

**FROM SOCIAL SERVITUDE TO SELF - CERTITUDE:
THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF RESISTANCE OF RACIALIZED DIASPORIC
WOMEN**

Negar Pour Ebrahim Alamdar

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between migration incorporation and resistance is a quintessential problematic replete with controversy. As Arabs and Iranians migrate to a Western society, they are confronted by a whole new set of choices and experiences making the adaptation process intricate and challenging (Pedraza, 2000). Notwithstanding the voluminous literature on collective or community mobilization, relatively little scholarship, conceptually and substantively, exists that analyzes the individual self-empowerment of racialized diasporic women. This research seeks to bridge this gap by addressing the efficacy of the exigent need for critical analysis of the stages and processes of individual resistance. My study analyzes the different levels of accommodation / resistance racialized diasporic women especially from Iran use to negotiate various institutions of socializing control. Distance and engagement in terms of deference and defiance are constructed relationally to form the basis or “precondition of a politically engaged critique” (Bannerji, 1991).

Informed by the confluence of anti-racist feminist, post- colonial, critical race theories and interpretive sociology, this dissertation argues that any analysis of the relationship of identity (consciousness) and culture (ideology) warrants a far more comprehensive inquiry into the mediating role of institutions of law, work, family, education and religion especially in reference to racialized diasporic women. This study of self-empowerment is theoretically informed by Fanon’s (2008:14) mimicry (Hawley, 2001), Bhabha’s (1994) “hybridity”, Foucault’s (1990) docile bodies, Gramsci’s (1971) naturalized common sense, Bannerji’s (1995) relational/reflexive method and Hooks’s (1992) forms of representation. From a Weberian social action perspective (Gerth & Mills, 1946), the concept of “movement” provides a meaningfully compelling typology. Resistance, as a movement of the self, is socially organized according to

clearly discrete stages and identifiable contingencies. Identity, institutions and ideologies impact on this movement, a movement from an imposed and internalized marginality towards a more empowered self-consciousness. Resistance, as disconnecting from oppressive life chances to reconnecting to more authentic self-awareness, is further contextualized in terms of responses to pernicious accommodations to conformity (getting and staying connected to the dominant Western culture). Methodologically, this study employs content analyses, a deep reading of post-colonial, anti-racist feminist and critical interpretive thought and a critical auto-ethnography.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL CONTOURS

A. DILEMMAS OF THE DIASPORA: THE CONTEXTS OF CONTESTS

The search for a comprehensive understanding of identity as being, becoming and belonging has long eluded social analysts. Equally, the inadequacy of any sustained analysis of the differential impact of ideologies and institutions on identity is not due to the often-attributed phlegmatic unwillingness of mainstream scholarship to grapple with controversy but rather to a perniciously cemented resistance to any knowledge that challenges the privileged ethos of empirical and theoretical practices which reaffirm prevailing hierarchies of power. Acknowledging the intellectual limits of orthodox thinking, this study however seeks to make sense of the often-ignored relationship between ideology, institutions and identity from various vantage points notably racialized feminist and critical race theory, diaspora studies, post-colonial thought, feminist theory, hermeneutics and critical theory, to name a few. By pursuing the nature of identity as “a being in resistance”, these various approaches have moved beyond the traditions of liberal theorizing by examining a priori conditions, forms of ideological struggles and identifiable institutional trends.

A notable and surprising feature of traditional social inquiry is the glaring absence of any meaningful analysis of *the intersections* of ideology, institutions and identity, that is, conjoint and co-constitutive elements in the ideological- institutional-identity nexus. An appreciation of this dynamic proffers prospects of resistance. Regrettably, there is relatively little scholarship on the social determinants of the *conditions that constitute the ideology-institution-identity nexus* despite the proliferation of disparate studies on the discrete aspects of ideology that facilitates the institutionalization of identity. Identity is not just an ideological and institutional by-product but

rather identity is an integral part of and well ensconced in ontology. Similarly, identity cannot be solely understood as an instance of a Foucauldian governmentality or simply as the result of capital contradictions. Identity is much more. Identity constitutes a condition, consequence and context of the underlying fundamental relationships between ideologies and institutions. These ideological and institutional synergies, forms taken together (inter) *and* separately (intra), concurrently *and* cumulatively, principles *and* practices, have perverted the concept of identity by breaking down being, for example, into fragments and fractions of stratification. Identity is a world vision, a *Weltanschauung* which has become materially translated and objectified. Further, to fully develop this critical understanding of identity, it is imperative to appreciate those generic features of ideologies and institutions that vitiate a meaningful approach to identity.

This study provides a long overdue method for clarifying contradictions and for appreciating the forms and functions of cultural, political and economic struggles that contribute to the nature of identity. This study is an analysis of the differential impact of ideologies on institutionalizing identity. Exploring the ideological and institutional elements of identity is important and regrettably much of the mainstream literature ignores both dimensions. Typically, contemporary scholarship fails to locate identity within the generic and generative contexts of ideologies. Likewise, studies on ideologies tend to focus on detailed operations of institutions. First, a word of caution: this dissertation is a challenging journey into a language that bring us more closely to pivotal concepts, debates and questions that have been hitherto ignored, that is, ideas that serve to organize the understanding, production and reproduction of identity. The aims of this study are: first, to provide the conceptual tools necessary to understand the movements of identity; second, to present some of classic and contemporary debates regarding the impact of ideologies and institutions; and third, to demonstrate the need to move beyond normative

categories of gendered deviantization. In effect, this study argues that the prevalence and recurrence of ideologies warrant sustained projects of resistance.

The relationship between agency and structure enjoys a rich intellectual history. Indeed, the relationship between agency, on the one hand, defined typically as consciousness, identity or self- concept and structure, on the other hand, often represented as the dominant culture and its concomitant ideological hegemonies of capitalism, modernity and neo liberalism, constitute a quintessential problematic in social and political thought. This dialectical relationship, however, is mediated by institutionalized governmentalities. Acknowledging the intellectual limits of orthodox thought, diaspora studies, however, seek to make sense of the often ignored and yet meaningful symbiosis of consciousness and culture from various triangulated vantage points which point to the fluidity of lived experiences, the multiplicity of subjectivities and exclusionary “othering” processes. Although the nature of culture shapes and is shaped by the quality of consciousness, these relationships are not fixed especially since they are always related to various permutations of power.

The relationship between migration incorporation and resistance is replete with controversy. As Arabs and Iranians, for example, migrate to a Western society, they are confronted by a whole new set of choices and experiences making the adaptation process intricate and challenging (Pedraza, 2000). Admittedly, the concerns of contemporary diasporic individuals and communities are not new. But an application of Stuart Hall’s (2003) ideas about “cultural diaspora-ization” to Arab and Iranian women within an anti-racist and anti-oppressive discursive framework is innovative and to date neglected. Indeed, in the post 9/11 culture where the marginalization of Muslim identity is commonplace, this study confronts directly the inter- and intra- community stereotyping, invisibility, harassment and discrimination of Arab and

Iranian women. Indeed, what makes the case of these relatively recent diasporas unique is the essentialist notion that integrates Muslims, Arabs, fundamentalists, and terrorists in sweeping misrepresentation and prejudice, which effectively paints them into the position of a “dangerous” and inassimilable minority. Accordingly, Mohamed (1999) points out that the women in the diaspora are continually required to negotiate and re-negotiate their respective identities.

The diasporic experience entails many changes, losses, and the redefining of identity. There is a new sense of identity that takes shape with the awareness of differences and sets the immigrants apart from the host society (Abu Laban, 1980). The marginalization of identity has been a hindrance for many to assimilate into the Canadian culture. The problems many face include stereotyping, invisibility, harassment and discrimination” (Dossa, 2004). For many Muslim women, various prohibitive and/or restrictive cultural incorporation strategies of institutions, ostensibly designed to homogenize, accommodate and acculturate, are contested terrains (Hojati, 2012; Arasti et al. 2012). A righteous ethnocentric consciousness prevails whenever the construction of identity, as a repository of distinct collective experiences, is “normalized” as the "Other” (Moghissi, 1999b; Pajouhandeh, 2004; Moghissi, 2007; Naghdi, 2010; Mirsepassi, 2011). A narrative of identity transition reinforces the binary Canadian/Other as the mechanism of transcendence of difference and inequality, inserting “ethnic Others” into the national imaginary within an embeddedness of the experiences of (dis) continuity (Légaré, 1995: 352; Bannerji, 2000: 74). As Haddad and Smith explain, “to be Muslims is to belong to a kind of universal family, to share in a unity that depends on mutual cooperation” (1994: 21) vitiated, however by imposed and subsequent reified shame and embarrassment of neoliberal discourses that erase, trivialize, categorize and hybridize subjectivities (Abu Laban, 1980; Shakir, 1997; Jiwani 2006). How then is a diasporic consciousness constructed in order to be

emancipatory given the hegemonizing normativities of restrictive institutional practices of incorporation? The subtext of institutional practices derivative of wider ideologies reinforce exclusion.

Informed by the discursive confluence of anti-racist feminist, post-colonial, critical race theories and interpretive sociology, this dissertation argues that any analysis of the identity (consciousness), culture (ideology) and the nexus thereof warrants a far more comprehensive inquiry into the mediating role of institutions of law, work, family, education and religion especially in reference to racialized diasporic women. This conceptual lens serves to facilitate a more intrepid critique of the relationality of socialized modes of social and self-regulation as a serious substantive and generic site for: investigating often overlooked and yet fundamental issues of resistance, for unravelling the connectedness of concepts and applied practices, and for questioning dominant modes of discourse. The inquiry investigates the prospects and challenges of diasporic trajectories by which consciousness is connected to transformative potentials of the self, that is, the differential capacity of women of the Arab and Iranian diasporas to negotiate issues of “conformity” to religion, custom and the imposition of racist, misogynist features of the host society. In other words, this study explores the dialectics of withdrawal and engagement with values of the host culture. Thus, this research seeks to bridge this gap by addressing the efficacy of the exigent need for critical analysis and representation of the voices of racialized Muslim women within the prisms of marginality and antagonistic encounters. The significance of this research also aims to examine whether the dominant culture provides conditions for the empowerment of the “othered” women. This analysis hopefully provides a much-needed progressive corrective search for a more comprehensive understanding of injustice based on intolerance, misogyny and racism which have long eluded mainstream analyses of immigration

and settlement. This research seeks to attend to the contingencies of self-concept, skills and responses, given that there has been relatively little inquiry into the relationship of identity, institutions and ideologies in an analysis of the agonal conditions of racialized Muslim women in Canada. In so doing, this study draws attention into other dimensions of the immigrant's agonal life which have received less or no theoretical attention, namely how the migration process impacts on gender relations and how socio-cultural/political structures influence and shape their gender consciousness. It is evident that immigrants and refugees are exposed to a world of triple realities: the Iranian culture that informed gender identity; the Canadian society with its distinct socio-cultural of gender and expected behavior; and, finally, what may be referred to as the "Iranian –Canadian" culture which draws its emergence and existence from the complementary and contradictory notions of gender within these two cultures.

Also, a focus on the intersections of memory, imagination and identity would presumably enhance a new understanding to the relationship of hegemonic moments of interruption, referentiality, representation and recognition of servitude. The meanings and symbols of the dominant culture penetrate language and consciousness, transforming the self into a subject. That is, individuals adopt versions of the truth for themselves such as "those other". Cultural hegemony is a sophisticated and fine-tuned means of domination that succeeds in creating self-subordination. Diasporic communities learn to repress, deprive and deny self-autonomy by advancing their own vulnerabilities and credulities. This study explores these experiences by focusing on different aspects of their cultural identity and the ways in which racialized diasporic women adjust and integrate into their host society amid a complex system of group categorization, cultural values, and political currents, that is, how they negotiate their resistance.

What is missing in much of the conventional research is a discussion of negotiation as a critical strategy of resistance. These following interrelated themes will be pursued in this study: first, the relationship of *recognition, representation and rights* which ought not to be severed from the most fundamental issue of dignity. Second, and equally significant, the *differential impact of ideology on identity* especially as mediated by institutions of law, family, work, education, media, religion and tradition.

This study provides a long overdue synthetic analysis of the identity – culture nexus as mediated by the insidious impact of institutions in an attempt to address the lingering questions concerning the *role of the dominant culture in creating conditions for the negotiations of a hybrid space in the lived experiences of diasporic individuals and communities*. The process of redefining and affirming identity goes well beyond personal efforts and draws from the overall cultural character of this country. A caveat however is in order: this inquiry challenges the reductionist, facile and obfuscating conceptions of the diaspora so characteristic of hegemonic multicultural approaches to integration, notably, the “stir and mix” recipes to accommodation. Similarly, the hypocrisy of privilege so well masked in its everyday practices and protected by other interlocking institutions limit the capacity of immigrants to respond to injustice. Accommodations are emblematic of anxiety about the loss of cultural identity. The subaltern body is reduced to the uneasy status as ‘intruders’, admitted into the body politic only to be perpetually marginalized as transplants unless otherwise assimilated.

While diasporic and immigrant experiences can be similar, they are not necessarily interchangeable. Diasporic perspectives strive to “intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic ‘normativity’ to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples” (Bhabha,

1994:171). A critical analysis of “gender and migration” urges an intrepid investigation of the extent to which migration transforms gender relations. For Dannecker (2005), Man (2004) and Wong (2000), oppressive gender relations, based on contested discourses grounded in patriarchal traditions, neocolonialism and their concomitant historical, cultural, political and economic contradictions, are tensions that produce and reproduce intended and unintended consequences regarding the (de)valuation of gender.

For Moghissi (2006), the formation of a collective identity, or diasporic consciousness and group solidarity is often a “response to [or reaction against] an inhospitable climate” within the host community rather than a genuine internal reflection of cultural remembrance or a shared culture (pp. xiv–xvii). For Muslim migrants the fear or threat of loss of their Muslim identity may create an intense sense of insecurity and instability which awakens in the diasporic groups a sense of cultural marginality and the need to fight against this marginality (ibid, xv). On the other hand, Pajouhandeh (2004:3) focusses on patriarchy and its attendant double standards that uphold women as vessels of family honor as well as the threats and penalties of becoming a Western woman within the overarching theme of “the self in flux”.

This study analyzes the different levels of accommodation / resistance that racialized diasporic women especially from Iran use to negotiate various institutions of socializing control. This inquiry focusses on the tense interplay between discourse and subjectivity, the dialectics of culture and consciousness, contradictions and the possibilities of transcendence. Distance and engagement in terms of deference and defiance are constructed relationally in order to form the basis or “precondition of a politically engaged critique” (Bannerji, 1991).

Taking up Moghissi’s (1999:1-2) general notion of cultural resistance against class and racial discrimination, this study examines more specifically resistance as a *transformative*

movement of self- empowerment – a transition from “social servitude to self - certitude”. Interestingly, unlike the subtext of privilege, a narrative of self- resistance in the diaspora is missing or ignored. The literature may be rich in examining contested spaces (Calliste and Dei 2000) but certainly not the spaces of racialized diasporic Muslim women.

Further, this dissertation analyzes conceptually experiences of *integration and resistance* within the framework of identity formation as formidable sites of struggle and accommodation. Conceptually, the idea of “in-between” characterizes the strengths and liabilities of respective journeys in Canada. Newcomers are neither “here’ nor “there’ and they are “in” but not “of” Canada.

But, relatively little exists analyzing how the migration process impacts on gender relations especially in terms of empowering race and gender consciousness. The following range of interrelated questions which avoid “essentializing discourses” (Rothenberg, 1999: 23), invite an exploration of how the diasporic experience opens a multitude of paradoxes for identity formations that impact on race and gender.

- i) To what extent do racialized diasporic women construct and view their identities through the prism of their immigration experience? What “space” is constructed for the self and the self’s relationship to the “host and home” communities alike. That is, to what extent are these women able to negotiate cultural and traditional bonds which make them be vulnerable to abuse and isolated from both the host and natal societies?
- ii) What are the processes by which gender role identities are formed, internalized, and incorporated into a more emancipatory consciousness? Given the intersections of ethnicity, race, class, and sexuality and imposed gender relations what are the bridging processes and coping mechanisms used by these marginalized women in

- negotiating empowering transitions? In other words, how do these women break through the ideologically imbricated influences of both traditional and western values in negotiating a space that resists and complies, that distances or engages?
- iii) Often ignored in extant scholarship, what are the costs (liabilities) and benefits (assets) of negotiated ‘adaptive strategies’ of transformation? To remedy this concern, how have these women explored the fluidity and hybridity of their identities? How do they negotiate their social and psychic locations in a nation where their religion, language and culture intersect with “foreign” Canadian values? Specifically, how do Iranian women form and inform identities in relation to conflicting cultural narratives of subject formations in reference to traditional and western values? Admittedly, competing values underlie the treatment of immigrants in ways that undervalue the intrinsic importance of self - empowerment.
 - iv) What social forces (push and pull factors) influence their decision to either to resist, accommodate and/ or negotiate emergence of enlightened consciousness from the complementary /contradictory notions of gender within the two cultures? How do they try to make various resistances *their* own (self-referential)? Alternatively, how do these practices enter the everyday world and assume oppositional perspectives?
 - v) To what extent is counter hegemony an occasional shift in consciousness or an organic transformation?
 - vi) What conditions the constitution of connections between the culture and consciousness?

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Adopting a multi-perspectival approach informed by the contributions of post-colonial thought, anti-racist feminism, critical race and interpretive sociology, this study argues that any analysis of the consciousness (identity), culture (ideology) and the nexus thereof warrants a far more comprehensive inquiry into the mediating role of institutions. In so doing, a more conceptually fruitful analysis of resistance will ensue. This approach attempts to disrupt common sense and highlight specificities of gendered and racialized resistance against neglect, abuse and violence. But as Patricia Hill Collins (1990) admonishes, there is an overarching system that empowers a logic and structure of social, political and economic domination. Structures of domination become formulated around relationships of difference (gender, race, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability, nationality and creed) to construct relationships of power and domination (racism, sexism, classism, ableism, homophobia, ageism, legal status, etc.). These structures are not mutually exclusive -- they inform and feed off of each other. Collins argues that by understanding different structures of domination as inter-locking and not as additive, a critical and inclusive understanding of power, domination and resistance can be achieved (1990). Within additive models, structures of domination are understood to be dichotomous and as dislocated from one and other.

Clearly, resistance is a struggle over meanings that occur within discursive formations (Foucault 1979). Although focused on the importance of spontaneous cultural movements, Hardt and Negri (2000: 275) ask quite poignantly, to what extent do ideologies form and inform to conflicting narratives of regulation and resistance? Quite importantly, how does culture hegemonize all forms of resistance? For Foucault (1980), de Certeau (1988), Hardt and Negri

(2000), resistance is always already situated within a network of power relationships and thus resistive practices must make creative and adaptive use of the resources of the social.

Likewise, a Gramscian (1971:279 318) framework considers subversive and counter hegemonic elements. For Gramsci hegemony and counter hegemony, related to subversion, are organic processes allowing opportunities for change in consciousness (ibid). But true liberation requires more than an individual consciousness but the creation of “a new ‘integrated culture’ (Gramsci 1971). It cannot be reduced to thought alone given that much of what passes for thinking is a product of strategies of domination. A more insidious tool is reification (Lukács, 1971), where the hegemony absorbs counter-hegemonic elements and presents them as their own. A new social re-composition of the subordinated self in all its forms as an effective force of self and social awareness emerges. Admittedly, identities are neither autonomous nor self-determining, but differentially feed into and support hegemonies. But, individual resistance alone runs the risk of misidentifying and thus masking the enemy. It is not a matter of whether there is resistance but rather how to determine the enemy against which to rebel. Indeed, often the inability to identify the enemy is what leads the will to resistance around in such paradoxical circles (Hardt & Negri 2000: 211). Likewise defending the individual’s resistance obscures and even negates the real alternatives and the potentials for liberation that exist within different regimes of relations. Accordingly, the primacy of the concept of truth can be a powerful and necessary form of resistance (ibid, 155).

The essence of self-movement lies in the becoming the character of being -- the will to power (Nietzsche 1968:330). The connection of the inner peace (intrapsychic) to the outer peace (intersubjective) is the connection between individuals who behave morally and a morally responsible society. This alternative form of subjectivity and social formation is consistent with

the development of the higher being and the affirmation of new value positions. From post-colonial thought, the concept of hybridity is that precise significant space.

Hybridity breaks through the essentialism and homogeneity and succeeds, as Bhabha (1994: 37,66) argues, in making the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process destroying mirrors and masks of fixed ideological constructions of otherness. He contends that only through the postcolonial perspective can this confrontation be successful. Bhabha's (1994:33, 137) reflexivity of mimicry and its tools of the split subject, sly civility and hybridity disrupt authority" (ibid, 86, 88). Identity exists in a space not limited by binary oppositions and becomes an authority that recognizes the necessary relationship between self and the social. For Fanon (2008:14), a personality change or a new way of being is "played out "as maneuvers to understand the manifold and ever-changing ways of resistance. For Said (1993, x, vii), these circumstances certainly make for survival and belongingness. Bhabha's work explores the interstices - the space of overlaps and displaces difference - the "in between" (1994:1 the "liminal," the "interstitial" or the "third space" -- as strategies of self-hood. Post-colonial consciousness as "stunted consciousness" (Fanon 2004:143) and the conflicted "double consciousness" (Dubois, 1986:364-65) is a process of being, becoming and experiencing the self and its "otherness". For Gayatri Spivak (1985), Michel Foucault (1970), Franz Fanon (1967) and Edward Said (1979, 1993), multiple identifications reflect the ambivalent nature of identity construction as echoed in the discourse of development and as always juxtaposed against the colonized mind in order to reveal the implications of hegemony.

The development of a cultural consciousness is a product of an ontological process that leads to a redefined sense of self-awareness among marginalized people based on a break from the imposed narratives that serve an oppressive social order. In parallel, I plan to employ anti-

racist feminist and critical theories on race and racialization to examine the social psychological and physical impacts of colonial and racial violence on racialized in order to explain how structures of power and their manifestations come to be internalized and shape/orient the subjectivity of racialized people. Hooks (1992) and Collins (2000) have investigated how representation – or the nefarious production and settling of knowledge constitute the dominant ideology. Consequently, as Bannerji (1995) and Nourbese Philip (1992) point out that racialized women occupy a structural position within the Canadian political economy that reflects their marginalization. For Ahmad (1995), women’s experiences with racialization vary according to class location, the different ways different groups have been racialized, sexuality and personal history. While acknowledging the shared characteristic of women's experiences, Collins (1990:24) however argues that such experiences are not uniform, and that the existence of group interests does not mean that all women have the same experiences. For Nourbese Philip (1992), the hegemonic role of culture in reproducing racism has led to several struggles over the access that people of colour have to cultural institutions and over cultural appropriation struggles over who has the power to define whom, when and how. According to Dua (1999), women of color in Canada do not nor have they ever suffered oppression in precisely the same way as white Canadian women.

Movements: Stages and Contingencies

In addition to the above post- colonial, anti- racist feminist and critical race theories, a conceptually informed Weberian social action perspective (Gerth & Mills, 1946) is incorporated. That is, this study uses the concept of “movement” as a typology (Visano, 1988, 1998), which enables us to focus fully on the processes of and stages in the process of transformative empowerment. We are led to discern major components and relations; to investigate both formal

and informal links between stages; and to specify various contingencies affecting the nature of interactions located in these stages.

Movements, as stages of engagement and distance, are characterized by identifiable and organized sets of relations and social meanings (Hughes, 1971; Rock, 1979). As they emerge from social interactions and as they are subsequently interpreted as meaningful, stages provide actors with a set of perspectives. In other words, actors construct knowledge of their different worlds by assessing situations and assigning meanings to the activity and to others as classificatory schemes. The idea of a movement consists of forms of sociation which impose some intelligibility on the actor's world. Consequently, staging a movement becomes an ongoing process of self-indication and self-validation. Stages are essentially discrete procedures that individuals use in making sense of their immediate situations. With increased and continued interactions, these movement categories evolve so that stage identifications follow and are considered by others in future encounters. These categorizations establish routine rules for interaction and serve as directives for future involvements.

The social organization of any movement (Visano, 1988) such as self-resistance consists of various processes and structures that typically plot biographies and relationships. They include different features of

- i) the initial "getting connected" as a newcomer ("settling in"); the initial "getting connected" or "becoming" stage, which involves aspects of exposure, exploration, entry (recruitment or induction), trial, and initiation, or training and apprenticeship;
- ii) the "staying connected" to institutions as a "landed resident" or "citizen"; the "staying connected" or "being" established stage, which concerns the maintenance

of identity, achievement, stability as well as advancement, promotion or specialization; and,

- iii) the "disconnecting" from a marginalized status or "reconnecting" to a more empowered self (resistance and desistance). The "disconnecting" or decline stage of a career pursuit, which is characterized by graduation, expulsion, termination, or retirement as well as transformation, conversion, or greater induction into another occupation (ibid).

Actors create stages that in turn are used to justify degrees of involvements (ibid). Passing through these stages is not an automatic process. The logic of this developmental model does not presuppose that once actors have begun to move in the direction of a certain movement, they will inevitably go through the entire range of stages. This interpretive framework downplays the notion of movement as fixed, static and self-maintaining systems constrained by strict rules. Instead, this perspective emphasizes the fluid, loose and continually emerging qualities of movement, the ongoing dynamic reorganizations and changing webs of interaction among its members.

This integral frame of reference aids in organizing perceptions and experiences. The argument of this dissertation is that resistance as a movement of the self is socially organized according to stages and contingencies. Moreover, identity, institutions and ideologies impact differentially on this movement of a more empowered consciousness from an imposed and internalized marginality. Resistance, as disconnecting from oppressive life chances to reconnecting to more authentic self-awareness, is contextualized in terms of responses to pernicious accommodations to conformity (getting and staying connected). The premise of this model suggests that there are a number of situational and subjective contingencies which the

actors confront, interpret and select at various stages in the sequence. These contingencies are not objectively given. The commitment to a stage depends upon several specific adjustments that appear as conditions and consequences of interactions (ibid). At each stage a number of tightly interwoven contingencies operate and assume different meanings (Goffman, 1959; Blumer, 1969). Others like Miller and Form (1964) develop a framework for categorizing movements according to five periods: preparatory, initial, trial, stable and retirement. Similarly, Musgrave (1967) identifies socialization as a sequence of roles in the home, school, and the occupation setting. In general, these activities are depicted as orderly progressions of statuses (Dubin, 1958: 276-78). But, as Campanis (1970:318) notes, movements are methods used to cope with moral dilemmas, conflicting interpersonal relationships and general uncertainty. There may be overlap among the various stages (Sonnenfeld & Kotter, 1982: 27). In addition, an actor may enter at any stage only to move forward, backward, or out of the process completely. Many of these stages have been criticized for failing to explore the conflict and differential meanings placed on work by different groups (Speakman, 1980:118). Moreover, passing through these career stages is not a smooth process. The degree of participation in a career stage depends upon several specific adjustments. The stages do not operate "simultaneously but become important to the actor during different stages of her commitment to a movement. Instead of leaping from one stage to another, actors experience "contingencies.

These contingencies appear as conditions and consequences of interactions. According to Becker (1963) and Krause (1971:41), contingencies are those factors that either characterize the individual or are relevant to him or her in ways that influence on the development of a career. Contingencies do not necessarily operate "simultaneously" (Becker, 1963:24), but are important to the actor during different stages of his/ her commitment to a career. At each stage,

several tightly interwoven contingencies operate and assume different meanings. For Lemert (1972: 79), an analysis of recurrent or typical contingencies awaiting someone who continues a course of action is a meaningful focus of inquiry. This approach requires the specification of patterns of interactions which enable the development of appropriate responses. What warrants further exploration is the set of "turning points" (ibid) that are integral to one's becoming, being and changing orientations. These career shifts signalize new evaluations of self and others, of events and objects. According to Strauss (1969: 92), however, the transformation of perception is irreversible- once having changed, there is no turning back. Actors can look back, but they can only evaluate the past from their new status (ibid).

Three related contingencies are fundamental in building and maintaining symbolic worlds of careers: self-identity, constituting skills of actors, and reactions of others (Visano, 1988).

(i) *Self-concept* consists of the processes of establishing and situating meaningful identities. The influence of an individual's self-strength and the acquisition of techniques for constructing appropriate self- concepts influence an actor's career. An actor establishes and situates meaningful identities for the self and for others at different stages (Goffman, 1961: 127-169). Career movements depend upon the ways in which identity is established and sustained, the strategies used to ensure recognition and acceptance of self, and the ways in which the actor seeks out relationships that are conducive to his or her occupational expectations. The influence of an individual's self-concept has received considerable attention within the vocational choice tradition (Holland, 1973; Keon et al, 1982; Sonnenfeld & Kotter, 1982). Briefly, vocational development is defined as the process of implementing one's self-concept in career choices. According to this perspective, personality orientation is the overriding factor in selecting a career congruent with one's self-image (Holland, 1973).

(ii) *The skills of actors* motivate change. Abilities and resources ensure ongoing or continued participation (social and cultural capital). Movement is conditioned by the acquisition of interpersonal skills. Rewards are maximized by the ongoing development and application of knowledge. An aspirant's interest alone is not sufficient to qualify him or her for mobility. He or she must learn a stock of beliefs, values and ways of acting that will ensure this engagement. An actor is expected to interpret the rewards offered and the chances of realizing them. Rational choice requires information which an actor presumably channels within different stages (Becker, Geer, Hughes and Strauss, 1961). The acquisition of skills is influenced by an actor's interpretation of a few immediate conditions: abilities or qualifications, specific occupational information, and orientation to the specific work relations.

(iii) *Action and reactions of others* -- The responses of significant others make up the social setting for one to act, serving to incite, to inhibit, to temper and to guide one's own line of action (Visano, 1988). The perspectives of other acting units (Blumer, 1969) are important contingencies of career movement. This reference to "previous significant others" (Gerth & Mills, 1953: 93) is instrumental in securing access to services and information. Occupational contacts (Krause, 1971: 43), for example, enable actors to gain and maintain a wider reach of information. More significantly, associations with similarly circumstanced others "validate" (Lemert, 1972: 81) and sustain a convenient self- concept. It is this "audience" to which an actor addresses claims of self-worth (Hughes, 1958: 43). By attending to the reactions of others, the actor learns favourable definitions of experience and of self which, in turn, guide new strategies of interaction. The actor acquires his role by interpreting the roles and reactions of others. As Blumer notes, "the acts of others constitute the social setting for one's own act, serving to incite, to inhibit, to temper, and to guide one's own line of action as one takes note of what others are

doing or are likely to do". (1979: ix). The responses of significant others are extrapolated for the self (Rock, 1979: 137). This frame of reference aids in organizing perceptions and experiences. The involvement in certain occupational roles is likely to bring one into contact with, and under pressure to accept certain perspectives "incorporating values, attitudes, and views" (Salaman, 1974:15).

This interpretive framework, however, suggests that participants actively shape their occupational identities. The developmental perspective of the knowing self is fundamental to the career process. Consequently, an actor's social character and his or her relationship to roles are continually evolving in the course of interaction. Socialization facilitates the learning and maintenance of an appropriate self-concept by specifying the necessary world-view, skills, and knowledge. That is, these products are based upon the actor's image as reflected in interaction with others (Lemert, 1972:78). The premise of this model suggests that there are several situational and subjective contingencies which an actor confronts, interprets and selects at various stages. These contingencies are not objectively given. A career study, therefore, is not limited solely to "affinities" which pre-ordain, nor to "affiliations" which convert the actor (Matza, 1969: 119-21). Shifting relations assist actors in coping with these affinities and affiliations. At each stage, actors accomplish the necessary skills and identities in order to respond to various career challenges. The nature of these contingencies is significant in affecting the next stage actors will pursue in advancing, maintaining or abandoning their career.

C. CHAPTER OUTLINE

This dissertation will include an introduction, methods and conclusion along with three substantive chapters. Thematically, these chapters will follow the general thesis of the dissertation which is to theorize the significance of the social organization of resistance. All

chapters collectively and individually recognize the dialectical and dynamic relationship of identity and culture (host and originating) and seek to make sense of the often ignored and yet meaningful concept of relationality while questioning dominant modes of discourses.

Chapter 1. Introduction: Conceptual Contours

Chapter 1 will focus primarily on elucidating the concept of movement and the typologies of resistance. The Introduction will establish the foundational forms that typically plot biographies and relationships. The substantive chapters will review the relevant explanations of self-subordination which will set the theoretical context for the dissertation.

Chapter 2. Methodology and Methods of Resistance

This chapter provides an analysis of meanings in reference to critical interpretive methodologies and a review of various methods employed in capturing and interpreting the “empirical” world of racialized diasporic women. The methodology (philosophy) is fundamentally based on hermeneutic principles which guide the methods (procedures). The chapter asks, what do contextual histories and codal language reveal about mediated meanings? I draw on anti-racist feminist praxis-oriented methods to interpret texts in an effort to undermine the monological and white male stream positivism. Notably, critical auto ethnography and content analysis of secondary sources As Gadamer (2003: xxi) asks, “But what kinds of knowledge and what kind of truth?” Triangulated procedures (noted above) will be incorporated to saturate empirically an understanding of the phenomenon of self-transformation.

Chapter 3. “Getting Connected”: Identifying an Identity

Informed by the scholarship of Irene Bloemraad (2006) and Thomas Faist (2000), we inquire into how migrants confront a whole new set of choices and experiences, how they represent themselves and relate to other similarly circumstanced others in light of assimilating

pushes and traditional cultural pulls. The main burden of this argument posits that an adequate grasp of incorporation into Canada may best be attained by conceptualizing western values as highly contested terrains. Hall (2003:235) asks us to study culture and identity in terms of processes, focusing on the constant reworking of culture, on the handling of contradictions and inconsistencies, on the processes of learning and unlearning. I will examine the different ways in which identity is negotiated and the multiple points of identification and positioning. How does hybridity respond to crises of cultural illiteracy, insecurity and instability (Fanon, 2008:69)?

Herein, language is fundamental. From Fanon, Bhabha, Said to Spivak, an inquiry into the representation and recognition of the language as well as modes of communications requires a careful critique of perils and prospects. Language restricts thought, imposes rules, inculcates desired norms and socializes conformity (Bourdieu, 1993).

Chapter 4. “Staying Connected”: Incorporating Institutions

Violence and silence as contingencies of consciousness are conditions and consequences of social exploitation and self inferiorization. Immigrants connecting to institutions of law, work, education, media, family, etc. experience marginality and social servitude. Systems of privilege-based gender hierarchy” (Ng 1993:285; Moghissi (2007:24)) and race (Razack, 2008: 10) prevail. Disciplinary powers diffuse relational controls through a “calculated management of life” within multiple mechanisms of “a normalizing society” (Foucault 1990: 139-140). For instance, Canadian law, including the Multiculturalism Act, is related to diasporic identity, building, moral regulation and the policing of racialized bodies. By sketching the boundaries of state racialized practices within the legal framework of multiculturalism, we can more fully appreciate how members of ethno cultural groups or racialized communities are brokered, excluded and develop a coerced consciousness.

Chapter 5. “Disconnecting and Reconnecting”: from the Silence of Servitude to the Resistance of Certitude

Theoretical scholarship and empirical evidence will highlight how the lived real-life experiences of racialized diasporic women respond to institutional barriers. By “staying” or remaining as members of a new society, immigrant women experience a cultural transition often expressed in feelings of dislocation, rupture, and loss, which can produce anxieties about the new culture’s values and norms of exclusion. For Arab Canadian, there is a lingering feeling that full acceptance in Canadian society is futile (Mokbel, 2002). Moreover, Hall (2003) challenges the notion of the subject and the stability of identity to examine the ways in which Diasporas threaten or reinforce existing social and cultural hierarchies. A fundamental theme in Fanon’s (2008:170) writings, however, is the need for transformations. But, change can be achieved only through the risk. Fanon (1967)’s diagnosis and psychoanalysis suggest that in every society a channel must exist for aggression to be released.

Chapter 6. Conclusions: The Convergence of Co-constitutive Contexts of Institutions, Identities and Ideologies

In examining the violence –silence nexus as mediated by consciousness, the following themes need to be further explored in raising awareness: the *violence of silence*. On the one hand, this violence has become both conspiring and legitimating; and on the other hand, the *silence of violence* is intimidated compliance. What are the implications of this unfolding drama of action, reaction and reflection? For Fanon (2008) a transformative healing praxis is long overdue. The conclusion will critique liberal notions of social justice (foundations for citizen engagement (Habermas, 1992), meaningful citizenship (Bhabha, 2009) and dialogue as “deliberative communication” (ibid, 1974

D. CONCLUSIONS

Beyond the importance this research holds for the significance of the impact of the vagaries of migration from the framework of both situational and structural analyses, this dissertation contributes to a critical analysis of practices of self-empowerment through resistance. Beyond deconstructing the politics of recognition and representation, this inquiry gestures towards a re-conceptualization of authenticity as a commitment to resistance, and as Trotman (1993) clarifies, an authenticity that moves beyond western thinking to begin the work of constructing alternate social realities. The authentic social construction of a different reality (James 1963a, 1963b) requires the creation and transformation of internalized hegemonic dominance. Authentic voices are seldom heard, voices which move people to social action. This search for the conscious voice will be determined by the social conditions in which it is generated (ibid; Trotman 1993). Authenticity considers the self as a knowing being, a powerful self that possesses a clear understanding of one's place in the world (ibid). A more omnibus approach to the study of migration and settlement experience seeks to understand structures of inequality, social trends, cultural contradictions and potential transformations.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF RESISTANCE

A. METHODOLOGY: THE INTERPRETIVE PERSPECTIVES

The methodology of this study is guided by epistemological approaches to understanding the identity and place of racialized diasporic women especially Iranian immigrants. I adopt a combination of Smith's (1987, 1997) and Bannerji's (1995) relational/reflexive approaches. These methods argue that social analysis must begin from a particularly embodied location, in order to go beyond the immediate mediation and organization of social relations and consciousness (ibid, 85). The interpretive approaches direct this research project by providing a general proposal of guiding notions. Concepts such as identity and socialization assist in sensitizing researchers to move beyond concrete forms of empirical instances (Norquay, 1999).

Hermeneutics

Both hermeneutics, as the ongoing interrogation of Being, is a "depth interpretation" that quests for the truth of life and phenomenology as a method of suspending or bracketing judgments along the way to that truth (Goulding, 2008:186) remain compelling in advancing an integral interpretive methodology. Further, as Goulding astutely notes, hermeneutics serves to direct interpretation or expounding or setting free or relieving of the "truth of something 'hidden' places, 'residence' of language, and 'setting free' of meaning... Together, hermeneutic phenomenology is a two-fold practice: the hermeneutic quest for unconcealment and the phenomenological way of bringing shape to the ontological through the ontic" (ibid, 201). Further Goulding (2007:3) comments, phenomenology opens the possibility of "fresh horizons – thinking". In reference to this thinking through thinking, Heidegger writes: "Only a being who can speak, that is, think, can have hands and can be handy in achieving works of handicraft... All

the work of the hand is rooted in thinking.” Accordingly, questioning is the piety of thinking (ibid, 9). Only by questioning is ontology revealed. Heidegger to the end of his life remained convinced that the question of Being was the main thrust of his life’s work. The concept of the “Being of all beings” underlies all our understanding of reality (Goulding, presentation, May 21, 2013). In his writings Goulding (2008: xii) elaborates upon:

a portal to the ancient world of both East and West that provides the building blocks of our present philosophical global horizons. The ideas ... aim to explore the potential harmony of world togetherness ... in search of inter-cultural understanding.

Indeed, Goulding hopes that his work “awakens critical awareness amongst conscientious scholars toward global togetherness” (ibid). This “hinge enables us to open a door to the ancient world and to appreciate the importance of fusing horizons of the wisdom of the classical worlds into the popular cultures of the present (ibid, 203). Hermeneutic phenomenology enables the ability to cross between the visible and the invisible (ibid, 186).

Heidegger’s “clearing” (*die Lichtung*) is the opening from which illumination derives (ibid, 187). Heidegger explains that “the clearing, the opening, is not only free for brightness and darkness, but also for resonance and echo, for sounding and diminishing of sound” (ibid). Heidegger begins by asking about the multiple meanings of being and ends up conceding its multiplicity and acknowledging that there are multiple determinations or meanings of being in which being discloses itself.

From uncovering to deconstructing, Jacques Derrida introduces the ethics of responsibility (pursuit of truth) which requires alterity. By penetrating the “otherness of the other”, we are better able to grapple with the tensions between an absolute and irrecoverable notion of alterity and a simultaneous insistence that the other is somehow always within the self.

The notion of alterity, this relational aspect, being other than oneself maintains that the other precedes, invokes and provokes the subject (Derrida, 1981). Ethical responsibility requires a method of deconstruction, which for Derrida is equated with self and social justice (1990, 1992, 1995). Through practices of deconstruction justice is 'brought' into the world, that is, the 'will to truth'. Deconstruction dismantles conceptual oppositions and hierarchical systems of thought as well as unmask 'aporias' and moments of self-contradiction. Deconstruction is a method of reading texts – with the intention of making these texts question themselves, forcing them to take account of their own contradictions, and exposing the antagonisms they have ignored or repressed. Deconstruction opens a text to several meanings and interpretations. Accordingly, Derrida critiques authoritarian structures, in particular 'logocentrism' through the unmasking and deconstruction of the textual authority (ibid). Derrida's deconstruction undermines the conceptual order imposed by a concept like justice, which has captivated thought and imagination. Deconstruction facilitates an understanding of justice especially an understanding of the urge for justice. The undoing of rational discourses on justice advances justice. Derrida (1990) juxtaposes deconstruction with justice by exploring the violence (or force) of law which often is deemed just or legitimate.

Derrida instigates a series of strategies or 'moves' to unmask the suppressed antagonisms and differences. His critique of oppositional and binary thinking allows his work to be read as an assault on the place of power. Derrida allows us to explore the possibility of strategies of politics that refer to a radical exteriority -- an outside to power and authority. Through this outside one can interrogate and resist authority without invoking another form of authority in its place. Deconstruction may be seen as a critique of the authoritarian structures in philosophy, in particular 'logocentrism' -- that is, philosophy's subordination, throughout its history, of writing

to speech. In this sense, then, deconstruction may be seen as a strategy of resistance against the authority of meaning – the state. In tandem with analyzing the empirical manifestation of resistance, this study provides a “deep” reading of post-colonial theorists, anti-racist feminist scholars and interpretive and critical social thinkers. This hermeneutic engagement of texts also invites a juxtaposition of these schools of thought in advancing generic concepts that facilitate a fuller appreciation of the central concepts of *servitude* and *certitude*. The former is the state of bondage, domination, enslavement or subjugation to power. The latter is certainty, confidence, assurance or conviction free of doubt.

B. METHODS

Specifically, I have been doing considerable background work – from arranging institutional support; accessing various media sites (print, electronic and internet); archives of immigrant women serving agencies, researching scholarship in the areas; and working on the following sites of inquiry.

i) Content Analysis

Content analysis of blogs authored by racialized diasporic women over a six-month period; electronic and newsprint media coverage; social media postings; secondary sources housed in immigrant women serving agencies for ascertaining levels of support; women’s journals, textbooks, popular magazines and newspapers; encoding and decoding events and activities within a phenomenological approach.

ii) Critical auto ethnography: a retrospective accounting and observations

The autobiography is used as a self-referential tool to interpret previous experiences in order to understand class positioning. This dialogic autobiography as a critically responsive pedagogy, provides practical knowledge for living life dynamically and creatively. A critical auto

ethnography or self-study displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the political. Consistent with Smith's (1987) methodology of uncovering organized ways of knowing, configuring class and self-identity "in terms of connectedness/embeddedness", this exercise asks us to make public our stories, in an attempt to remind us of the impact of "being and belonging" which too many people for far too long, have tried to erase. The autobiographical approach is important because it not only authenticates and locates the "organic" position (Gramsci, 1971) but clearly defines the organic intellectual as someone who is positioned to have experienced and is experiencing the consequences of living from a certain social juxtaposition. I am convinced that this self-reflective method of knowledge- making and understanding of the everyday world is more compelling and valid than the prevailing positivistic modes of inquiry. The latter falters in providing pedagogic thoughtfulness (Taylor and Settelmaier, 2003) that demonstrate how social and cultural forces shape practices of knowing. As Mariana Valverde (1990) advises, the reflexive relationship between identity and practical consciousness is organized through a specific articulation of images, objects and words. Analysis too as a dialogic "social" event is equally interconnected and conditioned. The analyses are praxis oriented and seek to transcend values of certain canonicities replete with rhetoric, jargon, slogans and clichés.

Césaire's *1939 Notebook of a Return to The Native Land* ("Cahier d'un retour au pays natal") is an evocatively ambitious, elegantly ambiguous and profoundly disturbing emancipatory exploration of self and cultural identities. This counter hegemonic and inspirational poem traces not only the poverty of daily reality suffered by Caribbean people but highlights the celebration of the spiritual emancipation. Césaire (1972), the poet, returns to his native town and is shocked by the perceived inertia of the residents who have become complacent, to poverty, to colonialism, to self-loathing. Césaire seeks change in the black people

of his town and is the voice that heralds a transformation of values and identity. In reference to the self –culture relations, how does Césaire motivate his people and force the re-evaluation so desperately needed? To do so, he takes on different identities or masks – from a liberator, representative of all the oppressed of the world, representative of only Afro-Caribbeans, to a descendant of a glorious African heritage. But these identities remain inadequate for the task at hand and the poem shifts from hope to despair. In this discussion, I highlight the perspectives used by Césaire to advance social justice and a global vision of mankind which are threads that weave the fabric of his insightful thoughts and moving passions.

Césaire employs a critical ethnography by which he captures history, psychoanalysis and a revolution of return. He portrays himself as an observer and participant, both distant and engaged in experiences subdued by his people. For example, he notes:

At the end of daybreak. Beat it, I said to him, you cop, you lousy pig, beat it, I detest the flunkies of order and the cockchafers of hope. Beat it, evil *grigri*, you bedbug of a petty monk. Then I turned toward paradises lost for him and his kin, calmer than the face of a woman telling lies, and there, rocked by the flux of a never exhausted thought I nourished the wind, I unlaced the monsters and heard rise, from the other side of disaster, a river of turtledoves and savanna clover which I carry forever in my depths height-deep as the twentieth floor of the most arrogant houses and as a guard against the putrefying force of crepuscular surroundings, surveyed night and day by a cursed venereal sun.

Césaire reaches “in” and “reaches “out”. The ethnographic autobiography is used as a self-referential tool to interpret experiences in order to understand racial positioning. This dialogic autobiography provides practical method for discovering the applications and implications of horrid histories that enslave Caribbean communities. As observer and participant Césaire

employs metaphors of masked identities needed to understand a transition to the universal. Emerging from his intense self-analysis is an action-based concept, negritude. Negritude is the acceptance of one's real history. It is the pride that can only be found in this process of active self-and cultural discovery. By restoring the cultural identity of black Africans, he wishes to guide this rediscovery into a black identity, which had been oppressed and removed for countless years and now must find its way. He adds: "Make me a steward of its blood / make me a trustee of its resentment / make me into a man for the ending / make me into a man for the beginning" (Césaire, 37).

But, these discoveries are painful as they deal with insecurities, self-hatred and histories of violation. For example, Césaire describes:

Reeking of fried onions, the nigger scum rediscovers the bitter taste of freedom in its spilled blood/ And the nigger scum is on its feet/ the seated nigger scum/ unexpectedly standing/ standing in the hold/standing in the cabins.../standing in the blood/standing/and /free (ibid,47-48).

Césaire cautions that in whiteness, there was nothing that truly was his nor that he could take from the experience. To leave whiteness behind is a quest itself, one he feels alone in: "what is mine / a lone man imprisoned in whiteness / a lone man defying the white screams of white death / a man who mesmerizes the white sparrow hawk of white death" (ibid, 16). Negritude encapsulates the idea of "complete wholeness" of self-recovery. Césaire (ibid, 35) comments with defiance:

My negritude is not a stone/nor a deafness flung against the clamor of the day
my negritude is not a white speck of dead water/on the dead eye of the earth/

my negritude is neither tower nor cathedral/it plunges into the red flesh of the soil
it plunges into the blaxing flesh of the sky/my negritude riddles with holes/the dense
affliction of its worthy patience.

Negritude is a plea for wholeness, recognition of that blackness transcends race. It is state of total belonging that can only be found with an integration of mind and spirit, man and nature, ancient African animism and spirituality. Negritude is not simply a theoretical concept. It is equally a historical place and process. Negritude is a space where people of African descent can recapture their humanity, consciousness, and African heritage. He admonishes all:

Hear the white world / horribly weary from its immense efforts/ its stiff joints crack
under the hard stars / hear its blue steel rigidity pierce the mystic flesh / its deceptive
victories tout its defeats/ hear the grandiose alibis of its pitiful stumbling /Pity for our
omniscient and naïve conquerors! (ibid, 36)

Although spontaneous, this poem is deliberately unfinished. The tasks detailed therein were subsequently taken up by many others. Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* further investigates the psychic, cultural and social damages of colonialism. This riveting poem should be required reading for all interested in social change from the Occupy Movements to current developments in the Muslim world. Essentially, resistance for Césaire is not just political, but psychic. Repression and the history of torture are too often forgotten and need to be awakened by an internal revolution, that is, a total reconstruction of consciousness.

A critical ethnography is congruent with the critical interpretive framework detailed in chapter one. The micro-institutional or localized gestures that inscribe and sustain logics in everyday life are linked to ideological productions, the constitution of normative and oppressive cultural expressions (Silvera, 1989). In *Beyond the Boundary*, C.L.R. James (1963b)

demonstrates the insidious ways in which hegemony serves to control the individual without overt force of domination. The method of inquiry, according to James, is liberating as it transcends the given and confronts the phenomenology of rootedness. This research method restores authenticity as the ultimate reality by confronting the contradictions of lived experiences (Trotman, 1993). The critical ethnography is oriented towards the authentic social construction of a different reality that does not silence opposition but rather hears voices which move to social action. This method provides participants with occasions that enable them to be the centre of their experiences, that is, the subjects in their worlds. Within feminist and anti-racist perspectives, critical ethnographies have advanced a unique standpoint, different "distinctive resources" that have been neglected in traditional scholarship. Accordingly, cultural and structural categories, structuralism and interpretivism, and, the intersections of biography and history are basic to the development of the sociological imagination (Mills, 1959). As Dorothy Smith (1987) corroborates, mainstream methods exclude the voices of women and men of colour, of native peoples and of homosexual women and men.

C. CONCEPTUAL BASES OF CONTEMPORARY ETHNOGRAPHIES, CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES AND CRITICAL AUTO ETHNOGRAPHY

Throughout all aspects of this research, interpretative theoretical perspectives provided the framework for appreciating observations and experiences. Epistemologically, the interpretive approaches directed this research project by providing a general proposal of guiding notions. These guiding notions are pivotal in shaping an otherwise amorphous mass of observations and experiences. Sensitizing concepts serve as a reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances (Blumer, 1970:58). Concepts such as accommodation, risk, conflict and trust assist in the task of transcending to the concrete and distinctive form of empirical instances (ibid). These

concepts sensitize us to the task of moving to the concrete forms of empirical instances (Blumer, 1969). Theoretically, the interpretive paradigm provides a partial and tentative framework wherein concepts designating principal features of social structure and process in a specific situation are located. This exercise contributes to the development of abstract categories from an ongoing analysis of data.

The theoretical perspectives inherent in interpretive sociology compliment the methodological requirements of ethnography. The methodological strategy most appropriate to understanding the struggles of racialized diasporic women is the ethnography, a research method that explores meanings and worlds of subjects. Ethnographic research is defined by its attempt to generate insights into aspects of group life and to develop an intimate familiarity with those under investigation (Blumer, 1969). The ethnography highlights an understanding of the main concerns of actors, that is, the central meaning patterns of actors, by engaging in their experiential worlds (Rock, 1979:198). Thus, the central focus of this methodology is to understand the research participant's way of life by adapting a methodology of 'naturalism' (Pearson, 1979: 61). As Visano (1987) articulates, through participant observation a researcher becomes acquainted with a peoples' "*weltanshaung*" or world meanings. Lofland (1971) and Wax (1980) emphasized the mutuality of participant observation and intensive interviewing as the central techniques of the qualitative researcher. Field work permits the field worker to provide an intimate account of the social processes and personal experiences involved.

In general, these qualitative methods resist a rigid inventory of research steps. Rather than an a priori elaboration of rules and procedures, this methodology encourages a flexible accommodation between theory and methods that is consistent with the theoretic demands of interactionism and the methodological requirements of observation. This research tradition does

not begin with a fixed design which specifies and operationalizes concepts in advance of fieldwork. By preserving the *verstehen* tradition in sociology, the collection of data and the ongoing analysis of findings demand a commitment to knowledge generated from the experiences with the phenomenon studied. As Rock (1979:209) admonishes, coherence emerges as methodological decisions are made and pursued. Theoretical issues and methodological procedures always overlap; the discovery and presentation of findings are always integrally related.

Interpretive paradigms recognize the importance of inner and outer perspectives of the human agency. The determination of the actors' ability to know themselves and to understand others is accomplished methodologically through "sympathetic introspection" and "imaginative reconstructions" of "definitions of situations" (Filstead, 1970:4). The underlying implication suggests that the actor, as a symbol manipulator, is understandable through the interpretation of those symbols being manipulated (ibid). This activity requires that an empirical social world be interpreted from the perspective of those acts under study. The ethnography is oriented towards capturing the world of meanings. These meanings, according to Lofland (1971:24), serve to interpret behaviour among participants in a social world. They are transbehavioural in the sense that their construction goes on between the inner and outer perspectives. Constructed within this interpretive process, social action becomes a negotiated and emergent accomplishment (Denzin, 1978:1). This interactional context, therefore, shapes the structure of activities, relations and identities.

