

EMBODIED SOCIAL CAPITAL:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRODUCTION OF AFRICAN-CANADIAN
WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND SOCIAL NETWORK ACCESS

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Terra Lee Brockett, candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Studies, has presented a thesis titled, ***Embodied Social Capital: An Analysis of the Production of African-Canadian Women's Identity and Social Network Access***, in an oral examination held on October 11, 2013. The following committee members have found the thesis acceptable in form and content, and that the candidate demonstrated satisfactory knowledge of the subject material.

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Abstract

This study examines how race and gender mediate access to social networks. Following the work of Louise Holt, the theoretical framework is informed by Judith Butler's work on *performativity* with Pierre Bourdieu's work on embodiment as well as W.E. Dubois' notion of double consciousness and Gloria Anzadua's concept of the New Mestiza (2008; Anzaldua, 1999; and Falcon, 2008). Research methods were framed by Black feminist theory and included eight semi-structured interviews with *racialized* African Canadian women who ranged in age, length of time lived in Canada and had a range of social networks, incomes, and children. The findings in this research identified the racial and gender markings experienced by participants, the methods participants used to negotiate these markings and the diversity of social networks participants accessed as a result, in part, of this negotiation. Participants identified being racially marked as degenerate and not belonging to Canada. The racial marking of their bodies was governed by white hegemony that informs both the Canadian nationhood and colonial narratives. In terms of gender, participants identified being regulated by masculine hegemony through the cult of True Womanhood and neo-liberal principles. They further identified images that reflected the compounding nature of race and gender as they were also regulated by the images of the Jezebel and Matriarch that are specific to women recognized as African. Participants consciously embodied alternative racial and gender markings of their bodies to produce identities that spoke back to unfavorable discursive marking. They also accessed different social networks as a way to negotiate or embody

particular markings of their bodies. This negotiation of gender and race led to the production of a diverse range of social networks.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my two daughters Sora and Luka who have shared their mom with her work without complaint.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

1.1 Introduction and research questions

Social networks have increasingly become the focus of academic research and government policies and initiatives as part of the growing and wide ranging adoption of social capital as a key determinant of socioeconomic inequality (Edwards, 2004; and Svendsen, 2006; Status of Women, 2007). As the termed panacea to socioeconomic vulnerability and inequality, social capital has been linked to a number of individual, community and national outcomes. Differentiated socio-economic, health, and educational outcomes, crime rates, immigrant integration, civic engagement and economic growth are a few of the focus areas in social capital research (Hero, 2007; Lin, 2008; Mignone, 2003; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 2000; and Shah, 2007). The notion that social networks benefit individuals and larger communities is rooted in classical sociology but as Rosalind Edwards suggests the increasing application of the concept works to “revalorize social relationships in political discourse, to reintroduce a normative dimension into sociological analysis and to develop concepts which reflect the complexity and interrelationships with the real world” (2004, 3; and Portes, 1998).

In terms of differentiated outcomes, the literature on social capital theory positions inequality as the result of both the practices and social-exclusion of particular populations (Lin, 2008). In Canada, race and gender are key determinants of socio-economic vulnerability (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2009). As a nation governed by neo-liberal discourse where equal access and equal opportunity (to education, employment, politics and services for example) are commonly understood as

human rights for all, the central policy focus of gendered and *racialized* social networks in Canada is not on social exclusion but on the practice of *homophily* which, broadly, is the practice of forming social networks with others who share the same ascribed characteristics (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001).

The focus on *homophily* has two primary implications for vulnerable populations. Vulnerable populations are positioned within a causal relationship to their own vulnerability. As structural influences are erased through the use of neo-liberal discourse, the issue of vulnerability is framed as the result of the personal production of poor social networks (Edwards, 2004). Further, it works to homogenize a diverse range of social network formations within *racialized* and gendered populations (Few, Stephens, and Rouse-Arnett, 2003). Following this observation, the focus of this study is on how race and gender mediate access to social networks using a theory of social capital that shifts away from victim blaming and at the same time accounts for the complex nature of social network formation.

Based on eight in-depth interviews, this study builds on a theory of embodied social capital outlined by Louise Holt to examine a matrix of identity and relationship productions that result from the utilization of different discourses, which provide the discursive space for participants to align themselves differently with others to form both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships. Related to the issues that arise from the focus on *homophily* and, following the theory of embodied social networks developed in Chapter Two, the research questions for this study are:

- (1) Are participants aware of any racial and/or gender marking (bodily attributes that are used as signifiers of difference and to which meaning is assigned)?

- (2) What, if any, self-identified racial and gender markings exist?
- (3) How do participants negotiate/embody any identified gender and racial markings?
- (4) What /how are social networks accessed as a result of these negotiations?

The remainder of Chapter One will provide a detailed back drop of the current theories and research on social networks. As briefly discussed above, the issues that arise out of the utilization of these theoretical frameworks and research are the impetus for the development of the theory used for this study.

1.2 Contemporary Social Capital Theory

The concept of ‘social capital’ has been constructed and operationalized largely following the work of three contemporary social capital theorists: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam (Holt, 2008; Li, 2004; Portes, 2000; Shah, 2007; and Stone and Hughes, 2002). Accordingly, this review will start with a brief description of social networks in relation to social capital according to each central theorist. The second section will outline the research on the gendered and *racialized* nature of social networks in Canada. Specifically, it will examine the research that emerges out of the theoretical frameworks put forward by Putnam, as his theory most informs policy and research (Holt, 2008; and Hero, 2007). It will then discuss the limited research that intersects gender and race to examine social networks in Canada. The third section will briefly discuss Louis Holt’s work on embodied social capital as a potential theory of social capital that works to locate the larger socio-historical structures that shape individuals’ access to social networks. It will then outline this thesis and subsequent chapters.

For research following Pierre Bourdieu social capital is conceptualized as a *capitalizable* resource “linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1983, 249). Social capital for Bourdieu is both a personal and group asset mediated by cultural, economic and symbolic capital in such a way that it is exclusive in nature and works to (re)produce class divisions. An individual’s access to social networks is conceptualized as an outcome of one’s social location. Social networks are almost entirely socially closed, forming bonding social networks as members share a level of inter-subjective knowledge specific to each social network. This knowledge which regulates members and access to the social network ranges from cultural knowledge to class-based “taste” and is reproduced through the material and symbolic exchanges specifically tied to the network (Bourdieu and Laquant, 1992; Edwards, 2004; Holt, 2008; and Portes, 2000).

Access to social networks has the potential to materialize in economic capital. In the example of employment, key references and information about potential jobs flow along different social networks. Simply, the people that you know can increase your socio-economic mobility through both information and connection. According to Bourdieu, upward mobility is limited as individuals cannot simply gain the inter-subjective knowledge necessary in order to gain membership to social networks with more lucrative information channels and valuable references.

Bourdieu speaks to the potential for differentiated social capital within social networks as a result of differentiated returns to social exchanges within social networks. He specifically identifies that members within social networks themselves are positioned in different social locations. These social locations in turn dictate the member’s actions

(exchanges) and the potential return on exchanges (Bourdieu, 2001). This understanding of social networks as a function of social capital links the outcomes of social capital to larger social structures in two ways. First, it links the inaccessibility of largely class based social networks to inter-generationally (re)produced differentiated socio-economic outcomes. Second, it identifies a potential root of differentiated outcomes within social networks almost absent in the larger body of social capital literature (Anthias, 2007; and Holt, 2008).

Research following James Coleman conceptualizes social capital as a *mobilizable* resource. Following Coleman, social capital has emancipatory potential as it can be utilized by the individual or group to accomplish goals (Coleman, 1988). Unlike Bourdieu's focus on social capital as a function of reproducing socio-economic location, Coleman understands social capital (inherent in social networks) in terms of its production of human capital. Coleman's theory of action follows Rational Action theory, so, unlike Bourdieu who describes actions as largely unconscious embodied practices emerging from a pre-reflexive socio-historically shaped cognitive structure, Coleman understands participation in social networks to be intentional and the result of choice.

This productive resource "embedded in relations among persons" within social networks facilitates actor's actions (Coleman, 1988). Coleman locates social capital specifically in obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms within social networks or social closures (Coleman, 1988).

Obligations and expectations within social closures work to regulate members while simultaneously cultivating a space for trust and potential returns to participation and exchanges with members. In the act of doing something for another member within a

network, an obligation (or imagined credit slip as Coleman calls it) materializes. Not all members within a network have the same ability to acquire “credit slips”. Wealth for example can provide an individual with a greater degree of social capital as it offers members a way to build obligations (credit) within a network. In order for these obligations to materialize, there must be a level of trust on the expected return to the act as well as a level of social closure within a network in order to effectively hold members accountable. The ability to hold members accountable further cultivates trust. When members belong to multiple networks with the same members (for example, the same people belong to a particular business community and religious community), the ability to regulate exchange increases and as a result so does the level of trust among members which in turn cultivates the space for exchanges that lead to increased social capital.

For Coleman, information channels emerge through social relationships that exist for reasons outside of the information they provide. In one example, Coleman explains that a social scientist can learn current information on related research areas through everyday interactions with colleagues in her/his university community (Coleman, 1988). The exchange of information however, according to Coleman, does not materialize in an obligation. The relationships simply “constitute a form of social capital that provides information that facilitates action” (Coleman, 1988, 104).

According to Coleman, effective norms can regulate behavior in ways that lead to social capital, particularly as it benefits social closures. In the example of education, social support, norms and rewards regulate student’s behaviors in the direction of academic success which in turn increases the student’s level of human capital and the successful operation of the school.

Coleman briefly notes the potentially negative side of norms and regulations in so far as they regulate the entire network when it may not be necessary. He offers the example of publicly imposed curfews to curb crime. While for Coleman, this potentially leads to the benefit of less crime and safer neighbourhoods, it also has negative outcomes as the same rules regulate the actions of people who do not commit crime.

Social capital here is linked to human capital outcomes through the norms and regulations within the social network itself. It further links human capital outcomes to the density of social networks and their capacity to facilitate trust and supportive relationships.

Research following Robert Putnam's approach conceptualizes social capital as a public good and a determinant of civic engagement and social cohesion (Putnam, 2000). Specifically, social capital is understood as the connections that emerge out of *reciprocal social relationships* (re)produced within social networks through norms of trust (Putnam, 2000, 19 stress on the original). Putnam closely follows Coleman's understanding of social capital in terms of how trust, norms and returns to investment (or actions) operate within social networks, but while Coleman focuses on human capital outcomes, Putnam primarily focuses on the production of social goods or benefits outside of the networks themselves (Putnam, 2001). Social networks are divided into two types according to whether their dominant form of social capital is either "bonding" or "bridging". Bonding social capital involves strong group ties, usually through an informal social support network such as family and friends. Bridging forms of social capital emerge through horizontal connections between people from different groups or networks. According to Stone and Hughes (2002), bridging social capital provides the opportunity for socio-

economic mobility. Following Putnam, Michael Woolcock (2001) adds “linking” social capital to the list. This vertical dimension of social capital ties people from different social locations together. According to Woolcock, this form of ties provides poor and other marginalized groups with "the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community" (Putnam, 2007; Status of Women, 2007; and Woolcock 2001, 13). Bridging and linking social capital hint at a permeability of social closures that is in line with Coleman’s idea that actors can choose to participate in social networks (Holt, 2008). This permeability conflicts with Bourdieu’s position that social networks are impermeable and in fact work to (re)produce class divisions.

In examining the negative outcomes of social capital, Putnam acknowledges the potential negative outcome of semi-closed social networks, but unlike Bourdieu who identifies power differentials between the closures, he identifies these multiple semi-closures as neutral in nature (Edwards, 2004). Lower levels of social capital are tied to lower levels of “civic-ness” within particular social networks, not in differentiated access or returns to network participation (Putnam, 1993). For Putnam, negative outcomes of social capital are largely tied to what he terms “negative externalities” (Putnam, 2001). In the example of gangs, while membership may benefit individual members, for example through economic support, the larger community is affected by the forms of crime that are enabled through membership in this social network.

Following the work of Putnam, the key theorist informing public policy in North America, social networks are identified as potential building blocks that work to decrease inequality by increasing social connectedness (Government of Canada, 2008; Holt, 2008; and Hero, 2007). Wendy Stone and Jody Hughes suggest that the body of research

following this theory of social capital has examined social networks through three main dimensions: (1) Size and capacity of social networks as an indicator of “stock” and the ability to invest in social capital, (2) Density of social networks (the number of connections amongst members in a social network) as an indicator of the quality and output potential of social relationships, and (3) heterogeneity of social network membership as an indicator of the potential of bridging social networks that work to increase trust amongst a “diverse range of networks” and in turn resources and opportunities (2002; Edwards, 2004; and Holt, 2008). Simply, this research suggests that increased size, density and heterogeneity of formal social networks materialize in improved outcomes (socio-economic, health, education and so on) for individuals. It does not work to link social capital outcomes to larger social structures outside of the social networks or social exclusion that potentially mediates both participation in and returns to social location within networks (Bezanson, 2003; Chua, 2010; and Edwards, 2004). Instead, social relationships within networks are understood as neutral and social networks themselves are placed in a causal relationship with social, economic and political outcomes (Edwards, 2004; Fine, 2001; and Lin, 2000). According to Edwards (2004), this understanding of social networks directs policy intervention at “dysfunctional” social networks that are understood to cause social, economic and political instability.

1.3 *Racialized* and Gendered Social Networks

Race and gender have been identified as two key determinants for lower levels of social capital (Anuchu et al., 2006; Campbell and McLean, 2002; Erickson, 2004;

Hyman, Meinhard and Shields, 2011; McDonald and Day, 2010; McPherson et al., 2001; Li, 2004; Lin, 2000; Lin and Hsung, 2001; and Nakhai, 2007). *Racialized* and gendered social network formation has been described, for the most part, as reflecting the practice of *homophily*. According to McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook (2001), the practice of *homophily* is the tendency to interact with those who have similar characteristics. These shared characteristics may reflect ascribed characteristics or other characteristics ranging from culture and individual tastes to shared socio-economic locations (Burt, 1998; Hall, 1989; and Li, 2004).

Studies on the gendered nature of social capital have illustrated that women, relative to men, more commonly access bonding social networks and peripheral bridging networks (Bezanson and Carter, 2007; Enns, 2008; Erickson, 2004; Lin, 2000; Norris and Inglehart, 2003; and Smith, 2000). According to Bonnie Erickson (2004), while Canadian men and women have similar social network sizes, relative to men, women's social networks consist of a greater number of dense familial ties. Men, on the other hand, access more diverse, economic, and resource-rich bridging social networks. Erickson's research follows the research of Nan Lin whose own work falls outside of the more common focus of social capital literature. Influenced by both Bourdieu and Coleman, Lin goes beyond outlining the makeup of social networks and includes a focus on differentiated social locations within networks that lead to a level of exclusive access to social capital within social networks. According to Lin, structural and cultural mechanisms of social exclusion manifest into material forms of inequality (Lin, 2000, 786-787). In terms of social capital, social exclusion is about the "the quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor can access or use through its location in a social

network” as well as the differentiated returns to this access for particular groups (Lin, 2000, 786 and Lin and Hsung, 2001). The material exclusion that emerges (for example socio-economic vulnerability), itself is an effect of institutionalized exclusion (material and symbolic) as structural elements govern networks, shaping access to them and social capital within them (Anucha et al., 2006; Campbell and Mclean, 2002; and Lamba, 2002). According to Erickson, women occupy different social locations within social networks relative to men in such a way that information flows along gendered lines. Gendered differences in social locations at work, for example, where men occupy the majority of management positions while women occupy supportive roles or employee positions under management, are (re)produced as men more easily access support and information that flows along more lucrative information channels tied to their higher social location within social networks. Erickson further works to deconstruct the gendered nature of social networks as she points to a gendered difference in social location regardless of human capital factors such as education. Applying a gender lens to Coleman’s theory, she points to differentiated returns to human capital investments as women with similar levels of education to their male counterparts more often occupy lower positions within the work place.

In line with Erickson’s work, Kate Bezanson and Ellen Carter (2006) identify that the average Canadian women’s differentiated socio-economic location relative to men positions them at a similar disadvantage as the income necessary to pay for participating in formal social networks, for example through clubs or participation fees, leads to differentiated access to lucrative bridging social networks. For women, in particular *racialized* women, lower average incomes and higher rates of low income do not provide

women with the same financial ability to access these social networks as their white male counterparts (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2009; and Bezanson and Carter, 2006).

The limited literature on gendered social networks frames women's social networks in two ways. First, as described above, the degeneracy of gendered social networks is tied to the differentiated social locations occupied by women and men that work to (re)produce unequal access to social capital. Second, the literature on *homophily*, suggests that women spend more time with other women in similar social locations due to being drawn to people they have more in common with. For example, shared interests, tastes, and familial obligations (child care) are suggested to lead women to spend more time with their female peers (Bezanson and Carter, 2006; and Erickson, 2004). Bezanson and Carter start to locate structural influences on the gendered practice of *homophily* as they examine the social reproduction of gendered networks that reflect women's work in the private sphere. For example, they highlight the responsibility of childcare that leads to strong familial ties and support as opposed to the rich diverse non-familial ties more often found in men's social networks. According to Bezanson and Carter (2006), the benefits of women's strong bonding social networks, and the "generational production and maintenance of the population" that result from it, are largely missing in social capital literature. Instead, the focus on *homophily* and unequal access and returns to social capital, in both research and policy, position women's social networks as degenerate as they lack the socio-economically lucrative bridging social networks found more commonly in men's relationships.

Research on the *racialized* nature of social networks in Canada largely focuses on immigrant populations and the socio-economic implications for members within ethno-racial enclaves (Li, 2004). Within Canadian literature, ethno-racial enclaves and members are discursively framed as newcomers and in need of integration (Anuchu et.al, 2006; Lamba, 2003; and Li, 2004). According to Peter Li (2004), there are four major contested themes within the literature, all of which emerge from an assumed practice of *homophily*. Two of these, the “ethnic attachment” and “ethnic mobility entrapments” theses, point to the economic consequences of social networks that emerge out of the practice of *homophily*. These theories suggest that the practice of *homophily* in ethno-racial enclaves limits access to bridging and linking forms of social capital, which in turn, it is argued, limits socio-economic advancement (Li, 2004). According to these theories, while ethno-racial enclaves provide strong bonding social networks and initial support after immigration, access to employment and returns to relationships within ethno-racial enclaves in Canada are limited by the socio-economic location of the group relative to their white counterparts (Hyman, Meinhard, and Shields, 2011; Kunz, 2005; Li, 2004; Nakhaie, 2007; and Ooka and Wellman, 2003). The “ethnic enclave” and “ethnic transnationalism” theses focus on the benefits of these relationships, particularly as they produce strong support within the local community and also offer potential international ties that convert to economic benefits (Enns, 2008; and Li, 2004). Hyman et al. (2011) add that strong ethno-racial communities with established infrastructure and support work to provide members with a strong base and sense of belonging that have the potential to provide them with the foundation to build bridging social networks with other enclaves and the larger Canadian society.

In line with Nan Lin's work on exclusion, Hyman et al. and Kunz (2011; and 2005) suggest that the formation of ethno-racial enclaves and the resulting practice of *homophily* itself reflects both a shared sense of culture and identity and structural forms of exclusion from the larger Canadian society. According to Stuart Hall (1989), *racialized* exclusion leads to the "abandonment of mainstream norms... the emergence of separate subcultures... and withdrawal from social and political life". Ethno-racial enclaves emerge as a result of ethno-racial exclusion as members work to produce a sense of rootedness, cultural integrity and substantive citizenship within the Canadian nation (Kelly, 1998; Ibrahim, 2004; and Oxoby, 2009). In terms of social capital, dense bonding social networks emerge within a localized ethno-cultural framework that, according to Hall, in turn works to *essentialize* identities and tie similarly *racialized* bodies to a "distant homeland" (Hall, 1989; and Lin, 2000). This research illustrates that shared culture and *essentialized* identity, along with shared social exclusion, is the basis for the practice of *homophily* and the production of ethno-racial enclaves and networks. Within the larger discourse on *homophily*, the role of social exclusion is under-researched. This frames *racialized* networks as "degenerate" as members seemingly choose to practice *homophily* and, similar to women, lack the bridging social networks of their white counterparts.

While *racialized* women have been identified as one of the most socio-economically vulnerable populations in Canada, the limited research on the inequality of social capital in Canada has largely focused on either race or gender (Social Workers of

Canada, 2009).¹ The intersection of race and gender or the compounding effects of being *racialized* and gendered are under-researched in social capital literature (Anuchu et al., 2006).

In their research on immigrant women's social capital, Anuchu, Dlamini, Yan and Smylie (2006) examined the intersection of race and gender in four immigrant communities in Windsor. They studied the social networks possessed by women, the benefits of these social networks (social capital), as well as social factors that mediate the potential outcomes of social capital. They found that *racialized* immigrant women had higher levels of both bonding and bridging forms of social capital compared to their male counterparts. 95.8% of women identified having both bonding and bridging social networks (Anuchu et al., 2006, 45).² Married women and women with higher levels of education were said to participate less often in formal social networks. Bonding social networks (family and friends living in Canada) provided both a social network based on shared culture and settlement support that reflected the shared experience of immigrating to Canada. Religious groups, community organizations and cultural/ethnic groups were also identified as sources of social capital that lead to a number of positive outcomes ranging from a sense of belonging to employment opportunities. According to Anuchu et al., participation in religious organizations specifically lead to making Canadian friends (read white) that helped members to "find housing, secure jobs...and learn English". A number of community organizations themselves were formed by members of different

¹ First Nations women were identified by Statistics Canada as the largest population living with low incomes. "Black" women were identified as the second largest population vulnerable to low income living (Social Workers of Canada, 2009).

²It is important to note that this research describes the existence of bonding and bridging social networks but does not describe the number of bridging and bonding social networks held by *racialized* immigrant women.

ethno-racial enclaves to meet unmet needs within their communities. Membership in these organizations was largely female. These community organizations were important to women's social networks as they provided infrastructure to support newcomers who had lost most of their networks as a result of immigrating to Canada. Community organizations also became spaces where women could meet others from their own ethno-racial community if they had no prior family or friends there.

The positive outcomes of social capital were complicated by women's roles in the family and experiences of racism and social exclusion within the larger Canadian society. For example, in the case of employment, immigrant women identified that they were able to gain employment, but they also described the type of employment they could access as insecure, difficult and requiring a low level of skills. Women described not feeling "Canadian enough" relative to their white peers when explaining the insecure and lower level of jobs they obtained "despite qualifications" (Anuchu et al., 2006, 83). One of the major issues faced by participants was the non-recognition of their education and skills. This also led to working in areas that required a lower skill-set. Employment was also mediated by how women negotiated paid employment and their roles as mothers. While some participants identified the need to work for income security and financial independence that would benefit both the family and the women themselves, others stated that their primary role was to be a mother and would only seek work if their husbands were unemployed. Through the example of employment, Anuchu et al. illustrate that although women identified having both bonding and bridging forms of social networks, the social capital produced through these networks is also mediated by other factors that regulate women themselves and the returns to social capital.

