Canada

6. Help from friend(s) here in Canada

7. Help from friend(s) outside Canada

8. Employment Insurance

9. Social Assistance

10. Adjustment, resettlement or relocation assistance (Citizenship and Immigration Canada program(s))

11. Student loan(s)

12. Scholarship(s) or bursary(ies)

13. Other - Please specify_____

How did you go about looking for work with you immigrated to Canada? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Contacted potential employer(s) directly

2. Through friend(s)/relative(s)

3. Through co-worker(s)

4. Placed or answered newspaper ad(s)

5. Consulted with employment agency (including Canada Employment Centres)

6. Was referred by another employer

7. Searched the Internet

8. Was referred by a union

9. Other - Please specify_____

Since immigrating to Canada have you experienced any difficulties looking for work?

1. Yes

2. No

What problems or difficulties have you had in finding a job in Canada? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Language problems

2. Not knowing how to find a job

3. Not knowing the city or town

4. Your qualifications from outside Canada were not accepted

5. Your job experience from outside Canada was not accepted

6. Not having enough job experience in Canada

7. Not having enough job references from Canada

8. Not having family or friends who could help

9. The lack of employment opportunities

10. Not being able to find a job in your field

11. Not having connections in the job market

12. Not knowing enough people who were working

13. Discrimination

14. Transportation constraints

15. Not being able to find/afford child care

16. Other - Please specify_____

17. I have not had any problems or difficulties

Did you have "any/any other" problems or difficulties relating to work, such as ... (Please indicate all that apply)

1...language problems

2… not knowing how to find a job

3… not knowing the city or town

4 … your qualifications from outside Canada were not accepted

5… your job experience from outside Canada was not accepted

6… not having enough job experience in Canada

7… not having enough job references from Canada

8 … not having family or friends who could help

9 … the lack of employment opportunities

10… not being able to find a job in your field

11 … not having connections in the job market

12… not knowing enough people who were working

13… discrimination

14 … transportation constraints

15 … not being able to find/afford child care

16. No other problems

17. Other - Please specify_____

Which one of these problems or difficulties relating to work would you say was the most serious? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Language problems

2. Not knowing how to find a job

3. Not knowing the city or town

4. Your qualifications from outside Canada were not accepted

5. Your job experience from outside Canada was not accepted

6. Not having enough job experience in Canada

7. Not having enough job references from Canada

8. Not having family or friends who could help

9. The lack of employment opportunities

10. Not being able to find a job in your field

11. Not having connections in the job market

12. Not knowing enough people who were working

13. Discrimination

14. Transportation constraints

15. Not being able to find/afford child care

16. Did not have problems or difficulties

I would like to ask you about getting information and help from services like job training, counselling, and access to employment or housing etc. since immigrating to Canada.

Was there any kind of help that you needed but did not get?

1. Yes

2. No

Was there any kind of help that you needed and did not get? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Language help (e.g., translation, interpretation)

2. Advice/counselling

3. Information (e.g., access and service)

4. Transportation

5. Financial help (e.g. loan, scholarship, bursary)

6. Legal help

7. Child care

8. Work-related training (e.g., course, placement)

9. Other - Please specify_____

10. Did not receive help

Did you receive any information that helped you adjust to life in Canada?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other - Please specify _____

What kind of information did you receive? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. How to find housing

2. How to look for a job

3. How to access medical care services

4. How to get language training

5. How to find education or training

6. How to get foreign education credentials or work experience assessed

7. How to receive support for basic needs and services (e.g. food, clothes)

8. How to obtain citizenship or a permanent resident card

9. How to sponsor other immigrants

10. How to contact immigration agencies for other business

11. How to access other government services (excluding immigration issues)

12. How to obtain financial and insurance products

13. Other – Please specify_____

14. Did not receive any information

From where or from whom did you receive this information? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Federal or provincial organization or department (includes: internet sites, volunteers of a funded host program)

2. Non-governmental organization (for example settlement services, community worker)

3. Relative(s) (includes in-laws)

4. Friend(s)

5. Neighbour(s)

6. Employer(s) or co-worker(s)

7. Media (e.g., internet, newspaper, television)

8. Immigration consultant

9. Immigration lawyer

10. Language training school

11. School (other than language training school)

12. Other – Please specify_____

13. Did not receive any information

In general, how useful was the information you received?

