MAKING HOME AND MAKING WELCOME: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE NEW CANADIANS CENTRE AND IMMIGRATION TO PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO FROM 1979 TO 1997

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Abstract

Making home and making welcome: An oral history of the New Canadians Centre and immigration to Peterborough, Ontario from 1979 to 1997

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This thesis documents an oral history of the New Canadians Centre, the only immigrant-serving organization in Peterborough, Ontario. This case study builds on scholarship that critically examines immigrant settlement work in Canada. Drawing on interviews and archival research, and employing the analytical concept of home, I investigate how differently-located actors have practiced home and welcome in Peterborough in the context of settlement work. I demonstrate how the New Canadians Centre's work consolidated as well as challenged normative discourses of home that disadvantage racialized new immigrants and privilege white settlers represented as "host." I argue that this false binary between immigrant and host is harmful, inadequate in accounting for the complexities of people's lives, and easily reinforced in settlement work without efforts to challenge it. I conclude that accountability to power in settlement work is crucial to envisioning a more inclusive welcome and a more just home in Peterborough and Canada.

KEYWORDS:

New Canadians Centre; Peterborough; Nogojiwanong; immigrant settlement sector; immigration; home; home-making; welcome; oral history

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Chapter One: Introduction

Setting the scene: The politics of welcome in Peterborough, Ontario

The cover of a recent brochure for the New Canadians Centre, the sole immigrant-serving organization in Peterborough, Ontario, reads: "Everyone welcome. Est. 1979." The year 1979 refers to the moment that the organization has assigned as their origin: the year when a community effort to support Indochinese refugees began, and sparked the formalization of immigrant settlement services. As I moved to Peterborough and began working with the NCC to research this history in 2015, contemporary events pushed it suddenly into the local spotlight.

In the context of an intensifying global refugee crisis and the displacement of millions of Syrians at that time, "welcome" was once again being used as a rallying cry in Peterborough, across Canada, and around the world to challenge an exclusionary politics of immigration, and by extension, to challenge an exclusionary politics of home. In Peterborough as private refugee groups proliferated and a mobilization to help Syrians feel at home locally took shape,[1] local organizers occasionally drew parallels with the NCC's origin story in their own declarations of welcome. It took on the quality of myth,

[1] Lance Anderson, "Peterborough group formed to help Syrian Refugees," *Peterborough This Week,* October 13, 2015, retrieved March 14, 2017 from<http://m.mykawartha.com/news-story/5957485-peterborough-group-formed-to-help-syrian-refugees>; Joelle Kovach, "'A dream come true' says Syrian refugee after arriving in Peterborough," *Peterborough Examiner,* December 15, 2015, retrieved March 14, 2017 from <http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2015/12/15/a-dream-come-true-says-syrian-refugee-after-arriving-in-peterborough>; Jason Bain, "Refugee sponsorship groups share notes," *Peterborough Examiner,* January 8, 2016, retrieved March 14, 2017 from <http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2016/01/08/refugee-sponsorship-groups-share-notes>.

invoked more often than not simply as proof of (or hope for) Peterborough's capacity to welcome.[2]

The local story of welcome in 1979, of course, was not as simple as declaring "everyone welcome," and neither was the story of welcome in 2015. In November 2015, at the height of local organizing to welcome Syrian refugees, Peterborough's only mosque, the Masjid Al Salaam, was set on fire in what was soon identified as a violent hate crime.[3] In the summer of 1981, not long after hundreds of Indochinese refugees had arrived in Peterborough, a Nigerian international student from Fleming College was badly injured in a racially-motivated assault outside of a downtown movie theatre.[4] In both cases, these incidents sparked high-profile debate about racism in Peterborough. Some sought to determine and declare whether Peterborough was a racist or welcoming place.

In both cases, articulating a binary between welcome and racism is inadequate to describe the complex experiences of newly-immigrated and racialized communities as they made places for themselves in Peterborough, in 1979 as in 2015. Such binary thinking is also inadequate to describe the diverse, passionate and imperfect community

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[2] Lance Anderson, "Colombian refugee hopes Syrians are made to feel as welcomed in Peterborough as his family was," *MyKawartha,* November 27, 2015, https://www.mykawartha.com/news-story/6137123-colombian-refugee-hopes-syrians-are-made-to-feel-as-welcomed-in-peterborough-as-his-family-was/; Casey Ready, "Generosity greets refugees, but there are gaps" *Peterborough Examiner,* April 14 2016, http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2016/04/14/generosity-greets-refugees-but-there-are-gaps.

[3] Jessica Nyznik, "Mosque arson 'hate crime,' police say," *Peterborough Examiner,* November 16, 2015, retrieved March 14 2017 from <http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2015/11/16/community-raises-more-than-87000-after-hate-crime-at-city-mosque>; Colin Perkel, "Trudeau 'deeply disturbed' by Peterborough mosque fire," *Toronto Star,* November 17, 2015, retrieved 14 March 2017 from <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/11/17/trudeau-deeply-disturbed-by-peterborough-mosque-fire.html>.

[4] Leslie Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion: Ethnicity in Peterborough, A Mid-sized Ontario City," (Master's thesis, Trent University, 1993), 40-41.

organizing to support new immigrants and fight racism that was galvanized in the wake of these incidents. In the months after November 2015, efforts ranged from the formation of a refugee resettlement task force of community agencies, to a community feast bringing together Syrian newcomers and the First Peoples of this territory, the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg, organized by a coalition of settler, new immigrant, and Indigenous youth.[5] In the months after July 1981, efforts ranged from the formation of a city-funded, anti-racist community organization (shaped by pressure from racialized international students and their allies), to grassroots organizing to fund a English as a Second Language class for refugee women—the first steps toward formalizing immigrant settlement services in Peterborough.[6] Each of these efforts represents different approaches to welcome. Each involves actors with diverse claims to the local home they wished to welcome to.

For the purposes of the New Canadians Centre's work, in 1979 and still today, "everyone welcome" has served as an important declaration and a genuine intention. As immigrant and racialized communities in Peterborough and their allies have been well aware, however, making welcome locally goes beyond declarations or intentions. Making welcome locally is also inextricable from the settler colonial context: at the same time as some have been working to welcome immigrants to this community, for example, the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg continue to have their sense of welcome on their own

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[5] Jessica Nyznik, "Refugee Resettlement Task Force formed to mobilize resources to welcome refugees to Peterborough," *Peterborough Examiner,* November 25, 2016, http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2015/11/25/refugee-resettlement-task-force-formed-to-mobilize-resources-to-welcome-refugees-to-peterborough; Andy Burke, "Nogojiwanong Youth Solidarity Initiative," Community Race Relations Committee, May 30, 2016, http://racerelationspeterborough.org/youth-solidarity-initiative/.

[6] Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 40-42, 53; Carol Northcott, "Letter to the editor: Multicultural centre," *Peterborough Examiner,* 13 February 1986, 4.

territory compromised as treaties are violently disrespected and land continues to be forcefully occupied. Indeed, making "everyone" feel welcome in Peterborough in the context of migration and immigrant settlement services since the 1970s has been ongoing, imperfect and contradictory work, for new immigrants and for those organizing in solidarity with them.

Introducing the topic and approach: An oral history of the New Canadians Centre

This thesis investigates the origins and evolution of the New Canadians Centre, the sole immigrant-serving organization in the small Canadian city of Peterborough, Ontario, from 1979 through to 1997. A collaborative community research effort, the initial impetus for this research came from the New Canadians Centre themselves, as they sought to understand the early years of their organization—a period of which they had little institutional memory.[7] My analysis is grounded in the dynamic interplay of lived experience and discourse in the social world.

The study centres on in-depth interviews with 17 people (14 women and three men) who have diverse perspectives on migration to Peterborough and the work of immigrant welcome from 1979 to 1997, whether as new immigrants themselves, as organizers with the NCC or other immigrant welcome work locally, or both. For the purposes of analysis, and with the intention of troubling these categories, I have loosely divided these interviews into the categories of "host" participants and "immigrant" participants, while recognizing that these categories are simplistic and often used

[7] My involvement in this project was initially facilitated through the Trent Community Research Centre (TCRC), a local organization that facilitates research connections between community groups and student researchers in Peterborough. The New Canadians Centre initially brought their research interest to the TCRC, through which the organization and myself were able to connect. See Chapter Three for further discussion. For more information about the TCRC, see www.trentcentre.ca.

problematically. I characterize as "host" participants those who, as white and/or Canadian-born, and as established local residents at the time that they got involved in the work of immigrant welcome, have often been dominantly represented as hosts. I characterize as "immigrant" participants those who, because they immigrated to Peterborough from Eastern and Southern Europe, from Asia, and from Latin America since the 1970s (under widely varying circumstances), have often been dominantly represented as immigrants. Because the unique and complex perspective of each participant cannot be contained by these labels, I challenge these labels throughout my analysis by showing how the categories overlap, and how participants themselves raised questions about these categories.

The story of the New Canadians Centre and the development of modern settlement services in Peterborough is by no means the whole story of immigrant home-making and migrant solidarity in Peterborough since the 1970s. It is, however, a key element of this story, as the New Canadians Centre has been a hub for this work locally. In this thesis, I tell this story with attention to three central themes. First, I examine the structural dynamics shaping migration and immigrant settlement work with attention to gender, race, class, and colonialism, the effect of these dynamics on immigrant lives locally, and on how immigrant settlement work was carried out locally. Second, I explore differently located actors' local home-making practices as expressed in the context of our conversations about migration and immigrant settlement work. Third, I explore differently-located actors' practices of immigrant welcome in relation to their broader understandings and experiences of Peterborough as local home.

Situating my research in Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg territory

This story unfolds in Nogojiwanong, the place that the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg have known as the "place at the foot of the rapids."[8] In the words of Michi Saagig Elder and Knowledge Keeper Gitiga Migizi (Doug Williams), "The Kawarthas are part of the homeland territory of my people: the Mississauga Anishinaabeg. We are the original people of the Kawarthas. We are the people that were here before, during, and after the settlement and colonization of Peterborough and the surrounding area."[9] The Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg first entered into a treaty with the Crown in 1818, signing Treaty 20. Soon after this, settler occupation began: in 1825, 2,024 southern Irish families arrived abruptly and en masse in the territory. Later, in 1923, the Crown and the Michi Saagig signed the Williams Treaties which covered a larger area, and which are still applicable to their territory today. Since these treaties, Gitiga Migizi describes, the Mississauga people have had to fight continuously for their rights to their lands and livelihoods that they sought to guarantee though treaties.[10] I am a white settler person, born and raised in Toronto, which I understand to be the territory of the Haudenosaunee and the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg, as well as the Huron-Wendat. My ancestors came to Canada from Scotland, England, and Ireland. Some settled near Peterborough, on Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg territory, by virtue of the very treaties I mention here, while others came to lands elsewhere across the diverse Indigenous territories known to settler Canada as Ontario. I share Gitiga Migizi's words in part to gratefully acknowledge the traditional

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[8] Leanne Simpson, "Nogojiwanong: The Place at the Foot of the Rapids," *Lighting the Eighth Fire: the Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations,* Leanne Simpson, ed., (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2008), 205-211.

[9] Gitiga Migizi (Doug Williams) and Julie Kapyrka, "Before, During, and After: Mississauga Presence in the Kawarthas," *Peterborough Archaeology*, Dirk Velhulst, ed., (Peterborough: Peterborough Chapter of the Ontario Archeological Society, 2015), 127.

[10] Williams and Kapyrka, "Before, During and After," 129-133.

and living Anishinaabe territory on which I have been living, studying, and carrying out my exploration of the recent history of immigration to this place. Beyond acknowledgement, I also carry his words throughout this study as a reminder that immigration to the white settler society of Canada must be understood in the context of the political relationships with Indigenous peoples that first allowed settlers to establish lives here, the violence and dispossession that settlers have wrought on Indigenous peoples under settler colonialism, and the primacy of Anishinaabe culture, language, and law on this territory and its resurgence today. In the context of this thesis that considers the categories of immigrant and host in Peterborough, it is important to reiterate that it is the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples who are the original and legitimate hosts to settlers on this land.

The emergence of the New Canadians Centre: Historical context

Increased migration to Canada from the Global South, enabled by the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy, transformed Canada's social and political landscape after the 1960s, affecting not only major metropolitan centres but also smaller cities like Peterborough. Increasingly, new immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, and Latin America were a part of life in Peterborough, arriving as students at Trent University and Fleming College, as skilled workers and their families, and as temporary labourers. People also arrived as refugees, taking advantage of the tentative openings offered by increased refugee quotas in Canada and other white settler societies in order to escape displacement and violence.

Between 1979 and 1981, for example, nearly 300 people from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia came to live and work in the Peterborough area, where very few Southeast Asian people had lived to that point. Indeed, it was private sponsorship of Indochinese

refugees that prompted a number of Peterborough residents to engage with these wider changes as a local mobilization grew around Indochinese refugee resettlement in 1979. What began in 1979 as ad-hoc, local organizing to help Indochinese newcomers secure their basic needs and get oriented to the community grew into advocacy supporting their fuller participation in community life, and led to the founding of the New Canadians Centre in 1986. From this time, the New Canadians Centre operated as a federally-funded agency with a mandate to provide services for all new immigrants and refugees in Peterborough.

By the 1990s, newly-immigrated communities from the Global South and from Southern and Eastern Europe were becoming an incrementally larger and louder presence in Peterborough. While the New Canadians Centre's services and client base expanded alongside this growth until about 1992, by the mid-1990s they were experiencing a crisis of funding and client numbers. This crisis, shaped by the limitations of an increasingly neoliberal policy climate and also existing weaknesses in their approach to the work locally, culminated in a temporary closure of the Centre and major restructuring of the organization in 1997. My study considers the organization's development to this point, and not further. The 1997 restructuring coincided with a major shift in the Canadian landscape of settlement services precipitated by funding clawbacks, and the downloading of service delivery responsibilities from the federal government to the provinces. The NCC's restructuring also precipitated significant shifts in the leadership and direction of the organization that took place over the ensuing 20 years. As such, though I will gesture to some of these changes, the NCC's growth from 1997 to present day warrants an in-depth consideration of its own that is beyond the scope of this study.

Key concepts: Home, welcome, and the immigrant-host binary

Much of the critical scholarly literature on immigrant settlement work in the 20th century focuses on policy, and on wider structural dynamics. My study, on the other hand, takes a less established approach to the topic by focusing on how one particular site of immigrant settlement work is embedded in the social world. In this approach, I take cues from a small number of critical and feminist works in social history, migration studies, and sociology that investigate the lives and relationships of social actors at the site of immigrant settlement work, asking questions not about policy or governance, but about the politics of home, welcome and belonging, agency, and the operation of power in particular contexts, with attention to gender, race, class and colonialism.[11] I draw on feminist oral history and community-engaged research methodologies to ground my analytical approach and understanding of agency.[12] This approach lends itself well to interrogating and unsettling normative power relations that shape experiences and

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[11] See, for example, Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007); Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Roxana Ng, *The Politics of Community Services: Immigrant Women, Class and the State* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988); Alice Szczepanikova, "Performing Refugeeness in the Czech Republic: Gendered Depoliticisation through NGO Assistance," Gender, Place and Culture 17, 4 (2010): 461–77.

[12] For work in feminist oral history, see Elise Chenier, "Sex, Intimacy, and Desire among Men of Chinese Heritage and Women of Non-Asian Heritage in Toronto, 1910-1950." *Urban History Review* 42, 2 (2014): 29–43; Sheyfali Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and Her 'Disagreeable' Subjects," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 45, 90 (2012), 361-391; Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History" *Women's History Review,* 3, 1 (1994): 5–28; Pamela Sugiman, "Memories of Internment: Narrating Japanese Canadian Women's Life Stories." *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* 29, 3 (2004): 359-388. For elaborations on community-engaged methodological frameworks, see May Chazan, *The Grandmothers' Movement: Solidarity and Survival in the Time of AIDS* (Montreal: McGill-University Press, 2015); Sandra Kirby, Lorraine Greaves and Colleen Reid, *Experience Research Social Change: Methods Beyond the Mainstream, 2nd ed*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Randy Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change: A Project-Based Approach*, (London: Sage Publications, 2005).

encounters in immigrant settlement work: what I refer to as the logic of the *immigrant-host binary*.

I anchor my understanding of normative power relations in immigrant settlement work, and my imagination of alternatives, in an interdisciplinary body of scholarship that interrogates what I call the *politics of immigrant welcome* in white settler society. Here, I focus on how mainstream understandings of immigrant welcome, particularly since the 1970s, reinforce an uneven binary division (both structural and discursive) between immigrant and host, and the harmful effects of this binary thinking. I draw on feminist, anti-racist theory,[13] settler colonial and decolonial theory[14] and social histories of immigrant and racialized community-building in Canada[15] to challenge the logic of the immigrant-host binary and look to alternative conceptualizations of welcome and alternative articulations of belonging.

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[13] Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization*, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002); Himani Bannerji, "The Paradox of Diversity." *Women's Studies International Forum* 23, 5 (2000); Grace-Edward Galabuzi, "Hegemonies, continuities, and discontinuities of multiculturalism and the Anglo-Franco conformity order," in May Chazan, Lisa Helps, Anna Stanley, and Sonali Thakkar, eds, *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2011); Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, (London: Routledge, 1999).

[14] Corey Snelgrove, Rita Dhamoon and Jeff Corntassel, "Unsettling settler colonialism: the discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous nations," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society,* 3, 2 (2014): 2; 3; Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, 1 (2012); Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing," *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1 (2011): 1-12.

[15] Vijay Agnew, *Resisting Discrimination: Women from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in the Women's Movement in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Karen Carole Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," The Oral History Review 23, 2 (1996); Wenona Giles, *Gender, Immigration and Nationalism: Two Generations of Portuguese Women in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992); Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec*, (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2016).

Given this political context, in my analysis of conversations with diverse participants about immigrant settlement work and migration to Peterborough, I seek to challenge rather than reinforce a binary understanding of immigrant and host (the aforementioned *immigrant-host binary)*. Drawing on critical geography and migration studies, I employ the concept of home as an analytical framework to allow me to bring the constructed categories of immigrant and host onto the same analytical plane.[16] Starting from an understanding of home as process, as relational, and as embedded in power relations, I seek to bring into dialogue differently-located actors' sense of belonging in a local place by examining their local "home-making practices,"[17] denaturalizing entrenched host claims to belonging, and de-pathologizing scrutinized immigrant claims to belonging. I put both sets of claims in the context of normatively erased Indigenous claims to belonging. In this framework, I understand *practices of welcome* (such as immigrant settlement work) to be one particular set, or expression, of broader *home-making practices*. I also pay particular attention to gender dynamics in home-making, both in respect to the feminized work of "settling" in post-migration, and the feminization of community care work.[18] Thus, while my study explores and seeks to

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[16] Sara Ahmed, Claudia Castaneda, Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller, "Introduction," *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003); Esin Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing "Home": The Question of Belonging Among Turkish Families in Germany,* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2009); Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home*, (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006); Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996); David Ralph and Lynn A. Staeheli. "Home and Migration: Mobilities, Belongings and Identities." Geography Compass 5, 7 (2011).