Social capital research on gendered and *racialized* social networks largely focuses on the practice of *homophily*, the (re)production of social networks, and the need for bridging social networks to increase positive outcomes ranging from socio-economic status to health. Limited research has also included some consideration of socio-historical and structural factors, such as social location, that have led to differentiated returns on different forms of capital for particular members in these social networks (due to sexism or racism for example). In their work, Anuchu et al. introduce social factors, such the role of social exclusion and motherhood, in mediating social capital. This discussion highlights an under-researched area in the work on social capital. Diversity, the intersection of race and gender, as well as socio-historical factors that shape access to and participation in social networks, are under researched areas in social capital literature. There is almost no discussion of different experiences and differentiated network access amongst *racialized* women. While examples such as Hall's discussion on how social exclusion leads to ethno-racial enclaves point to the socio-historical production of these networks, research has not focused on socio-historical influences that shape *racialized* women's access to different social networks. More specifically, following the work of Louise Holt, "the ways in which dominant and marginalized identity positionings, and a variety of inclusions and exclusions can be (re)produced within community groups and associations, requires further exploration" (2008, 23). For Holt, this further exploration includes an examination of what she terms "sociability" and "normalization power" in the production of social networks and the positioning of particular bodies within them (2008, 238). She directs researchers to look at the embodiment of socio-historical marking that can lead to both "the endurance of embodied inequalities and potential social

transformation” (2008, 227). The following section will briefly introduce Holt’s work on embodied social capital and conclude with the goals and direction of this thesis.

1.4 Embodied Social Capital

In her work on embodied social capital Louise Holt works to locate young people with (dis)abilities’ differentiated social locations and participation in social networks within larger socio-economic and historical processes. She combines Judith Butler’s work on *performativity* with Pierre Bourdieu’s work on embodiment and social capital to examine the ways in which embodied locations work to “(re) produce broader patterns of disadvantage” such as social exclusion and marginalization (2008, 236).

Louise Holt’s work on embodied social capital shifts the focus on social networks. Unlike prior research which focuses on social networks (and their inherent social capital) as determinants of socio-economic outcomes, Holt’s work focuses on the socio-historical factors and power that lead to individuals’ participation and position within social networks. Ascribed characteristics such as (dis)ability, race and gender are not treated as independent variables. Instead they are understood as embodied identities that result from a negotiation of power and socio-historical marking of the body (2008, 233). The differentiated social locations held by embodied identities are not static and also reflect a limited negotiation of power and the social historical shaping of the continuously changing social spaces that work to position different embodied identities in different social locations. She offers a dynamic embodied account of social network participation that works to challenge the causal relationship (and victim blaming narrative) in the work informed by Putnam’s theory as it locates social network

participation within the context of social marking and larger social structures that regulate both the body and social networks (Holt, 2008).

1.5 Organization of thesis

This thesis works through Holt's theory of embodied social capital. Using a Black feminist theory lens it builds on Holt's theory and applies it to gender and race. Through this theory, I examine the embodied and negotiated socio-historical markings of *racialized* African Canadian women in Regina, Saskatchewan that lead to a range of different social relationships and participation in different social networks. I chose to focus on *racialized* African Canadian women for a two reasons. First, *racialized* African Canadian women have been identified by Statistics Canada as the second highest socio-economically vulnerable population in Canada (Social Workers of Canada, 2009). Second, my own education in African history provides me with a basic knowledge of some of the issues of colonization and experiences of different African communities, which aided in both the interview process and writing.

The first chapter of this thesis reviewed how the central social capital theorists, Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam discuss the production of social networks and the research on *racialized* and gendered social networks in Canada. It then briefly introduced Louise Holt's theory of embodied social capital. Chapter Two examines and further develops Holt's theory of embodied social capital and explores Judith Butler's work on *performativity* with Pierre Bourdieu's work on embodiment. It also discusses W.E. Dubois' notion of double consciousness and Gloria Anzaldua's *The New Mestiza* to open a theoretical space for consciousness-raising that resolves the

divide between Butler's intentional action and the unconscious nature of embodiment held by Bourdieu. It concludes with a discussion of the research questions. Chapter Three describes the methodological overview. In particular it describes how Black feminist theory informed the methodological approach. Chapter Four discusses the racial and gender marking identified by participants and locates it within larger socio-historical structures. Chapter Five discusses the findings. It examines the ways in which participants negotiated the gendered and *racialized* marking of their bodies and the resulting production of their social networks. Women's social networks ranged from strongly intra-racial (and therefore *homophilous*) to strongly inter-racial. Following these findings and the theoretical approach, it concludes with potential areas of study for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework used and developed for this study. As a white woman coming from a feminist, post-structural, post-colonial standpoint, I would argue that Black feminist theory—and specifically, that which is outlined by April Few, Dionne Stephens, and Marlo Rouse-Arnett (2003)³—is the most appropriate theoretical and methodological approach to studying *racialized* African-Canadian women. A product of feminist standpoint and critical race theory, Black feminist theory requires a qualitative approach to research that can examine “interlocking systems of oppression” (for example, *racialized* and gendered) as well as the resulting multiple negotiations and forms of resistance to it that materialize in a range of outcomes (Collins, 1991, 225 and Sealy, 2000). It also requires that participants are positioned as experts on their lives in relation to the researcher.

In line with Black feminist theory, Holt’s theory on embodied social capital works to situate the negotiated constraints, agency and resulting dynamic practices—specifically social network access and participation—of *racialized* women within the larger socio-historical contexts of which their bodies are a production (Battersby, 1999; Brah, 2007; Bachiller, 2003; Collins, 1991; McClintock, 1995; and Subrenduh, 2008). It has the potential to intentionally work beyond the *essentialized* conceptualizations of identity

³ Though the focus of their work is specifically on black women researching black women, it offers important insight to the ways in which black women’s lives have been “misrepresented, misappropriated, and/or misconstrued” (Few et al., 2003, 205). It further offers tangible strategies for approaching qualitative research with *racialized* women (and populations for which the researcher is not an “insider”).

production that have been criticized by critical race and Black feminist theorists as it aims to identify a matrix of network participation and identity productions (Few, Stephens, and Rouse-Arnett, 2003; Hall, 1992; and Sooknanan, 2000). Using W.E. Dubois' concept of double consciousness and Gloria Anzaldua's *The New Mestiza*, I build on her theoretical framework by identifying a conscious space that allows for agency and intentional subversion, and that works to shift the "epistemological privilege to the individual" in a way that is missing in Bourdieu's theory of embodiment (Collins, 1991; Few et al., 2003; Holt, 2010, 233; McNay, 2004).

The theoretical framework developed in this chapter works through and builds on Louise Holt's theory on embodied social capital. Following Holt, this chapter combines Pierre Bourdieu's work on habitus and social networks with Judith Butler's concept of *performativity* to offer a dynamic account of embodiment that materializes in multiple identity formations. Following the work of Carmen Bachiller, the first section will discuss the nature of the body according to Butler and Bourdieu and examine the process of how dominated and vulnerable bodies come into being and are (re)produced through everyday practices. The second section will utilize the work of Anne McClintock and Judith Butler to loosen the seemingly bound *ascriptive* identity categories found in social capital literature to create a space for movement across their binary manifestations. The third section will incorporate Gloria Anzaldua's concept of *The New Mestiza* to further develop Holt's theoretical framework. Through the identification of the body as a borderland between different cultural locations, Anzaldua's work points to a potential site for raising consciousness of the marking of one's body and a level of agency. This "third space" leads to the emergence of a diversity of position takings and practices that are a

result of a certain level of agency and self-determination in the embodiment process outside of discursive and socio-historically produced limits. It is suggested that individuals can and do, in part consciously, (re)produce a matrix of identities, thereby participating in different social networks (Anzaldua, 1999; Bourdieu, 2001; Dillabough, 2004; McLeod, 2005; and McNay, 1999).

2.2 Defining the Body

This section defines the term “body” and describes the “process of corporealisation” or the process of becoming a body. It does not discount the materiality of the body, but proceeds from a position that recognizes the inaccessibility of the knowledge of a pre-discursive body (Bachiller, 2006; and Butler, 1990). The body here is not a three dimensional container with an inner/outer divide. It is not a stable unit in which substances such as food are put or where the skin acts as a protective shield from the external gaze of others, who are themselves separate and contained (Battersby, 1999). What is meant here by the body is a porous, changing, moving surface on which discourse, culture, and complex relationships of power are continuously inscribed, embodied, and performed (Bachiller, 2006; Bourdieu, 2001; Butler, 2004; Foucault, 1977 and Holt, 2010).

The body is a space that occupies social and historical norms that regulate its form, actions and everyday practices (Butler, 1993; Bourdieu, 2001 and Holt, 2010). This is not to say that the body is docile, as it can occupy, exceed and rework norms to produce a matrix of potential outcomes (Bourdieu, 2001; and Butler, 2004). In the example of the social historical production of sex, the binary ordering of sex categories

operates as an organizing principle to identify what is recognized as the masculine or feminine body form. As Butler explains through gender *performativity*, the body, which is discursively constructed, is *interpellated* through naming, after which it acts out what it is named, producing a subjectivity that is then recognized by others.

To the extent that the naming of the “girl” is transitive, that is, initiates the process by which a certain “girling” is compelled, the term or, rather, its symbolic power, governs the formation of a corporeally enacted femininity that never fully approximates the norm. This is a “girl”, however, who is compelled to “cite” the norm in order to qualify and remain a viable subject. Femininity is thus not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, and punishment. (Butler, 1993, 232)

As Butler explains, this *performative* utterance does not actually describe the body. Instead, the body is constituted in the act of description. It is through the inscription of the social on the body that actors become shaped (in this case gendered) by arbitrary anatomical differences and ordering that call persons into particular embodied subjectivities.

The (re) production of markers and the act of marking itself reflects socially produced categories of perception and understanding, illustrating how the body itself in actuality is a cultural sign. For Bourdieu and Butler, this marking of the body through the discursive, the historical, the social, and agency (itself limited) materializes in durable forms of embodiment or “ritualized stylisation” that come to be identified as emerging from the body (Bourdieu, 2001; Butler 1990 and 2004; and Ibrahim, 2004). As Butler describes, it is through *interpellation* that the body comes to act. As the body acts out (performs) the embodied-subjectivity or “deeply buried corporeal dispositions”, these actions, or body formations are identified as the essence of the body or “causal postures

within discourse” (Applerouth and Edles, 2007, 55; Butler, 1993; Foucault in Butler, 1990, 128; and Ibrahim, 2004).

For Bourdieu, corporeal dispositions are the product of a socio-historically produced generative system where systems of meaning (fields), are transformed through a dynamic, largely unconscious, social-cognitive structure (habitus) and (re)produced through practice at the moment of action (Applerouth and Edles, 2007; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005; and Holt, 2010). It does not produce singular, pre-determined, fixed practices within given conditions, but instead shapes a matrix of possible practices for actors under different conditions through a “durable and transposable system of schemata or structure of perception”. In addition to this, it materially shapes the motor functions of the body (body hexis) (Bachiller, 2006; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, 126; Grenfell, 2008; and McLeod, 2005).^{4 5} Bourdieu likens it to the concept of generative grammar where a single grammatical rule can make up a number of different sentences with completely different meanings. They are formed by the same rule, but the content that makes them up is different (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

The body, a medium “destroyed and transfigured” through marking, becomes the site of cultural reproduction as body formation (self- shaping and discipline) and resulting everyday practice (re)produce the embodied subjectivities (Bourdieu, 2001; Butler, 1989; Foucault, 1977, and Holt, 2010). Marking, the process of meaning-making that uses signification to indicate difference, operates within different social bodies. These fields,

⁴ This general description of habitus and field runs the risk of appearing locked in a subjective /objective binary, but as will be described in further detail, the binary is bridged through a relationship of constant mutual adjustment. Habitus and field “function fully only in relation to each other” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, 19).

⁵ There theoretical production of the habitus within the problematic mind/ body split points to the potential space for further theoretical development.

as Bourdieu calls them, are constituted by underlying hegemonic systems of knowledge.⁶ Each field with its own social historical logic structures the organizing principles of marking, which in turn discursively form the intelligibility of the body. It is through this process that bodies not only come to be known and hierarchically valued, but also excluded (Bourdieu, 2001; Butler, 1990; and Hall, 1996 and 1989). In the example of binary sex categories Butler illustrates that bodies born outside of the “normative” sex indicators, such as those without a ‘proper’ vagina or penis or XX and XY chromosomes, are erased through either exclusion or body reformation (genital surgery or hormone therapy) so that the body can more ‘correctly’ occupy one of the two possible sex categories (Butler, 1993 and 2004).

For Bourdieu, particular constraints and allowances are tied to the location of the habitus within the field as the actors are subjected to different deeply unconscious “calls to order” according to the position they have taken (Applerouth and Edles, 2007, 55). This *interpellation* of the actor through her positionality within the field orients her disposition so that her practices (re)produce the markers of her social location and the structure itself (Holt, 2010).

In the example of gender, as gender divisions associated with the biological sex categories are repeatedly legitimated through the observation of embodied subjectivities, they become the basis of further ordering and differentiation according to the hierarchical ordering of the field. The embodied marking and “observed” differences legitimate each other to a point where divisions appear natural (Bourdieu, 2001; and Plumwood 1993).

⁶ The term system of knowledge here is meant to be synonymous with a system of meaning according to Stuart Hall (1996).

When the embodied subjectivity reflects the organizing principles of a field the “acts of cognition inevitably become acts of recognition (and) submission” (Bourdieu, 2001, 13). As further categories of perception are created based on seemingly natural ‘biological differences’ the unequal social relations and practices that the categories themselves shape are masked, producing what Bourdieu terms *doxa* (2001).

2.3 Loosening the Binary

As binary conceptualizations of identity are hierarchically positioned according to the internal logic of a field the non-normative body becomes a space of abjection, constituted by elements deemed impure and therefore expunged from the normative body (McClintock, 1995). For example, if a field is constituted by androcentric logic or masculine hegemony, the phallus becomes central to identity (as in the example of Freudian psychology or the Western world, in general) and to power. The phallus in this case becomes normative in a way that bodies that do not represent the phallus ‘properly’ or at all are defined in terms of not normative, inferior, lack, or even degenerative, “other” (Butler, 1993; McClintock, 1995). Through this, the body becomes an oppositional boundary between normative and “other”, so that in the example of masculine hegemony, the feminine body becomes a sign of weakness, degeneration, and feeble-mindedness, while the masculine body becomes a sign of strength, evolution, and rationality (McDowell, 1999).

The ordering of categories leads to power differentials that materialize in an oppression of the “other” that is legitimated through their “lack” or social location on the periphery (Bachiller, 2006; Butler, 2004; and Holt, 2008). Anne McClintock (1995), in

her discussion on white hegemony during the Victorian period of colonization, describes how the black body in colonial discourse was placed on the periphery of human kind using numerous discourses such as biology, geography, commodity advertising, and other fields to legitimate colonization. In the example of biology, white hegemonic organizing principles fed into the already existent discourse on the degeneracy of the black body by identifying it as the “link” between humans and apes. Through the use of the “empirical body” measurements and ranking of “inferior” groups were mapped out against the universal white male whose body was marked as the height of the evolved body. This produced a sense of panoptical time where the world was composed of men⁷ from different levels on the evolutionary scale. The position of the white body as the “pinnacle of the evolutionary hierarchy” became a justification for the paternalistic white father to intervene and ultimately “civilize” the “not–quite human”/ “child-like” black bodies that needed to be brought into the present (McClintock, 1995, 55). The black body, marked through this discourse, constituted the borderland between civilization and the animal /natural world (Fanon, 1986; and Hall, 1996).

While the bodies within the periphery are recognized and regulated through the internal logic of the field (white masculine hegemony in this case), their own social location and marking also work to regulate the performance of the normative body through the threat of becoming the “other”. Normative bodies are disciplined in the sense that they must be careful not to cross the normative/other boundary of marking that may shift their body from the privileged discursive space of normativity to the discursive

⁷ The term man is used here to reflect the Androcentric organizing principals that also shaped discourse during this time (McLintock, 1995).

periphery (McClintock 1995). In McClintock's example of colonized white Irish bodies, the English could not use skin color as a marker to legitimate colonization. The domestic barbarism that was tied to the black body to legitimate colonization in Africa at the time was also used to mark the white Irish body with a sort of racial degeneration. Through this, the white Irish body passed over the white/black boundary of signification. The racial degeneration of the white Irish body was used by the English to justify the oppression of bodies that otherwise would have problematized the white hegemonic logic of colonization (McClintock, 1995).

Skin color as a marker of difference and therefore power continues to perpetuate inequity and oppression of the black body, but the example of the Irish body points to a certain fluidity within the tightly bound category of race (Butler, 2004; Hall, 1996; and McClintock, 1995). The boundaries of the binary categories are permeable and shifting so that even when a body signifies one side of a binary, in other moments it may signify the opposite side of the dualism, suggesting there is no guarantee of power or certainty of a body maintaining its place in the normative or the periphery (Butler, 1993; and McClintock, 1995).

Butler's *performativity* further destabilizes binary markers of difference. As bodies continually fail to perform or approximate their discursive markings they disrupt and subvert embodied subjectivity at the point of failed performance (1990, and Holt, 2010). This creates a space between the body and its socio-historical and discursive markings, loosening the bound subjectivity of the body. As the body performs less than perfectly it performs somewhere within the space between normative and "other" so that in some instances the body may occupy one side or "other" of the binary, or straddle both.

This failure to perform softens the bound nature of the category again making embodied subjectivity more fluid. What is more is that the body emerges as a space of border crossing, a borderland (Anzaldua, 1999). This not only points to the instability of power, but also a potential site of agency. As the intelligibility, that is the discursive and socio-historical marking and power relations that constitute a body are exposed, the possibility of intentional subversive acts materializes (Butler, 2004).

For both Butler and Bourdieu subversive acts are limited by discourse and the internal logic of the field.

“My black body speaks a language of its own, it cheats me, it ritualizes me, where I become a condensed moment of historicity, an inscribed repetition of convention, a passer-by who turns to the policeman to acquire an identity, ‘one purchased as it were, with the price of guilt’” (Ibrahim, 2004, 78)

In this example, Awad Ibrahim identifies that it was in coming to Canada that his body became black. In his story he shares a personal encounter with a white policeman. The policeman, who “recognizes” his “black body”, has reason enough to stop him and publicly interrogate him without so much as an apology after determining his innocence. In this cultural location where being white is normative his skin color becomes a marker of difference unlike the experience of Ibrahim’s youth where the same body was marked, among other things, as tall, Sudanese, and scholar (Ibrahim, 2004, 78). The relationship of power between the policeman and Ibrahim, the “passer-by”, manifests through the gaze of the officer. The external gaze becomes the site of recognition. It is the moment where the marking inscribed on the black body and the relationship of power between the two bodies is reproduced. The policeman holds the power to “legitimately identify” the black body through a social historical lens that according to Stuart Hall has tied the black

body to violence, guilt and crime (Falcon, 2008; Fanon, 1986; and Hall 1996). The passer-by himself recognizes this gaze through what W.E. Dubois terms double consciousness, or “a sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others” (Dubois quoted in Falcon, 2008, 663)⁸. As Ibrahim suggests through speaking a different language than his body, it is not that he believes this to be true about his body, but that his body (a cultural symbol), in the relationship with the policeman, is recognized and policed through a white hegemonic lens. It is the external authoritative gaze that binds this relationship of power (Anzaldua, 1999; Falcon, 2008; and Kelly, 1998). It is important to note however that the officer need not be white or male to operate within this framework.

Ibrahim’s (2004) professorship in Toronto interrupts the colonial discourse that socio-historically marks the black body. As the Bantu Education Act in South Africa reads: “The natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them... There is no place for him (the Bantu) above the level of certain forms of labour” (McClintock, 1995, 338-339). Ibrahim’s education and resulting social location disrupt the colonial marking of his body. The lens through which others recognize his black body has to be adjusted in the moment of recognition. This subversion itself has certain limits, as can be illustrated in Ibrahim’s encounter with the policeman who misrecognizes his black body for that of a criminal. Even after learning of Ibrahim’s innocence and the policeman’s own mistake there is not so much as an apology for the

⁸ The act of self-surveillance is only possible through the production of the internal/ external, mind/body dualism that came out of the Enlightenment (Bachiller, 2006; and Butler, 1990). It is also points to a level of consciousness more consistent with Butler’s notion of *performativity*. This need not challenge Bourdieu’s theory of *doxa* as it simply points to moments of consciousness that the body is capable of.

public humiliation or the mistaken charge that Ibrahim was a thief. For Bourdieu (2001), subversive acts are limited by the internal logic of both the field and habitus. Ibrahim's identity and innocence, which problematizes the officer's gaze, meets resistance with the white hegemony that shapes the officer's own internal logic or habitus and the larger social field in which the exchange takes place. The field and the officer's habitus do not remain entirely intact. According to Bourdieu, there can be a small mutual adjustment that points to a slow potential change in the both the habitus and the field. This is not to say that Bourdieu denies the possibility of resistance as he notes:

I do not see how relations of domination... could possibly operate without implying, activating resistance. The dominated, in any social universe, can always exert a certain force, inasmuch as belonging to a field means by definition that one is capable of producing effects in it (Bourdieu, 1992, 80 quoted in McNay, 1999, 104)

For Butler, subversive acts are discursively limited. Within the black/white binary Ibrahim's body is still black. Not only does the discursive (re)marking of the body have to be public but it must emerge, at least in part, outside of the hegemonic discourse that marks the body in order to operate beyond the binary categories that only offer the option of mimicking the normative in order to become empowered (Ahmed, 1999; Anzaldúa, 1999; and Butler, 2004).

2.4 The body as a borderland between discourses: habitus and the new Mestiza

Multiple discourses and social fields mark the body simultaneously, reinforcing certain marks in the instances where their internal logics are in agreement and destabilizing them in others when their internal logics do not mirror each other (Adkins, 2003). Through this process the body becomes a contested space of social hegemony

where, for example, racial and gendered ideologies, practices and power relations come into being (Anzaldúa, 1999; Bourdieu 2001; Butler, 1990; and Collins, 1991). The body becomes a borderland of marking as multiple systems of knowledge occupy it— inscribe themselves on it, merging, overlapping with each other— so that in no instance is there a single socio-historical or discursive marking that is not being either reinforced or contested by another at the moment of its reproduction. The body becomes the product of these discourses (and fields), a space in-between them and at the same time a combination of all of them. It is a borderland between multiple discourses and social fields, influenced by all of them at once creating a body out of which multiple social locations, contradictions and ambiguities emerge (Anzaldúa, 1999; Martinez Gonzalez, 2008; and Segura and Savella, 2008). As the body is pushed and pulled between different discursive forces and fields it is subject to continuous *resignification* and therefore disruption. This space of continuous negotiation materializes in various identity formations, so that there are “multiple productions” within each body and among bodies identified within the same group (Butler, 2004; Martinez Gonzalez, 2008; Tastsolgu, 2000; and Tastsolgu and Dobrowolsky, 2006). In the example of the body recognized as “black diasporic woman” in Canada, both a continuity and diversity mark her body. In North America, the historic experience of slavery, multiple forms of colonization, and racial and gendered oppression may point to similar markings on her body within this cultural location, but differences such as class, sexual orientation, ability and different cultural locations in which her body or the bodies of her mother or grandmother lived prior to residency in North America also point to potentially different discursive markings (Collins, 1991; Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1989; and Ibrahim, 2004).