Ethnographic methods are highly congruent with the traditions of interactionism. An ethnography essentially meets the demands of interactionism by encouraging the researcher to grasp first-hand knowledge about the social world in question. This close proximity to the social

reality enables the researcher to develop conceptual categories from the emergent data. In other words, ethnography elicits information and draws inferences from objectively presented and subjectively interpreted behaviour. The intent, therefore, is to capture the experience of actors in their symbolic and behavioural worlds by penetrating their "everyday worlds" (Corrigan, 1979).

As a general methodology, an ethnography incorporates a variety of clear, consistent and logical exercises. These include variations of informal observations, direct observation and participation, conversational or informal interviewing, and formal unfocussed interviews. Moreover, an ethnography invites researchers to be more flexible and therefore more responsive to changing situations and more open to pursuing issues and leads in greater detail (Bennett, 1981:249). But as Tilly (1970:22) notes, this methodology is also quite disciplined since observers are required to be immersed in the everyday life of actors and respect the "nature of the empirical world" (Blumer, 1969:60). This methodology of "appreciation" (Matza, 1969:25) recognizes that the activities of actors have meaning independent of the research. Pre-defined categories and well specified units of analysis are suspended in favour of learning the actors' words, language and expressions of central meanings. Typically, investigators attempt to get close to their "hosts" (Wax, 1980:272) in order to discover the social construction of action.

To research how newcomers negotiate various current challenges presented by the host country and lingering traditional challenges of the home country, it is essential to present the experiences of actors in their natural environments. An appreciative stance demands a certain sensitivity and willingness to explore matters which are meaningful to the participants. From personal observations and from information gathered from secondary sources available at immigrant serving community-based, a more holistic approach emerges which is more sensitive to multiple constructed realities. All social scientific enquiry is value-bound (Guba and

Lincoln,1985), influenced by the researcher's values, the choice of the paradigm that guides the investigation into the problem, the choice of substantive theory utilized to guide the collection and analysis of data and the interpretation of findings, by the values that inhere in the context. In this regard the ethnography is both a progressive and regressive method. For Denzin (1989, 1995) this method progressively looks forward to the conclusion of a set of acts or projects undertaken by the research participants (the so-called subject). Regressively, the method looks backward to the conditions that shape the projects and actions of the subject (Denzin, 1989).

i) The Critical Ethnography

The ethnography traditionally has been associated with a potential critical mandate. Critical ethnography is a style of analysis and discourse embedded within conventional ethnography (Thomas, 1993; 1995). As a consequence, critical and conventional ethnographers share several fundamental characteristics. They include a reliance on qualitative interpretation of data, core rules of ethnographic methods and analysis, adherence to interpretive paradigms, and a preference for developing "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). There are, however, several salient differences. While the conventional ethnography adheres to the tradition of cultural description and analysis that displays meanings by interpreting meanings, a critical ethnography refers to the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgments of meaning and method. The goal of this process is to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity. Simply, conventional ethnography describes "what is", while critical ethnography asks "what could be" (ibid). Critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose. Conventional ethnographers generally speak "for" their subjects, usually to an audience of other researchers. Critical ethnographers, by contrast, raise their voice to speak to an audience "with" their research participants as a means of

empowering them by giving more authority to their voice. A critical ethnography seeks to modify consciousness or invoke a call to action. While conventional ethnographers aim to study culture for the purpose of describing it, critical ethnographers try to change it. Conventional ethnographers recognize the impossibility, even undesirability, of research free of normative and other biases, but these biases are to be repressed. Critical ethnographers, by contrast, celebrate their normative and political position as a means of invoking social consciousness and societal change. Critical ethnographers use their work to aid emancipatory goals or to negate the repressive influences that lead to unnecessary social domination of all groups (Thomas, 1993; 1995).

Critical ethnographies include participatory research and action-based research. Researchers are asked to reduce barriers that separate the products of research from the research subjects, to define the needs of subordinates and others normally excluded from decision-making processes, and challenge existing power relations. Critical ethnographies redirect attention from those who wield power to those who bear its consequences. For instance, Maguire (1987) argues for the integration of research, research subjects and direct action. Research becomes a collective enterprise in which its production and use are to be shared by those participants are its central foci. Researchers also become active in confronting explicit problems that affect the lives of the researched, as defined by them rather than remain passive recipients of "truth" that will be used to formulate policies by and in the interests of those external to the setting. Sharing the power of knowledge production with participants subverts the normal practice of knowledge and policy development as being the primary domain of researchers and policy makers (Thomas, 1995).

The notion of "triangulation" is central to critical ethnographies (Denzin, 1970; 1995). Triangulation is the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study

of the same phenomenon. The diverse methods and measures which are combined should relate in some specified way to the theoretical constructs under examination. Multiple methods in an investigation are used to overcome the biases of a single method. As noted earlier, reality is socially constructed, and its meanings, to the observers and those observed, are constantly changing. As a consequence, no single research method will ever capture all of the changing features of the social world under study. Interpretations which are built upon triangulation are certain to be stronger than those which rest on the more circumscribed single method. A triangulated interpretation reflects the phenomenon as a process that is relational and interactive. Methodological triangulation may consist of within-method or between-method strategies (ibid, 1978: 304). Lastly, ethnographic research pays careful attention to the role of the researcher.

ii) Researching the Researcher

The ethnography makes effective use of the relationships that a researcher establishes with her biography and social settings that is the contexts of history and society. The engagement with one's past and present environments is shaped by the roles researchers adopt. For Becker (1970), roles affect research findings. Similarly, Wax (1980:272) warns that fieldwork is a complex interaction between researchers and their hosts. This qualitative fieldwork is constructed in a process of reciprocity. To ensure a naturalistic description, a role is required that is comfortable enough to accept and comfortable enough for the researcher to assume (Visano, 1987). Researchers must respond to the observed by "creating and maintaining a series of viable roles and identities" (Manning, 1972:244). These roles move beyond achieving acceptance by subjects, towards facilitating greater access to intimate accounts of their lives. A role is required that permits the researcher to observe while being able to record, compare and analyze data. This role includes movements back and forth, between the world of one's hosts and one's own

sociological discipline. Roles range from complete participation to complete observation. But, there are dangers inherent in both extremes. With complete participation, there is usually an over-identification and a whole-hearted acceptance of the participants' perspectives. Contacts are often too close and do not allow certain issues to be explored without offending the relationship. By complete participation investigators entirely enter the world of their subjects and also become subjects. Complete participation can also take the form of disguised involvement in which researchers masquerade their research to enter otherwise inaccessible social situations. Full participation is undesirable in many research endeavours. One participates as fully as one could limit only to a sense of professional and personal propriety. Nonetheless, researchers are required to share as much as possible in the lives and activities of subjects in order to avoid the charge of ethnocentrism. It is incumbent upon them to learn the language and habits of these actors. To avoid the bias of complete participation, records are kept of any shifts in perspectives and reminders of the research objectives in daily diaries.

Alternatively, complete observation often invites the dangers concomitant with ethnocentrism. For instance, when sociological definitions are imposed prior to data collection, uncongenial perspectives or foreign values exist that are likely to force responses or even trivialize the phenomenon under investigation. This dilemma of selecting both participation and observation is resolved, according to Rock (1979:212), by shifting between these two roles, exploiting each and by withdrawing and returning periodically to the margins. Comparisons of field notes and ongoing discussions with key informants help to maintain the necessary sociological sensibilities.

In general, researchers are marginal: they are "in" but not necessarily "of" the world of the observed. One is never able to shake off one's role of an outsider, nor is it advisable to do so

(Trice, 1970:77). In the interests of objectivity, the researcher utilizes and reveals this role by being marginal, naive and appraising. It is precisely because one is a "sociological stranger" that one must develop and project a role which is sensitive to the curiosities, fears and suspicions of one's research participants. This is even more necessary where there is considerable distance between the observed and observer, and where the observed do not have a clear conception of what a researcher does. This methodology, therefore, takes on added significance when studying disadvantaged groups. In essence, the validity of the data depends on how researchers act towards their subjects. Thus, the actions of researchers become just as much part of the study as the group's reaction to their presence. The participant as observer role offers considerable advantages to researchers. For example, researchers are free to withdraw from the field to write notes; they are expected to wander and be curious; and they are able to retain legitimacy in these actor's eyes by virtue of their limited membership in the field. In order to maintain a role as a researcher in this study, I used the institutional support of several community-based organizations and community. In order to safeguard against any misunderstanding of this role, I had to build up this role more fully. I insisted that my sponsors and guides had the knowledge and expertise to direct me to the documents, diaries and reports. My role as an academic and as a community worker was innocuous enough to permit strategic access to information. Given that ethnographies are replete with uncertainties, I consulted a number of key informants (not research subjects) in the diasporic community - social workers and therapists during a brief one month field period in 2016. In general, these informants suggested that this combined role was suitable and that it ought to be retained for my own biography and for a more dispassionate examination of reports. Not only do substantive findings unfold but also procedures for relating to subjects emerge with continued field exposure. In fact, the researcher's presentation of self

ultimately affects the level of discourse and the discovery of knowledge.

Gaining access and maintaining rapport with actors involve the development of non-evaluative attitudes. But, the presence of the dominant culture is so firmly set that researchers must prove their trustworthiness to the agencies which allowed access to reports over and over again. It is incredibly myopic to assume that biases due to the personality of the researcher and the nature of the questions asked could be easily avoided. Close and ongoing contacts with key informants are necessary checks against misleading interpretations and meaningless conclusions. In order to enhance the validity of the information elicited, a researcher deals with, what Douglas (1972: VIII) refers to, as the problem of trust and the management of fronts.

iii) Critical auto ethnography

The autobiography is used as a self-referential tool to interpret previous experiences in order to understand class positioning. This dialogic autobiography, a critically responsive pedagogy, provides practical knowledge for living life dynamically and creatively. Moreover, this critical awareness grounds teaching and learning; this racinated consciousness emancipates the teacher from further reproducing inequities and social injustices. By drawing on autobiographical accounts of academics from the working class, we have established some fundamental elements of the difficult transition from a working-class environment to the privileged life of academics (Lacey, 2000: 41). *The self in context* is a method for achieving a tactisization of life that emerges through time. Taking experience seriously, this methodological practice seeks to discover the implications of class, categories that reference classist identities, and the politico/ socio/ cultural structures that marginalize working class and ethnic communities. The ensuing narrative profiles the extent to which we as teachers 'realize' ourselves in the subterranean world of anecdotal evidence and personal testimony –fragments that

constitute critical sources of information (Heyes, 1999).

A critical auto ethnography or self-study displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the political. Consistent with Smith's (1987) methodology of uncovering organized ways of knowing, configuring class and self-identity "in terms of connectedness/embeddedness", this exercise asks us to make public our stories, in an attempt to remind us of the impact of "being and belonging" to the working class, which too many people for far too long, have tried to erase. The autobiographical approach is important because it not only authenticates and locates the "organic" position (Gramsci, 1971) but clearly defines the organic intellectual as someone who is positioned to have experienced and is experiencing the particular consequences of living from certain social juxtapositions. As a result of the articulation of a set of problems associated with one's life and the lives of other working-class people, one develops an increasing familiarity with opportunities to think through issues, in order to effect change in the oppressive structures of dominance. For example, it is critical to locate myself in this project, and within a particular experiences and social histories, to make salient, for the reader the experiences and ways of understanding that inform my theoretical framework, most notably absent in the mainstream academic literature especially in criminology. In representing myself and relating to similarly circumstanced others, these interweaving fragments of biography facilitate an interrogation of dominant interpellations that have been integrated with and implicated in our daily lives.

Of course, the story that follows will itself be considered deviant for offending certain "high" moral grounds and for challenging conventional perspectives. To the threatened, the arguments herein will be easily discarded as rancorously polemical and controversially provocative; forever beating on rhetorical drums. Regrettably, the loose ethnographic forays of

mainstream criminological cookbooks fail to stimulate critical curiosities, refuse to challenge the congested closures of criminological canons and deny experiences that defy the defining gaze of authoritative definitions. The narrative of working class criminologists "is a political observatory" (Foucault, 1979:281) not misfit zoology absorbed in the exhibitionism of the criminal entertainment industry. Instead, this story succeeds even if only ideas are mobilized and readers eventually politicized to think more subversively in empowering themselves. As Foucault (1979:304) admonishes "We are in the society of the teacher - *judge*, the doctor - *judge*, the educator - *judge*, the social-worker-*judge*". It will not be surprising, however, to see that the reading of fragments of pain and humiliation will, for some, occasion some fetishized voyeurism that alienates and reifies the life experiences of "those others". Hopefully, this political project invites the more circumspect reader to engage him or herself ideologically and historically in the conditions and consequences of classism, racism, misogyny, and heterosexism.

iv) Gender Lessons

Gender experiences facilitate the development of an interrogative stance that is informed by history and political economy when looking at the familiar. Gender enables a sociological imagination (Mills 1959) that links personal troubles with public/social issues; to connect patterns in their lives with the events of society; to appreciate the intersection of biography and history when approaching phenomena deemed to be "controversial"; to delve into the social sources, meanings and implications from various vantage points, using different analytic lenses and to become more de- mystified and tentative in their traditional appraisals of controversial or social issues. In other words, class invites all teachers and students alike to partake more fully in their own learning, to formulate fundamental questions about the nature of our own learning. Typically, we as feminist academics are invited: to become strangers and are asked to be

courageous in deconstructing traditional texts by concentrating on the contradictions and closures inherent in conventional commentaries; to respond to the critical faculties that we have developed; to document our experiences, consciousness, intention, and their relational contexts especially when examining the teaching and learning process as political projects; and, to position ourselves ideologically and historically. This anti- feminist perspective challenges the privileged normative characterization of teaching as a given and static process of meaning construction in relation to our social realities. Finally, at the personal and interpersonal levels, critical education provides an understanding of the human condition. This emphasis on the experiential confers an 'authenticity'. To be truly authentic and work for change requires we undertake an assessment and reassessment of the self within changing contexts. Based on experience, this process requires negotiation, tolerance, and change as one acts in the present and at the same time reflects on one's status. This dual process of action and reflection offers a source of insight and further change. Experience is important only if it is authentic. Regardless of the experience, research or lived, teaching is respected by students if the presentation of socially sensitive material is based on a variety of flexible approaches.

Authenticity is a commitment to resistance. As Trotman (1993) clarifies, authenticity moves beyond western thinking to begin the work of constructing alternate social realities. Authenticity encourages an awareness of the other, and envisions the self as a knowing being, a powerful person that possesses a clear understanding of his/her place in the world (ibid.). In journeying towards pedagogical authenticity, we strive to creatively dispute, via a socially responsive teaching and learning process, normative conceptualizations of "difference". This involves linking education and action in order to generate strategies for an equitable, sensitive and coherent set of immediate and long-term responses that enhance social justice. Lamentably,

traditional criminological canons reflect the primacy of deference, genuflecting before the altars of self-proclaimed experts rather than a differential defiance based on the politics of self. Traditional models of teaching and learning criminology continue to judge differences, colonize compliance and shackle the imagination. What is required is a more emancipatory and transformative pedagogy, grounded in various struggles (gender, race, class and sexual orientations). Equally significant is the realization of the limitations of traditional approaches to crime, narratives that support particularistic truth claims rather than more social justice methods. My own response has been to continue exploring the subjective dimension of my working-class past in order to rethink the origins, meaning, and consequences of teaching 'class' in criminology related courses. These approaches are designed to question, rather than reinforce, the moral, political, social, economic, and intellectual organization (or regulation) of society (Jakubowski & Visano, 2002). For instructors striving to put critical pedagogical strategies into action, the task of providing students with more inclusive curricula in an open and critically responsive pedagogical environment becomes quite overwhelming. Through a more critical education, we will uncover our assumptions, learn more about our own learning, self-consciously challenge the dominant ethos, and develop oppositional currents. Praxis, as an ideologically informed action-based orientation to knowledge or truth claims, essentially meets the methodological demands of progressive teaching by encouraging the teacher to grasp a critical knowledge about the nature of criminalization. A close proximity to, or familiarity with, alternate social realities enables the teacher to capture more fully the experience of criminology; the nature of the teacher's experience communicates and thereby breathes meaning into criminological debates. Thus, the idea of experiential and intellectual integration refers to the relational, positional and provisional functions of interpretation. In this regard, we can speak of standpoint epistemologies --

attitudinal knowledges with their corresponding ideologies -- myths, symbols, metaphors (Arrigo, 1998).

Class-committed teaching and research invite the process of experiencing the connections between oneself and the “other”, about expressions of power and cultural controls. For many criminologists, engaging class committed pedagogies runs the risk of being set apart and relegated to the "margins"; quite frankly, not much of a risk for those who have experienced it in daily realities. Regulation through its reproduction of particular (proper, permitted, encouraged) forms of expressions fixes (or tries to fix) particular signs, genres, repertoires, codes, as normal representations of ‘standard’ experiences which represent human beings as far more standardly ‘equal’ than they can be in fact (Corrigan, 1990:111). The act of identifying oneself “from the other side of the tracks” “as those others” places an individual, historically in specific narratives, images and values, identity to the history of the people. But, if we understand hegemony, as articulated by Antonio Gramsci (1971), that, “domination is exercised as much through popular ‘consensus’ achieved in civil society as through physical coercion (or threat of it) by the state apparatus, especially in advanced capitalist societies where education, the media, law, mass culture etc., take on a new role”, we must then ask ourselves, how do ruling ideas come to “rule” and how can we break through these ideas or challenge them? For Gramsci, hegemony suggests that social processes, through which meanings are produced, constructed and signified, are characterized by struggle and contestation, and that the meanings that come to be privileged have been fought for, consented to and legitimated. Stuart Hall (1992) argued that the work has to be addressed on two fronts. On the one hand, we had to be at the very forefront of intellectual theoretical work because, as Gramsci says, it is the job of the organic intellectual to know more than the traditional intellectuals do: really know, not just pretend to know...But the second aspect

is just as critical: that the organic intellectual cannot absolve themselves from the responsibility of transmitting those ideas, that knowledge, through the intellectual function, to those who do not belong, professionally, in the intellectual class. And unless those two fronts are operating at the same time, or at least unless those two ambitions are part of the project of cultural studies, you can get enormous theoretical advance without any engagement at the level of the political project (Hall: 1992: 281).

Using Arat-Koc's (2006) work, I see myself located as subaltern: representing self and relating to other similarly yet unique experiences, into a developmental exploration of other racialized diasporic lives and identities. All representation should be understood as constructed, and must be seen as partial. This partialness is always interpreted by a particular system of thought, which, in this case, is a system of thought regulated by white heterosexist structures of dominance. I am concerned with my voice as silenced and subalterned. My voice requires identity, authentic and not criminally represented. Herein lies the problematic. In asking how identity is interpreted (represented and recognized), I gesture towards the practice of incorporating intersecting self-definitions --sexual orientation, Iranian, race, atheistic, etc.) not always characteristic of the dominant Canadian culture. But which culture – the Iranian? Muslim? Canadian? Transnational? What I want to do is provide some type of tool kit that would facilitate an understanding of the relationship between identity and culture as mediated by representations.

D. CONCLUSIONS: LOST AND FOUND IN TRANSLATIONS

i) Host Language

As an immigrant woman from Iran fluent in Farsi, Arabic, Azeri and Turkish, and for whom English is a second language or more aptly “anguish”, I have relentlessly studied English

for the last few years and have improved remarkably in my written skills with the oral skills lagging miserably behind. For most other Iranian women, however, language fluency and literacy remain serious obstacles that affect empowerment. For immigrants the language, oral and written, if the host society is constraining in grammar, accent, mis-pronunciations and nuances. But as Heidegger and Goulding emphasize language is not on the end-product (the destination) or the answers of new epistemologies but rather on the ways initiated by thoughtful formulation of questions. For example, to question the enframing of questions goes well beyond contemporary disciplines and forges the way for thinking anew. The scholarship of Heidegger and Goulding radicalize language by providing the keys to unravel various confusions inherent in the culture's modernist project that seeks to lose language. Instead, they suggest a turning that leads to the salvation and liberation of language. Language translation for both Heidegger and Goulding uncovers, recovers and discovers what is stated in the text within the abode of language itself. As Schalow (2011: 12) notes, the concern for translation, and, more specifically, its methodological elements, provide an important access way for understanding and interpreting thought. This "hermeneutic phenomenology" (ibid, 19) is a way of addressing the "meaning of being".

ii) Home Language

Given my own interests in Iranian thought among the diaspora, it is equally instructive to consider briefly the various influences of Heideggerian thought on the East. Heidegger notes that: "Again and again it has seemed urgent to me that a dialogue take place with the thinkers of what is to us the Eastern world" (Parkes, 1987:7). In fact, Heidegger's works and ideas, and particularly his interest in Far Eastern thought, provide the ground for this dialogue, and materialize this necessity. This dialogue will come to fruition only when both sides speak

dialogically (Pazouki, nd).

There is a link between those two realms of studies which has led Henry Corbin to give up Western philosophy to devote himself to Iranian philosophy. Corbin (1978) had the privilege of passing several unforgettable moments with Heidegger, in Freiburg, in April of 1934 and July 1936. Corbin was deeply influenced by Heidegger's theme of "being qua being", as well as his hermeneutical methodology, but reached another comprehension and level of being through his acquaintance with Mullâ Sadrâ's transcendental philosophy. This crossed-approach led to the transformation of the Heideggerian "Being-towards-death" into the Sadrian "Being-beyonddeath", and revealed the deep correspondence between the mode of being and the mode of comprehension (Akbarian & Neuve-Eglise, 2008: 5).

Corbin was at the same time the first to introduce the work of Heidegger and Iranian philosophers such as Suhrawardî and Mullâ Sadrâ in France. Heidegger's methodology based on hermeneutics also deeply influenced Corbin's approach of philosophers and mystics pertaining to the Islamic tradition. According to Corbin, "the essential merit of Heidegger is that he centered the very act of 'philosophizing' on hermeneutics" (ibid, 11), which he defined as "the art and the technique of the 'understanding'". This aspect of Heidegger's thought also allowed Corbin to perceive the narrow correspondence existing between the "*modi intelligendi*" (mode of understanding) and the "*modi essendi*" (mode of being), (ibid, 10). In many of his writings, Corbin also underlines the fact that "hermeneutics" corresponds to the Arabic word "*ta'wil*", which derives from the root "*awwala*" and signifies to bring back something to its origin (ibid, ibid, 11). For Mirsepassi (2011:1) what is interesting in the Corbin-Iran connection is the renewal of strong interest in Heidegger within Islamic intellectual circles.

According to Vahdat (2003: 607-608), Iranian philosopher Davari adopted the

“philosophy of Being” which led him to embrace the Sufi notion of annihilation of the subject, a process that involves a leap from the Heideggerian conceptualizations of the Being, arising from the Europeans’ experience of modernity, to the Sufi notions of submerging in the *Hw aqq* (Truth) (ibid, 607-607). It is Heidegger who demonstrated that the proper station of humans is to be attentive and heedful (as opposed to being forgetful) toward the Being. Thus, Heidegger reveals to us the inner Truth of the West, which may help us liberate ourselves from the prison of “Westoxication” by penetrating into the depth of Western philosophy. Heidegger’s promise, Davari maintains, is nothing less than an end to the gaudy and hypocritical oppression of the West (ibid). For Paya’s (nd:59) drawing on Heidegger’s views as translated by Ahmad Fardid, Iranian Heideggerians’ spiritual mentor, Iranian philosophers have long argued that there is an essential difference between the East and the West with regard to the fundamental questions of truth and being. Following Heidegger, he maintained that truth and being manifest themselves in different guises in various historical epochs. Mirsepassi (2011: 16) notes in *Political Islam, Iran, and the Enlightenment* that Heidegger is ultimately arguing for the institutionalization of an “authentic being” in opposition to the “rootless” cosmopolitanism that is constructed on a “superficial” primacy of knowledge... “It is argued that this series of philosophical positions in Heidegger is based on a totalizing truth claim as a hidden “authentic” ground accessible only by way of “revelation” and not reasoned argument, an experience of authenticity rather than any system of knowledge, and a matter of courage rather than understanding” (ibid).

Despite Corbin’s love for Iran, which he described as the “homeland to philosophers and poets,” he would forever carry with him another integral encounter, this one with the “old Germany” that was also a “homeland to philosophers and poets” (Mahmoud nd: 2).

CHAPTER THREE

“GETTING CONNECTED”: IDENTIFYING AN IDENTITY

A. INTRODUCTION: IDENTITY AND BEING IN CONTEXT

This chapter enquires into how migrants confront a whole new set of choices and experiences, how they represent themselves and relate to other similarly circumstanced others in light of assimilating “pushes” and traditional cultural “pulls”. The main burden of this argument posits that an adequate grasp of incorporation into Canada may best be attained by conceptualising the western host society as a site of highly contested terrains. In this regard, Hall (2003:235) asks us to study culture and identity in terms of processes, focusing on the constant reworking of culture, on the handling of contradictions and inconsistencies and on the processes of learning and unlearning. This chapter examines the different ways in which identities are negotiated and the attendant multiple points of identification and positioning. How does, for example cultural hybridity respond to crises of illiteracy, insecurity and instability (Fanon, 2008:69)? Herein, language is fundamental. From Fanon, Bhabha, Said to Spivak, an inquiry into the representation and recognition of the language as well as modes of communications requires a careful critique of perils and prospects. To what extent does language restrict thought, impose rules, inculcate desired norms and socialize conformity (Bourdieu, 1993)?

As we problematize relationships and bring to the forefront questions that have been too conveniently ignored, we begin to appreciate the contradictions and closures inherent in conventional commentaries. This study invites us to situate ourselves in the debates and struggles that characterize injustice in order to ground perceptions, to avoid self-incarceration, and to self-empower. Substantively, the study of injustice is a fertile environment to question prevailing ideas and the cultural enclosures, not simply to debunk nor disparage orthodoxies. Clearly,

identity has become a political project that invites the selves to position themselves ideologically and historically in order to interrogate conventional roles and rules, stepping back and looking into dominant institutional forms that marginalize those deemed to be the other.

i) Identity as the Dialectics of Movements

Intimately connected with the above critical approaches is the dialectical perspective. Emerging from the works of Hegel and Marx, the dialectic represents a world-view that is distinguished by many salient characteristics. First, it focuses on the "concrete", phenomena which are embedded in a social world characterized by contradictory relationships and interactions (institutions). Accordingly, the concrete constitutes an ongoing process of struggle - one of movement, of development and change. This approach does not simply reduce everything to ideologies or institutions. Relations between ideologies and institutions are not mechanistic but instead dialectical. Ideologies and institutions are both determined and determining. Ideologies as we shall later examine create institutions which in turn shape ideologies. Within this relationship there is a tendency - a "thesis" in the social world; there is a counter-tendency, antithesis, which will overcome the thesis. Elements of the two combine to form a new third tendency - a synthesis. These laws are the transformation of the relationships of ideologies and institutions. Both penetrate the law negating and reconciling contradictions in producing fresh contradictions.

Dialectics, in its broadest sense, is the scientific method applied concretely, consistently and comprehensively; a method for revealing what Engels called the *interrelatedness of things*. That is, "wherever the dialectic method is applied, it presupposes not the attitude of contemplation but of one of action... only in practice (praxis) can problems be solved" (Hook, 1933: 38). In the present context, the notion of the dialectic is significant for two reasons. First, it

allows one to recognize the contributions of institutions. Specifically, by adopting a dialectical way of thinking, one can more fully appreciate the importance of ideologies in all phases of institutional life. They are not simply objects which are routinely acted upon. Rather, as they are "embedded" in each other, playing a crucial role in all dimensions of social transformation. Institutional so called real-life experiences constitute moments in a continuous process of ideological development and change. Unlike the artificiality of traditional distinctions between ideology and institutions I argue that the conditions of experience are the *a priori* categories of understanding. Dialectics is "the consistent consciousness of non-identity," and contradiction, its central category, is "the non-identical under the aspect of identity." Thought itself forces this emphasis on contradiction upon us, Engels notes. To think is to identify, and thought can only achieve truth by identifying. So the appearance of total identity lives within thought itself, mingled with thought's truth (Zuidervaart, 2003).

The point of thinking in contradictions is not simply negative, however. It has a fragile, transformative horizon. Accordingly, our approach relocates that which has occupied the margins to the centre, decentres and de-essentializes the subject by highlighting how the subject is constructed in contradictions. The discursive and material field of identity is a site of contestations and struggles over the meanings of difference.

ii) Identity: Conscience and Self

a) Friedrich Nietzsche and truth: the self as a herd conscience

The writings of Friedrich Nietzsche deeply influenced 20th century thought especially the critiques of the values of modern humankind. Nietzsche, in unmasking modernity in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), argues in the Prologue that humans are of necessity strangers to themselves, they must mistake themselves, and they are ignorant about themselves. He adds,

Let's proclaim this new demand: we need a critique of moral values, and we must first question the very value of these values. For that we need knowledge of the conditions and circumstance out of which these values grew, under which they have developed and changed. (Prologue, section 6, emphases added).

For Nietzsche, we have never tried to find out who we are in any honest and critical investigation. Humankind thinks essentially *ahistorically* (ibid, 10), the *will to knowledge of the past* woefully escapes us, that is, the context of self-knowledge is seldom investigated rendering the modern without knowledge or any desire to know the past (ibid, ii, 4). Our entire attitude, with the help of *machines and the unimaginable inventiveness of our technicians and engineers*, is violence and hubris. Interestingly for Nietzsche, the most characteristic feature which forms the modern soul is not deception but *the ingrained innocence of its moralistic lying*. Likewise, *modern man had lost the capacity for belief*. All of this takes the form of *a bad conscience*. In explaining bad conscience, he says that prior to living within the confines of society, human beings were half animals, happily adapted to wilderness, war, roaming about, adventure (ibid, 56). In *Essay ii, section 19*, Nietzsche defines *bad conscience* as the deep sickness into which man had to fall under the pressure of that most fundamental of all changes he ever experienced—the change of finding himself enclosed once and for all within the sway of society and peace” (ibid, 56). The chief instincts he is referring to are hostility, cruelty, pleasure in persecution, in assault, in change, in destruction (ibid, 57). And when civilization forbids the individual to discharge these instincts on others, the individual’s instincts have no other option but to recoil back on the self. Nietzsche sees this oppression of strength and instinct as representing the regression of humankind (ibid, 23).

Modern civilization curbs the human being’s most basic unconscious drives and instincts

and civilization since many of these unconscious drives are hostile to social life. All instincts that do not discharge themselves outwardly turn themselves inwards; these instincts will find subterranean gratifications (ibid, 57). The inward discharge of instincts produces a bad conscience. Forgetfulness too is an active capability to repress. He clarifies:

Let's look for the conditions in which this illness has arrived at its most terrible and most sublime peak. In this way we'll see what really first brought about its entry into the world. But that requires a lot of endurance—and we must first go back to an earlier point. The relationship in civil law between the debtor and the creditor...a relationship which we modern men are perhaps least capable of understanding (ibid, ii, 22).

He continues,

You will already have guessed what went on with all this and behind all this: that will to self-torment, that repressed cruelty of animal man pushed inward and forced back into himself, imprisoned in the "state" to make him tame, who invented bad conscience in order to lacerate himself, after the more natural discharge of this will to inflict pain had been blocked... to drive his self-torment into something most horrifying--hard and sharp (ibid, ii, 22)

For Nietzsche, the development of 'bad' conscience' represented a key stage in the development of the modern subject. The key event in the violence and tyranny within human societies was the emergence of a *guilty conscience*. He adds,

Watching suffering makes people feel good, making someone suffer makes them feel even better - that is a harsh principle...I want to state very clearly that in that period when human beings had not yet become ashamed of their cruelty, life on earth was happier than it is now, now that we have our pessimists. The darkening of heaven over men's heads

always increased quickly in proportion to the growth of human beings' shame at human beings (ibid, 7).

Inherent in this hypothesis about the origin of bad conscience is, firstly, the assumption that this change was not gradual or voluntary and did not manifest an organic growth into new conditions, but was a break, a leap, something forced, an irrefutable disaster, against which there was no struggle nor any resentment. Secondly, it assumes that the adaptation of a populace which had hitherto been unchecked and shapeless into a fixed form was initiated by an act of violence and was carried to its conclusion by nothing but sheer acts of violence, that consequently the very oldest "State" emerged as a terrible tyranny, as an oppressive and inconsiderate machinery and continued working until such a raw materials of people and half-animals finally was not only thoroughly kneaded and submissive but also given a shape. For Nietzsche, human beings are primarily driven by non-rational forces, and historical values and perspectives. What is needed is not a "rational theory" of ethics, but a genealogy of historically determined dominating affects and interests. The critical moral question is: how have we become who we contingently "are" and what limits does that set on our possibilities of being? Nietzsche argues that the ideal equality of democracy or Christianity is a fundamentally *homogenising equality* of a 'herd-animal morality'. Human life, rather, is a venting of life, which is at the same time a 'will to power'. The credibility of the principle of self-preservation is undermined by all the facts of violence, sacrifice, unhealthy living, etc. Any essentialism or teleology, as versions of idealism, has to deny one or more aspects of life in order to be coherent.

Ultimately, Nietzsche argues that our present morality is born out of a resentment and hatred that was felt toward anything that was powerful, strong, or healthy. In a guilt culture, when something goes wrong as a result of a human action, people typically think that the person

involved is to blame, and ideally that person is expected to own up to his or her guilt and repent; and perhaps we are all expected to realize that we are by nature sinners. Nietzsche's project of genealogy is a critique of the value of morality. This radically different approach to the question of morality asks where our values came from and in what form of life, under what conditions, they originated. In this way Nietzsche explicitly links morality with specific forms of life and ultimately of subjectivity.

Nietzsche undermines the idea of any essential 'human nature' or 'self'. We are compelled to change our approach to moral reasoning: instead of asking 'What should I do?' we must ask 'Who am I when I act in this way?' Slave morality is based on envy. Nietzsche (1977) writes: "Truth like everything else is a function of power. I call something true if it increases my will to power". Moreover, "almost everything we call 'higher culture' is based on the spiritualization and intensification of cruelty," (ibid, s229:159). Then Nietzsche, who in answer to his question "whither must we direct our hopes," speaks of preparing "for great enterprises and collective experiments in discipline and breeding so as to make an end of that gruesome domination of chance and nonsense which has hitherto been called 'history' . . ." (ibid., s203:126).

For Nietzsche imprisonment in the thought patterns of so called modernity, rather than insight into to the nature of things characterises ideologies which purport to embody a form of rationality. In *Beyond Good and Evil* (1966, [1886]: xviii), he notes that in Europe of the nineteenth century herd morality masquerades as the only true morality; its political components, the advocacy of democracy, equal rights, or even socialism dominate modern nations. Nietzsche's hope is that the future will bring a radical revaluation of this herd morality that will teach humans 'that their future is their will, that the future depends on their human will, and they will prepare the way for great risk-taking and joint experiments in discipline and breeding in

order to put an end to that terrible reign of nonsense and coincidence that until now has been known as "history" (ibid, 90–1; 203). Note the following descriptions: “stupid innocence and blissful confidence of 'modern ideas' (ibid, 91); “The man of 'modern ideas', that proud ape, is endlessly dissatisfied with himself, that much is sure. He suffers, and his vanity would have him feel only pity for the suffering of others (ibid, 113). “Like a rider on a forward-raging steed, we drop the reins before the infinite, we modern people, we semi-barbarians—entering our state of bliss only when we are also most—in danger (ibid, 116). In *the Gay Science* (1974), he advises:

Let us be on our Guard. Let us be on our guard against thinking that the world is a living being... Let us now be on our guard against believing that the universe is a machine; it is assuredly not constructed with a view to one end; we invest it with far too high an honour with the word "machine...Let us be on our guard against supposing that anything so methodical (ibid, 109).

Wherever we meet with a morality we find a valuation and order of rank of the human impulses and activities. These valuations and orders of rank are always the expression of the needs of a community or *herd* (116). Moreover,

All our professors of jurisprudence start with this sentiment of individual independence and pleasure, as if the source of right had taken its rise here from the beginning. But throughout the longest period in the life of mankind there was nothing more terrible to a person than to feel himself independent. To be alone, to feel independent, neither to obey nor to rule, to represent an individual - that was no pleasure to a person then, but a punishment; he was condemned "to be an individual." Freedom of thought was regarded as discomfort personified. While we feel law and regulation as constraint and loss, people formerly regarded egoism as a painful thing, and a veritable evil. For a person to be

himself, to value himself according to his own measure and weight - that was then quite distasteful. The inclination to such a thing would have been regarded as madness; for all miseries and terrors were associated with being alone. At that time the "free will" had bad conscience in close proximity to it; and the less independently a person acted, the more the *herd-instinct*, and not his personal character, expressed itself in his conduct, so much” (ibid, 117)

Much of *On the Genealogy of Morals* is devoted to an etiology of the modern sickness, and the cause is said to be two-fold. There has always been the seething resentment of the "herd," the base, the powerless mass. By itself this resentment is not sickness; it becomes so through the ministrations of the priests, who manage the resentment by turning it inward. Civilization itself sets the stage for the disease. In civil society, individual humans are normatively confined and the exercise of their wills repressed. Like a wild beast in a cage, a civilized human hurls himself at the walls in a frenzy of self-destruction. Consequently, a bad conscience emerges as its natural form. In its religious form, bad conscience becomes much more: it becomes guilt. Nietzsche claims that all *absolutes have collapsed and* there is no transcendent basis in any area—whether religion, philosophy, science, or politics--for making meaning out of life

b) Michel Foucault: the self as docile discipline

Taking his cue from Nietzsche, Foucault’s task is to awaken thought from its humanist slumbers and to destroy ‘all concrete forms of the anthropological prejudice’, a task which would allow us ‘to renew contact ... with the project of a general critique of reason’ (Foucault 1973b: 342). Foucault follows the Nietzschean position that dismisses the Enlightenment ideology of historical progress:

Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces war-fare; humanity installs each of its violence in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination (ibid: 1977:151).

Foucault's project has been to write a 'critique of our historical era' (1984: 42) which problematizes subjectivity that seems given and natural but in fact are contingent socio-historical constructs of power and domination. Foucault revealed the *mechanism of the disciplinary society* in the new age European history. He gave a description of the tools of power-knowledge rationalizing all the cells of European society: penitentiary system, social control, medical care, education, demography, politics etc. The enforcement of power-knowledge in different segments of society, according to Foucault, is the destiny of Western culture.

Totalization was accompanied by individualization (ibid, 1995: 85). One of the more interesting productions of the 'modernization' process would be that of the 'modern individual', or the individualization process. In *Discipline & Punish*, Michel Foucault gives a thorough explication of the advent of this process as he explains the emergence of contemporary prisons and punishment in Western society. First, we need to explain the 'individualization process' and the 'modern individual'-- we will use this term explicitly when referring to a modern identity, individual alone will simply indicate a 'unit'—mean according to Foucault. The individualization process is an anonymous, omnipresent technique of power, called discipline, with three parts: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and the examination (which combines the previous two in a new form). Put simply: hierarchical observation is the use of multiple agents to create a field of surveillance.

That is,

The growth of a capitalist economy gave rise to the specific modality of the disciplinary power, whose general formulas, techniques of submitting forces and bodies, in short, 'political anatomy', could be operated in the most diverse political regimes, apparatuses or institutions (ibid, 221).

Further, Foucault adds,

It [discipline] could reduce the inefficiency of mass phenomena...; reduce what is opposed to the use of each of its elements and of their sum; reduce everything that may counter the advantages of number. That is why discipline fixes; it arrests or regulates movements; it clears up confusion; it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering about the country in unpredictable ways; it establishes calculated distributions (ibid, 219).

"The individual," Foucault has claimed, is no doubt the fictitious atom of an 'ideological' representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called 'discipline.' We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes,' it 'abstracts,' it 'masks,' it 'conceals.' In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production" (ibid, 194).

The individual does not truly have freedom; s/he has the freedom to be normal. Once the individual deviates from the normal, his/her 'freedom' ceases and the individual is subjected to the coercive apparatuses of power. These disciplines pursue knowledge of the individual, not to liberate and enlighten, but instead to control, constrain, and coerce, that is, to gain power over the individual. As an instrument of power, the examination is very effective. Not surprisingly, individual was continuously located within one closed environment or another, each having its

own laws. In the disciplinary society, the enclosures (schools, prisons, hospitals), are independent of each other. The normalizing gaze is increasingly pervasive: "We are entering the age of the infinite examination and of compulsory objectification." Foucault sees the project of scrutinizing infinite humanity through limiting, "scientifico-disciplinary mechanisms" as lacking legitimacy, and audacious, "ignoble" in its display of force. His concept of 'power/knowledge' is symptomatic of the postmodern suspicion of reason and the emancipatory schemes advanced in its name Foucault rejects the active subject and welcomes the emerging postmodern era as a positive event where the denuding of agency occurs and new forms of thought can emerge (Foucault 1973a: 386).

For Foucault, the task of a "historical ontology of ourselves" or a "critical ontology of the present" amounts above all to an archaeological and genealogical criticism of our modes of doing, thinking, and saying: "Archaeological—and not transcendental—in the sense that it will not seek to identify the universal structures of all knowledge or of all possible moral action, but will seek to treat the instances of discourse that articulate what we think, say, and do as so many historical events. And this critique will be genealogical in the sense that it will not deduce from the form of what we are what it is impossible for us to do and to know; but it will separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think" (ibid, 45-46).

c) Martin Heidegger: self as being in Being

But in light of the above critiques of the self and consciousness, how does one approach the question of Being? The way to transcend is to ground it in a foundational thought and to think that which gives rise to Being and beings. Heidegger probes into a primordial mode of consciousness and questions, therefore, the very conception of human nature. As Heidegger puts

it, "foundational thinking starts only when we have experienced that reason, exonerated for hundreds of years, is the toughest obstacle to thought." In Heidegger's philosophy, transmetaphysical thinking and transconceptual thinking are synonymous (Steffney, 1977: 323). For Heidegger, man or a woman is more than his or her relation to beings; he or she also has a relation to Being (ibid, 324). A radical transformation of consciousness is essential if one is to transcend the realm of beings and break through the dichotomous matrix of ordinary thinking with its inherent subject-object duality.

Gross and Kemman (2005:13) note that according to Heidegger's Being-with-one-another turns out to be only one way of being among many--living and nonliving, human and nonhuman. This shared ontology of all Being, the sharing of all sorts is body-in-movement, a movement characterized by a continuous function of "embodied" minds. For Jennings (2005:31), Heidegger's leap into being is a return to original venturesome creativity. Da-sein's leaping is a self-throwing of creative Da-sein. But Heidegger does not want to portray Da-sein as the author of its own being. The creative thinker does not figure out what Da-sein's task is; rather, the thinker experiences Da-sein's thrownness. It only appears that the leap into being is executed by Dasein (ibid). In fact, being cannot be determined by thinking. The leap, rather, first allows Dasein to exist as the clearing. Being is not created by a "subject;" rather, Da-sein, as the overcoming of all subjectivity, springs from out of the essence of being. In this way the leap is not willed by Dasein. Heidegger's venture is associated with a will which is not grounded in a subject, which stands in the space (the Da) into which being project itself. For Kisiel (1985), it was Heidegger who went even further and suggested that man's existence in the aporia of Being is hermeneutical through and through. Although his hermeneutic of existence is still linked with the phenomenological "method" of explicating the implicit structure of existence, this procedure

itself is to be traced back and rooted in the more spontaneous process of human existence as a unique voyage of discovery which envelops all the minor revelations and major epiphanies of the meaning of existence. In Heidegger's terms, *Dasein*, human existence in its situation, stands in the "event of unconcealment," and accordingly understands. It is in this "event" then, that the heart of the matter of the hermeneutical is to be found.

According to Heidegger, "that which never and nowhere 'is' a being discloses itself as that which is different from everything that 'is', that is, what we call Being" (1955: 45). "Being, however, is no existing quality of beings. Being, unlike beings, cannot allow itself to be objectively established and understood. This, which is purely Other than beings is that which is not being. However, this Nothingness is the same as Being" (ibid). Though *Dasein* might be thought of as a mode of consciousness, *Dasein* cannot be simply equated with consciousness. It is more akin to Being (the "there" of Being) than consciousness, and therefore is more ontological than conceptual (Steffney, 1977: 324). Heidegger postulates an integral-ness between man and Being (ibid, 326). Heidegger portrays *Dasein*, in its transcendence, as a movement into Nonbeing, a movement which is disclosed to it through anxiety (*Angst*).

Anxiety, in contradistinction to fear (*Furcht*), has no objective reference point, no definite detrimentality. The ground of anxiety, rather, is indefinite: "Anxiety is characterized by the fact that what threatens is nowhere. Anxiety 'does not know' even what it is anxious about." Heidegger also writes, "anxiety renders manifest Non-being" (ibid). *Dasein* is inseparable from Being and beings (1955:326 Heidegger asserts that three ways of *Dasein's* being is revealed via an encountering of the world. First, it shows that *Dasein's* being is such that it allows the world to be disclosed. This disclosure of the world takes place in advance, i.e., it is contained in *Dasein's* being and constituted by *Dasein's* ways of being 1962: 71).

The Question of Being

Heidegger introduces the question of being by problematizing the notion of being in terms of three formulations: being as an *universal concept* (1962:19). This is so for three reasons. First, being is presupposed wherever entities are apprehended, and as such being is universal to the apprehension of entities. Being is formulated as ‘transcendent’ (ibid, 23), as transcending any and every entity. As such, being is universal as above and beyond every concretely situated entity. That is, being is some vague universal unity which allows for the categorization of entities in their modes of being. This being is not merely vague but also merely presupposed. As such, Heidegger states that this formulation of being has no clarity. In that Being is universally presupposed in ontology Being is also the darkest, the most hidden, concept of all (ibid). ii) The second traditional formulation of being that Heidegger discusses is the indefinability of being. In this, being is taken to be indefinable in so far as being is not an entity which contains definable characteristics (ibid). Even though being is not an entity and cannot therein be defined, being is nonetheless utilized.

This utilization of being does not require any definition but rather always already entails a sense of being. As such, the formulation of being as in-definable, although correct, has hidden the problem of the way in which being is always already has a sense; that is, Being is already presupposed and understood in some vague and indefinable way. Therefore, the problem of the in-definability of being is that it obscures the question of this sense of being (ibid). The final traditional formulation that Heidegger considers is that being is self-evident. This self-evidence is contained in the ‘copula’ of each sentence as the ‘is’, ‘am’, ‘was’, ‘will be’ and other such structures. The self-evidence of being here merely indicates the familiarity of use and a familiarity with being in language. This familiarity with being pertains to the vague

understanding of being that humans have, but not to the sense of being which is presupposed by understanding (ibid, 23).

Heidegger's discussion of these three traditional formulations of being has problematized being and thus the tradition of Ontology. In each case Heidegger points out that the philosophical tradition has not gone far enough in the question of being. This tradition shares a common, but undiscovered, failing which prevents the question of being from proper formulation. This failing has something to do with a distinction between possible points of origin for formulating the question of Being; between grounding ontology in the vague understanding itself (ibid) or the potential of grounding ontology upon the sense of Being which remains a presupposition of this vague understanding. Insofar as the failure of the tradition of ontology belongs to the 'not far enough', its failure lies in grounding ontology upon the vague understanding of being and entirely forgetting that being always already has a sense in this understanding. Heidegger's question of the sense of being can be seen therefore as the attempt to show how ontology can be grounded upon the sense of being. In order to enter into the question of the sense of being properly Heidegger begins with a structural analysis of questioning in general which is followed by an analysis of the question of the sense of being.

Questioning is the proper formulation of the sense of being. The truth of being, its openness, is for Heidegger not something which we can merely consider or think of. It is not our own production. It is where we always come to stand. We find ourselves thrown in a historically conditioned environment, in an epoch in which the decision concerning the prevailing interpretation of the being of being is already made for us.

For Heidegger's notion of Dasein, it is essential thinking only that comprehends human's Being. This thinking is holistic because it is able to be reflective of itself and of the Being by

which it itself comes forth. That is, it is able to be both within itself as thinking and also outside itself - in a very important sense to be other than itself - in terms of assessing itself.

Ereignis

According to Guignon (2006: 18), epochs in the history of being are brought about through what Heidegger calls an *Ereignis*, a word meaning "event" but tied to the idea of "ownness" or "appropriation" (*eigen*), and so suggesting "an event of coming-into-its-own." If unconcealment results from an event within being and is not something humans do, it follows that the concealment running through the history of metaphysics is *also* something that happens within being itself. Concealment inevitably accompanies every emerging-into-presence in this sense. Just as the items in a room can become visible only if the lighting that illuminates them itself becomes invisible, so things can become manifest only if revelation itself "stays away" or "withdraws."

This first-order concealment is unavoidable and innocuous. But it becomes aggravated by a second-order concealment that occurs when the original concealment itself is concealed. That is, insofar as humans are oblivious to the fact that disclosedness involves concealment, they fall into the illusion of thinking that nothing is hidden, and that everything is totally out front. Heidegger calls an *Ereignis*, a word meaning "event" but tied to the idea of "ownness" or "appropriation" (*eigen*), and so suggesting "an event of coming-into-its-own. The *belonging-together* of Man and Being, in the manner of a reciprocal challenge, drives home alarmingly the "that" and the "how" of Man's alienation from Being, at the same time, however, also the "that" and "how" of Being. Within the framework there prevails an alienation and dedication.

Mediation

Heidegger denies that this bracketing is possible. He claims instead that the understanding of a situation is directly mediated by a fore-knowledge, or sensitivity to situations, that is comprised by the understander's life-world. Therefore, suspending that life-world would preclude the possibility of understanding, altogether. Heidegger reaches his conclusion by contending that as a necessary part of human "being-in-the-world" (Dasein), things are perceived according to how they are encountered and used in one's everyday routines and tasks. Perception and apprehension thus move from fore-knowledge to an existential understanding, a largely unreflective and automatic grasp of a situation that triggers a response. This understanding must be incomplete because Dasein is both historical and finite. It is historical in that understanding builds from the fore-knowledge accumulated from experience. It is finite due to a "thrownness," the necessity of acting in situations without the time or ability to grasp the full consequences of actions or plans in advance. Only when actions fail to meet the exigencies of the situation and "breakdown" occurs, do individuals stand back and assume the theoretical attitude of science which sees things "objectively," as discrete objects separate from the self and resistant to one's will.

Home, being and Liminality

Heidegger's description of the search for Being is a dialectical passage towards 'home' through the "unhomely". This sense of awareness can be compared to Heidegger's in-between state of the uncanny, which is expressed in the dialectic between home and homelessness, where liminal moments of understanding and heightened awareness are experienced. By accepting our exile from home, and listening to the 'call attuned by *Angst*', we prepare ourselves for a return home, for entry into a state of authenticity, a fundamental state of being-in-the-world, which, according to Heidegger, is 'covered over in everydayness' (1953: 255-56).

Liminality often referred to as a certain state experienced by persons as they pass over the threshold from one stage of life to another. For instance, members of a diasporic community separate from their natal/ ancestral homes and status, then a liminal stage, and finally a degree of reintegration into the host society as a full and independent member with rights and responsibilities that the initiate did not have before. During the liminal stage, the between stage, one's status becomes ambiguous; one is "neither here nor there," one is "betwixt and between all fixed points of classification," and thus the form and rules of both his earlier state and his state-to-come are suspended. For the moment, one is an outsider; one is on the margins, in an indeterminate state or zone. For Heidegger the human stands in this gap, this zone of disclosure. One does not so much act as respond, does not so much speak as listen, does not so much interpret as understand the thing that is unveiled. The primary movement here is understanding as an emergence of being (Heidegger, 1971). The mediation Heidegger has in mind here is ontologically significant. It would seem to be a kind of bridge to non-being. The transcending of the already-given world is elsewhere in Heidegger even called the "step back": a "step back" from presentational thought as such. This "step back" is a movement back from embeddedness in a set of fixed definitions of reality, in order to regain access to a certain realm of "latency" which we might also call our deeper sense of the meaning of being. Again, one feels the parallel between this realm of indeterminacy and liminality. Like the realm of liminality, it is a realm "betwixt and between," not yet defined. Like liminality, it is a source both of creativity and critique of the prevailing forms of thought and being. A human being in the liminal stage or state has the potentialities of a human being but is suspended between stages or states so he or she is neither this nor that. He/she is in the "crack between the worlds". Heidegger urges us to rethink the binary relations of self and other, inside and outside the in-betweenness of the gaze. How so?

Clearly, as Goulding (2008:9) reminds us in reference to Heidegger's dictum, questioning is the piety of thinking, we live in language as an "embodied phenomenon". Heidegger, as Goulding (2008:13) astutely argues, human existence is inspired with care which shapes *homo* with its body (*corpus*) as the gift of *humus* (earth).

B. FROM MIGRANT NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES TO STATE NEGOTIATED IDENTITIES

Informed by the scholarship of Irene Bloemraad (2006) and Thomas Faist (2000), migrants see themselves as located within the transnational space as a citizenship seeker: representing themselves and relating to similarly circumstanced others as caught in the labyrinthine maze of assimilating pushes and traditional cultural pulls. Van Hear's (1998:242) study has been concerned not so much with identity as such, as with the material basis or socio-economic dimensions of such identity. His conclusions reiterate well developed theories about a combination of 'root causes' or structural factors which predispose a population to migrate; proximate causes or factors that bear more immediately on migration; precipitating factors, which trigger decision to depart; and intervening factors, which enable, facilitate, constrain, accelerate, or consolidate migration. Van Hear employs transnational community as an inclusive term which embraces diasporas, but also populations that are 'contiguous rather than scattered and may straddle just one border'. He addresses the multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of relationships and resources between the homeland and destination countries (ibid, 244).