[17] Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* 2.

[18] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora;* Joanna C. Long, "Diasporic dwelling: the poetics of domestic space," *Gender, Place, Culture* 20, 3 (2013); Deborah G. Martin, Susan Hanson, and Danielle Fontaine, "What Counts as Activism?: The role of individuals in creating change," *Women's Studies Quarterly,* 35, 3 (2007); Donna Baines, "Seven Kinds of Work - Only One Paid: Raced, Gendered and Restructured Work in Social Services," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 28, 2 (2004): 19-28; Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, *Mothers of the Municipality: Women, Work and Social Policy in Post-1945 Halifax* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker, and Jacob Muller, eds., *Community Organization and the State* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1990).

assemble the history of the New Canadians Centre as an organization, my study also uses this topic as a launch point to ask broader questions about welcome, home and belonging in Peterborough for various new immigrants and established residents since the 1970s.

Research questions and core argument

Several, linked research questions have come to guide this study. One practical goal of this collaborative research has been to gain some insight into experiences of immigration to Peterborough between 1979 to 1997, as well as how the New Canadians Centre operated and evolved over this same period. One central question this study addresses is as follows: what were the social, economic and political circumstances under which the New Canadians Centre emerged and evolved as a local site of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, Ontario between 1979 and 1997? In addition to this are three research questions informed by my choice of oral history as a methodology, by conversations with research participants, and by aforementioned conversations in the scholarly literature: first, how did differently-located actors understand and practice "home" locally in the context of immigration and the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough since the 1970s? Second, how and to what effect did host participants' understandings of home inform their practices of welcome? Third, did local practices of immigrant welcome intersect with immigrant participants' local home-making practices? If so, how, and to what effect? If not, why not?

With regards to the circumstances of the New Canadians Centre's emergence and evolution, I demonstrate that from the 1970s to the 1990s, Peterborough's small new immigrant and racialized communities shifted and grew, with more people migrating from the Global South and living, working, studying, and organizing in Peterborough.

Though policy shifts opened doors to new opportunities for many, racism and sexism in policy and practice meant that many new immigrants faced barriers to their full participation in Peterborough life—barriers that they negotiated and challenged in diverse and creative ways. During this same period, the work of the New Canadians Centre proceeded out of an intention to welcome, and made available locally services and training opportunities for new immigrants that were not available before—services that new immigrants and their allies had fought for on the provincial and federal levels. I suggest that in addition to these successes, the organization also faced challenges in unseating entrenched, local power dynamics that favoured white settler expertise and influence over the expertise of racialized new immigrants themselves. The organization also dealt with limitations in the structure of the immigrant settlement sector and a sector-wide funding crisis that intensified in the mid-1990s.

With regards to how people talked about welcome and home in our conversations, I argue that participants understood making home and fostering welcome to be ongoing and contradictory work, and described it as such. Their reflections demonstrated also how the work of home and welcome is embedded in uneven, intersecting, particular constellations of power that shape experiences and understandings of gender, race, class, colonialism, and more. Participants' practices of welcome were closely related to (and shaped by) their understandings of home. Listening to my conversations with both host and immigrant participants through the same analytical filter of home and comparing their perspectives suggests both the power of the immigrant-host binary to structure encounters at sites of immigrant welcome, and the limited utility of that binary thinking in accounting for the complexity and particularity of individual lives and relationships by

which home and welcome are made in local place. I elaborate upon these findings more specifically with respect to both host and immigrant participants in my detailed descriptions of Chapters Five and Six.

Map of the thesis

Following this introduction, I first provide the conceptual and methodological framework for the study before discussing my research findings. In Chapter Two, I review relevant literature and outline a conceptual framework with attention, first, to home as an analytical framework; second, to the politics of immigrant welcome in settler Canada as context; and third, to immigrant settlement work as site of study. In Chapter Three, I draw on scholarship in feminist oral history and community-engaged research to outline my methodology. I position myself in relation to the research and reflect on how power operated through the research.

In Chapters Four through Six, I turn to the case study at hand. Chapter Four sets the scene, recounting in detail the evolution of the New Canadians Centre and the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough between 1979 to 1997. In Chapters Five and Six, I examine my in-depth interviews in order to contextualize and complicate the historical account in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five focuses on host perspectives. In the first half of the chapter, I argue that for host participants, thinking about how to welcome new immigrants encouraged more sustained reflection on their understandings of Peterborough as home and their own local home-making practices. I highlight their reflections on racism in Peterborough, their descriptions of efforts to reconfigure exclusionary social networks, and their reflections on (or silence on) the nation and settler colonialism. In the second half of the chapter, I

demonstrate how participants also connected their understandings of home to their practices of welcome. I examine their understandings of their role (and the role of the NCC) in relation to new immigrants, their discussions of immigrant integration and imaginations of immigrant life, as well as their reflections on power and representation in the city.

Chapter Six focuses on immigrant perspectives. In the first half of the chapter, I examine participants' descriptions of their local home-making practices, highlighting four themes: work and material survival, the complexities of building social networks, power and representation in the city, and reflections on the nation and settler colonialism. In the second half of the chapter, I explore whether (and how) the work of the New Canadians Centre and other local practices of welcome intersected with immigrant participants' home-making. I present two participants' contrasting perspectives on their experiences as clients at the NCC to suggest some of the possibilities and limitations of the NCC's approach and the imagined immigrant client their services catered to. Finally, I explore how immigrant participants connected their understanding of Peterborough as local home to their practices of welcome through their own involvement in immigrant settlement work locally, presenting several participants' reflections on immigrant integration, and on uneven power dynamics in immigrant settlement work. Through both Chapters Five and Six, I explore the ways in which participants variously negotiated, consolidated, and challenged the immigrant-host binary and the dominant, white settler discourses of home that accompany it. I demonstrate the inadequacy of the logic of the immigrant-host binary for understanding the complex and contradictory lives and relationships of participants,

for accounting for complex and historically-specific constellations of power, and for guiding equitable practices of welcome and just visions of home on this land.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis: I briefly summarize and synthesize the findings of the study, reflect on its limitations, and speak to its broader implications.

The significance of this study

This thesis will contribute to the historical and conceptual literature on the modern immigrant settlement sector in Canada. By assembling diverse local knowledge on the recent history of immigration and immigrant welcome work in Peterborough, this thesis will also contribute to the local historical record (which remains dominated by white settler perspectives), and to ongoing community conversations on these issues. This thesis also offers a sustained reflection on what it means to make home, and what it means to welcome for differently-located actors in white settler society. The desire to feel at home is a deeply human desire. The intention to welcome others to a place you call home is a good and important one. This thesis honours those desires to feel at home and those intentions to welcome. The politics of home and welcome, however, have served to erase and exclude as much as include in settler colonial Canada, through violent dispossession of Indigenous peoples and discriminatory immigration policies. Thus, following Lila Abu-Lughod's work on everyday resistance, I suggest (to paraphrase Abu-Lughod) that we honour people's everyday home-making and their efforts to welcome by looking beyond intentions or declarations and giving our close, critical attention to the messy, contradictory, power-laden processes by which people seek to create fairer and more inclusive homes.[19] As the work of welcome continues and evolves in Peterborough

[19] Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist,* 17, 1 (1990): 53.

(as alluded to at the outset of this introduction), participants' reflections on such efforts in the recent past might offer some insights and lessons learned. These are crucial conversations to be having today, certainly across Canada in the context of settler colonialism, Indigenous resurgence, and responses to an intensifying global refugee crisis. More specifically, these are crucial conversations to be having in Peterborough, where white settler dominance is particularly intense, but also where the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg continue to assert their sovereignty, and where new immigrants (since 2015, for example, a significant number of newcomers from Syria) continue to make space for themselves in community life.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I introduce a selection of the scholarly literature that I draw from and contribute to in this research. First, I lay out my analytical framework which draws on critical conceptualizations of home and home-making to bring those categorized as immigrant and those categorized as host onto the same analytical plane (while accounting for uneven power relations) in the context of migration and immigrant welcome in the small city of Peterborough, Ontario. Second, I review the critical literature that has provided insights into the wider social, political and historical context of my study, which I am broadly calling the politics of immigrant welcome in settler Canada, using this to establish my own understanding of welcome as political, conditional, and embedded in power relations. Third, I hone in on the particular context and site of my study: modern immigrant settlement work in settler Canada. I review the sparse critical literature that has examined this site in order to demonstrate its potential as a site of study for examining and unsettling the false and harmful binary between immigrant and host that is sustained through dominant discourses of home and welcome in settler Canada.

Home as an analytical tool

Broadly, home is about making connections. It is also about making boundaries. It is about making meaning, in place and "out of place."[20] It is about belonging, and it is about alienation. In white settler societies[21] such as Canada, the selective discourse of

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20 Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction, (*Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 122.

[21] I conceptualize Canada as a white settler society. According to Sherene Razack, "A white settler society is one established by Europeans on non-European soil. Its origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by the conquering Europeans" (1). Settler colonialism is distinct from colonialism, in that "colony" and "metropole" are collapsed in the settler colony. Thus, while

"immigrant welcome," and the accompanying binary constructed between immigrant and host, is a key expression of dominant discourses of home and belonging. Indeed, in the context of migration, questions of belonging and processes of place-making and home-making are thrown into relief. As migration scholars Ralph and Staeheli and others point out, though questions of home have been extensively and fruitfully considered in migration scholarship, these are questions relevant to all social actors.[22] Those represented as host are engaged in continual homemaking practices as much as those represented as migrant. As Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier and Sheller put it in their edited volume *Uprootings and Regroundings,* the corollary to "the laborious effort that goes into uprooting and regrounding homes" is "the energy that is expended in enabling or prohibiting migrations."[23] As such, analyzing host homemaking in relation to migrant homemaking offers insights into these uneven, relational power dynamics, the workings of processes of racialization,[24] the effects of structural forces like racism, colonialism and

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colonialism seeks to exploit and subordinate the Indigenous peoples of the colony to support the metropole, settler colonialism seeks to "exterminate" and erase Indigenous life and claims to land, a totalizing logic that aims to eventually deny that it was ever settler colonial at all. Under settler colonialism, then, a white settler is a European who has come to stay, their claim to land, resources, and rights underpinned by violence against and erasure of Indigenous peoples. I follow decolonial scholarship in using white settler as not simply an historical but a contemporary term, including myself, other descendants of European settlers, and other white Europeans who continue to benefit from dispossession of Indigenous land, and the power and privilege arbitrarily granted to them as white settlers in white settler society. I distinguish "white settler" from other, differently-racialized settlers in recognition of the inextricability of settler colonialism from racism and racial hierarchies that have guided exclusionary immigration policies, and have animated the exploitation and marginalization of black, Asian, and other racialized people in white settler society, maintaining the supremacy of white settlers over other settlers. I will discuss these differentiations within the category of "settler" further later in this chapter. For this definition of settler and settler colonialism, I have drawn extensively on Veracini, "Introducing." See also Sherene H. Razack, "When Place Becomes Race" in *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Sherene Razack, Ed., (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002): 1-20; Snelgrove et al., "Unsettling settler colonialism"; Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor."

[22] Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 518.

[23] Ahmed et al., "Introduction," 1.

[24] I conceptualize race as a historically-specific, contingent and relational social construct and process, inextricable from other aspects of social location. As a socially-constructed process, race is an interplay of personal identity and self-expression, with wider societal discourses, assumptions and categorizations and

sexism, and how these dynamics might be transformed. In this section, I will lay out an analytic of home that, following a number of critical migration scholars, offers a way to denaturalize and challenge the immigrant-host binary by bringing immigrant and host under the same analytical lens.

What is home? Considering the breadth and flexibility of home as a concept, I follow migration scholar Esin Bozkurt in suggesting that it is most usefully applied as "an analytical tool." Specifically, I follow Bozkurt in seeking, through the analytic of home, "down to earth expression[s] of the sense of belonging" in people's lives, which remain, crucially, "inscribed within power relations."[25] In terms of exploring what home means in

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their material effects. My use of "racialized" and "racialization" underscores my understanding of race as a constructed social process, emphasizing the ways in which racial identity and experience is externally shaped by or in dialogue with the racial hierarchies and associated power structures in a given social and cultural context (in this case, Canada as a white settler society). Colloquially and in critical academic literature, in the context of Canada and other white settler societies, the term "racialized people" or "racialized communities" is often used to refer to a variety of non-white people—that is, people who are *negatively* racialized in relation to a racist hierarchy that places whiteness at the top. I will follow this established use of "racialized" as a descriptor of negative racialization in the context of structural racism, in order to draw attention to the ongoing, uneven operation of power. It is essential to note, however, that the *positive* racialization of whiteness, and the privileges that accompany it, is also a socially constructed racial identity and experience. Thus following anti-racist and critical whiteness studies, I will also call attention to processes of positive racialization by which the supremacy of whiteness is reinforced and maintained, discursively and materially. It is also essential to note that the processes and effects of racialization are differentiated in the vast category of "non-white" I have alluded to here. As Avtar Brah articulates, the experiences of being racialized as black, as Asian, or as Muslim in a particular geographical context (to list three disparate examples), are each unique in relation to relevant intersecting power relations, cultural contexts, and other aspects of social location. As racialized identities are multiple and unique, so too are *racisms* multiple and unique. For a selection of works that have informed my definition of race and racialization, see Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Sirma Bilge and Patricia Hill-Collins, *Intersectionality,* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016); Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora;* Sherene H. Razack, Ed., *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); Edward W. Said, "Latent and Manifest Orientalism," *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 201-225. On whiteness as race in particular, see, for example, Adele Perry, *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia 1849 – 1871*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[25] Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing "Home,"* 13-14.

greater depth, the definition proposed by Alison Blunt in the *Dictionary of Human Geography* provides a jumping-off point:

> An emotive place and spatial imaginary that encompasses lived experiences of everyday,
> domestic life alongside a wider sense of being and belonging in the world. As a space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear, the home is invested with emotions, experiences, practices and relationships that lie at the heart of human life.[26]

This definition highlights three key features of home that I will discuss throughout this section: first, the idea of home as process, practices and relationships; second, home as embedded in power relations; and third, home as both "material and imaginative,"[27] and thus experienced in place, but not simply or singularly analogous with place.

The concept of home-making[28] practices is useful in fleshing out the use of home as an analytical tool. In their 2006 work *Home,* geographers Blunt and Dowling assemble a diverse set of scholarship to propose a "critical geography of home"—similarly to Bozkurt, exploring its use as an analytical tool. They conceptualize home as an ongoing, meaning-making process, and "home-making practices" as specific articulations of this process. They explain, "Home does not simply exist, but is made. Home is a process of creating and understanding forms of dwelling and belonging."[29] This conceptualization moves away from the idea of a fixed, prior origin, focusing instead on the ways home, and a sense of belonging, is discursively and materially made through reiterative

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[26] Alison Blunt, "Home," in Gregory Derek, ed., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 339-340.
[27] Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* 2.
[28] Though conceptually separate from another definition of "homemaking" as feminized work specifically taking place in the domestic household, my conceptualization of home and home-making, as it takes into account power relations, does acknowledge a wider, feminized and racialized dynamic in the work of making home that will be discussed in later sections.
[29] Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* 2; 23.

practices. Further, this framework does not limit an analysis of home to specific sites or contexts. Though the domestic household and the nation have often been the subject of scholarship on the social construction of home and belonging, and are sites commonly associated with discourses of home,[30] scholars have also considered such questions in many other contexts, such as the city, neighbourhood, intimate relationships, and diasporic communities, as well as discursive sites such as art and narrative.[31]

As Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier and Sheller emphasize in their edited volume *Uprootings and Regroundings*, "Home and migration cannot be adequately theorized outside of spatialized relations of power."[32] Such an analysis of power relations goes hand in hand with an understanding of home as process rather than fixed origin; both refuse to romanticize home as essentially or necessarily a place of comfort, safety or belonging. Much critical migration scholarship, foregrounding the complexities of social location within particular constellations of power, has demonstrated how the "homely" and the "unhomely"[33] can and do exist in tension in one place, in one community, or in one

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[30] In *Home,* Blunt and Dowling emphasize, **"**the symbolic importance of the domestic home to an idea of the nation as home." (142). See, for examples of domestic or nation as home, Long, "Diasporic dwelling"; Mackey, *The House of Difference*; Nandita Sharma, *Home Economics: Nationalism and the Making of "Migrant Workers" in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Divya Tolia-Kelly, "Materializing Post-Colonial Geographies: Examining the Textural Landscapes of Migration in the South Asian Home," *Geoforum* 35, 6 (2004): 675–88.

[31] See, for example, Alison Blunt and Jayani Bonnerjee, "Home, City and Diaspora: Anglo–Indian and Chinese Attachments to Calcutta," *Global Networks* 13, 2 (2013): 220–40; Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing Home;* Lily Cho, *Eating Chinese: Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010);
Alexander Freund, "Transnationalizing home in Winnipeg: refugees' stories of the places between the 'here-and-there'." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 47, 1 (2015): 61-86; Joanna Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City: Migration, Ethnicity and Gender in Britain,* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008); Sarah Hunt and Cindy Holmes, "Everyday Decolonization: Living a Decolonizing Queer Politics," *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 19, 2 (2015): 154-172.

[32] Ahmed et al., Uprootings/Regroundings, 5.

[33] I have borrowed the terminology of "homely" and "unhomely" to describe differential experiences and feelings of home from Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling's *Home* (2007).

person's experience. Gesturing to global histories of violence and colonization, for example, Ahmed et al. suggest that "even individuals who have not left the nation, region or town in which they were born, have not necessarily stayed at home."[34] As such, home and belonging are not absolute: the homemaking practices of one, then, can render home "unhomely" for another. As Bozkurt's work on Turkish migrant life in Germany highlights, homemaking can actively exclude as much as it can generate a sense of belonging, often manifesting as "rejections, denials of foreign, unknown and threatening elements to maintain the certainty of the self, of us and our home […]."[35] This scholarship is key to my understanding of home as analytical tool both in its insistence on the salience of intersecting hierarchies of power, and also in its exploration of the fraught, relational nature of home and homemaking. This is crucial to my understanding of the particular inclusions and exclusions at play in practices of home and welcome in settlement work in Peterborough.