“Rather than the reductive, essential self, the New Mestiza constantly migrates between the knowing herself: ‘she has many names;’ not knowing who or what she is: ‘the fear that she has no name’; and the fear of not owning who she is: a ‘fear that she’s an image that comes and goes...the dream work inside somebody else’s’ skull.’ She is all of the above, a woman without an official history and the woman who constructs her own historical legacy” (Anzaldua, 1999, 7).

The New Mestiza for Gloria Anzaldua is the body, a borderland like that between countries, which becomes a space of constant policing and surveillance. As the boundaries of discourse and fields mark and constitute the body, they become policed by the gaze of others and the body itself through self-surveillance (using double consciousness). These boundaries are constantly shifting and changing within this borderland so that different logic or organizing principles have a stronger influence on the markers under surveillance, *interpellating* the body differently at different moments (Anzaldua, 1999; Bourdieu, 2001; and Falcon, 2008). These continual shifts point to the instability of identity production and open up conscious moments of different marking and potential sites for agency, where the body can operate beyond binaries and therefore discursive limits to choose the space in which it feels safe, empowered, and at home to dictate its own embodied subjectivity (Anzaldua, 1999; Butler, 2004, Collins, 1991 and McNay, 1999).⁹

In the popular social capital literature, social exclusion or marginalization that materializes from differentiated discursive marking results in the practice of *homophily* as actors move to social networks where they possess similar characteristics or dispositions, and are recognized as socially viable beings (Butler, 2004, 2; Hall, 1989 and Li, 2004).

⁹ It is important to stress here that actors only experience moments of consciousness not an entire consciousness of their embodied subjectivity.

Bourdieu's habitus points to a diversity of markings and potential forms of embodiment that, in the example of social networks, pre-reflexively push actors to align themselves with different people or social networks depending on the marking of their bodies within different fields (McNay, 1999). Anzaldua's (1999) concept of the New Mestiza builds on Bourdieu's theory of embodiment by illustrating the subversive potential of the third space among the multiple markings of her body. She opens up a conscious space that allows actors to, in part, reflexively understand the markings they embody and thereby choose the social networks they access.

2.5 Conclusion and research questions

This chapter worked through Holt's theory on embodied social capital using a Black feminist lens to examine identity and social network production. It directs the researcher to locate action, in this case, social network participation, within larger socio-historical structures and systems of knowledge that mark and regulate the body. Building on this theory, the chapter included a discussion of Dubois' double consciousness and Anzaldua's *The New Metiza* to open up a space for, at least partially, conscious knowledge of the relationship between participant's (partly) intentional social network productions and larger socio-historical structures. In locating action within larger socio-historical structures that regulate the body, this theory of embodied social capital shifts the victim blaming nature of social capital theory found in the current literature. Additionally, the relationship between structure and agency speaks to the potential for multiple identity productions and social network access not addressed in the literature on *homophily*.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Two, Black feminist theory informed the methodological approach to this study. Methodologically Black feminist theory requires that the researcher be cognizant and even work to disrupt the dynamics of power that may privilege her throughout the research process as she interviews and later shares the experiences of the participants. In the following methods section I will outline the ways in which my approach was consonant with Black feminist theory throughout the research process. The first section will discuss the recruitment approaches through the use of both posters and third-party contacts. The second section will outline the demographics included in the selection of participants. It will illustrate how the purposeful selection of participants with a range of social network outcomes is consonant with Black feminist theory. The third section will describe the type of interviews chosen and the goals and different sections of the interview schedules. The fourth section will describe the interview process, more specifically my work to destabilize any potential power differences during the interviewing process. The fifth section, coding and analysis, will describe the use of Srivastava's reflexive approach to coding that combines a theoretically informed approach to coding with grounded coding to work dialectically to locate the missing voices of women in the literature.

3.2 Recruiting participants

Snowball sampling, posters and gatekeepers were used to recruit participants. Information posters were placed throughout different community organizations and

public spaces within Regina. My hope was to access participants with a range of interests and from different geographical locations in Regina. I also contacted African and women's organizations who agreed to share the information poster with their members through email. The posters had a brief description of the project along with my contact information for potential participants (see appendix B). This approach was unsuccessful as there were no responses to the posters.

In addition to using posters, I recruited participants through two leaders (gatekeepers) from two distinct community organizations. I explained the project to each of them and the demographics of the participants I hoped to interview. The gatekeepers contacted women within their communities. Women who expressed interest in participating either contacted me or asked that I contact them. During our initial phone call, I explained my research project, what was required of participants, offered my contact information for those who did not have it, and also noted the confidential nature of the interviews. As my sample was intentionally diverse, I asked demographic questions to assess their suitability for the project and then arranged an interview time and place that was convenient for the selected participants.

Snowball sampling was used to further recruit participants (Berg, 2004). At the end of each interview I talked briefly with the participants about some of the demographics that I still needed in the sample and asked about any potential participants they could refer. The participants contacted women they knew and those interested in participating contacted me or asked that I contact them. A maximum of one referral per participant was selected to avoid overrepresentation of any shared characteristics. The use

of third- party contacts was much more effective in locating potential participants as my access to the community was limited.

3.3 Demographics

A maximum variation sample was used to capture the potential wide-ranging identity outcomes for women negotiating the matrix of oppression they experience (Allen Rubin, Earl R. Babbie, 2010, and Collins, 1991). This sampling method was in line with Black feminist theory as it did not focus solely on negative outcomes or “non-representative groups of Black [women] drawn from clinical, high risk, and convenience samples” (Few et al., 2003, 205). It further examined within group diversity and worked to disrupt the homogenous image of “Black” women in Canada and in social capital research (Few et al., 2003).

Table 3.1 Participant Characteristics¹⁰

Participant	Self-identification	Children	Age	Years in Canada	Income above or below the low income cut-off	Education	Primary social networks
Etta	Canadian	no	62	33	below	limited	intra-racial
Simone	African-Canadian	no	31	12	above	university	intra-racial
Jennifer	African-Canadian	no	25	20	above	university	inter-racial and intra-racial
Perdita	African-Canadian	no	28	17	below	university	inter-racial and intra-racial
Frances	African-Canadian	yes	35	6	below	highschool	inter-racial and intra-racial
Marian	Canadian	yes	54	21	above	university	inter-racial
Angela	Canadian	yes	43	10	below	university	inter-racial
Carrie	African	yes	33	10	above	diploma	inter-racial

¹⁰ Names have been changed to protect confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

Eight *racialized* women of African ancestry were interviewed. Participants were selected to include a range of primary social networks and determinants of social network access. Social networks ranged from those whose closest social ties were intra-racial, consisting primarily of people of African ancestry to those whose closest social ties were inter-racial, consisting primarily of people of non-African ancestry. As socio-economic status has been identified as a determinant of social capital, participants were also selected to include a range of income levels (Bourdieu, 2001; and Lin, 2000). The family income of the participants ranged from \$14,000/year to over \$150,000/year. Four of the participants selected had an income above the low income cut-off and four had incomes below it.¹¹ As the work of Erickson (2004) and Bezanoson and Carter (2007) indicates, the presence of children in the home is also a determinant of social capital for women, participants were selected so that half of them had children living at home. The participants with no children at home either had no children or had adult children not living at home. Participants' ages ranged from 25 to 62 and each stage of life within this range was included in the sample.¹² The number of years each participant has been in Canada ranged from 6 to 33 years.¹³ A range of ages for participants' arrival in Canada was included (as a child/teenager/ young adult/ adult). There was also a range in the countries of origin (Eritrea, North and South Sudan, Uganda, and Ghana).

¹¹ Low income cut-off follows Statistics Canada (2010).

¹² See Statistics Canada (2008) for further discussion on life stages.

¹³ I chose participants who have been in Canada for six years or more because it was consistent with Statistics Canada's shift from new immigrant status to recent immigrant status which suggests having established life in Canada (Statistics Canada 2006). This definition was consistent with the view of a gatekeeper who noted that the five year mark is the point at which community supports drop off for new immigrants.

3.4 Interview schedule

One could argue that positioning participants as experts on their own lives necessitated the use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews as a central part of the research process. This form of interviewing allowed me to explore, in detail, the negotiated constraints, agency and resulting access to social networks experienced by the participants. Unlike the quantitative surveys and Likert scales often relied upon, in-depth interviews had the potential to reveal a diversity of black and African-Canadian women's experiences missing from the social capital literature. Further, they had the potential to examine in detail women's complex experiences and to locate them within the larger context of gendered and *racialized* marking (and exclusion) through the voices of the participants themselves.

The interview schedule was informed by my theoretical approach and research questions, as well as a review of the interview schedules for previous social capital research on gender and race (See appendix D). My goals in the interviews were to identify the different communities and social networks participants belonged to and to explore how they understood their membership in them. More specifically, I was interested in learning how their membership was tied to their identity and if or how this identity was linked to the larger socio-historical racial and gendered markings from both their ethno-racial cultural group and the larger Canadian society (Ahmed 2000; Battersby, 1999; Brah 2007; Bachiller, 2003, Ibrahim, 2004; Kelly, 1998; McClintock, 1995; Subreenduh, 2008; and Tatsolgou, 2006).

The interview schedule was divided into four sections. The first section consisted of basic background questions, which had two objectives: to gain demographic

information and to ease participants into the interview process. The second section explored the different communities to which participants belonged. Participants compared their roles and social locations within different communities. The third section explored identity. It examined how participants saw themselves as women in the context of both their ethno-racial cultural group and as Canadians. It looked for how participants negotiated any differences that might exist between the two. The fourth section examined support networks. It looked at how participants felt different social networks met their needs and why they accessed particular networks for support.

Before I started interviewing participants I did a practice interview to test whether the questions were accessible and if they would solicit the information I was looking for. While I did not make any changes to the interview schedule, I was aware that the woman in my practice interview was a university student, and that the participants I interviewed would have a range of different educational backgrounds and language skills which would direct me to communicate and ask questions differently.

3.5 Interview process

Interviews were held at a time and place chosen by the participants. Most interviews were held in participants' homes, but some also took place in public spaces such as a coffee shop or the university. The interviews ranged in length from 38 minutes to two hours. At the start of each interview I reviewed the consent form with participants before they signed it (See appendix C). I also reminded participants that we could stop the interview at any time if they needed.

During the interview process, Black feminist theory calls for an awareness of the dynamics influenced by “issues of race, color, gender, sexuality, nationality and power” (Few et al., 2003: 207). This points the researcher to a practice of reflexivity aimed at destabilizing potential power differences that, in my case, could result from the privilege of my “unmarked” white body (Hall, 1997). This reflexivity required a cognizance of colonial discourse, the impact of the history of slavery in North America, and the continued white hegemony that shapes Canadian nationhood (Collins, 1991; Wallcott, 2000). It also required an awareness of exchanges in power related to other influences such socioeconomic status, age, and educational levels (Few, et al., 2003; Foucault, 1977).

Although I understand myself to be an “outsider” to the community of women I interviewed, there were moments where we shared common experiences. These experiences provided me with the opportunity to momentarily align myself with the participants and to destabilize potential power differences through self-disclosure of the shared experience (Berg, 2004; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Few et al., 2003; and Srivastava, 2006). In the example of Etta, as she was sharing how she dealt with living in poverty in Canada, I was reminded of my own childhood living in poverty with my single mother.

Etta: “I am happy. I never buy expensive things. I'm a thrift shopper too you know. I go, I just look. And I will find something good. Even if it's one item I am happy.”

Me: “My sister and I actually use to go to the Salvation Army down the street (pointing in the direction of the shop).

Etta: “Yes! (Recognizing the shop) You know if it wasn't for this thrift shop. I wouldn't have money to raise my children...”

My brief comment was an intentional signal that Etta and I have something in common and that our socio-economic backgrounds may be similar. This is not a comment that I would have made openly with some of the other participants, for example, those whose family income was much higher than my own. In my interview with Etta, the potential of power differences because of my position as the interviewer, along with my white body, education and her socioeconomic vulnerability, influenced my approach to her interview. Understanding her position as an “auntie” within the community, I positioned myself as a respectful youth to work to destabilize potential power differences.¹⁴ This approach resulted in her power to control and direct the interview relatively more than the other participants.

At the end of each interview I asked the participant if she would like a copy of her transcripts for review to ensure that the transcripts represented her correctly. This approach was used to empower participants so that they could have the final say on what information was used for this thesis. Only one participant reviewed the transcripts. In my field notes, I noted that this was a request as opposed to a requirement in order to mediate the busy lives of the participants with the intent to further empower them in the research process (Few et al., 2003).

¹⁴ The term “Auntie” is in reference to a respected female elders in the community. In one of my preliminary conversations with a gatekeeper and earlier interviews with participants, we discussed the relationship between young women and aunties. This is a definition that came out of these discussions.

3.6 Coding and analysis

Each participant was assigned a pseudonym, and the interviews were transcribed verbatim and transferred to Dedoose, a qualitative analysis program. This program was used to code, organize and store data. The initial codes were informed by the theoretical framework on embodiment and the larger social capital literature on *racialized* and gendered social networks. The codes highlighted participants' social networks, expressions of double consciousness, and instances of negotiated gendered or *racialized* marking. My goal in coding was to identify the experiences that participants have in common with those previously described by the literature on social networks, as well as the diversity of experiences missing in the same literature. Grounded codes highlighted how women saw themselves within this and also differences in how they negotiate gendered and *racialized* markings.

Following Srivastava's (2009) reflexive approach there was an ongoing dialectical movement from my initial theoretical coding and the grounded coding. Grounded coding worked to more deeply inform my research and directed further reading of relevant literature. This approach to coding was in line with Black feminist theory as the experiences of participants further directed the literature review pointing to their position as experts and increasing their capacity to shape the study itself.

3.7 Summary

This chapter described the methodological approach of this study. Framed by Black feminist theory, the methodological approach required a reflexive awareness of power during each stage of the study. My central goal throughout the process was to

disrupt any power differences between my white body (as a researcher) and the participants who are all marked “black”. Positioning participants as experts led to the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews that allowed women to complexly express their experiences and, in turn, further directed the literature review and shaped the results of the study. I worked to disrupt power difference through my methodology in a number of ways. Interviews were held at time and place chosen by participants; I chose to share parts of my own experience in line with participants’ experiences in order to increase my own vulnerability; and, participants were given the option to review their interviews so that they could have final say in what was used for this study.

Chapter 4: Marking the Body

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the marking of bodies recognized as African women. It will start with a discussion on the ways in which participants were aware of and expressed the marking of their bodies. It will then outline both racial and gender markings and work to identify the internal logic of the fields in which these markings operate.

4.2 Double consciousness and the emergence of the third space

In line with the theory of embodiment described in Chapter Two, participants expressed an awareness of different markings of their bodies. Particularly in terms of gender, this knowledge partly came out of operating within and between two cultural locations. Specifically, different meanings tied to particular actions, along with the experience of being *interpellated* and regulated differently in different cultural spaces (that in turn positioned them in different locations), led to this awareness. In describing how they act in different spaces Jennifer and Simone explain:

For the most part, yeah they are similar. Sometimes there is a difference... There is a place like to have certain behaviors and things like that. With my friends I'm a little bit different than I am within my own community. I think I'm a little more reserved with my community just because there's different expectations and different traditions and cultures whereas when I'm with my friends there's not the same kind of guidelines that I'm following or the same type of behaviors that I have. So in that sense it's a little bit different (Jennifer).

...in my Eritrean culture you (as a young woman) are supposed to put your head down... What does it say if I put my head down when I am at the university? It comes with the culture. It means that I'm shy or it means that I am not opinionated (Simone).

In both examples, the participants express being governed differently in different cultural locations. Jennifer is conscious of the different expectations of her that are tied to tradition and culture within her community. For her, these expectations are different than those outside of the community in such a way that she positions the space where she spends time with her friends as culturally separate and distinct from her community.

For Simone, the example of the expectation of showing respect through putting her head down while she is in the Eritrean community has a negative meaning tied to it in the university setting. Here she starts to illustrate both a consciousness of the different expectations of her and the different meanings tied to her actions within different cultural locations (or fields as Bourdieu calls them). This consciousness is where Anzaldua's third space starts to open up and the possibility of negotiating these markings outside of the discursive limits of each field emerges.

4.3 Marking

Marking was described in two ways. While all of the women described marking in terms of its regulating forces (through norms and expectations and feelings of exclusion and belonging, for example), two women discussed the socially constructed, external nature of the marking of their bodies. The expressions of marking for gender and race were different. While gender was expressed solely through forms of regulation tied to a biological category, race was also expressed as a production of and response to the Canadian imaginary (Anderson 1991).

Of course as an African, the continent of Africa has similarities, but then there is also diversity within it. So it puts a cap on it when you say ...Canadian-African or African-Canadian. That's why in Canada when I found out that's how we are categorized that's when there needs to be a sense of (what it is) to be an African (Simone).

Simone identifies that she is categorized in a way that is not natural or part of an identity she had prior to living in Canada. She describes how ethno-racial and cultural diversity within Africa are erased through the homogenous marking of being African. This marking of her body requires that she learns what it means to be an African because she understands herself to be identified as one in Canada. As she adds later in our interview: "So I wanted to know... I wanted to take myself out of being an Eritrean and also experience what it means to be Canadian...what it means to be African because that is how I am known now right."

Similarly, Marian points to the external marking of her body within Canada:

I don't give people a chance to sort of like define me. I tend not to push myself in other people's face. The one time I found someone else trying to make me not Canadian or exclude me it was with Statistics Canada. How they... define people of African ancestry as blacks. Because for me I don't buy into (it)... like I haven't grown up in it, and when I came here the whole construct of race was very new to me. And after that sort of understanding how racism works and reading about it I rejected being classified as black... and one time we did communicate with Statistics Canada and say why do you classify people as black. We are Ugandans. We are Africans, but we are not black. Even if some people choose to be classified as that, give us a category of being who we are... to define who we are. But I know, I think during the discussion or the correspondence that they... they insisted and labeled us as black. I found that very like, sort of, almost being rejected and being told, you are not Canadian because I had always thought of Canada as very liberal and allowing people to be who they are. But that classification couldn't allow us... like we were in that box like in a cage. So that to me made it worse. My first experience and more from somebody who's an authority sort of forcing me... (Marian)

While she accepts the categories of Ugandan and African here, she is not willing to accept the category of “black” that is forcibly applied to her body by the government, an institution of “authority”. As with Awad Ibrahim in Chapter Two, it was in coming to Canada that her body becomes marked as black. Both Simone and Marian express awareness of the socially constructed nature of the racial categories that mark their bodies. Both women also point to this marking as part of their experience living in Canada. The following section will further examine the marking tied to the body recognized as black.

4.4 Racial Marking

In my interviews with participants about how they defined themselves, women expressed a range of identities from being exclusively Canadian to being exclusively African. Seven of the participants identified that their bodies were marked as not belonging to Canada (through the colour of their skin). Degeneracy tied to the black body was also discussed by two of the women interviewed. The following section will discuss the racial marking of women recognized as belonging to Africa. It will locate the marking described by participants within larger social fields and examine the hegemony regulating the fields in which their bodies are marked.

4.4.1 The body not at home in Canada

I think most people— actually it's funny because sometimes people can disagree with this. Like sometimes if someone comes to you, they see your color. They say, “where you from?” And if you're silly enough to say like, “oh I'm from Toronto”, people look at you like “are you kidding me? Where are you from...?” Because they want to be like okay I come from this part of Africa. Because no matter where you're born, you're always an African. Like if I meet you and I'm like where are you from? Please don't tell me you're from Manitoba (laughs).

Where's your family from? So when people ask me where I'm from, I'm from Africa.

... it wouldn't matter if I was born here. Like my sister was born here, and she's African. When people ask where she's from. She's from Africa. She was born here” (Perdita).

Here Perdita, who self-identifies as both African and Canadian, illustrates that the black body is marked as belonging to Africa “...no matter where you are born”. For her, like most of the participants, it is not at home in Canada as it cannot be identified as being from somewhere in Canada. Her comment illustrates the erasure of the black body as a formative component of Canadian national identity. It is not that the black body is new, unknown or unfamiliar to Canada, but that it is marked and therefore recognized and produced as immigrant, stranger, not belonging (Ahmed, 2000; Gilroy, 1993; and Walcott, 2000). This production of stranger creates what Sarah Ahmed terms a community boundary that marks the boundary between familiar and strange or normative and “other”. The stranger is recognized as “a body out of place” so that in the example of Canada, the white body is maintained as Canadian while the black body is maintained as foreign body (Ahmed quoted in Bachiller, 2006, 185).

When Angela talks about the difference between being Canadian and African-Canadian, she uses the example of another *racialized* body to illustrate how her body is marked as not belonging entirely to Canada. Although she identifies the *racialized* body as Canadian, it is not rooted here.

Like being African-Canadian... I don't know... maybe there are not many generations... are we the first? Maybe for those African-Canadians who lived here... Maybe it will be different from their kid's point of view... because the other day I was asking one of the mothers... They (her son) were playing basketball with my son. And I asked a stupid question... where I meant your

background. I knew she was Canadian, so I wanted her background, where she was from. I was thinking she was either from Iran or Pakistan or somewhere like that. So I asked her what's your background or where are you from? She said, "I'm from Toronto". Then I felt like I asked a stupid question (laughs). And then I said, "so you were born in Toronto?" She said, "No I was born in England" (laughing in disbelief). So I said "okay". And she said. "No, my parents came from Pakistan" (Angela).

Angela illustrates the erasure of African Canadians from the history and formation of Canada when she asks "Like being African-Canadian...I don't know... maybe there are not many generations... are we the first?" The body of Mathew Da Costa and all those who came after him—the loyalists, the slaves, and immigrants, which have been historically present in Canada since 1605— "go missing" in popular accounts of Canadian history (Beckford, 2008; and Walcott, 2000, 36)¹⁵. This erasure of the long black presence in Canada is compounded by the destruction of historically significant critical spaces of black heritage such as Africville in Halifax, Hogan's Alley in Vancouver, as well as the slave cemetery in St. Armand Quebec (Walcott, 2000, 35). What emerges out of this erasure is an image of Canadian Nationhood that is distinctly white, so that "black history and culture are perceived, like Black settlers themselves, as an illegitimate intrusion into a vision of authentic... national life that, prior to their arrival, was as stable and as peaceful as it was ethnically undifferentiated" (Gilroy, 1993, 7). Through this erasure, Canadian Nationhood becomes bound within the internal logic of white hegemony in such a way that the current understanding of multicultural Canada is one where mutually exclusive cultural communities come together and the black body is a stranger, not at home in a white nation (Gilroy, 1993; Kelly, 1998; and Tettey and

¹⁵ Mathew Da Costa was a translator for Samuel Champlain and is identified as the first African man to settle in Canada in 1605 (Beckford, 2008).