The life accounts of immigrant women to Canada are important documents in a multicultural society that values different voices. Yet, it is not until recent years that scholars have begun to examine the legal experiences of immigrant women. Although a number of studies

about the many ethnic groups living in Canada have been conducted, curiously enough, however, research on Muslim women's migration to Canada has received very little attention. When Muslims migrate to a Western society such as Canada, they are confronted by a whole new set of choices and experiences making the adaptation process intricate and challenging. Studies have found, however, that difficult as the experience of immigration is, it is often far more affirming for women than for men. Pajouhandeh discusses varying concepts including gender-related double standards, women as the vessel of family honor and the threat and penalties of becoming a Western woman within the overarching theme of "the self in flux" (2004: 3). Pajouhandeh's study is of great value to this research as it examines issues relating to culture and religion with respect to women in specific. Moghissi's (1999:2) scholarship further examines how women grapple with patriarchy. This overarching theme fits well with the focus of this dissertation especially in terms of addressing identity and how it is (re)defined when faced with immigration, that is, how women cope with contesting home and host culture roles.

For women especially, there is a new sense of identity that shapes awareness of differences and sets them apart from the new society (Abu Laban, 1980; Shakir, 1997). This identity transition necessitates a dramatic change from hegemonic to minority status; from a setting that reinforces ethno-religious traditions to one that may throw that heritage into question. In fact, for many women, Muslim identity is considered to be the most important concern. Since 1967, the Muslim Arabs arriving to Canada, indeed to North America, are part of what has been described as the "differentiated cohort" of Muslims. Abu Laban argues that this cohort is distinguishable from earlier waves of Muslim immigrants in that, they are more likely to have experienced the increased importance and strength of Arab oil-producing countries and the increased emphasis on Islam and Islamic identity. Where these changes have been accompanied

by a rejection of Westernization, secularism, and the importation of 'foreign ideas' into Muslim societies, they can strengthen the resolve of the new Arab immigrant to differentiate from the larger society and maintain past ethno-religious identities (1980: 54). Islam, like Judaism in a predominately Christian culture, can offer a sense of attachment elsewhere, to a different temporality and vision, a discrepant modernity (Geertz, 1994).

Muslim women turn to the greater multi-ethnic Muslim community for support and for maintenance of traditional Islamic values, not only for themselves, but also for their children. They hope that involvement with the wider Muslim community will assist their children in finding not only lifetime mates, but also their way through the complex moral dilemmas (Rothenberg, 1999: 44). This desire to assimilate has often foundered, however, on "physical evidence of foreignness with all its irrational implications of moral inferiority" (Shakir, 1997:112). Muslim Canadian women are especially vulnerable since they are both women and immigrants. Racial and gendered constructs add to the marginalization and exclusion that these women have to cope with. Furthermore, under Islam, women are protected and are afforded many rights appropriate to their gender. As Shalaby (1970: 308) notes that "Islam, fourteen centuries ago, granted the women what the western woman has not gained ... in some western countries, the woman is still struggling to get the same rights the Muslim woman had long, long ago". For example, the financial security that the Islamic dower system affords women, and the independent holding of a woman's property (both the dower and her inherited property) are favourable to the status of married women when compared with the Western practice of joint property in marriage without autonomy or long term financial security for the wife (Tucker, 1993). Divorce, traditionally the unilateral right of the husband, has been broadly reformed such that it has become more difficult for husbands and easier for wives to obtain, while a number of

Christian and Jewish orthodox communities that co-exist with Muslims in the Middle East lack the alternative of divorce altogether (Shalaby, 1970).

The concept of migrant engagement, as a set of institutional processes, defies simplistic analysis. Studies by Sundar (2007), Winland (2007) and Goldring (2001) highlight the challenges and prospects of the impact of political participation for transnational communities. Their respective arguments grapple with the phenomenon of the politics of recognition. Tölölyan's (1991:3) analysis of representation is characterized by struggles and contradictions within ideas and practices of collective identity, of homeland and nation. Representations blur difference, even while pointing to an endemic double-ness, or multiplicity, of identities and loyalties, taboo topics both within and outside the diaspora community. Goldring's (2001:501) theorizing on state-transmigrant relations and citizenship analyzes the significance of both gender and the geography of citizenship practices in transnational social spaces. Drawing on feminist writings on citizenship (ibid, 504 - 07) women rarely engage in the citizenship practices. This gendering of citizenship limits the opportunities for women's participation thereby fragmenting citizenship practices. Transmigrant women, who find their practice of citizenship blocked in home-state mediated transnational social spaces, are more likely to engage in substantive citizenship oriented toward expanding social citizenship for their families (ibid, 526).

Extant studies of the Muslim immigrant's social life have also attended to how the migration process impacts on gender relations and how socio-cultural/political structures in their destinations influence and shape their gender consciousness. It was evident that Muslim immigrants and refugees are exposed to a world of triple realities: the *Iranian* culture that informed her upbringing and gender identity; the *Canadian* society with its distinct socio-cultural and legal definitions of gender and expected behavior; and, finally, to the *Iranian -Canadian*

culture which draws its emergence and existence from the conflicting /contradictory notions of gender within the two cultures.

Specifically, diasporic communities in Canada learn to repress, deprive and deny self-autonomy by advancing their own vulnerabilities and credulities. In this form of domination consciousness is constructed to facilitate further domination through the production of consciousness (Wood, 1981:9). While diasporic and immigrant experiences can be similar, they are not necessarily interchangeable. Diasporic perspectives strive to “intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic ‘normativity’ to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples” (Bhabha, 1994:171).

For Bhabha (ibid, 172), culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational. How then do Arab immigrant women achieve a sense of community and how are they able to establish themselves in a foreign culture? Many Muslim immigrant women use their original cultural framework and values to be able to integrate and adapt to the new culture (Moghissi, 1999). Religion is one such framework. Moghissi (2007:24) highlights the ambiguities (sex and sexuality) and complexities (Islamophobia) associated with this diaspora. Moghissi asks several questions: What aspects of diaspora life increase or decrease individuals’ ties to their family’s place of origin? Through which processes are transnational identities developed and deployed? Moghissi argues that Islamic culture is heterogeneous and that contemporary Islamic identities are often inherently political and focused on “resistance” instead of merely shared culture (pp. xiv–xvii). The formation of a collective identity, or diasporic consciousness and group solidarity is often a response to [or reaction against] an inhospitable

climate within the host community rather and a genuine internal reflection of cultural remembrance.

There is a multiplicity of strategies that violently erase both life and subjectivity. Strategies of erasure seek to create the possibilities for systems of domination to take root and perpetuate modalities of erasure which objectify living beings and their connections in/to the world producing a symbolic/material terrain that is treated as the foundation for socially projected ideologies and material productions. The negotiation of identity depends on a large extent on the national ethos of the host society, which defines the outset placement of the new immigrants and their types of affiliation. Entering a new society, the new immigrants must become acquainted with new ways of living, relating and interacting, which include deciphering the cultural discourse of the society. Moreover, there is ambivalence about the costs of adjustments and assimilation in both the private and public sphere. Their need to integrate into Canadian society is sharply contrasted with the need to retain cultural identity. Assuming new roles and responsibilities requires a change in the way these women perceived themselves and their relationships. However, any behavioural or attitudinal changes that violate cultural role expectations can threaten the women's sense of self which is inextricably tied to their cultural identities. One way to resolve these conflicts and achieve a more integrated sense of self is by being selective about which values to retain from their own culture and which to adopt from the Canadian culture.

Governments have been moving away from multicultural policies in the name of national security by tightening internal controls over the population, especially non-citizens (Arat-Koc, 2006:216) and regulating the transnational ties of Arabs and Muslims typically perceived as suspect (ibid, 217). While Muslim Canadians are considered a visible minority in Canada, many

are visibly indiscernible from the White mainstream, and historically have blended in quite easily. However, their visible minority status – or ‘Otherness’ – is simultaneously acknowledged and denied yet intensely evoked when words like “terrorists” and “security issues” arise. Misperceptions of Muslims are rampant and clearly evident in the ranges of negative stereotyped portrayals in popular culture, media productions, and news items. As will be discussed later, the portrayal of Muslims in the North American media plays a fundamental role in constructing the image of the Muslim Canadian identity. Labels applied to identify groups inform the attitudes that are expressed toward members of these groups and affect society’s perceptions of people and events. Canadians still tend to be ill informed about Muslims, their culture, religions, and history. This lack of interest may be explained partly by the relatively small size of this population in Canada, but it could also be due to widely held misperceptions and stereotyping. The international politics of the Middle East and the negative images have reinforced ignorance about Muslims that fuels further prejudice and misunderstanding. In the minds of many, the terms “Muslim” is automatically associated with jihadism, terrorism and fanaticism. Prejudices vary according to the framework and ideological constructions of the traits that have been projected on them. This interaction also leads to a new sense of revised identity that is set against the background of hostility. But it is precisely this identity coupled with religious and racial stereotyping, invisibility, harassment and discrimination that contributes to misunderstanding and exclusion.

In brief, migrants undergo profound changes as they mediate between various systems of meaning and these challenges are particularly difficult when the second generation matures. For Moghissi (2009), the “sandwich generation” and the unique struggles they face provide insights into the differing cultural views towards the elderly, their needs and their responsibilities.

i) Multiculturalism as Exclusion

The post-war years in Canada have seen the emergence of the ideals of multiculturalism blossom into multicultural policies that were regarded as a uniquely Canadian way of envisaging race and ethnic relations, and for tackling the problems associated with pluralism in a democratic society. While many may agree that multiculturalism has lived up to its purpose as an instrument for intercultural harmonization, others regard multiculturalism to be as much a part of the problem as of the solution to Canada's woes (Nelson & Fleras, 1998). The debate over its effectiveness reveals that it is an issue of "contested sites" over power, equality, and social and political control.

The Economic Council of Canada (1991) has found that Canada's multiculturalism policy is an integrationist strategy that "does not aim to maintain complete cultural systems but to preserve as much of ethnic culture as is compatible with Canadian customs." Further, they concluded that ethnic cultural practices that conflict with Canadian norms or sensibilities may lead to alienation and racism. Multiculturalism, then, tends to disempower ethnic cultures because they may pose a potential threat to Canada's Whiteness (Nelson & Fleras, 1998).

For Arab Canadians, by and large, there is a looming feeling that full acceptance in Canadian society is futile and that they are unable to change well-entrenched misconceptions concerning themselves and their culture. As a form of resistance, or perhaps as a way of acknowledging their powerlessness to combat the forces of societal prejudice, some Arab Canadians have sought creative ways to blend into the dominant culture by becoming "invisible." This attitude has been observed among some members of the Arab Canadian community who wish to "minimize" their Arabness (or the negative effect of Arab label) in

favour of more “acceptable” identification – such as Lebanese Christian or Chaldean Iraqi; some have even gone as far as trying to pass for persons of European heritage (Mokbel, 2002).

By constantly stereotyping and linking Arabs to terrorism and fundamentalism, Canada manages to both betray and abandon its stated goals for tolerance and inclusion under multiculturalism. Erroneous cultural constructs and images of Arab Canadians, coupled with often overt forms of institutional and systemic racism, have serious consequences in the perpetuation of misperceptions and prejudice against this country’s Arab Canadian citizens. If multiculturalism was devised to work within its stated framework of fair and equal treatment of minorities, it has nevertheless failed to support and protect its most harassed and vulnerable members.

Taylor (1994:37-38) claims that the need for recognition in the world of multiculturalism from a communitarian point of view is central. He argues that it is essential to human identity that one's community be recognized both politically and socially. But, he warns that certain forms of political liberalism endanger that recognition by promoting homogeneity rather than plurality. Liberalism for Taylor is founded on rights and the sanctity of individual freedoms which are institutionalized by law and operationalized as a contract. He analyzes how institutions of liberal democratic government strive to recognize distinctive cultural traditions. Taylor states quite unequivocally that we cannot assume that all cultures are intrinsically valuable, and we must instead work towards a 'fusion of horizons' that grows out of recognizing the qualitative contrast between cultures (ibid, 67). A case can be made for appreciating universalization and particularism as co-constitutive elements (ibid, 68). A healthy unity of individuals and universals for Taylor would promote universal freedom and equality without sacrificing distinctive cultural

traditions and practices. For Taylor these attributes are not metaphysical but rather existentially concretized in the everyday world.

For Bannerji (2000: 126), however, multiculturalism contributes to the existing Anglo-European hegemony in Canada (ibid, 126). An elite group (ibid, 138), hiding behind the liberal-democratic notions of multiculturalism, constructs "culture" and "community" through processes which exclude the less advantaged. In other words, the inequity of liberal forms of multiculturalism arises not from its weak ethical commitment to difference but from its strongest vision of a new national cohesion. The multicultural legacy of colonialism promotes inequality by demanding an impossible standard of authentic traditional culture. Thus, multiculturalism and liberal regimes reinforce each other (ibid, 3). Povinelli's (2002) critical theory of recognition and Bannerji's Marxist, anti-racist and feminist approaches clear the way for a more comprehensive analysis that engages theory and praxis in inquiring into the interlocking relations of ideology, institutions and identity. The quality of law shapes and is shaped by the nature of culture.

i) **Laws of Multiculturalism?**

Law shapes society, politics and culture in terms of producing and reproducing relations of inequality. The disciplinary mechanisms of Canadian liberal law are related to diasporic identity building, moral regulation and the policing of ethnicized bodies. The idea of "multiculturalism," is commonly used in three senses: as a government policy, as a political ideology of cultural pluralism underpinning the federal policy, and as a "social reality" of an ethnically diverse society (Kallen 1982: 51, 1982b). Multiculturalism assumes that members of different ethnic and racial groups "should" be able to communicate effectively with each other within legal, social, and political relations thereby improving ethno-racial tolerance and a greater public acceptance of cultural diversity. Clearly, the policies of multiculturalism recognize the

legitimacy of racial and ethnic "cultures of otherness" as categories organized by dominant society, around what Hall (1985) describes, as discursive and empirical fields of social difference. The preservation of ethnic identity however, would include federally funded multicultural programs of those ethnic groups who express a desire to maintain their ethno-cultural heritage and a respect for the right of individuals to be free to choose whether to maintain his or her distinctive ethnic identity (Kallen, 1982: 53). Canada's "Multiculturalism Policy within a bilingual framework" was enshrined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* 1982 and in the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988, making Canada the first and only state in the world to have an explicit and formal policy framework guiding the national configuration of cultural and racial diversity. In July 1988, the Government of Canada acknowledged and honoured the changing face of the country in this ground-breaking legislation.

From a political and legal perspective, the most important guarantees the Act establishes are:

a) the "full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society" and assistance to eliminate "any barrier to such participation" (Multiculturalism Act, 1988, section 3.1.c.);

b) the assurance of "equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (ibid.: section 3.1.e.); and,

c) an "equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement" in all federal institutions for "Canadians of all origins" (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1990, pp. 13-15). This minimalist role of law *vis- a- vis* equality does not seek to eradicate cultural and racial discrimination but recognized instead that ethnic identities had not been dissolved.

Ostensibly, laws, including the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the Official Languages Act, the Citizenship Act, and the Canadian Human Rights Act 1977 serve as the backdrop to the institutional “management” of Canadian cultural and racial pluralism. The Multiculturalism Act remains, nonetheless, consistent with a particular socially constructed and historically rooted social order to which we now turn.

The following focus on the locus of law demonstrates the inadequacies of the prevailing optics. Multiculturalism, as enshrined in the Multiculturalism Act and policies at all levels of government seek to manipulate by "de-politicizing" and "cooling-out". As a mask of racism, multiculturalism is a calculable device that demystifies by dignifying differences at least on paper. Multiculturalism, as a divisive policy in its promotion of ethnic chauvinism, does not alter structured inequalities. As a form of social control, multiculturalism requires minority communities to wait in line for funding, to compete with each other, and to attend to the "selective" criteria while marching to the disciplinary cadence of existing power structures. Multiculturalism has become a vulgar patronage system that rewards hyphenated Canadians for delivering ethnic constituencies.

According to this legal rhetoric, no cultural group has the right to regard itself as the guardian of the Canadian culture. But, in practice multiculturalism is state regulated. The ethos of cultural pluralism which is celebrated and extremely well-funded segregates and inferiorizes groups according to state sponsored criteria. But, multiculturalism has the effect of being divisive by reinforcing ethnic differences, bigotry and intolerance. Culture cannot and should not be artificially inserted, bits and pieces, into everything and anything in the guise of multiculturalizing. For the purposes of multiculturalism, culture has been reduced to the simplest

theatre. Colourful events like Caravan, Octoberfest, CHIN picnic, Caribana, World Cup Soccer celebrations and Black History month are instruments of homogenization. Economic and political struggles are fed with "cultural carrots" (Roach, 1981).

The language of politicians captures what multiculturalism does not signify. For instance what is seldom revealed in state governed race relations are the contemporary and historical struggles in which the allocation of privilege is contested. In North America, for example, the white majority seeks to integrate non-whites into its own culture furthering the subordinate status of the latter. This incorporation into the dominant white culture isolates, divides and subordinates. The struggle for social justice demands a struggle over law (McMullan, 1987:252) not multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is a commodity that attempts to construct a consciousness of equality, a legitimization of the dominant ideology, without addressing the material conditions and/or basis of Canadian society. The failure to act in the pursuit of justice is an expression of state sponsored racism (Kallen, 1989:75). The law is projected as neutral, innocent and too limited in responding to social injustices, thereby escaping complicitous connections. By providing "universalistic" protections, the law seeks to transcend material conditions. The liberal legal appeal of "equality" and the cultural talk of freedom are powerful ideological tools. Despite that which is publicly presented as a commendable intention, multiculturalism has had the following limitations: a lack of clear or sophisticated theoretical foundations, a failure to recognize the political nature of ethno- racial issues, an absence of practical programs of action, a form of homogenization despite its obvious connections to equality. These contradictions contribute to the mystification of multiculturalism.

On the one hand, multiculturalism is the articulation of conformity, that is, the maintenance of Canadian moral rules and ordered worlds; and, on the other hand, this elusive concept continues to be showcased as a dramatic departure from a racist heritage. This obsession with the politics of the multiculturalism has remained silent about the politics of wealth, and the very real problems of poverty, unemployment, discrimination and inequality. The culture of dominance offers token opportunities in education, employment, social services and the law. This is well refined to promote the acceptance of the subordinated by extending limited profit and privilege to those "willing junior partners in the business of colonial rule".

Multiculturalism is integrally related to the process of designating difference. In fact, multiculturalism is a sophisticated practice of exclusion. This mechanism of exclusion constructs and commoditizes differentiated discourses that in turn marginalizes and negates identity. Multiculturalism, as a state practice, is an ideology not simply of cultural differences, but an ideology of superiority that denies the meaningful participation of those "others". Multiculturalism is a well-calculated ideology that promotes the arrogance of the dominant groups to determine entitlements and responsibilities of "those other". But, pluralism, the promotion of cultural diversity, a loyalty to traditional values and the retention of a multicultural heritage, continues to occupy a central role in Western liberal-democratic societies like Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. Accordingly, the State, recognizing the ubiquity of diversity, legalizes the protection of interests and rights, especially in human rights legislation, education, employment, health and housing. Alternatively, the state typically resolves conflict with more coercive measures that criminalize racial differences.

Multicultural policies are based on simplistic models of social engineering based on two essentially false premises: first, state policies assume that 'culture' in the large sense could be

transplanted; and second, that those who voluntarily seek a new life in a new country would wish to transport only selective features of their cultures of origin. Modern racism no longer uses the language of race but rather opts to incorporate the much less negatively imbued notion of culture and cultural difference, especially under the rubric of law. The Multiculturalism Act like all laws is the metanarrative or master discourse that tends to totalize or essentialize conflict. Like all Canadian laws, the Multiculturalism Act does not attend to class dynamics nor to the global political-economic processes in a manner sensitive to social justice concerns. Law, after all, is the cultural medium in which identities are constructed and represented, especially that of the “civilized White European”.

Socio-historical changes may affect identity which emerges out of objective (structural) and subjective (experiential) factors. Life histories are necessarily intertwined with the cultural history of the so-called “host” society, generational issues, and transplanted awareness of the diasporic communities and the customs of the originating cultures. Multiculturalism policies remain unaware of the embeddedness of the experiences of (dis) continuity. A narrative of identity goes beyond notions of hybridity to consider the social constructions of experience in terms of material and historical bases of negotiated power relations. Instead, extant multicultural policies reinforce the binary Canadian/Other as the mechanism of transcendence of difference and inequality, inserting “ethnic Others” into the national imaginary (Bannerji, 2000: 74). The discourse of multiculturalism strives to provide a clear recognition of difference by expressly constructing the "ethnic Other" as separate from "Canadian" (Légaré, 1995: 352).

The celebration of identity and difference is an accommodationist strategy rather than a reflection of identity struggles. The Canadian state has made available to ethnics ways to "manage" their” spoiled identity." The differential treatment of ethnic communities reflects a

long held strategy of “divide and rule” that has been effective for centuries in oppressing the First Nations. Bannerji (2000, 51) puts forth that the discourse of diversity in multiculturalism policy in Canada ignores historical and present power relations, perceptions, systematized ideologies; diversity reduces to and manages difference as ethnic cultural issues. As Bannerji (2000, 78) outlines:

Multiculturalism is itself a vehicle for racialization. It establishes Anglo-Canadian culture as the ethnic core culture while ‘tolerating’ and hierarchically arranging others around it as ‘multiculture.’ The ethics and aesthetics of ‘whiteness,’ with its colonial imperialist/racist ranking criteria, define and construct the ‘multi’ culture of Canada’s others.

Povinelli (2002: 2) introduces a powerful critique of Australian law and cultural policies located within liberal aspirations of multiculturalism. Her central thesis concerns how:

The state and public leans on a multicultural imaginary to defer the problems that capital, (post)-colonialism, and human diasporas pose to national identity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. How do these state, public, and capital multicultural discourses, apparatuses, and imaginaries defuse struggles for liberation waged against the modern liberal state and recuperate these struggles as moments in which the future of the nation and its core institutions and values are ensured rather than shaken... (ibid: 29).

In reference to multiculturalism, she notes compellingly:

The Australian juridical, state, and public commitment to multiculturalism provides an especially interesting example of the role a multicultural discourse and fantasy play in cohering national identities and allegiances and in defusing and diverting liberation struggles in late modern liberal democracies ... Australian nationalism came to mean

something other than descent from the convict, ruling, or immigrant classes who arrived from Britain and western Europe... Multiculturalism is represented as the externalized political testament both to the nation's aversion to its past misdeeds, and to its recovered good intentions (ibid, 17-18).

In other words, the inequity of liberal forms of multiculturalism arises not from its weak ethical commitment to difference but from its strongest vision of a new national cohesion. The multicultural legacy of colonialism promotes inequality by demanding an impossible standard of authentic traditional culture. Thus, multiculturalism and liberal regimes reinforce each other (ibid, 3). Similar to Bannerji, the problem of multiculturalism manifests itself strongly in the political economy – the business of Aboriginal land claims and the impact of capital (mining ventures) which can only be truly understood by examining its concrete effects —and not just philosophical implications (ibid, 2-3).

Recognition is fundamental not just as a liberal legal requirement but as an empirical expression of justice. Identity is the context that shapes recognition. Likewise, identity requires recognition, but identity is located socially and thereby institutionalized and ideologized. Identity however is the actualization of the social. Following Gramsci, Bannerji (2000) examines how identity is easily hegemonized by institutions of law that are derivative of dominant misogynist, racist, and classist values. Juxtapose this with Taylor banal statement that assimilation is the cardinal sin against the ideal of authenticity. Where then are authentic voices heard? Without a collective imagination or even memories of tradition, identity is fabricated to satisfy the powerful, as in Australia. Taylor's ideals of identity, autonomy authenticity are confusing and not fully developed in implicating the institutional and the ideological.

Both Povinelli (2002) and Bannerji (2000) clearly suggest that multiculturalism, civil society and citizenship are empty slogans and clichés engineered to secure consent and pacify criticism. I would further add that they to serve to contribute to a wrongful common sense to the exploited who internalize that which is detrimental to them. How so? Multiculturalism is the exploitative vehicle designed to secure a “buy in” with its appealing charades, festivals, picnics, targeted funding, revisionist histories, etc. – all made possible by accommodative strengths of liberalism.

For Bannerji, we need to move beyond the simplicity of these choices, allowing for more profound positions of collectivity (ibid, 127). As Bannerji (2000) argues that the “fictive” nature of equality is supported by the dominant culture and its prevailing ideologies of liberalism, capitalism and modernity. Bannerji regards laws relating to equality rights like multiculturalism as masquerades distorting a violent unjust history. The celebration of identity and difference is an accommodationist strategy rather than a reflection of identity struggles. The Canadian state has also made available to “ethnics” citizenship as a way to “manage” their spoiled “identities.”

ii) Citizenship: Cultural Normativities

Citizenship is constituted in the context of cultural controls. Citizenship is institutionally grounded, representing organizational interests. From the law, media, religion, to name only a few, citizenship has institutionalized culture within absolutist and self-serving interpretive frameworks. In asking how citizenship is acquired and granted (represented and recognized), it is necessary to inquire into how the state promotes both *distancing* and *belongingness* -- creating a yearning to be a “part of” and “apart from” the dominant Canadian culture.

Bloemraad (2006) and Faist (2000) deal compellingly with the relationship between migration and citizenship as an essentially contested relationship. Bloemraad (2006) considers

citizenship adoption as the product of cost/benefit calculations. This approach understands individuals and groups to be differentially endowed with the skills, resources and interests necessary to acquire citizenship and also an approach that believes countries adopt citizenship regimes to include or shut out immigrants (ibid, 670). Immigrant citizenship and political incorporation is a process akin to social movement mobilization (ibid, 668). Newcomers who invariably face language barriers, unfamiliarity with mainstream institutions and weaker ties to native-born citizens rely on fellow immigrants and local organizations to shape how their respective citizenship needs to be socially constructed. Variations in immigrant citizenship are attributable to differences in the skills, resources, interests and aptitudes of immigrants (ibid, 673).

For Bloemraad (ibid, 675), to understand immigrant citizenship, we need to conceptualize immigrants' naturalization as embedded within a larger institutional and policy environment. Immigrants' individual and group attributes clearly affect their interest in and ability to acquire citizenship. But political incorporation is also fundamentally influenced by the receiving society. The host country's political institutions, administrative bureaucracies and integration policies facilitate or hinder immigrant citizenship. State influence occurs through at least two analytically separate dynamics.

As advanced by the state and the dominant culture, the concept of citizenship lacks depth and could easily benefit from even a cursory reading of Faist's (2000) scholarship. His assertion, "I believe that state action – or inaction influences immigrants' potential to achieve citizenship" (ibid, 685) is an informative overview of citizenship as a liberal contract of mutually enforceable rights and duties (ibid, 203). In tracing how the conditions by which newcomers are allowed to naturalize, he (ibid, 203-4) asks what kind of status should be recognized to religious, cultural,

ethnic diversities? Accordingly, culture constitutes a basis for recognition and that special rights are necessary to empower minority groups to partake in the full rights and duties of the polity. Is citizenship, as Faist (ibid, 219) argues, a morally demanding and institutionalized form of solidarity?

Intrepid analysts like Bloemraad and Faist have long argued that the focus on citizenship and its consequences misses the point. In fact, what discourses on citizenship actually highlight are the differentiated demands of citizenship placed on immigrants. Immigrant groups in Canada at particular moments of crisis (from the Chinese, Japanese, and Italian to the Jamaicans) were all too eager to self-assimilate, self-integrate and self-interrogate like compliant guests. That is citizenship was compromised if not detrimentally negotiated.

Citizenship is the normative articulation of conformity, that is, the maintenance of Canadian moral rules and ordered worlds. Citizenship is essentially about inclusion and its utility as a cohering exercise propagating conformity. But, exclusion manifests itself through the denial of legal citizenship (affected through immigration policies) and denial of social citizenship through the experiences of poverty and racism. Citizenship may provide a basis of “apparent” equality upon which the structure of inequality is built. It is clear then that citizenship is seen to unite where race and ethnicity divides, but the apparent unity gained through equal legal and political citizenship rights serves to conceal the fundamental economic inequalities inherent within and functional for capitalist societies. To possess citizenship is to be a full member of the community and to enjoy the civil, political and social rights which constitutes membership

Moreover, Canada claims to be a multicultural country with equal rights for all, yet it is not very active in its support of immigrant integration. First of all, the structure and composition of the government certainly does not reflect a multicultural group for that matter. Politicians,

policy makers and others involved in the policy making process, are mostly white, Anglo European; thus policies often reflect the views and ideas of certain communities. By providing "universalistic" protections, citizenship seeks to transcend material conditions. The liberal legal appeal of "equality" and the cultural talk of freedom are powerful ideological tools.

Citizenship policies are based on simplistic models of social engineering based on two essentially false premises: first, state policies assume that 'culture' in the large sense could be transplanted; and second, that those who voluntarily seek a new life in a new country would wish to transport only selective features of their cultures of origin. Citizenship, as a state practice, is an ideology not simply of cultural differences, but an ideology of superiority that denies the meaningful participation of those "others" not yet incorporated – landed or even permanent residents. It is a well-calculated ideology that promotes the arrogance of the dominant groups to determine entitlements and responsibilities of “those other”. But, pluralism, the promotion of cultural diversity, a loyalty to traditional values and the retention of a multicultural heritage, continues to occupy a central role in Western liberal-democratic societies like Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. Accordingly, the State, recognizing the ubiquity of diversity, legalizes the protection of interests and rights, especially in human rights legislation, education, employment, health and housing. Alternatively, the state typically resolves conflict with more coercive measures that criminalize racial differences.

For many, successful integration leads to the acquisition of citizenship. For immigrants, however, integration is not experienced as a form of social inclusion but, rather a form of assimilation for the sole purpose of national identity and unity according to a state agenda.

iii) Citizenship and Contexts of Exclusion

A Foucauldian model highlights the dual and inextricable functions of the state in “breaking the body” and “bending the mind”. Accordingly, punishment in the form of incarceration or banishment enjoys a long history in Canadian settlement, residence and citizenship policies and practices. Deportation was an enormous shift in the Immigration Act, particularly in light of the immediate and future consequences of deportation. Section 70(5) deprives individuals in Canada of their rights to various avenues of recourse from the issuance of a danger opinion and their corresponding removal from Canada. This Bill impacts severely on permanent residents, regardless of the length of time one resides in Canada. Once convicted of certain offenses, they are subject to ordered deportation. Section 70(5) removes the right of a permanent resident to an appeal from such deportation order, before the Immigration and Refugee Board (Appeal Division) with respect to the alleged illegality of their removal order or the possible inequity of removing them from Canada. Sponsors, who are Canadian citizens and sponsored a member of the family class for permanent residence in Canada, where the Applicant has been determined to be a "danger to the public" also lose their right of appeal, pursuant to subsection 77(3.1).

Tannis Cohen (1988) refers to law as "a two-edged sword that can be wielded to further justice or to persecute and oppress". In the context of racism and law, this statement implies that although law has the ability to protect against racism and foster equality, law remains a principal tool for maintaining racial inequality. Specifically, immigration and citizenship policies have been designed to regulate the entry and exit of people from Canada. This is to make certain that no unauthorized person enters into Canadian territory without adhering to the law as set up by the government. If a person does not follow the law, they will be apprehended, detained and likely deported. In general, the fundamental objective of having deportation policies is to ensure

that immigrants would be law-abiding thereby contributing to the fabrication of social order. Often times, it coerces a person to change their existing socially acceptable behaviour out of fear of being deported which is especially true in the case of those immigrants who are not educated or aware of deportation policies. As such, the notion of deportation opposes the rule of law where everyone on Canadian soil is entitled to obtain justice with no partiality.

Therefore, deportation is a process of “moral regulation,” creating citizens who can follow the values of the Canadian culture where race and gender are contributing factors to this decision. Therefore, deportation policies as a tool for social order results in the infringement upon the human rights of many immigrants residing in Canada in accordance to the Canadian Charter of Human Rights. The following could be reasons for deportation: security, human or international rights violations, serious crime, other crime, organized crime affiliations, and ill health, financial, falsifying of documentation and/or non-compliance with Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) requirements. According to the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA), “security” refers to the engagement or suspicion of engaging in spying, subversion or terrorism or belonging to organizations that engage in such activities. “Human or international rights violations” consist of war criminals who have committed crimes against humanity including the members or higher authorities of the government. “Serious crimes” examines if an individual has committed a crime which is punishable by a maximum of 10 years of incarceration. “Other crimes” includes the authority to believe that the person has committed an indictable crime, for example importing of narcotics while seeking entry to Canada. “Organized crime” refers to an individual belonging to an organization that is engaged in criminal activity such as smuggling, human trafficking and/or money laundering. “Health,” means if an individual poses a risk to public health or causes excessive demands on Canada’s

health or social services, necessary actions will be taken. “Financial obligations” include a person’s inability or unwillingness to support themselves and their dependents. “False information” either on documents or verbal could lead to the dismissal to reside in Canada. Not having valid documents or contravening the requirements of IRPA, for example possession of an invalid passport/visa, may also result in denying entry/ removal from Canada. All of these reasons are based on validity of information and evidence that the state can provide when determining an individual’s case (Canadian Border Services Agency, 2011).

All cases pertaining to deportation based on criminality are reviewed by a delegate of Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness. All the facts, for example family relations and financial situation, are also considered during this review. Some of the cases are referred to Immigration Division of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) for the issuance of removal order under section 44(2) of the IRPA. The maximum time frame for applying for an appeal is two years for permanent residents. If a permanent resident is sentenced to a term of imprisonment of at least two years under section 64(2) of IRPA, he/she will lose the right to appeal the deportation order to the Immigration Appeal Division (IAD) of IRB.

In terms of the links between criminality and immigration status, much of the impassioned rhetoric and unsubstantiated claims have been sparked by events in 1994. In Toronto two events were used to make this faulty connection. First, there was the "Just Desserts" killing by Oneil Grant who had been ordered deported, appealed and was allowed to remain. Oneil Grant who had several convictions for assault and drug-related offences had been ordered deported in 1992 but the decision had been stayed by the appeal division of the Immigration and Refugee Board. He was granted a "second chance" by a member of the Board. He had been charged with the April 1994 manslaughter of ViVi Leimonis in a Toronto cafe, Just Desserts

(Toronto Star, 17, 06, 1994:A19). Second, in 1994 Constable Baylis killed with a stolen handgun while on community patrol. Clinton Junior Gayle, a 25year old living in Metro was ordered deported in 1991 to Jamaica following convictions on nine charges; he was convicted on another five charges after the deportation order was issued, most of which were drug related. He was to be deported in 1992 after his appeal was turned down but authorities lost his case and through bureaucratic errors he was never deported. But these two men came to Canada as children - Grant at the age of twelve and Gayle at age nine. They were not recent immigrants! Moreover, the current system of citizenship requires that an individual reside legally in Canada for three years. If the person commits a crime in the fourth year one's immigration status cannot be used. Oddly, if the person fails to apply for citizenship and commits a crime even after a decade in Canada they will be considered as immigrant (Mourbese, 1994: A17). Part of the anti-immigrant sentiment is related to the fact that both victims were white and both suspects were Black (ibid).

Note for instance that no person of Japanese origin was ever charged with any act of sabotage or disloyalty during the war years! The loyalty of Japanese Canadians was beyond question and yet in 1945, a "loyalty survey" was conducted throughout detention camps of British Columbia; this action required Canadian citizens to remove themselves east of the Rockies. Those refusing to make such a move were to be classified as disloyal, divested of citizenship and banished to Japan. This order was halted only because of negative public sentiment. Nonetheless, 4,000 Japanese Canadians were deported Adachi (1976: 232). And yet Canada has been slow in deporting Nazi war criminals!

Hence, on the surface, it seems like the government is using deportation as a tool to decrease crime rates in Canada. This is one of the reasons for criminals being deported. By deporting individuals based on criminality, the government can ensure that Canada can still

remain “British” as the deported individuals who are deemed to be criminals tend to be of ethnic origin from countries such as Jamaica, Iran, India and Vietnam (Chan, 2005). As illustrated above, deportation is a social control mechanism where individuals who do not adapt to the “Canadian” norms are likely to be deemed a criminal and deported. If immigrants can understand the system of moral regulation, they will be law-abiding individuals.

Note also the following deportation of Jose Figueroa (CTV News, 2011). Jose fled to Canada from El Salvador due to death threats and a gunfire attack. This individual is married with three children. He also has a job which shows that he is contributing to Canada’s economy and financially supporting his family as a result he was not a liability or a strain on the Canadian government. When he came to Canada, he was in search for safety and security. He thought that he could turn his refugee status into citizenship after residing in Canada for thirteen years. However, he was deported on the idea that he posed a threat to national security without any substantial evidence (ibid). He was deported arbitrarily and without his family. This opposes Canada’s identity as a multicultural society welcoming and accepting of all cultures. Moreover, if he was a danger to national security, why did not the government recognize this issue in the initial stage? The fact that was deemed “dangerous” weakened his right to stay in Canada. As per immigration law, rather, Canada only promotes reuniting of families (Justice Canada, 2011). This is not evident in the case of Jose as he was split from his family. As Jose was deported without any substantial evidence, his right to life, liberty and security was violated. In Canada, a person is innocent until proven guilty, and so without any evidence, he was not be protected or secured by the Canadian government, and he was taken away from his family. This can be viewed as violating his right to life which includes being with his family.

Women are generally deported for committing immoral offences such as prostitution, welfare dependency and drug offence (Loo and Strange, 1997). Thus, females are encouraged to follow the normative gender standards of being a female to avoid being deported. It is crucial for an individual to show that they are productive and morally worth to stay in Canada. Also, social ties are significant in proving one's worth. Regardless of one's gender, deportation is an avenue for violating the human rights of individuals. As a result, deportation can be viewed as a tool for social control and moral regulation rather than crime prevention. If an individual fails to integrate into Canadian society with "white" values, he/she will have higher chances of being deported. Race and gender affect the decisions of the immigration officials. Immigrant criminality is considered more undesirable than citizen crimes. Immigrant criminals are also observed as "low quality" or "morally degenerate," thus, more likely to be subjected to various means of regulation such as deportation.

For Jacqueline Bhabha (2009), migration law is still clinging to the old normative assumption of a unitary family in reference to gender roles and the unitary nationality of its members. She argues, for example that children as citizens themselves, with rights against deportation are caught up in complex webs in which their parents may be forced out of their children's countries. In this regard Bhabha (2009:193) states that the fact of belonging to a country fundamentally affects the manner of exercise of a child's family and private life, during childhood and well beyond. Yet children, particularly young children, are often considered parcels that are easily removable across borders with their parents and without particular cost to the children.' Forced removals (deportations) have resulted in the destruction of family life for thousands of citizen children (ibid, 189). Courts in many nations take jurisdiction on the basis of nationality in family law or personal status matters concerning children. This can be problematic

when children, or their parents, are dual citizens, and when different family members have different citizenship or immigration status. These differences pose impossible challenges in some international custody cases, particularly when one parent is not permitted to enter or reside in the country where the child lives (ibid, 202–06). She suggests that birthright citizenship should ensure non-deportability. This is a move that would effectively enable citizen children to confer citizenship status on their parents were the latter in danger of being deported. Given that the same family relationship may allow an extension of immigration status if the legal status holder is the parent and not the child, this asymmetry is not a reflection of the value placed upon the parent-child relationship. Birthright citizenship vitiates the enormous social cost of splitting up the family units let alone the moral, the social, and the political cost.

The arguments above have individually and collectively encouraged a critical reflection of the complex relationship of migration and citizenship within the contexts of ideologies (security and freedom). But, to fully understand transnational migration we must turn to a number of interlocking exclusionary strategies of incorporation. The main burden of this argument posits that an adequate grasp of incorporation may best be attained by conceptualizing religion and tradition as contested terrains.

Finally, religion is a crucial element in the adaptation (or lack thereof) of the newcomer in their new home. When Muslims migrate to a Western society such as Canada, they are confronted by a whole new set of choices and experiences making the adaptation process intricate and challenging.

iv) Intolerance as Justified Patriotism

For Arat-Koc (2006:216)), Muslims and Arabs are under siege and this siege has implications. The shifting government policy towards one of increased national security comes

to the detriment of immigration – since the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and remains as a growing concern for their communities (ibid). In this regard she asks us in different ways in the introduction to assume an “hermeneutics of suspicion”. As we contemplate the nature and significance of transnationalism, we must not naively approach nor celebrate it as a free movement of people around the world. Her chapter returns the gaze and raises questions about the often unscrutinized and unnamed transnationalisms in Canada (ibid, 218).

Obsessed with security, states have increased and intensified their regulatory roles (ibid, 217). Racialized images of Muslims as terrorists single them out as targets of both national security and discrimination by the public (ibid, 220). But she admonishes, the implications of racialization are very serious not just for Arabs and Muslims but for all of society. The intimidation and vilification inherent in racialization has led to rigidity and defensiveness regarding essential identities leading to a wide discrepancy between representation and reality (ibid, 225). Along with the state’s security apparatus, the popular media have underscored differences between Canadian Muslims and other Canadians. The former are forever reminded that Canadian identity is proudly and patriotically Western. Consequently, the “entire discursive framing of the attacks of 11 September 2001 was directed by the notion of a ‘clash of civilizations,’” (ibid, 227-228). Moreover, as Arat-Koc notes, Canada’s belonging in the West presents challenges to our collective national social imaginary because inclusion within the Western community implies the exclusion or denial of, “not only other civilizations, but the histories and cultures of ‘non-Western’ diasporas living in ‘the West’”. Arat-Koc further argues, this denial encourages a “rewhitening of Canadian identity after decades of multiculturalism” (ibid, 229). In other words, we are living in a period of intensified racialization and demonization of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian Canadians.

From the *US Patriot Act* to Canada's own *Anti-Terrorism Act*, communities have become further racialized by security discourses as individuals are "being targeted for 'random checks' or treated as suspect by law enforcement and intelligence agencies" (ibid, 233). Culture and law collaborate to secure the clash of civilizations, the separation of diasporas from the normative power of the nation-state. For Arat-Koc, transnationalism therefore cannot be interpreted as voluntary and politically neutral results of globalization and travel (ibid, 225). New borders of identity and the institutionalization of identity emerge. But what does it all mean? For the author, it spells a transnationalization of torture. Arat-Koc (2006) argues that many Canadian Muslims feel that they live in a hostile and threatening society in which they are viewed as threats to the security of Canadian society. Theoretically, it speaks to the need for appreciating alternative transnationalisms especially since the literature on the transnationalism of the often-ignored minorities is misguided. Substantively, the security- identity nexus highlights the need for a sense of agency that enables transnational migrant communities to actively transform hegemonic power relations (ibid, 237). She concludes by reminding us that the complexity of identities is produced in the context of transnationality (ibid, 239). She defers to postcolonial theorist Edward Said who observes that the clash of civilizations is a clash of definitions over the nature of civilization, culture, and identity. But ending on a more sanguine note in her concluding sentence, she states that what might be emerging is a loose but strong antiracist, anti-imperialist, anti-war pro-democracy movement and a new alternative transnational political subject in the making (ibid, 240).

The history of transnational migrant communities is replete with processes of 'invisibilization', in other words, rendered invisible, by the Canadian state and by practices of 'instrumentalization', rendered economically useful. As Arat-Koc remarks, it is not "the

experience of racism but its growing public legitimacy, spread, and [mainstreamed] in all major institutions, from the media to law and policy,”(ibid, 220). Once the cultural and economic capital diminished, these so called “others” were seen as “clashing” with Canadian values. As Canada realigned its identity with the Americans, outsiders were created and identified as being outside of “Western civilization” thereby contributing to the hyper visibility of Islamophobia. The latter contributes to spoiled/ stunted/ distorted identities. Furthermore, as Sedef Arat-Koc (2006) clarifies, even if ‘Muslim’ remains an inaccurate term it has “become ‘real’ socially and ‘politically’” (ibid, 218) and thus requires thoughtful and critical engagement. This “jettisoning” of Canadians with an Arab and or Muslim background had profound effects on their daily experiences and own notions of identity. With their Canadian identities questioned and interrogated via media misrepresentations and political decision making, Arab and Muslim Canadians were, in essence, considered outsiders and whose claims on Canadian identity were even less than they had before.

The existence of systemic racism in Canada, of course, is nothing new. Through a history of colonial exclusions, Canadian identity has always been unequally accessible to those who attempt to claim it; the “identity is defined by those who position themselves as ‘ordinary Canadians’ or Canadian-Canadians – as opposed to ‘ethnic’ or ‘multicultural Canadians’ – both referring to a category of unmarked, ‘non-ethnic,’ white Canadians” (Arat-Koç, 2005: 40). Arat-Koc (2006) astutely theorizes how diversity in transnationalism has been a liability especially with the adoption of a “clash of civilizations” paradigm (ibid, 227-228). Orientalist tropes that label Islam and Muslims as barbaric and uncivilized terrorists have gained alarming currency. Muslim women are particularly marked, as media images of burqah-clad women have become the trademark of Islam’s repression. These images serve to justify all forms of ethnic bigotry, as

a part of the Canadian heritage. During the Persian Gulf Crisis newspaper cartoons portrayed Arabs as bloodthirsty terrorists, as barbaric and cruel, bent on "blackmailing" the West. As Ben Wicks (1991:18) commented on the Persian Gulf War:

Lost in this television Rambo world it's easy to take sides. Unfortunately, falling into this trap steers Canada into a far more hideous world than that presented by a Saddam Hussein - the world of racism.

The Arab has also been demonized in this "multicultural society" to such an extent that the racist victimization of Arabs in Canada often goes unreported. Many of Canada's quarter of a million people of Arab descent routinely experienced hate literature, racial slurs and physical attacks especially after the Gulf War broke out in 1990. Arabs were labelled traitors and were targets of abuse. A letter to the Calgary Herald asserted: "If Muslims don't want to support our troops in the Gulf and the Canadian government, they should get out"; mosques in Quebec were vandalized; and the RCMP visited the home and businesses of Arab Canadians (Zwarun, 1991:25). On January 18, 1994 Jane Hawton of Toronto's CFRB radio talk asked listeners the following question: "Should Canada relax its rules and laws to accommodate the Muslim culture?" A strong majority of Canadians rightfully worried that members of Arab and Muslim minorities would become victims of racism in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. In Toronto, Imran Yousuf, spokesman for the Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association, said his organization, which represents Muslims whose families stem from Arab countries and other parts of the world, is considering pleading with its members to keep out of sight until tensions ease (Mitchell, 2001: A1). Despite former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's caution against targeting anyone, Canadian Muslims 'felt under siege' (Small and DeMara, 2001: A2). Community leaders indicated that they were also troubled that RCMP

officers have questioned them about possible links in Montreal to the U.S. attacks. Sheik Mohammad Nadim, President of the Azzahra International Foundation, noted that the Mounties asked him about the presence of terrorists in Montreal's Arab and Muslim community (Lewington and Peritz, 2001: A14).

Furthermore, this extraordinary focus on Canadian Muslims has led to common occurrences of 'anti-Muslim' prejudice or discrimination. In a 2002 survey ...an alarming 56 percent of respondents reported experiencing anti-Muslim incidents on at least one occasion in the year following September 11, 2001; 33 percent of those anti-Muslim incidents came in the form of verbal abuse; 33 percent of respondents indicated that their overall personal situation had taken a turn for the worse since September 11, 2001; 56 percent of respondents indicated that they felt media reporting on Islam and Muslims had become increasingly biased (CAIR-CAN 2004:6).

These trends were echoed by a 2003 Canadian Islamic Congress statistic, revealing that there has been a 1,600 percent increase in "hate crimes" against Muslims in Canada (Patel 2012: 281). While it has been argued that the general public is not supportive of these trends (Kraft, 2009: 35) and that these might even be isolated incidents, a 2011 poll found that 56% of Canadians believe that there is an irreconcilable conflict between the West and Islam with 40% also agreeing that Muslims should face extra security checks at airports (Boswell 2011). Statistics such as these have lead Bahdi (2003:295) to posit that in Canada the debate is no longer whether racial profiling and discrimination of Muslims is occurring but rather how Canada can "morally, legally, or politically condone" it.

C. CONCLUSIONS

i) Multiculturalism and Citizenship

Multiculturalism as mediated by nationalism impacts on citizenship. Nation building is the process by which the state self-identifies, reaffirms its national identity and represents to its citizenry cherished traditions, practices and values. Incorporation as a national belongingness exists within the discourse of a well-preserved heritage. But, the heritage version of history rearticulates contradictions, conflicts, and regional, ethnic, class and other cleavages within the narrative of national belonging. In a short article on the politics of multicultural history, Audrey Kobayashi (2001:17) is concerned that a history that simply incorporates ethnic contributions within its national narrative does not allow students "to be critical about their past, and about their future." The danger with the ideology of national heritage is that its gestures of inclusion are at the expense of critical assessment.

Citizenship and multiculturalism are anchored in the popular imagination within a very limited conception of culture, a key mechanism that secures the boundaries of belonging in the national imaginary. Culture in the multiculturalist framework is "an object, a bounded and internally coherent possession that serves both as a vehicle for, and proof of, unique peoplehood" (Légaré, 1995: 351). The definition of a singular Canadian culture has entrenched the dichotomy between "Canadian" and the "ethnic other" (Kallen, 1982). In addition, the singular identity of "multicultural" Canada negates internal diversity and proscribes limited ways in which "ethnic Others" can belong to the nation (Légaré, 1995: 351). Juxtaposed against a framework of multiculturalism that structures the strategies of heritage to address questions of difference and conflict, there is an ongoing and quite attractive narrative of a jingoistic xenophobic.

The process of redefining and affirming identity goes well beyond personal efforts and draws from the overall cultural character of this country. Some caveats, however are in order: this study challenges the reductionist, facile and obfuscating conceptions of the diaspora so

characteristic of hegemonic conventional approaches with their “stir and mix” to migration. Similarly, the hypocrisy of privilege so well masked in its everyday practices and protected by other interlocking institutions limits the capacity to respond to injustice. When Arabs and Iranian groups migrate to a Western society such as Canada, they are confronted by a whole new set of choices and experiences making the adaptation process intricate and challenging. Migration allows women to break with traditional roles and patterns of dependence and assert new found freedom (Pedraza, 2000).

This chapter provided an in-depth critical analysis and synthesis of the relationship between culture and consciousness, the mediations of multiculturalism and citizenship in reference to diasporic communities with an implied attention paid to the capacity of women of the Arab and Iranian diasporas to negotiate issues of custom, gender and religion *vis-a-vis* western, *modernist and neoliberal features of the host society*. The initial “getting” or “becoming” as a newcomer (“settling in”) connected to the host society involves various aspects of exposure, exploration, entry (recruitment or induction), trial and initiation, or training and apprenticeship.

This chapter investigates the prospects and challenges of diasporic trajectories by which consciousness is connected to transformative potentials of the self and the collective community. This chapter employs a synthetic approach to examine the emergence and development of negotiations within the intersections of structure and meanings. The focus is on how interactions between movements and external contexts shape the content, type, and intensity of diasporic identities and relationships.

Although conceptually oriented, this study is replete with implications that inhere in the diasporic experiences of Arab and Iranian women in Canada. An emergent empirical study

may well follow up on this study's fundamentally theoretic frames by asking the following questions: how do these women adjust and integrate into their host society amid a complex system of group categorization, cultural values, and political currents? This study explores the bridging processes and coping mechanisms used by these marginalized women in making the transition from their former countries to their new land. Hence a more empirical question is: *How do Arab and Iranian Canadian women construct and view their identities through the prism of their immigration experience? How is their gender role identity formed, internalized, and incorporated into self-concept?* More specifically, this study analyzes conceptually experiences of adjustment and integration within the framework of identity formation as formidable sites of struggle and resistance. Conceptually, the idea of "in-between" characterizes the strengths and liabilities of their respective journeys in Canada; they are neither "here" nor "there"; they are "in" but not "of" Canada. That is, the processes of *staying connected* to the ancestral home and *getting connected* to the host society are related to the *reconnecting* stage characterized by negotiating a "third space" for the self and community alike. To what extent are these women able to negotiate cultural and traditional bonds which make them being vulnerable to abuse and isolated from both the host and natal societies? To remedy this concern, how have these women explored the fluidity and hybridity of their identities? How do they negotiate their social and psychic locations in a nation where their religion, language and culture intersect with Canadian values?

In summary, newcomers shape their responses by taking into consideration differential expectations of those with whom they interact. By tracing various social environments, this chapter sought to determine the getting connected stage. Newcomers arrive from a variety of social backgrounds and depict the host society as a promising future. The immigrants choose to

approach their getting connected experiences from two different, though obviously related points of view. Accounts are framed within dual forces of dislocation and exposure. In reconstructing and coordinating their biographical maps, they rely exclusively on factors that "push" them out of the home society and factors that "pull" them toward the seemingly more attractive alternatives of the host society. The logic of their accounts hangs together and is contingent upon the available stock of information and the relevant socialization immediately preceding their early involvements.

Subjective evaluations vary according to interactions, which serve to define and organize the appropriateness of action. Interactions with significant others provide a framework for interpreting the substance and structure of this learning process. Interpretations are influenced by the social organization of information, relations and their emerging Canadian cultural values. Newcomers avail themselves of opportunities for attaching themselves to the host society. From the outset, the newcomer typically makes interpersonal contacts with others in the same situation that help the transition from home to host. Friendship - and acquaintance- based associations provide many benefits to these newcomers. Information is shared concerning the accessibility of assistance regarding shelter, work, agencies, and companionship. Less experienced newcomers, therefore, seek the attention of many inviting similarly circumstance others. Experienced or more seasoned newcomers orient recent newcomers to various forms of assistance. Network or ties are essential for "learning the ropes" and for developing a repertoire of survival skills. The accessibility to various contacts carries serious implications for the social organization of getting connected. Thus, the nature of relations influences plans of action.