1. Very useful

2. Useful

3. Not very useful

4. Not useful at all

5. It varied among the types of information received

6. Did not receive any information

Was there any information that you needed but did not receive?

1. Yes

2. No

What kind of information was it that you needed but did not obtain? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. How to find housing

2. How to look for a job

3. How to access medical care services

4. How to get language training

5. How to find education or training

6. How to get foreign education credentials or work experience assessed

7. How to receive support for basic needs and services (e.g. food, clothes)

8. How to obtain citizenship or a permanent resident card

9. How to sponsor other immigrants

10. How to contact immigration agencies for other business

11. How to access other government services (excluding immigration issues)

12. How to obtain financial and insurance products

13. Other – Please specify_____

14. Did not receive any information

Have you made any new friends in Canada?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Other - Please specify _____

Where or how did you meet your new friends? (Please indicate all that apply)

1. Through relatives or friends in former country

2. Through relatives or friends in Canada

3. Through an ethnic organization or club

4. Through a religious activity (e.g., church, temple, mosque, synagogue)

5. Through sports, hobbies or other club(s)

6. Through work

7. Through spouse's/common-law partner's work

8. Through language classes (e.g., ESL/FSL classes)

9. Through other classes (e.g., night school, college, university)

10. Through spouse's/common-law partner's school/classes

11. Through child(ren)'s school or daycare

12. Through sponsor(s) or host program

13. In my community or neighbourhood

14. In public places (e.g., mall, restaurant, park, community centre)

15. Other - Please specify_____

16. I do not have new friends in Canada

How many of these new friends belong to the same ethnic or cultural group as you?

1. All of them

2. Most of them

3. About half of them

4. Few of them

5. None of them

6. I do not have new friends in Canada

How many are also recent immigrants to Canada?

1. All of them

2. Most of them

3. About half of them

4. Few of them

5. None of them

6. I do not have new friends in Canada

Thinking of all your friends in Canada, how often do you see or talk with them?

1. Everyday

2. At least once a week

3. At least once a month

4. A few times a year

5. Once a year

6. Have not talked or seen them since the first contact

How many of your neighbours belong to the same ethnic or cultural group as you?

1. All of them

2. Most of them

3. About half of them

4. Few of them

5. None of them

6. Do not know

How often do you speak with your neighbours?

1. Every day

2. At least once a week

3. At least once a month

4. A few times a year

5. Once a year

6. You have not yet seen or talked to them

From how many people could you ask for help in Canada? Please include members of your family "or those of your spouse's family/or those of your common-law partner's family", your friends, your neighbours and all other persons: _____

Are you satisfied with this number of people with whom you feel emotionally close?

1. Very Satisfied

2. Satisfied

3. Neither satisfied or dissatisfied

4. Dissatisfied

5. Very Dissatisfied

Modified Canadian Community Health Survey - Annual Component (CCHS) 2014 / Main Satisfaction With Life/Sources Of Stress/

How satisfied are you with your relationships with family members?

1. Very satisfied

2. Satisfied

3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

4. Dissatisfied

5. Very dissatisfied

How satisfied are you with your neighbourhood?

1. Very satisfied

2. Satisfied

3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

4. Dissatisfied

5. Very dissatisfied

How satisfied are you with your leisure activities?

1. Very satisfied

2. Satisfied

3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

4. Dissatisfied

5. Very dissatisfied

In general, how would you rate your ability to handle the day-to-day demands in your life, for example, handling work, family and volunteer responsibilities? Would you say your ability is...?