Distinguishing home from place

Particularly in the context of migration, it is important to note that home is not exclusively or singularly place, and further, that not every place is home.[36] Much migration scholarship over the last 20 years has sought to unmoor home from place, developing and debating the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism to account for "migrants' powerful attachments to homes and selves elsewhere," in addition to their

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[34] Ahmed et al., *Uprootings/Regroundings*, 6; 7.
[35] Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing "Home,"* 14.
[36] Avtar Brah, for example, in *Cartographies of Diaspora,* proposes "a distinction between 'feeling at home' and declaring a place as home," explaining that the latter does not adequately account for an understanding of home as process and practices, or "homing desire" rather than "homeland" (194). See also Cresswell, 117-122 for elaboration on migration and being "out-of-place."

efforts to make home in a new environments.[37] In their insistence on the validity of transnational lives and the resilience of diasporic cultural and political formations, these scholars have sought to challenge a traditional emphasis in migration studies on immigrant integration or assimilation and on permanent settlement in national contexts.[38] Diaspora, in its orientation toward "multilocality, 'post-nationality' and non-linearity," Ahmed et al. argue, "questions the language of integration, assimilation, or inclusion assumed within national frames, which takes for granted a linear narrative of migration as disconnected from colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial relations of power."[39] Transnationalism, historian Lisa Rose Mar suggests, is a challenge to "methodological nationalism" in Canadian immigration history, and transnational lives a challenge to "Canada's immigrant settler ideal."[40] Scholarly conversations around diaspora and transnationalism have significantly pushed the boundaries of what home might mean and how different people might experience and practice it in the context of migration, colonization, and uneven global power relations.

These analytical frameworks have offered useful and important ways to theorize home and home-making. As geographers Ralph and Staeheli argue in their 2011 survey

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[37] Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 522. See, for example, James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, 3 (1994): 302–38; Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68, 1 (1995), 48-63; Ghassan Hage, "At home in the entrails of the west: multiculturalism, ethnic food and migrant home-building" in Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Lesley Johnson, Julie Langsworth and Michael Symonds, eds., *Home/world: Space, community and marginality in Sydney's west* (Annandale, Australia: Pluto Press, 1997), 99-153; Audrey Kobayashi, Valerie Preston, and Ann Marie Murnaghan. "Place, Affect, and Transnationalism through the Voices of Hong Kong Immigrants to Canada," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, 8 (2011): 871–88.

[38] For interpretations of this trend, see, for example, Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 521-22; Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 8-14.

[39] Ahmed et. al, Uprootings/Regroundings, 7-8.

[40] Mar, Brokering Belonging, 9; 13.

of this work, however, the salience of local place, the site of "migrants' struggles in their new homes," has sometimes been neglected at the expense of highlighting homemaking as connections to and dislocations from various elsewheres.[41] Ralph and Staeheli are among scholars who have made the case for a re-localization of analyses of home in the context of migration, insisting that while home is "not limited to a particular locale," it is "located." They elaborate, "home is like an accordion, in that it both stretches to expand outwards to distant and remote places, while also squeezing to embed people in their proximate and immediate locales and social relations."[42] In this analysis, they do not essentialize home, but do focus on a lived, local placement that is in tension with displacement theorized elsewhere in migration studies.

Relatedly, Avtar Brah distinguishes her seminal work *Cartographies of Diaspora* from much theorization of diaspora in her emphasis on processes of "arrival and settling down":

> If the circumstances of leaving are important, so, too, are those of arrival and settling down. How and in what ways do these journeys conclude, and intersect in specific places, specific spaces, and specific historical conjunctures? How and in what ways is a group inserted within the social relations of class, gender, racism, sexuality, or other axes of differentiation in the country to which it migrates? […] This 'situatedness' is central to how different groups come to be relationally positioned in a given context.[43]

Brah's understanding of settlement speaks to the salience of local place, or what Joanna Long has interpreted as "processes of placing,"[44] in the context of migration. Embedded

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[41] Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 521-22. See also Ghassan Hage's work on Lebanese diaspora in Australia, wherein he emphasizes that migrant home-building, even when it invokes nostalgia for a past home, is embedded in a local present context and place: "These [practices] are part of the migrant's settlement strategies rather than an attempt to escape the realities of the host country." Hage, "At home in the entrails of the west," 102.
[42] Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 520; 525.
[43] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 179.
[44] Long, "Diasporic Dwelling," 331.

in this understanding is a feminist analysis of intersecting power relations and how one locates oneself (and is located) in particular constellations of power—a process of placing in its own right, and a compelling dimension of finding belonging and making home in place. Thus, while home is not exclusively or essentially place, I follow Brah, Ralph and Staeheli and others in arguing that home is, in part, localized, and embedded in power relations. It is practiced, desired,[45] and experienced in a local place. I will thus limit my analysis to exploring connections between local placemaking and ideas about homemaking, while recognizing that local placemaking is only one piece of the complex and contradictory process that constitutes home and homemaking, for migrants certainly, and for those represented as non-migrants as well.

Focusing on local placemaking allows me not only to explore an aspect of what home means for immigrants to Peterborough, but also to denaturalize the often taken-for-granted connection between place and home for those positioned as hosts—in the case of my study, mainly white, Canadian-born settlers. By bringing into focus the uneven connections[46] in place between, as Ahmed et al.'s work suggests, "uprootings" and "regroundings," or between "those who stay and those who arrive and leave,"[47] I seek to complicate the immigrant-host binary. My thinking here draws on Brah and her conceptualization of "diaspora space." Brah explains:

> Diaspora space is the point at which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of 'us' and 'them', are contested. […] diaspora space as

[45] I borrow the terminology of desire from Brah, who says, "I argue that the concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins, while taking account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as desire for a 'homeland.'" Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 177,

[46] I borrow the phrasing of "uneven connections" from Jennifer Nelson's work on Africville, race, and urban planning. See Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 7.

[47] Ahmed et al., Uprootings and Regroundings, 1.

> a conceptual category is 'inhabited', not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as Indigenous. In other words, the concept of diaspora space (as opposed to that of diaspora) includes the entanglement, the intertwining of the genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put.'[48]

In her questioning of boundaries and binaries, and her focus on shared or "entangled" space, Brah's diaspora space offers a useful analytic for thinking about home and local placemaking in the context of immigrant welcome. In settler colonial Canada, it is white settlers who are "constructed and represented as Indigenous" in dominant discourses of home, seeking to limit the claims to belonging of certain more recent migrants, but also seeking to invalidate the claims to belonging (and land) of the First Peoples of Turtle Island. Keeping in Brah's understanding of intersecting power relations and the "politics of location" mentioned above front and centre will allow me to analyze immigrant welcome in Peterborough with an eye to deconstructing and unsettling such constructed categories. My analysis thus draws on Brah's diaspora space to disrupt the immigrant-host binary and the limited conceptualization of "home" that sustains it. I seek to denaturalize the claims to belonging of those represented as host and bring these actors onto the same analytical plane as those represented as migrant, in the context of power relations.

Processes of placing

Focusing on local placemaking as an aspect of homemaking also has implications for understanding gender dynamics in the context of migration, and processes of settlement in particular. In her work on the domestic homemaking practices, or "diasporic dwelling," of Palestinian women living in Britain, Long engages with Brah's

[48] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 205.

Cartographies of Diaspora, as well as feminist geographers on "home" to emphasize the link between gender and processes of settling: "Processes of 'placing,'" she argues, " are often associated with women, whose 'place' is often thought to be in the home and whose responsibility it is to make home."[49] This has implications in the context of immigrant settlement, both in the roles and responsibilities that women navigate and the integration strategies that they find themselves targeted with. Scholars beyond migration studies too have drawn attention to the ways in which placemaking and homemaking are feminized, and to home as a site of social reproduction and care work. This has been much debated in feminist scholarship, with home conceptualized both as a site of marginalization and oppression, and a site of agency, resistance, and possibility.[50] In the contexts of household, community and nation, women are often represented as nurturers and guarantors of well-being, belonging, and cultural continuity or resurgence, for example.[51] As I will explore in a later section, this also has implications for the feminization of social service work and community care work more broadly.

Some feminist scholarship has posited local place, and processes of placing, as a useful linchpin for expanding definitions of "activism," or work that contributes to social change. Martin, Hanson and Fontaine, for example, suggest that beyond the dominant and masculinized understanding of activism as loud, youthful, and publicly-oriented, lies a whole world of social change work practiced by "embedded individuals" in the feminized

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[49] Long, "Diasporic dwelling," 331.
[50] See for example, bell hooks, "Homeplace (a site of resistance)," in *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 1990), 382-390; Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* 15; 88-139 in particular.
[51] See, for example, Ahmed et al., *Uprootings/Regroundings*, 12; Sedef Arat-Koç, "From 'Mothers of the Nation' to Migrant Workers: Immigration Policies and Domestic Workers in Canadian History," In *Not one of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada*, ed. Abbie Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 53-79; Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers of the Municipality*.

domain of local social networks, neighbourhoods, and communities.[52] Insisting that the "local and embedded" is political—that is, a site and a scale of social life where power relations are negotiated and sometimes challenged and "reconfigured"—Martin et al. posit *place* as a collective identity around which people often locally and informally mobilize, coming up with "strateg[ies] for change that would work in that place."[53] I draw on Martin et al.'s expansive, feminist understanding of social change work to understand participants' local placemaking and home-making practices as agency, and to understand them as political actors.

I also heed warnings regarding the pitfalls of romanticizing local place as a unified or unifying site. Other work in feminist geography has used local place as a linchpin to bring disparate social actors and placemaking processes into dialogue in ways that account for difference and the operation of power in place.[54] In her study of racism in urban planning in 1960s Halifax, for example, Jennifer Nelson poses the question: "How might history be read so that the complex, uneven connections between white lives and black lives are visible?"[55] My study poses similar questions, in search of the uneven connections between those constructed as host and those constructed as immigrant in the local place of Peterborough. Nelson's insistence on *uneven* connections is key here. While local place is a compelling site to examine relations between differently-located social actors, it is crucial not to romanticize local place as a point of natural connection or

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[52] Martin et al., "What Counts as Activism?," 82.
[53] Ibid., 82, 90-91.
[54] Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries;* Audrey Kobayashi, "'Here We Go Again': Christchurch's Antiracism Rally as a Discursive Crisis." *New Zealand Geographer* 65, 1 (2009): 59–72; Nelson, *Razing Africville*; Cheryl Teelucksingh, Ed., *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).
[55] Nelson, *Razing Africville*, 7.

mutual understanding between these actors. In looking for the ways in which different actor's lives, relationships, and practices variously reinforce and challenge dominant power dynamics, I will heed the insights of Lila Abu-Lughod who asserts, "It seems to me that we respect everyday resistance not just by arguing for the dignity or heroism of the resistors but by letting their practices teach us about the complex interworkings of historically changing structures of power."[56]

Informed by this literature on home, my study employs the analytical tool of "home" and "home-making," with a focus on local place and an attention to power relations, to examine and bring together the experiences of new immigrants to Peterborough since the 1970s with the experiences of those seeking to welcome them to Peterborough since the 1970s.

The politics of immigrant welcome

Practices of immigrant welcome are one expression of home and home-making. In this way, I apply the analytic of home to the particular social, historical, and geographic context of my study: the politics of immigrant welcome in late 20th century Canada. Drawing on feminist political economy, critical race and decolonial theory, and social history, in this section I draw together perspectives on immigration policy, on racial discourse in Canada, and on migrant agency that together frame my understanding of the politics of immigrant welcome.

Immigration policy

[56] Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance," 53.

In the context of the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy and the creation of official multiculturalism as policy, Canada, by the 1970s was being reimagined as a mosaic of cultures and ethnicities, characterized by difference, but held in harmony by tolerance and equality. This discourse relies on and perpetuates the myth of *immigration as benevolence.* The discourse of immigration as benevolence is enacted in particularly intense ways through refugee policies in white settler societies. As immigration historian Laura Madokoro suggests, after the Second World War, "Caring for refugees was transformed into a virtuous and noble undertaking, one that demonstrated compassion and generosity. Some scholars have even declared that a country's refugee policy defines its very character."[57] Particularly in the context of multiculturalism, which relies on characterizations of Canada as a tolerant, generous, and culturally diverse home, this attitude toward refugee welcome also bleeds into dominant discourse around immigrant welcome more generally. Regarding this myth, Folson and Park argue: "In this context, the decision to allow immigration becomes a humanitarian matter. The general public believes that the state admits immigrants by choice and out of generosity, not because it has any economic motives or political responsibility to do so." [58] Indeed, despite a shift away from explicitly White Canada policies, immigration in Canada since the 1960s has not been a humanitarian affair: structural inequalities have

[57] Laura Madokoro, "Good Material: Canada and the Prague Spring Refugees." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 26, 1 (2010), 162.

[58] Rose Baaba Folson, and Hijin Park. "Introduction." In Rose Baaba Folson and Hijin Park, Eds., *Calculated Kindness: Global Restructuring, Immigration, and Settlement in Canada*, (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Publishing, 2004), 13. The power of this myth is apparent not only in state rhetoric but also in some mainstream scholarship on immigration. Folson and Park also point out that this myth allowed for "the construction of the theory of push and pull economic factors," a conventional macro-economic analysis of migration patterns that does not adequately account for global economic power dynamics (13).

persisted in present-day immigration regimes and, critical scholarship and activism suggests, must be challenged.

Though postwar changes to Canadian immigration policies certainly opened doors for many, feminist and anti-racist political economists have demonstrated how their uneven effects continue to reinforce a hierarchy of claims to citizenship, belonging, and material well-being in Canada. In regards to refugee policy, critical historical scholarship has also unmasked how purportedly benevolent policies are implicated in Canada's political economy, examining the power dynamics that have underpinned Canada's highly selective refugee practices during the 20th century.[59] Policy scholarship has also called attention to the undervaluing and de-skilling of women's work—particularly the work of racialized women from the Global South—perpetuated through the points system for independent migrants, which privileges and re-enshrines masculinized, formal work, and Western education (and thus favours white, male, and wealthy migrants). Further, scholars and activists have detailed how relegation of many women to the migration category of "dependent" through family sponsorship reinforces patriarchal gender relations and renders many vulnerable to male violence, economic marginalization, and workplace exploitation.[60] Roxana Ng's work is emblematic of this focus on the

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[59] Stephanie Bangarth, "Citizen Activism, Refugees, and the State: Two Case-Studies in Canadian Immigration History," in *Modern Canada: 1945 to Present*, Catherine Briggs, ed. *(*Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17-30; Gerald Dirks, *Canada's refugee policy: indifference or opportunism?,* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1977); Madokoro, "Good Material"; Francis Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable: Chilean Exiles in Ontario and Quebec 1973-2010* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014)*;* Reg Whitaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denys, 1987).

[60] See for example Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity*, 48-9; Ng, *The Politics of Community Services,* 15; Alma Estable, *Immigrant Women in Canada—Current Issues*, (Ottawa: The Canadian Advisory Council for the Status of Women, 1986); Andrée Côté, Michèle Kerisit, and Marie-Louise Côté, *Sponsorship…For Better or For Worse: The Impact of Sponsorship on the Equality Rights of Immigrant Women* (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 2001).

construction of "immigrant woman" as a decidedly material category, and an oppressive structural relation: "Women who are considered to be immigrants in Canada have not always been so considered. They become immigrant women when they immigrate to Canada and enter certain positions in the labour market."[61] Ng's work highlights the harmful effect that categorization can have on these women's lives. Others, such as Sedef Arat-Koç, have focused on the implications of these policies for racialized immigrant women's citizenship, and their access to full participation in Canadian society.[62] Such feminist policy critiques inform my critical conceptualization of "immigrant welcome" in Canada, and highlight the racism and sexism that render that welcome both conditional and limited for many.

Multiculturalism

A corollary to the liberalization of immigration policy, multiculturalism as policy and discourse has been a central, dominant expression of home and belonging in Canada since the 1970s. Eva Mackey situates multiculturalism within a core set of Canadian national mythologies that "present the past as a 'heritage' of tolerance" and "justice toward its minorities."[63] In the context of increasing migration from the Global South since the 1970s, some scholarship has suggested that multiculturalism emerged as, in part, a state strategy to "manage the social transformation being wrought" in the wake of changes to immigration policies and shifting global politics.[64] Rather than focusing on

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[61] Ng, *The Politics of Community Services,* 15.
[62] Sedef Arat-Koç, "Immigration Policies, Migrant Domestic Workers and the Definition of Citizenship in Canada," In *Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in 90's Canada*, ed. Vic Satzewich, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1992), 229-242; Arat-Koç, "From 'Mothers of the Nation' to Migrant Workers."
[63] Mackey, *The House of Difference*, 15.
[64] Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony," 390.

debates about tolerance, cultural accommodation, and immigrant integration, as much popular and scholarly debate on multiculturalism has,[65] I argue that such debates are in fact secondary expressions of the logic of multiculturalism. I argue, following anti-racist, decolonial and feminist scholars, that multiculturalism is primarily a racial discourse, and upholds existing racial hierarchies more than it challenges them. Audrey Kobayashi lays this logic bare, deeming multiculturalism a "discourse of whiteness": "The debate in all these cases, while ostensibly about migrants, is fundamentally about challenges to the dominant, long settled group and their established cultures of whiteness."[66] As an idiom of home and belonging, therefore, multiculturalism continues to centre the claim of the host (that is, dominant white settler culture) even while it purports to make room for the claim of the immigrant (that is, racialized new immigrants, largely from the Global South). While Canada is purportedly home to people of many different races, cultures and backgrounds, as Mackey points out, it is a home "with a distinct household head."[67] While people from diverse backgrounds may be invited to feel at home in the nation, the attendant sense of belonging is conditional, and the terms of belonging are determined by the unspoken, white settler "household head."

Multiculturalism is embedded in the settler colonial project. This is crucial to understanding its effects as a racial discourse in Canada since the 1970s. Decolonial and anti-racist scholars have drawn attention to the ways in which multicultural discourse

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[65] See, for example, Michael Adams, *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Multiculturalism*, (Toronto: Penguin, 2007); Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[66] Kobayashi, "Here We Go Again," 60.
[67] Mackey, *The House of Difference*, 25.

erases Indigenous lives and land and denies legacies of colonial violence.[68] This scholarship has demonstrated how multiculturalism has operated as an extension of the settler colonial project since the 1970s, rewriting histories of violence and cultural genocide into narratives of tolerance, benevolence, and belonging in the settler nation. As Chazan, Helps, Stanley and Thakkar suggest, multiculturalism's "registers and tropes (of belonging, rootedness, arrival, recognition, and so on) breathe life into the colonial relations upon which Canadian identity and nation are settled."[69] Historians of migration too have made connections between the strategic and exclusionary immigration policies of the 19th and early 20th centuries and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples to underscore the dual logic of the settler colonial project.[70]

This context has implications for racialized immigrants' relationships to ongoing colonial dispossession and the settler state in Canada, and raises questions both of solidarity and complicity. Tuck and Yang's assessment of the relationship of racialized immigrants to settler colonialism emphasizes complicity, arguing that while they have

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[68] See, for example, Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta, "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too': A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s–1960s," *Canadian Historical Review*, 90, 3 (2009), 427-461; May Chazan, Lisa Helps, Anna Stanley, and Sonali Thakkar, Eds., *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2011); Mackey, *House of Difference,* 38-41, 73-76 in particular; Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 24-49 in particular; Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 6-7, 17-19 in particular; Veracini, "Introducing"; Harsha Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2013).