Relationships generally vary in kind and intensity. There are a number of different and continually intersecting associations. At one extreme, there are interpersonal relations based on

friendship. At the other extreme, there are relationships based on the acquisition of resources. Although more prevalent than the former, the latter associations tend to be short-lived and loosely bound. Once these immediate instrumental ends are attained, there is no longer the necessity to prolong the relation on a continued basis. Bonds appear and disappear quickly. The content of these interactions are shaped by the immediate issues at hand. Newcomers, for example, move beyond these limited relationships when support is not forthcoming.

Conceptually, this chapter detailed a perspective on social order which depicts newcomers as attending to certain features of their respective challenges. Upon close scrutiny, pragmatism unfolds as a "generic feature of survival. This processual model of getting connected highlights those interactions in which identities are built, sustained and translated into action. This emphasis on subjective interpretations does not underscore the importance of structural perspectives. Interactional contexts of affiliative relationships negotiate larger environmental influences. Such informative structuralist notions of marginality regarding, as well as the ideological underpinnings of racism permeate situational exchanges, vocabularies, and activities of newcomers. Newcomers are not alien to larger structural concerns.

As an initial stage, getting connected influences subsequent processes. As a general contingency, this stage informs newcomers of what is available and prepares them stay or in a few rare cases to return "home". In the following stage of staying connected, actors routinely ground themselves in general Canadian values. They develop techniques for projecting themselves as incorporated in the host society.

The early experiences are important in setting the stage for incorporation. These early getting connected experiences provide legitimations about survival and strength. Despite the excitement of new-found freedoms, newcomer's boys face problems associated with their

language fluency, cultural challenges, education and unemployment. These newcomers adopt an entrepreneurial orientation that equips them with motives framed according to an ethos of individualism, survival, and a perspective that highlights financial success.

CHAPTER FOUR

STAYING CONNECTED: INCORPORATING INSTITUTIONS

A. INTRODUCTION: INSTITUTIONALIZING INEQUALITIES

Violence and silence as contingencies of consciousness are conditions and consequences of social exploitation and self- inferiorization. Immigrants connecting and staying connected to institutions of law, work, education, media, family, etc experience marginality and social servitude. Systems of privilege-based gender hierarchy” (Ng, 1993:285; Moghissi, 2007:24) and race (Razack, 2008: 10) prevail. Disciplinary powers diffuse relational controls through a “calculated management of life” within multiple mechanisms of “a normalizing society” (Foucault 1990: 139-140). As note in the previous chapter, Canadian law, including the *Multiculturalism Act*, is related to diasporic identity, building, moral regulation and the policing of racialized bodies. By having sketched the challenges of getting connected such as the boundaries of state racialized practices within the legal framework of multiculturalism, we can more fully appreciate how members of ethno cultural groups or racialized communities become brokered, excluded and develop a coerced consciousness.

It is within these contexts that the process of "staying" or “being” connected or established occurs. Generally speaking, this process of “staying connected” consists of the maintenance of identity, achievement, stability and clarification as well as also advancement, promotion or specialization. Accordingly, the diasporic individual strives to "stay connected" to institutions as a “landed resident” or “citizen”. At different stages of connecting, various emotions are salient. The emotional experiences of the “getting connected” phase include sadness, confusion, fear, distress, despair and yet hope, excitement, curiosity, courage, etc .The “staying connected” phase anger, despair, shame, guilt, contempt, joy, excitement, clarity

acceptance and resignation, etc. From the initial phase of experimenting and exploring the host society, the diasporic community strives towards a more committed institutional acceptance, seeking integration while also suffering rejection, strain, etc. In these two stages, different aspects of being and becoming (identity) and belonging and believing (institutions) are evident.

Before engaging in a discussion of how newcomers get connected to institutions, concept of institution warrants analysis and conceptualization. There is a dialectic regarding institutions and ideologies (chapter 6) just as there is a dialectic regarding institutions and identity (chapter 3). Ideologies shape institutions as much as institutions redefine ideologies. Ideologies justify institutions just as institutions mechanize ideologies. Institutions perform as 'the ways and means'. The distinction between ideologies (neoliberalism) and institutions (social organizations) cannot be established simply by examining their particular features of patterned structures. Ideologies and institutions are fundamentally imbricated. The institution is the medium of ideology. Ideologies facilitate institutional independence. The reproduction of institutional practices depends on the ideological mechanisms to suppress conflict and ensure conformity to roles and rules. The manner in which authority is structured incorporates aspects of the dominant ideology that in turn become instruments of domination.

Although presented as ahistorical and abstract, as the following sections will demonstrate, institutions are not separated from self-serving histories nor are they mere abstractions that are without value and empirical bases. Hegemonic beliefs or, more aptly myths, that institutions use fair procedures appeal to "people's inner voices, to motives higher than their crude self-interest" (Friedman, 1985). Because people need institutional services that are fair, they will act in manner supportive of prevailing ideologies.

Ideology-institutional relations are more than representations of authority; this nexus is the essence of authority and its concomitant injustices that forever claim to act on behalf of an enlightened public that shares the authorities' view of what is in the interests of all. As will be pursued in *chapter six*, ideologies like morality, religion, metaphysics, ideologies and their corresponding forms of consciousness have never been independent of metanarratives of modernity, capitalism and liberalism. Justice, equity and equality are thwarted and are dismissed as barriers to communication that has become institutionally interpreted within absolutist and corporate frameworks of modernity, liberalism and capitalism, that is, justice is ideologically constituted in the interests of state and corporate capital.

Ideology does not consist in the advocacy of ideas. Ideologies inform the institutional practices: from talk and thinking to applications. In addition to highlighting the centrality of the ideologies of modernity, capitalism and liberalism, it is also argued that institutions are not only shaped by ideologies, but ideologies are also shaped by institutions. In this chapter, the totalizing trends towards homogeneity, normativity, consensus and order are central to the *staying connected* stage of accommodation, incorporation and survival. As social accomplishments, institutions are rooted in history and expressed in action, forms of consciousness and forces of change and tradition. Institutions simply put, are the channels through which particular social relations of injustice are conducted. As a set of shared meanings, expectations and understanding, institutions are manifested in symbolic communication - language, customs, myths, signs as well as material artefacts. These ideas that are selectively communicated believed and legitimated quite often as knowledge.

B. LAW

Law is a fundamental feature of all Canadian institutions. As will be argued, law is

embedded in institutions and reflects ideologies that in turn are derivative of socio-economic structures. Law is the fabric that clothes and protects the body of privilege. In addition, justice is a myth whereby an interrogation of various law texts allows us to analyze the prevailing essentialist ideologies of privilege - power, the mutually constructing and constraining capacity of structure, and the multiplicity of subject-positions offered by enablement and resistance (subtexts). The latter conforms to concrete situations and experiences of the legal system, such as, racism, misogyny and classism.

This dialectical relationship of ideologies and institutions is a formidable constitution of the injustice of law, the life processes of law. The ideological-institutional nexus of law maintains law's essential stability. On the surface it appears that this nexus merely represents law's own interests but upon closer scrutiny protects the claims and rights of the powerful. Although law presents itself in a formal, impartial and normative manner in order to distance itself from the powerful, the ideology of law reflects real social conditions: the behaviour of agencies of law. Law has never been an independent force with a history of its own. Legal principles governing ideological and institutional practices derive from modernity, capitalism and liberalism—inequalities that protect privilege.

Law constitutes and is constituted by relations of power (texts of ideologies) that collaborate with other disciplining sites. Unlike the subtext of privilege, there is no integrated text of resistance, only fragmented narratives that distance and marginalize. From the opportunism of liberal principles to the proliferation of privatized, market-based economies we have witnessed the apparent triumph of the above ideologies in the face of glaring injustices in the local and global contexts which in turn has generated a great deal of cynicism about law as an enabling instrument. Much of the debates in conventional law have not been concerned with an

adequate understanding of the relationship between ideologies and institutions in determining the institutional principles and practices. It is imperative to examine how processes of juridification lead to the internal *colonization of the lifeworld* (Habermas, 1987a).

This juridification of culture, for Habermas, refers to an increase in formal law in the following ways: the expansion of positive law, i.e. more social relations become legally regulated; and the densification of law. Not only are we compelled to inquire into these battlegrounds, we focus on the cultural reworkings of larger discourses that privileges some and punishes others. Avoiding the reductivist tendencies inherent in the dominant culture, we argue that the staying connected stage of racialized Muslim woman interfacing with institutions should be analyzed as social constructions within the narrational contexts of reproducing oppression. Injustice can be more usefully seen as a consequence of both ideological crises, and the limits of institutions. Substantive and procedural injustices are social productions that are of incredible benefit to the inside practitioners, outside corporate benefactors and the cheerleading consciousness of the many.

As a text, law is the production and consumption of values and concomitant practices of encoding and decoding belief systems. Consequently, rules and roles drift and this liquidity enables institutional autonomy. Efforts to circumscribe institutional mandates become untenable precisely because of the overwhelming institutional interdependencies. Indeed, institutions are producers and products of inequalities precisely because of their respective capacity to legitimate or secure power positions. Institutions exist in the marketplace of everyday talk as respected authorities that legitimate legal intrusions.

Institutional vulnerability becomes attenuated with the fine-tuning of legalese logics clothed in a distancing lexicon of exclusion. While not an integral part of mainstream

jurisprudence, there is an important body of literature with a rich tradition in critical legal theory that attempts to integrate these dimensions into a compelling discussion of pervasive legal inequalities and an understanding of how legal injustices are reproduced. For example, within the contexts of immigration control, it is argued that law engages in the disguise and duplicity of authoritative knowledge brokers in maintaining the collective and predatory conscience of a community, a concentrated normative moral consensus that self-destructs by linking legal statutes to the political economy and the state, distorting material conditions and privileges. This mystification is the source for images of law in the contemporary world. Law defies simplistic accounts that tend to be buried in neatly packaged encyclopaedic inventories of rights. Ideology promotes intellectual arrogance by ignoring inequalities and trivializing injustices. The corpus of existing legal explanations falters miserably in transcending localized scripts or situated texts of privileges. Law conspires with prevailing ideologies to ensure further cultural stretch or elasticity by abstracting, mystifying, and complicating respected conventions.

The fundamentals of law, traditions of law and their corresponding jurisprudential justifications tend to obfuscate how law is a significant reflection of the way in which a society analyzes itself and projects its image to the world (Smith and Weisstub, 1983). The legal experience, in its most comprehensive spatial and temporal form, is a multi-layered, multi-dimensional phenomenon, wherein ideological and institutional elements play equally significant roles in constructing modern mythologies. Law, constituted by different as well as contesting discourses, is never totalized nor complete but always mutable.

Despite law's various permutations, it remains a resolute expression of power, a steadfast manifestation of cultural controls. Specifically, law conditions daily life and is invoked as the hypostasis that maintains social order. Despite the apparent contestations in law, the meanings of

law are shaped in relation to normative presuppositions and objectives of dominant institutions. The content and morphology of law are both ideological and institutional; both are determining and determined imbricated structures and processes. Law is constituted within global ideological processes that become institutionally concretized in the local spheres. Forever promoting seductively simplistic binaries: public or private, guilt or innocence, the law in practice denies both its transcendent capabilities and its ideological foundations in inequality. Instead, law conveniently defers to institutional mediations. These antagonistic or affiliative relations are routinely performed at the expense of the increasingly expansive domain of disadvantage. Institutionalized conformities are not only attributable to the existence of "objective" social rules or legal doctrine, but also to the consequences of a shared "culture" – ideological forces of values, ideas, and symbols that negate resistance while attracting the reproduction of discipline. Interestingly, legal ideologies serve as centripetal forces pulling values together toward a set of references while also acting as centrifugal forces pushing things away from well-established traditions in discrete and disparate directions. As will be highlighted, the pushes and pulls of law are products of predatory practices rather than the consequences of concrete community consciences.

i) The "*quest*"ioning of law

We ask herein, how is the law received? How is meaning transferred to the reader?? How do we form and inform law in relation to conflicting social narratives of immigrants? How does law function in relation to the diaspora? Does law accommodate to the challenges faced by racialized Muslim women? If so, how? Do institutions create their own contingencies? Law is a complex system of ordering conformity by institutionalizing "certain" values and reason. From more repressive forms of collectivity to convenient accommodations, institutions have defined

cultures and practices. Behind the liberal façade of hyperbolic narratives of social cohesion, community empowerment, citizenship or civil society, Canada has sharp tuned the disciplinary requirements of regulation.

The ubiquity of injustice, the character of and the pervasiveness of legal entities are studied in terms of institutional relations. Institutions are attractive because they generalize, predict and translate prevailing cultural values. Institutions participate in the articulation of forms justificatory ideas, beliefs and emotions. Where is justice located in law and how can law serve justice?

The dominant order cannot advance justice. Justice, it is argued undermines the “moral” basis of exploitation underwritten by law. The identity and the meaning of law as well as the norms and values by which the justice system operates redefine justice according to more vulgar economics and instrumental rationalities. It is essential to identify how institutions benefit from legal decisions despite the gaps, conflicts, and ambiguities of legal doctrines transforming the ‘justice system’ into a criminalizing form of domination in reference to race, gender and religion. The relationship between legal constructions of trouble on the one hand and social constructions of order on the other are examined. The aim of this section is to draw attention to the crucial role institutions play in influencing law. The institutional legal process is used to control the content of laws in crucial areas of economic, political, and social life, as also to relocate powers from sovereign states to institutions in order to facilitate their surveillance and enforcement. Admittedly racism, misogyny and religious injustices further devalue, marginalize and criminalize race, religion and women.

But how do institutions function to mediate meanings and transform sentiments and ideas into significant inducements to action or inaction? What is the respective capacity to understand

the manifold and ever-changing ways disparate groups communicate and thereby breathe meaning into local sites of justice, law and community? How do governmentalities mediate social relations and become hegemonic narratives in everyday lives? How appearances (representations) are experienced, interpreted and articulated? How are appearances appropriated as “real” discourses and practices? That is, how does the law appear as equally significant as reality itself? Although the essence of law is both appearance and reality, what actually is and what appears have not only become indistinguishable but rather appearance has become what is the only essence. Means and ends have become blurred in law just as the situational vitiates the institutional.

Law is constantly engaged in absorbing other temporalities and colonizing new cultural and geographical spaces. Law negotiates at various levels and provides a lens through which to examine the inter-constituted ideas of rights as the intertextual space upon which tropes and discourses of individual justice are mapped out. This rejects the popularly promulgated notion that “our” law is the best vehicle for the pursuit of self and social justice -- the resolution of perennial human problems. The argument herein is that law is an immoral system and that its problems are systemic. Problems cannot be solved by liberal tinkering. Counter hegemonies challenge and rework law within the processes of justice production and authentic practices of knowing. Otherwise the degeneration of law into narcissistic self-promotion will continue unabated. If the present legal system is corrupt, that is, protects inequalities, then the only effective remedies are those which exist beyond the law. The legal system requires equality seekers to be strangers. To be a stranger is to be free. Critical thinking is predicated on the idea that reality is not reducible to what exists. Rather, it is a field of possibilities that includes previously marginalized alternatives and others that have yet to be tried (Santos, 2000: 23).

By sketching the contours of an emerging theory of injustice, this section further facilitates a greater understanding contemporary liberal law. The three interrelated influences on the general character of law are: the presence of a body of jurisprudence; laws in written statutes, some of them being elaborate and more or less complete codes setting forth procedural methods and substantive rules for the administration of justice; and, the persistence of a multiplicity of ideologies.

What is perhaps most unique about the West compared to other civilizations is the power and independence allowed these orders within society as a whole (Di Zerega, 1989).

Canada's supreme law, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and its siblings the *Multiculturalism Act* and the *Human Rights Act* exacerbate justice by "doing good" and "doing justice". Liberal laws do not necessarily dispense justice. Indeed, they permit inequalities by action and inaction. One cannot look solely to law to create elements of justice. Laws legitimate injustice by sponsoring a symbolic backdrop of myths, retrospectively and prospectively. Law therefore, requires an appreciation of the depth and breadth of institutional developments that seek to "absorb" or regulate the contradictions and conceal the closures inherent in contemporary liberal law.

Law, for Derrida, is merely the general application of a rule, while justice is an opening of law to the other, to the singularity which law cannot account for. Justice exists in a relation of alterity to law: it opens the discourse of law to an outside. It performs a deconstructive displacing of law. For a decision to be just, for it to account for the singularity denied by law, it must be different each time. It cannot be the mere application of the rule; rather, rules are continually reinvented. Therefore, justice conserves the law because it operates in the name of the law; but at the same time, it suspends the law because it is being continually reinterpreted (Newman, 2001).

As Derrida astutely observes, “for a decision to be just and responsible, it must ... be both regulated and without regulation: it must conserve the law and also destroy it or suspend it enough to have to reinvent it in each case, re-justify it” (1992: 23). Justice, moreover, exists in an ethical realm because it implies freedom and responsibility of actions (ibid, 22-23). For Derrida, “there is an *avenir* for justice and there is no justice except to the degree that some event is possible which, as an event, exceeds calculation, rules, programs, anticipations”(ibid, 27).

But, justice tends to yield to the *aporia*, the so-called impassable, the confusing puzzles and paradoxes or the state of puzzlement. Without an experience of *aporia*, there could be no urge for justice. Aporetic experiences of justice, moments in which decisions between just and unjust are never insured by a rule. Justice is the experience of the impossible because it exists in a state of undecidability and incalculability. Justice can never be completely grasped socially because if it were, it would soon become a pernicious law (ibid, 1992:27). Justice cannot be determined by an *a priori* discourse because its values "go beyond" the positive norms of culture and convention (ibid, 153). In other words, justice cannot be reduced to institutions, and it is for this reason that justice opens up the possibility for social transformations unmask violence and lawlessness. This logic of unmasking may be applied to expose the essentialization of rational and moral foundations.

For Derrida, justice is something more than what is defined by philosophy or the law. To understand justice as natural harmony, the ethic of non-interference is a principle central to conduct. Justice begins to form and internalize morals along with deserving acts of loyalty, while understanding things are the way they are, notably, balance within the self and the social (ibid). Law, as an apparatus of the state, justifies itself by not only punishing; but by attempting to reconstitute justice (ibid, 1990). Law “uses” justice as a pretentious signifier. Laws, as a set of

institutions, legitimate, enforce and produce the social -- ideological values of injustice. That is, law perverts justice. Without charity and compassion, laws are kept unjust and violent (ibid, 1992). In the *'Force of Law: The Mystical Foundation of Authority', Deconstruction & the Possibility of Justice*, Derrida's (1992:14) states: 'Since the origin of authority, the foundation or ground, the position of the law can't by definition rest on anything but themselves, they are themselves a violence without ground'.

Liberal law does not judge the means, but only questions the justness of the means in reciprocal ways. The foundation of law cannot rest on anything but itself-- violence (ibid). Law is not justice but an element of calcified calculation of coercion. The force of law is marked by a direct and literal allusion to the force that assures us from the inside that the law is always an authorized force, a force that justifies itself or that is justified in its application, even if this justification might be judged unjust (ibid). What difference does there exist, Derrida asks, between, on the one hand, the force that can be just or legitimate and, on the other hand, the violence that is always considered unjust? The social legitimizes the violence of law. The authority upon which law is established is, strictly speaking, non-legal, because it had to exist prior to law (ibid, 1992: 23).

Any identity of resistance would be highly problematic if it was, in part, constituted by the very forces it professed to oppose. Derrida also recognizes the dangers of subversion, that is, the radical strategy of overthrowing the hierarchy altogether, rather than inverting its terms (Newman, 2001). But, for anarchists, the state and all forms of political power must be abolished as the first revolutionary act. However, Derrida believes that subversion and inversion both culminate in the same thing -- the reinvention of authority, in different guises. Derrida suggests that if one wants to avoid this trap, the hierarchical structure itself must be transformed. He

provides certain clues to developing a non-essentialist theory of resistance to power and authority. Derrida argues that the authority of law is questionable and, to a certain extent, illegitimate. This is because the authority that supposedly grounds law is legitimized only when law is instituted. That means that the authority upon which law is established is, strictly speaking, non-legal, because it had to exist prior to law. Therefore, the original act of instituting law is illegitimacy, violence. A deconstructive interrogation of law reveals the absence, the empty place at the base of the edifice of law, the violence at the root of institutional authority. The authority of law can, therefore, be questioned: it can never reign absolute because it is contaminated by its own foundational violence. This critique allows one to interrogate any institutional and political discourse that claims to rest on the authority of the law, and this makes it an invaluable tool of radical anti-authoritarian politics.

However, if one is to avoid re-establishing the authority of law in one's struggle against it, then law must be distinguished from justice. Law, for Derrida, is merely the general application of a rule, while justice is an opening of law to the other, to the singularity which law cannot account for. Justice exists in a relation of alterity to law: it opens the discourse of law to an outside. It performs a deconstructive displacing of law.

Take, for example, immigration law. Foster (1998) argues that immigration should be a means for building and strengthening Canadian society and promoting social justice. However, at crucial junctures the underlying principles of "social order" and "social justice" conflict in such a way as to render the immigration system virtually inept. Institutionally, Canadian immigration has become a bureaucratic system that has little to do with nation-building principles and a lot to do with red tape. Foster coins this halting procession of humanity *Turnstile Immigration*, a process where select persons gain entry to the Promised Land only slowly and one by one.

Turnstile Immigration addresses a variety of issues affecting present and future immigration policy especially in terms of designer immigration, queue-jumping and quasi-residency, asylum-shopping and family-class echo, etc. Interestingly, Foster (ibid) further examines the differential impact of immigration on multiculturalism and laments the absence of a more public and accountable dialogue in Canada on many of the above neglected issues.

ii) Quebec and the Charter of Values

An empirical manifestation of law and ideology conspiring against newcomers is the case of Quebec's attempt to marginalize Muslim women as evident in the *Charter of Values* and the law to ban the hijab in public services. For Pichette (2011:64), Muslim women are frequently blamed by Quebecois for not integrating into Quebec society and not adopting Quebec's values and way of life. Quebecois argue that Quebec is a tolerant society toward minorities. Quebec frequently depicts itself as an open, democratic and acceptant society that embraces immigrants, encourages them to participate in all aspects of civic life. By placing the blame on immigrants' inability to integrate into Quebec society, Quebecois are able to absolve them of any responsibility and refute accusations of intolerance or racism. This reversal of blame enables Quebecois to mask their inner difficulties with difference, their anxiety and inferiority complex due to their experience as a threatened and marginalized people.

The Québec Charter of Values proposed by the governing Parti Québécois includes the following provisions:

- Amend the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms.
- Establish a duty of neutrality and reserve for all state personnel.
- Limit the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols for said personnel.

- Make it mandatory to have one's face uncovered when providing or receiving a state service.
- Establish an implementation policy for state organizations.

The most controversial of all provisions seems to be about the restriction of the public sector employees from wearing or displaying conspicuous religious symbols. According to the bill, relatively discrete items such as a finger ring, earring or small pendants bearing a religious symbol will be allowed, while more obvious items such as a *kippah*, *turban*, *hijab*, *niqab*, head scarf, large cross and larger religious pendants would be prohibited. The charter will forbid not only public servants but also employees of institutions that receive some sort of public funding (schools, hospital, daycare centres) from wearing these visible religious signs on the job.

And yet, Canada's current immigration pattern welcomes more and more immigrants from South and Southeast Asia, many of whom hold conservative religious principles. Statistics Canada projects that Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists comprises 10 per cent of Canada's population. Muslims now comprise the second largest religious group among immigrants, after Catholics: 15 per cent of the total (Valpy & Friesen, 2010). The Quebec Charter is fundamentally intolerant of religion in public places.

Quebec's National Assembly adopted Bill 62 in 2017, a controversial law that is the Liberal government's answer to a decade-long debate over the accommodation of religious minorities in the province (Hamilton, 2017). The bill passed despite opposition from the Parti Québécois and Coalition Avenir Québec, which argued the legislation does not go far enough in restricting the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols. Justice Minister Stéphanie Vallée has maintained that the bill's requirement that government services be provided and received with the face uncovered is not aimed at any religious group. Initially aimed only at provincial

services, the Liberals widened the law's scope in August to embody municipal services, including public transit and subsidized housing offices. In other words, it would not be enough for a woman to show her face as she boards a bus; she would have to keep it uncovered for her entire trip. Nicole Filion, coordinator of the Ligue des droits et libertés, a human-rights defence group, warned that the law will "have a discriminatory effect on religious groups who are targeted, in particular women." In the past when debate has intensified over the wearing of religious symbols, Quebec has seen a spike in incidents of verbal and physical abuse toward Muslim women wearing the hijab head covering in public.

Eve Torres, Quebec representative of the National Council of Canadian Muslims, said the law infringes on religious freedom and will almost certainly be challenged in court. She notes:

After the January attack (in which six worshippers were killed in a Quebec City mosque), in a context with the growth of the extreme right, I think the government has a responsibility to protect this minority and not marginalize people who already face discrimination, who already have trouble finding jobs and housing," Torres said. "It creates a climate where people are again excluded (Hamilton, 2017).

A 2016 Environics Institute survey found that three per cent of Canadian Muslim women wear the niqab. One Quebec researcher has estimated that fewer than 100 Quebec women wear the garment, which covers the face except for the eyes. Quebec has wrestled with the issue of religious accommodation since it became a central issue in the 2007 provincial election, leading to a public commission. In 2013, the Parti Québécois government introduced a Charter of Values that would have prohibited public-sector workers from wearing any conspicuous religious symbols. The PQ was defeated before the charter was adopted. The Liberal government of

Philippe Couillard has been accused by the opposition of being soft on the defence of Quebec identity.

Quebec is the first jurisdiction in North America with a law prohibiting women who wear the niqab or burka from receiving public services. France outlawed the face-covering garments in all public places in 2011, and Belgium and Austria have followed suit. In the Netherlands, women cannot wear the full veil in schools, hospitals and on public transportation (Hamilton, 2017). As the bill neared adoption, Québec Solidaire MNA Amir Khadir criticized the hypocrisy of the National Assembly establishing rules restricting one religious symbol in the name of secularism while a large crucifix hung behind the speaker's chair. Only Liberals voted in favour and were able to carry the vote, 66-51 (Hamilton, 2017).

Further, an investigation into a judge who tried to force a woman to remove her hijab in the courtroom will precede Quebec's judicial council (Valiante, 2018). Esther Boivin, a spokesperson for the body that supervises the conduct of judges, said the next step is to set a date for the hearings regarding Quebec court Judge Eliana Marengo (ibid). In 2015, Marengo refused to hear a case involving Rania El-Alloul because the latter refused to remove her Islamic head scarf while in the courtroom. El-Alloul was violating a Quebec law stipulating people must be "suitably dressed" in the courtroom. El-Alloul had said she felt "deeply humiliated" by the judge's conduct, according to court documents (ibid, 2018). This law could face a challenge in terms of its compatibility with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms.

C. THE MEDIA AS CULTURAL ENFORCERS

Research suggests that 95% of Canadians learn about each other from the media, especially through entertainment television viewing, news programs or newspapers (Dowler

2003). The media have become the authority (McNeely 1995), very powerful agents of socialization and sources of knowledge and information. Specifically, the dominant culture creates ideologically appropriate subjects in national discourses. Given the public “buy in”, media practices tend to control individual and collective insights by defining, moralizing, pathologizing and finally criminalizing differences.

It is true that the media have been explicit agents of nationalism in the past, and that, among other things, they inform the public how to be good citizens. But this can be accomplished by means other than an exclusionary narrative replete with heroic, adventurous, and mostly mythic assumptions. What kinds of meanings are produced about Canada by others as they attend to national newspapers, watch newscasts, read blogs, radio talk shows, electronic, print, internet (YouTube, blogs), etc? It seems inevitable that the presence of ethno-specific communities would eventually lead to the creation of particular cultural texts within Canada’s national landscape and the discourse of Canadian identity. The media have been influential in defining who and what gets incorporated in citizenship. Despite the rich literature on multiculturalism, relatively little attention has been paid the “*mediated*” limits of citizenship, moral panics of the media and ethno-cultural erasures. A study of the media is integral to understanding the above relations especially since most Canadians receive their impressions of social life through the media (Surette, 1984; Dowler, 2003).

The communication of words and images, contextual histories and codal language, etc are observable and describable in instances of discourses that promote myths, symbols and metaphors that not only situate migrant communities but insert them in designated social spaces of exclusion, let alone deportation or cultural rehabilitation. Accordingly, mainstream or

normative approaches are merely the reductivist consequences of the development of particularized identities that warrant.

This section highlights conceptually the cultural bases of coercion directed at Muslims. In addition to the centrality of antagonistic relations, there are discrepancies between the familiar images about Muslims and the alien realities of Muslims. Traditionally, the media have depicted migrants as a text located within the context of distance and danger. The problems of deference and difference are the central issues confronting contemporary debates on the socializing of identities by the media. Identities are constructed, within and upon the interplay of normative strategies of culture such as the media. The media run the risk of superimposing the subject as de-essentialized citizens or residents. Rather than create, the media renews, amplifies and extends existing predispositions that constitute the dominant culture (Gurevitch et al, 1982: 14). The ideological operation of the mass media in the West contributes to the reproduction of dominant power relations. Further, this doctrinal system diverts attention and reinforces basic social values: passivity, submissiveness to authority, the overriding virtue of greed and personal gain, lack of concern for others, fear of real or imagined enemies, etc. This shared consciousness promotes laziness and silence. These homogenizing influences feed into components of a larger social machine (Meyrowitz 1992: 230). The media evade the most urgent and essential social issues. As a mode of discourse, the patho-centric script objectifies challenges by invoking existing codes. Despite the proliferation of research into migrant incorporation in social, political, economic and cultural ways, there is still a need for an ideologically -oriented analysis of the ideological role of the media.

Typically, the media, as derivative and reflective of dominant cultural values, facilitate location of collective identities within the broader context of ideologies, namely Canadian

values. Likewise, studies on migration incorporation and social transformation rarely implicate the detailed operations of the media. The incredible absence of the insidious ideological dimensions of media is a serious concern that needs to be addressed. The media play a significant role in suggesting and reinforcing prevalent stereotypes and in shaping personal and national identities; they are the lens through which reality is filtered and perceived. Visual and textual representations, whether in print or broadcast media shape our perceptions of nationhood, citizenship, and belonging (Pichette, 2011:10). The media have a powerful effect in reinforcing racialized discourses in the minds of readers at an ideological level (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1991).

The media is one of the most influential pillars of socialization, shaping people's thoughts, choices, values and opinions on a daily basis. The news print media in particular is a powerful ideological force by virtue of its long-standing reputation as an objective mediator of news to its readers. It purports to disseminate the facts without engaging in a biased, value-laden reporting of events. However, many theorists have pointed out that the news is socially constructed and reflects the composition and nature of the society in which it exists. According to van Dijk (2000), immigration is often represented as a threat, and immigrants are seen as largely passive, except when they commit reprehensible acts. As Henry and Tator (2002) observe, racialized people are generally absent in all areas of print media production. However, when they are represented in the media, they are stereotypically portrayed as violent, dysfunctional, unstable, and irrational. The cumulative effect is the 'othering' of immigrants, where 'we' (mainstream society) are set apart from 'them' (foreigners) and immigrants are positioned as the 'others' that require careful ongoing scrutiny and surveillance (ibid, 46).

As Mahtani (2001:99) states:

Simply put, the media is responsible for the ways that Canadian society is interpreted, considered, and evaluated among its residents. The media influences attitudes in Canada by siphoning and selecting the information we receive to make choices about our day-to-day realities... Media images of Canadian minorities are not just a random panoply of representations.

Harb (2007:18)'s study of the Jewish community notes that opinion polls conducted throughout the war years revealed that many Canadians felt that Jewish immigrants would not adapt well to Canada and therefore would not be welcomed by the Canadian public (Kelley and Trebilcock 2000, 258). Jews that made it to Canada faced numerous restrictions that sought to limit the places they could work, live, and spend recreational time. More specifically, There were restrictions on entry into certain teaching and nursing professions; bars to their advancement existed in many business enterprises, most notably in real estate, brokerage houses, banks, and loan companies; and there were few Jews in management positions of major industrial enterprises (ibid, 258).In addition, Jews were also barred from purchasing certain lands and houses; and they were denied membership to recreational centers and private clubs (ibid, 258).In order to explain why thousands of Jewish refugees who qualified for admissions under Canada's narrow immigration requirements were denied entrance, one need only to look at the statements that were publicly made by the Director of Canada's Immigration Branch at the time, Fredrick Blair. According to Blair, Jews were of the 'unpreferred' class of immigrants and more specifically "they had a tendency to lie, and force themselves upon others, and therefore the Canadian government had to be particularly vigilant in resisting their attempts to enter Canada" (Kelley and Trebilcock: 2000, 259).

i) Muslims and the Media

According to Pichette (2011:1), media messages serve to internalize and reinforce an uncritical, commonsensical understanding of the identities of minorities and immigrants. This largely negative imagery and fixation on such symbols as the hijab/veil provoke simplistic interpretations which leave out the complexities and nuances in the stories. Likewise, the representations of Arabs in the news have always been tainted with myth and stereotypes that convey inaccurate and unflattering messages and themes about this ethnic group (Akram, 2002; Little, 1998; Shaheen, 2000; Suleiman, 1989). In *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1978: 21) explains how the Orient, and specifically the Arab world, have been approached and represented by the West, and concludes that these representations are more concerned with Western culture and Western audience than with the Orient itself:

I believe it needs to be made clear about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not "truth" but representations. . . . The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such.

This view of an "Oriental" culture, that is solely constructed and interpreted by Western observers to their readers and viewers, shapes the images that are found in most contemporary representations of the East. The latter is a region that remains enigmatic and in need of "Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption" (ibid: 206). These stereotypes have evolved out of a tradition in which Arabs are seen as a monolithic and homogeneous group, set in opposition to the West, and consequently inferior. Suleiman (1989: 251) notes that the West has "a general picture of Arabs which, though vague, is distorted and incorrect and, almost invariably negative, at times bordering on racist."

While the image of the “evil Arab” is pervasive in Western media, the existence and real lived experiences of North American Arabs are under-represented. The media’s “inadvertent” substantiation of prevailing attitudes through omission is far from trivial or innocent; indeed they wield influence and shape public opinion “by omitting or de-emphasizing information” (Entman, 1989:367). A study on the representation of Arabs in electronic media in the United States between 1993 and 1996 found very little coverage of Arabs and even less coverage of Arab culture in the mainstream media (Lind & Danowski, 1998). These authors (ibid, 165) conclude that, if a people and their culture are ignored, this leaves a fertile field for negative stereotyping. The picture that emerges by the lack of attention to Arabs and Arab cultures is that these countries, these peoples, and their cultures are neither significant nor important. If the American public counts on television for its news, it is not learning much about Arabs. Arabs and Arab cultures thus are marginalized. Yet, there is an overwhelming association in the media between Arabs and violence, threats, and war, which serves to foster the stereotypes of ‘Arab as barbarian/aggressor/terrorist’). This “overwhelming association” with violence is, according to Salloum, the result of “years of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim propaganda, intentional and unintentional, by the media” (2002:150).

A review of selected news articles from mainstream Canadian media sheds some light on the messages that reinforce these attributes. Apart from the traditional plethora of clichés in the headlines such as “Arab terrorists” and “Muslim fundamentalists,” there are plenty of demeaning characterizations and “Othering” of Muslim Canadians that are based on racialized and monolithic labels of identification, which depersonalize Arab Canadians while simultaneously emphasizing their distinctness from their Canadian-ness.

For example, in commenting on a terrorist attack that took place in Mombassa, Kenya in November 2002, an article in the *Toronto Star*, a leading Canadian newspaper, criticized Arab and Muslim Canadian organizations for not publicly apologizing to the victims of this attack; the columnist writes:

I have been waiting, in the days since Thursday's abominable attack, for just one word of sympathy, of pity, from the Muslim world. One note of commiseration to emanate from inside the thousands of mosques, one hint of regret and empathy from commentators...But their silence has been deafening...If little in the way of revulsion might have been expected from the hostile nations that surround Israel, then surely a word of consolation from moderate Muslims in the West might have been forthcoming. Yet I've heard nothing from the Canadian Islamic Congress, nothing from the Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association, nothing from the Palestinian-Canadian Student Society, nothing from the Canadian Arab Friendship Association, nothing from the Canadian Society of Muslims. To name a few (DiManno, 2002a: A2).

And yet later she writes, "But in the West, we are not raised to hate Arabs and Muslims; we don't celebrate terrorists and suicide bombers and jihadists; we don't rationalize crimes against humanity as legitimate tactics employed by freedom fighters (ibid, 2003:A12). For Moghissi et al, (2009b: 13),

We are witnessing the rapid formation of an overarching, collective identity or group affiliation that dis-articulates each of these communities from its specific origins, instead uniting them all as nominally homogenous 'Muslim' population. The marked national and ethnic diversity of these groups, along with their distinct political histories, cultures, and languages, suggests that it is neither nostalgia for a homeland, real or imaginary, nor

the sudden discovery of Islam's moral and ethical values that motivates these populations to join together, but rather a commonality in the sense of being deported to the culture of non-belonging, of becoming a permanent target for stereotyping and bigotry.

Further, Aslam (2011:2) notes that there have been excessive media misrepresentations and biased judgements of Muslims, specifically young Muslims in Canada. In their study of Macleans Magazine, Awan et al, (2007:4) concluded that these publications were:

- (1) promoting Islamophobia and fear of Muslims;
- (2) representing Muslims as violent people who are prone to engage in violence and are incapable of living peacefully in their host societies;
- (3) casting suspicion on Muslims at large as potential terrorists, extremists, and radicals;
- (4) representing the presence and growth of Muslims in Western societies as a threat to the Western values of democracy, freedom, and human rights;
- (5) attempting to import a racist discourse and language into mainstream discourse in Canadian society;
- (6) attacking multiculturalism and religious freedoms;
- (7) attacking laws that provide protection to identifiable communities from the type of discriminatory journalism that Macleans is engaging in;
- (8) condemning all efforts by politicians, law enforcement, media and other institutions to reach out to Muslim communities and to exercise sensitivity”.

One of the central themes in these articles include the allegation that the Muslim community, including the Canadian Muslim community, is part of a global Muslim conspiracy to take over Western societies and impose an oppressive form of Islamic law on them; a war is underway between Muslims and non-Muslims and Muslims need to be viewed through this lens as

potential enemies. This alleged Muslim conspiracy is juxtaposed with the assertion that Muslims are flooding Western society through immigration and higher than average fertility rates in order to instill fear that Muslims will in fact takeover Western and Canadian societies and impose an oppressive form of Islamic law on all citizens (ibid, 4-5).

Likewise, Harb (2007:1) examined Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism in the media and the implications it has on the lives of people in the Muslim community in Canada. Despite the fact that anti-Muslim sentiment can be found in almost any mainstream media outlet post-September 11, Harb drew examples in the Toronto Star and the anti-Muslim articles in Maclean's magazines. In her study of twenty-four articles, Nicholson (2011:155) discovered the construction of Canadian Muslims as a threat to Canadian values. Canadian Muslims were portrayed as posing a threat to Canadian social values in two broad contexts. First, they were worked up as making illegitimate human rights claims pertaining to religious freedom. Canadian Muslims were also constructed as posing a threat to Canadian values in coverage where polygamy among Muslim immigrants was worked up as a threat to the Canadian immigration system. The press adopted a stance in which it was assumed that Muslim immigrants to Canada would practice polygamy. In other words, there was a taken-for-grantedness that Muslim newcomers would seek to violate the Canadian social norm pertaining to marriage. This negative representation of Muslim-immigrants-as-polygamists was so taken-for-granted (ibid).

Akram (2002: 61) argues that the demonization of American Arabs and Muslims started well before the September 11 bombings:

It can be traced to deliberate mythmaking by film and media stereotyping as part of conscious strategy of 'experts' and polemicists on the Middle East, the selling of a foreign

policy agenda by US government officials and groups seeking to affect that agenda, and a public susceptible to images identifying the unwelcome 'other' in its midst.

ii) **Gender, Religion and the Media**

Leonard falters in her descriptive analysis of transnational forms of religion. She states rather fleetingly, transnational forms of Islam are inevitably engaged in losing struggles, particularly in North America and Europe. She notes that in the aftermath of 9/11, American Muslims have become more assertive of their American identities. Likewise, in Canada the context and pernicious consequences of the tragedy of Air India Flight 182 in 1985 deserves careful analysis. To what extent, do sociopolitical experiences shape religion? Nonetheless, I found her study very gratifying and the above shortcomings could easily be overlooked

Apart from racial profiling, which usually targets males, Muslim women are often treated to Orientalist discourse in the media, representing them as different, passive, and most often as oppressed victims of male-imposed mores. Such stereotyping is so pervasive that it constitutes a reality for many (Bullock & Jaffri, 2000). Recent studies on the representation of Muslim women in the mainstream Canadian media revealed Orientalist stereotypes of Muslim women. Bullock and Jafri's analysis of the representation of Muslim women in Canadian mainstream media noted that "Muslim women are presented as outsiders: as foreign, distant 'others' and as members of a religion (Islam) that does not promote "Canadian" values" (2000: 35).

Further, the *hijab* is depicted as a symbol of oppression for Muslim women. Muslim Canadian women are especially vulnerable since they are both women and immigrants. DiManno, who is adamant in her opinions of Arab and Muslim practices, disputed the findings that these women are facing discrimination in the workplace by stating: "I don't know if there's a

problem. This study certainly provides only feeble evidence.” To enlighten her readers, she goes on to explain the meaning and purpose of the hijab:

The hijab is an article of faith to many Muslims and, moreover, socially compulsory headwear in some Islamic countries. So it's folly for anyone to suggest... that wearing the hijab is a personal choice for Muslim women. The head covering may signify modesty or humility before God, but in some societies not covering up can cause a woman to be beaten by a stick. And it's absurd to invest the hijab with pseudo-feminist gravitas by claiming that it neutralizes gender politics. That's utter sophistry. It's a paternalistic requisite that, whatever its genesis, has more to do with proprietary attitudes toward women than modesty before God...I understand the hijab's symbolism to righteous Muslims and Islamic self-determination. But for many, it also symbolizes ingrained ostracism of womenfolk. Maybe that's why some employers look at it askance” (DiManno, 2002b:A2).

Eltantawy's (2007:1) analysis indicates that the common theme in all Muslim media accounts is the U.S. media's persistence on using images of the veil or headscarf in its representation of all Arab and Muslim women. A study by Bullock and Jaffri (2000) on the representation of Canadian Muslim women in mainstream media found that Arab and Muslim Canadian women are often portrayed as enslaved, inferior, and passive, and in need of being liberated by the benevolent and civilized West. This representation ignores the context and nuances of their culture and their individualities are excluded from the construction of “women” in Canadian society.

iii) Hypocrisy of Canada's English Media: Condemning Quebec's religious condemnations

The English media have vilified not only Quebec Premier Pauline Marois and the Parti Québécois, but also millions of Canadians both in Quebec and across English Canada who happen to agree with its secular intent. However, secularity and multiculturalism are both illusory ideals; we conceive of Canada as a secular and multicultural nation, but the reality does not match the advertisement. Canada values ethnic diversity, but our stores still cater to Christmas rather than Ramadan. We ban the church from the courtroom, but the Ten Commandments are fundamentally ingrained in Canadian law. In short, we call ourselves a secular nation, but our languages, laws, and government institutions are derived from a tradition that is Western, white, and undeniably Christian (Noonan et al, 2013). The English media rejects Quebec's pandering to ethnic nationalism (Patriquin, 2013) while failing to criticize their own ethnocentric biases.

Note the following instances of intolerance expressed in the media (Toronto Star 2013):

G.A. Soehner of Hamilton writes:

I must admire this lady and her party for having the courage to do what most so-called "politically correct" governments did not have the intestinal fortitude to do —to protect true Canadian values and what our veterans in the past, and what our young men and women have died for and are still fighting for in many foreign lands. The ideals of Canadian Christianity.

A.L. Heenan of Toronto writes:

The avalanche of hand-wringing and tut-tutting over Quebec's bold move is truly pathetic. Mme. Marois has the right — indeed the historical duty — to defend her nation's cultural values. English Canada stands to learn much from her courageous initiative.

Roger and Brigitte Dykstra of Ancaster write:

If our family moved to a Muslim country we doubt any requests for Western values would be accommodated. When you move to another country you adapt to that country, not the reverse and even more in the event of becoming citizens. Multiculturalism is a noble concept but our Canadian culture needs to be respected and followed or does multiculturalism trump all?

Likewise, Macleans (2013, <http://www2.macleans.ca/2013/11/08/do-you-support-quebecs-charter-of-values/>) asked its readers to comment. The following is a sample of opinions in support of Quebec's Charter:

Sully (ibid) states:

As people are aware most Muslims like most religious groups are fine and good working people but the large and different groups in the Muslim population that are moving here might have too much impact on the existing culture of Canada and much of that change is not in the interest of Canadians as a whole... These Islamic values are not historically Canadian values and as a Canadian I do not want them to become a part of Canadian values.

Rayboy (ibid) adds:

But at the same time immigrants who come to Canada need to accept that they've come to a new land and not force their culture. They can still practice culture in moderation - wearing a hijab but taking it off for passport and driver's license, but not call to prayer because Canada and Turkey are two different societies.

Goldpanner (ibid) remarks:

If you have come to Canada fleeing oppression, religious, political or otherwise, do not bring your prejudices here or keep them private.

Vanderschrik (ibid) laments:

Would you trust impartial service from a judge looking at you through the eye slits of her *burqua* when dealing with spousal infidelity? Would you trust an RCMP officer with a turban, settling a domestic fight?

Ignoring the racism in the English media, Justin Trudeau (2013) argues that Canadians must “resist the temptation to indulge in easy stereotypes and reactive characterizations of Quebec and Quebecers. The PQ government’s plan is divisive, negative and emotional”. Khan (2013), however, boldly asserts that the Islamic radicalization is culturally predatory since it seeks to undercut indigenous culture by imposing an exogenous practice, as evidenced in Somalia and Mali. While Muslim communities do not have such a narrow agenda, they have often failed to examine local history and culture in a meaningful way.

What is absent from the proposed ban on religious symbols within this charter is a discussion of the uniformity and conformity. Lavallée-Bélanger (2013) astutely observes:

In light of the Islamophobic incidents that occurred since the announcement of the charter, what counts as “conspicuous” is far from arbitrary. It primarily targets women or “other” citizens and dictates what they should and should not wear to be recognized as fully Quebecois. But what does it mean to be Quebecois? For a segment of Quebec society, often Francophone often older, often living in the “regions,” this belief is referring to their experience with or exposure to Quebec’s recent history of darkness under the religious clergy, followed by a period of secular national consolidation. This history contributed to the paranoia that fueled the “reasonable accommodations” debate

for the past decade. Today, the charter proposal seems to have empowered some citizens to act on this paranoia and harass their fellow citizens.

iv) Gender, Religion and Incorporation

An intersectional approach to substantive political rights may offer resources for addressing the contradictions inherent in incorporation. Sirma Bilge (2010) draws on intersectionality theory to argue that multiculturalism versus women's rights conflicts are rooted in unitary rights (cultural rights, women's rights; not minority women's rights) and that these rights call up conflicts that entrench minority women's domination. The more that liberal democracies endorse unitary rights the more state elites address multiculturalism versus women's rights conflicts and institutionalize them throughout the state. As a result, minority women become the targets of state policy. While feminism has often been enlisted to defend the bans, she notes that an authentically feminist position should lead us to take claims made by Muslim women more seriously. This questioning brings to the fore a serious dilemma with which policies of multiculturalism is confronted: how to accommodate ethnic and religious minorities and secure at the same time the respect of fundamental rights and freedoms within their boundaries (Bilge, 2006: 273)? Hegemonic representations based on ethnic and religious differences, as well as on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation, rely strongly on these asymmetrical power relations that give limited access to material and symbolic resources and opportunities to those on the wrong side of the matrix of domination (ibid, 274).

As discussed previously, Canada's citizenry seldom questions the singleness of media purposes, the constant sense of over saturation and the pernicious racialized determinism sustained by linguistic hegemony. Instead, the "ethnic migrant" is often glamorized as an objectified artefact of culinary delights, quaint habits and interesting accents and simultaneously

dismissed as evil – a threat to Canadian mores. The consequence of this nefarious binarism is the creation of obstacles supported by both the state and the culture loudly articulated in the media. Unquestionably, what is apparent in this study is the proactive and institutionalized resistance to transnational migrants.

D. FAMILY

i) Host Rules

In this section, we direct our attention to the relationship between multiculturalism and law, in terms of a particular case study: the Kingston Ontario criminal trial of Shafia family members. Thus, this analysis seeks to address the efficacy of the exigent need for critical analysis and representation of the racialized Muslim community in Canada. By moving beyond the reductivist and normative consequences of law on the experiences of the oppressed, this study directly confronts the practices of the oppressor. Informed by the cultural implications of one of Razack's (2008: 8), central characters, the "civilized White European", we will explore how Canadian laws recognize differences in both its punitive profiling practices and in its celebration of diversity. At first instance this juxtaposition of racist engagement and racist withdrawal are too easily viewed as hypocritical. By first, reviewing the current Shafia family criminal trial; and, second, contextualizing the trial within multiculturalism, we will proceed with a critique of the relationship of race and law in order to demonstrate that the attribution of "honour" to murder serves only to racialize crime. The honour designation to crimes of horrific misogyny is a racist subtext of the pretext of justice.

During the Kingston trial, the Court learned how three siblings and the first wife to the father of the siblings were found dead, their bodies discovered in a Nissan submerged at the bottom of the Rideau Canal, just outside of Kingston. Prosecutors contend the women were slain

by a second family vehicle by family members in a grotesque “honour killing” plotted to salvage their family’s reputation (DiManno, 2011a:A1). Wire taps played for the jury captured the three defendants putting themselves at the scene as they fret over the possibility their presence might have been caught by security cameras. Three weeks later, on July 23, 2009, the mother, brother and father (Mohammad Shafia), were each charged with four counts of first-degree murder. In court a witness testified that Shafia said his daughter “wanted to dishonour me” and he called her “a whore. A dirty, a dirty woman...She is a dirty curse to me,” the man said, quoting Shafia (ibid). The prosecution contends the women were disposed of in a mass “honour killing” staged to look like an accident (ibid, 2011c: A2). One witness has acknowledged there was strife in the household, generated by one of the dead daughter’s desire to marry a Pakistani boyfriend deemed an inappropriate spouse (2011c: A2). The prosecution then produced an expert witness Shahrzad Mojab, (ibid, 2011b: A2) who noted:

The shedding of blood is a way of purifying the honour of a family and accommodating the restoration of honour... It doesn’t have any direct connection with religion at all... It is not unique to any particular religion. We see it among Hindus. We see it among Jews and Christians in the (Middle East) region. It is also not limited to the Middle East or the Arab world.

The horrifying details has so shocked Canada’s Muslim community members, decrying the so-called honour killings and denouncing crimes that are often assumed, unfortunately, to be part of the Islamic faith (na, 2011a). Imam Sikander Ziad Hashmi of the Islamic Society of Kingston felt compelled to give a sermon during the first week of the Shafia trial, attacking the idea that Islam endorses such appalling mistreatment of women.

Let me be very clear, killing a girl or a woman, for having an affair, a relationship, a boyfriend, not wearing a hijab, and so on — as dishonorable as they may be considered to be — is not a just cause...Murder is an extremely serious crime; it is haram (prohibited) to the severest degree and cannot be justified in any way, especially for girls who are under the care of their parents (ibid).

What has drawn the attention of imams and others is wiretap evidence in which the girls' father is heard justifying the deaths on the grounds that the girls betrayed their family and their religion by wearing revealing clothes and having boyfriends. Interestingly, the court testimony and the public commentaries have focused solely on the honour killings, leaving open the link between honour killings and Islam. Despite all the protestations, this irrelevant relationship had already been implanted by the prosecutor, discussed by religious leaders and pursued by the media.

To further demonstrate the complicity of the media and law in racializing the victims and alleged offenders, I examined experimentally Canada's largest and most widely read newspaper (the Toronto Star) on three randomly selected days in December (December, 6, 13 and 14). The process of "racializing" events has always been an institutional practice of the media. Chomsky (1989:18) argued that this privilege is maintained through "necessary illusions". Following Du Charme (1986), I used the following criteria: positioning and lay-out of articles; length of article and size of type; content of headlines; news-speak; quotations, and statistics. I discovered a concentration of pejorative stereotypes that incite fear and hatred. Articles were slanted and biased, especially in reference to Muslims, citizenship and "honour" crimes. Most stories focused on negative elements and consequences of immigration regulations. On December 6th, 2011, next to an article on honour crimes, there was a report by Tonda MacCharles (2011: A2),

entitled *Ottawa to toughen 'hate crimes' law* followed immediately by Di Manno's (2011b: A2) opinion column on "*Blood distorts, stains honour*".