1. Excellent

2. Good

3. Fair

4. Poor

Thinking about stress in your day-to-day life, what would you say is the most important thing contributing to feelings of stress you may have? (Indicate all that apply)

1. Time pressures / not enough time

2. Own physical health problem or condition

3. Own emotional or mental health problem or condition

4. Financial situation (e.g., not enough money, debt)

5. Own work situation (e.g., hours of work, working conditions)

6. School

7. Employment status (e.g., unemployment)

8. Caring for - own children

9. Caring for - others

10. Other personal or family responsibilities

11. Personal relationships

12. Discrimination

13. Personal and family's safety

14. Health of family members

15. Other - Please Specify _____

16. Nothing

Everyday Discrimination Scale

In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you?		What do you think is the main reason for these experiences? (Indicate all that apply)
1. You are treated with less courtesy than other people are.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
2. You are treated with less respect than other people are.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race

	□ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
3. You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
4. People act as if they think you are not smart.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion

		□ 6. Your Height
		□ 7. Your Weight
		□ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance
		□ 9. Your Sexual Orientation
		□ 10. A physical disability
		□ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
5. People act as if they are afraid of you.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
6. People act as if they think you are dishonest.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight

		□ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance
		□ 9. Your Sexual Orientation
		□ 10. A physical disability
		□ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
7. People act as if they're better than you are.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
8. You are called names or insulted.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance

		□ 9. Your Sexual Orientation
		□ 10. A physical disability
		□ 11. Other - Please specify: _____
9. You are threatened or harassed.	□ 1. Almost everyday □ 2. At least once a week □ 3. A few times a month □ 4. A few times a year □ 5. Less than once a year □ 6. Never	□ 1. Your Ancestry or National Origins □ 2. Your Gender □ 3. Your Race □ 4. Your Age □ 5. Your Religion □ 6. Your Height □ 7. Your Weight □ 8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance □ 9. Your Sexual Orientation □ 10. A physical disability □ 11. Other - Please specify: _____

Personal Sense of Control

(Lachman & Weaver, 1998)

Please indicate the number that best represents how you feel about the following statements

	Strongly agree 1	Agree 2	Somewhat agree 3	Neither agree or disagree 4	Somewhat disagree 5	Disagree 6	Strongly disagree 7
1. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.							
2. When I really want to do something, I usually find a way to succeed at it.							
3. Whether or not I am able to get what I want is in my own hands.							
4. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.							
5. Other people determine most of what I can and cannot do.							

6. There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.						
7. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.						
8. What happens in my life is often beyond my control.						
9. There are many things that interfere with what I want to do.						
10. I have little control over the things that happen to me.						
11. There is really no way I can solve all the problems I have.						
12. I sometimes feel I am being pushed around in my life.						

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Demographics

- What is your country of birth?
- How long have you been living in Canada?
- What ethnicity(ies) do you identify with?
- What is your culture?
- Have you lived in any other country for more than 6 months?

Settlement

- Why did you decide to move to Canada?
- What were your hopes about living in Canada?
- What were your expectations about living in Canada?
- During your first year in Canada, how did reality of life compare to your hopes and expectations? Please provide an example(s)
- Would you do anything differently when planning your move to Canada?
- Would you do anything differently during your first year or first 2 years of living in Canada?
- What were your biggest surprises about living in Canada? Please provide an example(s)
- What are your biggest surprises about living in Canada? Please provide an example(s)

Employment

- Have you worked in Canada?
- Did you search for work when you moved to Canada?
- How did you begin looking for work?
- What were the challenges/struggles of looking for work in Canada?
- How did you feel about the first job that you had in Canada?
- How did you feel about your work environment?
- How did you feel about your colleagues? [Probe: How did they make you feel?]
- How do you feel about your current job/work situation?
- Have you ever experienced feeling uncomfortable while working? [Probes: Have you ever experienced feeling different/unsafe/ discrimination while working?]