Puplampu, 2005). The erasure of the black body as constitutive of the Canadian national imaginary opens a paternalistic space where multiculturalism appears as a benevolent act to represent the rights and needs of the “other” (those whose ethno-racial identity is not white). White normativity remains intact as the black body is contained as the other through a discourse that never admits the black body’s part in the formation of the Canadian National identity (Beckford, 2008; and McKitterick, 2006). Participants illustrated this point through the conflicting nature of their descriptions of Canada as a democratic space for multicultural citizenship and their experiences of not really belonging here. While all of the participants described Canada as a liberal place, two participants also specifically discussed Canada as a space where mutually exclusive cultural groups live together guided by neo-liberal principles that imply respect and support for diversity. For Simone, being Canadian is a social contract more than a cultural identity, where people from diverse cultures:

...live together without creating major obstacles for others.... So when you come to Canada really, to be tolerant is one thing that you need to be. Tolerant (and) respect other people’s culture. So that is one identity of being Canadian—to be tolerant of what other’s do and might do or might not do, right...

Marian identifies that Canada as a multi-cultural space allows people to be Canadian while maintaining the culture they had prior to coming to Canada.

Like I think part of that concept of community has come out of Canada being a multicultural country and encouraging (you) to keep your culture and have a sense of community that allows you to connect with the larger community.

While these descriptions point to an understanding of Canada that speaks back to the un-rooted marking of their *racialized* bodies, following Butler, they are discursively limited by the internal logic that continues to position the white body as normative. The

“black” body is framed in a binary relationship with the white “normative” body in such a way that in the case of the African-Canadian woman, she can never be recognized as simply “woman” in this cultural space, regardless of the identity she produces. The black body is always marked and understood in relation to the white body, the inherent reference point for Canadian identity.

The use of the hyphen to describe Canadians is consistent with Marian’s discussion on the nature of multicultural Canada. The notion of the hyphenated-Canadian emerged out of Canada’s Multicultural policy in 1971 as a means for citizens to identify as Canadians and at the same time hold on to the ethnic or cultural identities they wished to (Mahtani, 2002). While the hyphen was intended to illustrate the way in which Canadians value and support diversity in a manner that does not require citizens to give up the identity that they, their parents, or their grandparents had prior to immigrating to Canada, it also has the potential to express the position of the body as not belonging to Canada. As Carrie and Frances illustrate:

“I can say that I am a Canadian, but they will look at your skin color and they will say you are not Canadian. That's why usually when you ask, “Are you Canadian?” I say I am African- Canadian (Carrie).”

“Because we are African. Everybody can tell we're African (physically pointing to her skin color). We cannot just say “I am Canadian”. I would say African-Canadian. You can see that. You can feel that (Frances).”

For both women, because their bodies are recognized as not belonging to Canada, they must identify themselves using a hyphen. Their skin color becomes a signifier for “not fully Canadian” in a way that is understood and can be called out, as Frances suggests, by “everybody” within the Canadian nation.

In her description of a “great representation” of multicultural Canada, Simone describes a trip she took with a United Nations organization:

When I was in Uganda it was funny enough... (laughs) We were 6 students from across Canada and this is in Ghana and we are going with the UN and we are coming from Canada. So they said... they look around and everybody, they can understand that Canada is so multicultural because they have an African person, they have an East Indian person, they have a person who was East Indian but born in Kenya, so like... and then this person from Newfoundland who was indicative of mainstream (white) and then another person who was from Ottawa but his heritage is as well Ghanaian. So it's just like, they go okay, We don't ask questions about where you are exactly from but we can understand that Canada is multicultural.... This is what it means Canada. We have six people with different identities, cultural backgrounds. So then I will feel Canadian at that moment because what else do I have (Simone).

Here, Simone explains that all of the *racialized* bodies and the white body reflect what it means to be Canadian, but the single white body is described as mainstream, making him central to Canadian identity. In her description of multicultural Canada, white normativity can be seen as being expressed, as the *racialized* bodies are portrayed as being tied to an ancestry outside of Canada, while the white body is rooted within Canada (no links are made to his family's heritage outside of Canada).

Participants described Canada as a democratic space where individuals follow government rules and have equal opportunity regardless of their race or gender. While each woman had a different level of membership in the ethno-racial cultural group she identified with, in all of the interviews the ethno-racial groups that women belonged to were positioned as peripheral to mainstream Canadian culture and Canadian identity. Although all of the participants described themselves as legal citizens, only Jennifer

expressed feeling a rootedness in the Canadian nation, as she has never been made to feel as if she was not Canadian.

4.4.2 The body tied to degeneracy

“[The Negro’s] name is the antonym of white. As the color white is associated with everything good...so black has, through the ages carried associations with all that is bad and low... the Negro is believed to be stupid, immoral, diseased, lazy, and dangerous –dangerous to the white man’s virtue and social order” (Gunner Mydral quoted in Rose, 2002)

Following Butler and McClintock, within the normative/other binary, the body of the other becomes marked with degeneracy as it is positioned as “lacking” the characteristics of the normative body. While five of the participants discussed the marking of their bodies solely in terms of not being “authentically Canadian”, two participants also expressed degeneracy tied to the black body.

Similar to the experience of Awad Ibrahim’s exchange with the police officer described in Chapter Two, the positioning of the black body as lacking or degenerate is clearly illustrated in the following example where Carrie is vulnerable to accusations of mistakes or criminality in a way that is different from her white peers:

Have you ever had a time in Canada where you didn't feel like you were Canadian? Or someone else made you feel like you weren't?

Sometimes at work. Sometimes it comes out at the workplace because it depends on your skin color, even if you are Canadian, you have to be careful what you do, you have to make sure you do things right. Even if when you are right, you could still lose your job because of.. if something happens. For example, like the resident accuses you that you did something. They will take the residents first. Because of my skin color, they will think maybe I did it until the proof should come. And that's where you see that sometimes still, you know your background. You have to look right and left. (Carrie)

Really? Okay... We talked about what it means to be a Canadian, what about African Canadian or Sudanese Canadian. How is that different from being Canadian or is there a difference?

I don't think there's any difference. We call it Canadian by name, but my skin is still not a Canadian. Like when it comes to something at work, you can see me in a different way still.

What do you mean by that?

The way they treat you. Yeah. The way you treat you in a different way. But never hit me, but some others did.

And did they talk to you about that?

We talked ourselves. Yeah, we talked ourselves. We have to be together and watch and make sure. For example, if you want to do something which, for example... we work with people who have a brain injury, Alzheimer's, and all that. You are going there and you get somebody who is Canadian. That's our secret we do it like a white person come with me, and come and help me. That's the only way because if something somebody accuses you, I know she would not lie. She has to be there... (the white woman).

Here, Carrie identifies that her black body is tied to crime in such a way that if something goes wrong or if accused of something she is guilty until proven otherwise. Her black body is not in a legitimate position to deny or speak back to the accusations of people with brain injuries or Alzheimer's (bodies that are themselves marked degenerate and experience certain levels of actual cognitive impairment). As she expresses the need to "look left and right" she speaks to how the threat of being accused regulates her actions and creates a space where she is continually aware that she is being monitored. She is disciplined by the threat of unfounded accusations and the resulting potential loss of her job. Not only is she aware of the external marking of her body and how it is understood, but she identifies the limits of her capacity to change the way her body is recognized. As the *racialized* women who share this experience "talk amongst

themselves”, they plan to have white “Canadian” women help them with certain tasks to avoid potential accusations. The black body is positioned as degenerate as the “legitimate” bodies of white Canadian women offer a body of authority capable of maintaining the black body’s innocence in the case of false accusations.

In describing her concerns with how African identity is understood in Canada, Simone discusses the negativity tied to it: “Solely I am concerned about it in the sense (of) the negativity attached to it. So my part and my role in this is bigger than me... but I try to put the positive spin on it...” (African identity and what it means to be African). In describing the role of African youth in the Pan-African Women’s Organization, an organization she belongs to, she continues: “And to even create awareness to shape the African discourse that’s around that. Pretty much a lot of it is negative so I just don’t see my identity as me (an individual person) but that it (the marking of being African) impacts me”. Here she signals the negative marking of the *racialized* black body that is “biologically” tied to the African Continent within the Canadian national imaginary.

When you are talking about the negative, what are you talking about exactly? Can you give me an example of what you are thinking about?

The negative aspect of it is... would be like, the HIV/AIDS in Africa. That’s pretty negative and that...so then (is) how people see the whole continent of Africa itself. The negativity is not hidden. It’s there. And somehow if a group of people do something positive to make (people) think diverse ways (about Africa)... so that’s what I am talking about. (Simone)

It is not that HIV/AIDS is not an important issue for consideration within different regions of Africa, but that the “whole” continent and the (*racialized*) bodies in it are linked to HIV/AIDS. According to Carmela Murdocca, the black body is tied to HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases in such a way that it comes to signify infectious

disease within the colonial narrative that shapes what she terms Canada's national racial fantasy. Following the work of Carl Berger and George Parkin, Murdocca suggests that the Canadian National imaginary has been constructed through a combination of racial purity (white normativity) and the absence of disease in Canada. Murdocca notes that the history of disease within Canada, such as that brought to Canada by white settlers themselves (small pox, tuberculosis and so on...), is erased in the Canadian National imaginary. The complete erasure of disease works to position countries or entire continents such as Africa "as (contained) site(s) of disease and racial degeneracy" while Canada is maintained "as a space of national purity" (2003, 2). Through this, disease is erased from the white bodies rooted in the Canadian National Imaginary, while the *racialized* bodies "biologically" tied to the African continent are marked as a potential site for "harbouring lethal diseases" (Murdocca, 2003, 5).¹⁶ Simone's goal is to participate in organizations such as the Pan-African Women's Organization so that she may work with others to resignify the degenerative meaning tied to the black body. Simone describes embodied social capital as she describes the relationship between the marking of her black body and a double consciousness of this marking that leads her to participate in particular social networks.

The French–English colonial narrative that shapes the popular understanding of the foundation of Canadian nationhood works to position *racialized* bodies as new and not foundational to the Canadian nation. The internal logic of the Canadian imaginary is

¹⁶ Similar to McClintock's description of the scientific and medical discourses on racial degeneracy during the Victorian period, Murdocca identifies that while the white body is marked and bound as respectable and disease free, the black body is positioned as a threat to the Canadian Nation as it is marked and bound as a potential site for "harbouring lethal diseases" (2003, page 5).

shaped by white hegemony that is concealed through Canada's multicultural discourse. While participants understand themselves to be legally Canadian, they illustrate a difference between being legally Canadian and "authentically" or "legitimately" Canadian as they consciously express the *racialized* marking of their bodies that positions them as not belonging to or degenerate within the Canadian Nation.

4.5 Gender marking

Participants expressed the gender markings of their bodies through gender norms and expectations and the ways in which their bodies were regulated. They largely focused on differentiated social locations and regulations for women relative to men within their traditional African culture. None of the participants described gender itself as an external production or mark on their bodies, suggesting a more unconscious embodiment of the category of woman, as compared to race. This is not to say that the participants did not resist or speak back to regulations tied to this marking, in fact they did. Participants also identified that their bodies were regulated differently within Canadian culture and their different African cultures. In describing what it means to be a Canadian woman, seven participants described neo-liberal ideas of equality and freedom. Four of these participants positioned this freedom and equality in opposition to their own “traditional cultures” where they expressed experiences of oppression within a culture governed by an internal logic of masculine hegemony.¹⁷ This binary was partially challenged by two participants. Angela problematized the “liberal Canadian” side of the binary by speaking to the violence and poverty Canadian women are vulnerable to, an understanding of Canada she did not have upon arriving here. Etta disrupted the “traditional African” side of the binary as she described agency and speaking back to her husband who was, as she described, “not her Lord”.

¹⁷ A fifth participant discussed the liberties Canadian women had relative to many women in other countries, but she did not describe the other countries as necessarily having traditional cultures or belonging to the Global South. She also discussed the more conservative nature of her Eritrean community relative to the larger Canadian society in the sense that she was more regulated than her brother.

The following sections will discuss the markings of gender expressed by the participants. It will look at the multiple markings of women's bodies that result from living within two cultural locations and work to locate these within white masculine hegemony, illustrating overlapping multiple markings in which "black" women's bodies are positioned as other.

4.5.1 Marking and regulating the gendered body

Participants expressed different forms and sites of gendered oppression and regulation. They located most gender marking and regulation within each of their own traditional African cultures. This section will examine different examples of how masculine and white hegemony marks and works to regulate participant's bodies.

Etta: You know...back home at the time they didn't think a girl should have an education. Now the girls are even more poorer than the men. So these men, they can abuse you the way they want anytime because they think they have some degree you don't have. They call you a mental brute. Oh yes (laughs). They do. You know, these immigrant women...We go through so much. Some of the men they beat their wives. You know like, it's terrible.

In this example, Etta points to the gendered difference of access to education and the resulting social location of women in the Ghanaian community where she grew up. In part, she identifies a process in which violence against women manifests. While she does not challenge the biological category of woman, she does identify instances of regulation (access to education) that work to locate bodies marked female in a position of "lack" that legitimates further regulation of their bodies (through violence) demonstrating the internal logic (masculine hegemony) of the field at work. Congruent with the expressions of all of the other participants, her awareness of the marking of her body is expressed in terms of how her female body is regulated and socially positioned.

This positioning of the body marked female is in line with McClintock's description of women marked degenerate within the "rational" social and scientific discourses on evolution that emerged in Britain's national narrative in the mid-19th century. Sexual, racial and class ranking were legitimated through scientific, geographical and historical discourses that mapped out the human family. In the example of science, "anatomical criteria were sought for determining the relative position of races in the human series" (1995, 50). Within these discourses, women were positioned as childlike, opening up a paternalistic space for the father to care for and govern his "irrational, intellectually and emotionally fragile" wife and family (McClintock, 1995). This rationale, which positioned the white man as father over "mankind", was embedded in private, public and international spaces as it regulated patriarchal family formation, the colonial conquest, and class divisions (for white folks deemed degenerate as in the example of the Irish body in Chapter Two) (McClintock, 1995). This rationale was further legitimated through "indicators of success" defined by the white middle and upper classes. Economic success, industrialization, certain forms of civility tied to the patriarchal family formation, and the successful penetration and colonization of different "barbaric" countries under the logic of white masculine hegemony worked to legitimate the position of the white male father figure (McClintock, 1995).

Similarly, Etta illustrates a culture governed by an internal logic of masculine hegemony as women are regulated and positioned relative to men as intellectually inferior. While in this example Etta describes being called out as a "mental brute", it is not that women are necessarily always publicly identified as emotionally, intellectually or rationally weak, but that our bodies continue to be marked with this degeneracy that is

recognized through the gaze of the onlooker. This masculine hegemony that marks the female body also frames the habitus of the onlooker so that these impressions, their effects, and power to regulate the female body surface before the onlooker or the body marked female is conscious of it.¹⁸

In another example, Marian describes how she is regulated by the members of her church as they question her choice to go back to school:

Yeah actually I know it's good to actually also talk about the Ugandan community. It seems like the natural one and an easy community yet so many times I also found myself struggling. And I'm seeing that my community — that this is my community. And there are strange dynamics there. Just cause I say... like in the church sometimes the community rejects you. Like sometimes the church community will say, “why are you going back to study? You are a woman. You shouldn't go back. You're supposed to take care of your family.” But you have to find what you're comfortable with. (Marian)

Here, she notes the threat of being rejected when not conforming to particular norms. The threat of rejection works to regulate her body through a gendered norm that ties her as a “woman” with a husband and children to the private sphere where she “should” take care of her family. This norm rooted in the cult of true womanhood, shapes the ideal woman as one who exemplifies piety, domesticity, purity and submission (Collins, 1991; Dickerson 1988; and McClintock, 1995). The attempt to control her labour is rooted in masculine hegemony that regulates the traditional family formation where hidden, undervalued and unpaid domestic labour is tied to women’s bodies.

¹⁸ This point follows the work of Stuart Hall’s: Race the Floating Signifier where he illustrates the embodied framing of the black body which has come to signify different things within the classification system. Before the onlooker is even conscious of how s/he reads the black body, the cluster of markings tied to it surface. According to Hall, the black body is marked in part, as having “sound bodies, good at sports, good at dancing, very expressive, no intelligence, never had a thought in their heads, you know, tendency to barbarous behavior.

Following Hill-Collins, Marian's choice to go to school and get a PhD signals an "inability to model appropriate gender behaviour... and a failure to conform to the cult of womanhood" (1991, 75). This failure within the cult of true womanhood is suggested to threaten the academic and social success of her children as she is assumed not to be providing proper care and support for them. According to Hill-Collins, the choice to participate in the public sphere positions her as the matriarch— aggressive, independent, un-feminine and a threat to white patriarchy. This marking of the matriarch is particular to the black female body. Although the white female body is regulated by the same image, the image of the matriarch itself is rooted in the *racialized* and historical impossibility of working African-American women to approximate "true womanhood". Their forced entry into the informal economy where they worked in domestic positions (nanny, cleaner, launderer, servant and so on) for white families reflects a very different history than that of the model white middle class family where white middle class women were in a position to more successfully approximate this ideal image (Dill, 1979; Hill Collins 1991; and Sultanen and Doucet, 2008). The image of the matriarch which emerged out of this "failure" illustrates how race and gender work together as black working women are positioned as not only threatening to their husband's but ultimately held "responsible for the psychological emasculation of black men and for the failure of the black community to gain parity with the white community" (Hill Collins, 1991, 75). Black women's historical participation in the labour force within the discourse of the Cult of True Womanhood is constructed as the cause of racial inequality as she emasculates her husband and fails to support her children and lead the family to socio-economic success through the supportive role of the mother and wife. Through this discourse, white

working women—while still positioned as degenerate and a threat to patriarchy—were not held responsible for the position of the entire white race. Following McClintock, they simply became *racialized* white bodies through their “degeneracy” (1995). Although Marian has a different history than African-American women, she, like white women, is regulated by the Cult of True Womanhood and the image of the matriarch.

It is also important to note that while Marian is threatened by possible rejection for not conforming, she illustrates a level of agency as she speaks back to this attempt at regulating her body when she explains, “You have to do what you’re comfortable with”. Her choice is to be a PhD student. Although she was threatened with rejection, her family continues to be socio-economically successful (disrupting the image of the matriarch) and she is still an active and accepted member in her church. Unlike Marian, Angela is rejected and isolated from the Sudanese community as she is marked by both the image of the matriarch and the Jezebel:

...with (the) Sudanese community I feel like I don't know what's going on. Is it because everybody's.... like I feel like I'm being isolated. I was part of it and I was active in the community and organization and stuff like that, but there's um....because I'm a single mother... so there is always like... if I go and work... there is suspicion (because) I'm a single mother I may take their husband. These kinds of things. So I felt like I was being hurt. I felt they isolated me so now I feel like I'm being isolated. I don't have much connection with them. (Angela)

So what are some the feelings around single mothers then? And you talked about stealing husbands, and those sorts of things, but...

one of the things... okay, although I don't act like okay... I'm educated, I know most of the women feel ... I shouldn't say, it's not a lot of them... usually those people who hurt me were those who were like friends. I thought they were friends. So they were sort of looking at me and okay.... okay I'm educated and sort

of being a single mother.... okay, maybe you'll be stealing someone's (husband) or sleeping with every man (laughs).

Angela identifies that her education and status as a single mother position her as a threat to families. She is regulated by the Cult of True Womanhood as she is isolated by friends and the Sudanese community when she does not reflect the image of “the ideal woman”, one who is sexually restrained within a marriage, dependent on and submissive to a husband. Her positioning as a threat to the traditional family is rooted in both colonial discourse that shapes the Sudanese community and the history of slavery that mark the black body with an immoral hyper-sexuality in opposition to the white Victorian middle class woman (Hill Collins 1991; McClintock, 1995; and White, 2007).

McClintock and Hill-Collins identify the exhibition of the Hottentot Venus, Sarah Bartmann, in the early 19th century as a representation of the deviant sexuality that marked black women relative to their white counterparts. White audiences paid to see her exhibited in minimal clothes highlighting her steatopygia (protruding buttocks), a symbol that worked to “legitimate” the mark of hyper-sexuality within the racial degeneracy discourse. Within the scientific exploration for racial degeneracy in the 19th century, the genitalia of black bodies became a focus for identifying hyper-sexuality as scientists looked for “enlarged penises and malformed female genitalia, as indications of deviant sexuality” that had been tied to the black body since the 1500s (Hill Collins, 1991, 168; and McClintock, 1995). During the colonial conquest itself the black body was tied to deviant sexuality by missionaries and colonialists as African dress, family formation and the “wild” in which they lived did not reflect that of the white middle class family in Europe at the time (White, 2007). Deborah White identifies that particular images of

African women during the colonial conquest became sites for interpreting hyper-sexuality through women's dress (minimal in the tropical weather). Coupled with the practice of polygyny, the colonial invention of the sexual promiscuity tied to the black body emerged (2007). This interpreted hyper-sexualisation and barbarism of the black female body led to the Jezebel image, a production of the white masculine hegemony that regulated the colonial space and worked to legitimate the colonial project.

According to Hill Collins, the image of the Jezebel had two functions during slavery. First, marking black women as sexually aggressive worked to rationalize "the widespread sexual assaults by white men typically reported by black slave women" (1991, 77). Second, as black women were effectively both productive and reproductive labourers, their marked hyper-sexuality was believed to lead to increased fertility, which would benefit the slave owner as she reproduced slaves for him. Through this image, the marking of the black female slave as sexually aggressive and promiscuous locked her in a relationship of "pleasure and profit" for her white male owner, illustrating how white masculine hegemony worked to regulate her body (Walker quoted in Hill Collins, 1991, 167).

While this image of black femininity has been both challenged and (re)produced within pop-culture, it continues to regulate both black and white women through the threat of being marked degenerate, as the Jezebel represents the other within the Cult of True Womanhood (Hill Collins, 1991; McClintock, 1995; and Pemberton 2008). For black women, the threat of this colonial marking of her body also has the potential to increase the regulation of her body within her ethno-racial community as an attempt to

protect her from the colonial marking tied to her body. Further regulation reduces the risk of (re)producing the mark of degeneracy.

For Angela, education, along with her single-mother status, is enough to position her as both a matriarch and a Jezebel by some of the families in the Sudanese community. This marking alone is enough to position her as someone who “sleeps around” and is a danger to the family as she is at risk of “stealing someone’s man”. What is important to note here is that, unlike Marian, this marking of her body has materialized in actual social exclusion as Angela is isolated by former friends and the community.

In these examples, women were either marked degenerate or regulated by the threat of being marked degenerate. In the first example, Etta was marked degenerate as “a mental brute” by virtue of her gender. Both Marian and Angela were marked and regulated by negative images of womanhood rooted in the historical construction of black femininity. Marian was threatened with the mark of degeneracy as a matriarch and regulated through possible rejection if she chose to PhD. Angela was marked by both the matriarch and the Jezebel image of degeneracy and her body was regulated through social exclusion. These examples illustrate both masculine and white hegemony at work as women are positioned as intellectually inferior to men and regulated by negative images of black femininity that work to push them towards performing the domestic, pure, submissive woman in the Cult of True Womanhood.