On December 13, 2011 Smith's (2011: A1) article entitled "women must show face to become Canadian citizens" cites the announcement of Immigration Minister Jason Kenney that would require Muslim women to remove their niqab, burka or other face-covering garments while taking the oath of Canadian citizenship. For Kenney, "this is not simply a practical measure. It is a matter of deep principle that goes to the heart of our identity and our values of openness and equality" (ibid). Ihsaan Gardee, acting executive director Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations, notes that "this decision will have a damaging effect on our democracy because it forces those who wear the niqab to choose between their religious convictions and adopting Canadian citizenship". This story followed an article entitled "Banning the veil: Citizenship and Bigotry" (na 2011b: A20). In this piece the Immigration Minister Jason Kenney states that the veil "reflects a certain view about women that we don't accept in Canada. We want women to be full and equal members of Canadian society and certainly when they're taking the citizenship oath, that's the right place to start" (ibid). On December 14, 2011 an opinion column by Tom Walkom's (2011: A6) was followed by an article by journalist Keung (2011:GTA1) who cites Alia Hogben of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women who adds: "It saddens me the way this (debate) is framed in a discriminatory kind of way ... making the link that you are more Canadian than somebody else if you don't have your face covered". Also, in that same issue Di Manno (2011c: A2) writes extensively on "Shafia Trial refrain – "I don't know".

According to a rich and growing scholarship, there is no relationship between honour killings and Islam (van Eck, 2003:17). In most cases, honour killings are culturally based and not

based strictly on religion (Siddiqui, 2010). Honour killings are quite prevalent in nations with large Muslim populations, but Dr Aysan Ms. Sev'er, an expert on the subject, argues that there is nothing in Islam that sanctions the practice. Perpetrators use religion as a "cloak," she says, but honour killing is about patriarchy, not religion (Proudfoot, 2009). According to Fatimah Majidi, Nader Avvas Maudodi and Chris Abdul-Rahman (2003:4), the connection between honour killings and Islam is completely false. Honour killings are "[strictly] tribal laws, not Islamic laws" (ibid) within societies. Devers and Bacon (2010; 359) argue that despite international efforts to combat violence against women, women in some parts of the Middle East are subjected to considerable cruelty.

Typically, law and media are projected as neutral and too limited in responding to social injustices, thereby escaping their complicities. Even with the implied linkages of crime and religion, entrenched in their interpretations, the courts and media in Canada have spent no time understanding Islamic *Qassas*, laws of retribution (Afshar, 1998: 99).

The above overview of the treatment of honour crimes illustrate a righteous ethnocentric consciousness that prevails whenever the construction of identity, as a repository of distinct collective experiences, is normalized as a legal construction which establishes opposites and "others". The criminal law, a complex and multi-faceted concept, is the medium in which social groups are created and mobilized in order to secure rights and obligations.

ii) Marriage and Sexuality

Oxfeld (2005), Suzuki (2005), Thai, (2005) and Constable (2005) contribute to a critique of the notion of wives as simply objects of exchange and highlight instead women's agency in relation to wider structural constraints and a new body of highly educated female marriage migrants. They provide exemplary illustrations of women who are acting,

independently, on their own behalf in the face of constricting circumstances and constraining structures. But the layering of colour, class and gender cannot be ignored. Race and sex cannot be treated separately (Moghissi, 1994: 16) given that the dominant culture colonizes "women of colour".

Based on an anthropological approach and ethnographic field work, these well-researched articles by Constable (2005), Suzuki (2005) and Thai, (2005) challenge current notions of cross-border marriages and provide a refreshing look at international marriages and transnational marriages. These studies are significant for what they reveal about the intersection of local and global processes in the everyday lives of women and men whose marital opportunities variably yield both rich possibilities and bitter disappointments. They make an important contribution by looking at issues of cultural economy and individual agency in contexts of economic interests, imagined human desires including emotionality, sexuality, gender, tradition, and modernity.

With increased global mobility we have witnessed a rapid increase in the number of marriages that cross borders and/or involve partners with different nationalities (Constable, 2005:3). Nicole Constable, astutely, argues in the introduction that these marriages are best understood as "marriage-scapes that are shaped and limited by the existing and emerging cultural, social, historical, and political-economic factors" (4). For Constable, the chapters in her volume contribute to a critique of the notion of wives as simply objects of exchange and highlight instead women's agency in relation to wider structural constraints and a new body of highly educated female marriage migrants whose decisions on marrying abroad go beyond a solution to poverty, but rather, relate to desires for mobility, opportunity and more (Constable, 2005; Thai, 2005). These studies on the new migrant populations and their mobility well

illustrate that migrant women's agency can be, and is worth to be, approached from a wide range of perspectives.

The above scholarship draws on stories, conversations, interviews, vignettes, and ethnographic descriptions, as well as materials from the popular media, introduction agencies and marriage brokers (Constable, 2005:2). The authors examine the varied perspectives, motivations, and experiences of brides and grooms—and, in some cases, their family members—as they imagine, enter into, resist, or promote particular sorts of cross-border marriages. In recent decades, amid new and expanding forms of globalization and capital flows, increased time/space compression facilitated by rapid electronic forms of communication, and the emergence of what Arjun Appadurai (1996) calls a "global imagination", marriages that cross the borders of nation-states have become increasingly common, although they have—until recently—captured relatively little scholarly attention. For Constable, “women may appear to be moving up from a less developed country to a more developed one, but they do not necessarily move ‘higher on the chain of economic resources’” (2005:10).

Suzuki (2005:139) deals with tensions between Filipino women who marry Japanese and the Filipino women's natal families. Based on reciprocity, Japanese men expect to be “lords of their own castles” (ibid) in the Philippines in the future by helping both their wives and the family of their wives. Suzuki extends this focus on the ways in which perceptions of national difference can shape discourses of transnational romance. Filipino families' fantasies of the women's presumed upward mobility through cross-border marriage puts a tremendous burden on those who are married to Japanese. Traditions of family obligation and translation of maternal care as material care in the Philippines often cause tensions among couples, which subsequently leads to marriage dissolution. In some cases, an ironic picture, in which natal families live

prosperous lives while women struggle to support them, emerges. In others, women put up with economic hardship in order to wield power over their natal families or to be treated as a queen by the family. The Japanese husbands' desire of realizing masculinity also comes into play. This section expands upon the research regarding migrant marriages questions beyond the relationship between couples in cross-border marriages to that of women and their own families.

Thai (2005:165) uses the example of Vietnamese couples, highly educated women in Vietnam and lower -class men in the US. Marriages who are arranged in order to meet both spouses' needs to note how a "clash of dreams and expectations" (ibid) is related to a man's self-worth which is tightly interwoven with his ability to provide well (ibid). Cross-border marriages are arranged in order to meet both spouses' needs. For example, highly educated and successful career women in poor countries are not popular in the local marriage market. Immigrant men with insufficient income and low educational achievement are also not popular in the local marriage market. Relying on the prosperity of the countries in which they currently live, men look for a spouse from their homeland. Women choose overseas men, fantasizing about a better environment and a more prosperous life abroad. Even after knowing a spouse's status, women think that living abroad may satisfy their desires. Facing reality, couples often fail to adjust to and maintain their marriage lives.

This does not mean however that women do not wish to marry. Where their economic independence is institutionally made difficult women seek to secure their lives and desire men with "three high" qualifications—high income, high education, and high physical stature and today they hope for men with "three C" attributes—(materially) comfortable, communicative (sharing same values and lifestyles), and cooperative (in doing chores and childrearing). Though Japanese women have been criticized for becoming excessively demanding and egotistical, these

desires are the reverse of what men want in women, namely “three lows,” lower income, education, and height than men. It is noteworthy to see a global articulation here that, in the USA as well, women tend to marry men who are better educated, better paid and older, while men tend to marry younger women who have less education and income (Fitzgerald, cited in Thai 2005:148).

The stereotypes associated with the notion of "global hypergamy", that is, using marriage as a tool for global social mobility, are challenged by Nicole Constable, Nobue Suzuki and Hung Cam Thai, who address, in some way or another, the following three questions:

1. Why do some women leave and others stay?
2. How important is social location in determining who stays and who goes?
3. And how important of a role does a "global imagination" play in this process?

Concepts of international marriages and transnational migration are tightly connected to each other. The dominant view is that women enter cross-border marriages for economic gains, and generally in order to extricate themselves (and their families) from poverty. The common idea, as Constable (2005: 10) points out, is that the marriage might aptly be labeled a ‘global hypergamy’—women marry and move up to a higher socioeconomic location of the global hierarchy. Indeed, transnational marriage is the outcome of mixed motivations embedded in very different social structures, which are not reducible to economic factors alone. Much of the normative scholarship, however, shows continuing androcentric blindness to feminist issues and gender (Wray, 2006). Based on historical- legal content analyses (Wray, 2006) and compelling anthropological field work (Constable, 2005), there are challenges to current notions of cross-border marriages and what is long overdue is the need for a more comprehensive inquiry into cross-border relations.

The term cross-border marriage emphasizes a transnational network and space created by the actors themselves; as well as the transactions of economic resources, symbols and political and cultural practices between the sending and receiving communities. Overall, these studies contribute to a critique of the notion of wives as simply objects of exchange and highlight instead women's agency in relation to wider structural constraints and a new body of highly educated female marriage migrants. Constable (2005) remains clear in providing an exemplary illustration of women who are acting, independently, on their own behalf in the face of constricting circumstances and constraining structures.

Wray (2006: 303) cleverly exposes UK legal measures as expressions of xenophobia. Laws have been used, in large part, to prevent, not only the entry of those who may have entered a sham marriage, but immigration through marriage generally. Since the mid- 1960s, the UK has frequently excluded not only those whose marriages were contracted with the 'sole aim' of avoiding immigration control but those for whom immigration played a contributory or even negligible role in the decision to marry.

The entry of husbands and fiancés caused particular suspicion due to the convention of patri-local marriage and fears of labour displacement (ibid, 305). The prohibition on husbands mainly affected black and Asian families as white men were often permitted to enter anyway and white British women were better able to plead 'special features', arguing that they could not relocate to an alien environment. Women who marry immigrant men may still be victimized, naïve or reckless while men who marry older (or, in some cases, divorced) women are sometimes believed to be making an improbable match (ibid, 320). Interestingly, their true defect however may be not that their marriage is a sham but that they are unwanted and unwelcome immigrants (ibid). Legislative approaches considered in this article involved or

involve measures that go well beyond detecting marriages entered solely to circumvent immigration control.

These articles are significant for what they reveal about the intersection of local and global processes in the everyday lives of women and men whose marital opportunities variably yield both rich possibilities and bitter disappointments. They make important and very different contributions by looking at issues of law, cultural economy and individual agency in contexts of economic interests, imagined human desires including emotionality, sexuality, gender, tradition, and morality.

Sexuality

Sexuality, as processes of engagement and as a set of institutional structures, defy simplistic analysis. Studies by Altman (2004); Oxford (2005); and, Bélanger (2010) highlight the challenges and prospects of the dialectical impact of sexuality and globalization by grappling respectively with the concept of freedom and the phenomenon of human rights. I would argue that in addition to the delineated practices of neglect, abuse or violence, the politics of recognition assumes considerably more conceptual primacy especially as a contested terrain for transnational communities.

Altman, (2004) sharp analysis provides a synthetic vision of the variety of human sexual politics worldwide, a connecting of sexual identity with the transformations of globalism, and a confrontation between western liberalism and multiculturalism. Sexuality, as affected by globalization in a number of interconnected ways, is related to the economic growth of consumerism and individualism. Sexual desire co-exists with “ a desire to be part of the affluence and freedom associated with the images of the rich world” (Altman 2004: 64). To fulfill Altman’s ‘desire for modernity’, women use their body and sexuality as an instrument to

achieve a lifestyle in which consumerism plays a large role. Just as globalization is sharpening a sense of economic inequality in the world, it is also ensuring that very different conceptions of the sexual will become politically contested (ibid, 65). This impact of the globalization- sexuality nexus is occurring, primarily in the developing world, with emphasis on questions of HIV, sexual identity, and human and sexual rights. This globalization increases inequalities, although acting both as a liberatory and an oppressive influence.

Oxford (2005) argues from a social constructivist approach that asylum seekers must conform to decision makers' notions of gender and ethnicity thereby making it difficult for women to claim a need for protection due to their political activities. She (ibid, 20), suggests that opening up the refugee definition for discussion to add gender in a time when anti – immigrant forces are strong, could lead to restricting other parts. The general failure to recognize economic and social rights within refugee law, in favour of civil and political rights, is disturbing – even though social and economic rights are often times violated of political reasons (ibid). She adds “women... are worthy of asylum only in terms of a narrative of exotic practices” (2005:30). In such a way, cultural essentialism is seen as to be inevitably connected to gender and that violence and violations against women can formerly be understood in relation to culturally static practices (ibid.). This clearly is a critique of how the use of the concept of gender within asylum determination has had a negative impact on both men and women's asylum claims, as well as to sustain the differences between men and women. The ethnocentric assumptions are plagued by domestic violence (ibid, 23).

Bélangier (2010) examines the gendered aspects of marriage migration in Asia through the lens of ‘transnationalism from below’. This quest for a foreign wife stems partly from the difficulties that men encounter when trying to find a spouse in their own country (ibid, 2). At the

same time, the relations between the sexes and the division of household tasks between spouses have barely changed, and measures to help working mothers are insufficient. But, many cultures like Viet Nam see these unions as a form of human trafficking (ibid, 35). Heated debates on the subject in Taiwan and South Korea have resulted in new laws being passed to protect the women. Bélanger (2010:4) concludes by urging us to note that the immigration of foreign brides is one of the most important migratory phenomena in this region, with potentially significant demographic and societal consequences.

For Leonora Angeles and Sirijit Sunanta (2007: 3), the proliferation of introduction-for-marriage websites has contributed to the growth of cross-border marriages and the so-called mail-order bride phenomenon that shape gendered migration patterns. Drawing from content and discourse analyses of six websites featuring prospective brides from the Philippines and Thailand, this study explores how the distinctive characteristics of Thai and Filipino women's representation on intermarriage websites are shaped by Thailand's and the Philippines' history and economy.

Gillian Brooks (2007) examines how such an emphasis on American power was created and how this image is being communicated to the international community through the lucrative mail-order bride industry. In particular, this study will analyze how the mail-order bride trade sets to profit from the Third World woman's culturally imperialistic vision of America while catering to the needs of the patriarchal First World male. In examining the mail-order bride industry's reliance on the theme of nostalgia, it will be shown that a profitable market has emerged as a result of catering to a culture that prioritizes the patriarchal male individual, rather than those deemed as minorities in today's western society.

The above articles affirm critically the significance of the power of politics inherent in recognizing the injustices attendant with sexuality. Likewise, I conclude by affirming that cultural conceptualizations of sexuality succeed in obscuring how tradition, law and economics contribute to the above noted inequalities. Sexuality is a broad and all-encompassing theme since it incorporates a number of perspectives and advances arguments that are relevant to the Muslim diaspora. The array of opinions highlights the ambiguities regarding sex and sexuality as well as the complexities of racism (Islamophobia) associated with this diaspora (Moghissi 2007 24). As a result, these observations can form the basis of my arguments regarding inferiority, the differing gender roles and their impacts on Iranian immigrant women.

In general, violence is an everyday fact of life. Not only is violence pervasive and deeply-rooted, violence is deeply entrenched in a culture of impunity, that is, in part, an outcome of decades of conflict and indifference to a justice agenda (UNAMA, 2009:1). Whatever one's theoretical predilections, the difficulty in studying violence seems to be connected with the central role that reason plays in our discourse (Hobart, 1985:4). Violence maintains a conspiracy of silence, and by extension, inaction, that perpetuates and exacerbates the problem. Silence surrounding the widely-known problem of violence must be broken (UNAMA, 2009: 21). If violence is a useful notion, we need to consider silences and exclusions as well (Hobart, 1985:3).

Shu-chin Grace Kuo (2011) focuses on legal discourse to analyze how legal regulations have been altered to respond to the "foreign spouse phenomenon". In particular, she employs a socio-legal analytical perspective to discuss how amending, executing, and manipulating the legal regulations on foreign spouses reflects an ideology of gender, patriarchy, social stability, and national security in Taiwan. Her study explores how the intimacy regulation is different between Southeast Asian foreign spouses and Mainland Chinese spouses (with a primary focus

on the former rather than the latter). It concludes by summarizing that, from a social perspective, cross-border marriages are promoted by multiple hierarchies (e.g., class, gender, culture, etc.) and are casting the female foreign spouse as an obedient wife, qualified mother, and dutiful daughter-in-law in order to profit the family/state. From a regulatory/legal perspective, the enforcement of various acts, rules, laws, and regulations may create a backlash originating from the nostalgia of patriarchy and stereotypical gender roles in marriage

Nicole Constable (2006) reconsiders some of the scholarly and popular depictions of so-called ‘mail order brides’ as ‘trafficked’ women to question what she considers the warranted and unwarranted blurs that subtly or explicitly enter some of the scholarly and activist literature on ‘mail order brides’; and to highlight heterogeneity in the experiences, circumstances, and expressions of agency of women who meet men through correspondence. The literature on sex workers has influenced her thinking about correspondence marriage, not because brides and sex workers are fundamentally alike, but because they are both subjects of the wider discourse on trafficking, women’s agency, and women’s victimization. She aims to highlight the weaknesses of a trafficking framework from an ethnographic perspective and point to some of the ways that theoretical issues raised in the sex worker literature might apply to the study of correspondence marriages.

Desires and Dreams: Images of Conformity

Popular perceptions of romantic relationships tend to assume that transnational migrants enter into such relationships primarily out of economic motives. Some streams of academic research also view these relationships through a lens of economics, depicting such women purely as victims of commodified relationships. Although economics is unquestionably important to considerations of transnational marriage, this dissertation joins other writers in

arguing that transnational relationships cannot be reduced to economics alone. This body of literature has made various criticisms of the ‘commodified relationships’ perspective, arguing, for example, that it ignores any sense of the agency of women involved in transnational relationships or that it assumes a ‘tension between economy and desire’. Constable (2005) details the significance of diverse motivations towards, and experiences of, transnational relationships.

We need to also investigate the role of “imaginings” of national difference in motivations to enter into transnational relationships to determine how individual identities and characters are perceived as determined or strongly influenced by national identity imaginings of self and other have been shaped by (neo) colonial forces. These imaginings centre upon a paradox whereby the West is at once part of and simultaneously counterpoint to the self. In this context, the Western male and the country that contains him is known and familiar. But what is known stands primarily in terms of (but not always) difference and superiority.

For example, in Iran a union with a Western man is a union with the West that seems already established and yet just out of reach. It is in part about embracing the desirable qualities that he and his country are constructed as possessing. However, it is also an opportunity to discover another part of the self and to incorporate difference into the self, thereby remaking the self into a worldly person. Thus, although the desire for a transnational relationship cannot be reduced to economics, the economics of any relationship is inescapable. What, sometimes, is omitted in studies on international marriages are detailed discussions on how these marriages are often influenced by imagined human desires that include notions of emotionality as well as instrumental reasoning. Love and nonmaterial desires are also significant to cross-border marriages. The fact that these relationships are so embedded in political economic factors does

not mean that they are devoid of emotions and affection. We need to question assumptions about the desperation, passivity, or lack of agency in light of affect constructing fantasies and desires.

For transnational migration studies to be truly interdisciplinary in a broad sense we encourage taking different angles to look at especially from humanities, from poetry to fiction especially in capturing the imaginary, dreams and desires. This would enhance a more balanced perspective of the study of cross-border marriages.

E. LABOUR

Vertovec (1997), Leonard (2000), Saeverin (2006) and Cohen (2008) provide a set of invaluable contributions that detail the complexities of labour, diaspora and limited citizenship. Interestingly, these studies individually and collectively highlight how an appreciation of labour diaspora and limited citizenship requires an understanding of converging and interacting influences of identity and transnationalism. Indeed, diasporic communities settle outside their natal spaces and become transnational communities in reference to work and trade. Clearly, the term diaspora no longer refers to the persistence of a homeland in the psyche of the scattering of peoples. But, rather, the concept of diaspora, as the above articles rightly argue, implicates transnational circulations, multidirectional flows, and the capacity to occupy multiple locations. Let us now turn to the relative strengths and weaknesses of these contributions in an effort to signal directions for future inquiry and to raise a number of questions that would stimulate further discussion.

Saeverin's (2006: 1001) discussion of migration and innovation offers a rather sanguine perspective of how the brain drain has become a brain circulation as a result of networks that booster innovation. But, for whom? The author would be well advised to consider more analytically the role of neoliberalism in the global competitive market. Have diasporic

communities not become imbricated in the service of multinational corporations within the ever-encroaching branch plant economies? Saeverin's (1002) discussion of the significance of migrant networks to the origin and destination country remains of dubious value. This finding is untenable as is his assertion that "the negative connotation of Indians leaving the subcontinent that has been propagated since Indian independence is not valid anymore" (ibid, 1003). This statement warrants more compelling argumentation let alone data. One could only speculate that this normative finding resonates all too well with the central arguments of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund in dealing with emerging economies like India. Later, he adds, "the question is not about socio-economic or sociological consequences of transnational migration". Why not? Further, he employs game theoretic perspective, an incredibly conservative economic theoretical frame (ibid, 1003). The transfer of social, cultural and human capital always requires a sociological analysis.

Nonetheless, Saeverin's (1004) term "transitional synthesis" is quite innovative and insightful in exploring the consequences of globalization on human mind (ibid, 1006). Much has been written about this in postcolonial thought regarding the impact of globalization on consciousness. The thesis that the Indian diaspora represents an illuminating example of how transnational, circular migration and non-permanent settlement enhance business ties between India and destination countries offers considerable promise. The author's discussion of the attributions of innovation may wish to consider the challenges that await smaller enterprises.

Cohen (2008) provides a more comprehensive analysis of diaspora as a flexible concept especially in reference to labour and imperial diasporas. What is striking herein is the idea of the deterritorialization of identities generated by emigration in the search of work, the furthering of colonial ambitions or in pursuit of trade (ibid, 61). But he cautions carefully, a diasporic

consciousness may not develop, particularly if the immigrants concerned both intend to assimilate and are readily accepted (ibid, 61). Instead, escape from the conditions of one's oppression takes a number of forms. Sometimes people escape into the imagination, deadening their life at work while creating alternatives in their leisure, hobbies or creative activities. Many find solace in religious expression, as was shown by the revival of orthodox Hinduism and the Ramayana in the Indian labour diaspora (ibid, 78). Through religious, cultural and finally political organization the Indian labour diaspora was able to gain considerable leverage in some of the countries of settlement (ibid, 78).

Moreover, according to Cohen (ibid), both Indians and the British fall under the definition of diaspora in that they have strong sustained retention of group ties, a connection to the homeland, and exclusion in these societies to which they migrate. These two groups differ in that they are at different ends of the spectrum: the Indian's migration is considered a labour diaspora, whereas the British are an imperial diaspora. Cohen continues to explain how these two forms of the diaspora are seen as transitional types. Eventually, the connection between the British empire back in Europe and those in British colonies weakened and rapidly faded (ibid, 69-72).

Cohen reiterates, however, that diasporas are neither uniform in class terms at the moment of their migration, nor do they remain so over time (ibid, 62). In response, the reader may well ask: how did the Indian labourers abroad constitute themselves as a diaspora? Admittedly, for Cohen the geopolitical situation is significant herein and introduces a discussion of how Canadians, already heavily intermeshed with the USA, signed the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1991 which for Cohen was sad though inevitable (ibid, 76). In addition to the questions about which he is asking his readers to think (ibid, 80), I would ask, to what extent

can readers develop their respective understanding of the ‘Indian diaspora’, and how would they conceptualize three principal component parts – Sikh, Hindu and Muslim?

Like Cohen, Vertovec (1997:2-3) conceptualizes the diaspora in terms of three discernible analytic units: as social form, as type of consciousness, and as mode of cultural production. It is proposed that these meanings have particular resonances for describing developments among members of South Asian religions outside the subcontinent. What I found extremely insightful was his discussion of the diaspora consciousness as a source of resistance (ibid, 10). This is especially witnessed today in the ever more effective and organized expressions of group concerns often described as ethnic mobilization, identity or community politics, or the politics of recognition or difference.

The fluidity of constructed identities among diasporic people is emphasized (ibid, 10) as syncretic, creolized, ‘translated’, ‘crossover’, hybrid, etc (ibid, 20). Equally fruitful is his assertion that an increasingly key avenue for the transformation of diasporic identity is global media and communications. Although he recognizes (ibid, 21) that a less studied, but growing field of interest concerns cultural production and reproduction of religious belief and practice among South Asian youth, he fails to investigate the reluctance of this inquiry. Vertovec’s article succeeds in providing a powerful critique of rational choice theory (ibid, 26) and its overly economic notions of ‘rational trading’, ‘benefit/cost calculation’, ‘probability of success’, ‘profit-sharing’ and ‘group rewards’, etc. These ‘adaptive strategies’ involve conscious, rational and logical choices. Cultural competence and improvisation (ibid, 27) involve the non-conscious set of dispositions and classificatory schemes that people gain through experience, which provides a kind of repertoire for situationally competent action, improvisation and the generation of new practices. Sociologically, I fully concur with the argument that we need to take some

account of facets of historically conditioned structure; composite parts of habitus; the conscious intervention of social actors; and, the outcomes of mediation, negotiation, and contestation of intra – and inter social groups. But I ask how must diaspora studies go about in incorporating the combined workings of structural, conscious and non-conscious factors in the reconstruction and reproduction of identities and socio-cultural institutions among groups outside of some place of origin?

Interestingly, the above readings individually and collectively highlight how an appreciation of labour acquires a master identity and also how labour is central to an understanding of converging and interacting influences of identity and culture. The articles by Ong (1993), Alund (2003) and Roman- Velazquez (2009) make a very convincing case for the need for understanding the intersections of migration and work. They equally implicate the political economy in their observations of the micro conditions of movements and settlement. What is extremely relevant to this study is the racialization of the labour market which forms the basis for a new economic regime, which represents fundamental aspects of globalization.

Migration has become more of an important topic in an increasingly complex world. States and other stakeholders have become aware of the challenges and the opportunities presented by international migration. In every part of the world, there is increasing cultural, social and economic benefits of international migration but nevertheless at a cost.

Ong's study, in particular, is an excellent source because it is clear, simple and delivers a very compelling message rather succinctly. It uses credible (well known) academics to make its point from economic as well as diasporic perspectives. It considers the differential impact of global conditions on local contexts comparative sites. This study explores how Overseas Chinese (mainly from Hong Kong) are variously constructed as citizens on the edge of empires-China,

Britain, the United States-and investigates the subjects' own complicity in and subversion of these constructions (ibid,747).Informed by post-colonial thought the author moves beyond detailing China's transformations and engages in an impressive discussion of the very useful concepts of biopolitics and flexible citizenship (ibid, 753) precisely because diasporic Chinese family biopolitics must be seen as discontinuous with the biopolitical agenda of the nation-state (ibid, 756). Diaspora Chinese are confronted with many limitations. For instance, they have been positioned by, and have positioned themselves on, the edge of economic empires, Overseas Chinese must mediate shifting discursive constructions of their marginality in the United States (ibid, 761). Interestingly, corporate America views Asia as the source of specific economic and cultural capital that, embodied in Asian Americans, can be converted into forces against Asian-Pacific economic ascendancy (ibid, 766).

By analyzing ethnic entrepreneurship in the context of the economy of the global city Alund (2003:78) explores a framework that incorporates new economic niches generated by new global information and finance companies and its professional elite. Quite carefully, she unpacks the term 'globalisation' by alluding to Giddens's terms of 'near' and 'far' that are interlaced networks of expanding human contacts. Likewise, for Alund the vagaries of the global market are reflected in local milieux (ibid, 80) such that the polarizations of resource distribution and of economic and political power creates hierarchies that are embedded in conditions that affect migration, segregation and social conflicts (ibid). This underscoring of inequality is extremely noteworthy. Similarly, I would argue, however, that inequalities not competition affect transnational enterprising and the new divisions of labour.

Alund's (2003) observational example of berry picking in Sweden as a global enterprise is intriguing. But her following comments warrant further theoretical explication:

During the summer, when my husband and I went to pick strawberries in the interior of the northern Swedish province of Vasterbotten, we came across several 'tourists' from Southeast Asia who had already cleared the sparse rows of strawberries on an out-of-the-way pick-them-yourself field. It was evening and raining and after the first picked litre, we decided to buy some of the sorted boxes of strawberries that the cheap labour from afar had already filled (ibid, 80).

The finding that the effects of the global economy are concentrated in the multiethnic city and expressed through a new geography of centrality and marginality is interesting but also requires further evidence especially in reference to rural and township comparisons (ibid, 84). The dark side of this process is the development of urban low-income areas, which, when deprived of various resources, encourage the development of marginality and, in the long term, the reproduction of existing inequalities, widespread unemployment, especially for immigrants. What is extremely relevant is the common claim that the polarization and racialization of the labour market form the basis for a new economic regime, which represents fundamental aspects of globalization. Immigrants were much more severely affected by the economic crisis and unemployment than ethnic Swedes. For Wong (2000), Ghanaian women have found that employers are unwilling to hire them with social insurance numbers that indicate they have temporary work permits rather than permanent residence.

The Canadian labor market propels them to develop coping strategies that include negotiating gendered ideology and roles, and maintaining strong ties with their communities of origin. Consequently, these immigrants redefine notions of Diaspora and homeland by maintaining substantial and varied ties with Ghana including frequent communication by telephone and email, remittances of money, repeat migration, supporting development and

cultural activities. Ghanaian women experience “economic uncertainty, racial discrimination, frustrations, and substantial household responsibilities among others” (ibid, 68). Again, for survival, these women seek employment through temporary employment agencies and are forced to accept predominantly unskilled work with relatively low wages on odd shifts (ibid, 54, 55). To ease the financial constraints, some even engage in the “informal economy as petty traders (ibid, 59). Wong concludes that by maintaining strong connections with families and communities in Ghana, they challenge and cope with the subordinate status and preserve their self- esteem.

For Guida Man (2004:137), gendered and racialized institutional processes in the form of state policies and practices, professional accreditation systems, employers’ requirement for “Canadian experience” and labor market conditions marginalize Chinese immigrant women. Despite their high education and training many Chinese immigrant women professionals in my study did not enter Canada under the “skilled worker” category. Rather, they entered as dependents of their husbands who are the principal applicants under the economic class category (ibid, 138). Clearly, Man (ibid) successfully details conceptually and empirically that neoliberal policies and practices, mediated by the accreditation requirements of professional organizations and regulatory bodies, labor market conditions, gendered and racialized discriminatory practices embedded in Canadian society and women’s responsibilities in the home intersect in complex ways to marginalize highly educated and professional women. Likewise, Lan (2003:187), demonstrate how women travel through the maid/madam boundary—housewives in home countries become breadwinners by doing domestic work overseas, and foreign maids turn into foreign brides. Significantly, the feminization of domestic labor channels women’s similar life chances in the family as well as the market (ibid, 204).

Clearly, these authors demonstrate not only relevant generic features but also emphasize how differences are linked to cultural contexts. They all deal with the ways in which i) work institutions confront ideological imperatives; and, ii) how the identities of migrants negotiate distance and engagement in the host and home countries

Cultural capital is a critical factor in the structuring of capitalist society (Bourdieu 1984, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron,1977). Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between several forms of cultural capital elaborating that embodied cultural capital signifies worth through corporeal representation; objectified cultural capital associates value with the consumption and appropriation of cultural goods; and institutionalized cultural capital signifies cultural competence through institutional sanction, such as an educational degree or college certificate. Observing that three form of cultural capital cannot be completely divorced from each other, the author concur that labor-market geographers have tended to emphasize the role of embodied and objectified cultural capitals (Craig 1994; Zukin 1995).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), argues that the difficulties immigrants encounter in the recognition of their foreign credentials can be interpreted as a systematic process of labor-market exclusion, facilitating the reproduction of a professional class. Accordingly, Canadian professional organizations, supported by federal and provincial legislation, enforce the reproduction of their own members through the differential treatment of foreign-trained and Canadian-trained workers. Rigorous certification systems favor individuals with Canadian education, training and experience, and disadvantage immigrants

Immigrants, whose foreign education and credentials are not recognized in Canada, lose access to the occupations they previously held. Although newly arriving immigrants may be endowed with the same amount of education and experience as Canadian-trained workers, they

are excluded from upper labor-market segments to which Canadian educated workers have access because of the differential assessment of their credentials. There are large differences in the transferability of education obtained outside of Canada (Thompson, 2000). Immigrants from South and Central Asia, the Middle East, Southern and Eastern Europe and Africa have restricted access to high-skill occupations in Canada (Thompson, 2000). The national origin of institutionalized cultural capital is apparently an important factor in the Canadian labor market. The non-recognition of foreign credentials creates a division between Canadian-born and immigrant labor. In Collins' (1979) study, the place of education becomes a mechanism of labor-market distinction. Since education enforces the division of labor according to national origin and place of prior education, Canadian educational and certification systems transform inherited Canadian birthplace into economic privilege.

A critical analysis of "gender and transnational labour" urges an intrepid investigation of the extent to which migration transforms gender relations. For Becerril (2007), Dannecker (2005), Mirchandani (2005) and Wong (2000), oppressive gender relations based on contested discourses grounded in patriarchal traditions, neocolonialism and their concomitant historical, cultural, political and economic contradictions are tensions that produce and reproduce intended and unintended consequences regarding the valuation of gendered labour. How then does transnationalization of gender satisfy neoliberal/ neocolonial corporate projects of exploitative market imperatives?

Becerril (2007) focusses on the dynamics between state actors and policies, migrants and their organizations, and Canadian civil society. Specifically, she studies experiences of the labour process for Mexican workers on temporary work visas re. *Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Culture* (ibid, 164) more than class assumes primacy in this struggle. Notwithstanding

the deplorable working conditions for women who migrate from Mexico to Canada to work on farms, she examines how these women construct and negotiate transnational liminal identities replete with ambiguities or disorientation. For instance, most workers agree, however, that, even as they complain, the best way to 'get ahead' in Canada is to work hard, respect the law and keep a low profile, especially in public, whatever the physical and psychological cost (ibid, 171). Women who migrate to work temporarily in Canada experience challenges distinct from men. On the one hand, there are problems associated with the very structure of the temporary foreign worker programs, which has long favoured men's participation, coupled with the additional strains women participants have to cope with due to traditional gendered roles at home. Following up on the much-needed discussion of the feminization of migration and the (re)production of stereotyped images of women, Dannecker (2005)'s case study of female temporary labour migrants from Bangladesh working in Malaysia shows how economic development for them and their families play a decisive role. Access to social networks also differs depending on gender (p661, p664). Also, increased regional demand for female labour is perceived as a "threat" to male migrants' "economic possibilities, reputations, and status" (ibid, 662). Female labour migrants who are denied access to "support systems" and to "male-dominated networks", seldom "leave their workplace, even if working conditions are bad and the payment much lower than promised" (ibid, 61). They are increasingly preferred as workers "because they are cheaper than local workers or male migrants" (ibid, 656). And yet, interestingly, unlike their male counterparts, female housing and movement is controlled legally.

Mirchandani (2005:111) demonstrates how call center work is deskilled feminized work. This servitude is often contextualized within the rhetoric of national responsibility satisfying the demands of foreign clients (ibid, 112). "Gender is 'eclipsed' in the sense that it is hidden behind

a profound, racialized gendering of jobs at a transnational level” (ibid, 105), denoting the interaction of sexism and racism. To survive, these workers construct themselves as foreign workers who do not threaten Western jobs and as workers who are 'just like' their Western customers. Foster and Jacobs (2017) argue that workplace integration strategies within the “inclusivity thesis” – including employment equity, affirmative action, pay equity or comparable worth, and diversity management should be situated as part of the agendas of relevant social actors with competing equalities. This, they astutely maintain, is a key to understanding and transforming the Canadian workplace.

i) Geography residence

Roman- Velazquez’s (2009:106) study draws on 'power-geometry' to examine i) the direct influence of immigration law on the visible presence of Latin Americans in London, and ii) how Latin Americans negotiate their movements within these constraints by developing distinct spatial practices and routes through the city. In so doing they have contributed to the continual physical transformation and cultural associations of geography. I would call this process “Latinization of London”, that is the ethno appropriation of parts of the city. Clearly, this was not without struggle given the xenophobia of Londoners. She details the (ibid, 107) the racial attacks and the mobilization of right-wing political parties around a xenophobic agenda. The author highlights the significant role of the Immigration Act of 1971 in enabling Latin American immigration into Britain. The legal status of Latin Americans also had an impact on their mobility (ibid, 112). Their identities can be understood through Massey's concept of 'power-geometry' (ibid, 120). Empirically, places, for example, were constructed to communicate a Latin identity as part of London's 'cosmopolitan' nightlife. She notes (ibid,121) that certain places have occasionally been raided by the police and immigration officers reflecting power struggles as

entrepreneurs and authorities all seek to influence the participation of different types of people at these various venues. Briefly, this study clarifies how Latin American cultural identities in London are retained, transformed, negotiated and articulated within the context of specific relations of power within contact zones (ibid, 123). What was profitable intellectually for me was the author's definition of ethnoscape as the 'landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and persons that constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree' (Appadurai,1990:7). The above three studies admit that entrepreneurial traits are often problematized. Knowledge workers tend to possess knowledge that is specialized and is unlike that of others. More generically these sources look at several different facets related to migration and ask the fundamental question: how do we assess the relative benefits and liabilities inherent in the migration of skills? Regrettably, these studies fail to explore the impact of technology as a key driver of increased migration. Rapid technological change has often been accompanied by rapid social change and policy makers must better equip people with the knowledge and skills they need to adjust to these changes – such as life-long learning and well-functioning labour markets

F. ART

Lastly, Leonard (2000:21) asks in her study, in what ways, other than through aesthetics, is the "politics of diaspora" constituted? What then leads to a dissolving, rather than a perpetuation, of the diasporic nature of the Pakistani and Indian community? She argues that the aesthetic and political cannot easily be separated. This study contributes immeasurably to an understanding of how South Asian immigrants constitute a diasporic aesthetic community. In addition to global networks of reconnections between Indians and Pakistanis through cross over

performances, of both high and popular culture (ibid, 24-25), what other activities are significant such as cinema? How do these representations recognize histories and religions which are central to the constitution of diasporic communities? Leonard offers a powerful argument about understanding the "politics of diaspora" from aesthetic expressions and performances (ibid, 30). The reader may ask in this regard, how does one avoid essentializing discourses? Likewise, not all of these activities are diasporic in nature

Hall's discussion of the role of "Third Cinema" in the production of diaspora identities provides an instructive account of how creative representations can "make us feel different". Hall describes cultural identities as 'unstable points of identification or suture' that are made within and are subject to the discourses of history, language and culture (ibid, 237). These points are fragmented and continually repositioned, as they are 'multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (ibid). Hall identifies cinema as one such discourse, describing it as a 'form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak' (ibid, 245). This schema is in contrast with the idea of cultural identities as stable and essential, or the realization of "who we really are" (ibid, 236).

Cinema and creative fiction are forms of creative representation through which people continually construct and reconstruct their ideas of cultural identity and displacement. Based on other readings in the course we may ask, are the meanings and impact of creative fiction in film not subject to cultural, political and social forces, that is, wider social processes?

The study by Ezra and Rowden (2009) examines depictions of migrant workers in French and British postcolonial cinema as transplanted interlopers, 'exotic' or transgendered bodies that are perceived as a threat to the integrity of the body politic. This scholarship breaks new ground

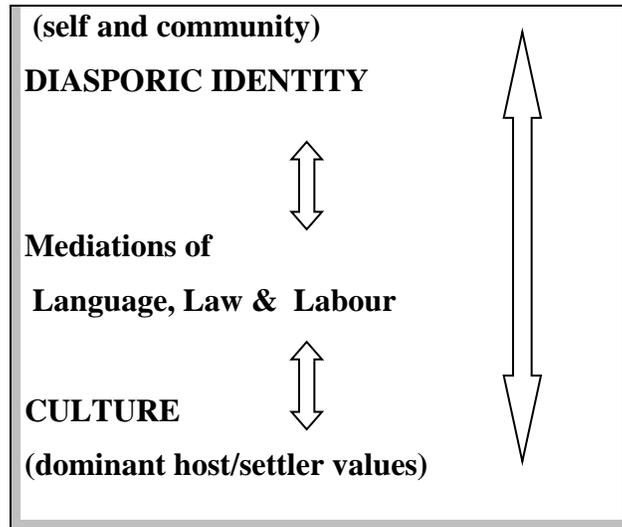
within the field of postcolonial diaspora studies, moving beyond the predominantly Anglophone bias of much existing scholarship by investigating the limitations of the national in favour of the transnational in film studies. Their study argues that recent filmic depictions of transplanted and transgendered bodies are emblematic of anxiety about the loss of cultural identity in much contemporary European -- particularly French and British -- film (ibid, 212). For Ezra and Rowden (ibid), the contemporary migrant, when stepping into a new place, no longer tries to get his or her bearings, but to go to work. Place has not given way to placelessness, but to the omni-placeness and cultural disorientation of what they term the transplantation. By this the authors mean one of the sites where the actual grunt work of difference and inequality takes place by enabling the production of the things that make leisure and privilege possible for people who would not (or would only) be caught dead in those places (ibid, 212-213). Moreover, the authors examine the representation of immigrants as transplants, as perpetual interlopers in the metropolitan centres. What I found extremely significant is their strident assertion:

Throughout history, diasporic movement has been catalysed not only by the dreams and nightmares of alienated subjects seeking better lives 'over there', but just as strongly by the various types of commodification by means of which, as corporeal objects, they have been interpellated or into which they have been dragooned (ibid, 214).

The subaltern body is reduced to the potential of being literally 'farmed' (ibid, 215). Migrants achieve an uneasy status as resident 'intruders', admitted into the body politic only to be perpetually marginalized as transplants, detached from their cultural, political, and, in the case of the transgendered, even biological histories and grafted on to sites of illicit or semi-licit employment far from the legitimating eye of mainstream visibility (ibid, 226). In brief, films depict migrants as various limbs and organs of the biological body, transplanted as objects of

globalization. Clearly, a host of Canadian institutions mediate the identities of newcomers as demonstrated in Figure 4.1.

FIGURE 4.1



G. STAYING CONNECTED AS STRAIN

The diversity, conflict and contradictions between ideological goals and institutional means further demystify substantive forms of domination. The eminent sociologist, Robert Merton (1957), underscores the significance of the social structure (institutions) especially the discrepancies between objective social standards and conditions. Strain occurs as an outcome of imbalances in the social system; that is, whenever the social structure fails to maintain control over individual aspirations. Merton's social reality is an objective, independent and determining force, which for analytical purposes is dichotomized into "cultural" and "social" structures, or more specifically, *culturally-defined goals* and *socially-approved means*, respectively. The cultural structure is an organized set of socialized values that govern the behaviour of members of a society especially the pursuit of cultural norms such as the pursuit of possessive materialism, occupational prestige and consumerism. Culturally-defined goals are legitimate objectives that

frame aspirations, for example, success, especially when operationalized as the acquisition of wealth.

The social structure consists of institutional norms and resources that define acceptable means for attaining cultural goals. But, institutionally prescribed means are not *equally* available, let alone accessible, to all interested candidates. Diasporic individuals and communities vary in their location in the social structure; that is, they are not equally positioned to capitalize on such opportunities as work, law, training and education. Since the capitalist economy, for example, is based on inequality, the pursuit of profit is exclusionary-- only some and certainly not all individuals can attain culturally-defined success. The structure of society, therefore, fails to provide the means necessary (ibid) to realize much celebrated cultural aspirations. According to Merton's central thesis, therefore, a discrepancy develops between the cultural goals and the legitimate means necessary to achieve goals. This breakdown between aspirations and their corresponding regulating norms produces a "strain". Regulatory norms break down as conformity becomes impossible. This strain leads to a search for different and often illicit means of achieving success. In explaining this stressful situation in which norms lose their power to regulate, Merton concentrates not on the individual actor but on the social order. This breakdown in cultural structure occurs whenever there is an acute disjuncture between cultural goals and the socially structured capacity of individuals to act by them. As the social structure prevents what the culture encourages, a normlessness emerges and individuals feel compelled to act against their conscience. In this way, integration of society becomes tenuous and delinquency follows.

Table 4. 1

MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

	<i>CULTURAL GOALS</i>		<i>INSTITUTIONAL MEANS</i>
1.	Conformity	+	+
2.	Innovation	+	-
3.	Ritualism	-	+
4.	Retreatism	-	-
5.	Rebellion	+/-	+/-

[+ = acceptance; - = rejection; +/- = rejection of prevailing values followed by substitution or acceptance of new goals and means] *Source: adopted from R.K. Merton Social Theory and Social Structure Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957, p.140.*

Merton's thesis is that the *larger society maintains generally accepted goals of success, wealth and education, and that the means for acquiring these goals are not distributed equally among social classes.* The diaspora conformity or resistance is the result of attempts to collectively overcome the problems of conformity to existing norms. Within this *normative orientation, human interaction is perceived to be governed by societal norms constructed by the people in authority.* The host society encourages immigrants to achieve status by internalizing host success values. But, it is difficult for some to achieve success because they are ill-equipped to compete for opportunities. For example, the education system fails to recognize foreign credentials. Newcomers are more likely to experience failure and humiliation because they are

ill-prepared and thus experience strain or “status frustration” (Cohen, 1955:25). A common rejection, felt inferiority and economic disadvantage encourage some to innovate and create more realistic standards for themselves. Some align themselves with like-minded selves who also internalize contra-cultural perspectives. Others conform by rejecting the stigma and working within host institutions. One discerns that incorporation or staying connected is a politically and dynamically *interactive* process. Definitions of conformity are arrived at and constructed in negotiations between host and home values. Differences in the ability to get connected are inherently power differentials, the relative power of groups involved and their channels of mobility.

H. CONCLUSIONS

Newcomers learn to organize, manage, and play a role that is sustained by a general perspective of conformity. Time and space are important features that affect the nature of staying connected. Primed by more established newcomers, newcomers become skilled in ordering their daily activities according to organize these priorities on an individual basis. They negotiate directly their identity by reinforcing social activities that offer degree of security in structure and content. Old home perspectives and their inherent justifications slowly attenuate and new host ones often appear enhanced.

i) Recommendations: Institutional Challenges for Staying Connected

Moreover, critical media literacy in the classroom is long overdue especially in reference to a diasporic discursive framework that consists of “hands-on” practices (Pichette, 2011). Among many other benefits, these approaches will certainly make a citizenry become aware and critical of the content and effect of the ideological messages in institutions like the media. Likewise, critical media literacy is a pedagogy that can use to understand multicultural social

realities. A long term, multi-tiered, multi triangulated multi perspectival, holistic and intersectional approach would promote a more profound understanding of citizenship experiences and interests. This series of proactive collaboration require:

Meaningful engagement that moves beyond rhetoric and the banalities of platitudes;

Use of community resources;

Utilize more fully the resources of the receiving and settling communities;

Participation in the employment, legal, immigration, linguistic programme planning and development stages;

Articulation of needs of a cross-section of prospective citizens;

Development of a mentoring role by all partners equally that would help newcomers and the general public become more aware;

Reaching out to other agencies and enhance a capacity for inter - agency cooperation; and,

Co-ordination of more outside community events and workshops;

Community-based empowerment requires a sense of advocacy shared by all stakeholders. This incorporates: consciousness raising which is essential for engaged partnership in all aspects of settlement and employment; problem solving as a collective accomplishment; improving administrative requirements and an understanding of citizenship (e.g., literacy or at best, criticality and the means of credentialing and verifying competence or more.

Equally related is the role of the ethno- racial minority media. In this context, minorities are urged to innovate in order to be heard in the journalistic and media sphere. The mainstream media must be forced to share a vision (using its economic) of the political, cultural and social role of those seeking incorporation. Citizenship, as embodiment and as ethics, draws out the

tensions between the responsibility to the other and the rights of entitlements. Together, citizens reconcile various 'fusion of horizons' that grow out of recognizing co-constitutive elements of citizenship. Admittedly, multiple apparatuses such as the media will strive to continue to “normalize society” and explain how inequality serves to work to advance nationalism. This study pursues communicative action as a set of perspectives on these intersecting orders. Citizenship, a complex and multi-faceted concept, is the medium in which social groups are created to secure rights and obligations. In so doing, we move beyond the hypocrisy, if not self-righteous, English media is seemingly bent towards condemning Quebec’s religious condemnations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCONNECTING AND RECONNECTING:

FROM THE SILENCE OF SERVITUDE TO THE RESISTANCE OF CERTITUDE

A. INTRODUCTION

Theoretical scholarship and empirical evidence highlight how the lived real-life experiences of racialized diasporic women respond to institutional barriers. By “staying” or remaining as members of a new society, immigrant women experience a cultural transition often expressed in feelings of dislocation, rupture, and loss, which can produce anxieties about the new culture’s values and norms of exclusion. For Arab Canadians, there is a lingering feeling that full acceptance in Canadian society is futile (Mokbel, 2002). Moreover, Hall (2003) challenges the notion of the subject and the stability of identity to examine the ways in which Diasporas threaten or reinforce existing social and cultural hierarchies. A fundamental theme in Fanon’s (2008:170) writings, however, is the need for transformations. But, change can be achieved only through the risk. Fanon (1967)’s diagnosis and psychoanalysis suggest that in every society a channel must exist for aggression to be released.

The study of contemporary migrations in an era of globalization raises a number of challenging theoretical and substantive questions especially in reference to the transnational migration experiences of women. The followings are the interrelated key questions that frame the central arguments of this chapter. How do Iranian women form and inform identities in relation to conflicting cultural narratives of subject formations in reference to traditional and western values? In examining the differential impact of culture in the regulation or normalizing of

appropriate identity, what mediates the migration – identity nexus? In assisting women to challenge and rework their identities, what are the influences of institutions like religion, family or work (noted in chapter 4)? Specifically, how does the creation of a subterranean network of support not only validate experiences but also assist with overcoming any feelings of fear, hopelessness and desperation? In other words, how do women break through the compulsive and pervasive influences of both tradition and modernity in negotiating a space that resists and complies, that distances or engages? To appreciate fully the interplay between ideology (traditional home and modernist host values) and identity (self-concept, self-consciousness), this chapter highlights conceptually the inextricable relationship between discourse and subjectivity.

Informed by the contributions of scholars of migration and transnationalism in examining the construction of relational values, this study examines substantively how Iranian women experience the conditions, contexts and consequences of transmigration in terms of the dialectical interplay, the tensions and contradictions (attraction and repulsion) between tradition and western values (the juxtapositions between home and host). The process of transnationalism encourages the development of negotiated identities, a focus of this proposed study. To remedy the essentializing character of identity, this chapter offers substantive theories that explore the fluidity of identities. In recognizing the dialectical and dynamic relationship of identity and culture (host and originating), this inquiry seeks to make sense of the often ignored and yet meaningful concept of rationality while questioning dominant modes of discourse.

This chapter is firmly grounded and built soundly upon past research in the study of transnational theories with a profound commitment to ameliorate the lived conditions of marginalized, racialized women in Canada. This research builds on and intersects with the current literature that focuses on new theoretical perspectives that bridge culture and

consciousness (ideology and identity) in transmigration studies. Further, this project seeks to unpack and critique neo liberal approaches to the push and pull factors that influence migratory movement and settlement.

Emphases on values, beliefs, knowledge and customs, as sources of identity and signification and representations of Iranian social life in Canada are long overdue given the post 9/11 climate decades where contemporary biopolitics and the regulation of population is a political problem for transnational Muslim communities in Canada. Accordingly, this chapter investigates what it means to be a Muslim Iranian woman in Canada in relationship to the common characteristics of Canadian identity and the pervasive “othering”.

Lastly, the significance of my research is related to fundamental implications for justice which should guide models of decision making especially in reference to extant “get tough” approaches to immigration that dominate the political and media agenda. By exploring the common ground between cultural and control practices in contemporary Canadian social life, organized according to imagery, style, and symbolic meanings, this study of transnationalism hopefully contributes to Canadian interpretive sociology and women’s studies. This inquiry further assists us in understanding specific challenges of Iranian women as they attempt to construct their respective identities in Canada, a central theme in empowerment, multiculturalism and citizenship.

B. THEORETICAL CONTEXTS: THEMES, PROSPECTS and CHALLENGES of TRANSNATIONALISM

This chapter represents a significant departure from the body of existing scholarship normally undertaken from a singular disciplinary perspective (Portes, 2003: 889). It is firmly grounded in an engagement and study of transnational theories. Admittedly, theorizing cannot

be reduced to a binary engagement of either/or but rather remains replete with varying interpretations. The importance of transnationalism cannot be underestimated for it fuses different aspects of “movement” to demonstrate the significance of interconnectedness of different theories.

Critiques of the neo-classical economic approach point out that such cost-benefit analysis are overly simplistic and fall short of explaining migration movements or predicting future movements (Portes, Guarnizo & Patricia Landolt, 1999; Portes, 2003). Moreover, Van Hear (1998) points out those current flows of migrants are fundamentally different from earlier movements. Contemporary research on transnationalism builds on and intersects with the literature concerning various diasporas. But, transnationalism is a much more inclusive term which embraces the general definitions of diaspora, but strives to develop research around populations that are “contiguous rather than scattered” (Van Hear, 1998:6). While traditional studies on migration focused on push and pull factors that influenced migratory movement from the region of emigration to the region of immigration, contemporary migration scholarship develops the concept of transnational social spaces. The transnational social space brings attention to the “circular flows of persons, goods, ideas, and symbols across nation-state borders” thereby forging a continued connection between two or more regions [a flow that is no longer seen as linear, but circular and multidirectional] (Faist, 2000: 12-13). Transnationalism specifically refers to immigrants who, despite having left home, and often through the process of constant movement across borders, maintain social, economic and cultural contact with both sending and receiving countries (Wong, 2007). Unlike the more static orientation of Diaspora Studies, Transnationalism, as a distinct term refers to activities and relationships that require regular and sustained social contacts over time and across national borders (Portes, Guarnizo and

Landolt, 1999: 219). The central feature herein is a level of “sustained” exchange between across borders. These exchanges involve individuals, their networks, their social relationships and their communities and can occur as a result of three diverse activities: transnationalism emerging from economic initiatives; political activities; and, socio-cultural enterprises (ibid, 220-221).The advancement and availability of technologies around air transport, telecommunications, the internet, etc. Have allowed for the emergence of transnational linkages and sustained contact. On a related note, transnationalism encourages us to think about the unequal linkages between First and Third Worlds, a relationship which is grounded in the history of colonization, decolonization and the globalization of late capitalism.