Education - if applicable; for individuals who came as children

- Did you go to school/educational institution in Canada?
- How would you describe your experience of transitioning from school in your home/native country to school in Canada?
- Did you experience any challenges or difficulties adjusting to school/education in Canada?
- How was your relationship with your teachers, academic advisors, school counsellors?
- Did you have positive experiences of going to school in Canada? Please provide an example(s)

- Did you have negative experiences of going to school in Canada? Please provide an example(s)
- What services or support may have helped your transition to school in Canada?

Belonging, Discrimination:

- What does 'fitting in' mean to you?
- Do you feel like you 'fit in' in Canada? [Probe: Why?]
- Has there been a time that you were made to feel uncomfortable in your home/native country? [Probes: unsafe, different, discrimination in your home country?]
- Have you ever experienced feeling uncomfortable in your Canadian neighbourhood(s) or community(ies) [Probes: unsafe, different, discrimination in Canada?]
- Do you feel you are valued by Canadian society?
- Do you believe you are treated equally/fairly as others in Canada?

Social Support:

- How do you feel about asking for help such as finding information or assistance?
- Did you need/ would you have liked to receive help/assistance in terms of adjusting to life in Canada?
- Did you ask for help when you needed it? [Probes: Who did you ask for help? What type of help/assistance/social services would have helped you adjust to life in Canada?]
- Do you ask for help when you need it? [Probes: Who do you ask for help? What type of help/assistance/social services would help you adjust to life in Canada?]
- What sort of things could have helped you during your first 1-2 years of life in Canada? [Probe: Where did you go for help when you needed it?]
- How would you describe your satisfaction with your current social network?
- How would you describe your satisfaction with your social network during your first 1-2 years in Canada?
- What makes you satisfied?

Health, Wellness and Well-being

- What does good health mean to you?
- What does wellness mean to you?
- What does well-being mean to you?
- How do you feel about your physical health?
- How was your physical health during your first 1-2 years in Canada?
- How do you feel about your emotional-mental health?
- How was your emotional health during your first 1-2 years in Canada?
- What has contributed to your overall health and wellness?
- Has moving to Canada influenced your overall health and wellness?
- What factors contribute to you having a good quality of life?
- How would you rate your ability to achieve your goals now?

- How would you rate your ability to achieve your goals during your first 1 to 2 years of living in Canada?
- How would you rate your ability to achieve your goals when you were living in your home/native country?

Feedback

- Are there any questions that have not been asked that may better capture your experiences of settling and adjusting to life in Canada?
- Are there any questions that have not been asked that may better capture your health experiences and quality of life?
- Please share any questions, suggestions or concerns

Appendix D: Ethics Approval

<u>**Certificate #:**</u> ██████████

To:	**Tina Changoor**
	Graduate Student of Kinesiology & Health Science, Faculty of Health
	████████████

From: ████████████████, Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf ████████████*, Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)*

Date: Wednesday, June 08, 2016

Title: **Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Settlement Experiences in Toronto: An Intersectional Examination of Social Exclusion, Health and Well-Being**

Risk Level: ☒ Minimal Risk ☐ More than Minimal Risk

Level of Review: ☒ Delegated Review ☐ Full Committee Review

I am writing to inform you that this research project, **"Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Settlement Experiences in Toronto: An Intersectional Examination of Social Exclusion, Health and Well-Being"** has received ethics review and approval by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Note that approval is granted for one year. Ongoing research – research that extends beyond one year – must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process by submission of an amendment application to the HPRC prior to its implementation.

Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Office of Research ethics (████████████) as soon as possible.