4.5.2 Living within two cultural locations

This section will look at the different descriptions of being marked and regulated differently within the two cultural locations described by participants. While seven

participants discussed feeling more regulated within their traditional cultures, four women specifically bound their experiences of oppression within their African traditional cultures in opposition to the neo-liberal rights that they gained in becoming Canadian women (for example: access to education, employment, equality within the household...). It is important to note that the experiences of oppression discussed by the participants are serious and that the African women I interviewed are marked and regulated through masculine hegemony. Acknowledging this, I am also aware of the problematic binary that homogenizes the African female body as disempowered within traditional cultures and the Canadian female body as liberated and free from this oppression (a binary itself rooted in white hegemony). Following the work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty, I will carefully look at the ways in which women's bodies are regulated and marked by masculine hegemony, but in an attempt to not fall into the trap of (re)producing this binary, this section will also include examples of the ways this binary was disrupted (2003).

For Marian, there are distinct cultural differences for women within Canadian culture and African culture that have to (and can be) negotiated.

In traditional African culture these, like any traditional society actually, it's not African culture, but most of us coming from Africa come from established traditional cultural practices. But these tend to not have equal opportunities for women or like you know women we sort of... I don't know, there's gender inequality, whether we like it or not. When you come to Canada, maybe also for me it's because of working with human rights and being very aware of the opportunities that are there...and the advantages because there are advantages, not only for women but for men too. Say when there is an inequality for women, (there is a) missed opportunity for women to improve their welfare for the whole family. So, but at the same time you have to be aware that sometimes when you're not careful like you just embrace equality and your husband doesn't understand

where you're coming from that can easily break up marriages so through the Pan-African Women's Organization we've deliberately and consciously talked about those dynamics. So how do you navigate the changes and the opportunities that you have here and coming from our culture where you probably initially submitted to inequality without question, but now the opportunities are here. Do you stay with things the way they were or do you negotiate a way of, you know towards change, and more equal opportunity and the challenges (Marian).

For Marian, gender inequality is inherent in traditional African culture in a way that women lack consciousness and agency as they “probably submit to inequality without question”. She positions her access to opportunity and advantages entirely within Canadian culture. Following Mohanty, this positioning of the “monolithic third world woman” relative to the Western woman illustrates how white masculine hegemony regulates the neo-liberal discourse that holds these two images within a hierarchical relationship where the Western woman is always positioned as more empowered through her gained access to neo-liberal rights—rights that have historically belonged to white men and become central to how we understand empowerment and progress.¹⁹ Marian herself operates within this binary. Within this binary, she describes the need to carefully negotiate her movement across the binary as she moves toward what she identifies as the empowered side. For her, living within both cultural locations opens a space for her to choose and negotiate the marking of her body. The common awareness and intention of negotiating these differentiated gendered markings is illustrated in one of the goals of the

¹⁹ Additionally, Marian's framing of “traditional African culture” indicates an embodiment of the Colonial narrative— itself regulated by white hegemony. As she talks about “established traditions” and positions them in opposition to how she understands Canada she is describing a static cultural space located in the past.

Pan-African Women's Organization as members "deliberately and consciously talked about those dynamics".

Etta disrupts the image of the disempowered "third world woman" as she describes how she trained her husband from early on in their marriage so that she would not experience violence:

And you know, they don't talk about things (African women about violence). And I tell my husband you know for me, I will talk. That's the only way I feel good, because holding all of this inside of you you'll feel like you're going to explode. Boom! And I said you know for 40 years of marriage don't cross me! If you say one word I'll say 10 and if you don't like it don't say anything. You know you have to fix your marriage to suit you. That's what I did from the beginning I said to him, "You know what, no, this woman here don't take that bull shit." So he grew up right there. You know these African women, they worship their husbands and the minute they say something, they slap them and kick and so I said: "you people worship your husbands, and then it becomes a big burden on your head." He's my husband. We sleep together. He is not my Lord. He is not my king. He is my husband...I really like the way I am because there is no way I can live with the life that I went through from my childhood. There is no way I can live (Etta).

While Etta describes violence as a common experience for African women, she disrupts the homogenized image of the "third world woman" that Mohanty is critical of when she describes her own agency. She describes being able to speak out and to speak back to her husband in such a way that she can change his behaviour without risk of repercussions. In her description this agency existed prior to coming to Canada in a way that challenges Marian's depiction of African women as not challenging their husbands or having agency.

In line with Marian's experience, when I asked Carrie about the parts of her culture that she keeps, she responded with:

...respect... the man is always the head of the house. ..

So if I asked you what does it mean to be a Canadian woman, what would you say?

Oh freedom.

Freedom?

(Smiling) Yes, that's number one. You can do whatever want. Nobody can... like back home they force your head down. No, you're free. You have a right to talk. You have a right to do whatever you want to do in Canada. Even if you go home, back home, you are acting differently. The basic is there, but you will still be seeing other women. You will tell them don't do this... this is an old thing... Now, like we have our culture (when) you give water to a man you kneel down. Not anymore. Yeah, if I go home I tell them, "You know what in Canada don't kneel down. Give him the water. Let him help in the kitchen." That's right (laughs).
(Carrie)

Here Carrie describes how her body is regulated differently as a Canadian woman. She describes having freedom and the choice to "do whatever you want" in a way that is different from "back home". She also describes a negotiation of the two cultures as she expresses holding on to part of her African culture by maintaining her husband as the head of the household. While she holds onto this positioning of her body (one where she is not head of the household), the expectations of her within the household are different (as she later describes her husband's participation in domestic work within the home). Additionally she works to change the way women's bodies "back home" are regulated as she pushes them to be less submissive (by kneeling down to give men water) and to challenge the domestic expectations of them (by having men work in the kitchen). Carrie is describing how the different gendered markings of her body play out in both cultural spaces. She is also describing how she can negotiate the markings and carry them across the cultural spaces. While Carrie is describing this negotiation she

locates the positioning of the male head of the house as necessarily coming from her traditional culture as if this were foreign to or non-existent in neo-liberal Canadian culture. The erasure of this experience from the Canadian household illustrates how the neo-liberal empowered Western woman is bound within the un-problematized “empowered” side of the traditional “third world woman”/ empowered Western woman binary where certain indicators such as access to education and employment bring with them a blanket image of empowerment.

For Angela it was living in Canada that disrupted this bound image she had of Western women prior to arriving here. When asked about the differences between being Canadian and African Canadian she responded with:

Um, there are some differences. There are some things that are similar being women. Those are sort of things that I've learned when I went to women's studies because... Before, like my assumption or my perceptions of the Canadian woman or of Western women before I came to Canada was like... okay, she's empowered. She knows her rights. Maybe they're all feminist (Laughs). They are not abused. All other things... they are all educated... But, there is no one Canadian woman. And those assumptions are changed to me. It's not all Western women or not all Canadian women are empowered. There are differences, whether class... There are white women, upper middle class white women and there are also white women who are poor women also. And there are other women like the aboriginal women and stuff... so are there different kinds.... so there is no one woman. It's like Canadian nationality. I don't know... is there one? (meaning is there only one?) So, I think for Canadian women the same thing... there is no “one”.

Here Angela describes her previous image of Canadian women as one where, “She is empowered. She knows her rights. Maybe they're all feminist (Laughs). They are not abused. All other things... they are all educated...” This blanket description of “all” Canadian women was disrupted through learning about different women’s realities in

Canada such as class differences, vulnerability to poverty, and the experiences of aboriginal women. While she disrupts the traditional “third world woman”/ “Western empowered woman” binary, she also signals that her habitus was shaped by the white masculine hegemony that (re)produces this binary prior to living in Canada. In this example, she also illustrates a level of agency as she can (re)shape her habitus after acquiring new knowledge.

For Carrie and Marian the image of the “disempowered third world woman” is an image that reflects their experiences. The masculine hegemony they describe that marks and regulates their bodies as passive victims is opposite to the image of the matriarch that also regulates their bodies. As Marian describes, this leads to the need for careful negotiation of power and movement across the “disempowered third world woman”/ “empowered Western woman” binary in a way that does not place her at risk of being marked and then regulated as a matriarch (who may “break up the marriage”). As Carrie is regulated by the same images, as either a disempowered victim or an empowered woman who emasculates her husband, it is possible that maintaining her husband as the head of the household is one of the ways that she is able to mediate these markings.

While inequality was often tied to the experience of coming from a traditional culture relative to Canadian culture, this binary was also disrupted by an awareness of inequality within “mainstream” Canada and shared instances of agency within the participants’ own traditional cultures. The important thing to note is that, in line with the theory on embodied social capital, participants illustrated the presence of Anzaldúa’s

third space as they discussed the ability to negotiate different gendered markings, regulations, and norms within different cultural spaces.

4.6 Conclusion

The body recognized as belonging to African women is marked and regulated by both white and masculine hegemony in such a way that it is produced as “other”. Within the Canadian nation, the black body is marked as not “authentically belonging” to Canada in such a way that, regardless of the identity they embody, they are recognized as “non-normative” women belonging to Africa. The same *racialized* and gendered body is marked with a degeneracy rooted in colonial discourse that works to regulate her body through images such as the “third world victim” of patriarchy, an aggressive over-empowered matriarch, or a sexually aggressive Jezebel. Participants illustrated a consciousness of the marking of their bodies through their descriptions of the ways in which their bodies were regulated. They pointed to the ability to cross cultural boundaries with culturally differentiated markings of their bodies, illustrating the possibility of Anzaldúa’s third space. Both the awareness of the racial and gendered marking of participants bodies, as well as the production of the third space, are in line with the theory of embodied social capital, pointing to the potential for exploring intentional identity production that comes out of the conscious negotiation of these markings. Chapter Five will follow the theories of embodied social capital to explore how participants embodied and negotiated these markings of their bodies. It will look at how these negotiations led

women to participate in different social networks and the ways they participated within social networks.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion

This chapter will revisit the theories of *homophily* and embodied social networks (social capital) in the context of the experiences of the women interviewed. It will problematize the theory of *homophily* as it points to the diverse and complex social networks and relationships that participants had. Following the theory of embodied social networks, it will examine participant's negotiation, rejection and embodiment of gendered and racial markings that lead to participating in different social networks.

5.1 *Homophily*

As described in Chapter One, the literature on *homophily* suggests that relationship and social network formation result from people spending time together with others who share certain ascribed characteristics such as the same socio-economic background, race, gender, and age (Lin, 2008; McPherson et al... 2001; Stearns, Buchmann and Bonneau, 2009). The literature on *homophily* in describing general tendencies of populations also works to homogenize the same populations as it erases the diversity and complexities of social network formation within them. In the example of race in Canada, the erasure of such complexities works to reproduce the Canadian/hyphenated-Canadian binary where ethno-racial communities are bound and positioned in opposition to "mainstream" communities (read white). Individuals' complex participation within and outside of their ethno-racial enclaves is not the focus of the body of literature on *racialized* or gendered social network participation. Instead research has largely focused on the socio-economic benefits or limitations of an assumed participation within ethno-racial enclaves and peripheral organizations. Within Canadian studies there

have been brief mentions or footnotes of different levels of participation within social networks or relationships that fall outside of the practice of *homophily*, but these differences have not been examined.²⁰

The following table outlines the social networks of the participants. The results come from both a social network matrix (see appendix D) filled out by each participant, as well as from a discussion about their closest friends and self-evaluation of participation levels within their communities.

Participant	Race of Primary Social Networks (closest friends)	Secondary Social Networks	Level of participation within own or larger African Community
Simone	A	A, U and E	Very active
Perdita	A and E	A, U and E	Active
Carrie	U	A and U	Minimally active
Jennifer	A,U, and E	A, U and E	Minimally active
Frances	A and U		Active
Marian	U and E	A, U, and E	Very active
Angela	U and E	A,U, and E	Somewhat active
Etta	A (Family)	A and U	Somewhat active

A-marked African, U-Unmarked (white), E- marked ethno-racial (non-African)²¹

The social networks of participants in this study do not reflect an exclusive practice of *homophily*. Although most of the participants self-identify as belonging to their respective ethno-racial communities (including those who expressed being inactive within their communities or isolated by them) and most of them talk about the supportive

²⁰ For example see Anuchu et al. (2006).

²¹ The intended use of these categories, African, other-ethno racial enclaves, and Unmarked (white) is to illustrate the bridging social networks that exist with “mainstream” Canadians (read white) and other *racialized* bodies positioned as not “authentically” Canadian. The intention is to critically challenge this binary through blurring the lines of bounded communities. The use of the term “un-marked” is to position the white body as understood to be normative and therefore not racially marked as an outsider within the Canadian nation.

nature of the community, their primary friendships (social ties) do not necessarily come from within their ethno-racial enclave. While five of the participants identify having women recognized as African as part of their primary relationships, three of them do not. Three of the women with primary relationships with other African women also have primary relationships with either un-marked (white) women and/or women of other ethno-racial backgrounds. While all of the women expressed primarily female relationships, the racial diversity of primary relationships complicates the theory of *homophily*.

Perdita's closest relationships, for example, are with both women of African (and Caribbean) ancestry and women belonging to other ethno-racial backgrounds. Her two main communities are the larger African community and her church community which consists mostly of Caribbean members.

...actually I think my community is the, well I think they balance out. I go to my church, um which I consider it as my community as part of my life. Um, so and then I also belong to the African community. We call it African community. It's composed of different people from different parts of Africa so those are people when I am in need of help or if I want to talk to or if I need close friends or counseling or anything like that. People I call family. I call everybody family. (Laughs) those are at those are the people that I call on. So they are my close communities: My church, my friends from the African community—my family.

While she describes a sense of family and support in both of these communities, and later discusses shared beliefs with the church community and shared similarities and experiences (e.g.: food and stories) with the African community, these are not her only primary relationships. These relationships alone within communities marked “black”, point to a practice of *homophily*, but as Perdita later describes her best friends, “I have

friends from different like... my best friend is from Mexico, and I have another best friend who is from Korea. Yeah, so I have friends from different backgrounds....” Two of her best friends are not marked black and they exist outside her two main communities.

Similarly, Jennifer describes her relationships with her closest friends as external to the Eritrean community she belongs to. She describes the Eritrean community itself as a strong support network:

Yeah, it's there for support. If there is anything... like we try to help each other as much as we can. It's pretty much if there's anything I'm concerned about or something I need help...

We have people working within the community to help us. When you reach the age of 18 you need to go and get a citizenship card for back home for Eritrea. So there's a person within our community who establishes that. He does the paper work for that and then it gets sent to Ottawa where it is all finalized and everything. So he's the person who's involved with that. We have different people like anything like that or if there's maybe some schoolwork or something like that that you don't understand you can always reach out to someone that's older than you or anything like that. And it's just a network between our parents and their parents, and it's like well this person's having trouble with this would you be able to help them out and so on. Or if you have extra clothes that you don't need, you can just give them to someone else in the community. We've done a lot of that with our cousins. And if there's something we have extra we can give it to someone else who may need it more than us.

Here Jennifer describes a bound social network in line with Coleman's view on social closures where members exchange favors to support each other and to improve the human capital of the group (by helping others succeed in school for, example). While Jennifer describes this community that she is part of, it is important to note that she describes the relationships of parents and grandparents as central to this network. She

herself has two close friends from within the Eritrean community but later suggests that her main ties to the community are through her parents and in particular her mother. Not only does she describe the different levels of participation between her and her mother within the community throughout our interview, but she also illustrates how her mother is positioned as a bridge to the community in the following example: “If there's something that's bothering me I go to my mom because she knows (the) exact same thing as our community pretty much. Or if there is something that she doesn't know she'll seek answers from them.” Jennifer self-identifies as a member of the Eritrean community, but she is not a “knowing”, connected and active member the same way her mother is. In addition, her closest friends are not from within the community. When asked if she has friendships outside of her community, she replies:

Yeah, definitely. I've had such close friends from since grade eight when we moved into this area actually. They're all great people. I can talk to them about anything. I can ask them if I need anything at all. They just help me out. I've met other great people at work. Just before CIBC I was working at Superstore and two of my closest friends I met there and we're still friends even now and it's been over 10 years so... So it's definitely been... I have a lot of strong networks with them as well and they're not Eritrean at all or not even actually African. So...

So do you spend a lot of time with them?

Yeah, I do spend a lot of time of them. The person that I used to work with at Superstore actually referred me to work at CIBC as well. She's one of my one of my really close friends.

Okay. Outside of the Eritrean community do you feel like you belong to any other communities or...?

Hmn... outside of it (thinking)? I don't know. I don't know really. There's not really anything else that I'm really involved in per se.

While Jennifer clearly defines herself as having membership only within this ethno-racial enclave, it is not the central site of her primary non-familial relationships. In discussing her support networks, Jennifer describes her non-African friends as her main emotional and social supports. They are also her main supports for finding employment. While discussing the social network matrix, she adds that her African friends “could also offer social and employment support”, but in our discussion she highlights her non-African friends. She spends most of her time with non-African friends, but like Perdita does not position these relationships as part of a shared community. While both Perdita and Jennifer could be considered to practice *homophily* through their ties to and support from their ethno-racial enclaves and the larger African community, they also illustrate strong bridging social networks through primary inter-ethnic relationships with women outside of these communities.

Carrie, Marian and Angela all identify as belonging to particular ethno-racial enclaves, and Marian and Angela identify ties to the larger African community but none of these participants identify having primary friendships from within these communities. Their ties to both their ethno-racial communities and the larger African community are in the form of formal support and are event and organization focused. As Carrie describes the Sudanese and Equatorial communities:

There are special things about it. When something comes up, like somebody passes away, they are the people who will be there first for you. Yeah, you will need help from them. They will come and comfort you, and in many other ways, they will come.

Okay.

Yeah.

And comparing it to say the larger Regina community, why is it important for you to belong to the Sudanese community?

It's because it's where I can speak a language. We can speak the same national language at least yeah. And the community will be there. I will support them in case of if they are fundraising. If they give me the tickets I will go and buy the ticket to support them. But the Sudanese one is where we can speak, we understand our problem and everything, our situation. We can just get along. If you have a problem we can solve it there.

And what is... what do you think your role is in the Sudanese community?

Oh, I'm just a member that's all.

Okay.

And I am always busy with work, so if they need my support, they will let me know in advance then I'll do what I can but usually I am really not performing that much. I am busy with the kids.

Carrie describes participating in community events when she has time. The Sudanese community is a support for her and place where she can speak her own language and share common experiences with people who will understand, but there is also a formal element of the community as it is described as an organization where her membership is limited and consists of supporting events. Additionally, unlike Perdita she does not experience a sense of family with her community as she suggests "we are not related... just African". While she identifies the supportive nature of her community, her two closest friendships exist outside of it. She describes two "Canadian" women (read white) as her major emotional and social supports outside of her nuclear family. When asked why these relationships are her main supports over her Sudanese community members she explains:

I think (because of) the way they welcomed me to Canada. They are more close to me because other Africans, I know them from here. I don't know

them from back home. Yes, I will see them as African. I will talk to them, but those who welcome me to Canada I am more like close to them and everything.

Her shared experience, culture, and the racial marking of her body lead to her formal membership in the local Sudanese and Equatorial communities, but they do not form her primary relationships.

Angela describes having membership in her ethno-racial enclave but as discussed in Chapter Four she currently feels isolated from the community because as an educated woman and single mother she is positioned as a threat to families. She suggests that the community itself is a social support network as she describes it as an organization where:

...people get together, hold events on Christmas or whatever... sometimes if there's something like somebody died... like what was it.. last month in March? So they did something together. They collected money for the funeral (Angela).

While Angela is marked a member of this particular ethno-racial enclave, she is not active within the community and does not benefit from the network because of her isolation by other community members. In describing her friendships in the larger African community, Angela discusses the nature of her relationships with women in the Pan-African Women's Organization:

And so you talked a bit about having Canadian friends and you also briefly mentioned African friends...

With the Pan-African Women's Organization, yeah, but then I realized... it's like when we have events or meetings, that's when we get together. But I don't think I have ... you don't... you don't have like that much connection... like you talk about what's going on in your life or your kids play together.... no it's not like that. It's different.

Okay, how?

Oh okay... so I said we just meet at the events. And um, that's it. So I... it's not like, what's the words... I can't find words... except... some of them I meet at the University like Lisa. We meet at the Pan-African Women's Organization...It's more like an event or focus... Whether there is a meeting, yeah or, a banquet of Africa that you have to do things together. That's where you meet, and that's happened three or four times a year. So it's not regularly.

Angela describes her relationships with other women marked African as formal, task oriented and lacking connection. She also describes the time they spend together as infrequent. Over the past five years she has been a member of three organizations: the Pan-African Women's Organization, the Sudanese community, and the Feminist Student Society. While her participation in the Pan-African Women's Organization (as a board member) and membership of the Sudanese community points to an alignment with women and men who are marked African, her description of her relationships within these organizations illustrates a formal network that is not central to her day-to-day life. Additionally, the primary social, economic and emotional supports she highlights in our interview come from non-African relationships. In one example, she describes a family from her church that "adopted" her and her son when they first came to Canada.

And I have Canadian friends. Like when I came I used to have friends but now they've moved out. They are retired... and they moved to other provinces like Alberta. I have two friends. She used to call me her adopted daughter. Yeah because she and her husband, they were always like... they helped me a lot with a lot of things. Whether emotionally or even financially, sometimes babysitting. Especially when Ethan was... like it's better now because he's 12...

Even through the move to another province Angela maintains a strong relationship with her "adopted family" who she identifies as a current strong emotional support during our discussion of her social network matrix. In describing the different nature of her African and non-African friendships she says:

I think (they offer) different parts emotionally because of like... It's like with my Canadian friend, I don't feel even there is a difference... because like I would share with her... We've been friends for like nine years now... Like I felt the same way I felt (with) my friends in Sudan.

(The) African-Canadian friends that I have is mostly... (I) can be friendly with them... it's like... some of the people that are in the University that I will be friends (with). We can talk and can be friendly... and there are some Sudanese guys... because we don't have many Sudanese women in the University, who are my friends. We talk generally and stuff like that.

Here she is suggesting a closeness with her Canadian friend (read white) that is comparable to the relationships she had when she lived in Sudan. This is not the case with her African-Canadian friends. While she describes a connection with African friends at her university, she defines these relationships as friendly but also relatively weaker compared to the example of her non-African friendship. This further problematizes the theory of the practice of *homophily* where inter-ethnic relationships are expected to form weaker links relative to intra-ethnic ties (Aizlewood and Pendaker, 2005).

Marian identifies her church community and the Ugandan community as her main communities. She adds that she is also member of the larger African community. In describing her membership within the larger African community she says that she “relate(s) more with the African community through the Pan-African Women’s Organization”. She is an active and founding member of the Pan-African Women’s Organization and has been an active member of many organizations within the African community. Her participation within multiple organizations where the membership consists primarily of people marked “black” points to a high level of *homophily*. Marian is however also a member of a number of non-African organizations, one of which is a primary community for her (her church community). Like the other participants, she

describes the Ugandan and larger African community in terms of support networks. In the example of the Pan-African Women's Organization she says:

I know that through the Pan-African Women's Organization and through forming a sister community, we are helping each other. Like we are there for each other and enrich each other's lives and how you navigate life. How you deal with life or challenges or you know...