[69] May Chazan, Lisa Helps, Anna Stanley, and Sonali Thakkar, eds., "Introduction: Labours, Lands, Bodies," in *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2011), 9.

[70] Adele Perry's historical work on colonial British Columbia boldly makes these connections, asserting "The extent to which British Columbia was ever 'a white man's province' was achieved only with the help of massive Aboriginal depopulation and the draconian immigration policies of the last decades of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries." Perry insists that these two processes are "two sides of one colonial coin." Perry, *On The Edge of Empire,* 200; 194. See also Laura Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge: Chinese Migrants in the Cold War,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); and Renisa Mawani, *Colonial Proximities: Crossracial Encounters and Juridical Truths in British Columbia, 1871-1921* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009).

their own relationships to other colonial contexts, and while they are racialized and marginalized under Canada's settler colonial regime, they "still occupy and settle stolen Indigenous land." In navigating the limited welcome extended to them by the settler state, Tuck and Yang suggest, they engage with "option to become a brown settler."[71] Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel, on the other hand, focus on possibilities for solidarity. They argue for the importance of specific, contextualized practices and relationships in work between settlers and Indigenous peoples that "support[s] Indigenous resurgence."[72] They suggest that in this framework, the usefulness of the catchall term of "settler" is limited if it is used declaratively at the expense of examining "how settlers are produced."[73] Like Tuck and Yang, the authors firmly center the dispossession of Indigenous lives and land as the underpinning structure and connector of other interlocking structural forces like racism, sexism, and xenophobia in Canada. Given the interdependent nature of these power structures, then, Snelgrove et al. argue, power differentials between settlers must be accounted for in practices and relationships that hope to support Indigenous resurgence and transform these structures.[74] My study follows Snelgrove et al. in seeing the value of accounting for differences in social location between settlers, while centring the underpinning logic of settler colonialism and the transformative possibilities offered by Indigenous resurgence.

In relation to dominant settler discourses of home in Canada, scholars have expressed a sense of limited and conditional belonging, power, and recognition for racialized people and migrants. As Grace Edward Galabuzi argues, multiculturalism as

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[71] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 7; 18.
[72] Snelgrove et al., "Unsettling settler colonialism," 2; 3.
[73] Ibid., 22.
[74] Ibid.,18-26 in particular.

racial discourse has provided a visible space in the Canadian imagination for racialized immigrants, but it is a discourse through which "their experiences [are] being hidden 'in plain sight'": simultaneously hyper-visible and invisible.[75] Himani Bannerji has suggested that the discourse of official multiculturalism deploys metaphors of colour and visibility[76] in an attempt to neutralize racial and cultural difference, "reading the notion of difference in a socially abstract manner, which also wipes away its location in history, thus obscuring colonialism, capital, and slavery."[77] In this abstract understanding of difference, representations of non-white cultures become essentialized and falsely homogeneous. Such representations become two-dimensional, "ethnicized, culturalized, and mapped into traditional/ethnic communities" that do not reflect immigrants' diversity of lived experiences, politics, and relationships to different cultural contexts.[78] Through this depoliticization of culture, racialized immigrants are rendered invisible in the nation, in terms of access to power and resources. They are also rendered hypervisible: the inclusion of racialized immigrants in Canadian society as abstract cultural Others is often used to legitimize multiculturalism as national discourse.[79] Feminist scholars have articulated the ways in which these processes of marginalization are particularly intense

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[75] Galabuzi, "Hegemonies, continuities, and discontinuities of multiculturalism," 76.
[76] To explore these ideas about race, power and representation in this thesis, I rely on metaphors of visibility and invisibility in several sections. Scholars in critical disability studies have discussed the ableist roots of such visual metaphors. Amy Vidali, for example, examines the metaphor "*knowing is seeing,* which represents blindness as misunderstanding and disorder, while seeing is knowledge and coherence." I include Vidali's insights here to acknowledge the problematic nature of such visual metaphors. In future work, I hope to follow Vidali's imperative to look critically at such metaphors, take cues from critical disability activists and scholars, and "embrace of the opportunity to diversify our writing to represent a wider range of bodily and cognitive experience." Amy Vidali, "Seeing What We Know: Disability and Theories of Metaphor," *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*, 4, 1 (2010): 34; 47.
[77] Bannerji, "Paradox of Diversity," 555.
[78] Ibid., 552.
[79] Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 27-28; see also Bannerji, "Paradox of Diversity," 555.

for immigrant women. Multiculturalism, Bannerji and other scholars have argued, reinforces patriarchal gender relations. Political configurations of so-called ethnic communities in Canada tend to favour male leadership and masculinized organizational structures. Correspondingly, the idea of culture, and its preservation and transmission, tends to be feminized, as well as depoliticized, and as Bannerji suggests, "convert[ed] into a private matter" that "both erases and stands in for the social."[80] These dynamics can circumscribe racialized immigrant women's access to power.

Migrant agency

Migrants are not passive recipients of the welcome extended by white settler Canada, nor are they simply victims of discriminatory policies. Indeed, while Bannerji strongly critiques multiculturalism, for example, she also points to the ways it can be strategically deployed by immigrants, deeming it a "small opening" for racialized and new immigrant women.[81] Looking to the historical context of my study, social histories of migrations, diasporic communities, and settlement in post-war and late 20th century Canada provide insights into the lives of migrants themselves: how people survive the politics of welcome, how they negotiate or challenge the status quo, and how they make home—or create their *own* sense of welcome—in a new place.

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[80] Bannerji, "Paradox of Diversity, 555; see also, for example, Franca Iacovetta's historical work on representations of the European ethnic Other in the postwar period in *Gatekeepers*.

[81] Himani Bannerji, "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of 'Canada'," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 31, 3 (1996), 122, quoted in Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony," 391. For discussions of strategic uses of multiculturalism, see also Hage, "At home in the entrails of the west"; Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony."

A small number of historical studies from the postwar era focus on moments when policy meets the social world, examining how people's lives intersect with and challenge the

implementation of immigration policy, with attention to refugee resettlement schemes and feminized labour schemes in Canada from the 1950s to the 1970s.[82] In these studies, migrants "make home" by, for example, breaking work contracts, fighting deportation in court, or simply by making meaning of their migration in a way that diverges from the goals of the state; policymakers, on the other hand, attempt to maintain Canada as a particular kind of home by reproducing existing hierarchies of gender, race, and class.[83] This work teases out the tensions between individual agency and state power in the politics of welcome, sometimes drawing on oral history interviews to do so.[84] Other work speaks to migrant agency through histories of activism and social movements, explicitly resistant and publicly-oriented. Some scholarship has examined immigrant community organizing against discriminatory immigration policies, deportations, and anti-black racism, as well as around issues of transnational concern, or relevant to politics in their homelands.[85] A significant body of work has explored different immigrant groups'

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[82] Alexander Freund, "Contesting the Meanings of Migration: German Women's Immigration to Canada in the 1950s," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 41-42, 3 (2010): 1-26; Elizabeth Lawson, "The gendered working lives of seven Jamaican women in Canada: A story about 'here' and 'there' in a transnational economy," *Feminist Formations* 25, 1 (2013): 138-156; Laura Madokoro "The Refugee ritual: Sopron students in Canada." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 191 (2008): 253-278; Noula Mina, "Taming and Training Greek 'Peasant Girls' and the Gendered Politics of Whiteness in Postwar Canada: Canadian Bureaucrats and Immigrant Domestics, 1950s–1960s," *The Canadian Historical Review* 94, 4 (2013): 514-39; Joan Sangster, "The Polish 'Dionnes': Gender, Ethnicity and Immigrant Workers in Post-Second World War Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 88, 3 (2007): 469-500.

[83] Freund, "Contesting Meaning"; Lawson, "The gendered working lives"; Mina, "Taming and Training"; Sangster, "The 'Polish Dionnes.'"

[84] For e.g. Freund, "Contesting Meaning,"; Mina, "Taming and Training."

[85] Flynn. *Moving Beyond Borders,* for e.g. 185-86; Amoaba Gooden, "Community Organizing by African Caribbean People in Toronto, Ontario," *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 3 (2008): 413–26; Mills, *A Place*

involvement in the labour movement and union organizing.[86] Vijay Agnew and Tania Das Gupta's work respectively has highlighted the history of interventions in the Canadian women's movement by immigrant women from the Global South, particularly in the mid- to late-twentieth century, drawing attention to complex intersections of race, class, gender and geography.[87]

Much of the aforementioned work examines migrant agency by looking to sites that are easily and overtly understood as resistance (strikes, social movements, grassroots organizations, legal challenges, et cetera). While these histories of social change led by immigrant and racialized communities are crucial, my study takes cues from feminist work that has looked to the quieter rhythms of daily life—what historian Franca Iacovetta has called "unexceptional" immigrant lives —to speak to migrant agency and the politics of welcome.[88] As is well established in feminist scholarship, and as I established in my earlier discussion of "processes of placing," much of the "unexceptional" work that sustains daily life is feminized, undervalued, and invisibilized. Critical, feminist scholarship that has focused on everyday life in the context of migration and settlement challenges this, ascribing agency to migrants' everyday expressions of "choice, adaptation, and resistance," while still accounting for the racism, sexism and other structural barriers that impact their lives and choices as social actors.[89] Scholars have

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in the Sun, 109-124, 133-165 and 183-93 in particular; Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable,* 88-97 in particular.

[86] See, for example, Giles, *Gender, Immigration and Nationalism,* 74-81 in particular; Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People,* 99-101, 154-196 in particular; Mills, *A Place in the Sun,* 166-176 in particular.

[87] Agnew, *Resisting Discrimination;* Tania Das Gupta, *Learning From our History: Community Development by Immigrant Women in Ontario* 1958-1986, (Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1986). See also Gooden, "Community Organizing," 421; Mills, *A Place in the Sun*, 176-183.

[88] Franca Iacovetta, "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship," Labour/Le Travail, 36, Fall (1995): 247.

[89] Iacovetta, "Manly Militants," 221.

offered insight into the many, quieter practices through which racialized migrants (often women) survive, construct identities and a sense of belonging, and contribute to social change. Such practices include, for example, paid work, care work and advocacy in family and community, constructing and adapting cultural practices, and building and reconfiguring intimate relationships and social networks.[90] Karen Flynn's work on Black Canadian and Caribbean nurses in postwar Canada offers an excellent example of this approach. Grounded in feminist oral history methodology, Flynn's work teases out the complex interrelatedness of work (paid and unpaid), family, and community in women's narrations of their everyday lives. Flynn insists that to navigate these multiple aspects of their experience as differently-located black women, and to negotiate the particular constellations of power in which they are embedded, is to be social and *political* actors. Her work holds up the ordinary, not the extraordinary, to argue that these women, and others commonly silenced and erased in hegemonic historical narratives, are "producers of knowledge and agents of social change."[91]

This feminist work also challenges aforementioned forces of categorization and homogenization that animate false and harmful assumptions ascribed to people along lines of race, ethnicity, or immigration status. Feminist scholarship has convincingly demonstrated, for example, that looking to gender and its intersection with race, class, geography and other factors is an effective way to disrupt the monolith of ethnic

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[90] Marlene Epp, *Women without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders*; Freund, "Contesting Meaning," Freund and Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives"; Gooden, "Community Organizing"; Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People,* 77-102 in particular; Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers,* 171-201 in particular; Helen Vallianatos and Kim Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women," in Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, ethnic and racialized women in Canadian history*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016): 455-473.
[91] Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders,* 14; 3-15 in particular.

community and tease out the power dynamics within it, and the rich variety of experiences and perspectives that it conceals.[92] Fleshing out differences *between* women is equally important: Flynn's aforementioned work on Black Canadian and Caribbean nurses in Canada, for example, sets as one of its core goals to disrupt portrayals of Black women as a "monolithic group" by sharing specific, contextualized life histories that showcase "the complexity and diversity of Black women's lives."[93]

Oral history has been a key methodology for positioning racialized immigrants and others erased in dominant historical narratives as "agents of change" in their everyday lives. My study will follow much of the aforementioned work on immigrant experience in its use of *feminist* oral history methodologies in particular. I will follow this work in positing storytelling, remembering, and imagining as creative, political acts and as expressions of agency in their own right.[94] There has also been much discussion amongst feminist oral historians about the dangers of romanticizing the "recovery" of experience through oral history. This methodological praxis thus demands that researchers pay attention to their location in relation to their research participants, and the particular and relational power dynamics that play out between them in research

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[92] Mina, "Taming and Training Greek 'Peasant," 533; Chenier, "Sex, Intimacy, and Desire"; Giles, *Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism;* Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
[93] Flynn, Moving Beyond Borders, 6; 219.
[94] For work that explicitly centres and critically reflects on oral history methodologies in the context of scholarship on migration, settlement, and racialized communities in Canada, see, for example, Chenier, "Sex, Intimacy, and Desire"; Freund, "Transnationalizing home"; Nadia Jones-Gailani, "Feminist Oral History and Assessing the Duelling Narratives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora," in Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, ethnic and racialized women in Canadian history*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016): 584-602; Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony"; Sugiman, "Memories of Internment."

encounters themselves and shape the knowledge that emerges.[95] This is another level on which my understanding of agency and experience heed Lila Abu-Lughod's warning against the tendency to "romanticize resistance," alluded to above.[96] In Chapter Three I will elaborate further on the influence of feminist oral history in my methodological approach.

To conclude, multiculturalism as a discourse of home has concealed limited and highly conditional practices of immigrant welcome shaped by wider, discriminatory structural forces. Dominant regimes that govern migration and immigrant welcome, in their ability to categorize and to represent migrant lives, wield the power to flatten and homogenize migrant lives, affecting many racialized newcomers' access to full participation and opportunity. Multiculturalism presents Canada as a place where people from diverse backgrounds can feel equally "at home." Exclusionary and limited national home-making practices outlined here, however, demonstrate some of the ways in which, as Chazan et al. suggest, "multiculturalism might in fact render home uncanny, at least for some"—not least for Indigenous peoples whose claims to home settler Canada continually erases.[97] Despite these structural imbalances and exclusionary dominant homemaking practices, newly-immigrated and racialized communities have negotiated, created, and fought for their own sense of welcome and belonging in Canada, and in the local places in which they live their everyday lives, making home in ways that sometimes reinforce and sometimes challenge the status quo. The framing of the politics of welcome outlined in this section will inform my analysis of the work of immigrant welcome in the

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[95] See, for example Sangster, "Telling Our Stories"; Saujani, "Empathy and Authority"; Sugiman, "Memories of Internment."
[96] Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance," 42.
[97] Chazan et. al, "Introduction: Labours, Lands, Bodies," 3.

small city of Peterborough, Ontario in the late 20th century. I use the analytical lens of homemaking, and an understanding of welcome as political, conditional, and embedded in power relations, to make meaning of local "practices of welcome," both at the site of immigrant settlement work, and in informal local settings beyond the site of immigrant settlement work. I explore how welcome is practiced—and negotiated—by both those represented as hosts and those represented as immigrants.

Examining sites of immigrant welcome: Unsettling the immigrant-host binary

I have discussed my analytical framework of *home*, and the political context of *immigrant welcome* that informs my study. So far, I have sought to establish an understanding of dominant discourses of home and immigrant welcome in Canada, and to demonstrate the harmful effects of the binary thinking about immigrant and host that is reinforced by these frameworks. In this final section, I hone in on my specific site of study, the immigrant settlement sector, to further examine and unsettle the immigrant-host binary. Here, I focus on the immigrant settlement sector as a *site of immigrant welcome*,[98] discussing the limited body of critical scholarship that has considered this topic. The immigrant settlement sector is an under-examined topic in migration studies and immigration history. The few critical works that *have* explored power dynamics in

[98] I consider sites of immigrant welcome to be certain contexts in white settler society where new immigrants are constructed and addressed *as new immigrants*, and where the stated goal or intention is one of welcome or support (as opposed to more overtly exclusionary contexts such as immigrant detention, deportation, border crossings, and even admissions processes). I say "stated goal" in light of the politics and power dynamics of immigrant welcome, discussed throughout this chapter, that render that welcome limited, conditional, and unavailable to many. Such contexts include, for example, immigrant-serving organizations, English as a Second Language classes, refugee sponsorship, multicultural events, and even discursive contexts such as public debates about immigration and media coverage of refugee resettlement. Certain actors are constructed as *hosts* in relation those constructed as *newcomers* in these contexts. In the dominant discourse of home in settler Canada, the de facto hosts are middle-class, white settlers, and as such, dominant practices of welcome are carried out according to their terms. That said, in practice, it is often newly-immigrated and racialized communities themselves that foster spaces of welcome and belonging that are meaningful to newcomers.

the immigrant settlement sector and other formal sites of immigrant welcome, however, suggest that it is a fruitful site to examine the immigrant-host binary, the power relations that animate it, and the complex and contradictory lived experiences that this binary thinking masks.

Some of the issues raised in critical literature on sites of immigrant welcome resonate with intersectional feminist analyses of power dynamics in the voluntary sector and community organizing more broadly. As alluded to in the earlier section on "processes of placing" and place-based activism, feminist scholars have demonstrated how community care work, and relatedly, social service work, tend to be performed by differently-located women. Further, this work is invisibilized and underpaid or unpaid, with racialized women often bearing the brunt of this erasure and undervaluing.[99] In tension with uneven gender dynamics in this work, scholars have paid critical attention to the power and privilege afforded to, in particular, white, middle-class women doing this work in Canada and other white settler societies, and its strategic use to regulate the lives of Indigenous people, people of colour, people with disabilities, and poor and working class people.[100] This literature points to an abiding tension between social change and social regulation,

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[99] Baines, "Seven Kinds of Work - Only One Paid"; Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers of the Municipality*; Ng et al., eds., *Community Organization and the State*.

[100] The social work profession, for example, has been, in the words of scholar Raven Sinclair, "a pawn" in the settler colonial project, directly complicit in many key mechanisms by which the settler state has enacted violence on the lives and lands of Indigenous peoples. Raven Sinclair. "Aboriginal social work education in Canada: Decolonizing pedagogy for the seventh generation." *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 1, 1 (2004): 49. See also Barbara Heron, *Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender and the Helping Imperative*, (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007); Banakonda Kennedy-Kish (Bell), Raven Sinclair, Ben Carniol and Donna Baines, eds., *Case Critical: Social Services and Social Justice in Canada,* 7th ed. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2017); Anne O'Connell, "The Deserving and Non-Deserving Races: Colonial Intersections of Social Welfare History in Ontario." *Intersectionalities: A Global Journal of Social Work Analysis, Research, Polity, and Practice* 2, 1 (2013): 1–23; Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

and between good intentions and oppressive structural forces, that can render community care work and voluntary work contentious and uneven terrain.