For further information on researcher responsibilities as it pertains to this approved research ethics protocol, please refer to the attached document, **"RESEARCH ETHICS: PROCEDURES to ENSURE ONGOING COMPLIANCE".**

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at: ████████████ or via email at: ████████████

Yours sincerely,
████████████████████ M.Sc., LLM
Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor,
Office of Research Ethics

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form - Individual Interview

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STUDY: Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Settlement Experiences: An Examination of Social Exclusion, Health and Well-being

Researchers:
Tina Changoor (MSc., PhD Candidate)
School of Kinesiology and Health Science
York University
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███

Dr. Michaela Hynie
York Institute for Health Research
York University
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Purpose of the Research:

While we know that immigrants face unique challenges, the nature of these challenges will differ based on a number of characteristics, including ethnic origin. A search of the Canadian research literature clearly shows that there is a paucity of research examining the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Thus, the experiences of this group may not be captured in existing literature and the nature of their experiences may deepen our understanding of how settlement experiences influence their health and well-being. This study seeks to explore how intersections of gender, age, socio-economic status (SES), education and work credentials, religion, length of time in Canada, and country of origin impact the health and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants by shaping their settlement experiences.

One-on-one interviews will be conducted with individuals from the Indo-Caribbean immigrant population living in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). These interviews will serve to capture the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants and factors which may contribute their health and well-being experiences.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: You will be asked to share your experiences and opinions relating to your immigration, settlement and health and well-being experiences in an individual interview with the study investigator. Participation in this study will take approximately 2 hours and will occur on one day. This will include time for discussion before the formal interview regarding the study, as well as informed consent and survey completion. The interview will be organized using a semi-structured interviewed guide.

The survey will be used to capture general information pertaining to your gender, age, date of birth, racial and ethnic identification, country of birth and places of residence (including year of immigration to Canada), education, financial comfort, marital and family status, religion, employment experiences, as well as physical health, mental health and well-being, social support, quality of life and discrimination experiences.

The semi-structured interview will be used to capture your settlement and health and well-being experiences.

Sample Questions which you may be asked:

1. How do you self-identify when asked about your background/heritage/ethnicity?
2. Can you tell me the story of your immigration to Toronto?
3. What does belonging or feeling at 'home' mean to you?
4. Are there differences to feeling at home in Canada vs. feeling at home in your native country?
5. Can you tell me about a time that you felt you were treated differently?
6. Can you tell me about a time when you felt you were helped when you newly arrived?
7. Can you tell me about a time when you would have liked to receive help?
8. Can you tell me about a time when you newly arrived to Canada and did not feel well?
9. How is your health now, compared to how it was before you came to Canada?

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: There are no known personal benefits associated with participation in this study. It is our hope that your study participation will contribute to knowledge relating to settlement and health and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants living in the GTA.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. You may choose to selectively answer any questions which you may be asked. You are not obligated to answer any questions which you do not feel comfortable responding to. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay for agreeing to be in the project. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality:
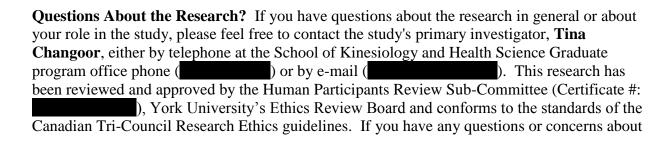
Data will be collected using the following methods:
(1) Survey data will be collected using paper format.
(2) Investigator field notes will be captured using paper format or typed using the investigators' personal laptop computer.
(3) Audio-recording of the interviews will be captured using a digital audio-recording device.

All information collected from the surveys will be entered and saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. Paper copies of the surveys will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the investigators office at York University and will be destroyed immediately upon computerized data entry of the survey information. Only research staff will have access to the password protected study documents. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

The investigators' field notes will not contain the participants' personally identifying information. The investigators' field notes will be transcribed using a computerized document format and will be saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. Paper copies of the investigators' field notes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the investigators office at York University and will be destroyed immediately upon computerized data entry of the field notes. Only research staff will have access to the password protected study documents. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

All audio-recorded data will be saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. All audio-recorded data will be reviewed and transcribed by the research staff. All audio-recorded data will be transcribed using a computerized document format and will be saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