This is actually a question I was going to ask later, but do you see that sort of as the goal or the main objective of the Pan-African Women's Organization?

I think it's one of the main objectives. Like, I think with the Pan-African Women's Organization, we say that we are trying to create unity among African women because to some extent the outside society sort of constructs you as a community and to some extent there is beauty in it, because maybe there is a similarity within that community but it doesn't come naturally. So to some extent we are defined... because what are we about? Like what brings us together and we say we are going to consciously try to create unity among ourselves and in the process we are going to try to help women integrate and settle here, especially those of us who have come and are more established. There are more and more coming. It's like they don't have to go through the same challenges and issues we went through. So how can we make it easier for them... And then we are also going to consciously try to help women integrate you know in Canadian society. And some of the barriers are out there and... for those barriers that are out there we try to build programs because some of the barriers are internal, some of the barriers are our own barriers so we can dialogue among ourselves and share experiences.

Marian identifies shared experiences among the members of the Pan-African Women's Organization such as the challenges of moving to Canada and integrating within Canadian culture. As an established Canadian and member of the community, she suggests that one of the goals of the organization is to support newcomers so that their transition is easier and more successful. While she talks about the supportive nature of the organization (and therefore the community), she also discusses the work in actively creating unity that is not inherent in their relationships. It is a support network that

emerges out of the external social construction of a shared black community, where *racialized* women experience similar struggles and barriers upon arriving to and living within Canada. As she further describes her relationships within this community she says:

Um, in terms of friendships, I think supporting each other, women to women, but probably haven't found deep deep relationships as general support. Because I think I found that you have [a] very different, maybe value base in some sense. So like sometimes you think there's something in common, but how do I put it... It's not that it's bad, but I think that I've found that... I haven't found any deep friendships as I found... I think that's probably the value thing... that we may have different values or different... like culture doesn't do it for me for some reason. I don't know. Maybe it's my background. I didn't grow up in a very traditional African culture. Like I grew up in Africa, but for me, my parents made it clear for us that you don't have to do what everybody does. You have to do what you feel is right, and so in the sense that the African culture is sort of, um, like the African community, culture hasn't drawn me very close. What has drawn me close is more you know women. Sort of like we share struggles as women, and how we overcome these struggles more as opposed to one to one friendships. I do have deeper friendships outside the Pan-African Women's Organization (Marian).

Marian aligns herself with the shared experiences of women more than shared ethnicity or culture. She also suggests that the shared culture and experiences does not mean that members share the same values or form deeply connected primary relationships. She continues:

Yeah, like for me, because friendships are more people who empower you, who encourage you and maybe because also like I have an exploring spirit. I want to explore, want to learn. I want to grow. I want to change and sometimes maybe for me when people don't want to change I don't sort of like... I don't gain energy from that. I found that I have had friends who, who always encouraged me to explore...

And those are coming out of the non-African community?

Yeah, yeah. That's what I found and I think it could be more a personality because I think with all due respect they are frustrating because within the Pan-African Women's Organization— because I was part of founding the Pan-African

Women's Organization, and I've been here with the group for a long time. Also there are 64 within the Pan-African Women's Organization who are enjoying it, but I find it closed. Like ah, for me, I don't find it liberating at a personal level. The difference I find is that friendship, with the friendship outside even, the friendship that allows me to explore and to grow and to change. That's the difference, I think.... I don't know what else.... that throws opportunities to me. But also remember actually that Immigrant Women is another women's organization where I found friendships. Like I told you about the University of Regina prof who encouraged me, but I remember when I was in Saskatoon I had a Chinese Canadian friend... I think she was sixth or seventh generation Canadian, but she was a friend. You know like somebody who gives you energy. She was doing a PhD, but she always had these ideas. Like I don't know maybe because she too is a dreamer. So I think my friendships arise more from personalities meeting, personalities connecting more than culture or where one comes from per se. Because I think when I think about it... that the lady was a deep friend of mine and she too, like she would always say Marian, I think it's more our personalities that connect us than being African or whatever. She wasn't a social worker, she was a sociologist actually. She had such a unique energy like she dreams ideas... So for me that's more what friendship is. Not that... I can work in a community, not out of friendship per se but where I see a need. Maybe because I am a social worker and I am always looking for solutions. I can find friendships outside of the community too. I think at the time the community feeling was encouraging each other. I remember that lady she kept on saying that we had to create opportunities for each other. She was like a dreamer and I got energy from being around her (Marian).

Similar to Angela, her closest primary relationships are not from within the community. While the shared experiences of women and the socially constructed racial marking of her body draws her to participate in the organization, she finds more personal support and connection with her non-African friends as she notes in her social network matrix that, "I find that my closest friends and relationships have more to do with people with whom I share values than whether or not they are from Africa or relatives." Like Angela, she describes her relationships with women in the Pan-African Women's Organization as not being "deep". Instead, her participation in the Pan-African Women's

Organization is formal and intentional. She intentionally participates in and works to support a community that she identifies as needing support. While the racial and gender marking of her body lead her to provide intra-ethnic support for women within the larger African community, her own primary relationships and personal supports come from inter-ethnic ties that do not result from shared racial or cultural experiences.

Six of the eight participants identify having primary relationships that include women not marked “black”. The range of participation within each woman’s ethno-racial enclave is not necessarily an indicator of *homophily* as some women described simultaneous active membership within their respective ethno-racial enclaves while maintaining primary inter-ethnic relationships, an indicator for strong bridging social networks. The relationships for Simone and Etta were in line with the theory of *homophily* as they held strong intra-ethnic ties and weaker inter-ethnic ties. Perdita, Jennifer and Frances held both strong inter- ethnic and intra-ethnic ties, while Carrie, Marian and Angela described strong inter-ethnic ties and weak intra-ethnic ties. This range does not reflect a narrow practice of *homophily*, but more a diversity of network formations and levels of participation within them that conflicts with findings in the *racialized* social network literature. It points to the need for a theory of social networks that can account for a diversity of social networks outcomes and practices.

5.2 Negotiating, resisting, and embodying racial marking

The theory of embodied social capital works to identify both the shared and diverse experiences of social network formation. The multiple markings of women’s bodies are embodied, negotiated and rejected by each individual woman interviewed in

such a way that there is a range of different and multiple social network outcomes for them. While some of the participants problematized the category of race, no participant problematized the category of woman. While this led to the production of strong gendered social networks, women still negotiated and resisted the regulation of their gendered bodies that led to different social network formations.

This section will examine how women embodied, negotiated and rejected the racial markings of their bodies and how this process mediated the social networks they chose to access and how they participated within them. It will start with a discussion around embodied racial marking and how it led to the practice of *homophily*. The second section will examine how participants negotiated the markings of their bodies through the use of Canada's multicultural discourse leading to both primary intra- and inter-racial relationships. The third section will discuss how participants mediated the racial marking of their bodies in a way that led to primary social network formations outside of their ethno-racial enclaves.

5.2.1 Racial marking and the practice of *homophily*

Simone and Etta aligned themselves primarily with the African and black communities. In the past, Etta has actively participated in African organizations, Caribbean organizations and Ghanaian organizations. She is a current and founding member of the Pan-African Women's Organization. As an aging woman and grandmother her participation in these organizations has changed as she explains:

And I was really involved with the community no matter what. I was with the Caribbean Association, African organizations, Canadian organizations, and now I am in Daughters you know. I pull my weight in the community. I had a plaque

from the Caribbean Association for 10 years of service. I have a plaque from the Ghanaian Association for 10 years of service. I have a certificate from Africa Association... Mosaic and everything... I mean. I'm still in PAWO. I've been in for almost 13 years.

And that's where you are? You are mostly in the Pan-African Women's Organization now?

Yes, I mean, Ghanaian organization (too), but I am just trying to just fade out. I work too hard. I work very very hard and we just got a distinction award from the YWCA for PAWO's teamwork. I have my certificate framed. I have two of them so you know, so I appreciate what I did and what I got back, you know. And um I have a lot. Others that came and now I am just kaput.

... Okay, so right now, what is your community? Do you have a main community, or do you have many communities? What do you think?

Um, not much. Right now I'm just up to my... my granddaughters are coming. I have four. The twins and two more. My older granddaughter is 14 years. I have twins, a year-old and I have another baby three months old. Even from here, after with you, I have to babysit her because their mom plays soccer. Because I am busy now with my grandchildren. That's what why I want to retire— so I have time fully for them. So I'm in the community. With PAWO I am in fully, but you know that I am trying to take myself out. But they wanted me... so they don't want to and every time I try, they pull me in more than I want to. You know, so I will give it to God for him to ...you know... because they want me. I am fun when I am there. They laugh a lot and you know... they don't want to lose me. But see when you're outside, nobody knows you're inside... you know.

Etta's social networks have changed over the years. For her, as a woman once very actively involved in the African and black community, aging and becoming a grandparent has shifted her focus as she has stepped back from her membership within the community and is now primarily spending her time with family. While she mentions belonging to Canadian organizations she focuses on her past participation in the communities marked black where she received recognition for her participation. Her primary membership and participation in organizations where the members are largely

marked black illustrates a conscious embodiment of racial marking as she describes her need to belong in the context of not belonging to the larger Canadian community.

Etta expresses not having been fully embraced or accepted by the larger Canadian community when she arrived in Canada. She further identifies the exclusion and racism commonly experienced by immigrants in the work place that differs from the experience of people visiting her home in Africa.

Have there ever been moments where you felt like someone didn't identify you as Canadian or you felt like you weren't Canadian?

Oh, plenty of times, a lot of times even at work. The workplace is the worst place on earth...

The government job is one of the most crucial jobs here if you are immigrants. This RCMP that I went... And my supervisor, what she did to me... It was a competition in a paper and I applied and I got it. I went for the interview. I got a full-time job to begin. The supervisor did not understand. She stopped me. Everything I did was not right. Oh my God. In the end they used my probation time against me. I was out of there. Oh yes I cried and I cried. My heart was... You know I was so hurt, because nobody handed me the job. I worked and I got it. It's not easy. See people don't see all this.

No they don't.

That we come here and we put up with so much. But see others can go to my country and the reception they get... is just enormous. I know one guy came and said, you know I'm so ashamed. Look the people don't have much but the happiness, the hard work and how do you say this... the hospitality you give to people. I'm so ashamed. Do you know the man went there... all the gifts that were piled on him. And you know, he couldn't buy even one item for his wife. The gifts that they showered him (with). He couldn't even buy one little thing for his wife. He always said I'm so ashamed, you know when you people come here we don't treat you well and when we go to your country... the things that you do for us.... I said yes, confession time (laughs).

And have you had any experiences where you felt like people were really accepting or helpful? Especially when you got here?

Oh, the ones that have traveled to Africa. They are the ones that accept black people. They are the ones that when you hear the plane passing by they reach up. They are the ones that will accept things like that.

As Etta describes the things immigrants “put up with” she is, in part, describing the social exclusion and the sense of not being welcomed or belonging. When she is talking about immigrants she is talking about *racialized* bodies that are marked as not belonging to Canada. The result for her is participating in organizations where she can feel a sense of belonging. She further describes why she participates in organizations like the Pan-African Women’s Organization:

Well, just to belong. It's good to belong. I have a sister here, but she does not want to do anything. You don't know what is going to happen to you the next time that you need somebody. Everybody needs somebody. You can't live and think I'm just okay I don't need anybody. You know with that attitude, you can't live anywhere with it. Actually, you have to let yourself known. You have to give a little time. Okay, to your community so that when you need they will be there for you to. So it's both ways. It's not only one-way.

When asked about the main benefit of belong to the Pan-African Women’s Organization she continues:

Well the main thing is just being there, belonging (to) something. You know, like being with your people that you can laugh with, talk with. Not everyone you can talk with. And the ones you can talk with, you know, when we meet we are very, very happy. So, I am miserable at home and I go to a PAWO meeting I am happy. Because you can crack jokes. Everybody can laugh and things. You know, you have to belong someplace. You know since I came here, I have belonged so many places. And everybody gives me respect for what I've done in the community.

Etta’s membership in organizations has given her a place to belong. The organizations where she finds this sense of belonging are not entirely rooted in being

African, but also in being marked black. Her participation in the Caribbean organizations illustrates this. She aligns herself with organizations not necessarily rooted in a shared African ancestry or history or experiences of migration, but who share the same racial marking.

While Simone explains that “the need to belong...or a community to go to” is one of the main benefits of her membership within the Eritrean community, she embodies the racial marking of her body differently than Etta. Unlike Etta whose awareness of “not belonging” leads to her participation in organizations within the larger African and black communities, Simone describes her participation in African organizations as a result of being marked African by the larger Canadian society. In part, she participates in organizations to learn what this marking means as it is different than what it means to be Eritrean. In talking about her membership in organizations like the Pan-African Women’s Organization she says:

... to me it’s more about ...wanting to learn more about what it means to be an African person. Because there is this separation between what it is to be an Eritrean person and what it is to be an African person. So I know what it is to be an Eritrean person and I know my community— the Eritrean community and I grew up in my country in Eritrea so I know all that, but I don’t know so much of what it means to be an African and to know that ... And how as an African people operate and what the friendship or the lessons that I learned being in the Pan-African Women’s Organization...

She adds that participating in organizations like the Pan-African Women’s Organization is important to her as a vehicle for re-signifying the negative meaning tied to her *racialized* body:

... being in Canada actually makes not only my Eritrean identity for me to defend but more so my African identity because that is how I am more identified or

known... I am concerned about it in the sense the negativity attached to it. So my part and my role and this is bigger than (me), but I try to put the positive spin on it.

... one way I can see the Pan-African Women's Organization... I am more close to them, more attached to them. (It) comes from, um, being an African person and also seeing African people contributing to something positive so that in itself is why I highly recommend the Pan-African Women's Organization or want to be part of them and spend a lot of time organizing or making the organization succeed. As well... I want to see it succeed for the main reason that it's driven by African women. So versus, for example, Oxfam Canada where the members are diverse (and) come from all walks of life –African, non-African, you name it. So when it comes to particular... let's say there is negative things when it comes to being in (from) Africa and not doing well or not contributing well. I want that myth or that negativity to change so then I put a lot of my time (in) to an African organization like the Pan-African Women's Organization versus another organization that is non-African where I feel that they can make it on their own.

Simone's awareness of the racial marking of her body discussed in Chapter Two has led to both a conscious and intentional participation in organizations. She willingly learns and works to embody what it means to be African as she is socially constructed within Canada as an African. Her identity is not one that emerges from her body but one that she intentionally produces. While she outlines that her participation in organizations reflects the need to learn what it means to be African because that is how she is marked, she also participates in these organizations to work to resignify the negative meaning tied to her *racialized* body. Through this work to resignify the meaning tied to her body, she is not only embodying the *racialized* marking of her body, but pushing back and negotiating the marking. In the above example, she describes her goal to change the image of Africans as “not doing well or not contributing well”. She is driven to help organizations like the Pan-African Women's Organization to succeed in way that is recognized as successful by the larger community.

Both Simone and Etta maintain primary relationships within the African and Black communities, pointing to the practice of *homophily*. While for Etta this membership reflects the social exclusion she experiences within the larger Canadian community and the need to belong, Simone feels tied to these organizations because she is constructed as a member of them by the larger Canadian society. For her, this construction leads to a sense of responsibility to re-signify what it means to be African, further pushing her to participate in African organizations.

5.2.2 Racial marking and the production of both intra- and inter-racial primary ties

Perdita, Jennifer and Frances maintain primary intra-racial and inter-racial relationships. In part, this reflects both the embodiment and the negotiation of the racial marking of their bodies. In our interviews, Perdita and Frances identified that the black body was not rooted in Canada, while Jennifer did not identify this lack of rootedness. While Perdita and Frances expressed a sense of not being rooted in Canada, they experience a feeling of belonging here. They are Canadian citizens and following the multicultural discourse within Canada, understand it to be a space where somewhat mutually exclusive cultural communities live together. Their formation of bonding and bridging social networks reflect a habitus governed by an internal logic shaped by this multicultural discourse so that while all three women identify belonging to cultural (and racial) communities they also express a very fluid and unquestionable formation of inter-racial relationships. Perdita and Jennifer have been in Canada since childhood and for close to 20 years. Frances has been here for 6 years and came at the age of 29. These differences point to potentially different levels of cultural influence and embodiment, as Frances has lived most of her life in Sudan and Perdita and Jennifer have lived most of

their lives in Canada. This section will describe how multicultural discourse frames the experiences of each of these women, speaking back to un-rootedness of the black body within Canada and leading to both bonding and bridging social networks.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the multicultural discourse in Canada works to build a form of citizenship that allows Canadians to maintain cultural ties and identities that they or their ancestors had prior to arrival in Canada. As was also discussed, this discourse operates within a *racialized* understanding of what “authentic” Canadians are in such a way that the black body is understood to be un-rooted in or new to the Canadian Nation. Most of the participants indicated that the color of their skin was a marker for their body belonging to Africa. For Perdita, Jennifer and Frances this marking, along with their understanding of Canadian Citizenship materialized in the formation of intra-racial and inter-racial relationships. As Marian describes, “Like I think part of that concept of community has come out of Canada being a multicultural country and encouraging to keep your culture and have a sense of community that allows you to connect with the larger community”. Here she speaks to a national space that allows for an identity production that need not be mutually exclusive. In line with this Perdita says, “I consider myself African and I’m Canadian, so that's why I am an African, and I'm also a Canadian.” This understanding allows her to form relationships both with people of African ancestry and others who she relates to as fellow Canadians.

Perdita’s relationships form out of different shared experiences and needs. While she expresses more shared experiences with African friends through coming to Canada and being from Africa, she also expresses different needs being met in different

communities such as her church and school. In the example of school, she describes educational and emotional support that comes from a shared experience with her classmates that is not ethnically or racially determined:

... my friends in nursing. I can call them. We can have something to complain about— a teacher or something to complain about an assignment. Just talking through it even if we are wrong. Having someone agree with you is fine. Just sitting together and going out for coffee to relieve stress or going to the park for a walk or just having them hear you out and exchange. And know that they feel the same way.

While she belongs to the African and Black communities, she also belongs to the larger Canadian community and without intention moves across this seeming binary. For her it is not a binary. She does not identify feeling or acting any differently herself within these different cultural spaces and further suggests that even if she were white, she would “act the same” and be the same person she is now.

Describing one of the rare moments when she encountered a person that did not identify her as belonging to Canada she says:

... I didn't feel like not Canadian ... I just thought that person was just being um... yeah... I haven't been made to feel like I'm not Canadian. Like you know, I think I didn't take it as a whole, I just thought that person was just narrow minded. And that's their belief and if they want to be that way, that's fine.

Here the internal logic of her habitus which is governed by multicultural discourse, reasons out her encounter with a man whose suggests she “shouldn't be here (in Canada)”. This is not a common experience for her so as she suggests, this does not reflect the whole of Canada, only a narrow minded individual. Following Bourdieu, her habitus is not easily changed through this encounter so that her understanding of multicultural Canada and her membership within it remain intact. While, as discussed in

Chapter Four, she suggests the black body can never be from Canada, she is a Canadian citizen.

Jennifer has lived in Canada for twenty years. She moved here at the age of five. She has never felt as if she did not belong in Canada or was not rooted here, and being Canadian is central to her identity in a way that is not consistent with most of the other participants. For her, "...regardless of who you are, if you are a Canadian citizen, if you lived here (during) your life you should be considered Canadian." When asked about what makes her feel like a Canadian woman she says:

Well, I've lived here my entire life so this is pretty much all I know. I feel like I am Canadian. I don't know really what it is that distinguishes it. But I just feel it.

...Okay, so in terms of being an African Canadian... first of all, do you identify yourself as Canadian or African Canadian? How would you define yourself?

I say African Canadian.

Do you? And so what does it mean to be an African -Canadian woman? What are the differences between that and Canadian woman?

I think is just if you are identifying yourself as African Canadian you still have roots back to where you came from. So that's the difference. If you are going to identify yourself as Canadian, this is your home; this is what you know, and where you are from so you identify yourself as Canadian. That's what you're roots are and so on. I think when you identify as African-Canadian you identify that you are part of something else besides only Canadian. So you have another past, another culture, traditions and everything like that and so on.

Okay. Do you think there are levels of African Canadianess?

I think there's some, yeah. Just because you can be more involved within your African heritage or anything like that. So there could be levels, where someone is really involved and is all for it and everything like that and other people that are just somewhat or in the middle or things like that.

Where would you put yourself in that?

I would probably be in the middle.

Okay. And are there moments where you feel more African-Canadian or Canadian?

Yeah, I'd say probably when we are celebrating different things that we have in our own communities like Independence Day. As I mentioned before or even New Year's and everything like that. We have different time frames than the Canadian calendar and things like that. Just when we all gather together and celebrate those things.

Jennifer's habitus is governed by Canada's multicultural discourse as she suggests that to identify as African-Canadian is to "identify that you are part of something else besides only Canadian. So you have another past, another culture, traditions and everything like that and so on." As she describes having an additional past, culture and tradition to her Canadian one, she makes her Canadian identity central to who she is. Her African identity as she describes later is "part of who" she is. It is not central the same way Frances suggests, "We are Sudanese first". Her use of the word "we" to describe Canadians illustrates this point.

I guess we try to help other countries. Like we're just like known as peacekeepers. Things like that. I guess in a sense so we're always there. We're not really viewed as bad or anything like that. It's more like you see a Canadian person and you're just not afraid of them or anything like that.

Here she includes herself through the use of the word "we" unlike many of the participants who when describing Canadians separate themselves by using the terms "they" or "you" with the intent to include me, the researcher.

While Jennifer identifies the Eritrean community as her only community and she has moments where she feels a stronger sense of being African-Canadian, her closest friends come from outside of this community. Similar to Perdita, her friends meet

different needs. While she identifies having similar strong social relationships both within and external to her community, unlike Perdita, her main emotional support comes from outside of her community. When asked why, she explains that “they've just been there...pretty much my entire life. At any point if I need to talk to them or anything like that, just emotionally I can talk with them. I can cry with them. I can be happy with them, whatever it is.”

When talking about employment support she says:

Ah... it would probably be just non-African colleagues or even friends, non-African or African. Just because... I can pretty much ask them if there's a job that they're interested in and if I have a way to help them than I would do that thing with them or if there is something to they've known me a long time. So they know what I'm best at and they can easily be like I think this would be a great position for you or anything like that to help me out. Just the same way that I was mentioning before how Sara helped me get into the bank.

Right.

So, she was working with me at Superstore and she's like “I think you'd be great for this” so she referred me. And that's how I started working there. And even at Superstore when I was working there my friend needed job and I referred her to work there. It was pretty much networking like that as well.

Her primary social networks for emotional and employment support are made up of friendships that result from years of knowing each other and are not entirely racially determined. Her employment supports are, as she describes, non-African and African. She has formed these relationships through growing up together with these women in Canada. In line with Perdita and Frances, Canada's multicultural discourse shapes her habitus, opening a space for her to easily form primary relationships within both her

ethno-racial enclave and the larger Canadian society as she understands herself to be a Canadian woman with African roots.