Transnationalism, transmigration, and the reterritorialization of culture not only challenges the nation-state’s attempt to forge a singular identity based on allegiance to the host country but as well, the process of transnationalism encourages the development of multiple and fluid identities. Transnationalism conceptually attempts to account for new immigrant identities and the emergence of new migrant communities within the context of a global capitalist system. Migrants, past and present, show considerable concern and involvement in both their home and host countries. What is new, however, is the intensity and level of these involvements in contested terrains for transnational communities. These articles affirm critically the significance of the politics of recognition by mapping out the transnational political involvements of migrants. Essentially, transnational political activities (networks, technology, political literacy, etc.) often overlooked dimensions; provide a lens through which to understand the impact of politics at home and in the host society on identity and representation as well as recognition. Likewise, transnational citizenship research points to the tensions around dual loyalty and national identity formation. Transnational political participation is dependent on a number of

factors such as social and political capital accumulation which is received in their country of origin and which is carried with them to their new country.

i) Culture and multi “cultures”: hybridities as hyperboles

Transnationalism and Migration studies, however, do not hold identity as a response to something external and different from it. Identity is located in movements in space and time and selfhood is constructed in part from a wide array of transactions and relationships. Consider, for example, the following conceptual exercise that may facilitate a critique of the idea of hybridity. “Here” and “there” are co- constitutive horizons. Literally, the difference between the nouns “here” and “there” is the letter “t”. T may be conceptualized as “time”. It is possible to be there and here at the same time. Likewise, “where” always incorporates the “here”, wherever it is – home or host country alike. The here (the host country) and there (the natal/ ancestral country) enjoy a symbiotic relationship. In fact, the nature of the host shapes and is shaped by the quality of the home. Unlike postcolonial studies, the space constructed is from both past and future mediated by the present, from the host and the home. That is, hybridity within transnational migration studies involves both and is never a negation of either. Hybridity in transnational migration is a clear recognition of both conditions and contexts in terms of an amalgam of sustained connections and movements.

As introduced in chapter three, hybridity is related to various permutations of perceptions. That is, a study of transnational identities benefits from the necessity of relating space to interpretations of the self. Indeed, identity, although shifting and fragmentary, is linked to movements such that a prevailing image of the self is related to its referential character, an index of affiliation. The latter is the lens through which one is understood, validated and repudiated. Identity within transnational migration incorporates the relational and tentative

elements of space. It is not a matter of “disconnecting” from a homeland or “becoming Canadian”, the self which is grounded is not that easily susceptible to imposed identities. Identity is not easily territorialized.

Accordingly, Arat-Koc (2006: 227-228) astutely theorizes how this diversity in transnationalism has been a liability especially with the adoption of a “clash of civilizations” paradigm. Equally penetrating is Tölölyan’s (1991:3) analysis of representation characterized by struggles and contradictions within ideas and practices of collective identity, of homeland and nation. For Bannerji (2000:127), we need to move beyond the simplicity of choices, allowing for more profound positions of collectivity. Bhabha’s (1994) project is engaged in an effort to de-center identity through a series of contingencies, rather than linear sequence of causal relations. From these procedures, he is able to present an interpretation of identity that is not static or fixed, but rather a relationship of differences. For Bhabha, identity as “freedom” is an influential an elaboration of agency (ibid, 71). But for him, “It is from this hybrid location of cultural value” (ibid, 172). Essentially, Bhabha’s concept of hybridity shows signs of *resistance*, used to destabilizing the subject. But do migrants experience the dislocation of their identity, either in separation from their cultures of origin or displaced within their native culture by processes of external or internal colonization? For Said (1993: xiii), cultural forms (home and host) play a central role in the formation of attitudes, beliefs, and experiences. But this culture is a tool to further the State’s ideas of superiority, development, and manifest destiny inherent in colonial discourse, to become hegemonic across the ‘west’. But unlike Said, this chapter sees particular interpretations of culture and representation used by the migrant groups to distinguish themselves from the dominant society with feelings of displacement.

Likewise, Hall (2003) discusses transnational migration as a cultural hybridity while rejecting the idea that locality has lost its meaning and argues that diaspora and locality are interrelated. Fundamentally, Hall urges readers to confront the question of difference. Hall's study of nationality, ethnicity, gender, class, as well as race challenges the notion of the subject and the stability of identity, to expose racialized and gendered notions of transnational identity, to examine the ways in which transnationalism threatens or reinforces existing social and cultural hierarchies and to appreciate the extent to which they shape culture and self-identity as well as social and political action. Community identity among immigrants is always changing, always being redefined in new ways; however, the common identity with a nation can still exist (ibid, 235). Implicitly, Hall asks us to study culture and identity in terms of process, focusing on the constant reworking of culture, on the handling of contradictions and inconsistencies, on the processes of learning and unlearning. This is relevant to this study because he examines the different ways in which identity, collective and individual is negotiated and constructed. The discussion of multiple points of identification and positioning is equally important for my dissertation especially the idea that self-identifications are complex and variable and are determined by positional, historical and personal factors. But, there is a "crisis of identity" which is the result of the "de-centering" of individuals from their place in the social and cultural world, a de-centering that is characteristic of modern society.

Van Hear's (1998) theme of the formation and reformation of diasporic groups in relation to issues of socio-economic development are well pursued analytically. To elaborate, Van Hear states: "This book has been concerned not so much with identity as such, as with the material basis or socio-economic dimensions of such identity" (ibid, 242). His conclusions reiterate well developed theories about a combination of 'root causes' or structural factors which predispose a

population to migrate; proximate causes or factors that bear more immediately on migration; precipitating factors, which trigger decision to depart; and intervening factors, which enable, facilitate, constrain, accelerate, or consolidate migration. Van Hear employs transnational community as an inclusive term which embraces diasporas, but also populations that are 'contiguous rather than scattered and may straddle just one border'. He addresses the multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of relationships and resources between the homeland and destination countries (ibid, 1998:244).

Clearly, culture is a source of identity. That is, within the culture of transnational migration, values, beliefs, knowledge, heritage and customs which provide models for social behavior, migrant groups attempt to negotiate and maintain certain cultural practices, which are central to their identity in the host country.

ii) Gendered Identities as Negotiated

A transnational gendered study examines the contexts within which and through which women, whether as individuals and as groups construct, negotiate and defend their identity or self-understanding. For Faist (2000: 202-210), the social construction of transnational social spaces necessitates specific types of ties between the migrant and his/her home community: kinship groups based on ties of reciprocity. These ties may take the form of financial remittances, transnational circuits which can be in the form of trade networks, and kinship solidarity which rises from a shared conception of collective identity and belonging. Emerging migrant consciousness and transnational linkages provide a context to account for new immigrant identities and the emergence of the growth of cultural communities. These terms also help to conceptualize the framework in which women in particular negotiate, adapt, critique, reproduce, transform and elaborate cultural practices which ground their identification as being

part of a community and a larger nation. While globalization has been analyzed in terms of its impacts on women from an economic perspective, there has been much less interest in exploring its effects from a gender standpoint. Where there has been some interest, these have been limited to the idea of a 'global culture', reactions to globalization, such as in the dramatic intensification in the politicization of gender.

The contributions of the article by Pessar and Mahler (2003) should be applauded for bringing gender into the study of transnational migration research and theorizing. They succeed in demonstrating (ibid, 813) how transnational processes woefully has ignored gendered analyses. Both the elementary discussion of gender and the idea of treating gender less as a variable and more as a central concept for studying migration no longer require justification. Their analysis of "geographic scales," "social locations" and "power geometries" and their exhortation (ibid, 821) explore how states' policies shape experiences are convincing. Wong's (2006: 356) highly nuanced analysis of transnational relationships explores 'gendered politics' by focusing on the cultural and gender-specific ways in which women and their families negotiate remittances, for example. Female migrants show a deeper commitment than male migrants to providing more economic support to households that are left behind. Goldring's (2001:504-07) theorizing of both gender and the geography of citizenship practices in transnational social spaces draws on feminist writings on citizenship. This gendering of citizenship limits the opportunities for women's participation thereby fragmenting citizenship practices.

For Park (2013:1), the narratives of victimhood that frame refugee determination are largely tied to gendered narratives that are inextricably linked western discourses on the regulation of refugee claims. Accordingly, women are constructed as more vulnerable than men

(ibid, 5) and in need of a white male savior. Bhabha's (2009:193) sophisticated analysis demonstrates how migration law clings to the old normative assumption of a unitary family in reference to gender roles and the unitary nationality of its members.

C. RESISTANCE: DECONSTRUCTING DIASPORA AS SITE OF SUBVERSION

Identity, self and social, is a contested terrain and a discursive practice, reflecting both local and universal institutions and processes. As both space and a place, the socially constructed self occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function. The notion of travel (spontaneous or sequential) is important in understanding the self as a time of practice.

In his work, Lefebvre (1991b) suggests that just as everyday life has been colonized by capitalism, so too has its social space. Space is socially constructed and used to ensure the survival of capitalism. Because of its flexibility in constructing and reconstructing the relations of space and the global space economy,

Indeed, the self is a site of struggle. Within this collective biography, the self is complexly articulated within a plurality of discourses that are never stable, static nor fixed. The relationship between the self and the social is organized through a specific articulation of conflicting images. These images are naturalized as fantasies as well as horrors. The image of evil and the image of salvation embodied, respectively, are interchangeable. Metaphors of evil and good may appear exaggerated but they certainly contribute to an understanding of the process of moral regulation.

The self may activate class divisions through class-based codes of conduct, relocating that which has occupied the margins to the centre, and decentring and de-essentializing the subject. As noted in chapter three, the self internalizes the liberal ethos of individualism, a

condition and consequence of commodity exchanges as idealized and practised among street merchants or vendors. This contradictory and complementary geopolitical is a site of battle whenever it gives consciousness, new meanings and abolishes righteous moral claims of a variety of institutionalized disciplinary discourses. As bell hooks (1989:107) states:

Politicisation of the self can have its starting point in an exploration of the personal wherein what is first revolutionised is the way we think about the self. To begin revisioning, we must acknowledge the need to examine the self from a new, critical standpoint. Such a perspective, while it would assist on the self as a site for politicisation, would equally insist that simply describing one's experience of exploitation or oppression is not to become politicised. It is not sufficient to know the personal but to know - to speak it in a different way. Knowing the personal might mean naming spaces of ignorance, gaps in knowledge, and ones that render us unable to link the personal with the political.

She further argues that the process should also include education for critical consciousness, which teaches about the power structures of domination and how they function. She confirms that it is an understanding of the latter that enables us to imagine new possibilities, strategies for change and transformation (hooks 1989:108). To ignore the lived realities is a perniciously anti-intellectual act that refuses to understand the significance of *context* and *content* as constituting an analytic framework for articulating identity, subjectivity and social interactions. Accordingly, experiences, as ontological categories, ground the basis of knowledge. It is the everyday life experiences that account for social ontologies, for expressions of knowledge and for how we are mired in the mystifications of materialistic projects that measure progress. Admittedly, a study of everyday life foregrounds human "becoming", transformations (Debord 1967; de Certeau

1988) and the generation of emancipatory principles by exposing the inherent problems of alienation. Everyday life is unknown or unfamiliar (Debord 1967; Lefebvre 1968, 1976, 1991; de Certeau 1988) whenever thinking is absent. Empowerment is not simply the consequence of a willingness to share power (knowledge, skills and ability), that is, a matter of harmonizing power. Rather, empowerment is change that results from an authentic commitment to *challenge that which has been conferred* on one's being, beliefs and behaviour – one's self. The self is significant because of its referential character, an index of cultural affiliation, the lens through which they are interpreted and validated. Self-concept acquires meanings through myths, symbols and metaphors and not from official statistics, laws and the media which are unequivocally arbitrary. The “cultural” is the most formative force in developing identity. The logic of one's knowledge is contingent upon the available stock of information and the relevant socialization, differentially rooted cultural contexts and the interplay of different experiences and problematic.

Liberalism is a doctrine that maintains the significance of the state, as an association of private interests, to facilitate the common good. Early liberalism favoured an increased responsibility of the state. The state was a trust set up by individuals to form a society to secure order. Despite the emphasis on the state, liberalism celebrated the centrality of the individual rights. Neo liberalism of the 1990's strives to link rights and utilities. Accordingly, the growth of private interests, rational choice models, priority of rights over the good are all well respected. Critics argue that rights and freedoms in liberalism are illusory especially since the interests of liberalism are consistent with the bases of capitalism. Neo liberalism in Canada is moving towards minimal state involvements as well as state protection of a framework within which market forces can operate according to its own logic.

The community has become the basis of the social, that is, it is that which binds us together as cognizant social beings involved in common projects. For the earliest liberal thinkers the concept of community invoked a set of contractual obligations (Hobbes, 1982; Locke, 1988). *Liberalism* integrates the somewhat nebulous notion of community with contractual duties and obligations. Control is legitimated by institutions that promote a particular peace that protects privacy and property. For instance, in our society, privacy and property are articulated within a well-respected utilitarian framework of contact.

Although the liberal prophet, John Stuart Mill (1632-1704) stressed the importance of acting in ways that advance the greatest good for the greatest number, the foundations of liberalism consist of an unquestioned acceptance of the compatibility of capitalism with democracy (Simon, 1988). In Canada profit, privacy and liberty are interconnected conceptual projects that define basic social relations. The fabric of order as envisioned by liberalism is woven together by a wide assortment of different but equal fibres constituting the liberal democratic quilt. Another liberal British political theorist, John Locke (1632-1704), argued that society, as a patchwork was loosely formed by the unanimous agreements (contracts) of its members who make-up the community. The right to property is seen as sacred, a right closely linked to notions of liberty and freedom. Accordingly, this right implies that each individual has an equal chance or opportunity to accumulate as much as he or she wishes or is able (White, 1986:27).

The concept of community has never been adequately defined. There is much disagreement as to what exactly constitutes the community. On the one hand community corrections presuppose some agreement about the conceptual and empirical validity of community as an identifiable and viable concept. While ideologically appealing, the image of community used in much of the literature is often nostalgic, consensual, geographically limited, and value laden.

This study however argues for a more precise conception of community that moves beyond the ideological banners of liberalism which legitimate decisions, preserve privilege and maintain authority relations. Current appropriation of the concept of community standardizes, homogenize and universalize a discourse that privileges some voices and violates many ‘other’ voices and histories. More recently, it has become more fashionable in both academic and government research to implicate the concept of community with neo-liberal discourses about citizenship, private and public domains, and a restored faith in market conditions (Clarke, 1999; Clarke, 1987; Rose, 1996). However, the concept of citizenship as currently employed by state functionaries is considerably flawed given that equal citizenship does not exist in an economically stratified society. To fully appreciate the “community” I argue that the notion of ‘community of interests’ is a conceptually more fruitful term that encompasses the differential distribution of rights and duties. Membership and participation in community varies considerably, which is influenced by the level of societal, economic and political interests as these are perceived in terms of contractual responsibility.

Throughout the 1990s neo-liberalism has succeeded in promoting a ‘responsibilization strategy’ (Garland, 1996, 1997). Responsibilization reflects both the diminishing ability of the state to provide full service and a process of downloading responsibility to the community (Murphy, 1998). By linking *responsibilization* to community empowerment and governance, the community has become an effective tool in corrections. By downloading responsibility, the state has restructured corrections according to a partnership. This re-alignment is shaped by the politics of financial exigencies and neo-liberal principles of private sector responsibility. It is the author’s opinion that this re-alignment enables certain elements of the community to engage in a discourse that continues to privilege the dominant ethos by connecting privacy and community.

Responsibilization confers the 'entitlements' of citizenship to those who are deemed responsible in carrying out their duties as citizens. As will be argued, neo-liberalism publicly parades the community as a decontextualized abstraction, that is, simply as an expression of state supreme practices while simultaneously adhering to the inviolability of possessive individualism. What community is developed? Who are the participants? The community is both destructive and inventive, simultaneously invented and revived in complex oppositional contexts.

i) Consciousness and the Diaspora

Cultural hegemony is a sophisticated and fine-tuned means of domination that succeeds in creating self-subordination. Diasporic communities in Canada learn to repress, deprive and deny self-autonomy by advancing their own vulnerabilities and credulities. In this form of domination consciousness is constructed to facilitate further domination through the production of consciousness (Wood, 1981:9). In fact, Fanon (2004:143) refers to this as “stunted consciousness”. The development of a cultural consciousness is a product of an ontological process that leads to a redefined sense of self-awareness among diasporic people based on a break from the imposed narratives that serve an oppressive social order (Young, 2011: 141). The same break that produces this cultural consciousness on the individual level also promotes the development of a collective consciousness where the individual begins to identify with the experiences and struggles of the cultural group to which he or she belongs. A consciousness emerges at that point where an effort is made to associate one’s self-awareness and cultural consciousness to the collective experiences

Consciousness is an awareness of one's existence, thoughts, sensations and surroundings. Given the above discussions of ideology and culture, how is a diasporic consciousness constructed in order to be emancipatory? Consciousness is a process of being, becoming and

experiencing the self and its “otherness”. Consciousness is framed typically by the culture of controls and contexts of ubiquitous violence. Fanon develops the earlier insights of W. E. B. Dubois with respect to the conflicted "double consciousness" (Dubois, 1986:364-65). This means that the range of emotional behaviors, experienced by migrants, rather than being natural, had been "skillfully injected" through processes of cultural socialization. According to Black (2007: 393), W.E.B. DuBois defines double consciousness as being forced to view oneself through the perspectives of the privileged while maintaining one's own inferior self-definitions. There is evidence that Iranian and Arab migrants experience the condition of double consciousness. For DuBois (1965: 215), double consciousness is a way of looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. Diaspora per se is a most basic condition of consciousness.

Abu-Laban (1980) documents the context and circumstances of the arrival of Arabs to Canada and the subsequent adjustment and integration into Canadian society. Although the presence of Arabs and Muslims generally in Canada dates back to 1882, relatively little is known of their educational, occupational, and political challenges. Their immigration entails many changes, losses, and redefinition of identity. There is a new sense of ethnic identity that takes shape with the awareness of differences, and it sets the immigrants apart from the new society. Of primary significance, is the loss of extended family and social networks upon which women of the diaspora depend? Women find themselves forced to find employment in order to support their living standards in the new country, and eventually develop increased personal economic power, to which they were not necessarily accustomed prior to migration. But, these powers, and the subsequent freedom and independence they provide for women, may be viewed as challenging to the traditional lines of authority at home and can put strains of the adjustment of

the immigrant Arab family. In addition, joining the labour force and caring for the family increases pressures and tension that many women would not have encountered in their native countries. They still are required to tend to traditional household “duties”.

For many Muslim women, racial hostility plays a major role in causing them to reassert or hold fast to their ethnic identity. Others, however, internalize this racism in order to blend in to the mainstream. It should be noted, that various apparatuses and the mechanisms of racialization therein are themselves sites of struggle (Stets & Burke; Styker & Burke, 2000).

Saeverin’s (2006:1004) term “transitional synthesis” is quite innovative and insightful in exploring the consequences of diasporization on the human mind (ibid, 1006). A connection to the homeland, and exclusion in these societies to which they migrate diaspora are seen as transitional types. The fluidity of constructed identities among diasporic people is emphasized (ibid, 10) as syncretic, creolised, ‘translated’, ‘crossover’, hybrid, etc. (Vertovec, 1997: 20). Leonard (2000:21) notes that in the aftermath of 9/11, American Muslims have become more assertive of their American identities. For Rothenberg (1999), many women who emigrated were more educated and held good jobs but women emigrating would rather turn to the greater Muslim community for social relations.

Hall (2003) challenges the notion of the subject and the stability of identity, to expose racial notions of national identity, to examine the ways in which Diasporas threaten or reinforce existing social and cultural hierarchies and to appreciate the extent to which they shape culture and self-identity as well as social and political action. For Hall community identity among immigrants is always changing, always being redefined in new ways; however, the common identity with a nation can still exist (ibid, 235). Hall (2003) asks us to study culture in terms of process, focusing on the constant reworking of culture, on the handling of contradictions and

inconsistencies, on the processes of learning and unlearning. Hall's recommendation that we should think of identity as a "'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, and outside, representation" is relevant because he examines the different ways in which identity, collective and individual, is negotiated and constructed. Moreover, he states, "'cultural identity' can be thought in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (ibid, 234). But, how we may ask is Hall's oneness ontology? He further adds that the past is "always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative, and myth" (ibid, 237).

For Hall, the diasporic experience as marked by difference, transformation, and hybridity, and he challenges us to conceptualize diaspora in a manner that does not depend upon the centrality of the homeland. At the same time, we must not erase distinctions between various forms of transnational mobility and displacement. While diasporic and immigrant experiences can be similar, they are not necessarily interchangeable; not all immigrants are members of diasporic communities, and not all members of diasporic communities are immigrants. In order to be identified as a diaspora, at least one outside force, such as imperial power, colonial authority, natural catastrophe or economic, social or political upheaval, must be present. Diasporic narratives are not just histories of people being subjected to these forces; they are also records of a people's reactions to these forces and cultural memories of past traumas. In these experiences actors and communities "constantly produce and reproduce themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (ibid, 244). And these transformations and differences appear along various socio-cultural borders of the community, especially those of religion, race, ethnicity, gender, language, social status and class. Socio-cultural borders are, to a certain

degree, unfixed since they relate to ethnicity and ethnic identity. These experiences are not just, as Stuart Hall states, “narratives of displacement,” but also narratives of deferral (ibid, 234). Diasporic identities do not necessarily depend upon remembered or reconstructed homelands (ibid, 233).

Diasporic experiences are "the outcome of a double process"—getting connected and staying connected. Like Stefansson (2004) and Tsuda (2009), Van Hear (1998) addresses the multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of relationships and resources between the homeland and destination countries. Saeverin’s (2006) *homecomings* examines the relationships between space, identity, and agency, it makes sense to consider simultaneously how people relate.

ii) Homecoming

“Homecomings” or return movements across time and space have been far too long ignored in migration studies and social anthropology research because “going home” is perceived as an anti-progressive, illogical, and illusory practice that is “structurally invisible”. Stefansson adds that the analytical neglect of return migration is due to the fact that the conceptual and practical issues of homecoming have fallen to the margins of the “grand narratives” of migration research (ie, assimilation, multiculturalism / diaspora, and transnationalism / globalization) and that return migrations are seen by some migration scholars as unproblematic and natural reinsertions into the “home” country. He explores the interrelationship between mobility and fixity while seeking to demonstrate that homecoming is a meaningful concept and social practice that deserves greater attention from scholars .The strength of this chapter is that it opens a space for considering the various forms of return migration and how such returns are influenced by historical narratives, cultural discourses, and

memories; the relationships between people and places and between people and nation-states; and how yearnings are transformed into social practice. Homecomings examines the relationships between space, identity, and agency, it makes sense to consider simultaneously how people relate.

Tsuda's (2009) introductory homecoming chapter asks, why does the diaspora return home? Migrants "return" for economic, cultural, and ethnic reasons, facilitated by the labor needs and ethnic nationalism of the home government (ibid, 24, 27-29). Interestingly, Tsuda (ibid, 21) adds:

Most diasporic descendants are not returning to their ethnic homelands simply to reconnect with their ancestral roots or to explore their ethnic heritage. Instead, in general, they are migrating from less developed countries to more economically prosperous ancestral homelands (often in the developed world) in search of jobs, higher incomes, and a better standard of living... Although ethnicity is generally not a "pull" factor that draws diasporic descendants to the ancestral homeland in search of ancestral heritage, it can be a "push" factor that forces them out of their country of birth.

And later, the chapter disabuses readers of any romantic notions they might hold of ethnic solidarity in the homecoming; he (ibid, 24) adds:

Although diasporic returns have been caused more by economic pressures than by persisting ancestral ties across borders, such transnational ethnic affinities determine the direction of these migrant flows. In response to economic pressures, diasporic descendants have chosen to migrate to their ethnic homelands instead of to other advanced industrialized countries because of their nostalgic affiliation to their country of

ethnic origin and because of the ethnically preferential immigration policies of homeland governments, which have enabled them to return-migrate

And yet ideological and institutional ties remain strong even though returnees may be ‘strangers in their homeland’. He further adds (*ibid*, 27):

Therefore, when diasporic descendants are faced with economic pressures to emigrate, many naturally have turned to their ethnic homelands instead of migrating to other advanced industrialized nations because of their sentimental ethnic attachments to their countries of ancestral origin. These countries seemed more ethnically accessible, and it was presumed that their co-ethnic status would facilitate their immigrant social integration. In addition, such transnational ethnic affiliations have been substantiated by homeland governments, which have adopted immigration and nationality policies that reach out to their diasporic descendants abroad and allow them to return to their ethnic homelands. These governments have granted the right of ethnic return because of their own sense of ethno-cultural affinity and historical connection to their diasporic peoples. To fully understand the factors that have enabled diasporic return, therefore, we must analyze the rationales behind the ethnic return migration policies of homeland states

In brief, one of the major strengths of his study is its tightness of focus and the unifying tone of its arguments. He defines, categorizes, compares experiences and delineates common tendencies which ultimately could serve as a guide for policymakers.

In assessing the above scholarship, I concur fully with the collective and individual pleas of scholars for more understanding of how identity and belongingness are interrogated by members of different communities. The issues of multiple inclusions warrant analyses. Although the above studies fill a conspicuous gap in the literature on migration, why has diaspora studies

paid relatively little attention to repatriation, home and homeland, returnee, and newcomer through comparative ethnographic perspectives?

Through the cross-cultural exploration of return migrations, these papers make a very valuable contribution to studies of Diasporas by considering the reasons why migrants, whether they are political exiles/émigrés, war refugees, etc, decide to “go home.” They demonstrate the complex interrelationships between memory, identity, nationalist discourses, state policies, and individual agency. The idea of an “homecoming” is aimed at providing a multifaceted perspective on return migrations. But does the reference to disparate occurrences as “homecomings” threaten to diminish the significance of a diversity of voices while exaggerating the homogeneity of meanings? What about elucidating further on the relationships between travelers and hosts which tend to be hospitable but could presumably be extremely hostile. More evocatively, an underlying theme that appears in many of the previously read studies and could profitably be considered further is how actual homecomings or the diasporic unsettling paths of return are depicted in the popular culture (films and novels), law (Multiculturalism Act), policies (Immigration Act), settlement (recognition of work credentials, governments sharing accessible travel and pension arrangements between host and “home” countries), to name only a few. For instance, Anders Stefansson’s (2004) discussion of the return of refugees to Sarajevo focuses on the hostile manner in which returnees were treated by the “stayee” population (i.e., people who did not leave during the war), who viewed them with envy while accusing them of having fled the difficulties brought on by the war and of betraying Sarajevo in its darkest days. Stefansson analyzes the reasons for this hostility and the strategies employed by returnees to rebuild their lives and homes in spite of resistance and discrimination from stayees. Even the term referring to refugees, *pobjeglice* (“those who ran away scared for no reason”), implies cowardice and reflects

the degree to which the refugees were treated with mistrust and scorn. Stefansson argues that returnee–stayee social relations constitute a central and multifaceted element in the experience of homecoming, an element that affects not only public, nationalist discourses but also the continually evolving relations between returnees and stayees (ibid, 8). Globalization, transnational processes and the creation of transnational social spaces have greatly created the meaning of home for migrants. Homes can exist simultaneously on many locations and are negotiated between constraints and possibilities of each location. In this study, the relation to home conveys a difference that migration might create in the construction of selves and others.

The dream of return is a powerful myth of diasporic discourses, playing an important symbolic role in the maintenance of diasporic identities and ideologies (ibid, 4). Mythologies, contrived images of spatial and temporal bliss, contribute to nostalgic and idealized imaginings of a homeland, around which identities in the diaspora can be mobilized. As a result, return migration is frequently conceived in terms of an opposition between myth and reality, highlighting a disjuncture between ‘home’ as dream and ‘home’ as actually experienced. However, while this is a useful conceptual framework, the negotiations of identity and belonging involved in the process of return migration are more complex than this). We need also to critically extend the theoretical and empirical angles of second-generation homecomings beyond the notion of an emotionally compelling existential project that mythologizes the diasporic subject’s longing to be ‘home’, to that of a social project of return to the ancestral homeland. In this ‘return of social realism’, the challenges of finding a place to live (a real home in the homeland), economic security (usually a job) and a circle of friends become paramount. These necessities are not always achieved or realized.

This powerful narrative (ibid, 7) of return migration as homecoming reflects the way in which return migration is viewed generally, which involves an expectation that return migrants will re-integrate into society unproblematically. In fact, they are often not really considered to be ‘migrants’ at all. Drawing on Stefansson (2004), this can be related to the dominance of sedentary thinking, whereby migration is viewed as disrupting the close connection between place and self and return migration is therefore seen as an unproblematic and natural reinsertion into a place of origin. Therefore, return migrants are not considered to be migrants, but simply ‘homecomers’ who are returning to where they ‘naturally’ belong. Stefansson's introduction critically examines the theoretical and empirical angles of homecomings beyond the notion of an emotionally compelling existential project that mythologizes the diasporic subject's longing to that of a social project of return to the ancestral homeland. Migrant identifications and lives find meaning in the interrelationship between the 'homeplace' and culture. Most importantly, homecomings are 'unsettling' paths of return. Stefansson (ibid: 2) states that returnees to Bosnia realized that a transformation has taken place, both concerning themselves as well as in their “home” community. The distance was experienced between relatives, friends and former neighbors and the social interaction between the persons was difficult to recreate (Stefansson 2004:2). This results in difficulties upon return in trying to find the sense of “home”.

Hall (2003) not only analyzes a plethora of interrelated issues that are central to Diaspora Studies but raise a number of thorny challenges that warrant consideration. Fundamentally, Hall urges readers to confront the question of difference. Moghissi (2006) asks several major questions: What aspects of diaspora life increase or decrease individuals' ties to their family's place of origin? Through which processes are transnational identities developed and deployed? How do forces of globalization interact with trends toward increasing ethnic and cultural

identities? Group identity is “constructed” through experience in the host country and that these experiences can lead to more explicitly Islamic identities. Moghissi also argues that Islamic culture is heterogeneous and that contemporary Islamic identities are often inherently political and focused on “resistance” instead of merely shared culture (ibid, xiv–xvii). The main tenet of this article that I found useful for my research is its discussion on cultural resistance as a refuge against class and racial discrimination (Moghissi, 1999:1-2). Her study dedicated to the stories of immigrants who immigrated in the last two decades. These stories are recounted in their diary entries and notes they kept and each of them offer a range of perspectives.

Bhabha asks ‘Are the interests of ‘Western’ theory necessarily collusive with the hegemonic role of the West as a power bloc? Is the language of theory merely another power ploy of the culturally privileged Western elite to produce a discourse of the Other that reinforces its own power-knowledge equation?’ (1994: 20-21).

iii) Fanon and Resistance

At the conclusion of his celebrated essay, “On National Culture,” in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (2004:178) offers this insight: “There now remains one fundamental question. What is the relationship between the struggle, the political or armed conflict, and culture?” Later, he extends the thought with the following “culture questions”:

During the conflict is culture put on hold? Is the national struggle a cultural manifestation? Must we conclude that the liberation struggle, though beneficial for culture *a posteriori*, is in itself a negation of culture? In other words, is the liberation struggle a cultural phenomenon?” (ibid).

Fanon’s own position on these questions was very clear. Culture was not divorced from the practical efforts towards liberation:

We believe the conscious, organized struggle undertaken by a colonized people in order to restore national sovereignty constitutes the greatest cultural manifestation that exists. It is not solely the success of the struggle that consequently validates and energizes culture; culture does not go into hibernation during the conflict” (ibid).

Colonialism, a form of domination, is based on violence. As Fanon writes:

Their first confrontation was colored by violence and their cohabitation-or rather the exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer-continued at the point of the bayonet and under cannon fire. The colonist and the colonized are old acquaintances. And consequently, the colonist is right when he says he "knows" them. It is the colonist who fabricated and continues to fabricate the colonized subject. The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth, from the colonial system (ibid, 2).

This dehumanization and demonization of the colonized is reflected in the subjective experience of colonialized. Fanon writes:

[Colonialism] dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly turns him into an animal... [The native] knows that he is not an animal, and it is precisely at the moment he realizes his humanity, that he begins to sharpen the weapons with which he will secure its victory (ibid: 8).

The culture of colonization frames interpretations by supplying experiences from which inferences are quickly drawn clearly; these hegemonic accounts/constructions are functional in terms of enhancing exploitation. Culture, organized on hegemonic principles, is crucial to this political economy.

Any confrontation with power requires the mastering of violence and silence. Fanon (1965:9, 13) states that “decolonization itself is always a violent phenomenon” and the origin of

violence is colonization itself (2004:6). More precisely, the first sentence of the *Wretched of the Earth* reads as follows: "National liberation, national reawakening, restoration of the nation to the people or Commonwealth, whatever the name used, whatever the latest expression, decolonization is always a violent event". This desire, to be absolutely free of the past, requires "absolute violence". Fanon writes in *The Wretched of the Earth*:

Any colony tends to become one vast farmyard, one vast concentration camp where the only law is that of the knife...In a context of oppression like that of Algeria, for the colonized, living does not mean embodying a set of values, does not mean integrating oneself into the coherent, constructive development of a world. To live simply means not to die (ibid, 232).

But colonialism is a complicated network of complicities and internal power imbalances between factions within the broader categories of colonizer and colonized--not least, of course, the way in which nationalist leaders often replicate the systems of coercion and domination that shape colonial rule. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon blames the failings of nationalism on the "intellectual laziness of the middle class" (149). The native bourgeoisie rises to power only insofar as it seeks to replicate the bourgeoisie of the "mother country" that sustains colonial rule. Fanon discusses the many ways in which intellectual leaders often betray the national working-class. In the following passage, Fanon (2004:98) suggests that the opportunist native bourgeoisie mistakenly attempts to survey and control the colonized masses to the same extent as the colonial bourgeoisie it attempts to displace:

The national bourgeoisie, which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime, is an underdeveloped bourgeoisie economic clout is practically zero, and in any case, no way commensurate with that of its metropolitan counterpart which it intends replacing. In its

willful narcissism, the national bourgeoisie has lulled itself into thinking that it can supplant the metropolitan bourgeoisie to its own advantage.

According to Fanon (ibid), true revolution in Africa can only come from the peasants, or "fellaheen. The revolutionary struggle depended on the dispossessed peasantry because it had nothing to lose.

In addition to exposing bourgeois intellectuals, revolutionary violence serves to purify, by destroying not only the category of white, but that of black too. This anti-colonial revolution transforms consciousness, liquidating all forms of localism to build a national solidarity. For Fanon (2004:51) violence has a cathartic and unifying effect.

At the individual level, violence is a cleansing force. It colonized of their inferiority complex, of their passive and despairing attitude. It emboldens them, and restores their self-confidence. Even if the armed struggle has been symbolic, and even if they have been demobilized by rapid decolonization, the people have time to realize that liberation was the achievement of each and every one and no special merit should go to leader.

Violence hoists the people up to the level of the leader.

Fanon (1967), using the psychoanalytic approach of Freud, suggests that in every society a channel must exist for aggression to be released. In his declaration that the colonized man liberates himself in and through violence, Fanon alludes to the cathartic role of violence in the struggle for national liberation (Young, 2011: 155). In Fanon's view, the "violence of the colonial regime and the counter violence of the colonized balance each other and respond to each other in an extraordinary reciprocal homogeneity. "Violence among the colonized will spread in proportion to the violence exerted by the colonial regime" (ibid, 46).

For Fanon colonialism was a space of struggles. National independence is a struggle against the colonial power, conducted with violence, but it is also a struggle over post coloniality, the followers of the National Bourgeoisie fight to *replace* the colonizers and the militants of the National Liberation movement fight to also *transform* the class structure. “Violence” he adds, “can thus be understood to be the perfect mediation” (2004:44). Fanon writes, “The colonized man liberates himself in and through violence. This praxis enlightens the militant because it shows him the means and the end” (ibid).

It is that Fanon uses the term “mediation” and goes on to write of the suffocating conditions experienced at the beginning of the end of colonial rule when the colonists became more and more desperate and, consequently, more mercilessly repressive (Gibson, 2007:82). Gibson (ibid, 76) asks, what is at stake is the different conception of violence for instance, the differences between Fanon’s understanding, grounded in the repressive and violent colonial context and multilayered analysis of counter-violence (ibid, 76). Counter-violence, namely anti-colonial violence is different from colonial violence because, Fanon maintains, it transforms the colonized and the colonizer. The formerly invincible settler and the dehumanized colonized become equals. Colonial violence is the violence of the master, it can create no new system; anticolonial violence, the violence of the colonized, it dialectical, and it establishes, Fanon argues, the basis for reciprocal recognition (ibid).

Gibson (ibid, 84) notes that *The Wretched of the Earth* as an unfolding drama is and is not about violence but about action and reflection, about a growing sense of consciousness. There is therefore a “revolution within the revolution,” the revolutionary transformation of consciousness. Fanon (2004:170) asserts that the problem of colonialism includes not only the

interrelations of objective historical conditions but also the human “attitudes” towards these conditions.

From Fanon we learn that resistance must be understood in its own language, a style of intrinsic cathartic tension, which is dialectical in form and content. Empowerment and not just idle chatter will serve to focus attention on the often - ignored structures and processes of injustice. Second, the proliferation of current projects provides too much reductionism that fails to transcend local organizational politics to consider the relatedness of silencing, exclusion and inequality. Relatedness is the synthetic convergence of consciousness –from false consciousness to double consciousness which contributes enormously to transforming the cycle of violence into circle of connections. Praxis herein is collective mobilization to bring about change. For Fanon, the various approaches to resistance have done a great service in insisting on just the political importance of cultural movements against narrow economic perspectives that minimize their significance. This theme is reiterated by Hardt and Negri (2000: 275). These analyses, they argue are extremely limited themselves because, just like the perspectives they oppose, they perpetuate narrow understandings of the economic and the cultural. Most importantly, they fail to recognize the profound economic power of the cultural movements, or really the increasing indistinguishability of economic and cultural phenomena. Collective resistance is, in effect, a condition of expressions of agency, autonomy and accountability and a consequence of synthetic and cathartic coerced consciousness.

In examining the violence –silence nexus as mediated by consciousness the following themes need to be further explored in raising awareness:

- the violence of silence, ie how silence has become both conspiring and legitimating and therefore needs to be broken;

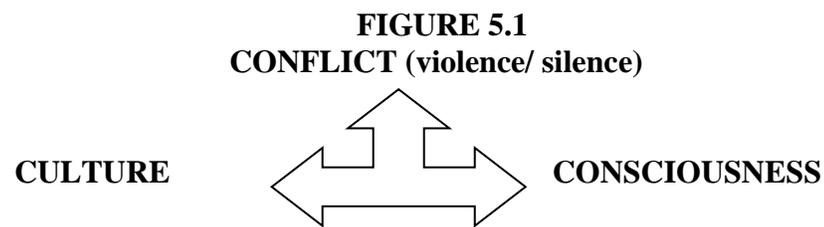
- silence of violence: the consequences of violence is intimidating silence –compliance; and,
- the transformations from violence to silence: the movement from the physical to the psychological.

How then do we get out of the silent coerced consciousness which is the real violence? Fanon grapples with revolutionary movements in terms of layers of violence on numerous fronts. Fanon argues that colonial violence is a reciprocal dialect that works at the level of history and the individual. For Fanon violence shapes consciousness. The connective tissues of violence allow the control fibres of the colonizer considerable elasticity or range of motion that compromises justice. It is not simply an awareness of the extent to which the articulations of the violence influence justice, but rather an appreciation of how justice is constituted by prevailing ideologies.

In brief, this section explored the manner in which the “silence” defaults to violent processes, that is, violence silences thereby rendering violence inaccessible except to the privileged. For Fanon, “the outcome of a double process”, one that although “primarily, economic”, also calls for “the internalization--or better the epidermalization--of this inferiority.” This study draws further attention to the crucial role that violence plays in transforming sentiments and ideas within matrices of governmentalities. For Fanon, “if the building of a bridge does not enrich the consciousness of those working on it, then don't build the bridge” (2004:141). Fanon (ibid) elaborates, the “living expression of the nation is the collective consciousness in motion of the entire people. It is the enlightened and coherent praxis of the men and women (ibid, 144). Lastly, a “national consciousness is the highest form of culture” (ibid, 179).

In summary, Fanon's renewed emphasis on humanism encourages the development of a new consciousness, a change in the way we think. Resistance presents a vastly different understanding of the self-actualizing and self-governing individual. A more emancipatory and transformative potential of struggle is required with more developed conscientization.

The connective tissues of violence allow the control fibres considerable elasticity or range of motion that compromises justice. It is not simply an awareness of the extent to which the articulations of the violence influence justice, but rather an appreciation of how justice is constituted by prevailing ideologies (cultures of coercion).



To conclude, the above sections address the need for clarity about the term diaspora. But clarity cannot be imposed artificially especially by normative epistemologies. Similarly, the cutting or critical aspects of diaspora studies need to be sharpened in reference to power, conflict and disadvantage. Just as diaspora is a very familiar concept within contemporary thought, diaspora studies could equally profit from the rich contributions of post-colonial thought.

iv) The Challenges in the “Binding of Being”

Given the quintessential problematic in the social sciences regarding the relationship of agency and structure, how does one avoid binaries and move towards an integration? One such approach is to incorporate the idea of mediations. Van Hear expends considerable efforts in addressing agency from a structural perspective. Missing herein is the nature of Diaspora Studies as characterized by experiences of emotion, pain and memory that could only be captured in self reports or ethnographies. I most emphatically agree with the statement by Braziel and Mannur

(2003:9) that Diaspora Studies needs to move beyond theorizing how diasporic communities are constructed, practiced, lived and experienced and must ask, how are these identities? Van Hear (ibid, 17) admonishes us “to deal simultaneously with these levels from individual to macro through integrative strategies. Language, law and labour mediate the relationships between agency (consciousness) and structure (ideology of global capitalism, neoliberalism, and modernity). Likewise, institutions mediate the relationship between the self (interactions, situation) and structure (culture, systems of governmentalities, etc.). Mediations create ideologically appropriate subjects as dislocation shapes engagement.

v) Language as Resistance

Values of the dominant culture pervade history, consciousness and change. Culture is reflective and derivative of well cemented and bitterly contested narratives of privilege and exploitation. Culture consists of ideas that are selectively communicated and legitimated as knowledge. As a set of shared meanings, expectations and understanding, culture is manifested in symbolic communication - language, customs, myths, signs as well as material artefacts. Oversimplified threats of danger as well as exaggerated claims of merit are manipulated in order to dismiss, counter or even create different beliefs. Cultural productions and reproductions are organized on hegemonic principles which rely on instruments of authority to maintain consent and control. Diasporic perspectives strive to “intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic ‘normativity’ to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples” (Bhabha, 1994:171). For Bhabha (ibid, 172), culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational. It is transnational because contemporary postcolonial discourses are rooted in

specific histories of cultural displacement and translational because such spatial histories of displacement are accompanied by the territorial ambitions of the ‘global’ media.

Language is a powerful instrument of social control as it transmits the collective views and builds social cohesion. This often-invoked social catechism supplies vocabularies for encoding and decoding identities and activities, taxonomies for depicting social reality privileging expressions that value the dominant culture. While lexicon does not limit individual thoughts and outlook, the lack of vocabulary does circumscribe and inhibit communication and dissemination. The structure of language restricts thought, imposes rules, inculcates desired norms and socializes conformity (Bourdieu, 1991).

Also, language as symbolic power is designed to reflect the domination of a group imposing its linguistic reference point on others. These interlocutors are habituated to a language that they propagate and enforce their language as a natural and neutral medium of communication that is integral to society. From popular and seemingly innocuous everyday banter to a more sober “talk or text”, certain versions of the truth are learned. All aspects of the dominant culture project a complex set of ‘shared’ knowledge, beliefs, and customs that in turn frame conventional thinking. Everyday talk and writing are replete with significant ceremonies, signs, symbols, cues and clues that pattern gestures, rituals, or performances that in turn stage degrees of cultural affiliations. Social membership or a binding way of life constitutes and is constituted by the interplay, therefore, between specific behavioural circumstances and powerful ideologies that structure society.

Language is both a cultural producer and product, influencing the world of meaning. Often language requires little literacy but much faith in cultivated images. The latter are stacked according to the requisite levels of compliance. In turn, the listener and talker become cultural

managers. They are consumed in identifying with the message while listening to them, watching themselves reproduce dominant values without any discrimination of the misinformation. At the personal level language is a major medium to communicate ideas, goals, desires and needs. It expresses one's views and is a tool to convince and convert to one's way of thinking. As Kane (2007: 357) explains, significations are transferred and internalized into the psyches and structures of society through the cultural component of language. Fanon states unequivocally that, "To speak means to be in a position to use certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization (2008:8). When the migrant speaks the language of the dominant order, she co-opts the ideologies of that world that are woven into speech. To co-opt this language is to "betray" (ibid, 13) one's own self and culture, and to internalize one's own inferiority. To use language of the host society is to enter a different world.

The regularization of language is culturally necessary if talk is to be meaningful within this corporate landscape. These normative dimensions assign privilege to stereotypic language enabling the impoverishment of vocabularies and the domination of the technical, the efficient and the objective. Language presupposes a context of rules which cannot be contradicted (Gellner, 1959:56). For Barthes (1973), language contributes to myth making; language politicizes myths by claiming reference to signifying signs; and, the clarity of language is misleading. Language is a performance that renders the more articulate as more legitimate and hence more knowledgeable. All knowledge and language are culturally coded. Thus, knowledge or even a consciousness is a social product. It is precisely here in the realm of knowledge that ideologies are contested, resisted or accepted. Knowledge is coded within a language that obfuscates as well as clarifies. Ideology refers to a complex of linguistic meaning making

processes which are observable and describable in instances of discourse. Clearly, ideology is constructed through discourse. It is in discourse that every determination of the subject depends, including thought, affect, enjoyment, meaning and identity. The subject is determined by language (Lacan: 1977: 298-300); the subject disappears in his or her discourse and becomes embodied in the spoken word. In order to reproduce meaning certain, "master signifiers" represent the subject for another signifier (ibid, 316). Thus, a signified is empty until given form by the use of a signifier. This signifier is the 'other', the element that 'lacks', the part that was not fully expressed.

Language facilitates fetishization, objectification and colonizing. Words represent exhibitions as impartial and factual, truth is integrated with wider language games; legitimacy based on misrepresentations. It is in the socio-linguistic moment through which we encounter the formations of privilege and our participation in that process becomes evident (Gramsci, 1971). For Fanon, being colonized by a language has larger implications for one's consciousness. Fanon (2008:8) notes in the first sentence of Chapter One in *Black Skin and White Masks*, "I ascribe a basic importance to the phenomenon of language. That is why I find it necessary to begin with this subject, who should provide us with one of the elements in the colored man's comprehension of the dimension of the other".

Clearly, language does culture's dirty work. Fanon (2004: 130-131) highlights the culture's disingenuous use of language.

Of course if we choose to use a language comprehensible only to law and economics graduates it will be easy to prove that the masses need to have their life run for them. But if we speak in plain language, if we are not obsessed with a perverse determination to confuse the issues and exclude the people, then it will be clear that the masses

comprehend all the finer points and every artifice. Resorting to technical language means you are determined to **treat the masses as uninitiated**. Such language is a poor front for the lecturer's intent to **deceive the people and leave them on the sidelines**. Language's endeavor to confuse is a mask behind which looms an even greater undertaking to dispossess. **The intention is to strip the people of their possessions as well as their sovereignty**. You can explain anything to the people provided you really want them to understand. And if you think they can be dispensed with, that on the contrary they would be more of a nuisance to the smooth running (emphasis added).

Lamentably, language supplies a simplistic taxonomy of seductive stereotypes that parade the primacy of binary codes. Identities, relations and activities are presented as either deviant or conformist. This bifurcation, however, misrepresents multi-layered identities and phenomena. For example, social order involves more than a false 'either/or' dichotomy of right or wrong, black or white, guilty or innocent, moral or immoral, good or bad, sinner or saint, ugly or beautiful, sane or mad, sacred or secular, cerebral or visceral, sin or saint, secular or sacred, black or white, etc. Regrettably, traditional approaches support the fallacies of either determinism or inessentialism, that is, an emphasis on the duality of objects and subjects. Lamentably, traditional texts are stylized in well-respected formulae that continue to stress the primacy of these binary codes; an encyclopaedic recipe in which identities, relations and activities are reduced to bifurcated notions that artificially polarize and misrepresent multi-layered identities and the complex phenomena of resistance. This binary method of analysis, this false 'either/or' dichotomy obfuscates and erroneously reduces subjects (actors) to objects (structures) or alternatively, objects to subjects. Instead of limiting the phenomenon of identity in terms of an either/or framework, a priority of agency or structure, it is conceptually more

compelling to adopt a deconstructive methodology that locates fragments and totalities; the interconnectedness of events; and, the intersections of history, culture and political economy. ? Many philosophers like Gayatri Spivak (1985) ask, can language capture the conscious experience, even in its subjective aspect?

Michel Foucault (1977) and Franz Fanon (2008), the discourse of identity is always juxtaposed against the colonized mind in order to reveal the implications of hegemony. The stereotype is an ideological operation that constructs a group or individuals as “the other”). Blatantly perpetuated stereotypes are convenient and simplistic mechanisms for understanding often presented in the guise of efficiencies (racial profiling). Language stereotypes are created that celebrate the "remarkable” acumen and achievements of well disguised “moral entrepreneurs bent on distorting public understanding. Language standardization evident in reinforced racism, misogyny, classism, ableism, and homophobia is deliberately perpetuated.

Language is fundamental to diasporic thought. Clearly, an inquiry into the representation and recognition of the language requires careful interpretation and critique in terms of perils and prospects. The language of the dominant culture (colonizer) is a barrier to engaged and critical communication. In addition, language is also institutionally grounded, representing organizational interests. From the law, media, religion, family, work, education, to name only a few, language has become institutionalized within absolutist and self-serving interpretive frameworks. Accordingly, language is constituted ideologically (culture), institutionally (the organizational habitus) and subjectively (agentially).

Language loyalty and cultural self-representation must be treated as problematic. Against the backdrop sketched above, it is the central objective of this study to highlight the urgent need

to advance the idea that languages cannot solely be viewed as flags of allegiance located in the in-betweenness of the larger transitional and translational phenomena.

vi) Heidegger and Language

Heidegger's scholarship on language reflects a rich journey into thought. Language is the way for the past to become the present. Indeed, language enlivens its poetic character. The aim of this study is to highlight the idea of "striving towards", by incorporating the insights of Dr Goulding's encouragement to question and to engage in a process of becoming, rather than a state of arrival. Specifically, any journey towards language requires the intrepid analyst to find, as Heidegger notes, language as language. Heidegger's commitment to language is fundamental to his way of thinking. In other words, his lifelong attempt to grapple with the question of "to be," as the most primordial and profound concern of philosophy, in fact of human being, is conditioned by the power of saying, by the disclosive potential of the word of language (Kovacs, 2011:95). Thematically, this study argues that language as culturally known is lost, language through thinking is saved and language as poetry is liberating. This study also concludes with a review of the impact of Heidegger's ideas scholarship on language, thinking and being especially on Iranian scholarship.

For Goulding, language is situated in a constant movement that leads to a fundamentally new understanding of the paths and journeys that must be pursued (Goulding, presentation, May 21, 2013). As with any challenging subject matter, there are also crucial junctures and crossroads that are reached individually and collectively in the seminar which decisively direct attention to what is already in play in Heidegger's thinking per se, that is, the limitations of language itself and the abruptness of our "thrownness" into it (Goulding, presentation, May 28, 2013). And yet,

at the inception of this journey, the awareness of confronting a challenge recedes in favor of its undertaking, as is normally the case in traveling the first steps.

Professor Goulding traces effectively Heidegger's move back and forth between *Lichtung* (clearing) and *Dichtung* (poetry), a "counter-resonance" (*gegenschwung*) between Greek and Chinese philosophies (Goulding, presentation. June 04, 2013). The above admonitions suggest that we do not begin to read Heidegger until the surface intelligibility of the language is shaken and we follow not the content, a series of propositions or theses but the very movement of thought in its becoming-other.

vii) Language Lost: Cultural contamination

Language is ostensibly a vehicle for communication; conveying thoughts/feelings about the world. Language and other gestures, for example, are "indexical" - they contain taken-for-granted elements. But, meanings of situations are embedded within larger contexts. Language, as a cultural code, relates to a world of meanings. All knowledge and language are thus culturally coded. Regrettably, knowledge or even a consciousness is a particularly social product. It is precisely here in the realm of knowledge that ideologies are contested, resisted or accepted. Knowledge is coded within a language that obfuscates as well as clarifies. To repeat, the meanings and symbols of the dominant ideology prevent critical thinking by penetrating social processes, language and individual consciousness. What is revealed instead is the appropriateness of mind control. But, the text, as a localized script, is always written within this larger narrative that mediates cultural awareness and conditions language.