These wider critiques resonate in scholarly assessments of power dynamics in the immigrant settlement sector specifically, which also tease out the tension between social change and social regulation in this work. Critical work on modern, government-funded immigrant settlement services in Canada attributes the rapid growth of the sector through the 1970s and 1980s to advocacy from within immigrant and racialized communities.[101] Recognizing the shortcomings of existing mainstream social services, Saddeiqa Holder specifies, immigrant communities envisioned and demanded funding for organizations that could provide anti-racist and culturally-relevant services, in languages relevant to different newcomer groups, delivered by "staff from their own communities," that would also be equipped to advocate for newcomers' needs and for anti-racist service provision beyond the settlement sector.[102] Drawing on this history, Holder asserts that immigrant-serving organizations "represent the allocation of public goods and services to immigrant communities and as such, are part of the power base of immigrant communities."[103] Holder's positive view of immigrant-serving organizations, however, is cautious, tempered by such organizations' implication in the neoliberal politics of social service provision that has taken hold in Ontario and Canada particularly since the 1990s. Holder notes tensions between funding allocation to communities as empowering, and funding

[101] B. Saddeiqa Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations in the Canadian Welfare State: A Case Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1998), 71-113 in particular; Jane Ku, "Ethnic activism and multicultural politics in immigrant settlement in Toronto, Canada," *Social Identities* 17, 2, (2011): 271-289; Ng, *The Politics of Community Services*.
[102] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 165.
[103] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 165; 8.

allocation as an indication of the government's ongoing and arguably harmful efforts to download responsibility for social service provision onto communities.[104]

Indeed, even as the "power base" for immigrant communities, as Jo-Anne Lee's work has shown, the distribution of power in immigrant-serving organizations still tends to reflect systemic power imbalances, with racialized immigrant women taking on the most unpaid volunteer work and underpaid front-line work, white women (and men) tending to occupy more stable and well-paid language teaching and senior management positions.[105] Further, the underfunding and marginalization of the sector itself, in comparison to mainstream social services, speaks volumes about the valuing of immigrant lives and labour, and the detrimental material and discursive effects of being categorized as immigrant or refugee.[106] According to Lee, "Current practices and policies have created a separate racialized and feminized immigrant services sector wherein parallel proto-institutions deliver a limited set of welfare benefits of citizenship to immigrants and refugees," the costs of which are "transferred onto immigrant communities themselves, and within these communities, to women."[107] As Bannerji articulates in relation to official multiculturalism, however, in the tension here between what Holder articulates as a site of power for immigrant communities and what Lee articulates as a site of marginalization of immigrant communities, there may exist a "small opening" for immigrant women.[108]

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[104] Ibid., 34.
[105] Jo-Anne Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers in the Immigrant Settlement Sector," in Maria A. Wallis and Siu-ming Kwok, eds., *Daily Struggles: The Deepening Racialization and Feminization of Poverty in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2008): 103-112.
[106] See also Ng, *The Politics of Community Services,* for an analysis of the construction of "immigrant woman" as a marginalized labour market position and the harmful effects of this on immigrant women's lives and opportunities.
[107] Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers," 108; 110.
[108] Bannerji, "On the Dark Side of the Nation," 122, quoted in Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony," 391.

Lee balances her analysis of structural oppression by imagining also the ways in which immigrant settlement services can be a "space of possibility" for immigrant women: "Excluded from other spheres of public life, the space provided by immigrant integration and multiculturalism policies, is, and continues to be, a space of possibility for affirmation and for broadening immigrant and refugee women's inclusion into the public sphere."[109] These studies, then, while pointing out the limitations of this work, also attest to its potential as a site for social change where new immigrants can feel supported and can challenge marginalization and discrimination.

A handful of empirical studies examining specific sites of immigrant welcome (some historical and some contemporary) have used in-depth interviews and archival research to explore how these structural dynamics play out in everyday social life.[110] By teasing out complex and contradictory perspectives, these studies challenge the logic of the immigrant-host binary. Franca Iacovetta's historical monograph *Gatekeepers,* for example, posits the site of post-war immigrant reception work in Toronto as a "contact zone" between those deemed immigrant (postwar newcomers from Eastern and Southern Europe) and those deemed host (for example, caseworkers and volunteers at settlement organizations), presenting the perspectives of both.[111] Her analysis demonstrates the

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[109] Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers," 111.
[110] Glenda Tibe Bonifacio, "I Care for You, Who Cares for Me? Transitional Services for Filipino Live-in Caregivers in Canada," in Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, ethnic and racialized women in Canadian history*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016): 252-270; Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers;* Cathy L. James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997); Loewen and Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities*; Barbara Roberts, "Ladies, Women and the State: Managing Female Immigration, 1880-1920," in *Community Organization and the State*, Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker, and Jacob Muller eds. (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1990), 108-130; Szczepanikova, "Performing Refugeeness."
[111] Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers,* 13-14.

tensions between the welcome extended to new immigrants by Canadian "experts," and the conditions, assumptions, and categorizations that accompanied and thus limited that welcome.[112] For example, she describes how social workers often relied on theories of "'cultural backwardness'" to explain problems new immigrants were facing, often culturally assigning patriarchal gender relations in their assessments of immigrant homes.[113] Conversely, Iacovetta emphasizes how newcomers resourcefully navigated these uneven dynamics, sometimes refusing the welcome offered and fostering their own welcome.[114] Examining messy, everyday encounters at the "contact zone" allows Iacovetta to destabilize the immigrant-host binary, problematizing the relational but uneven nature of power and identity construction that it conceals. At the site of immigrant welcome, her work suggests, the dominance and identity of the hegemonic "Canadian" self is rearticulated in relation to postwar, new immigrant Others;[115] at the same time, however, newcomers' resilience and resistance in these encounters suggests that people's lives cannot be contained by binary categories, and that this categorization has harmful and limiting effects. Indeed, Iacovetta's presentation of the complexity and specificity of European refugee lives is in itself a challenge to the othering category of "immigrant."

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[112] For another historical example of such power dynamics, specifically between white, middle-class women and racialized immigrant and working-class women in Toronto, see Cathy James' study on the settlement house movement in the early 20th century, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation."

[113] Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers,* 190.

[114] Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers,* see, for example, 150-153; 171-201; 247-259. For a study drawing related conclusions, see Szcepanikova, "Performing Refugeeness." This compelling contemporary study explores how refugee women, in encounters with refugee-serving NGOs in the Czech Republic, navigate dominant imaginations of what Szcepanikova calls "refugeeness" that circulate in those spaces, and further, navigate perceived demands on them to perform that "refugeeness" to access services and opportunities.

[115] Iacovetta speaks to these relational dynamics convincingly in the conclusion: "Indeed, the 'young girl DP' offered Canada a powerful symbol of freedom and democracy, which is why so many gatekeepers, even those who recognizted the limits or faults of their own society, saw her successful integration as evidence of the superiority of pro-capitalist Western democracies." *Gatekeepers,* 290.

Embedded in much of this work is a critique of the normative discourse of immigrant integration (also alluded to in my discussion of multiculturalism above). Iacovetta, for example, describes the reigning understanding of integration in the 1950s and 60s as "a two-sided and gradual give and take process" involving "meaningful cultural exchanges."[116] While Iacovetta's study does demonstrate how many Canadians attempted to earnestly engage in such exchange on an individual level, her work and much of the scholarship showcased in this chapter dispute this discursive portrayal of an even playing field, demonstrating how this "give and take" has been and remains decidedly skewed toward the maintenance and dominance of the status quo. Sociologist Peter Li's deconstruction of immigrant integration discourse in Canada since the 1990s is much the same, problematizing the persistent, mainstream discourse of integration as a "two-way street" through this period.[117] Li rejects the normative discourse of integration, calling for a reimagining of integration that truly *does* demand transformation of the dominant culture, accounting for "how Canadian society and its institutions perform towards newcomers," and more broadly, "granting citizenship rights and social entitlements to newcomers and allowing them to exercise their rights, including the right and legitimacy to challenge the status quo."[118]

Much of the scholarship I have outlined here focuses on critiquing immigrant-serving organizations, and through those critiques, deconstructing the logic of the immigrant-host binary and its harmful discursive and material effects on people's lives. This work demonstrates how practices of immigrant welcome, while sometimes experienced as

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[116] Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers,* 59.
[117] Peter S. Li, "Deconstructing Canada's Discourse of Immigrant Integration," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4, 3 (2003): 327.
[118] Ibid., 330

supportive, can also be experienced as limiting and harmful for racialized immigrants trying to feel "at home" in the context of uneven power relations in white settler society. Identifying these power dynamics and their effects is important. This work suggests that immigrant settlement organizations and other sites of immigrant welcome can and should carry out their work in ways that are cognizant of and accountable to these wider structural dynamics. Indeed, these works also point to examples of approaches to supporting new immigrants that have been effective and/or challenged normative dynamics, whether led by newly-immigrated communities themselves or by allies.[119] This is an important step toward transformation. I follow the aforementioned work of (respectively) Lee, Holder and Ng then, in my cautious hope that immigrant-serving organizations and other sites of immigrant welcome can still operate as, as Lee puts it, "space[s] of possibility" for immigrant communities and their allies where work for change can happen, particularly when led by immigrant and racialized women and communities.

Conclusion

In explicitly examining sites of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, my study engages with and seeks to unsettle the immigrant-host binary as it manifests in this context. By presenting the perspectives of hosts and immigrants side-by-side, I do not seek to reinforce these categories, nor to propose a universal sameness of experience.

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[119] For example, Holder speaks to the importance of immigrant-serving organizations as policy advocates for new immigrant communities. She also argues in her case study of one particular agency that their approach challenges what I am calling the immigrant-host binary by "meeting the needs of real people (as opposed to the abstract or bureaucratically-defined concept of "immigrant")." Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 168. See also Loewen and Friesen's discussion of the development of the Winnipeg Citizenship Council, and the transfer of power from mostly white settler leadership to leadership from within immigrant communities. Loewen and Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities,* 93-96.

Rather, I seek to highlight the uneven ways that these differently-located actors place themselves and are placed in relation to each other, in a shared local place and social context animated by historically-specific power imbalances, with attention to race, class, gender, relationship to colonialism, and other aspects of social location. By highlighting the particularity and complexity of each participant's experience, while also making connections to wider structural dynamics that link them to other participants, my study will complicate the immigrant-host binary, and the limited understandings of "home" and "welcome" in settler Canada that accompany it. My study will suggest the possibilities inherent in reconfiguring relationships between so-called immigrants and so-called hosts in Canada for more expansive practices of welcome and more just practices of home on this land.

Chapter Three: Methodological Framework

In this chapter I account for my research praxis: what I did, and how I did it. I outline the methodological approaches that guided my research design. I situate myself, both in relation to the topic, and in relation to the intersubjective knowledge creation process of this research project. I reflect critically on challenges I encountered, and power dynamics in the research.

Arriving at the topic and research questions

An existing community interest in exploring the history of the New Canadians Centre was an important initial impetus for this research project. As I began my Master's degree in 2015, I hoped to design a project that built on an existing community interest or need, and involved community participation.[120] I was interested in the politics of immigration, migrant rights, and migrant solidarities, and had some research experience using oral history as a methodology to explore migration stories.

My interest in the politics of migration was invigorated as a researcher at an immigration museum in Halifax in my early twenties. I learned more about the exclusionary history of Canadian immigration policy, and bore witness daily to the personal migration stories of visitors to the museum. This context compelled me to consider more deeply my own family history of migrations (and of staying put). As a third generation white settler Canadian, I had grown up with the privilege of not knowing

[120] I knew very little about community-engaged research going into this project. I have learned much about community-engaged research from both of my supervisors, Dr. Joan Sangster and Dr. May Chazan, from my colleagues in the MA program, from staff at the New Canadians Centre and the Trent Community Research Centre, and from my research participants. My understanding of community-engaged, feminist research has also been greatly influenced by my involvement as a research assistant with the activist-research collective Aging Activisms, led by my co-supervisor, Dr. May Chazan.

what it meant to be categorized as immigrant. I had thought that the politics of migration had little to do with me; after all, my white, Protestant working-class and middle-class ancestors from England, Ireland and Scotland were not deemed immigrants so much as pioneers and nation-builders. I learned (and am still learning) the ways in which they and I have benefited greatly from the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and exclusive immigration policies that have guided the settler colonial project on this land, of which their migration was an integral part. I began seeking ways to support work that was addressing these injustices, first volunteering with immigrant-serving organizations, and more recently, supporting the political organizing of immigration detainees seeking an end to immigration detention in Canada. Through these experiences, I have begun to consider how I can work accountably and in solidarity with new immigrant and racialized communities as a third generation white settler Canadian. I brought these personal questions and scholarly interests with me when I moved to Peterborough to start my Master's degree.

New to the Peterborough community, I had few existing relationships to build on; I found an entry point in the Trent Community Research Centre (TCRC), a local non-profit organization that connects student researchers with community groups with research needs.[121] The TCRC connected me with the New Canadians Centre,[122] who were looking to investigate their origins and early years (of which they had little institutional memory and few written records), and we agreed to collaborate.[123]

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[121] For more information about the Trent Community Research Centre, see www.trentcentre.ca.
[122] The New Canadians Centre is an immigrant-serving organization in Peterborough, Ontario. For more information about the organization, see www.nccpeterborough.ca.
[123] My collaboration with the NCC began in earnest in the Fall of 2015, when I met formally with NCC staff to discuss the project. At this time, they also shared with me the information they had about the

The NCC shared my interest in oral history as a methodological approach. In discussions of *who* I might invite to participate, the contours of community organizing that led to the NCC became more clear: it had been largely led by white settler women. I was intrigued to explore the power dynamics that might have characterized this early organizing. Together with the NCC, we decided it would be crucial to also seek out the perspectives of new immigrant and racialized communities in Peterborough on this history: for new immigrants arriving in Peterborough in the 1970s, 80s and 90s, how had the work of the New Canadians Centre intersected with their arrival and life-building in Peterborough—if it had at all? Finally, in preliminary research, I had noted that core NCC organizers were predominantly women, and that many of their early programs focused on immigrant women, I hoped to bring an intersectional feminist lens to this project, looking to gender and its intersection with other aspects of social location to make sense of how power operated in the NCC's work.

With these initial questions in mind, I continued exploratory research, reviewing the limited documentation I had, and connecting with people who knew something about this history, most of whom went on to participate in the research, and who are introduced in greater depth in Chapters Five and Six. I observed that people spoke at greater length about Peterborough as a place, and their perspective on it, than about the New Canadians

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organization's history: a handful of documents, and contact information for five former staff and board members. After doing some exploratory research, I shared with them a short research proposal in the spring of 2016, inviting their feedback. We agreed that I should go ahead as planned. We agreed that, in addition to the thesis, I would also write a shorter, plain language report to share with participants, the NCC, and community. Throughout the research process, I provided the NCC with several brief updates. It is important to note that once the details were agreed upon, I conducted this project largely independently of the NCC. The organization was fully supportive of this project; with staff already stretched thin doing the day-to-day work of a front-line organization, however, they did not have the capacity to engage extensively in my research process. My staff contacts at the organization did provide key supports, such as help with outreach, and in one case, interpretation, as well as providing feedback at different points.

Centre as an organization. These early conversations urged me to think about the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough more broadly, situating the New Canadians Centre as a hub of this work, certainly, but beginning to see how new immigrants' efforts to settle in and build lives in this local place, and local residents' efforts to help new immigrants feel at home, and went far beyond this formal organization. Influenced by these early conversations, the focus of the research shifted to think more about place, belonging, and the politics of immigrant welcome. Through early exploratory conversations with community members and NCC staff and my own interests and growing sense of existing scholarly literature, two central research questions came to define the research. First: what were the social, economic and political circumstances under which the New Canadians Centre emerged and evolved as a local site of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, Ontario? Second: how, why and to what effect have differently-located actors understood, practiced and experienced welcome and belonging in Peterborough, in the context of the work of the New Canadians Centre and other local sites of immigrant welcome? As presented in the introduction, in the iterative process of interviews and conversations with participants, conducting archival research, and reviewing existing scholarly literature, I eventually came to the analytical tool of home and home-making to examine welcome and belonging, and to highlight what participants had shared.

My core data set to address these research questions was in-depth interviews. I set out to conduct 10-20 interviews with participants from two, loosely-defined groups (as discussed in the introduction): first, people who arrived in Peterborough as new immigrants between 1979 and 1997, and second, people who were involved with the

NCC and/or other adjacent work during the same period. Due to my aforementioned in interest in gender dynamics, I sought women's perspectives in particular in my recruitment (though not exclusively). Oral history interviewing as a method of data collection has epistemological implications (see Methodologies section below for further discussion). It was also a pragmatic choice to privilege the knowledge of actors with lived experience of this history, as there is very limited written documentation of this history, and an increasingly urgent community interest in documenting some of this story while the living memory of it still exists.

Methodologies

My methodological approach proceeds from the understanding that power operates in and through knowledge production, taking seriously the power wielded by researchers, and the urgency of research design that meaningfully engages with community and unsettles normative power dynamics associated with research.[124] As a white settler researcher engaging with immigrant and racialized communities, I am cognizant that I am embedded in a destructive legacy of research *on* racialized and other marginalized peoples. I follow methodological scholarship that identifies and seeks to disrupt this legacy. Postcolonial and decolonial scholars have described the implication of Western research in processes of colonization, and ensuing legacies of racism and colonialism. Through what Gayatri Spivak has deemed "epistemic violence," academic

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124 For elaborations on anti-oppressive and community-engaged methodological frameworks in the context of social science and interdisciplinary research, see, for example, Leslie Brown and Susan Strega, eds., *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, & Anti-Oppressive* Approaches, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2005); Chazan, *The Grandmothers' Movement;* Kirby et al., *Experience Research Social Change*; Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change*.

research has been complicit in the discursive construction of historically-specific racialized, gendered and geographical "Others" on which colonial domination, and the construction of corresponding, superior Western subjects, has depended.[125] These historical legacies have implications even for well-intentioned or social change-oriented contemporary research. Eve Tuck problematizes "damage-centred" research conducted in Indigenous, racialized and otherwise marginalized communities that focuses on the violence, loss, and discrimination these communities experience. Such research, Tuck argues, adopts "a pathologizing approach in which the oppression singularly defines a community," rendering such communities "overresearched yet, ironically, made invisible."[126] Particularly as an outsider researcher, I heed Tuck's warning about the pitfalls of a damage-centred approach in social change-oriented research, looking toward what she calls a "desire-based research framework," which she describes as "concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives."[127] As I will explore below, feminist oral history is one set of methodological approaches that is well-positioned to challenge one-dimensional representations of marginalized communities, as this methodology centres the messiness and contradiction of lived experience and memory, and actively seeks to engage with community and share authority in the meaning-making process.