All information obtained during the study will be held in strict confidence to the fullest extent possible by law. The data acquired in this study may, in an anonymized form that cannot be connected to you, be used for teaching purposes, be presented at meetings, published, shared with other scientific researchers or used in future studies. Unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name or other identifying information will not be used in any report, publication, presentation or teaching materials without your specific permission. In no case will your personal information be shared with any other individuals or groups without your expressed written consent.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact the study's primary investigator, **Tina Changoor**, either by telephone at the School of Kinesiology and Health Science Graduate program office phone (███████) or by e-mail (██████████). This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee (Certificate #: ████████), York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions or concerns about

this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact ██████████ ████, Manager, Research Ethics, ████████████████████, York University (telephone at ██████████ or by e-mail at ██████████████).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I_____, consent to participate in this research study. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____   **Date**_____

Participant

Signature_____   **Date**_____

Principal Investigator

Appendix F: Informed Consent Form - Focus Group

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STUDY: Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Settlement Experiences: An Examination of Social Exclusion, Health and Well-being

Researchers:
Tina Changoor (MSc., PhD Candidate)
School of Kinesiology and Health Science
York University

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Dr. Michaela Hynie
York Institute for Health Research
York University

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Purpose of the Research:

While we know that immigrants face unique challenges, the nature of these challenges will differ based on a number of characteristics, including ethnic origin. A search of the Canadian research literature clearly shows that there is a paucity of research examining the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Thus, the experiences of this group may not be captured in existing literature and the nature of their experiences may deepen our understanding of how settlement experiences influence their health and well-being. This study seeks to explore how intersections of gender, age, socio-economic status (SES), education and work credentials, religion, length of time in Canada, and country of origin impact the health and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants by shaping their settlement experiences.

Focus groups with individuals from the Indo-Caribbean immigrant population living in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) will be conducted. These focus groups will serve to capture the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants and factors which may contribute their health and well-being experiences.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:

You will be asked to share your experiences and opinions relating to your immigration, settlement and health and well-being experiences in a focus group discussion. The group will consist of 5 to 8 adult participants who are of the same identified gender as you. Participation in this study will take approximately 2 hours and will occur on one day. This will include time for discussion before the formal interview regarding the study, as well as informed consent and survey completion. The focus group will be organized using a semi-structured interviewed guide.

The survey will be used to capture general information pertaining to your gender, age, date of birth, racial and ethnic identification, country of birth and places of residence (including year of immigration to Canada), education, financial comfort, marital and family status, religion, employment experiences, as well as physical health, mental health and well-being, social support, quality of life and discrimination experiences.

The semi-structured focus group will be used to capture settlement and health and well-being experiences.

Sample Questions which may be asked during the focus group discussion:

1. Tell me how you felt about coming to Canada?
2. What were your hopes/expectations about what life would be like in Canada?
3. What is your favourite/fondness memory about being a newcomer?
4. What was the most difficult part or greatest struggle of being a newcomer?
5. Do you feel like you 'fit in' living in Canada?
6. Do you think living in Canada has impacted your health?
7. Given your experiences, would you do anything differently when immigrating?
8. What are your expectations about your future in Toronto?

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: There are no known personal benefits associated with participation in this study. It is our hope that your study participation will contribute to knowledge relating to settlement and health and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants living in the GTA.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. You may choose to selectively answer any questions which you may be asked. You are not obligated to answer any questions which you do not feel comfortable responding to. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay for agreeing to be in the project. Your decision to stop participating, or to

refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality:

Data will be collected using the following methods:
(1) Survey data will be collected using paper format.
(2) Investigator field notes will be captured using paper format or typed using the investigators' personal laptop computer.
(3) Audio-recording of the focus group will be captured using a digital audio-recording device.