Language commoditizes control by structuring dependency relations. The process and structure of language as well as lexicons and vocabularies are anchored in particular histories that circumscribe acceptable expressions and marginalize differences. In other words, both the

spoken and written language reflects limitations. Only when the actor surrenders to a codified and lethargic language is he or she considered to be both “in” and “of” society. Even the everyday chatter of familiar banter reflects cultural scripts. Language objectifies, stultifies and disciplines expressions of self- awareness.

Also, the regularization or “normalization” of language is culturally necessary if talk is to be meaningful within this corporate landscape. These normative dimensions assign privilege to stereotypic language enabling the impoverishment of vocabularies and the domination of the technical, the efficient and the objective. Language presupposes a context of rules which cannot be contradicted.

Language in use acquires legitimacy and becomes the natural language. Communication is convoluted; meanings are degraded; debates remain limited; and, rituals that exalt privilege are respected. Given that language as an integral part of culture it soon becomes meaningless technical jargon, convoluted communication and misleading opinion that passes for knowledge. Mindless conformity is consequences of this estrangement to such an extent that one cannot communicate in a language that is not mediated. Even the everyday chatter of familiar banter fails to move beyond the cultural script. Language has become a performance articulated instrumentally. We are limited by our language and by our own ways of thinking. The language we use—the words we select—and our ways of thinking are culturally defined. Within our culture, there are certain things that never get discussed and certain things that we know very little about. What this tells us is that language is something so formative and basic to our experience that we can never get a full view of it as an object of experience. For Heidegger,

It must remain an open question whether the nature of Western languages is in itself marked with the exclusive brand of metaphysics, and thus marked permanently by onto-

theo-logic, or whether these languages offer other possibilities of utterance -- and that means at the same time of telling silence (1960:73).

Traditional language use fails to understand the role of language as both an ontological seeing and an ontic practicality and also fails to understand the necessity of freedom in being. Our familiarity with speaking, for the most part, keeps us from reflecting much on language. As concept, language is the general form in which things give themselves to be thought, and insofar as we are regularly thinking, this general form seems both familiar and obvious. Throughout *On the Way to Language*, Heidegger (1971: 112) emphasizes the need for, as the title suggests, “a way to language”. Heidegger argues that:

The way to language is impossible, if indeed we are already at that point to which the way is to take us. But are we at that point? Are we so fully within language such that we experience its nature, that we think speech as speech by grasping its idiom in listening to it?...Thus we are continually lagging behind what we first ought to have overtaken and taken up in order to speak about it... speak of language we remain entangled in a speaking that is persistently inadequate (ibid, 75).

Heidegger tells us at the beginning of *The Way to Language* that despite the fact that we are "within language and with language before all else," language remains strange. Language remains strange in that our reliance on a discourse that can continually outrun the intended uses to which we put it marks us as other to ourselves.

In Heidegger's formulation, the human being's relationship to language has been dominated by logic in the broad sense of a theoretical and normative account of linguistic and discursive calculus that aims at abstracting, from the contingencies and ambiguities of the historically situated and developing “ordinary language,” a universal and unambiguous system

that could then be used to further the lucid, coherent, and efficient transmission of information (ibid, 58 – 59). Language is understood as an instrument of communication that can be perfected through grammatical and syntactic calculation. This instrumental view of language, as well as the entire metaphysical view of language as a system of material signs, spoken words or written symbols equipped with a declarative meaning, begins to falter. Language is not a tool at man's disposal but rather the event. Language can never be just a tool that we control we owe our own Being to language. Language, thus, plays a central role in the fundamental revelation of the world. And, language is part of what enables us to be someone and notice things in the first place.

viii) Language Saved

Heidegger's fullest treatment of language is the book, *On the Way to Language*. The German edition appeared in 1959, and consists of six essays, written between 1950 and 1958. In this book, language, like thinking, is seen as making an essential connection between Dasein and Being. We are told, "The capacity for speech is not just one power of the human being alongside others; it is what distinguishes the human being as human (1954:241). Heidegger calls his investigation of language, "*On The Way to Language*" (*Unterwegs zur Sprache*). He does not consider his thought to be a static doctrine or theory, but rather the definition or tracing of a path, much like the way or path that language – as the handwritten line or the spoken sound – makes as it traces out meaning. What about such matters as natural language, a language that would be the language of a human nature at hand in itself and without its own destiny? Every language is historical (1971:133). The word 'way' probably is an ancient primary word that speaks to the reflective mind of a person. The key word in Laotse's poetic thinking is Tao, which as emphasized by Goulding (May 21, 2013, presentation) properly speaking means way. But

because we are prone to think of 'way' superficially, as a stretch connecting two places, our word 'way' has all too rashly been considered unfit to name what Dao says. Dao could be the way that gives all ways, the very source to think.

For Heidegger, access to the world is structured by language. As noted in the previous section, for the most part, language "functions" instrumentally in our lives as inconspicuous equipment, conveniently ready-to-hand for the various practical uses. But its practical utility in daily life in no way guarantees that we know language. But everyday mode of being-in-the-world and everyday mode of using language keep the question of the meaning of Being concealed or forgotten. In fact, for Heidegger, it is precisely this familiarity that makes it also strange and unknown to us. A central theme of Heidegger's thought - the problem of Being - underlies, grows and culminates like a dialectical process through phenomenology, thinking and language.

In *On the Way to Language*, Heidegger expresses the need for a transformation in the relationship to language that we initially find ourselves in entangled in language that we have not yet explored. Heidegger tracks how it is possible for us to experience something as intimate as language as inauthentic. This "thrownness" describes how we inherit concepts and find ourselves entangled in words prior to our reflection upon them. But, does language entanglement necessary mean that one is lost in everyday discourse?

Heidegger says that language is not in the linear rows of letters printed on the page, nor in a set of generic forms but in the event of transposition by which words are said together. Thus, language is other than the expression of ready-made formulaic or template ideas and admittedly more than a trite communication of ideas. Heidegger reminds us that language may be reduced to a mere system of signs, uniformly available to and binding on everybody and equally that

language at one great moment says one unique thing, for one time only, which remains inexhaustible, because it is always originary, and thus beyond the reach of any kind of leveling (Heidegger, 1993). How then is this act of thinking and the meaning of the thought related to language?

ix) Language and Thinking

True thinking is more than an intellectual operation. Thinking for Heidegger is close to worship as denoted in the expression, the “piety of thinking”. In language and thinking Heidegger sees the mysterious connection between Dasein and Being. For Heidegger, true thinking always remains a revealing. Thinking “frees” language from “grammar” and places as Heidegger (1971: 133) explains:

There is no such thing as natural language, a language that would be the language of a human nature occurring of itself without a destiny. All language is historical, even where man does not know history in the modern European sense.

In addition, Heidegger (1969:1) notes:

When thinking attempts to pursue something that has claimed its attention, it may happen that on the way it undergoes a change. Thus, it is advisable in what follows to pay attention to the path of thought rather than to its content.

In the “Dialogue on Language between a Japanese and an Inquirer”, Heidegger considers language in terms of ‘thinking’, which he describes as a process, or what he calls ‘a way station along a way’. This process towards language is something which is always ‘under way’, ‘And ways of thinking hold within them that mysterious quality that we can walk them forward and backward, and that indeed only the way back will lead us forward’ (1971:12). The language of

thinking is ontologically different from both everyday speech and the language of metaphysics. Interestingly, In *On The Way to Language*, Heidegger reminds readers of the debt all speaking owes to hearing. He describes:

Speech, taken on its own, is hearing. It is listening to the language we speak. Hence speaking is not simultaneously a hearing, but is an advance. Such listening to language precedes all other instances of hearing, albeit in an altogether inconspicuous way. We not only speak language, we speak from out of it. We are capable of doing so only because in each case we have already listened to language (Krell, 1993:411).

x) Language and Being

Language and its importance to one's path of thinking will open up an entirely new view of one's relationship to language; that is, "Language is the house of Being. In its home, man dwells" (Heidegger, 1971:166). Language is given an essential place in the structure of Being. "The being of everything dwells in the word" (ibid). Language as the "house of Being," is a kind of treasure house in which are hidden all the riches. What does language mean to Heidegger and how does Being come to language? But, does the perceiving of language inauthenticity require us to occupy a reflective space uncontaminated by social, cultural, and historical influences? To what extent does language remains unreflective? In this regard phenomenology is the way back to the thinking and language of Being to show the relatedness of the question about the meaning of Being, thinking and language.

In order to think back to the essence of language and to reiterate what is its own, we need a transformation of language. The transformation does not result in band-aid solutions or a quick-fix fabrication. Nor is transformation merely substitution of language.

The transformation must relate to Being's relation to language. "Any transformation of this relationship is based on how we are embraced in appropriation by the essence of language, which is the original pronouncement of appropriation. For appropriation, the owning, holding and the keeping to itself, is the relation of all relations" (Krell 1993:424-5). A breakdown alone does not transform the instrument. The breakdown of language allows us to encounter ourselves. Transformation occurs in the context of what is brought to language. This means, then, that the transformation in language is what allows us to displace it in a process of understanding through language itself. The following section pursues the consequences of transformation – liberation.

xi) Language as Liberating

How does we acquire a language that will enable us to reflect upon, shape and transform experiences? How does being gives itself to Dasein? The "presencing of presence" comes into being in language. Our most authentic relation to language is poetic. Instead of using language as a tool for representation, we should respect it as a rich source of poetic revelation.

As noted earlier, thinking itself can only be transformed by thinking. According to Heidegger, only the poetic power of language is able to open up an historical world. It does this by awakening a basic mood in the people and leaving "the unsayable unsaid" in saying. In "dialogue" with poetic language, Heidegger's philosophy aims to achieve a genuine thinking of Being explaining the metaphysics of language through poetry. Heidegger takes his essential concept of language as such from poetic language. Poetry gives 'voice' to Being. Poetry recalls a sense of Being that metaphysics has forgotten if not abandoned. Note however that poetizing means more than simply writing "poetry" or the "poetic arts" -- it means bringing the revelation of Being into appropriate language.

Likewise, Heidegger's understanding of art refuses to focus exclusively on the creative figure of the artist. In Heidegger's own words, the view that "the work arises out and by means of the activity of the artist" means that the emphasis on work rather than on the artist is significant. For, as he asks, "by what and whence is the artist what he is?" Answer: "By the work..." And, Heidegger adds, both artist and work are what they are only in relation to something else, to 'art' itself, which is "prior to both." (1971b:17). He suggests that we cannot have an adequate understanding of the work unless or until we have taken its "thingness" into account. But this conception of the thing, Heidegger tells us, 'does not build upon the thingly element of the thing, its independent and self-contained character' (1971b, 25).

Heidegger thinks of poetry not as a source of some special aesthetic pleasure, but as a force that can reveal our world and transform our existence. Poetry is certainly much less common than ordinary prose, but that does not mean that it is less fundamental. Poetic language is fundamental because it is "the elementary emergence into words, the becoming-uncovered, of existence as Being- in-the-world." Everyday "idle talk" is a pale and dull reflection of "creative meanings" such as those achieved in poetry. This view of poetry fits perfectly with Heidegger's understanding of authenticity and history. Insisting on the primacy of poetry, he adds, "Everyday language is a forgotten and therefore used-up poem, from which there hardly resounds a call any longer" (1971b: 208). Poetry is never thoughtless even though the full meaning of the poetic word overreaches the poet himself. Poetry (re)captures the illuminating power that secretly resides in our ordinary words, letting us see the world as if for the first time. Heidegger speaks about the "closeness" of poetry and thinking". It is, however, the simplicity, spontaneity and depth of un-concealment that liberates language especially in reference to its relationship to thinking. To think poetically is to discover new structures of language that reshape how the

world is constituted. As Dasein is the being that asks the question of Being, the poetry asks questions of language.

But, translation requires interpretation. The speaking of poetry is different from human speaking because of interpretation. Heidegger writes, "Thus we always see the nature of language only to the extent to which language itself has us in view, has appropriated itself to us (1971:134). The poem, thus, does the work of the phenomenologist, leading us "back to things themselves." For Heidegger, poems are not things like other things. They are, rather, the kind of things that first organize the dynamics of concealment and unconcealment, the disclosure of which characterizes our way of belonging to or dwelling in our environment. This work of art is a sacred space. Poets constantly expose themselves to language, a language that is creative, authentic and dynamic (Heidegger, 1971b).

xii) Metaphor: clearing and homelessness

Metaphor especially in poetry is at the centre of Heidegger's relation to Eastern and Western thought (Goulding, 2008:186). This is Heidegger's "clearing" (*die Lichtung*) as the opening from which illumination derives. Heidegger adds: "The emptiness, the void... The empty space, this nothing of the jug, is what the jug is as the holding vessel" (1971b: 169). What is more fundamental is the 'emptiness' or the 'nothing', because it is the 'emptiness' or the 'nothing' by virtue of which the jug obtains its form from which arises the usefulness of the jug. Likewise, note the significance of the clearing in this articulation (Heidegger, 1971b: 65):

The forest clearing (opening) is experienced in contrast to dense forest, called 'density' in older language. The substantive 'opening' goes back to the verb 'to open'. The adjective Licht 'open' is the same word as 'light'. To open something means: To make something light, free and open, e.g., to make the forest free of trees at one place. The openness thus

originating is the clearing. What is light in the sense of being free and open has nothing in common with the adjective 'light', meaning 'bright'—neither linguistically nor factually. This is to be obscured for the difference between openness and light. Still, it is possible that a factual relation between the two exists. Light can stream into the clearing, into its openness, and let brightness play with darkness in it. But light never first creates openness. Rather, light presupposes openness.

Related to the concept of language, as a search for an articulation of Being, are also the concepts of homelessness and home. For Heidegger, these two concepts exist in a state of tension. Home is only understood in terms of exile from it. By accepting the absence of home, we embrace homelessness and learn to experience the authentic home, liberated from the pre-subjective and pre-metaphysical.

D. LANGUAGE and IDENTITY: MIMICRY and HYBRIDITY as RESISTANCE

Let us consider Bhabha's poignant question:

Are the interests of 'Western' theory necessarily collusive with the hegemonic role of the West as a power bloc? Is the language of theory merely another power ploy of the culturally privileged Western elite to produce a discourse of the Other that reinforces its own power-knowledge equation?' (1994: 20-21).

Language as an integral part of culture reflects, embodies and perpetuates the hegemonic relations of the society in which it is embedded. Language brings out structures in their social space. The imposition of language is a powerful instrument of social control. A language transmits the collective views and builds group solidarity and cohesion. Its lexicon supplies the taxonomy to depict social reality giving multiple expressions to values deemed important in the

culture and a few vocabularies to depict values considered irrelevant. The culture –language relationship is well captured in the following:

Language constructs the colonial subject and the exercise of colonial power through language demands a certain kind of articulation.

For Bhabha,

English, like the Law, has proven a loyal servant of imperial formations, it has also, in extending its ambit and authority across cultural, national, and other differences, been transformed in the process and become a crucial site and symptom of resistance and struggle. Only then will we face the racism that is not exceptional but foundational to Western rationality and notions of progress (Bhabha, 1994:41–43).

In the section, “The foreignness of language” Bhabha stresses:

At this point I must give way to the vox populi: to a relatively unspoken tradition of the people of the pagus—colonials, postcolonials, migrants, minorities—wandering peoples who will not be contained but are themselves the marks of a shifting boundary that alienates the frontiers of the modern nation (ibid, 164).

Language is symbolic power (Bourdieu,1991). The designation of language reflects domination of a group imposing their linguistic reference point on others eg the family the interlocutors are habituated to its use and the language becomes the natural medium of communication and an integral fabric of society. As Professor Goldie notes, language and dialogue become entangled in the question of appropriation of voice by non-aboriginal writers.

Identity is simultaneously a product and a process linked to situationally relevant contextual codes. Stereotypic classifications and mental images corroborate beliefs in the superiority of a language and its culture. Meaning of identity has less to do with one’s status as

its owner than with the relations that are formed through it. Colonial identity is "played out – like all fantasies of originality and origination – in the face and space of the disruption and threat from the heterogeneity of other positions" (Bhabha, 1994: 29). She is "constructed within an apparatus of power which contains . . . an 'other' knowledge – a knowledge that . . . circulates through colonial discourse . . . that fixed form of difference" (ibid, 30) that is the stereotype". Identity is the context that shapes recognition. Likewise, identity requires recognition, but identity is located socially and thereby institutionalized and ideologized. Identity however is the actualization of the social. Following Gramsci, Bannerji (2000) examines how identity is easily hegemonized by institutions that are derivative of dominant misogynist, racist, and classist values. For Bhabha, "the individuation of the agent occurs in a moment of displacement" (1994: 185) because 'contemporary postcolonial discourses are rooted in specific histories of cultural displacement' (ibid, 172). Identity becomes a "mutilated mutuality, and emancipation requires that you look into that mangled mirror" (nd, 15).

For Razack (2008, 10) the racialization of Muslims in the West, for example, is underpinned by the idea that modern enlightened, secular peoples must protect themselves from pre-modern, religious peoples whose loyalty to tribe and community reigns over their commitment to the rule of law. The marking of belonging to the realm of culture and religion, as opposed to the realm of law and reason, has devastating consequences. There is a disturbing spatializing of morality that occurs in the story of pre-modern peoples versus modern ones. We have reason, because they have not advanced as we have, it is our moral obligation against their irrational excesses. In doing all these things, the West has often denied the benefits of modernity to those it considers to be outside of it. Evicted from the universal, and thus from civilization and progress, the non-West occupies a zone outside the law. Violence may be directed at impunity.

The demand for assimilation is typically structured as an ambivalent interpellation that compels the subject to appropriate dominant cultural ideals while retaining a recognizable difference. How then do the colonized resist the impact of language on identity?

i) Mimicry

Bhabha (1994) argues that mimicry, or pursuits of the Other in colonial structures to act in manners consistent with what is accepted through “the process of translation” (ibid,33), are among the most culturally destructive impacts of colonialism. The concept of “mimicry”, a key issue in his critical and philosophical thought. Bhabha suggests that the objective of imperialism is to turn the colonized into a replica of the colonizer, maintaining the gap that racial differences always imply. *Mimicry* is a process that emerges in the context of this ambivalence

For Bhabha,

The effect of mimicry on the authority of colonial discourse is profound and disturbing. For in ‘normalizing’ the colonial state or subject, the dream of post-Enlightenment civility alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms.... The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority (ibid, 86, 88).

Further,

Mimicry does not merely destroy narcissistic authority through the repetitious slippage of difference and desire. ...[but] raises the question of the authorization of colonial representations” (ibid, 90).

Mimicry concretizes the ambivalence of both Colonizer and Colonized such that one cannot say who is Subject and who is Object, who is Self and who is Other. The simple binary is breaking down, creating something that is neither Colonizer nor Colonized, because “the colonial presence

is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference (ibid, 107).

ii) **Hybridity**

Bhabha signals a possibility for postcolonial intervention: a moment which he calls 'hybridity', one of the most vital concepts in cultural criticism. The historicist telos implicit in the Enlightenment is the most powerful logic of colonial domination, and if such logic is to be subverted, it would be by the 'hybrid' subject. *Hybridity* allows a stronger sense of agency into Bhabha's formulation of the ambivalence of colonial discourse. Hybridity can thus be used by the colonized to become a "strategic reversal of the process of domination. Hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation". He adds,

My illustration attempts to display the importance of the 'hybrid' moment of political change. Here the transformational value of change lies in the re-articulation or translation, of elements that are neither the One (unitary working class) nor the Other (the politics of gender) but something else besides which contests the terms and territories of both. This does not necessarily involve the formation of a new synthesis, but a negotiation between them in medias res, in the profound experience or knowledge of the displaced, diversionary, differentiated boundaries in which the limits and limitations of social power are encountered in an agonistic relation (1994, 28).

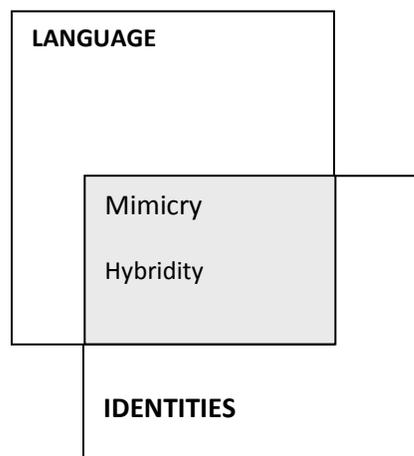
The concept of hybridity militates against restrictive notions of cultural identity that result in political separatism, as seen in nationalistic movements or in identity politics. Hybridity fosters the larger goal of socialist community while acknowledging cultural differences. Again, in a liminal "Third Space" that is neither Colonizer nor Colonized. Says Bhabha, "The production of

meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space” (ibid,36).

Identity is constituted in the context of cultural control. An awareness of one's own interpretive framework as part of a hegemonic force will lead to higher forms of self-consciousness. A renewed emphasis on humanism encourages the development of a new consciousness. It is imperative for us to negotiating the narrative thereby linking talk and text as we read *Between the Lines* and go well *Beyond the Text* and *Behind the Narrative*. This presentation highlights the importance of provisional and relational understanding when interpreting identity as mediated by a pernicious language. It suggests a less complacent view regarding the debunking of predictability and permanence. As Frederick Nietzsche reminds us "Convictions are more dangerous foes of truth than lies."

Bhabha's last sentence in *Location of Culture* is replete with hope in humanity: "What is crucial to such a vision of the future is the belief that we must not merely change the narratives of our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live, to be, in other times and different spaces, both human and historical" (ibid, 256). Figure 5.2 captures the centrality of mimicry and hybridity.

Figure 5.2



iii) Negotiating Identity: The Third Space

How do the members of the Arab and Iranian diaspora authors break through the violence latent in the mechanisms of instrumental reason and structurally inherent in the sublimation and repression of basic ethnocentric instincts of receiving societies notwithstanding the liberal banter, clichés and slogans about multiculturalism and civic society? In reference to diasporic subjects as exhibiting cultural, linguistic, ethnic and national heterogeneity and hybridity, what is the differential impact of how the homeland conceptualized in terms of juxtaposed contradictions and consensus of images and symbols of nostalgia and/ or violence of dislocation?

To remedy this concern many fruitful theories have developed to explore the fluidity and hybridity of identities (Gupta, 2007; Korostelina, 2007; Perez, 2007). Post-colonial literature demonstrates this theoretical fluidity by emphasizing lived experiences over abstract typologies, exclusionary processes which render specific people unintelligible (Loomba, 1998) and the multiplicity of subjectivities (Young, 2001). The experience of racial “Othering” is constructed, “not just as a cultural variation on the theme ‘human,’ but as different and inferior” (Bannerji, 1991, as cited in Jamal, 1994: 37), and subject to racist political and historical discourses. Indeed, what makes the case of Iranian Canadians unique is the essentialist notion that integrates Muslims, Arabs, fundamentalists, and terrorists in sweeping misrepresentation and prejudice, which effectively paints them into the position of a “dangerous” and inassimilable minority.

Conceptually the Heideggerian concept of “*in-between*” characterizes the strengths and liabilities of their respective journeys in Canada; they are neither “here” nor “there”; they are “in” but not “of” Canada. Immigrant women especially Iranian Muslim women who are born and raised in Iran under some special cultural and traditional bonds which makes them be isolated

from liberal movements find it very hard to cope with so much change. They feel confused and lost between their own installed values from past and the new ways of thinking.

iv) Strengths and Liabilities of the concept of hybridity: Bhabha's prospects for hybridity

For Hall, the proliferation of the concept of Diaspora itself adds more meanings to its understanding, which leads to a new quality of Diasporas denominated as hybridity. That is, Diaspora is defined: "... not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity: by a conception of identity, which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity..." (ibid, 235). A hybrid society is one, according to Hall, which is characterised by intimacy and not isolation, fusion and not so called purity. Hybridity breaks through the essentialist and homogenous definition of the Diaspora group. As Bhabha (1994: 37) clarifies,

The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People (emphasis added).

Later, for Bhabha (1994:146),

the people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative; they represent the cutting edge between the totalizing powers of the 'social' as homogeneous, consensual community, and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population" (emphasis added).

In *Cultures in Between*, Bhabha (1993:167) adds culture is alive, as seen in the hybrid, which he calls “the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures – at once the impossibility of culture’s containedness and the boundary between. It is indeed something like culture’s ‘in-between,’ bafflingly both alike and different. Moreover, hybrid agencies find their voice in a dialectic that does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty. Rather, they deploy the partial culture from which they emerge to construct visions of community, and versions of historic memory, that give meaningful narrative form to the minority positions they occupy: the outside of the inside; the part in the whole (ibid). The hybrid strategy or discourse opens up a space of negotiation which is neither assimilation nor collaboration. This interstitial” agency refuses the binary representation of social antagonism. This process of hybridity requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot “in itself” be conscious. Hybridity emphasize the incommensurable elements as the basis of cultural identities (1994b). Interestingly, the postcolonial intellectual attempts to elaborate a historical and literary project from this hybrid location of cultural value (1994:172). For Said (1993, x, vii), “these circumstances certainly made it possible for me to feel as if I belonged to more than one history and more than one group”.

Culture is translational because such spatial histories of displacement make the question of how culture signifies, or what is signified by culture, a rather complex issue” (Bhabha, 1994:172). Thus, culture is uncertain and complex and the realm beyond a particular culture provides a third space for the new meaning and opens up narrative strategy for the emergence of the new meaning and translation.

In brief, this section explored the influences of the culture – language relationship. Likewise, the following section examines the contexts and consequences of the language – identity engagements in terms of colonizing and decolonizing projects.

v) Identity, Hybridity and Language

Language objectifies, stultifies and disciplines expressions of self-awareness. Even the everyday chatter of familiar banter reflects cultural scripts. But, language also is incomplete and never total and is in the previous section of how language shapes culture (mimicry, hybridity), language (accents, dialects, slang, etc) also allows for resistance. Instead multiple selves are routinely constructed and readily experienced simultaneously. The self becomes agonal, fragmented, confusing and contradictory, resulting in “multiphrenia”, a condition in which no self is privileged over another and the self becomes no self at all but a representation of multiple expressions of self (Gergen 1991, 1994). The “saturated self” (ibid, 1991, 1994) is what Giddens (1991:198) refers to as the creation and the continual reordering of a self-identity against the backdrop of shifting experiences of day-to-day life and the fragmenting tendencies.

How do the colonized (individually and collectively) organize their respective thoughts, feelings and motives? How do they engage in reflexive and dynamic interactions that are consistent with the cultures of their physical and psychological experiences? Interpretations of the self especially, the self as social, mental and philosophical provide a more complete appreciation of how youths ground their delinquency and resistance.

A priori conditioning incites intolerance imputed singularity about the relationship of the subaltern. Accordingly, this study relocates that which has occupied the margins to the centre, decentres and de-essentializes the subject by highlighting how the subject is constructed in contradictions. Accordingly, identity has an extensive capacity to adapt to perturbations, conflict

and resistance. Avoiding the reductivist tendencies inherent in the language of the dominant culture, this study maintains that identities interconnected, and should be analyzed as social constructions within the narrational contexts of reproducing oppression. Since the colonized, as a subject, is fractured and complexly articulated within a plurality of discourses that are never stable, static or fixed, then we must view objectified and foundational categories such as class and race, not as existing “out there” as objective things, but as radically constructed through historical and cultural practices at the everyday level. As Spivak (1985) notes when discussing representation, the person who speaks and acts is always a multiplicity; an emerging new individual identity or subject position, one that abandons what in retrospect is the narrow scope of the modern individual with its claims to rationality and autonomy. Spivak believes that words take on their meanings through usage and discursive power; that language is arbitrary, and therefore disagrees strongly with the term essentialism.

Against a backdrop of doubt and danger one may ask, for example, how do individuals or collectivities conceive of the reasons and motives for our actions? How are identities created? How is morality constituted and manipulated in terms of dichotomous images such as the familiar / foreign; the sacred / secular; the personal / public; knowledge / opinion; and, the present / past? How does one interpret identity vis-a-vis an imposed monolithic language ingrained in one’s consciousness as well as the collective conscience? Since identity is a contested terrain and a discursal practice, Fanon and Bhabha recommends that we need to move beyond the realm of social psychology (the situated self) to include extra-local structures (historical trends).

Just as culture is constructed through language so too is identity. For the dominant culture, identity is determined by language. But, identity also determines language. Language

always needs an agency a will to knowledge. Just as language easily shapes consciousness, consciousness may too strive to shape language. Bhabha (1994) contends that only through the postcolonial perspective, which encourages testimony from those outside of the dominant hegemony of the colonial, can this confrontation be successful. This however is distinct from an exercise of freedom of expression. This is an exercise of freedom from fear, parrhesia. Because discursive controls of colonialism retain dominance through “dependence on the concept of ‘fixity’ in the ideological construction of otherness” (Bhabha, 1994:66), exercises of expression risk becoming exercises of mimicry. For Bhabha (ibid,45),

the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a self-fulfilling prophecy, it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image.... Identification...is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes.

How then does the diaspora deal with the impact of language on identity? How do they re-work their identity to influence language? Bhabha (1994:33) argues that *mimicry*, or pursuits of the Other in colonial structures to act in manners consistent with what is accepted through “the process of translation” are among the most culturally destructive impacts of colonialism. Consequently, our starting question of what is deniable, or outside of the guarantees of rights, now becomes extremely important. The menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority (ibid, 86, 88). Bhabha (ibid, 86) states that “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite”. That is to say, no matter how hard they try to imitate whites, they at most can only come to the level of “almost the same.” Never

can they be quite the same. Regarding identity, he draws on concepts of mimicry and the split subject. This mimicry in turn both revises colonial discourse and creates a new, hybrid identity for the colonial subject. Bhabha's subversive formulations also include sly civility and hybridity. To be true to self, "one must learn to be a little untrue, out-of-joint with the signification of cultural generalizability" (Bhabha, 1994:137). The Colonized mimics the Colonizer, forcing the Colonizer to see itself as Object.

Mimicry, perceived at first as "the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge" (ibid, 85) seems appealing to the Colonizer. But, for Bhabha, the "menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (ibid, 86, 88). Or in Bhabha's (1994:85) phrase, it made the 'tongue' of that language 'forked, [but] not false'. The mimic man acts out a performance of repeating, duplicating, or mocking. He would not be an identity since that would make him visible and thus named and categorised by colonial discourse. Mimicry repeats rather than re-presents. Mimicry destabilizes the white subject; it is reassuring to the coloniser in some respects, it is also threatening and disorienting, because it implies a loss of control for the coloniser and introduces counter-domination produced by parodying the very operation of domination. Hybridity, third space, ambivalence and mimicry are all 'signs of spectacular resistance' that work smoothly to counter the imposition of a foreign language. These concepts indicate that the colonized is the acting subject and the subjected actor, constituting and constituted within differences and the defiance of deference. They are tools necessary to deconstruct the master texts during the process of reflexive selfhood. That is, this reflexivity is the ongoing activity of interpreting "mutilated mutuality, and emancipation" that requires "you look into that mangled mirror" (Bhabha, nd:15) from "the margins of the meaningful" (Bhabha, 1992: 146). Sartre (1948) too maintained that we

retain an “I” in addition to a “me”, a degree of subjective freedom to reflect upon our conditioned selves and in this way purchase some degree of liberating distance from them.

Agency exists in a space not limited by binary oppositions and becomes an authority that recognizes the necessary relationship between self and other. For Fanon (2008), language a site of imperialist stratification must also be a site of postcolonial resistance. Manipulating the white man’s language leads to a personality change or a new way of being for the colonized (2008:14). For Kane (2007: 357), the gradual loss of language and culture throughout a history of violence leaves no choice at that historical juncture but to use whatever works including using the language of the white man and by taking upon this other world. One could argue that this is all made possible by what Bhabha (1990:3) calls the Janus-faced ambivalence of language in the construction of the discourse of the nation’s ambivalence and doubling. Colonial identity is "played out – like all fantasies of originality and origination – in the face and space of the disruption and threat from the heterogeneity of other positions" (Bhabha, 1994: 29). She is "constructed within an apparatus of power which contains...an ‘other’ knowledge - a knowledge that... circulates through colonial discourse...that fixed form of difference" (ibid, 30) that is the stereotype”. These language manoeuvres constitute in part the capacity of the colonized to understand the manifold and ever-changing ways they as disparate groups communicate and thereby breathe meaning into local sites of resistance.

Bhabha’s (1994) concepts of hybridity, mimicry and third space are extremely valuable in understanding the construction of identity adjustment. Hybridity is the displacement of value from symbol to sign that causes the dominant discourse to split along the axis of its power to be representative, authoritative. Hybridity represents that ambivalent 'turn' of the discriminated subject into the terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification - a disturbing questioning

of the images and presences of authority (ibid, 113). Third Space means a space like the intersection between two overlapping circles where that in-between space partakes of both overlapping circles to create another or third space. It is this third space from which hybridity emerges. One could argue that this is Bhabha's way of challenging binary oppositions, which most decidedly exclude any overlapping or third space; or of dismantling violent hierarchies, not by inverting the hierarchy, but by situating the two terms/categories in the same space. Mimicry turns the dominant into a replica of the subordinate. For Bhabha, the effect of mimicry on the authority is profound and disturbing. For in 'normalizing' mimicry offers a double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of discourse by disrupting authority (ibid, 86, 88).

In response to some of the above concerns, I maintain that the idea of the cultural diaspora is quite promising precisely because it implicates notions of hybridity, a positioning somewhere between "nations-states" and travelling cultures that falls outside the problematic binaries of space/time. There are people who live outside their 'natal territories' whereby their traditional homelands are reflected deeply in the languages they speak, religion they adopt, and cultures they produce. Moreover, technological advancement and its concomitant text and talk of communities, however contrived, cannot be overlooked

E. EMPIRICAL APPLICATIONS

i) The Post 9/11 Climate

Perhaps the event that has impacted on the adaptations patterns of Muslims of the diaspora most profoundly was the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. Notwithstanding their levels of incorporation in Canadian institutions, Muslims have become the object of political and public backlash, including the imposition of security measures that encourage racial profiling, thus making them targets for prejudice and racism.

Clearly, structures of domination are based on institutional relationships that are not mutually exclusive such as law and the media which inform and feed off of each other. These structures of domination construct the meaning of these relationships with the purpose of transferring power within society to specific groups while simultaneously disempowering other groups. Stasiulis (2002:372) admonishes that the Canadian government's response "poses particular dangers to liberal democratic citizenship: racialized processes criminalize whole groups such as Muslims and Arabs and people of colour more generally". This position is dialogically opposed to Canada's policy of multiculturalism, which purports "to provide a more inclusionary discourse around Canadian citizenship, particularly for growing numbers of immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities" (Abu-Laban, 2002:460). Instead, one witnesses in the media and law an essentialist image and identity that misrepresents the lived experiences of Muslims in Canada. The greatest distortion comes from what non-racialized Canadians assume, rather nationalistically, as the supremacy of "the Canadian" or "the American" way of life. These "sacred" and much revered institutions of law and media provide criteria that demonstrate the superiority of "our" values.

Ethnocentrism functions to maintain solidarity, and collective conformity to justify oppression. The prevailing ideology also incorporates assimilation as a moral imperative. Despite multiculturalism, subordinated groups are urged to abandon distinctive ethno-cultural traits in favour of widely held dominant values. Policies on multiculturalism fail to ask, let alone respond, to the following fundamental identity questions: to what extent are legally mediated relations of identity hegemonic in everyday lives? Perhaps, it is the silence conspires with violence to create ideologically appropriate subjects. The coverage in the media and the

presentation by the prosecution as noted in the previous discussion of the Shafia case are loaded with evidence of institutional or systemic racism.

This section urges us to reconsider and demythologize what is claimed enthusiastically as multicultural “progress” within Canada’s dominant institutions. The subtext of institutional practices remains institutionalized exclusion. As bell hooks notes, readers have been socialized to accept a version of history created to uphold and maintain the imperialism of the dominant order (1981:120). This study examined the impact of law in creating tensions and contradictions that underpin existing multicultural realities. Multiculturalism promises to recognize diversity but not necessarily in a progressive and productive manner. Limiting itself to a criticism of traditional values of certain cultures such as the concept of male honour” rather than a long overdue assault on misogyny or racism, the law succeeds in avoiding change. In this regard, Mohamed (1999) points out that the women in the diaspora negotiate dynamic identities of resistance and go against the stereotypes. Questions of how the experiences of resistance, the reclamation of multiple identities and representation will inform an understanding of social integration and human survival/reproduction in contested spaces (Calliste & Dei 2000, 14). Muslim women of the diaspora, with or without their euro-centric sisters, are struggling to find new and complementary strategies of resistance. They are engaging decolonization as a critical practice in order to have meaningful chances of survival and simultaneously cope with the loss of political grounding which made radical activism more possible for many Muslim women.

By moving beyond the reductivist and normative consequences of law on the experiences of the oppressed, this section directly confronts the practices of the oppressor. Informed by the cultural implications of one of Razack’s (2008: 8), central characters, the “civilized White European”, we see how Canadian laws recognize differences in both its punitive profiling

practices and in its celebration of diversity. At first instance this juxtaposition of racist engagement and racist withdrawal are too easily viewed as hypocritical.

ii) Getting Disconnected or Given the “Eviction Notice”

For Razack (2008, 10), the racialization of Muslims in Canada is a form of eviction. For example, she adds: “Evicted from the universal, and thus from civilization and progress, the non-West occupies a zone outside the law. Violence may be directed at impunity” (ibid). Razack (2008:174) notes that, “Muslims are stigmatized, put under surveillance, denied full citizenship rights, and detained in camps on the basis that they are a pre-modern people located outside of reason, a people against whom a secular, modern people must protect themselves”. For Razack (2008: 10), the marking of belonging to the realm of culture and religion, as opposed to the realm of law and reason, has devastating consequences. Razack (ibid, 6) notes that power actualizes a ‘colour-lined’ world governed by the logic of the exception but the exception especially in law becomes increasingly universal.

The dominant culture illustrates a righteous ethnocentric consciousness that prevails whenever the construction of identity, as a repository of distinct collective experiences, is normalized as a legal construction which establishes opposites and "others". The criminal law, a complex and multi-faceted concept, is the medium in which social groups are created and mobilized in order to secure rights and obligations. The media portrayals of the legal treatment of Muslims emphasize their “Otherness” and keep them in an outsider status – not as full members of the Canadian nation. They are in a “diasporic space” defined by Avtar Brah to be the point at which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of ‘us’ and ‘them’, are contested These bounded spaces inform how and in what ways a group is inserted within the social relations of class, gender, racism, sexuality, or other axes of differentiation in the [host]

country (Brah, 1996, cited in Ralston, 2002:10-11). This type of portrayal emphasizes the Orientalist paradigm that casts Muslims as different and “other” in relation to the Canadian culture. The racist victimization of Muslims in Canada often goes unreported especially the hate literature, racial slurs and physical attacks.

For Afshar (1999), it is necessary to move away from the oppositional positions taken by Western and Muslim women and to provide a clear understanding of the possibilities and the limits that the process of reconstruction and reinterpretation of Islamic dictum can and does present for progress of women in Islamist countries. It is the contention of the author that women everywhere seek similar goals and face similar problems, but specific circumstances and specific constraints dictate differing priorities and differing approaches in different contexts. If feminism is to return to a more universalist position then it must gain an understanding of these differences.

Brazier and Mannur (2003:4) grapple with the idea that diaspora has emerged as an internal critique of the binarisms (coloniser/colonised; white/black; West/East) that circulated and found currency within colonial discourse and that persist even within some spheres of postcolonial studies. The concept of diaspora is too often conflated with ideas of getting connected and staying connected rather than confronting the disconnecting movements. Aside from a relatively fleeting discussion of ambiguities marked by hybridity, heterogeneity (ibid,5) they falter in locating these ideas within powerful and extremely relevant counter hegemonic writings of Bhabha, Derrida, Fanon, to name only a few.

More recently as will be elaborated in the following chapter, the growing neo conservative nationalism evident in Trumpism, Brexit and the resurgence of extreme right-wing

fanaticism, with its epistemological obfuscations and ontological insecurities attends to gestures that promote knee-jerk racist exercises.

i) Iranian women in Canada

The above theoretical contexts address the significance of the impact of the vagaries of transnational migration from the framework of both situational and structural analyses. The above studies indicate clearly, migrants experience movement in a multitude of ways. These ways need to be studied comparatively and in a manner that facilitates a critical analysis of how the migration experiences and their concomitant connections and contributions to both the host and home countries. Migrant experiences and migrant contributions to home and host countries vary over time, by migration group and across contexts. Therefore, it is important to appreciate the lived real-life experiences of individual migrant communities. The process of migration has far-reaching effects on the lives of immigrant women, and even when willingly undertaken, it produces a variety of experiences with significant consequences that shape their sense of perception of self and society. By becoming members of a new society, immigrant women experience a cultural transition often expressed in feelings of dislocation, rupture, and loss, which can produce confusion about the new culture's values, and an unclear awareness of its norms.

While many of the above studies proffer an engaged expansion of the existing migrant literature to include feminist concerns, there are, however gaps in linking gender to a more theoretical analysis of the interaction of the micro and macro social forces. It is the conviction of this dissertation that the study of gender/power imbalance requires an intrepid articulation of the silenced voices of migrant women. This silencing or abuse tends to occur on many levels:

situational (everyday roles and rules), institutional (religion, family, work and education) and systemic (both western and traditional systems of law, patriarchy, etc).

Dossa's (2004: 2, 17) study of Iranian women who moved to British Columbia in a wave of 47,000 post-revolution Iranian immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s highlights how immigrants became "racialized minorities" whose human rights and sense of well-being were violated by widespread discrimination and lack of opportunity (ibid, 2). During her three years of fieldwork in British Columbia, Dossa interviewed a total of 15 women, four of whom gave their full life narratives over the course of about two (ibid,7-9). The women with whom Dossa interacts experience emotional stress that stems largely from their position within Canada's socio-economic structure. This stress manifests itself in women feeling that they are not able to deal "meaningfully with life situations in their adopted country" (ibid, 42). They are not able to better their lives and they are isolated, feelings echoed in phrases such as, "I am tired of life," or "I have nothing to live for" (ibid, 35-36). While social service providers explain these feelings as depression stemming from the unrest in the women's home country, the women themselves take a broader view, recognizing the social and economic roots of their problems. Instead, Dossa takes a multi-faceted look at social suffering—the "painful experiences" of people who have been socially marginalized—as it involves the impact of capitalism on daily life, the institutions that intensify and normalize social suffering, and the alternative discourse voiced by those who are marginalized. For example, one respondent, Fatima, must live with discrimination against the disabled, a category that has not been included in the "race/gender/class paradigm," while occupying the socially invisible role of caregiver/woman/mother (ibid, 136, 159).

Moghissi, et al (2009), utilizing hard socio-economic data as well as qualitative analysis, highlight the remarkable diversity and divisions between Muslim immigrant populations along

urban-rural, cultural, class, and gender lines. They argue that integration is a two-way exchange that requires a readiness on the part of the host society to remove barriers that prevent the full social and economic participation of immigrant populations. Extensively researched and thoughtfully provocative, *Diaspora by Design* is a much-needed work that provides an accurate and dynamic depiction of the lives of Muslim immigrants away from their homelands.

Moghissi's (2006) edited volume steps back and looks at Muslim communities generally with several conceptually balanced lenses. Moghissi asks several questions: What aspects of the migrant's life increase or decrease individuals' ties to their family's place of origin? Through which processes are transnational identities developed and deployed? How do forces of globalization interact with trends toward increasing ethnic and cultural identities? Moghissi argues that Islamic culture is heterogeneous and that contemporary Islamic identities are often inherently political and focused on "resistance" instead of merely shared culture (ibid, xiv–xvii). The formation of a collective identity, consciousness or group solidarity is often a response to [or reaction against] an inhospitable climate within the host community rather and a genuine internal reflection of cultural remembrance.

As noted earlier, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, many Canadians worried that members of Arab and Muslim minorities would become victims of racism attributable in part to values attendant with Westernization, secularism, and the fear of imported 'foreign ideas' into Muslim migrant communities (Abu-Laban, 2002). Apart from racial profiling, which usually targets males, Arab women are often treated to Orientalist discourse in the media, representing them as different, passive, and most often as oppressed victims of male-imposed mores. Such stereotyping is so pervasive that it constitutes a reality for many.

Divergent collective identities are produced within the same categorical group through complex interactions between: a) ideological baggage and biographies of claims-makers; b) demographic patterns of communities; c) historical tensions in the traditions and identities that are being negotiated; and d) the actual political constellations, both proximate and durable, in which such claims and counter-claims are being made. Moreover, such contests about collective identity, citizenship and faith are not only relevant for the group (American Muslim or Canadian Muslim), but also help highlight the inclusions, exclusions and blind-spots in national narratives about belonging and hierarchies of obligations and how these are challenged.

For Sabet-Esfahani (1988), significant experiences included sense of loss and attachment to the homeland, awareness of differences and conflicts, sense of self-invalidation and disorientation, reviewing oneself and the situation and sense of personal growth, stability and deriving meaning from the experience. Relocation has meant dislocation as migrants become subjected to “othering” practices such as creating the economic or emotional dependencies (food, shelter, clothing), which spell a loss of voice and fluency thereby making meaningful status attainment difficult.

iii) Observations

This inquiry incorporated data from autobiographic memoirs, diaries of relatives, web-based resources, secondary sources empirical studies and media coverage.

a) Negotiations

The literature is rich in examining the adaptation and acculturation patterns of migrants. But relatively little exists analyzing how the migration process impacts on gender relations especially in terms of gender consciousness. How do migrant women negotiate gendered stressors? What social forces influence their decision to either resist, accommodate or negotiate?

It is evident that Iranian migrants in a rapidly changing society are exposed to a world of triple realities: the culture that informed their upbringing and gender identity; the Canadian society with its distinct socio-cultural and legal definitions of gender and expected behaviour and the Iranian-Canadian culture which draws its emergence and existence from the complementary/contradictory notions of gender within the two cultures. For example, tradition which recognizes the male as the head of the household and entrust him with financial responsibilities, associated rights and privileges, is gradually contested in the Iranian -Canadian society. In other words, women's experiences of the social pressures emanating from all the struggles (enumerated in the literature) to make a living could exert an enormous influence on their thoughts and actions such as rejection/negotiation or reversal of patriarchal gender ideology. From the start, migrants are faced with a multitude of cultural signifiers that seem strange, unfamiliar, and different. Along with their personal effects, they literally arrive with other baggage comprising of codes, symbols, and dispositions that cover a whole range of elements, from the pace and sequencing of various modalities of social interaction to the broad organization of social life. According to one anonymous woman, “I was born in Iran but raised both in Canada and Iran. I come from a family with strong values and staying true to my Iranian roots is very important to me” (<http://iraniansoftoronto.com/>)

In order to resolve this dilemma, the migrant woman must readjust the lens through which her existing world is viewed and reconfigure her experience through the continual process of learning. With their new confidence, women take on leadership roles aimed primarily at preserving group cohesion and values, particularly among the young. However, in their eagerness to succeed, the early migrant generation runs the risk of neglecting to preserve their cultural heritage.

Todd's (2007:C1) investigation of Iranian women details the narratives of several participants. His research demonstrates how hard it is for Iranian woman in Canada to know who they are, since, in most cases, they are in exile from their homeland. The vast majority of Iranian-Canadians, like her, felt forced to leave Iran because of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, which brought into power conservative mullahs who imposed restrictions on women. According to Poran Poregbal, a 45-year-old social worker in West Vancouver,

This notion of immigration is very new for Iranians... Now we're all over the map. Iranian women are struggling in a hidden way... We don't generally like to get together in groups in public. We are afraid of groups. We have to censor ourselves a lot... Most Iranians are really tired of religion... Education is highly valued for women in Iran. Parents will sell their house to make sure their children, including girls, get an education. Iranian men try to get rich quick. Men, she says, typically start their own businesses in Canada, often restaurants or shops, which brings with it all the potential for failure associated with startup operations.

According to Dossa's (2004) findings, Iranian women have suffered considerable discrimination in Canada. Dossa, an Ismail Muslim argues that many Iranian-Canadian women feel "marginalized," "dehumanized" and "displaced. In her book, Dossa argues it's because Canadian society "racializes" Iranian women rather than treats them as full citizens. She focuses on four unnamed Iranian women who felt forced to leave Iran, had trouble fitting into Canadian society and struggled with men in often-grim domestic situations. Likewise, Nafisi (2004:132) notes that this theme is intertwined with that of oppression. Hojati's (2012) study highlights how Iranian women, disappointed by increasing social and political instability in their homeland, have migrated to Canada to achieve their dream of social rights and justice. She asks, how do they

negotiate the many negative images and how do these images shape their experiences within Canadian institutions? She suggests that Iranian immigrant women experience a double exclusion both at school and in the workplace despite their willingness to engage with both places. This dual exclusion is an enormous source of pressure on their minds and spirits. For Hojati (2012), being an Iranian woman creates several personal and political challenges: to fight what Iran offers her personally, as a liberal woman, as well as how Iran is generally portrayed in the world.

For Hojati (ibid), although her interviewees encountered marginalization and racism, due to Iran's social- political and cultural climate, they preferred to stay in Canada. Compared to life in Iran and even with all pain and suffering they encounter in their graduate school and workplaces here, staying in Canada made them happier. They adopted strategies for overcoming the barriers and also they empowered themselves by connecting to their self and identity. The intersection of their nationality, culture, ethnicity, even language and accent, and (for some) religion, connects to their identity: who they are and what they want to be are sources of internal strength.

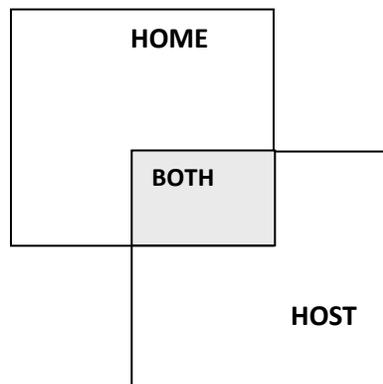
According to Shemirani and O'Connor (2006), two interrelated messages dominate the women's stories: first was the importance of each woman's migration story for grounding her experience of the aging process in Canada. Second, each woman's personal story suggested that the migration experiences were accorded priority for accounting for her experiences in Canada. Specifically, cultural identity (i.e., social class, education, religious affiliation and immigration status) offered a valuable cloak for overshadowing the force of the aging process and the aging process emerged as an elusive force that lurked in the background without ever being fully

acknowledged or given power in their lives. That is, they negotiate being “in” but not “of” Canada.

As one engages in the study of narratives of both the wealthy and the more economically disenfranchised, Iranian women articulate, albeit in diverse ways, how different types of gender roles, power dynamics, fluid assets and household relations organize their migrant’s experiences. The interconnectedness (if any) among material resources/employment, structural support and gender consciousness among immigrant women is apparent in any inquiry into the networks of these women.

Clearly, this dissertation moves away from essentializing the experiences of exiled communities to acknowledge that importance of rethinking of migration and formation within the continuum of time and place as shaping cultural nationalism. Why, amid internal diversity, is it nonetheless valid to talk of a single diasporic identity? All articles make it very clear that so much research remains to be done in exploring hitherto neglected areas -- from generational research, interest politics research, schisms within host and home priorities, the construction and maintenance of exiled identities as sites of multiple entries as Figure 5.3 illustrates.

FIGURE 5.3



b) Neutralization Techniques

Neutralization, as developed by (Sykes and Matza 1957), maintains that most individuals struggle with the normative culture and counter cultures. Actors learn to neutralize their values and drift back and forth between legitimate and illegitimate (subterranean) activities.

Socio-cultural models of social inequalities confront the relation of the patriarchal family to capital more directly (Smith, 1985). Masculine identity is imported and maintained in the home, where privilege is re-enacted by subordinating women. Masculine dominance is an ideological expression of a class and sexist society (ibid). Abusers expect their partners to be submissive and chained to traditional values. As noted previously, the dominant culture celebrates violence and perpetuates values that devalue women. Schools, the workplace, law, media, religion, the popular culture- to name only a few, advance male supremacist values such as aggression, autonomy and violence that become too easily tolerated when inflicted against women. Considering these overwhelming struggles, it is not surprising that women remain in abusive relationships. To further explain why women do not or cannot escape abuse, Ferraro and Johnson (1983:328-331) presented a typology that victims construct to rationalize their stay.

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media, religion, the popular culture- to name only a few, advance male supremacist values such as aggression, autonomy and violence that become too easily tolerated when inflicted against women. Considering these overwhelming struggles, it is not surprising that women remain in abusive relationships. To further explain why women do not or cannot escape abuse, Ferraro and Johnson (1983:328-331) presented a typology that victims construct to rationalize their stay. They reformulated Sykes and Matza's (1970) techniques of neutralization in considering different situational accounts, excuses or justifications. This rationalization does not depart far from the values of the dominant culture such as the sanctity of marriage. The techniques include:

i. *an appeal to the salvation ethic*

According to this rationalization, victims view their abusers as deeply troubled, sick individuals dependent on them for nurturance. Battered women jeopardize their safety to "save" their partners from whatever malady they suffer. Typically, a woman assumes responsibility for helping her partner return to his normal self.

ii. *the denial of the victimizer*

This technique is similar to the salvation ethic however the victim is not held responsible for problem solving. Women perceive battering as a phenomenon beyond the control of both spouses and go on to blame external forces. Violence is perceived as temporary or situational- causally linked to unusual situations like pressures at work or the loss of a job.

iii. *the denial of injury*

Wife battering is rationalized as inconsistent with their expectations. Despite their suffering, victims refuse to acknowledge the violence and allow the routines of everyday life to dominate. The pain is real but women define the hurt as normal or expected. This situation is

particularly true for women who have witnessed violence inflicted against their mothers at the hands of their fathers while growing up.

iv. the denial of victimization

Victims often blame themselves for the violence and neutralize the offender's responsibility. For example, if they had been more conciliatory or passive and less provocative, patterns of violence would not exist. Such beliefs of inferiority contribute to further victimization.

v. the denial of options

The structure of society limits practical options- housing, income or protection from abuse. Moreover, victims feel alone. Intimacy and companionship are not always available. Many battered women have no job, few friends and little support from friends or relatives. They are socially isolated. Typically, many battered women are financially dependent on their abusers. If a woman leaves, she fears that she will not be able to provide for her children or for herself. If she reports her spouse, he may lose his job, thereby creating further financial hardships on the family.

vi. an appeal to higher loyalties

The dominant culture has placed a tremendous burden on women to remain committed to traditional or even religious values that hold the family unit as sacred. This appeal keeps the family together. Many battered women feel that their children need a father in the house. They may have come from families that condemn divorce under any circumstances. Women have been strongly socialized to stay in the marriage whereby the importance of presenting the image of a well-ordered home becomes exaggerated (Propper, 1984).