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[125] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, Eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture,* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 66-111; see also Said, *Orientalism,* 201-225 in particular*;* Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (Dunedin, NZ: Otago Unviersity Press, 2012).
[126] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review,* 79, 3 (2009): 413; 412.
[127] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416.

My research is grounded in feminist oral history methodologies. This is an epistemological choice; foregrounding the experiences and narratives of differently-located social actors is a choice about whose knowledges count, and what kinds of knowledge count. Oral history has long been a methodology used to challenge dominant historical narratives, highlight marginalized voices, and combat erasure. While some early feminist oral history practitioners tended to frame their work as the recovery of voice, or as an entry point to authentic experience,[128] there has been much debate and discussion in the field since then insisting on accounting for the operation of power in oral history interviews, and more broadly, in relations between differently-located women. Feminists of colour and feminists from the Global South in particular have been at the forefront of such analyses, demonstrating how power relations in the interviews and research setting, animated by intersecting structural forces, complicate notions like "voice" and "authenticity" that run the risk of essentializing and romanticizing human experience and the work of social change.[129] In this context, practitioners have developed methods and techniques to unsettle normative dynamics, while also remaining accountable to them. Stephen High, for example, has adopted and expanded upon Michael Frisch's concept of "shared authority" to articulate a widely used set of oral history principles and practices that "requires the cultivation of trust, the development of collaborative relationships, and shared decision making," not only during the interview

[128] For analyses of the shortcomings of earlier feminist oral history approaches, see, for example, Sherna Berger Gluck, ""Women's Oral History: Is It So Special?" In Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless, Eds., *Thinking about Oral Histories: Theories and Applications*, (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 115-121 in particular; Sangster, "Telling Our Stories," 7.
[129] Gailani, "Assessing the Duelling Narratives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora"; Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, Eds., *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, (New York: Routledge, 1991); Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses," *Feminist Review* 30 (1988): 61-88. Saujani, "Empathy and Authority."

itself, but throughout the wider process, from research design through to analysis.[130] Other practitioners have spoken to the importance of researcher reflexivity to continually account for power dynamics throughout the process, as well as the power of researcher transparency, reciprocity and vulnerability in unsettling researcher authority.[131]

This analysis of power also has implications for how practitioners understand and analyze oral history interviews. If research encounters are particular, interpersonal, and embedded in historically-specific and unequal power structures, then the knowledge created in and through these encounters—the "truth"—is contingent and subjective. Regarding historical research, then, scholars such as Luisa Passerini, Sheyfali Saujani, and Pamela Sugiman have emphasized that oral history narratives about the past are best understood as constructions of historical memory, wherein participants' silences or omissions are just as significant as what they choose to include, and also as dialogical, wherein the narrative crafted is only meaningful in the context of the exchange with the listener, interviewer, or interlocutor.[132] This approach emphasizes discursive and narrative analysis. I follow this scholarship in conceptualizing my interviews as dialogic, contingent and constructed narratives embedded in power relations. I suggest that critical

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[130] Steven High, "Sharing Authority: An Introduction," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue D'études Canadiennes* 43, 1 (2009): 13. For Frisch's original articulation of shared authority, see Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History,* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

[131] See, for example, Houtig Attarian, "Encounters in Vulnerability, Familiarity, and Friendship," in Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki, Eds., *Oral History Off the Record: Toward an Ethnography of Practice*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 77-80; Koni Benson and Richa Nagar, "Collaboration as Resistance? Reconsidering the Processes, Products, and Possibilities of Feminist Oral History and Ethnography." *Gender, Place and Culture* 13, no. 5 (2006): 581–92; Gluck and Patai, *Women's Words;* Linda Shopes, "Commentary: Sharing Authority," *The Oral History Review* 30, 1 (2003): 103–10; Alan Wong, "Conversations for the Real World: Shared Authority, Self-Reflexivity, and Process in the Oral History Interview," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, 1 (2009): 239–58.

[132] Luisa Passerini, "Memory." *History Workshop*, 15 (1983): 195–96; Saujani, "Empathy and Authority"; Sugiman, "Memories of Internment."

reflection on power dynamics in research encounters enriches the insights such research can offer, and more broadly, encourages accountability in social change-oriented research and other social change work. I do heed Joan Sangster's insight, however, that "without a firm grounding of oral narratives in their material and social context […] insights on narrative form and on representation may remain unconnected to any useful critique of oppression and inequality."[133] Thus my research and analysis pays attention to the interplay of the discursive *and* material in people's accounts of their past (and present) experiences.[134] To that end, while oral history interviews are my core data source, I have put them in dialogue with local archival and other secondary material, in recognition that oral history is productively interrogated in dialogue with other sources, with an eye to its benefits and limitations as a mode of inquiry.

By challenging the essentialization of truth in this way, feminist oral history has also insisted upon redefining and expanding what *agency* can look like, locating agency in the acts of creating, imagining, planning, negotiating and meaning-making that take place in constructing narratives, remembering, and even navigating research encounters.[135] As mentioned briefly in my conceptual framework, I follow this redefinition in order to understand everyday "processes of placing" for differently-located

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[133] Sangster, "Telling our stories," 22.

[134] In relation to feminist historiographical debates regarding the validity of experience as evidence, oral history, it seems, necessarily takes the validity of experience as a starting point. In response to post-structural critiques of experience as an essentializing concept, the aforementioned extensive theorizing around power dynamics in oral history research convincingly demonstrates that the conceptualization of experience in this field takes as a starting point a critical understanding of power, and thus does not essentialize or romanticize people's lives. For a seminal critique of the use of experience as evidence from a poststructuralist standpoint, see Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience,' *Critical Inquiry* 17, 4 (1991): 773-797. For a defense of the use of experience as evidence, see Joan Sangster, "Invoking Experience as Evidence," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92, 1 (2011): 135–61.

[135] See, for example, Freund and Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives"; Herbert, *Negotiating Boundaries in the City,* 6; Sugiman, "Memories of Internment," 383-4.

actors as expressions of agency, and to understand our interview dynamics themselves as expressions of agency also.

Bringing a feminist, oral history-centred methodological lens to my research topic has allowed me to explore my chosen research questions in compelling and nuanced ways. Oral history is an effective methodology for amplifying marginalized, local, and alternative histories that are not represented on the dominant historical record, such as the history of the New Canadians Centre and the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough since the 1970s. Looking to the stories that social actors tell about their pasts and presents brings to light fruitfully complex and contradictory perspectives on welcome and belonging—concepts that are richly felt and lived. Bringing attention to the operation of power in people's experiences and narratives, and in research encounters, highlights the relationality of differently-located actors at the site of immigrant welcome, crucially, challenging the naturalization of those represented as host as well as challenging the pathologization of those represented as immigrant. These relations of power drawn out by oral history methodology are a challenge to the binary thinking about migration, race, immigrants, and hosts in white settler society that flattens and masks these complex connections. Highlighting the complex, the contradictory, and the particular in people's experiences and narratives through oral history is an effective way to combat this false homogenization.

Positioning myself in the research

Positioning myself as a particular social actor, in addition to positioning my research participants as social actors (as I do in the following chapters), is a key aspect of critically reflecting on power dynamics in my research, as the methodologies I follow

seek to do. My research speaks to questions of home and the politics of welcome in Peterborough. Though I problematize dominant discourses of home, my social location as a cisgendered, able-bodied white settler woman of Scottish and Irish descent means that I feel readily at home in Peterborough by virtue of these very discourses. Since birth, I have benefitted from the relative safety and privilege of holding Canadian citizenship. Though I have tried to reflect critically on my position in relation to structural forces of racism, colonialism and xenophobia, my social location will shape and limit my analysis of how such forces operate, as well as my research relationships. The social location I describe here is not absolute, but is given weight by historically and geographically-specific power relations. I have sought to be attentive to this in my research.

Because of how I chose to explore this topic, bringing together diverse perspectives on migration and the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, I am cognizant of shifting insider and outsider relationships between me and differently-located participants.[136] Though processes of racialization are not singular or homogeneous, about half of the research participants were racialized as non-white, and half were racialized as white in the Peterborough context. Most of those racialized as non-white were also those who had immigrated to Peterborough from Global South contexts since the 1970s. Most of those racialized as white were also those who were Canadian-born, and largely from Anglo-Saxon cultural backgrounds.[137] These

[136] As each of my research participants is uniquely situated within the particular constellations of power around the local work of immigrant welcome, this context shaped my encounters and relationship with each participant differently. For a more thorough general description of researcher positionality and insider and outsider dynamics, see, for example, Kirby, Greaves and Reid, *Experience Research Social Change*, 37-39 in particular.

[137] The binaries of "white" and "non-white" are very limited in their usefulness for understanding people's social locations and experiences of particular places. For example, three immigrant participants from Eastern and Southern European contexts, while they may be included within the boundaries of whiteness in

intersections of race, cultural context, and personal history of migration are highly politicized in the context of white settler society and have implications for people's access to power and privilege, and people's experiences of welcome, belonging and homemaking. This context informs all participants' reflections on home and welcome in the context of migration, as it affects my own. In research encounters, my location (perceived and experienced) as a white, Canadian-born researcher positioned me largely as an outsider in relation to the perspectives of racialized immigrants in Peterborough, and largely as an insider in relation to the perspectives of white settlers in Peterborough. Other contextual factors made these dynamics more complex. I experienced a perceived kinship with a number of participants of various backgrounds, for example, based on a shared involvement in anti-racist work, or more simply a shared intention in working toward making Peterborough a more welcoming place for new immigrant and racialized communities. On the other hand, I experienced tensions with some participants in relation to differences in our approach to this work, or differing comfort levels with speaking about, for example, racism, colonialism, and how these structural forces affect our lives. Here, I can only account for myself. In addition to what I brought to each research encounter, research participants brought their own experiences, expertise, and intersecting identities, and the knowledge produced in those encounters was intersubjective.

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late 20th century Canada, expressed feelings of cultural difference (and sometimes marginalization) locally as non-Anglo-Saxon newcomers. Further, the processes and effects of racialization are differentiated in the vast category of "non-white," and have been experienced very differently by differently-racialized participants in my study in the local place of Peterborough. See Chapter Two, footnote 21 for elaboration on my conceptualization of race and racialization.

Methods

Interviews

I conducted 15 in-depth interviews with 17 research participants.[138] Seven participants primarily spoke to their involvement in the work of the New Canadians Centre as staff, board members or volunteers. Ten participants spoke to their experiences arriving and making home in Peterborough as new immigrants between the 1970s and 1990s, including their experiences (if any) accessing the services of the New Canadians Centre.[139] Of these ten, two participants, in addition to sharing their experiences of immigrating to Peterborough, also spoke extensively about their professional involvement in immigrant settlement work locally.[140] As noted above, I sought to gather perspectives from the two loosely defined categories of host and immigrant (categories which I problematize in my analysis) while understanding that there would likely be overlap between them. As mentioned above, in my recruitment, I prioritized the perspectives of women. See Appendix A for more detailed demographic information about participants.

In the winter of 2016, I began by reaching out to the contacts shared with me by the New Canadians Centre. Around the same time, I also began meeting informally with

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[138] Two interviews involved two participants each: one, a mother and son; the other, a husband and wife.
[139] In my discussion of my interviews with immigrant participants in Chapter Six, I exclude one of these interviews from my analysis. Because of the circumstances of her arrival as a religious sister under the auspices of the Catholic Diocese of Peterborough, and her embeddedness in that context since then, my interview with Dorota (see participant information chart) was less relevant to my analysis of immigrant experiences in Peterborough, and more relevant to better understanding some of the background information related to the history of the New Canadians Centre—particularly the NCC's relationship with the local Polish community.
[140] Notably, a number of participants who immigrated to Peterborough beyond the two mentioned here also later became involved in the work of the New Canadians Centre in some capacity. I discuss this further in my analysis.

people in the community who were involved in immigrant settlement work, community organizing around migrant justice and anti-racism, and ethnic community organizations to tell them about my project. I also conducted wider outreach through the email listservs of the NCC and the Community and Race Relations Committee,[141] as well as at one major NCC event through the spring and summer of 2016. Through these multiple strategies, I connected with a number of participants. From there, I used "snowball sampling" to connect with further participants.

When a potential participant expressed their interest in learning more about the project, we would arrange to meet informally in person at a location of their choosing (e.g. cafés, parks, their homes). I was, for all intents and purposes, a stranger to all participants in my research project when we first met, though I had been introduced to some through mutual friends. When we met, I shared more about myself and my interest in this history, and we chatted about the details of research project. If they were still interested after our chat, I explained what participating in the project could involve, and emphasized their rights as a participant throughout the project. I provided an official letter of information and consent form for them to take home and review in greater depth if they chose (see Appendices C and D). I followed up after our meetings to see if potential participants had any further questions or if they were interested in setting up a recorded interview session.

I engaged in an ongoing process of informed consent with participants.[142] When we met in person to record the interview, before beginning, I would review the consent

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[141] The Community and Race Relations Committee is a non-profit, anti-racist organization active in Peterborough since 1981. For more information, see www.racerelationspeterborough.org.

[142] For an account of informed consent as ongoing process, see Brown and Strega, *Research as Resistance*, 269.

form in detail with each participant. At this point, and only if they were comfortable, participants signed the consent form before we proceeded. I checked in with participants before, during, and after the interviews to gauge their comfort and interest in continuing their participation, reminding them of their right to withdraw at any time if they desired. Soliciting feedback on transcripts and drafts (discussed below) was another way that I sought to build in ongoing practices of consent in my research. Further, I also hoped that by making efforts to build rapport and trust with participants more generally, I could work toward relationships with participants wherein they might feel more comfortable in sharing their concerns or hesitations with me regarding the contours of their participation in the project.

I designed and conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews that typically lasted between one and two hours.[143] Interviews took place at a quiet, sufficiently private location of participants' choosing—usually at their homes, or at my private office on Trent University campus.

During the interviews themselves, sharing authority meant thinking about the interview as a dialogue, and trying to share some of my own thoughts and perspectives with participants as well as posing questions to them. It also meant letting research participants lead the direction of the conversation, while still encouraging them to speak to the questions or areas of interest I had determined beforehand.

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[143] Initially, I intended to conduct interviews in a multi-session format, with the first interview focused on information gathering and the second interview encouraging participants to reflect more deeply on their experiences, though I left the decision to conduct a second session or not up to participants. In theory, this was to build rapport, trust, and deeper reflection. In practice, only one participant chose to (or was able to) do a second session. The majority of interviews, then, consisted of one session of one to two hours. Since most participants did not request it, and since I was finding my time and resources for data collection to be more limited than I had expected, I decided not to actively pursue a second interview with participants, though I am sure this would have brought about even richer reflection and exchange on the topics at hand.

I designed two slightly different sets of interview questions for the two, aforementioned loosely-defined groups who participated in my research.[144] For participants who were NCC staff or volunteers from the 1970s to the 1990s, questions focused on their experiences of living in Peterborough, their involvement with the work of the NCC (or with other local sites of immigrant welcome), as well as their perspectives on what it means to welcome new immigrants to Peterborough. For participants who arrived in Peterborough as new immigrants from the 1970s to the 1990s, questions focused on their experiences of arriving and living in Peterborough,[145] their perspectives on what it means to welcome new immigrants to Peterborough, and if applicable, their experiences with any programs or services of the NCC (or with other local sites of immigrant welcome). For both groups, I began the interview with several broader questions designed to allow participants to introduce themselves and to draw out some general life history details before moving to more specific questions (for interview guides see Appendix B).

These lines of questioning related to my two initial research questions in several ways.

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[144] Though these sets of questions guided the general direction of my inquiry during interviews, I tended to ask open-ended questions and followed participants' lead on what they wanted to discuss. This semi-structured approach also allowed me to be adaptable throughout the interview process as I decided that certain lines of questioning were ineffective or irrelevant (though I did not change my questions significantly). Since, as I mentioned above, the distinctions between these loosely-defined groups (immigrant and host) quickly became blurred, this flexible approach also allowed me to adjust the interview guide as needed, drawing on the interview guides for both groups, for example, for conversations with participants who had both immigrated to Peterborough and later worked or volunteered in immigrant settlement locally.

[145] My design of questions related to arrival and settling in as a new immigrant drew inspiration from the interview guides developed by Montreal Life Stories: Life Stories of Montrealers Displaced by War, Genocide, and other Human Rights Violations, a community-engaged research project led by Dr. Stephen High at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling. For more information and links to relevant interview guides, see http://storytelling.concordia.ca/toolbox/ethics.

In a pragmatic sense, participants' reflections on and memories of the New Canadians Centre helped flesh out some of the context and details for how the organization originated and developed through the late 20th century that were not reflected in the limited written records of the organization's history. Asking open-ended questions about life in Peterborough allowed me to explore how different actors experienced and made meaning of Peterborough as a place, and how they articulate belonging in that place. Asking open-ended questions about what it means to welcome new immigrants to Peterborough (or feel welcome in Peterborough as a new immigrant) allowed me to explore different actors' sense of motivation and role in relation to this work, and indirectly, to explore power dynamics at the site of immigrant welcome. This line of questioning also encouraged participants to share their own vision of what it means to extend welcome or feel welcomed in Peterborough.

Beyond the interview, I tried to continue accountable and reciprocal research practices in several ways. After transcribing each interview, I provided copy of the interview recording and transcript to each participant. At this point, I invited them to review the transcript if desired and provide any feedback or clarifications, to give them another chance to reflect on what they had shared with me.[146] As I moved from data gathering to analysis in the winter of 2017, I checked in briefly with participants to update them on my progress. I did not, however, share any substantive thoughts or insights into my analysis with participants until I was closer to a full draft in the fall of 2017. At this point, I invited feedback on a brief, plain-language summary of my key points and argument, as well as on a full draft of the study, flagging for participants

[146] See, for example, Randy Stoecker's description of a participatory interview transcript and draft validation process in Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change,* 27-58 in particular.

passages where they were quoted, or where I used information that they had shared with me. I considered and integrated what feedback from participants I did receive into the final draft.

Archival/documentary research

I supplemented my interviews with local archival research, analysis of internal NCC documents, and review of relevant secondary literature. During the summer of 2016, I visited the Peterborough Museum and Archives and the Trent University Archives. At the Peterborough Museum and Archives, I reviewed a small number of documents relevant to the New Canadians Centre and other relevant local community organizations. I also reviewed two, thematically organized folders of newspaper clippings and other miscellaneous records that spanned from the 1950s to present day, on the themes of "Refugees" and "Multiculturalism."[147] At the Trent University Archives, I located several sets of personal records relevant to local, private sponsorship of Indochinese refugees between 1979 and 1981. I also reviewed the fonds of several relevant local organizations for information related to local immigrant issues since the 1970s. The New Canadians Centre shared with me a small number of miscellaneous internal documents and news clippings about the NCC, spanning in date from around 1987 to 1996. A research participant who previously worked at the NCC also shared with me her significant personal collection of internal records, official meeting minutes, and news clippings spanning from around 1986 to 1996. These local archival documents and NCC records helped me construct a chronological, contextual and discursive backdrop

[147] The archivist informed me that these folders were initially compiled and maintained by staff at the Peterborough Public Library, and later transferred to the Archives. I was not given any insight into the method by which articles and documents were deemed relevant to a particular theme and archived.

against which to understand my interviews. Since I made the choice to centre my interviews as my core data source, my analysis of this archival data was limited, and in dialogue with information shared in my interviews, and themes that became relevant through analysis of interview data.