All information collected from the surveys will be entered and saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. Paper copies of the surveys will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the investigators office at York University and will be destroyed immediately upon computerized data entry of the survey information. Only research staff will have access to the password protected study documents. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

The investigators' field notes will not contain participants personally identifying information. The investigators' field notes will be transcribed using a computerized document format and will be saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. Paper copies of the investigator's field notes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the investigators office at York University and will be destroyed immediately upon computerized data entry of the survey information. Only research staff will have access to the password protected study documents. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

All audio-recorded data will be saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. All audio-recorded data will be reviewed and transcribed by the research staff. All audio-recorded data will be transcribed using a computerized document format and will be saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

All information obtained during the study will be held in strict confidence to the fullest extent possible by law. The data acquired in this study may, in an anonymized form that cannot be connected to you, be used for teaching purposes, be presented at meetings, published, shared with other scientific researchers or used in future studies. Unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name or other identifying information will not be used in any report, publication, presentation or teaching materials without your specific permission. In no case will your personal information be shared with any other individuals or groups without your expressed written consent.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact the study's primary investigator, **Tina Changoor**, either by telephone at the School of Kinesiology and Health Science Graduate program office phone (█████████) or by e-mail (██████████████). This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee (Certificate #: █████████, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions or concerns about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact ████████████ ████████, Manager, Research Ethics, **Office of Research Ethics,** ██████████████ ██████**,** York University (telephone at ████████████ or by e-mail at █████████████).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I_____, consent to participate in this research study. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

<u>Signature</u>_____   **<u>Date</u>**_____

Participant

<u>Signature</u>_____   **<u>Date</u>**_____

Principal Investigator

Appendix G: Verbal Informed Consent Script - Individual Interview

STUDY: Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Settlement Experiences: An Examination of Social Exclusion, Health and Well-being

Hello (Name of Potential Participant)

My name is Tina Changoor and I am a PhD candidate at York University. I am also the principal investigator for this study that is examining the settlement, integration, health and well-being experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants living in Ontario.

This study is being conducted because there is little research examining the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants. Therefore, the experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants may not be captured in the existing literature and the nature of their experiences may increase our understanding of how settlement influences Indo-Caribbean immigrants' health and well-being.

As part of the data collection for this study, I am conducting one-on-one interviews with Indo-Caribbean immigrants. These interviews will serve to capture the settlement experiences of Indo-Caribbean immigrants and factors which may contribute their health and well-being experiences.

If you choose to participate in the telephone interview you will be asked to share your experiences and opinions relating to your immigration, settlement and health and well-being experiences. Participation in this study will take approximately 30 minutes over the phone.

The study does not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation and there are also no known personal benefits associated with participation in this study.

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. You may choose to selectively answer any questions which you may be asked. You are not obligated to answer any questions which you do not feel comfortable responding to. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. You can also stop participating in the study at any time and for any reason. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

The telephone interview will be audio-recorded using a digital audio-recording device. All audio-recorded data will be saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigator. All audio-recorded data will be reviewed and transcribed by the research staff. All audio-recorded data will be transcribed using a computerized document format and will be saved on a password protected computer document and saved on a password protected computer account belonging to the study investigators. All data will be retained for fifteen years after publication of the study results. After fifteen years all data will be destroyed.

All information obtained during the study will be held in strict confidence to the fullest extent possible by law. The data acquired in this study may, in an anonymized form that cannot be connected to you, be used for teaching purposes, be presented at meetings, published, shared with other scientific researchers or used in future studies. Unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name or other identifying information will not be used in any report, publication, presentation or teaching materials without your specific permission. In no case will your personal information be shared with any other individuals or groups without your expressed written consent.

If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact the study's primary investigator, **Tina Changoor**, either by telephone at the School of Kinesiology and Health Science Graduate program office phone (⬛⬛⬛⬛) or by e-mail (⬛⬛⬛⬛).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee (Certificate #: ⬛⬛⬛⬛), York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions or concerns about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact ⬛⬛⬛⬛, Manager, Research Ethics, ⬛⬛⬛⬛ ⬛⬛⬛⬛, York University (telephone at ⬛⬛⬛⬛ or by e-mail at ⬛⬛⬛⬛).

Do you have any questions and/or require any clarifications?

Do you consent to participate in this research study?

Do you consent to having the over-the-phone interview audio-recorded?