The battered woman finds it difficult to leave an abusive relationship for many other reasons: the realization that she will be blamed by officials, relatives and friends; degradation and shame inhibit the victim from reporting the incident(s) to others thereby revealing her failure as a wife and/or mother; and the hope that the abuse by her "loving" spouse was an isolated incident. Women also stay due to the fear of further reprisals and more violent acts of abuse; after prolonged abuse women stop caring about themselves; -to name only a few. However, Ferraro and Johnson (1983) argue compellingly that there are catalysts for redefining violence, for rejecting the rationalizations and for victims to finally view themselves as victims. These catalysts include:

i) *change in the level of violence*

There are sudden changes in the relative level of violence. Although some women do not escape soon enough, many women realize that the violence may be fatal and reject their early rationalizations.

ii) *change in resources*

As resources necessary for escape become more available such as homes or shelters, women alter their plans.

iii) *change in the relationship*

As battering episodes are no longer accompanied by periods of remorse or kindness, feelings towards the spouse change.

iv) *despair*

Changes in the relationship may result in despair and hopelessness.

v) *change in the visibility of violence.*

The occurrence of violence in the presence of others triggers a re-interpretation. As the violence becomes more public, more visible to others, the abuse is perceived as a more humiliating expression of powerlessness.

vi) *external definitions of the relationship*

A change in the visibility of violence occasions responses from outsiders. External interjections either reinforce or undermine rationalizations. Friends and relatives may respond with unqualified support and genuine condemnation. Shelters, for example, are sources of external definitions in offering refuge from violence. Counselling and informal conversations with other victims overcome feelings of guilt and inadequacy.

Dependency helps explain why women stay in abusive relationships (Bertrand, 1997: 13) Dependency refers to "a relationship between a person and another person, symbol, substance or material object characterized by two things: physiological or psychological withdrawal pains contingent upon its unavailability; and, the absence of subjectively defined alternatives"(ibid). There are two types of dependency, subjective and objective. Subjective dependency refers to the psychological or emotional ties that women have to the abusive partner and the relationship itself. Subjectively dependent women will stay in the relationship when there is minor violence but will leave when it increases or escalates. Objective dependency refers to the economic dependency that women have on men (ibid, 13). The unequal power relations between men and women provide the backdrop for women's dependency on men (Couto & Visano, 2112: 223-225).

Biographies are easily manipulated (Willis 1977). Thus, positive impressions of the present can be constructed by advancing negative accounts of the past. Background factors alone contribute little to our understanding of how women come to perceive themselves. But, their

concern with these factors, as causes of this dislocation, is relevant to any understanding of their general social orientation. Family and school involvements in particular are presented as contextual experiences from which an initial assessment of career options and the shaping of self-emerge (Visano, 1987).

Not only will they present themselves as victims of misunderstanding, neglect, and/or violence, they also engage in active, ongoing appraisals of their difficult circumstances. In studying deviant phenomena, particularly in relation to delinquent formations, Matza (1964, 1969) rejects subcultural theories on the grounds that they characterized delinquents as holding to a system of values which were “an inversion of the values held by respectable society”. Matza insists that these descriptions represented an over-antagonistic view of the relationship between delinquent values and those of the larger society. Matza asserts that delinquents are committed to values that are ultimately linked to those of the wider society. The youth is not involved in a rejection of conventional morality rather the adolescent neutralizes the normative bind of society’s legal order.

Drift refers to the process by which an individual moves from one extreme of behaviour to another, sometimes in an unconventional, free or deviant manner and at other times with constraint and sobriety. Drift precedes delinquency and functions to loosen the mechanisms of control.

c) Network creation as a form of negotiation

The "disconnecting" from a marginalized status or “reconnecting” process to an empowered self (resistance and desistance) requires an awareness of being different and seeing differences inspire manoeuvres that resist and challenge. In general, racialized women disconnect from traditional Canadian and Iranian traditional roles and norms as a result of their

growing disenchantment with both host and home. Contingencies instigating status frustration range from situational crises, strain and reality shock, to more structural features of Islamophobia. The inability of these women to secure a rightful place and their fading hopefulness contribute to their sense of alienation. Disconnecting leads to reconnecting which is itself also a difficult process. Considerable adjustments are required of actors who wish to abandon a familiar occupation, however menial and chart a new career for which they feel they have limited skills. Disengagement can be a relatively smooth process, however, if women succeed in re-connecting with more supportive contacts. Reconnecting is never a solitary enterprise. Rather, newcomers participate in multiple social relationships both and beyond the family and workplace. A variation in the content and structure of new personal relations emerge.

Actors participating in more close networks share a greater degree of consensus in perspectives and worldviews. In more fleeting associations actors are exposed to a greater variety of opportunities where they learn to share a greater work morale with their peers and strive to reduce conflicts by appealing to their collective conscience or solidarity; maintain stability and control by reinforcing normative beliefs; operate beyond the ethno cultural locations; experience greater uncertainty about their loyalties to their similarly circumstanced others and are more likely to adopt extremely informal and cooperative relations with official agents of social control; tend to become exposed to a variety of information and opportunities; strive to develop sentimental relationships with individuals outside their work environment; enjoy greater access to resources and opportunities outside of their workplace and families developing contacts throughout a wider metropolitan area.

The nature of social relations therefore, are both liberating and constraining. Tension persists when actors are caught in conflicting roles. Affiliations influence incorporation patterns. They cope with occupational contingencies by creating opportunities for getting or staying involved as well as for disengaging themselves from previous unsatisfying and servile pursuits. Differential involvements, for example, enhance their respective social capital. The manner in which they organize themselves reflects these differential affiliations. The development of skills are influenced by the nature of personal relations.

For Cheran (2007), migrants create networks to mobilizing social capital and other resources for developing activities in their host and homeland. Simply stated, social order emerges within a nexus of multiple involvements of networks promoting their own interests and concerns. Networks of social relations, especially those of kinship, friendship or mutual aid, are ubiquitous even in the most impersonal marketplace relations of advanced capitalist societies. Personal communities are based on interest, rather than residential proximity; they usually entail manipulations of several networks simultaneously. That is, the lowering of spatial barriers and the increased freedom to choose social relations have led to a proliferation of networks consisting of compatible and supportive networks of personal ties. Technology has changed the significance of space and locale for migrant networks. Van Hear's (1998) article draws general conclusions concerning the nature of migrant communities, and the transnational networks. But, many generic patterns are not well nuanced. For example, the diasporic communities do indeed ask many questions about their location and the consequences of their social integration. Admittedly, one cannot question the importance of social capital or social networks but one can certainly ask scholars to detail precisely the morphological and content of networks which is woefully ignored. Notwithstanding an ambitious overview of migration, political economy,

decision making, Van Hear tends to dismiss the significance of consciousness, individual and collective. His discussion of “Force, choice and agency in migration orders” (ibid, 40) does not succeed in presenting what encompasses the migrants’ perspectives (ibid, 54).

d) Use of the law as a resource

Finally, women’s awareness of their legal rights in Canada and their perceived significance of accessibility and value of social safety net are found to be crucial sources of empowerment which, in turn, shaped their consciousness of gender and relations with their spouses/partners. According to analysis of three sets of diaries of Iranian migrant women, the Iranian experience shows that while men perceived the changing gender terrains as a product of their disadvantaged social locations within a racist and classist society, and also a psychological blow to their masculine identities, the women perceived their relative positions as sources of female empowerment and agency. Gender awareness, for women, also meant thinking through racism, classism and other systems of ruling and domination although they did not utilize familial western feminist concepts to express their thoughts and feelings.

e) Consciousness raising as empowerment

Dislocation tends to intensify a sense of divergence from the mainstream. A heightened sense of distinctiveness can often occur due to being in a visible minority position in relation to the dominant white mainstream Canadian culture. Tentative findings from the writer’s memoirs indicate that women’s consciousness of gender transcends issues of employment strain. It suggests that consciousness formation among them have evolved within a broader context encompassing the contradiction of traditional and western values. Within their retrospective accounts in the diaries, these women discussed their migration and expectations, their participation in the Canadian labour force, experiences with the Canadian culture as well as their

estranged domestic relations. The role of patriarchy at home (the ego of manhood) does not accommodate well to the migrants' new socio-cultural context. Further, it was evident that although structural resources may be denied women at a macro level, women of different race/class backgrounds (especially those who did not have prior access) have varied meanings and interpretations of structural resources and their impact on their lives. Findings also indicate that although several social conditions created opportunities for gender consciousness among Iranian migrant women, their sense of agency (both within the work sphere and at the homefront) differed from what existing studies have documented.

Resistance, for Iranian women is a private matter. The memoirs and diaries indicate that these women did they express interest in direct collective political mobilization against forms of oppression. From their perspective gender consciousness implied negotiating gender ideologies within the family.

An analysis of gender consciousness requires a framework which explains the processes by which women come to make sense of the "legacy of life-long, thoroughly engendered concepts". Gender consciousness is used herein to mean awareness or the process by which women come to make sense of socially constructed inequalities and options for change based on sexual statuses in society. Thus, gender consciousness entails an awareness of the systems of ideas regulating gender behaviour, for example, associating femininity to housework or the domestic sphere. Gender consciousness therefore, is a process of being engaged in reflection such as: what constructs femininity, masculinity and what is the socio-cultural context that shapes the process. In many respects gender consciousness, for the Iranian migrant woman, is socially produced – a situation which allows for a reflection of past social relations of gender and a comparison with that of the present. The migrant's experiences of gender within two cultures

provide them with a base for questioning the changing gender terrains and also search for answers. However, the findings show that this contradiction between traditional patriarchy and Canadian male classism/racism impacted greatly on women's consciousness of gender and have implications for agency within the domestic sphere.

The concept of the "developing self" is a valuable tool kit precisely because of its "two-sidedness". On the one hand, this concept is linked to internal matters- the demography, the image of self, felt identity and its shifts. On the other hand, it is related to "social"/ cultural identities, to the dominant society with which the former interacts. Therefore, identity is a complex amalgam of resources/skills; leadership; identification (ideologies with a history); networks of communication; reactions of others, etc. In reconstructing and coordinating their biographic identities, Iranian women rely on factors that "push" them out of the dominant culture and factors that "pull" them towards the seemingly more attractive alternatives of the dominant culture. These intrapsychic conflicting self-concepts interfere with the conscious, intersubjective socialized self-image just as much as the intersubjective conflicting self-concepts interfere with intrapsychic self -concepts. The constructed expressions of enigmatic journeys that piece together the cultural puzzle of gender identity and social engagements exist within the overarching canopy of a dominant culture that contextualizes affiliations. For some women, the migrant's new country offers a collective identity, a reference group from which to develop a valued identity. This new identity requires a display of appropriate perspectives. Specifically, a gendered Iranian perspective consists of the following values and rules of behavior attendant with an ethos of individualism, a theme of survival and an existentialist perspective. Individualism is related to notions of survival. The theme of survival is consistently repeated for

women in abusive relationships. They also learn that to survive, they must be smart and tough minded opportunists who lives by wits and avoids the humiliation of a demeaning job.

However, while Iranian migrant women expressed their willingness to accommodate and make adjustment to these life changes, they report that their partners demonstrated contradictory and ambivalent interests: that is to say, while women's contribution to household financing was deemed critical to family survival by the men, the same principle was not applied to men's contribution to housework, which the majority of men considered as a feminine task or "wifely duty".

C. MY JOURNEY

This project is informed by my own personal, professional and academic experiences as a racialized diasporic Muslim woman and the collaborative efforts of similarly circumstanced others. I juxtapose my experiences alongside these women experiences and narratives. I see this project very much as a political correspondence between the politico - socio - cultural structures of my research subjects, myself and the text by exploring how we understand, name, experience, and negotiate misogyny, racism and classism to create survival techniques. What are the structures that inform the relationship between categories of social life, and the experiences of those living in social positions which these categories seek to characterize? The act of identifying oneself as a racialized woman places an individual, historically, in proximity to a specific set of narratives, images and values that tie one's identity to the history of struggle. The process of articulating my own story and asking others to make public their stories is an attempt to assert and broaden the reality of servitude, which too many people for far too long, have tried to erase. Through this study, I limit myself to the lived experiences of Iranian women, my personal experiences, and engage the various positions of class, education, age, immigration status, and cultural backgrounds (host and home). The autobiographical approach for me was important because I am living expression of some of the experiences the women face.

Gender consciousness is a critical engagement of the social location of women and an appreciation that this socially constructed phenomenon is an outcome of the interactions between host and home cultures. An awareness of internalized expected norms and values consists of thinking through and making sense of meanings, symbols, ideas, values concomitant with gender. For the Iranian Canadian women these reflections are expressed as challenges at various stages of their incorporation into Canadian society. It is important to note, however, that it is not merely the internalization of the two cultures that produce gender consciousness but also the lived experiences of contradictory values of cultures, traditional Iranian culture and the Canadian culture. The hybridity of identities to suit a particular social context is an outcome of gender consciousness, negotiation and resistance. Initially, we Iranian newcomers tolerate sexism, racism and classism at work and challenge these relations only in more comfortable settings. I for example was mindful of existing power relations within a "foreign" society and

totally aware of the implications of conflict as we struggle as immigrants. My experiences and frustrations with a host of institutions impacted on my awareness of oppression manifested in gendered and racialized relations. An analysis of gender consciousness among Iranian immigrant women requires a framework which explains the processes by which women come to make sense of the concepts of servitude and certitude. Gender consciousness is used in this dissertation to mean awareness or the process by which women come to make sense of socially constructed structures of dominance. Consciousness in this sense is neither a psychoanalytic nor a psychotherapeutic construct but refers to the sociological interpretations of the processes by which ideological constructs are explicated and internalized.

Iran

Family

In terms of some background of my childhood journey, let us commence with the fact that as an only child of a middle class, educated and well respected family, I was loved by my parents—it was constant. They adored me, as cute, chubby and healthy baby who was always a center of attention in each gathering, doctors' offices and among her close family members, friends and relatives. It is important to note that the expectations placed on me were always high.

I was always very ambitious to be number one student even when I was in kindergarten and wanted to prove to everyone that I am strong, brave, friendly and lovable. From my extended family, I often heard arguments about the appropriate roles for women and rules which they alone must follow. In relationships in Canada and Iran, I like many women had to negotiate a silence of compliance, a self-subordination that persisted and was supported by other institutions like the school. I was raised in a privileged household as a single child where expectations culturally were exceedingly high. My relationships with my relatives were strained because of foundational misogyny. My relationship with my parents in Iran, although caring, was strained by features of traditional values. Discussions were much about other people, political issues, or what was going on in my school life. Admittedly, like many Iranian adolescents and teenagers, I was provided for but matters deemed too private were avoided.

I was married at a very young age adhering to traditional generational life styles, flawed socialization, immaturities and expectations.

Religion

Invoking Dubois's "double-consciousness," represents the sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others. The longing to attain self-consciousness and the need to be strong and empowered were eclipsed by customs which were sources of psychological confusion and moral regulation.

School

I was very active and ambitious in my studies. Academic accomplishments were always a priority—I worked hard and successfully passed all school subjects without ever failing any course.

Health

My involvement in competitive sports was a means of survival. My appearance was as a reflection of pleasing expectations – pleasing cultural criteria of feminine standards of beauty. Physical appearance was heavily rooted in the popular culture forcing women to conform in

shallow disguises. Later this emphasis on appearance—bodily and facial transitioned into acts of resistance. My physical health was always a real challenge that later required emotional and mental healing. At the age of 13, I had to deal with a debilitating Anorexia Nervosa that needed immediate and urgent medical care and attention. This condition brought me closer to my immediate family members in a form of wake-up call for them to start realizing that there are serious health issues in the family. Regrettably, the upsetting truth took the form of a cultural blaming the child for becoming sick and hiding her from public to conceal the trauma and challenges which could be publicly perceived as a sign of seriously flawed family.

The support I was receiving while being under treatment to recover from severe anorexia health related battles and challenges were pleasant and satisfactory but not enough as the damage was already done. Treatment in these cases should apply and attack deep underlying layers of one's psyche to find out the real sources of insecurities and self-damaging thoughts and actions. The battle continued throughout high school and university years manifesting itself in different ways of obsession over a) weight, b) appearance, and c) a sense of distorted perfectionism – striving to be the ego-centric focus in school and in relationships with boys during early university years.

Friends and Spousal Partners

One major change in my life was getting seriously involved with a fanatically religious male during all the university years, especially during my law studies in Iran. The manner in which I was treated by this individual and his family reflected a painful servitude that eroded my self-confidence and self-worth. Consequently, to escape from this problematic and traumatic relationship, I married a distant relative. This relationship provided a degree of freedom, comfort and peace. Later I realized that this relationship was a rebound based on emotional insecurities and vulnerabilities. Moving so fast in a relationship and lacking the maturity and confidence, I experienced considerable confusion, blame and shame later on and eventually terminated that relationship.

Canada

Migration Identity

My early narrative was that of a life of a young immigrant girl who came to Canada by herself with a lot of hope, fantasies, imaginations, desires, curiosities and questions. I migrated to Canada alone in 2006, where I was bombarded with the reproduction of whiteness which reflected the social and political representation of dominance in which Canada operates. I constantly searched out texts or movies that addressed any form of Iranian representation.

Family

The next significant move in my life was immigrating to Canada by myself and leaving my husband behind with the hope of starting a new life in a modern western society that promised freedom and opportunities. Leaving some of my loved ones behind was very emotional and challenging but soon enough I discovered that I truly enjoyed living in Canada. I sponsored my husband and expected to be a permanent resident in Canada. But, the real challenge and started when my husband refused to make Canada a primary and permanent residence. Daily arguments ensued causing psychological, social and emotional tensions.

Friends

In an effort to escape from the above stress, I started to act more independently financially and

emotionally. By expanding my friendship networks and keeping so preoccupied with work, school and other activities I developed distraction as a survival strategy. In order to get connected, I mistakenly focussed on pleasing others to feel good about myself. This caused considerable misunderstanding and emotional pain to the extent that I found myself in very uncomfortable situations in many workplaces. Unfortunately, we are living in a male dominated misogynist society which is not that different from other non-western communities in dealing with women and respecting them as a real person instead of commodities.

Work

Emerging out of the accounts of my lived experiences are strains or stressors that contributed to tensions in workplace gender roles. Traditions in the workplace typically attribute to males responsibilities, rights and privileges, not enjoyed by women especially in low paying service industry jobs. The racialized histories of women provide a frame of reference for the tolerance of the harsh conditions, harassment and insecurity in the workplace. Conversely this material consciousness posed as an additional contributing factor which informed and intersected with women's consciousness of the need for negotiation of gender role performance at work. Patriarchy affected the social organization of male power within the workplace. Iranian women had considerable success stripping themselves of some repressive "home" traditions which confronted and also debarred them from self-expression within the traditional Iranian society. But the experiences are worst given liberal pretenses and gestures of workplace equality. In all sites with which I was affiliated as a poorly paid labourer, racialized women were repeatedly assaulted by male superiors. Agency, the lens through which women thought through what had been defined normative ideals, was regularly punished. However, a critical analysis of the migrating experience reveal that employment strain was only symptomatic of a complex interaction of social stressors which have their roots in both their pre and post migration social contexts. With the majority earning income within the low bracket a realistic option for them was to have all hands on deck for economic survival. The situation is complicated by my migrant's expectation of achieving economic success in Canada, to enable me to live a comfortable life and also to meet external family obligations. As a result, the pressure on the migrant to meet these objectives has come to have undesirable effects on their relationships. Thus it was not uncommon practices for Iranian immigrant spouses/partners to pool their resources to manage these internal and external constraints. Paradoxically, these structural modifications, simultaneously, impacted on the familial gender terrain on which these structures have thrived. Thus because these demands are not easily accommodative within changing the cultural contexts they generated tension within the household. For immigrant women the changes meant shifting perceptions about gender ideologies to suit the changing demands of the new environment. The analysis therefore led to the dynamics of gender negotiations of traditional roles within the household.

Work has always been one of the most telling moments that invoked such violence as discrimination and harassment. On many occasions, I felt and witnessed, verbal harassment directed toward my racialized colleagues and myself causing endless and futile altercations.

Education

When I first began to explore education, I found myself drowning in an insurmountable sea of foreign rules and bureaucratic inconveniences. My law school credentials were ignored. Fortunately, York University was a school that celebrated diversity even though it was steeped in Eurocentric white culture, white history, and white ways of knowing and understanding the

world. I was taught predominantly by white teachers, read history books written by white authors, and focused on pathologizing difference. Nonetheless, the university was a safe refuge. The feelings of isolation, alienation, and fear I encountered when I first arrived disappeared during my undergraduate and graduate years. Since I left my home country, I have benefitted from many conceptual shifts in my understanding of misogyny, racism, social location, and privilege. But racism and misogyny are almost indissoluble parts of the identities and lived realities of diaporic women which mold my insecurities. I have long pondered my 'place' and purpose in this new host society. The absence of any formal opposition to the racism in my school did, however, leave me developing resistance strategies of my own. I learned ways to cope with what was happening to me and found strength and ammunition in my resistance. Forms and content of my work and relationships outside the University reinforced the negative experiences of racialized women.

Overview

It is absolutely crucial to consider the barriers we racialized women face. The bruising and scarring must be made to be "transformative" or "critical"

I am staunch believer that the above experiences exert an enormous influence on one's consciousness.

Therefore, in considering women's resistance as both a private matter and a public issue, my experiences highlighted the sources of consciousness and contradictions in the gender struggles of both home and host cultures, both plagued with sexism which simultaneously, manifests its own resistance. This resistance was very well pronounced within the Iranian-Canadian context where race and gender differences were found to mediate all social relations. In a comparative analysis of life in Canada and Iran, I felt that the dominant structures did not cater to gender needs. Opportunities for empowerment could not be found in prevailing institutions. It is significant to note that all these paths of resistance to gender domination took place within household and private social relations. There was no evidence of women's consciousness and agency reverberated on the work front. Even as agents of change on the home front the women did act on individual basis. There was no collective interest on the part of what struggling women bring to living conditions. The realities of felt exclusionary experiences awakened a consciousness about the impact of struggles on their existence, especially their psychological adjustments. Processes of adaptation, acculturation or incorporation into Canada's culture shapes gender consciousness in appreciation the ubiquity of conflict. The values of a self-empowerment practiced and self-belief are inestimable.

The first step to change is accepting that there is a need for intervention and supportive resources. The past should not be used to further subordinate women. To be mindful and conscience of our individual and collective contexts enhances certitude -- helping us to realize our potential and commonalities. For far too long, dependencies and attachments to abusive institutions and ideologies have incapacitated positive and productive thinking and feeling of a sisterhood of oppressed women. It is only by being loyal to my true self, can effective efforts in self-emancipating triumph. It is certainly great to feel authentically emancipated. Obviously, there will always be setbacks given the unforgiving power of misogyny and racism. We must be able to critically analyze social, political, cultural, institutional and structural factors which our identity and emotional, mental wellbeing. The journey to self- and collective empowerment will definitely open horizons, set racialized women apart, create a relentless skepticism and further exacerbate scars. But certitude demands the abolition of servitude.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS: THE CONVERGENCE OF CO-CONSTITUTIVE CONTEXTS OF *INSTITUTIONS, IDENTITIES AND IDEOLOGIES*

A. INTRODUCTION

In examining the silence- resistance linkages, as mediated by consciousness, this chapter reviews the *violence of silence*. The violence against racialized women has become both conspiring and legitimating; and the *silence of violence* has emerged as intimidated compliance. What are the implications of this unfolding drama of action, reaction and reflection? For Fanon (2008) a transformative healing praxis is long overdue.

In general, the purpose of this study was to investigate the social organization of the responses of racialized diasporic women to forces of Canadian cultural incorporation. This research was concerned with how actors constitute their world of getting connected, staying connected and disconnecting/ reconnecting. This analytic focus fell primarily within interpretive traditions of critical theory. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the theoretical framework, substantive findings and the contributions of this study.

Clearly, this study relocates processes of negotiations within structures of dominance. Social structures are presented as contexts that shape rather than determine human action. Normative features like ideology and its attendant features of capitalism, modernity and liberalism shape behaviour insofar as they influence the setting and provide symbols that could be used to interpret situations. Processes of conformity and resistance exist within these wider interpretive schemes that transcend situated encounters.

i) Stages

To review, a stage of engagement in the migration process consists of a framework of options that actors use to make sense of their involvements. Stages are identifiable perspectives, conditions, and patterns of interaction associated with the processes of becoming connected with, continuing in, and discontinuing from institutional pursuits. Contingencies make problematic the notion that movements are unilinear, sequential or fixed. There are numerous factors that account for the likelihood of pursuing stages in a smooth manner. Contingencies range from specific features of individual stages to the general character of Canadian culture. It was the contention of this study that the management of contingencies is highly consequential for the development, maintenance and disengagement

The theoretical framework of this dissertation considered the complex of social worlds within which actors are embedded. The social organization of incorporation emerges within a nexus of multiple involvements with a variety of actors. What has been advanced theoretically is a perspective which depicts actors as attending to the configuration of institutional relations during the course of their identity development. It was argued that accommodation and opposition must be viewed in the context of meaningfully constructed social affiliations .

Several explanatory factors regarding self-images were identified: career stages and contingencies, content and structure of social relations and the processes of negotiation. These fundamental issues were subsumed under the following questions: What is the nature of adjustment to the host country? How do these actors respond to structural contingencies? In determining the emergence, persistence and termination of pursuits, the following notable empirical findings emerged from this research.

There are contingencies applicable to all stages that arise from changes in self identify, commitment, and experiences with significant others.

i) *entry*

Pre-entry experiences are important in setting the stage. They provide legitimations about coming to a foreign country as a solution to the challenges presented in the home country. Despite the thrill of a new-found freedom, women face problems associated with their instability, homelessness and unemployment. Relations are established as a solution to these problems of survival. Many of them develop close ties with more seasoned migrants who sponsor and mentor them to become connected. These newcomers adopt an orientation that equips them with motives framed according to an ethos of survival.

ii) *maintenance*

Newcomers learn to establish perspectives and skills as methods of securing some stability in their institutional lives. Nonetheless, conflict emerges between the host and home values regarding the means by which they:

- (i) secure stability and identity;
- (ii) promote an investment by attending to "Canadian values" and by preparing for citizenship,
- (iii) manage a career by establishing and enforcing subordination to institutional authorities and by controlling information about themselves;
- (iv) deliver services or working for less money, and starting all over regarding career aspirations; and
- (v) engage in "cooling out" techniques.

iii) *withdrawal*

In general, these women disconnect from subordinating roles as a result of their growing disenchantment with the imposed Canadian life. Contingencies instigate job dissatisfaction; they range from situational crises, strain, and reality shock, to more structural features of dislocation. Their inability to attain recognition about the injustices of their respective employment, education and family roles contribute to their sense of alienation.

Disconnecting is a difficult process. Considerable adjustments are required of actors who wish to abandon a familiar occupation, and chart a new career for which they feel they have limited skills. Disengagement can be a relatively smooth process, however, if they succeed in re-connecting with more supportive contacts.

Questions asked throughout this study

i) Identity

- What is the impact of culture (host and home) on negotiating the identities of racialized diasporic women?
- How does culture mediate institutional adjustments?
- How do they form and inform identities in relation to conflicting social narratives of the self and subjectivity?
- What conditions the constitution of their connections?
- How do these women challenge and rework stories of their identity and experiences within narratives of a collective selfhood?

ii) Institutions

- How do various institutional discourses and practices create ideologically appropriate subject-relations?
- How do institutions reinforce regulation, invisibility, normativity and contest?

- How are experiences in and with institutions articulated? What are the limits of interpretations?
- What is the relationship between identity and institutions? How do institutions of work, family, religion, education, etc function to mediate meanings and transform sentiments and emotions into significant inducements or dispositions to action?
- What is our respective capacity of institutions to understand the ever-changing ways of diverse communities of women to communicate and thereby breathe meaning into roles and rules?

iii) Ideologies

- How do ideologies create particular social organizations and new relations?
- How do racialized diasporic women break through the pervasive mediations of individualism, market mentalities and instrumental reason?
- How do dominant neoliberal ideologies impede the emancipation of these subjectivities?
- How do ideologies seek to humanize the suffering of these women?

Accordingly, the above overview pays attention to wider ideological influences of migration, settlement and incorporation. An issue which has not received attention in the literature on the diaspora concerns the role of the identity-institution- ideology nexus, to which we now turn.

ii) Ideologies

Ideologies and institutions are interdependent despite changes in their respective foci. These concatenations are more than facile accommodations but are reciprocal ideological and institutional hegemonies that mystify justice and impoverish equity. Ideologies institutionalize values as institutions determine appropriate ideological frames as influenced by wider

environments, social, economic and political. Institutions are relations of ideological production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their institutional forces of reproduction.

Ideologies provide institutions with ideas about how to present themselves, appearances that signify the way institutions carry out their respective “businesses”. These values, ideas, and images which translate easily into relations of production, accountability and independence strive to demonstrate that institutional rules/ roles and outcomes are inherently just and rational means grounded in historical processes and manifested in a plethora of corresponding ideologies. In the following sections, we examine ideology as a set of beliefs that functions to represent and regulate relations of domination.

The “ideological” complements institutions, just as, for example, care accompanies control, domination and resistance, subjectivity and material conditions, consent and force. These concretized “institutional” environments are mechanisms that produce ideology. Ideological fronts are as necessary as the institutional activities. Ideologies resemble institutions and vice versa. Law, for example, perpetuates its own ideology and provides the grounds for its own legitimation. Ideologies obfuscate by redefining the parameters of institutions that rely on ambiguities to transcend moments of injustice, flirting with equivocation and well- schooled in the logic of necessity and denial.

The main burden of this argument will be that an adequate grasp of the two fields may best be attained by conceptualizing them as interlocking spaces within a broader conceptual frame of injustice. This study asks a range of interrelated questions about the relationship between ideologies and institutions; that is, law not simply a contested where the scales of justice are tipped in favour of the powerful but rather that the very essence of law (ideologies and institutions) ensures legal injustices.

Ideologies as narratives have an extensive capacity to adapt to challenging institutional perturbations. Moreover, the narrative transcends the texts and is respected as a shrine for the maintenance of a canon of works of transcendental value, a certain canonicity. Various forms of ideological stretch, continuous and episodic, triggers passivity; the connective tissues of ideology allow the control fibres considerable elasticity or range of motion. What precisely is the degree of penetration of the ideological in institutional?

This study demonstrated the “fit” of modernity, liberalism, capitalism with legal ideologies in framing the basic foundations of the Canadian social order. Ideologies contribute and promote a sense of manageable “contradictions” within an instrumental logic of necessity. Contemporary law is ideologically grounded in evolving traditions of *modernity*, *capitalism* and *liberalism*. The study of law not only mirrors the wider ideological developments but all activities concerning the production and application of norms are based on generic principles of universal reason (modernity), rights (liberalism) and the accumulation riches (capitalism) (Visano, 2017). These ideas constitute three conceptually distinct spontaneous orders, or self-organizing systems mutually influence one another yet are distinct enough to be able to be considered separately. Their growth to social dominance is simultaneous with the rise of Western influence.

One first gains an appreciation of what constitutes law by recognizing that law consists of conceptual (ideological) and concrete (institutional) components, products of pre-given structures. Any understanding of law requires an analysis of institutional practices of law as ideological accomplishments. As noted earlier, ideological- institutional relations are the driving forces of law such that ideology structures the conditions of institutional contexts thereby connecting law and legal systems to socio-political trends and other historically developed

legitimation principles. Law is informed by wider “structural” perspectives, that is, the ideological narratives of deterministic accounts which mysteriously remain consistent with a distorted sense of institutional agency.

The totality of these relations of production and reproduction of ideas, values and practices essentialize the ideological-institutional nexus to form the foundations of law. Thus, law is a condition and consequence of ideological exchanges within institutionalized encounters. But we need to move beyond the realm of the situated idea to include extra-local structures (historical trends), more “universalized” or transcendent structures and processes. Law discharges claims and meanings which reflect a variety of ideological and institutional discourses, contradictory and complementary, mediating a wide array of persuasive influences that provide methods for further clarifying contradictions and for manipulating struggles that challenge the ubiquitous interventions of law, however authorized.

Justice is equally defined by socio-cultural values/ideologies (beliefs) and organized / institutional practices (behaviour). The “social” clearly impacts on the ideological (cultural goals, structural values, historical trends), the institutional (socialization, organizational values, means) and identity (consciousness, intention). Self-justice goes beyond the social as typically defined by the material/ physical and the intellectual to incorporate the emotional, the unconscious/ the instinctual/ the unintentional and the spiritual. Justice of being is relationally situated within wider constituting social contexts that hegemonize reproductions of self. The challenge for intrepid investigators exists on many fronts, interrogating the primacy and legitimacy of ideology and the institutional imperatives that shape the horizons of identity. Competition and the contradictions therein are attributable to the interrelated ideologies of modernity, liberalism, and capitalism.

Modernity, liberalism, capitalism, and their respective foci on reason, rights and riches provide a synthetic unity to the contrived foundations of identity. Modernism, with its emphasis on the concept of reason and its application in the division of labour; liberalism, with its emphasis on the concept of individual rights (especially property) and its application in contract; and, capitalism, with its emphasis on the accumulation of private wealth and its application in the free market, are **all** central to any understanding of distorted senses of being. In addition, these fundamental notions serve as criteria by which to appraise the sustainability or viability of existence, let alone, essence. Clearly, with liberalism and capitalism, the “social” has destroyed the self and the collective sense of self, or as Horkheimer and Adorno (1989) describe, how civilization has sunken into barbarism instead of developing a human society.

B. BARRIERS

Ideologies validate both the revealed and the concealed institutional activities of identities. As will be elaborated in the following section, the world of appearance is a landscape of alienating images, reified semblances wherein ideologies and institutions are interchangeable. Ongoing adjustments of the interpretive schemes supplied by transforming ideologies are restated as *apriori* within the foundation of “commonly held” values. Ideologies sustain institutions and institutions, as determining ideologies, interact with one another.

These fundamentally interrelated notions are evident in this study: first, the relationship of recognition, representation and rights. Second, and equally significant, the differential impact of ideology (liberalism) on identity (subjectivity) especially as mediated by institutions (law). In conclusion, recognition, representation and rights cannot be severed from the most fundamental issue of dignity, individual and social, which can never be ensured by multiculturalism or citizenship. To rely upon lofty promises and particular constructions of the benevolent and

inclusive nation constitutes willful complicity. The limits of language, law and liberalism cannot deal with the impact of a legacy of colonial violence and redress so many wrongs. Instead, Povinelli's (2002) critical theory of recognition and Bannerji's Marxist, anti-racist and feminist approaches clear the way for more comprehensive analyses that engage theory and praxis in inquiring into the interlocking relations of ideology, institutions and identity in shaping recognition, representation, rights and racialization. By adding racialization as a contest, context, consequence and condition of oppression we refuse to rely upon particular constructions of the "benevolent" and "inclusive" nation. It would be interesting to build upon the above texts by examining more fully how the state employs the law to build its particular nation. Hopefully, by theorizing about how the quality of law shapes and is shaped by the nature of culture is a fruitful analytic exercise that invites community empowerment, direct action and social change. Diasporic erasures seek to create the possibilities for systems of domination to take root and perpetuate. A reconciliation of traditions will not necessarily eradicate the erasures nor make the rule of law more equitable.

This study also addresses the need for clarity about the term diaspora. But clarity cannot be imposed artificially especially by normative epistemologies. Similarly, the cutting or critical aspects of diaspora studies need to be sharpened in reference to power, conflict and disadvantage especially in the fields of labour and citizenship. Just as diaspora is a very familiar concept within contemporary post-colonial thought, diaspora studies could equally profit from the contributions of critical feminist racialized thoughts. Diaspora is not a slogan, cliché nor a buzzword. Rather, diaspora represents meaningfully 'identity' and 'culture'.

And Beyond

Fanon (2008) seeks a transformative healing praxis that confronts the violence of ‘otherization’ in order to reveal and treat the complex pathologies attributable to the colonial situation, in a larger project towards dialogical/mutual recognition. In particular, Fanon’s complex and rich body of work grounds theorizing about processes of otherization and racialization. Fanon develops throughout his work a theory of subject formation examining with particular reference to lived experiences. A complex working of fear, desire and longing producing what he calls ‘subjective insecurity’. As noted earlier, Stuart Hall (1988) spoke at great lengths of the diasporic experience when he coined the phrase “cultural diaspora-ization.” This he explained speaks to the awareness of the experience and the consequences which this carries for the process of unsettling, reconstruction, hybridization and ‘cut-and-mix.’ The stereotypical expectations from historical media representations position others as the unspoken invisible other”. He locates the above concerns within broader cultural discourses and argues that the dialectic between ‘social being’ and ‘social consciousness’ attests to the significance of how people make sense of mediated texts, that is, the inscription of dominant ideologies.

Identity, constituted by different as well as contesting discourses, is never totalized nor complete but always mutable. Despite its various permutations, it remains however a resolute expression of culture, a steadfast manifestation of controls. Specifically, culture conditions daily life and is invoked as the *hypostasis* that maintains social order. Despite the apparent contestations in meanings of identity, language is shaped in relation to normative presuppositions and objectives of dominant institutions. But, the content and morphology of language are both cultural and subjective; determining and determined imbricated structures and processes.

There are complexities and perplexities around the difficulty of conceiving how identity can reclaim or reconstitute an oppositional counter hegemonic language. How then is it possible

to transcend this cultural code? What facilitates the articulation of a critical consciousness that moves beyond the servitude of ideology, seductive illusions or self paralysis? Accordingly, hybridity as a concept may facilitate the breakdown of the false sense that colonized and colonizing cultures are total and monolithic. This study introduced us to those neglected moments and movements of resistance and suggests that we move toward a critical pedagogy that emphasizes the act of writing as "as a kind of agency, as a performance, as a practice" (Hardin, nd: 138) whereby writing becomes a mediation and not just a medium. As Fanon and Bhabha highlight, there are spaces for change. The challenge lies in understanding as a clearing that opens up oppositional spaces that would counter the imposed "stunted consciousness" of culture.

C. RESISTANCE REVISITED

Resistance is founded in the identities of social subjects. In our disciplinary society individuals, productive practices and productive socialization seek to invade, colonize and organize consciousnesses institutionally. Admittedly, identities, institutions and ideologies are neither autonomous nor self-determining, but differentially feed into and support hegemonies. This renewed emphasis on humanism encourages the development of a new consciousness, a change in the way we think. Resistance presents a vastly different understanding of the self-actualizing and self-governing individual. One method is peace-making, a praxis which promotes the evaluation of forms of intervention that will leave people interacting more or less empathically. Through love and compassion, moving well beyond the egocentric self, we can end suffering and live in peace personally and collectively. This love is not the naïve and hypocritical premises based on the protection of privilege. Rather programmes of action grounded in a wisdom that developed from the experiences with and exposure to violence would

attend to the ultimate purpose of our existence to heal the separation between all things and to live harmoniously balanced in a state of unconditional alterity.

The connection of the inner peace to the outer peace is the connection between individuals who behave morally and a morally responsible society. This alternative form of subjectivity and social formation is consistent with the development of the higher being and the affirmation of a new value position -- the will to power. To move from the circle of connectedness from the prevailing and well-rewarded cycle of control, it is essential to interrogate one's own credulities, the available stock of information, the relevant socialization, differentially rooted social contexts, and the interplay of different experiences and resonating problematics.

The strengths of justice rest not on a dysfunctional social but in the collective representation of different voices and the different forms of (re)presentations. The social is a representation of a particular interpretation of relations presented as a set of unstated beliefs, expressed symbolically in metaphors, myths, and images, ideologies that claim to mirror reality, from individual reflexivities to social, economic and political collectivities. This ideologicality of social disguises denies the essence of underlying social relations of justice. The social is not solely designed to discipline participation but more importantly to pre-empt criticism and discourage much needed critical dialogue. Although the ideological-institutional nexus is replete with contradictions, ideology smooths over, harmonizes, pacifies and justifies into dogma complex of beliefs, values and habits, which make the existing power relations of the society seem "natural" or "invisible" thereby reflecting misperceptions. Consequently, the social as expressed in ideologies and felt in institutions contribute to the destruction of social justice. The "social" as a calculus frames experiences, supplies interpretations from which inferences are

drawn, legitimates decisions, provides a history and secures a loyalty to rules. For example, within the contexts of social control, it is argued that law engages in the duplicity of authoritative knowledge brokers in maintaining the collective. Regrettably, current liberal notions of justice satisfy individualism and not the authentic social.

Justice no longer defines the social. The social surrenders to juridic chatter. This study provides an interrogation of the fundamental sources of the justice and injustice – the self in the “social”. Likewise, we have justice accommodating to the prevailing hegemony of injustice. Justice is an aberration. Instead of injustice as isolated institutional perturbations of justice, we witness evidence of justice as ripples within oceans of injustice. Stated differently, justice is contextualized today as a consequence of injustice rather than a condition of humanity.

Relevant to Diaspora Studies is Heidegger’s contention that homelessness is a consequence of the neglect of the question of being. Although ‘homecoming’ is essential to Heidegger’s thought; the unhomely and homeless nature of the human being is also of great importance (O’Donoghue, 2011:12). By interpreting ‘homecoming’ as signifying more than the mere return to the soil of one’s homeland, Heidegger understands it as a return to ‘nearness to the origin’(ibid, 13). Conceptually hybridity may easily profit the in-betweenness that goes beyond straddling two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference, beyond the indeterminate spaces in-between subject-positions and beyond the periphery of cultures. For Heidegger, agency meant freedom, and the capacity to change oneself and one’s own society or milieu even if agency could not be autonomous. Unmistakable here is Heidegger’s influence on Bhabha on the question of resistance. Resistance, as many of the theorists noted begins and ends with the significance of questioning in the quest. This commitment to anarchic foundational

questions is typically and regrettably ignored thereby vitiating any serious attempt to examine the identity-institution- ideology nexus.

Cathartic synthesis of coerced consciousness, evident in like the media and state policies regarding culture and religion, plays a significant role in transforming sentiments and ideas of multicultural adaptations within matrices of governmentalities. Institutions, like the media, are implicated in disciplinary power (Foucault, 1997, 2003). Foucault (ibid) looks to techniques of power to see how this is accomplished, arguing that power is no longer exercised through sovereignty but through discipline at the level of the individual body through techniques of surveillance and training and through regulation at the level of the population through techniques of biopower. Institutions are implicated in disciplinary power while the State implements bioregulation. That is, power is diffuse and relational for Foucault; there is no single source of power as in the form of the sovereign.

More specifically, scholars have examined fully the experiences and accounts of immigrants, ie how for example, the East meets the West, the South meeting the North. But relatively little attention has been paid to how the West or the North, for instance, meets the East or South, in terms of nation building. This often-understated politics of representation assumes considerable conceptual primacy especially as a contested terrain for transnational communities. Accordingly, this study provides a long overdue method for clarifying contradictions and for appreciating the forms and functions of cultural and religious struggles that contribute to the nature of incorporation. More specifically, this study is an analysis of the differential impact of institution like media on institutionalizing religious exclusions. Note, for example, the controversies regarding Ontario's Boyd Report (2004) regarding Sharia, the failed attempt in 2007 by John Tory, the then Ontario's Progressive Conservative leader to extend public funding

to Ontario's faith-based schools to the September 2013 Québec Charter of Values proposed by the Bernard Drainville, Quebec's Minister Responsible for Democratic Institutions and Active Citizenship that would restrict public-sector employees from wearing religious symbols such as hijabs, niqabs, kippas, turbans and other items.

This study asks a range of interrelated questions about the relationship between nationalism and multiculturalism. To what extent is citizenship or Canadian incorporation not only a contested terrain where the scales of justice are tipped in favour of the powerful but also the very articulation of ideologies and institutions ensures mono- normative Canadian values? How then does Canada respond to the negotiation of transnational political activities (networks, technology, political literacy, etc) which often overlook the identity concerns of immigrants? To what extent is nation-state building linked to moral regulation? How do nationalist discourses structure the nature of citizenship? How does multicultural citizenship enforce multiple domains of social containment? To what extent does Quebec's Charter of Values represent disembodied versions of nation building? How do various media play a major role in the policing of citizenship? These questions, theoretically powerful and empirically based, will provide a solid foundation to a critique of nationalistic ideologies, manifested in law, media and politics. The question that arises herein is how might we (re)negotiate the competing demands of the state, national security and the multiculturalism? Admittedly, competing values underlie the treatment of immigrants in ways that undervalue the intrinsic importance of citizenship which should never be compromised.

The significance of this research is related to its fundamental implications for justice which should guide policies and models of decision making especially in reference to migrant

incorporation which is at the core of changing meanings of identity, citizenship and diaspora engagement.

D. CONCLUSIONS

This study builds soundly upon theoretical and more applied diasporic scholarship, past and present, while focussing on Iranian women in Canada in order to examine expressions of negotiation. This study maps this complex relationship from a standpoint that interrogates the way in which gender figures prominently in transnationalism and migration studies. This study encourages a critical reflection of the complex relationship of recognition and representation within the contexts of ideologies, institutions and identity. But, to fully understand how migrant women negotiate, we must turn to a number of interlocking myths of equality, rights and multiculturalism. What is missing in much of the conventional research is a discussion of negotiation as a strategy of resistance. By situating the intersections of memory, imagination and identity, extant scholarship would do well to add a fuller understanding of the relationship of hegemonic moments of interruption, of referentiality, representation and recognition regarding the identity, institutions and ideologies of transnational migration.

To reiterate, this study aimed to provide the conceptual tools necessary to understand the relationship between language and identity and to present some of contemporary debates regarding the justice of resistance as manifested in mimicry and hybridity. Once again, Gayatri Spivak's (1988) work on the subaltern captures the representation of self and relationships to others with similar yet unique experiences. This led to a developmental exploration of other racialized diasporic lives and identities. Indeed, all representations should be understood as constructed and must be seen as partial. This partialness is always interpreted by a particular system of thought, which, in this case, is a system of thought regulated by white heterosexist

structures of dominance. Iranian Canadian women are concerned about the silencing of their voices and constantly subalterned. Their voices require language.

Postcolonial thought from Césaire to Fanon speak outside the colonizer's language and engage in the colonized modes of communications. For some this mimicry as resistance. Language for me is related to identity. I explored herein:

- 1) how language (colonial hegemony which we take for granted) shapes identity;
- and,
- 2) how identity is interpreted (represented and recognized)

I wanted to find the location and the ontologically security of culture by asking about the cultural spaces for change?

In conclusion, this study demonstrates how roles and relations, as well as cultural norms intersect with structural factors to shape (and are shaped by) the prospects and problems of migration. Equally, consciousness in the context of migration and activist mobilization affect the development of migrants' home and host countries, through their migration. This study affirms critically the role of recognition, representation and rights of migrants. Essentially, transnational political activities (networks, technology, political literacy, etc), often overlooked dimensions, provide a lens through which to understand the impact of migration at home and in the host society. The question that arises herein is how might we negotiate the competing demands of the state, national security and the rights of migrant women? Admittedly, competing values underlie the migration experience. Further, this study highlights the intersection of local and global processes in the everyday lives of women in an effort to address the role of agency. Based on this study, a future direction of inquiry could address how Iranian migration is connected to the social construction of nation-state formation?

In summary this study examined how identity is negotiated among Iranian women in Canada and how migration contributes to the construction of identities. Figure 6.1 illustrates the migration experience affects one's adjustments to host institutions and home traditions in terms of forms of resistance. Similarly, Figure 6.2 locates this journey within embedded processes and structures. The research is situated within both a 'micro-level' examination (with the telling of individual life stories), as well as a 'macro-level' approach (which outlines the larger structural context). Again, this research is guided by a critical feminist analysis, migration studies, post-colonial thought and interpretive approaches as it pays attention to the lives of women taking into account individual social relations oriented within and around religion, the family, work, education and larger social structures (ideologies of capital and liberalism) which define and shape individual consciousness and action. This study concludes appropriately with the admonitions of Foster and Jacobs (2015:18), when they state:

Respect for human rights is recognized nationally and internationally as a legitimate aspiration of all human beings. It is also a pre-condition for our globalized communities and multicultural society to grow and prosper in peace and security. Respect for human rights is also the law. In fact, it is a legal obligation given by *the Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

FIGURE 6. 1: TYPOLOGY/MATRIX OF ACCEPTANCE/ RESISTANCE

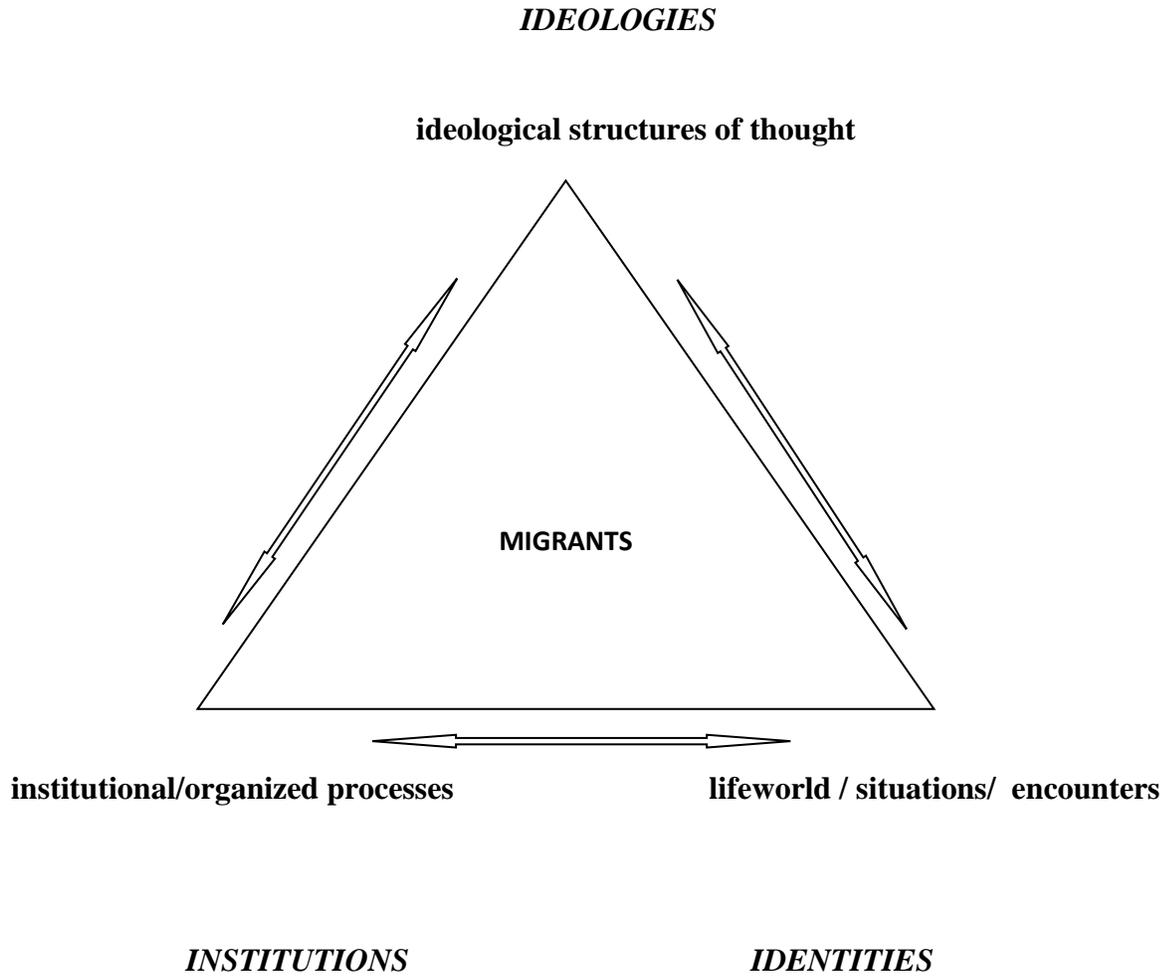
IDENTITY (Being:subjectivity / consciousness)	INSTITUTIONS (Behaviour, means)	IDEOLOGIES (Beliefs, goals, aspirations)
+/-	+/-	+/-
+	+	+
+	-	+
+	+	-
+	-	-
-	+	+
-	-	+
-	+	-
NON RESISTANCE		
-	-	-

Legend:

- resists/ challenges/ subverts (does not fit)
- + accepts/accommodates (fits in)
- +/- rejects and replaces

(Visano, 2006)

FIGURE 6.2 DIALECTICS OF CULTURAL INCORPORATION



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APPENDIX

The stated objectives of the Multiculturalism Act are to:

- a) **recognize** and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;
- b) **recognize** and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;
- c) promote the **full and equitable** participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;
- d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;
- e) ensure that **all** individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;
- f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;
- g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;
- h) foster the **recognition** and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;
- i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and,
- j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

(emphasis added, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1990, pp. 13-15).