Analysis

Following Kristin Esterberg, I think of qualitative data analysis as "a process of making meaning," and "a creative process" wherein I acknowledge my active role in shaping the presentation and interpretation of data. While this process is subjective and creative, it is also firmly grounded in the data that I have collected.[148] As discussed above, the primary data source for my study is the set of 15 in-depth, semi-structured interviews, supplemented by local archival research, as well as a review of secondary literature. The analytical approach that I describe here is inextricable from and informed by my chosen methodology of feminist oral history and its theoretical and epistemological underpinnings, discussed above, including the intersubjectivity of the knowledge creation process itself.

Throughout the process of conducting interviews and gathering data, I consistently took field notes and used the technique of free writing to track my preliminary thinking about the topic, and what themes, issues, and questions were standing out.[149] I then transcribed verbatim all 15 interviews. During the transcription

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[148] Kristin G. Esterberg, *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*, (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002), 152. See 151-179 in particular.

[149] For an elaboration on free writing, memo writing, and writing in general as an analytical technique, see, for example, Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True, *Doing Feminist Research in Political and Social Science* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 197-8 and 222 in particular.

process, I began what Esterberg refers to as the "open coding" stage of grounded theory analysis, identifying as I transcribed initial "themes and categories that seem[ed] of interest."[150] Once I had transcribed all of the interviews, I grouped them by aforementioned category—immigrant and host—and went through each set again, loosely coding the interviews for themes again. Throughout this process, I continued to use free writing as a technique to think through themes that were emerging through the data. An initial literature review had informed my approach to the topic and my choice of research questions; as I began to read and re-read my interviews, I iteratively returned to the literature, supplementing my reading on concepts and contextual information that became relevant.

As I identified patterns and honed key themes, I went through the interview transcripts again, dividing up key quotes or passages by theme and organizing them into a separate document. This stage of my analysis corresponds with what Esterberg calls "focused coding."[151] In addition to coding my interviews thematically and identifying key quotes this way, I also engaged in narrative analysis of significant passages in order to draw out, in some cases, the salience of *discourse* in understanding how individual narratives are embedded in a wider social context. In other cases, narrative analysis helped me to look critically and reflexively at power dynamics within the research setting itself.[152] Since I was also building a specific, historical timeline of the New Canadians Centre and the local social and political context, I also created a timeline chart that ran from 1979 to 1997. In this chart, I organized by date all the information about the

[150] Esterberg, *Qualitative Methods*, 158.
[151] Esterberg, *Qualitative Methods*, 161.
[152] For a discussion of narrative analysis, see Esterberg, *Qualitative Methods*, 181-197.

organization I had gathered from archival documents, internal records, news articles, and interviews, in order to place in chronological order and triangulate[153] the multiple data sources I had collected that spoke to this history in different ways. This strategy helped me balance discursive aspects of my analysis with attention to specific, material and historical context—an analytical strategy I also spoke to above in relation to feminist oral history methodology and my conceptualization of experience. Throughout this process of meaning-making, I returned to the interview transcripts multiple times in different ways, in order to arrive at and then confirm my argument. Though my attempts to bring participants into my analysis process were limited, as outlined above, I invited feedback on my argument from participants and from the NCC when I had a full draft of my report prepared, and duly considered any feedback they offered.

Power dynamics in the research process: Limitations, challenges, and lessons learned

As I began building relationships and conducting interviews in the messy spaces of the social world, challenges and tensions inevitably arose. The limitations of my research design became evident as I observed normative dynamics being consolidated rather than challenged at various points through my research process. To gesture to this, in this section, I highlight several particularly salient moments (only a few of many fraught and compelling moments to explore) throughout the research process where challenges and limitations arose, before, during, and after the interviews.

I noticed limitations in my research design in relation to recruitment and initial relationship-building with participants. Choosing to start my relationship-building in the

[153] For a discussion of triangulation as analytical technique, see Ackerly and True, *Doing Feminist Research,* 185-188.

community with the New Canadians Centre, a well-established, government-funded local organization, influenced the trajectory of my study and the network of contacts I built. The first contacts I pursued, shared with me by the New Canadians Centre, were mostly Canadian-born Peterborough residents who had been directly involved in the work of the NCC. It was only after connecting with them that I began to reach out to immigrant and racialized communities. In relation to the group of differently-located actors who eventually contributed to my study, my inquiry began with the perspectives of those with *more* access to power and privilege in the local community, instead of those with *less.* Indeed, it was the staff of the New Canadians Centre, not new immigrant participants or other participants themselves, who I invited to collaborate with me in designing my research question and methodology. These are dynamics that became clearer to me in retrospect as I became increasingly aware of the complicated and layered work of doing "community-engaged" research, when "community" is never a cohesive and singular entity.[154] These were also limitations I faced as a newcomer to this community, looking to connect with locally-relevant issues and build local research relationships on a relatively short timeline.[155]

During the interviews themselves, a number of challenges and fruitful tensions arose also. I explore two themes in greater depth here. First, I became aware of limitations in my interview question design, the theme and sequence of which did little to

[154] For an anti-oppressive analysis of "community-engaged" methodology and its cooptation by mainstream research, see, for example, Brown and Strega, *Research as Resistance,* 256.
[155] One central limitation was the short timeline I was working with to build relationships with participants from the ground up. This, combined with the fact that I only had time to conduct single, one to two hour interviews with each participant, limited the potential for building trust and rapport between myself and participants, and thus limited the depth and breadth of our shared reflections on fraught and politically contentious topics like migration, race, welcome, and home in the context of white settler society.

mitigate or challenge normative dynamics between myself, a white, Canadian-born settler researcher, and differently-located research participants. This played out in particular ways in my interviews between me and former immigrant and refugee participants. After asking participants one or two general questions about themselves and life before migration, I moved quickly to questions about leaving their homelands, and migrating to Canada. This progression of questions did little to indicate to these participants that I was not only interested in their migration story, or that I was not only interested in their perspective *as immigrants*, as is often reinforced in official multicultural discourse. It did little to unsettle legacies of white benevolence and expectations of refugee (and immigrant) gratitude that were part of the context shaping our interactions.

With Canadian-born participants (mostly also white settlers), on the other hand, my line of questioning did little to denaturalize their (and my) often taken-for-granted sense of belonging, both locally and nationally, as white settlers. After posing similar, general questions about origins and early life, I quickly moved to questions about their involvement in the work of immigrant welcome. This line of questioning may have reinforced the validity of settler as "hosts," and at the very least, did not open up a space to reflect critically on settler home-making and belonging. Indeed, I noticed a difference between the perceived personal and emotional stakes in conversations with host participants, and with immigrant participants. Host participants were less likely to reflect extensively and personally on where they were from, how they came to feel at home in Peterborough, and the barriers and opportunities they faced in this homemaking. For many immigrant participants, on the other hand, such reflection took up much of our conversations. Though I asked each participant to "tell me about where you are from,"

this question represented an entirely different demand for differently-located participants. These dynamics were reinforced by the differences between the questions I designed for these two loosely-defined groups.

As I noticed these dynamics playing out, I did make small efforts to mitigate them. In later interviews, I tweaked my questions, trying to encourage reflection on origins, belonging, and home-making on the part of Canadian-born participants, and trying to make more space for immigrant participants to reflect on life before migration at the beginning of our conversations. I also attempted to address this in my analysis: it was observing these dynamics that pushed me to develop a theoretical framework that would bring immigrant and host participants onto the same analytical plane (i.e. home and home-making). In retrospect, I might have more effectively unsettled these normative dynamics during interviews by making deliberate space at the outset of each conversation to explore life histories, or going further still, by dedicating the whole first session to a broader life history for each participant, regardless of social location, before delving into questions about Peterborough and immigrant welcome in a second interview.

The second tension that I observed and experienced during the interviews themselves related to the settler colonial context in which our interviews took place. Over the past two years in Nogojiwanong in particular, I have had the opportunity to listen to and learn from Elders, knowledge keepers, and scholars from here in Michi Saagig Anishinaabe territory and from other Indigenous nations who have led me to consider more deeply what it means to organize for migrant justice on stolen Indigenous land, in the context of settler colonialism and Indigenous resurgences. Through this project, I have thus attempted to elucidate an understanding of immigrant welcome in Canada that

does not reinforce the erasure of Indigenous land and lives, and situates settler colonialism as the wider context that enables regimes of immigration, and dominant discourses of immigrant welcome. My understanding of these dynamics, though, has evolved significantly through the two years that I have undertaken this project. Reflecting on the interview process now, I am cognizant of the ways in which I failed to share my evolving sense of these dynamics with research participants, and failed to allow them to reflect in any depth on their own evolving understandings of Indigenous sovereignty and colonialism in Canada.

While I did ask most participants involved in the work of the New Canadians Centre to speak to any connections they saw between the work of immigrant welcome and Indigenous community organizing in Nogojiwanong/Peterborough, I did not go further in giving settler participants opportunities during our conversations to reflect critically on their position as settlers. I made particularly weak attempts to raise these questions with immigrant participants, asking questions directly about Indigenous resurgence and colonialism in only two of my interviews with immigrant participants (and only briefly). Further, on multiple occasions as an interviewer, in attempting to bear witness to what participants shared and find common ground, I also found myself reinforcing settler claims to home and belonging. One participant invoked the discourse of Canada as a country of immigrants, reflecting, “We are pretty similar to everybody else for the last thousand years, actually. Since the Native Indians, right? Everybody come over here to find a better life.” Instead of taking this as an opportunity to discuss further what this participant meant by drawing parallels between immigrant experience and the experience of Indigenous peoples, I validated his sense of migration as a means to

a better life: "Yeah. When my family came, that was definitely why." In doing so, I dismissed the wider context of power relations: that an immigrant's "better life"—particularly, that of my ancestors, all of whom were white and Anglo-Saxon, and many of whom arrived just in the wake of treaties signed with Anishinaabe peoples in northern and eastern Ontario—was made possible because of violence against Indigenous life. As scholar and community organizer Harsha Walia has demonstrated through her activist praxis, there are powerful ways to foster solidarity between differently-positioned settlers and migrants on this land that centre Indigenous sovereignty and legacies of colonial violence.[156] As I learned through this project, and as Tuck and Yang suggest, when attempted without adequate thought and rigor, it is all too easy to reproduce settler discourses around migration that, rather than challenging settler claims to belonging, attempt to bring differently-positioned migrants into the settler fold.[157]

Shared authority, Stephen High asserts, is an ongoing process that should continue long after "the recorder is turned off."[158] After the interviews were complete, the forms of reciprocity and relationship that I was able to build with participants *in practice* were more limited than I had envisioned or aspired to in theory. I was not adequately intentional about meaningfully involving participants in the analysis and writing process. I did not set out any clear mechanisms at the beginning of my research relationships to encourage their participation beyond recording the interview, nor to encourage my own accountability, not just when I had a full draft, but as my thoughts evolved throughout the analysis and writing process. Though I had intentions to send preliminary findings and an

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[156] Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism*. See also the work of the grassroots organization No One Is Illegal, for example.
[157] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 17.
[158] High, "Sharing Authority," 13.

outline of my argument to participants along the way, before the promised product of a full draft for them to review, I found I lacked the confidence to do so. Though I did share a full draft of the thesis with participants, and a number of people provided insightful feedback on this draft that informed the final report, I was not willing to share the messiness of my though process with them, though they had been so generous with sharing their own thoughts and memories with me. This was a serious shortcoming of my approach.[159]

Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, I have described how I came to this research, situated my project in relation to critical, feminist oral history methodologies, and detailed how I carried out this research, in collaboration with research participants. I set out to design a project that would allow me to "share authority" and disrupt normative research dynamics in a variety of ways, through building trust with participants and engaging them in meaning-making processes, and through practicing transparency and reflexivity as a researcher. As a first-time researcher in the field, I gained a greater appreciation for the intentionality, hard work and time it takes to put such principles into practice. The process also underscored for me the intersubjectivity of knowledge creation. While accounting for myself as a researcher is important, I am only one of many social actors who contributed to this research process. Indeed, I will discuss research participants' central contributions in ensuing chapters. Doing research has been a humbling, unsettling, and valuable learning

[159] Thank you to my colleague and friend Melissa Baldwin (fellow MA student) for helping me articulate this, and for discussing these dynamics around community-engaged research with me.

experience. I hope this ongoing learning is reflected in my analysis, and that it will invigorate my accountability as a social justice-oriented researcher in future work.

Chapter Four: Contextualizing home, contextualizing welcome: Peterborough and the development of the New Canadians Centre

The immigrant-serving organization in Peterborough that, by the mid-1980s, would be called the New Canadians Centre, has its roots in a local response to the Canadian government's Indochinese Refugee Program. Through the Vietnam War and in its wake after 1975, millions of people were displaced from their homes in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (collectively known then as Indochina) and forced to flee; many sought to establish new lives elsewhere, taking advantage of the window of opportunity that opened when white settler societies like Australia, Canada and the United States established resettlement programs and upped refugee quotas due to intense public pressure and international obligations.[160] In July 1979, the Canadian government committed to accepting 50,000 refugees from Indochina. 21,000 individuals would be privately sponsored by groups of Canadian citizens or residents—a mechanism newly introduced in the 1976 Immigration Act—with the remainder of sponsorships "matched" by the federal government.[161] Of those who met the criteria and were accepted to enter Canada, either as government-sponsored or privately-sponsored refugees, just several hundred came initially to live in the small, white-settler majority city of Peterborough, Ontario, population around 60,000, between 1979 and the late 1980s.

As began happening in towns and cities across the country as Canada announced a more substantial commitment to resettling refugees in July 1979, Peterborough residents began organizing to sponsor Indochinese refugees. Within the month, a fundraising

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[160] Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge,* 186-187.
[161] Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared,* 2nd ed., (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), 174-188; Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge*, 200-201.

campaign and sponsorship coordination body called the Peterborough Boat People Committee had formed. Organizing around refugee sponsorship in Peterborough was part of a nationwide public response. In major cities like Toronto, Calgary, and Ottawa, volunteer organizations had sprung up to coordinate sponsorship groups. The highest-profile of these, Toronto-based Operation Lifeline, inspired 60 "chapters" across the country within two weeks of its inaugural meeting in June 1979 (the Peterborough Boat People Committee was one such chapter).[162] Notably, Indochinese refugee sponsorship was not a phenomenon limited to major urban centres. Encouraged by the private sponsorship mechanism and widespread media coverage, and enabled by church master agreements,[163] many residents of smaller cities and small towns became involved in refugee sponsorship Thus, many Indochinese newcomers initially found themselves in places like Peterborough, encountering the help of well-intentioned residents involved in the sponsorship movement, but often not finding relevant ethno-cultural communities or established immigrant-serving organizations.[164]

In this chapter, I detail the development of the New Canadians Centre from 1979 to 1997 (relying mostly on written records but supplemented by participants' recollections), the contours of which I alluded to in Chapter One. With an eye to the New Canadians Centre's successes and challenges, and its possibilities and limitations, I examine the organization's work in the context of wider structural dynamics in the

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[162] Howard Adelman, The Indochinese Refugee Movement: The Canadian experience: Proceedings of a conference in Toronto, Ontario, October 19, 20, and 21 1979, (Toronto: Operation Lifeline, 1980), 104; Howard Adelman, Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, (Regina: L.A. Weigl Educational Associates, 1982), 86; Madokoro, Elusive Refuge, 201-205; Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 51.

[163] Religious organizations signed master agreements with the government, which played a key role in coordinating sponsorship in individual church congregations. See Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge,* 203.

[164] Doreen Indra, "Introduction," in Kwok B. Chan and Doreen Marie Indra, eds, *Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada, (*Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1987), 1-13.

immigrant settlement sector, as well as in the context of uneven local power dynamics between white settler hosts and racialized new immigrants, making explicit the connections between Peterborough as home and New Canadians Centre as site of welcome in the last quarter of the 20th century. Before turning to the details of the New Canadians Centre's history, I begin the chapter by briefly providing historical context for Peterborough and the relevant social and political landscape in which this work emerged and evolved, with attention to race and migration. This chapter sets the stage for my analysis of research participants' in-depth reflections on life in Peterborough and the work of immigrant welcome in the ensuing chapters.

Historical context: Race and migration in Peterborough

Whiteness (and settlerness) had become intensely naturalized in Peterborough by the early 20th century. Politician and Crown lands commissioner Peter Robinson managed the migration scheme that initially brought white settlers to the place the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg have known as Nogojiwanong and granted them land in 1825. The town was soon named Peterborough in his honour (a settler origin story still invoked in Peterborough today).[165] Lumber was the initial economic driver for the settlement, but by the turn of the 20th century, a shift to manufacturing had turned Peterborough into an industrial town. By 1921, 95% of the population claimed English, Irish or Scottish origin,

[165] J.E.R. Munro, "Early Days." *Peterborough: Land of Shining Waters,* Ronald Borg, ed, (Peterborough: Centennial Committee for the City and County of Peterborough, 1966), 44-45. For contemporary allusions to this settler origin story, set of commemorative articles in 2015 marking 190th anniversary of their arrival, culminating in the inaugural "Peter Robinson Festival": Joelle Kovach, "New festival to celebrate city's Irish roots," *Peterborough Examiner,* March 26, 2015, retrieved March 2017 from <http://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2015/03/26/new-festival-to-celebrate-citys-irish-roots;>. Thank you to Professor Tom Symons for discussing this history and these dynamics with me last winter, and for his insights into Peterborough's history and evolving social character over the 19th and 20th century.

with the remaining 5% claiming European, Jewish, Chinese, or Indigenous origin.[166] These demographic ratios remained relatively consistent until after the Second World War.[167] Historian Joan Sangster has characterized Peterborough in the mid-20th century as a city in population size, but a small town in its white, Anglo-Saxon homogeneity, close kinship ties, and conservative social attitudes. Many of the working women Sangster interviewed recalled a "sense of cohesion and familiarity" in the city from the 1940s to the 1960s, fostered through manufacturing work and associated community settings.[168] By the same token, those who were *un*familiar in this setting were swiftly identified and targeted. For those who were deemed outsiders in terms of race, ethnicity, language, immigration status, or colonial status, Peterborough's conservativism and insularity has certainly not been benign. The experiences of Black, Indigenous, Chinese, and other people of colour in Peterborough since the city's colonial inception through the first half of the 20th century were marked by intense racial discrimination and marginalization, both institutional and interpersonal.[169] These racial dynamics are consistent with white

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[166] Elwood Jones and Bruce Dyer, *Peterborough: The Electric City (*Burlington, ON: Windsor Publications, 1987), 74.