Frances has spent most of her life living in Sudan. She has been in Canada for six years and has a strong sense of belonging to the Sudanese community. She describes herself as African-Canadian but adds that she is “Sudanese first”. Similar to Perdita, she understands her black body to not be rooted in Canada. As discussed in Chapter Four, she points to her skin and says, “We cannot just say—I am Canadian— I would say African-Canadian. You can see that.” While she identifies that she is Sudanese, she also understands herself to be Canadian. When asked about what makes her feel like a Canadian woman she describes the neo-liberal rights that she has and her ability to stand the weather in Saskatchewan. She also describes the possibility of becoming more Canadian. She identifies the increasing influence of Canadian culture on her as she continues to live here:

Oh yeah, the more you live in here, the more you’re being Canadian.

And what do you think Canadian people are like? If someone asked you... you went somewhere and people asked what Canadian people were like, what would you say?

Like anything... Their nationality, they’re Canadian, you know. But I think that...

So if you were going to rate yourself in Canadian. 0 to 10 or something like that, how would you rate yourself? If someone said how Canadian are you?

Maybe seven.

Seven okay, and why would you choose seven?

I don't know (laughs...) because Canadians... everything they have it on time. Sometimes I can make this. Like Sudanese, if you tell him to come seven o'clock they will come nine a clock. If you tell them to come six o'clock they will come

seven o'clock. They don't have time here, but the Canadian.... but I like I told you, "You come one o'clock." You came one o'clock (both laughing).

... Yeah, but I will get that... the three levels more... to being Canadian one hundred percent. I will work on that.

For Frances, being both Sudanese and Canadian is possible. She is Sudanese first, but she also defines herself as a "level seven Canadian" and a woman belonging to both the African community and the larger Canadian community. For her being Canadian is not about race, but there is a cultural component where one learns to be or practices Canadian culture. The example she uses above is the cultural difference of time. While she points to this cultural difference she also notes that she will become fully Canadian at some point. Similar to both Perdita and Jennifer, her identities as a Sudanese woman and a Canadian woman are not mutually exclusive. She is both. Following Bourdieu, these two cultural spaces that mark her body simultaneously are not always in agreement with each other which leads to the potential changing embodiment and negotiation of these markings. As Frances herself suggests, at some point ... Canadian culture and the multicultural and neo-liberal discourses that she ties to it, will more strongly regulate and influence her habitus as she continues to live here.

For her the Sudanese and African communities offer both informal and formal support and provide a comfortable space for practicing her culture and speaking her language. She also has personal relationships with other women from Sudan. In an example she describes a close friendship with Sheri, a Sudanese woman she met in 2006:

When I lost the baby I got an infection in my blood. I got pneumonia at the same time and I had been in intensive care for like four days. And my body cannot accept the medication you know... and being like a dead person there... and my friend... She took the kids because my husband was being with me in the

hospital. She took all the kids. I remember Cali, the one (over there). She is five years old. She was one at that time. She took her with her and all the kids. They lived with her sixteen days until I come back from the hospital. And when I came I lost my voice. I can't even talk because they put a lot of stuff, you know chemicals, in my body. Okay. She came in. She stayed with me. She came every day. Actually she didn't stay with me but she came every morning and every night to care for me. Cleaning up, doing laundry, everything...

Wow.

Yeah, until I am getting very well and I'll never forget her.

While she discusses the supportive nature of her Sudanese community, she also describes two close friendships that she has with women she identifies as Canadian (read white). Both friendships started upon her arrival. She met Beth in the Toronto airport on her way here and Linda through her initial host family. Linda is now married to her husband's cousin and they are family. For Frances, her friendships with Beth and Linda are the same as her friendship with Sheri, but they offer different types of support. In her response to what's different about these relationships she says, "I think it's not that different, but it's different helps, you know... but it's the same I think." Her "Canadian" friends help her more with things tied to Canadian culture such as learning to drive and getting a job while Sheri offers family and emotional support. In line with both Perdita and Jennifer, Frances does not only form relationships as a result of her embodied racial marking and cultural membership. She has strong inter-racial ties that meet different needs and are the result of living in Canada.

Multicultural discourse frames the habitus of these three participants in a way that speaks back to the un-rootedness of the black body within Canada. It creates a space that encourages both an alignment with other *racialized* bodies marked as belonging to Africa

and the space to align with other Canadians not marked as belonging to Africa. For all three women, time spent in Canada has led to a sense of citizenship and forming relationships with other women not marked “black”. These relationships are the result of different shared experiences, needs and types of support. Perdita experiences the relationships between her African and non-African friends differently where the African friends are like family. Jennifer identifies the largely formal nature of her relationships within her ethno-racial enclave and has more primary personal relationships outside of it. Frances feels strongly connected to her ethno-racial enclave but does not feel any racially related differences in her inter and intra-racial relationships. For all three women Canada’s multicultural discourse has provided a space for them to negotiate the racial marking of their bodies so that they may simultaneously belong to their ethno-racial enclave and be Canadian women. This has led to both racially and non-racially determined alignments with other women and the formation of multiple different intra- and inter-ethnic ties.

5.2.3 Forming inter-racial relationships as primary relationships

The primary social networks of Carrie, Marian and Angela are made up of relationships with non-African women. In part, this reflects a rejection of the racial marking of their bodies that works to align them with others marked as belonging to Africa. It also reflects the adoption of Canada’s multicultural discourse, which as illustrated through Perdita, Frances and Jennifer’s negotiation of the racial marking of their bodies opens a space for aligning oneself with other bodies not sharing the same racial marking. This section will look at the experiences of Carrie, Marian and Angela to

examine how their racial markings were embodied, negotiated and rejected leading to the formation of non-African relationships.

Carrie has been in Canada for ten years. She came to Canada as an adult and for the most part self-identifies as African. In our interview she says:

No I don't even say I am a Canadian.

No, you just say you're African?

Yeah, I am African. I am African.

And why do you think that is when you are living in Canada?

(Laughs). I live in Canada because I didn't have a space to be. My country was at war so the Canadian government helped me to come and find a settlement place. I can say I am a Canadian, but they will look at your skin color and they will say you are not Canadian. That's why usually when you ask, are you Canadian. I say I am African Canadian.

In addition to identifying as African, she specifically identifies her cultural community as the Equatorial community. She is also a member of the Sudanese community but notes that Sudan is large and made up of many groups and languages which, as she explains, makes it difficult for members to unite. Her membership in these communities is formal and she supports them when there are events. She does not align herself with the larger African community. Her two closest friends are Canadian (read white). As she explains,

I have a friend, a Canadian named Amanda and I have Wendy. They live in Regina here. Those are more close. If I really need something fast, they will be the first ones to help me, especially with the kids. They were there all the time.

When asked about why she has listed her non-African friends as her primary emotional support she says,

I think the way they welcomed me to Canada. They are more close to me because other Africans, I know them from here. I don't know them from back home. Yes, I will see them as African. I will talk to them, but those who welcome me to Canada I am more like close to them and everything.

The African people she meets are new to her the same way non-African people are so while she will talk to them because of their shared identity, being racially marked the same is not enough for her to form primary relationships with them. The diversity that has separated people within the country she spent most of her life in and the continent of Africa itself shapes her habitus and allows her to speak back to the marking of her body that positions her as a member of the African community within Canada. This is not to say that she has not formed relationships with other African women. In fact she has. She discusses the shared work experience of *racialized* women that brings them together more than a shared history in Africa or the process of coming to Canada. She says,

Sometimes when they are just new to Canada they find the environment is different. It depends, like some people come from like, let me say Nigeria. They come as (part of) a nominee program. They never suffer a lot so when you meet them at work... The way they treat them... then you really share emotion(ally) relate.

So you share a common experience or...

Yeah, because there (Africa) is a different... big place, different kind of people... different parts of Africa –West, South. East– everywhere.

Here she suggests that it is in coming to Canada and sharing the experience of racism in this example that they share a similar experience that emotionally connects them. As described in Chapter Four this leads to emotional support and conversations about how to deal with racism and the risk of being accused of committing a crime (as she identifies that her body is marked with criminality). As discussed in Chapter Four,

this marking ultimately leads to the formation of relationships with white women whose “legitimate” bodies can speak back to accusations thereby protecting the *racialized* workers.

While Carrie identifies the *racialized* marking of her body within Canada, this marking conflicts with the marking of her body within the country of Sudan and the continent of Africa. The ethno-racial marking of her body prior to coming to Canada that positions her as cultural member of the Equatorial community pushes back on the marking of her body that works to erase the diversity of Africa that she understands. Her habitus is not easily changed even through day to day encounters that work to group her with a *racialized* population she has little in common with outside of her current racial marking. She does not form relationships with people who simply share the same racial marking. Instead, her primary relationships form out of who has welcomed her to Canada and provided support.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Angela who has been in Canada for 10 years describes being isolated from the Sudanese community because of the gendered marking of her body. She has relationships within the larger African community, but as discussed earlier these relationships are often formal and event focused. Similar to Carrie and Marian, she expressed that shared racial marking and culture are not enough for women in the community to form primary ties. Both her rejection and the weaker ties to the African community lead to primary relationships with non-African people. When describing her relationships she compares her friendships with her non-African friends and her friends from the African community.

Like the friends that I mentioned. They are not...they are really friends and close to me. Maybe they can be even closer sometimes... like maybe I go to African-Canadians for other stuff... not close stuff. They don't know what's going on in my life or whatever....

She further describes one of her current friendships with Sharon, a non-African woman, as similar to the friendships she experienced while living in Sudan.

... it's like my Canadian friend, I don't feel even there is a difference... because like I would share with her... we've been friends for like nine years now... like I felt the same way I felt (with) my friends in Sudan.

Really?

Exactly. We would talk about things. We would talk about frustrations. She has been through things like her mother was sick with cancer and that was like... and we would talk about that if she needs. Whatever like, things and the same thing for me. If I had been through things I would talk to her. I would trust her.

Her strong relationship with Sharon is not racially or culturally determined.

Similar to Carrie she identifies that she is culturally Dinka but like Perdita, Jennifer and Frances, she also identifies herself as a Canadian. Her identity as a Canadian allows her to form primary relationships with other Canadian women who are not Dinka. This is illustrated through the ease in which she crosses the ethno-racial enclave/ larger (white) Canadian society binary forming meaningful relationships.

Marian has been in Canada for twenty-one years. While how she self-identifies is context dependent, similar to Jennifer, being Canadian is central to her current identity.

She identifies as African Canadian in cultural contexts but not in her day to day life.

When asked about how she identifies herself she says,

Ooh (light laugh). I think maybe it changes. It depends on who I'm talking to I think. Like when we are in Uganda, like I say we are Canadians. I don't say African-Canadian because we are in the context of Africa. I just say we are

Canadians. In Canada we do this. But um, so it's depends on social context, I think that I would say that.... I think if we are in a meeting and we are talking about cultural differences I would say African- Canadian in that context because we're talking about that cultural context. But if there's no need to say ...like at church I'm Canadian, because it's not a cultural context.

She describes herself as “very Canadian” and explains, “I am probably more Canadian than Ugandan I think. And probably I've lived here longer. Like I've spent a bigger part of my life here than in Uganda.” For her, the time lived in Canada has led to a shift in her identity.

I'm lately finding that I'm not calling myself African a lot. Like I haven't... like I've lived (here) so long that I've forgotten to identify myself as African... Maybe I've been away from Africa for a long time but also partly because I found the last time I was there... I couldn't agree with most of the things...

...I'm trying to think.... would I identify myself as African alone. Like I'm trying to identify myself as African... That's my ancestry. I would say more like I am of African ancestry. Like I can say African- Canadian... but African alone, like I'm trying to classify myself as African alone and not Canadian. I don't know. I can more easily say I am of African ancestry than African or African-Canadian.

The *racialized* marking of her body is not embodied but located in her ancestry in a way that does not make it central to who she is. When asked about the difference between a Canadian woman and an African-Canadian woman she says.

I think there's a difference in the sense that you're connected to that history and that experience which you can't deny and which is important in the sense that the system to some extent historically treated differently. And then there is a deliberate effort to liberate and take down those barriers. But there's also that history and experience that remains in subtle ways and more indirect ways. And so that's the only difference that I find. But in terms of... in terms of other ways I think much of the difference or the indifference comes out of who you define yourself to be. And if you define yourself to be Canadian, an African Canadian-woman, a self- liberated but also liberated African-Canadian I don't find much difference.

While she locates being African Canadian in a history of being treated differently that continues, as she says in subtle ways, there is not much difference in being a liberated Canadian or African Canadian woman. For her being a Canadian, in part, is tied to liberation. When asked if there are levels of “Canadian-ness” in this context she says, “Yes, I think so, because to be Canadian is... you asked me what it is to be a Canadian woman? Yes, I think there is because it's very possible to live in Canada and not be free.” For her being Canadian is not racially determined, but about the possession of certain freedoms.

As discussed in Chapter Four, Marian describes the ways in which the black body is marked and constructed as belonging to a single cultural community. While she identifies this social construct as external and un-natural, she also expresses a sense of responsibility to the other people who are marked as members of it. In describing her membership in the Ugandan community (where she does believe there are more shared cultural identities, practices and history compared to the larger African community) she says,

... we are aware that some of us have lived here longer and are more established and some of the people are not necessarily established. So those (that) were established need to help the other community members as they come in, but also those who are not as established— to be able to support their children. So we do have the Ugandan Canadian Association and through that association we deliberately, constantly try to do our best for the community. We try to sort of create a fair playing ground for everybody to have a chance to integrate into Canadian society as new neighbors.

While she identifies a shared racial marking, a sense of responsibility, and a continued experience of subtly being treated differently, these shared experiences do not lead to forming her primary social networks. Although she is an active member within

the African community she discusses her friendships within the Pan-African Women's Organization, her main access to the African community:

Um, in terms of friendships, I think supporting each other, women to women, but probably haven't found deep deep relationships as general support. Because I think I found that you have very different, maybe value base in some sense. So like sometimes you think there's something in common, but how do I put it... It's not that it's bad, but I think that I've found that... I haven't found any deep friendships as I found... I think that's probably the value thing... that we may have different values or different... like culture doesn't do it for me for some reason. I don't know. Maybe it's my background. I didn't grow up in a very traditional African culture. Like I grew up in Africa, but for me, my parents made it clear for us that you don't have to do what everybody does. You have to do what you feel is right, and so in the sense that the African culture is sort of, um, like the African community, culture hasn't drawn me very close. What has drawn me close is more you know women. Sort of like we share struggles as women, and how we overcome these struggles more as opposed to one to one friendships. I do have deeper friendships outside the Pan-African Women's Organization.

... Yeah, like for me, because friendships are more people who empower you who encourage you and maybe because also like I have an exploring spirit. I want to explore, want to learn. I want to grow. I want to change and sometimes maybe for me when people don't want to change I don't sort of like I don't gain energy from that. I found that I have had friends who, who always encouraged me to explore.

As Marian suggests, her relationships within the African community are not very deep. As a Canadian woman, her closest friendships form out of shared values not necessarily found in the African community and different forms of support, encouragement and empowerment. While she suggests that the concept of multicultural Canada "encourage[s] you to keep your culture and have a sense of community that allows you to connect with the larger community", her central identity as a Canadian woman, like Jennifer, positions her as belonging primarily to the Canadian community. The multicultural discourse allows her to be both a Canadian and a member of the

African-Canadian community, but her identity now “as more Canadian than Ugandan”, positions her to form primary relationships with other Canadian women that are not simply the result of a shared racial marking.

Participants formed a wide range of primary social networks consisting of intra- and inter-racial ties. While most of the participants expressed the experience of being marked “African” in a way that rooted their bodies in an African homeland, only two of the participants embodied this marking in a way that led to the practice of *homophily*. Others, using different identities and discourses negotiated and resisted this marking which in turn led to the production of different social networks. Specifically, the discourses on the diversity within Africa and multicultural Canada shaped different participants’ habitus pointing to conflicting fields that worked to regulate their bodies. The discourse on African diversity problematized the racial marking of black body which works to group a wide range of bodies within a single racial category, erasing culture, ethnicity and racial differences themselves. As a result, some participants did not or could not racially align themselves with others marked African as a result of the shared marking. The discourse on multicultural Canada provided a space for participants to form alignments outside of their racial marking. Participants’ citizenship or identity as Canadians framed their habitus in such a way that their alignments were not racially determined. Instead, the result of different shared, experiences, needs, and goals led to relationship building within the larger community.

5.3 Negotiating gendered marking of the body

Most of the participants expressed a binary between Canadian culture and their “traditional” African cultures. This binary was bound and expressed in terms of having neo-liberal rights within Canadian culture and experiencing gendered oppression within their respective African cultures. Participants discussed the difference in the gendered regulation of their bodies within these two cultural locations and the ways in which they negotiated these markings. As Marian describes in the following quote, there is a need for new comers to Canada to carefully negotiate what she identifies as the oppressive relationships within traditional culture and a new found equality that she locates within Canadian culture:

In traditional African culture these, like any traditional society actually, it's not African culture, but most of us coming from Africa come from established traditional cultural practices. But these tend to not have equal opportunities for women or like you know women we sort of... I don't know, there's gender inequality, whether we like it or not. When you come to Canada, maybe also for me it's because of working with human rights and being very aware of the opportunities that are there. And the advantages because the advantages, not only for women but for men too. Say when there is an inequality for women, missed opportunity for women to improve their welfare for the whole family. So, but at the same time aware that sometimes when you're not careful like you just embrace equality and your husband doesn't understand where you're coming from that can easily break up marriages so through the Pan-African Women's Organization we've deliberately and consciously talked about those dynamics. So how do you navigate the changes and the opportunities that you have here and coming from our culture where you probably initially submitted to inequality without question, but now the opportunities are here. Do you stay with things the way they were or do you negotiate a way of, you know towards change, and more equal opportunity and the challenges (Marian).

This particular social network provides women with the space to talk about the process of consciously negotiating this binary. For Marian the two cultural spaces are governed by a different internal logic that is not understood by men and so poses a danger

to relationships as women work to negotiate the different regulations of their bodies. She not only identifies an awareness of the differences, but also a difficult process that can have a range of outcomes as she says, “ Do you stay with things the way they were or do you negotiate a way of, you know towards change, and more equal opportunity and the challenges.”

In line with Marian’s discussion and Butler and Dubois theories, participants consciously negotiated the gendered marking of their bodies through a wide range of practices that emerged out of Anzaldua’s third space. This section will examine the different ways in which participants used this liberated Canadian/ Traditional African binary to negotiate the social networks they accessed and how they operated within them. The first section will look at how this negotiation led to multiple identity productions and consciously choosing to participate in different organizations. The second section will describe how the production of the third space led to speaking back within both cultural locations.

5.3.1 Multiple identity production: participating in different social networks

Five participants discussed a practice of multiple identity production within different cultural spaces. Two of these participants described it as a way to negotiate the marking of their bodies and also discussed intentionally participating in organizations that reflected their preferred identity productions. This section will look at this process of negotiation and how it led to the practice of multiple identity production and mediated participants’ access to different social networks.

Simone's awareness of the gendered marking of her body influences her choice to participate in organizations like the Pan-African Women's Organization. As she explains:

...that could be a personality type not just because I am dealing with different associations but my personality in a sense is I try to... it's always been that way. I try to fit in people's personality. I'm pretty good in ways ...in putting myself into other people's shoes and relating to them and then have that relationship as well. So I can have two friends who are opposite to each other but I can still be friends with both of them. It might not be at the same time and the same time place. We might not have so much to talk about it. On my own I know how to deal with those two different people. So that's my personality. In terms of organizations or associations, like I said with the Eritrean community, I remind myself that this is the Eritrean community and I have those things that I need to watch out. So it is more cautious. As soon as I get the door that I need to bring those behaviours that I need to watch... that my mom is there, my aunt is there like you know. And hold myself back and that has a negative impact which sometimes I don't want to go the party because I am not going to be myself. But sometimes I say that I just need to be an Eritrean and do that. So then I will bring my Eritrean identity more because that means with that comes the values and the behaviours, the proper way of acting and to behave. So that is one identity I can distinguish from being separate from the Pan-African Women's Organization where it's more... In the Pan-African Women's Organization I would like to be more opinionated, like speak back because that is one thing I wanted to learn. I can't do that in the Eritrean community, but I am trying to learn that in the Pan-African Women's Organization because they allow that more. So pretty much changing that, using the identity different but then shaping who I want to be and who can help me to shape who I want to be rather than what I was ...going to be as well. I use my, per say... I use my identities in different ways at the same time having core values of my own. And to shape myself at the end of the day to get there. But I have those organizations, like I say where in the Pan-African Women's Organization I want to learn to speak in public. I wanted to be comfortable speaking back. I want um to learn more of what it means to be an African person. So all those things that I wanted to have I will have that identity within the Pan-African Women's Organization. With the Eritrean community I try not to push it. I just follow. (Okay) With that it's safe because that's my identity and I know it. And I will be criticized harshly if I don't follow it. So watching, knowing that and watching I try not to play with it so much but just do it- what is supposed to be done. Like for example, the mainstream organizations, I will take the values that I learn from the Pan-African Women's Organization and use them. So when I am in a mainstream organization mostly I would like to forget what it means to be an Eritrean.

Okay

So then bring out what it means, like with the Pan-African Women's Organization. So I think of those people which I consider to be a mentor and how they would deal with these situations. So my Eritrean identity kind of stays back and I use more of my African identity. So yeah, I use them interchangeably.

Her participation in the larger African community provides a space for her to exert herself or as she describes “speak back” in a way that is not allowed in her own ethno-racial enclave as a young woman. As she discusses the gendered and age related regulation of her body she describes not being herself in this space. While her ethno-racial enclave “is a community that is by inheritance” her participation in the Pan-African Women's Organization is the result of a choice, one that allows her to be herself as she operates outside of this regulation. For most of the participants, the freedom to speak sought by Simone was rooted in what it meant to be, in part, a Canadian woman and so her desire to speak back and gendered reason for participating in this particular organization points to an embodiment of the Canadian woman. As Simone expresses a sense of being herself that is different from the person she has to perform in her ethno-racial enclave, she illustrates how the neo-liberal principals of freedom located in the Canadian cultural space shape the internal logic of her habitus. Later in the interview she says,

Within Eritrean culture if there is some culture...some aspect of it for example, the major one is speaking out, especially to elderly. You're not supposed to really talk back. Or if you are going to talk back you still need to do it nicely. Or you need to consider that they know better where in Canada it's the opposite, You're speaking your opinion— what you think of it, even as a young person. They encourage you to do that. So I take that Canadian value on that and want to create it on my own as I develop myself. So I take what is Canadian identity and I take what is Eritrean identity, and I take what is African identity and mix them all up to make my own personality. So that's how I use it.

It is important to note that in this instance, Simone describes the inability to speak back as part of being a youth. Later in our interview she also describes it, like all of the other participants as a gendered regulation. Her negotiation of the gendered and age related regulation of her body occurs through accessing multiple organizations (as she describes later) that are in line with the identity she is creating. While she allows her body to be regulated within her own ethno-racial enclave by not “push(ing) it” she consciously chooses to be involved in organizations and spaces that allow her to negotiate/ reject the gendered marking of her body. While she performs certain gendered markings within her own ethno-racial enclave she actively changes how she participates in organizations outside of the enclave, deliberately resisting the gendered regulations of her body. She is able to negotiate the different markings of her body through the conscious use of multiple identities where she within different organizations and cultural spaces.

Similarly, Marian says, “...I straddle all these different identities, and I feel comfortable with them.” As discussed earlier in this chapter, Marian’s habitus is strongly framed by a neo-liberal rights discourse and she self- identifies as Canadian. While she identifies the Pan-African Women’s Organization as a space for discussing how to navigate the African/ Canadian binary, her current identity conflicts with racial and gendered regulations that she ties to the African side of the binary. When discussing the goals of the Pan-African Women’s Organization, her main access to the African community, she also describes barriers for African women.

I think everybody has internal barriers like either doubt or ... for me I think for the African woman— the biggest barrier is traditional culture and thinking culture is

static. And thinking I am an African woman— I want to keep my traditional culture. For me like I think, I remember clearly my mom directing me indirectly wanting me to be better than what she was. So for me, culture is like.... I tend to think of culture as ... maybe even theoretically...you read that culture is a living thing. It changes but I know, within the African community people say "oh, this is the African culture so we have to do it the African way". And so it's sort of a myth, and that's the challenge. That's the barrier.

I know that within the Pan-African Women's Organization it's talked a lot about it because so many times someone will say "no it's African culture; we have to do it that way." Some of us say "so what is that African culture?" Like, because it's um... "You may be doing it that way, but I don't do it that way. And I'm not any less an African than you because you do it that way".

Marian experiences what she terms a "boxing in" in this cultural location as some of the members of the organization understand African culture in a narrow and unchanging way. As she says again later in the interview, the community is not very living. For her, the almost discursive pull to bind the category of African or African woman is not empowering or liberating and as she seeks to form relationships of this nature with other women, she says, "I have deeper relationships outside of the Pan-African Women's Organization". Simone, who consciously embodies the African marking of her body, chooses to participate in the Pan-African Women's Organization. This African organization works to empower her as it provides a space for her to be herself and speak back to the gendered and age related regulation of her body. This same organization regulates Marian, who does not embody the African marking of her body. In this cultural space she experiences disempowerment and so chooses to reject it, in part, and form primary relationships outside of the African community. Both women work to speak back to the marking of their bodies through consciously forming social networks that are in line with their habitus.

5.3.2 Speaking back

... I just think, in my way, like people they live more in here, they forget everything back home. They just like being Canadian. It depends— the people they want to keep their culture, you know, whatever they were doing back home, they will keep it. The people that want to change to be a Canadian, they will do it.

And what do you want to do?

I want to be African Canadian.

And how do you do that?

(Laughing). I will try. I don't know. I will try. I want to keep stuff. I feel it and I know it's right. I want to keep it. I don't want to lose it. And I want to follow the rules and the law here too (Frances).

Similar to Marian, Frances identifies a process of negotiating living within two cultures. While in the previous examples this negotiation led to the production of particular social networks, participants also describes a process of changing their identities and speaking back to the ways their gendered bodies are regulated within the cultural spaces. The participants expressed the use of one culture to speak back to their roles in the other. Three participants expressed using their Canadian identity to speak back while being in social networks governed by their traditional cultural spaces. One of these participants also expressed the gendered influence of their traditional culture while practicing Canadian culture.

In the following example, Perdita describes using her Canadian identity to make unacceptable actions acceptable within her traditional cultural space.

Well, all I can refer to is actually when I go back home people say... if I'm not.... back home in the village the women have to be very gentle and ... which is good to be gentle and kind of not very opinionated in the village. In the city it's different, but when I go there, if I express myself if I say something... it's like “oh

okay. She's Canadian” (laughs). So that's my excuse. You know, it's sort of you're free to express your opinion. Let your voice be heard.

The freedom of speech tied to her Canadian culture provides her with the space to speak back when it is culturally unacceptable for women to do so. Similarly when Carrie describes what it means to be an African Canadian she says,

Oh freedom.

Freedom?

(Smiling) Yes, that's number one. You can do whatever want. Nobody can... like back home they force your head down. No, you're free. You have a right to talk. You have a right to do whatever you want to do in Canada. Even if you go home, back home, you are acting differently...the basic is there, but you will still be seeing other women. You will tell them don't do this... This is an old thing... Now, like we have our culture. You give water to a man you kneel down. Not anymore. Yeah, if I go home I tell them. You know what in Canada (we) don't kneel down. Give him the water. Let him help in the kitchen. That's right (laughs).

The Canadian side of the binary not only provides her with the space to change her actions and position relative to men but leads her to encourage her peers to do the same. As part of the traditional African / Neo-liberal Canadian binary, this is framed as a “progressive” choice. When she says “don't do this. This is an old thing...” the current African culture is positioned as historical within a sense of panoptical time, pointing to white hegemony at work.

While Carrie illustrates the way in which Canadian culture shapes her practices and positions her as a woman, she also discusses how her negotiation of the two cultures leads to maintaining her position as a Sudanese woman in Canada. When asked if there are different levels of “Canadian-ness” she responds,

Yes there are people who are more Canadian. But still, we are Canadian, but still, we keep our culture a little bit. We don't go so far. There is a difference because (the) Canadian way a man can take care of the kids. A man can help in the

kitchen. In our own the men cannot help in the kitchen. Even kids is women's responsibility. Yes, cleaning is women's responsibilities. But in Canada, the man helps. That's the good thing about being Canadian. Learn new things and everything. Man can help in the kitchen, look after babies and everything.

When asked where she would put herself in these levels of “Canadian-ness” she says in the middle because for her, while living in Canada has given her some freedoms like access to education and positively influenced the gender roles within her household, “the man is always the head of the house”. She has navigated the cultural markings of her body in such a way that she is able to adopt what she identifies as benefits from being Canadian, while also maintaining a certain degree of her traditional culture where as she suggests women are positioned below men within the household. This careful navigation of the liberated woman and the ideal woman in the cult of domesticity allows for the adoption of new gendered marking and practices that do not, as Marian discusses earlier, break up the family. She herself is liberated, but not a Matriarch that threatens her husband’s masculinity.

Using the following example, Marian discusses how she negotiates these two cultural locations and the different gendered regulations of her body. When asked about how she negotiates the gendered cultural differences she says,

I think sometimes it's through being assertive then throwing it on the table and check out the alters (natives) and see how it works. Or even cautiously thinking through how you communicate with your spouse and your children too. Because like within... like in the mainstream society, you make that opportunity... opportunities that are out there. I'll give you an example. I know that I had to be consciously.... like coming from Africa, I came with my children here, and um, being in Africa we used to have our house helper and probably I use to go for meetings in the evenings, but the way I would ask my husband it would sort of be like to seek permission. Or you know, like " I think I need to go to this meeting is it okay?" And sometimes giving him power that he probably doesn't have or that

is artificial. Depending on the way that I would present myself he would tend to say that you shouldn't leave the kids here alone in the evening when they need to be supervised and he makes me feel guilty. And sometimes you would stay but you want to go. When I came here, I learned to say "oh, I have a meeting to go to" and I think, you know, like I would prepare supper but I would leave before supper because I have to go to this meeting. And deliberately not giving him the permission to say yes or no. And I found myself doing that. And I said "Whoa! Now I know. Like I was officially giving him power that he doesn't have" and he didn't complain. You know he figured out that he didn't have, um, just as it comes and goes... without seeking my permission, he can do that. And it was a conscious deliberate thing to do. And sometimes in meetings we shared that with other women— that traditionally we're socialized to give men more power than they actually need to have. The way you communicate actually liberates you and liberates him. But if you give him the power, and you complain that he doesn't let you go then you are equally to blame for that inequality...

Marian outlines how accessing social networks has changed for her. She identifies the ways in which she embodied the gendered marking of her body while living in Africa through asking permission from her husband to go to meetings. In this cultural location, regulated by masculine hegemony, she sought permission from the head of the household. She was not able to make her own choice to go. She was not only regulated through his decisions, but also through the use of guilt as he tied her to her role of a good mother who "needs to supervise her children". This positioning of her body reflects the cult of true womanhood which itself is regulated by masculine hegemony. Her habitus, now also shaped by a neo-liberal rights framework has shifted how she approaches her husband when going to meetings. Now she speaks back to this marking of her body and no longer seeks permission. Instead she simply tells him. She understands that asking him is giving him power over her and as she suggests, she has learned that it is not his to have. The neo-liberal rights discourse that governs her habitus has influenced how she

accesses social networks (though going to meetings for example) as her husband is no longer entitled to mediate her access to them.

In these three examples, participants illustrated how they used their Canadian identities to negotiate and speak back to what they have identified as some of the oppressive gendered markings of their bodies. Their Canadian and African identities were not mutually exclusive or bound the same way identity was for Simone. Instead these specific examples clearly indicate a third space from which women were able to choose the markings they wished to embody and perform them within different cultural spaces.

5.4 Conclusion

The *racialized* women of African ancestry that were interviewed in this research did not practice the level of *homophily* suggested in the literature (Erickson, 2004; Li, 2004; Lin, 2008; and McPherson et al., 2001). They did not solely form *homophilous* relationships, but rather engaged in a diversity of social networks that crossed racial boundaries and reflected a negotiation of both the *racialized* and gendered markings of their bodies. Forms of embodiment ranged from a strong alignment with African identity and weak non-African social networks to a strong embodiment of Canadian identity with weak African social networks. Following Bourdieu, the discourses that framed the different cultural spaces to which women belonged, provided a space for negotiating the markings of their bodies. The diversity which shapes the continent of Africa worked to speak back to the racialization of the black body in Canada which itself works to erase both cultural and ethnic diversity. Canada's multicultural discourse further created a space for the building of inter-racial ties as women understood themselves as

Canadians leading to different alliances and social network formations outside of racial marking. In addition to this the negotiation of gender marking led to different forms of participation within social networks and to accessing different social networks. While participants shared a number of racial and gender markings, the process of negotiating these markings was diverse and led to the production of diverse social networks among them.

Research questions and direction for future research

Chapter one of this thesis reviewed both the theories and research on *racialized* and gendered social network formation. Following the work of Louise Holt the second chapter outlined a theory of embodied social networks that combined the identity production theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler and Gloria Anzaldua. Guided by Black feminist theory, the third chapter outlined the methodological approach. Chapter Four examined the racial and gender markings described by participants and located them within larger discourses. This chapter examined the ways in which participants negotiated the gender and racial marking of their bodies and how this negotiation led to accessing a range of social networks amongst the participants. It will conclude with a review of the research questions and potential areas for study.

The main focus of this research was to look at how race and gender mediate access to social networks. With this focus in mind, following the theory of embodied social networks, I examined the following questions: (1) Do the participants express an awareness of any racial or gendered markings?; (2) If marking exists in this context, what are the self-identified racial and gender markings?; (3) Do participants embody or

negotiate these markings? If participants negotiate the marking, how do they do it?; and (4) What and how are social networks accessed as a result of these negotiations?

In line with Black feminist theory, Anzaldúa, and Dubois, seven participants expressed an awareness of the racial marking of their bodies while all of the participants expressed an awareness of the gendered marking of their bodies. Two participants described racial marking as external and socially constructed, but racial marking was largely described in terms of the meanings tied to the *racialized* body. Participants expressed the black body as being marked with degeneracy and as not belonging to Canada. Conflicting with these discourses, participants also identified the cultural and ethnic diversity within the continent of Africa and Canada's multicultural discourse governed by neo-liberal principles.

For gender, participants expressed marking in terms of both the meaning tied to their gendered bodies and the regulation of their gendered bodies relative to men. Participants positioned the gendered marking of their bodies within Canadian culture in opposition to the gendered marking of their bodies within their respective "traditional" African cultures. Within this binary, participants identified that their bodies were regulated by masculine hegemony within their "traditional" cultural spaces, while the Canadian cultural space provided more freedoms that reflected the neo-liberal human rights discourse.

The racial and gendered markings of participants' bodies were both embodied and negotiated differently by participants. They identified a range of discourses marking their bodies. These multiple discourses provided a space for negotiation and a diversity of alignments to form. A range of primary relationships emerged out of individual

negotiations of these discourses and their inherent markings. Deeper embodiment of racial marking lead to strong intra-ethnic ties with weak inter-ethnic ties while the use of Canada's multicultural and Africa's diversity discourses lead to two forms of primary relationships: strong intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic ties, and weak intra-ethnic ties with strong inter-ethnic ties.

Participants formed strong alliances along gender lines illustrating a strong embodiment of gender marking. However, participants also consciously embodied and negotiated the gender marking of their bodies described above to access different social networks and operate differently within them. As they identified both masculine hegemony and the neo-liberal rights discourse simultaneously regulating their bodies, participants expressed how these two fields regulated their bodies differently and allowed them to negotiate gender marking through either multiple identity production or speaking back within cultural spaces. Some participants expressed performing multiple identities through a conscious choice to embody the gendered cultural markings specific to the cultural spaces they occupied at different times. Their embodied identity changed as they occupied different cultural spaces. For others, the opposing discourses provided the space for participants to speak back to the gendered marking of their body within the other cultural location. For example, they identified using the neo-liberal rights discourse to speak back to their position as women within their traditional African culture.

A matrix of identity productions and social network formations resulted from the negotiation of the multiple discourses that marked and regulated participants' bodies. This range of social network productions, in particular the crossing of the ethno-racial enclave/ larger Canadian society binary, points to an under-researched area within social

capital literature where the focus of *racialized* and gendered social networks has largely been on the practice of *homophily*.

Following the work of Louise Holt, embodied social capital offers a shift in the theoretical frame work that examines social network production. With a focus on socio-historical and discursive fields, it examines underlying structures so that, like in the case of race and gender, instead of theorizing ascribed characteristics as independent variables, the researcher works to identify forces that regulate individuals and in turn shape individual and group access to and participation in social networks. While this research project focused on diverse social network formations, for research focused on the practice of *homophily* and immigrant integration this theory provides a new avenue for examining the formation of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic ties that integrates regulating forces, power differentials and agency and that does not fall into the trap of victim blaming as discussed in chapter one (Edwards, 2004). Following Bourdieu's work on social capital networks, future research on the intersection of embodied social capital, human capital, economic capital, as well as different forms of symbolic capital may prove fruitful for examining the (re)production and transformation of the differentiated outcomes such as the health and socio-economic outcomes that are central to the focus of the current literature on social networks (Holt, 2010).

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Appendix A



UNIVERSITY OF
REGINA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH SERVICES

MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 23, 2010

TO: Terra Brockett
14 Osler Place
Regina, SK S4R 2X2

FROM: Dr. Bruce Plouffe
Chair, Research Ethics Board

Re: **Embodied Social Capital: How African-Canadian Women Negotiate Identity Through Accessing Social Networks (File # 60S0910)**

Please be advised that the University of Regina Research Ethics Board has reviewed your proposal and found it to be:

- 1. APPROVED AS SUBMITTED. Only applicants with this designation have ethical approval to proceed with their research as described in their applications. For research lasting more than one year (Section 1F). **ETHICAL APPROVAL MUST BE RENEWED BY SUBMITTING A BRIEF STATUS REPORT EVERY TWELVE MONTHS.** Approval will be revoked unless a satisfactory status report is received. Any substantive changes in methodology or instrumentation must also be approved prior to their implementation.
- 2. ACCEPTABLE SUBJECT TO MINOR CHANGES AND PRECAUTIONS (SEE ATTACHED). Changes must be submitted to the REB and approved prior to beginning research. Please submit a supplementary memo addressing the concerns to the Chair of the REB.** Do not submit a new application. Once changes are deemed acceptable, ethical approval will be granted.
- 3. ACCEPTABLE SUBJECT TO CHANGES AND PRECAUTIONS (SEE ATTACHED). Changes must be submitted to the REB and approved prior to beginning research. Please submit a supplementary memo addressing the concerns to the Chair of the REB.** Do not submit a new application. Once changes are deemed acceptable, ethical approval will be granted.
- 4. UNACCEPTABLE AS SUBMITTED. The proposal requires substantial additions or redesign. Please contact the Chair of the REB for advice on how the project proposal might be revised.


Dr. Bruce Plouffe

cc: Dr. Jaffe – Sociology and Social Studies

** supplementary memo should be forwarded to the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at the Office of Research Services (Research and Innovation Centre, Room 109) or by e-mail to research.ethics@uregina.ca

Phone: (306) 585-4775
Fax: (306) 585-4893
www.uregina.ca/research



African-Canadian Women Needed for Graduate Student Research Project

Looking for Canadian women of African descent who have lived in Canada for more than five years to participate in a study that examines African-Canadian women's identity and social networks. As a participant in this study you will be asked to participate in a 1.5 hour long interview.

For more information about this research or to volunteer, please contact:

Terra Brockett
 Department of Sociology and Social Studies
 Phone: 737-7316
 Email: brockett@uregina.ca

Terra Brockett 737-7316 brockett@uregina.ca								
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Appendix C



UNIVERSITY OF
REGINA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY &
SOCIAL STUDIES

Regina, Saskatchewan
Canada S4S 0A2
phone: (306) 585.4186
fax: (306) 585.4815

Consent Form

Title: Embodied Social Capital: How *African-Canadian Women Negotiate Identity Through Accessing Social Networks*

Researcher: Terra Brockett (949-5781); Supervisor: Dr. JoAnn Jaffe (585-4198)

Objectives: To study Self-identified African Canadian Women's identity and how this shapes their access to social networks.

Procedure: During this interview you will be asked to answer questions about African- Canadian identity, your community, and your participation in community organizations. The interview will be audio taped and last approximately 1.5 hours. Your identity will be kept confidential. Your name will appear only on the consent form which will be stored separately from the information gathered during the interview. There are no anticipated risks to you.

I understand that this project was approved by the Research Ethics Board, University of Regina. If I have any questions or concerns about my rights or treatment as a research participant, I may contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at 585-4775 or by e-mail: research.ethics@uregina.ca.

I, _____, have read the above protocol and voluntarily agree to participate. The procedure and goals of the study have been explained to me by the researcher and I understand them. I understand that I have the right not to answer any question and that I am free to withdraw from this study at anytime without penalty. I also understand that my identity will be kept confidential. I have received a copy of this consent form for my records.

(Signature)

(Date)

(Researcher)

(Date)

Appendix D

Semi-structured Interview Questions and Topics

Information about participant

- Age
- Occupation
- Level of education
- Income
- Family immigration story
- Where do you live? (need to place in city area)-map it.

Community (Wetherell, M., Lafleche, M., and Berkley, R. (2007))

- What is a community? /How would you define community?
- Do you have a community?

If yes:

- What would you call this community?
- Who belongs to this community?
- Can you describe your community?
- Why do you belong to this community?
- What is your role in this community?/ What are some of the things that you do in the community?
- If there are men in the community, are the roles or expectations of the same or different from women? (See if they have a brother)
- What needs does this community meet?
- What are the strengths of this community?
- Can you tell me about some of the friendships you have made in the community?
- Can you tell me about some of the friendships you have made outside of the community?
- Do you belong to any other communities? (IE: religious or academic)

If yes:

- Who belongs to this community?
- What is the same/different about the communities you belong to?
- What is the same/different about your roles in these communities?
- Do these communities meet different needs? What are they?

- Where do you fit in each community?
- Are you the same person when you are in each of them? For example, are expectations of you different in these communities? Do you change how you act? Do you feel differently in each of them?
- Are there different expectations of women and men in these communities? If yes, what are they?
- Are there other communities in Regina that you are not a member of?
 - If yes:
 - What would you call these communities?
 - Can you describe these communities?
 - Do you have any ideas about who belongs to these communities?
 - If no:
 - Why are there no other communities in Regina?

If no: (the participant does not have a community):

- Why do you feel like you are not a part of a community?
- Do you think there are communities in Regina?
 - If yes:
 - What would you call these communities?
 - Can you describe these communities?
 - Do you have any ideas about who belongs to these communities?
 - Why do you feel you are not a part of these communities?
 - If no:
 - Why are there no communities in Regina?

Identity (Commission for Racial Equality, 2005)

- What does it mean to be Canadian? /What does it mean to be a Canadian woman?
 - For example:
 - A way of looking/dressing?
 - A way of thinking (i.e. a set of beliefs)?
 - A certain set of values?
 - A set of related/unrelated ideas?
 - A set of behaviours?

A certain first language/accent?
A certain ethnicity/ race?

- Are there levels of “Canadianness”? Is it possible for some people to be more Canadian than others? (explain)
- What about yourself makes you feel like a Canadian woman?
 - (if the participant identifies levels of “Canadianness”) What level would you place yourself at? Why?
 - Are there others who might disagree with you –why?
- Have you ever felt like you weren’t Canadian or like someone else doesn’t identify you as Canadian? Tell me about it.
- What does it mean to be African Canadian? What does it mean to be an African-Canadian woman?

If there is a difference between what it means to be African-Canadian VS Canadian:
For example (if they need prompting):

A way of looking/dressing?
A way of thinking (i.e. a set of beliefs)?
A certain set of values?
A set of related/unrelated ideas?
A set of behaviours?
A certain first language/accent?
A certain ethnicity/ race?

- Are there levels of “African-Canadianness”? Can you be more one than the other (more African than Canadian or vice versa)(explain)
 - If yes:
How can you be more one than the other?
- What is it about yourself defines you as African-Canadian woman?
 - (if the participant identifies levels of “African-Canadianness”) What level would you place yourself at? Why?
 - Are there others who might disagree with you –why?

Support Networks (Family, Friends etc...)

Resource Exchange Matrix

<i>Networks</i>	<i>To whom do you turn to . . .</i>		
	<i>Meet minimum basic needs</i>	<i>Improve social or economic situation</i>	<i>Maintain social relationships</i>
Closely related family members (siblings, parents, children)			
African Canadian friends			
Non-African Canadian friends			
Relatives in Regina			
Relatives outside of Regina, but in Canada			
Relatives outside of Canada			
African Canadian colleagues			
Non-African Canadian colleagues			
Association members			
NGOs			
Religious organization			
Community leader			
Charities			
Other (specify)			

Source: Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jones, and Woolcock (2006)

Questions for each situation above:

- How do _____ help you to meet your needs?
- What sorts of help do they provide?
- Why is it this group of people that you turn to in order to meet these needs?
- If you needed [a particular type of support] what would be the reasons you would access a particular social network over another?
- Are there any support networks that you can/do not go to? Why?
- Would you say that your husband/brother would go to the same people for help? Why or why not? (Are there differences in where men and women go?)
- For any that are not checked at all: Are there any circumstances where you might access them?
- For any that are not checked-why?

Group/Volunteer Organization Membership (Anuchu et al., 2006)

- Are there any groups or organizations that you belong to?

If yes:

For each group/organization:

- What is the purpose/goal of the group/organization?
 - Why is the group important? / What needs is it meeting in the community?
 - Who is part of this group?
 - Why did you join the group?
 - What do you do in the group?
 - What is the main benefit of being in this group?
 - Does the group interact with other groups with similar interests in the city/neighbourhood?
 - Does the group interact with other groups with similar interests outside the city/neighbourhood?
-
- Compared to when you first arrived in Canada: Has your participation in different groups changed? (Has it increased or decreased, are you participating in different groups etc...?)
 - If yes, why has it changed?