[167] By 1971, 47% of all migrants to Peterborough came from a non-municipal area of Canada, while only 10% came from outside Canada; British Isles population in 1941 was somewhat lower, at 90%, with the remaining 10% European, "Asian," Indigenous or unstated. *1971 Census of Canada- Population and housing characteristics by census tracts: Peterborough* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1974).

[168] Joan Sangster, Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 20-22.

[169] Even in the context of intense racism, it is importance to note the survival and resilience of Indigenous, Black and other racialized people who contributed to community life in Peterborough during this time (though their numbers were historically small in the city). Historian Zhongping Chen, for example, demonstrates how Chinese businessmen in Peterborough through the early 20th century resisted structural barriers by fighting discrimination through the local courts, building relationships in the community across class and racial lines, and maintaining and growing their businesses. These strategies gesture to some of the many ways racialized immigrants in Peterborough have, for many years, worked to navigate abiding racist assumptions and advocate for themselves, in order to carve out spaces to make home locally. Zhongping Chen, "Chinese Minority and Everyday Racism in Canadian Towns and Small Cities: An Ethnic Study of the Case of Peterborough, Ontario, 1892-1951," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 36, 1 (2004): 71–91.

settler nation-building in Canada at the time, which was explicit in the country's immigration policies until the 1960s, positively reinforced by schemes to actively seek white migrants, and negatively reinforced by excluding and marginalizing Black, Asian, and other racialized migrants. [170]

Incremental shifts in Peterborough's racial, ethnic and cultural makeup had begun to take hold by the time that Indochinese refugee sponsorship and the formalization of immigrant settlement services began in Peterborough in 1979. Mass displacement and migration from Europe had an impact on the city in the years following the Second World War. By 1961, the number of people living in Peterborough claiming non-British European origin had grown, with the most significant numbers from Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy.[171] As policy barriers to migration from the Global South shifted in the late 1960s, more people arrived in Peterborough from Asia, Africa and South America as students, skilled workers, migrant labourers, and refugees. For example, while in 1971 immigrants from Asia made up less than 1% of immigration to Peterborough, by 1991, Asian immigrants made up 13% of immigration to Peterborough.[172] Peterborough became decidedly less British through this period as well,

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[170] Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity*, 37. For commentary on gendered immigration schemes to reinforce white settler dominance in Canada, see for example, Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity,* 38; Arat-Koç, "From 'Mothers of the Nation,'" 56. Notably, the Peterborough branch of the YWCA, active from the late 19th century, was actively engaged with the YWCA's international immigration program. As feminist scholars have argued, the immigrant aid and settlement programs of the YWCA and other comparable organizations reinforced the state's privileging of white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon women as ideal immigrants. See Lisbeth Shaw-Cullen & Alissa Lee, *Changing Lives in Changing Times: Peterborough, Women and the YWCA*, (Peterborough: YWCA, 1991), 112.

[171] By 1961, 15% of people living in Peterborough claimed European origin, compared to 8% in 1941, with the most significant numbers from Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. See *1961 Census of Canada*: *Population: General Characteristics (*Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962); *1941 Census of Canada*: *Population by Local Subdivisions* (Ottawa: Edmond Coutier, 1944).

[172] More broadly, immigrants from the Global South went from only 2% of all immigrants to Peterborough in 1971 to 18% of all immigrants to Peterborough by 1991. See *1971 Census of Canada- Population and housing characteristics by census tracts: Peterborough* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1974); *1991 census of*

with those claiming British heritage falling from 84% to less than 50% by 1991. Granted, postwar migration from Europe accounted for much of the increased ethnic and cultural diversity, rather than migration from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. Indeed, it is important to note that differently-racialized immigrants from the Global South still only made up less than 2% of Peterborough's total population in 1991.[173] Peterborough remained, through the years of the NCC's work considered in this thesis, a white settler-dominated city.

Local changes echoed more significant demographic and cultural transformations taking place across Canada at this time. By 1993, for example, over 50% of new immigrants to Canada were coming from Asia, while just 15 years earlier in 1978, Asian people had accounted for only 11% of new immigrants.[174] In the 1960s, Canadian immigration policies began to open up beyond Europe, prompted by labour needs, concern for Canada's international reputation, and public pressure.[175] By 1967, Canada had introduced the points system, which assessed all prospective independent immigrants based on skills and training, ostensibly moving away from an explicitly racially discriminatory regime, as well as aligning the nation's immigration strategy more closely with employment needs.[176] The 1976 Immigration Act formalized these shifts. The Act also introduced the Family Class immigration category to allow independent immigrants to sponsor family members. Relevant to the origins of immigrant settlement work in

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Canada: Profile of Census tracts in Kingston, Oshawa, and Peterborough (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1995).

[173] 1991 census of Canada: Profile of Census tracts in Kingston, Oshawa, and Peterborough (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1995).

[174] Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity,* 55.

[175] Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy, Second Edition*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 311-12.

[176] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic,* 18; Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity,* 43-44.

Peterborough, the Act also formalized Canada's refugee selection and resettlement policy, bringing the state in line with the United Nations definition of a Convention refugee, and introducing a mechanism to designate particular groups of "displaced and persecuted" people who would not normally meet immigrant selection criteria. Indochinese refugees were among the first three "Designated Classes" established in 1979.[177] These policy changes were celebrated by many as progressive and overdue for increasingly "multicultural" Canada. Though new policies certainly opened doors for many, as discussed further in Chapter Two, and as will be discussed throughout the ensuing chapters, the uneven effects of Canadian immigration policies along lines of race, class, gender, geography, language, and other factors, persisted beyond their earlier "White Canada" incarnation.

Changes to immigration policy and attendant social shifts nationally also influenced the development of official multiculturalism. In 1971, multiculturalism became official policy. The policy aimed to support ethnic groups in "cultural development' and in "overcoming cultural barriers," to promote cultural exchange, and to promote official language training for immigrants.[178] Multiculturalism as a symbolic order and as a discourse shaped Canadians' understandings of race, ethnicity, and diversity in the places where they lived after 1971—including Peterborough.[179] The policy emerged first, out of backlash to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism from

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[177] Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Diversity,* 44; Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic,* 381-397.

[178] Government of Canada, House of Commons Debates, Oct 8 1971, 8545-46, quoted in Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration,* 220.

[179] A local news story from July 1980, for example, recounts a multicultural Canada Day celebration in Peterborough, the photo depicting a "Vietnamese Dance and Song group": "Visitors were treated to […] ethnic dances and song performed by many of the newer groups to this country and some of the old. […] It was a fitting way to celebrate Canada's birthday." "The New Pioneers," *Kawartha Sun,* July 3 1980.

established ethnic groups (particularly from Ukrainian ethnic leadership), and second, as an electoral strategy for the Liberals to engage with various growing non-British and non-French (and non-Indigenous) populations.[180] While many community groups took advantage of the funding and political opportunities multiculturalism provided, (including new immigrants in Peterborough and organizers with the New Canadians Centre), many scholars agree that multicultural policy did not significantly alter the distribution of power or structure of institutions in Canadian society. I take up these questions conceptually in Chapter Two, as well as in relation to my research findings in the next three chapters.

By the time the New Canadians Centre's work began in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the establishment of both Trent University and Sir Sanford Fleming College, in 1964 and 1967 respectively, had also made a significant mark on social, cultural, economic and political life in Peterborough. Jones and Dyer's suggestion that Trent "opened doors to a much wider world for Peterborough" is undeniable.[181] By the 1980s, the two educational institutions had replaced declining manufacturing companies on the list of the city's top employers.[182] In 1964, then-chief of nearby Curve Lake First Nation Dalton Jacobs sought out and cultivated a relationship with the newly-formed Trent University. This relationship played an important role of the development of what would become Native Studies at Trent.[183] The increasingly strong presence of Indigenous

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[180] Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration*, 217-219; Abu-Laban and Gabriel, *Selling Migration,* 107.
[181] Jones and Dyer, *Peterborough,* 83.
[182] Alfred O. C. Cole, *Trent: The Making of a University, 1957-1987,* (Peterborough: Trent University, 1992), 188; Jones and Dyer, *Peterborough,* 85; Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 7-9.
[183] For accounts of this relationship on the 50th anniversary of Trent University, see Dale Clifford, "More than 5,000 people take in 56th Curve Lake Pow Wow," *Peterborough Examiner,* September 20, 2014, www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/2014/09/20/more-than-5000-people-take-in-56th-curve-lake-pow-wow; "Trent University Celebrates 50 Year Friendship with Curve Lake First Nation at the 2014 Curve

knowledges, cultures and languages at Trent was, for many years, a counterpoint to the City at large, where some have described at best an absence and at worst an active erasure of Indigenous organizations, voices and cultures.[184] International students were an increasingly significant presence at Trent and Fleming since both institutions' inceptions.[185] Many local social service and advocacy organizations, such as the Kawartha Sexual Assault Centre, Peterborough Youth Services, and the Peterborough chapter of the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) got their start as a direct result of the presence of Trent and Fleming.[186]

Shifts in immigration policies, the emergence of official multiculturalism, and the growth of Trent and Fleming locally had brought new perspectives to life in the city by

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Lake First Nation Annual Pow Wow," Curve Lake First Nation, September 18, 2014, www.curvelakefirstnation.ca/news-and-events/news.php?id=200.

[184] Michi Saagig Anishinaabe scholar and artist Leanne Simpson discusses the erasure of the Michi Saagig Anishinaabe in the City of Peterborough in her work about Indigenous resurgence. Speaking of a festival led by local Anishinaabe people that recently ran in the city, she asserts: "It was a mobilization and it was political because it was a reminder. It was a reminder that although we are collectively unseen in the city of Peterborough, when we come together with one mind and one heart we can transform our land and our city into a decolonized space and a place of resurgence, even if it is only for a brief amount of time." She goes on to share her community's historical sense of Peterborough as a violent and exclusionary space for Indigenous people: "The idea of a celebratory community procession is incredible to my eighty-something Nokomis. Growing up on the reserve, and then living in Peterborough, the idea of "Indians" marching down the main street in a celebratory fashion seems fantastical to her at best. She can't believe that her great grandchildren feel proud, that in her words, 'It is OK for them to be Indian.' […] The Nishnaabeg have been collectively dispossessed of our national territory; we are an occupied nation. Individually, we have been physically beaten, arrested, apprehended, interned in jails, sanitariums, residential or day schools and foster care. We have endured racist remarks when shopping or seeking healthcare and education within the city. We have stories of being driven to the outskirts of our city by police and bar owners and dropped off to walk back to our reserves." Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence and a new emergence* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2011), 11-12. It is also worth noting that Indigenous-led organizations and spaces that are visible today in the City of Peterborough beyond Trent campus such as the Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre and the Niijkiwendidaa Anishinaabekwewag Services Circle were not founded until the early 1990s, though, for example, the idea of Friendship Centres came to Canada in the 1960s.

[185] See Cole, *Trent*; Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion."

[186] "History of the Centre," Kawartha Sexual Assault Centre, accessed February 2017, www.kawarthasexualassaultcentre.com/history-of-the-centre; "About Us," OPIRG Peterborough, accessed February 2017, https://opirgptbo.ca/about-opirg/; "History," Peterborough Youth Services, accessed February 2017, www.pysonline.ca/history.

the 1970s, along lines of age, politics, class, race, ethnicity and more—perspectives that came to influence the work of the New Canadians Centre. The cumulative economic and social shifts described above may have closed some doors, and opened others, for different new immigrants to Peterborough after the 1970s.[187] As I will explore in the remainder of this chapter, and as Saddeiqa Holder notes, the symbolic changes in "ethnic relations" signalled by official multiculturalism coincided with the expansion of settlement services for new immigrants.[188] Indeed, modern immigrant settlement services and its attendant politics of immigrant welcome came to Peterborough in the last quarter of the 20th century, starting with the work of the Peterborough Boat People Committee in 1979.

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[187] As a specific destination for new immigrants, there are a number of factors that may have led new immigrants to Peterborough in the second half of the twentieth century. As discussed above, Trent University and Fleming College, from their respective origins in the 1960s, drew significant numbers of international students. Leslie Woolcott's 1993 Master's thesis suggests that many of her research participants immigrated to Peterborough drawn by existing connections to friends and family. Woolcott also suggests that federal strategies to increase non-metropolitan migration after the 1960s meant that more immigrants and refugees were being directly sent by federal agents to smaller cities like Peterborough. The growth of private sponsorship after it was made more a widely accessible option in the 1971 Immigration Act may have also been a factor. A report about the federal Indochinese Refugee Program, for example, suggests that once a small number of Indochinese refugees had arrived in a smaller city like Peterborough due to private sponsorship efforts, federal agents would make efforts to send government-sponsored refugees to that same smaller city to "enhance the likelihood that permanent Southeast Asian communities would take root outside of major metropolitan centres." Woolcott also suggests that Peterborough had a "small-town appeal" for some newcomers, which some participants in this study echoed. A recent community research project on immigration to Peterborough by Clare Taylor and Zoe Murray suggests, correspondingly, that much immigration to Peterborough in the post-war period appears to be secondary migration from nearby major metropolitan centres. Among research participants in this study, the most common reasons for arriving in Peterborough were private refugee sponsorship, sponsorship by a relative, coming as an international student to Trent University, and being initially directed to Peterborough by a federal agent as a government-sponsored refugee. See Employment and Immigration Canada, *Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-1980* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1982), 12; Clare Taylor and Zoe Murray, "The History of Immigration to Peterborough, 1900-1980," (Peterborough: Trent Centre for Community-Based Education, 2014), 66; Woolcott, "Voice of Exclusion," 5.

[188] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 2.

Origins: The Peterborough Boat People Committee, 1979-1981

The Peterborough Boat People Committee evolved out of a multidenominational Christian prayer group.[189] The group was officially chaired by local businessmen, politicians, and prominent civil servants, including the mayor and county sheriff, with a number of other local residents (mostly women) involved in the hands-on, local work of welcome. [190] The Committee raised money, held regular meetings of local sponsorship groups (some church-affiliated, some private), coordinated federal sponsorship applications, and worked with the local Refugee Liaison Officer (a newly-appointed federal representative in Peterborough meant to oversee local resettlement efforts).[191] By

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[189] This is consistent with Peterborough's approach to addressing social inequalities up to the 1970s and beyond, which tended to emphasize a non-secular, charity approach. For many years, churches or religiously-affiliated organizations were driving forces of local charity and social services in Peterborough. While nationally, the professionalization and secularization of social services took hold by the 1970s, there also evidence that religious organizations may have retained a comparatively stronger influence on the way that aspects of the social safety net were conceived and delivered in Peterborough through the 1980s and even later. See Jones and Dyer, *Peterborough,* 117; Neil Hannam, "The Peterborough Young Women's Christian Association: Fundraising and Feminism –1960 – 1983," (Master's thesis, Trent University, 2013), 38-41; *As the Tree Grows: Celebrating 100 years of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peterborough, 1890-1990,* (Lindsay: John Deyell Company Limited, 1993), 54-64, 93, 315-324; "PRHC History," Peterborough Regional Health Centre, accessed February 19 2017, <http://www.prhc.on.ca/cms/prhc-history>. For wider context, see Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, "Introduction," *Mothers of the Municipality: Women, Work and Social Policy in Post-1945 Halifax,* Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, eds, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[190] The group was chaired by lawyer John Corkery, and Peterborough mayor Cam Wasson, both prominent residents and members of the Catholic Church. Initially, Mayor Wasson seemed keen for the City of Peterborough to play a significant role nationally in Indochinese refugee resettlement. His notable early efforts include spearheading a local petition to demand that the federal government to accept more refugees, investigating the costs of privately chartering a plane to bring relief supplies and transport refugees from Southeast Asia, and reaching out to other municipalities including Ottawa with the idea of forming an organization called the Canada Relief Committee that would "give Canadians a national organization placed at the services of God's poor." Meetings of the Boat People Committee were also held at City Hall. Such support from City Hall did not appear to continue in a sustained way beyond Wasson's tenure as Mayor, which ended in 1980. Mike Strobel, "Municipal politicians praise Dewar's plan," *Ottawa Journal*, 5 July 1979, 47; personal communications of Mayor Cam Wasson, quoted in Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 52; Ed Arnold and G. Wilson Craw, *Mayors of Peterborough 1900-2000*. (Peterborough: The Peterborough Examiner, 1999), 77; "Application: Prospective Sponsorship Organization or Group," David Carley fonds, Trent University Archives; "Peterborough Boat People Committee Meeting," Douglas Vaisey fonds, Trent University Archives; Margaret, interview with the author, May 31, 2016.

[191] The Refugee Liaison Officer was a newly-created position in Canada Employment and Immigration Commission branch offices across the country, meant to support, coordinate, and maintain federal oversight of local refugee resettlement efforts. Michael J. Molloy, Peter Duschinsky, Kurt F. Jensen, and Robert J.

December of 1979, the Committee had raised over $12,000, most of which was earmarked to supplementing the budgets of private sponsorship groups to support newcomers with what they needed in their first months in Peterborough.[192] By 1981, over 150 privately-sponsored refugees had arrived in Peterborough County.[193]

In their role as private sponsors, groups of residents and church congregations committed funds, and offered varied and informal supports to new immigrants, such as sharing their homes, renting apartments, making use of their local networks to connect new immigrants with work and social life, as well as simply extending friendship. In Peterborough, the sponsorship movement was dominated by middle-class and wealthy white settlers (consistent with Peterborough's demographics). A small number of Peterborough residents of Chinese or Vietnamese background, among them university professors, businesspeople, and restaurateurs, also became involved in local welcoming efforts, providing key supports for some Southeast Asian refugees, including translation and interpretation, religious or spiritual support, employment, and sponsorship. Key figures mentioned in archives and newspaper records, and corroborated by interviews, include: Anna May Young, who had immigrated from Hong Kong years earlier, and who ran an orientation group for Southeast Asian refugee women out of a local church in 1980; Paul Wong, who founded the Chinese Christian Fellowship, which became a social and spiritual gathering point for many who arrived as refugees from Vietnam at that time; Felix Shen, a local, Chinese-born, Cantonese-speaking restaurateur who, as part of a sponsorship group, supported financially and provided employment to a family from

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Shalka, *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 427-28.

[192] Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 51.

[193] Paul Irwin, "Refugee pair tries catering business," *Peterborough Examiner,* January 17, 1981.

Vietnam; and Peter Chau, who came to Peterborough in 1977 from Vietnam to join his daughter, a teacher in Peterborough, and became involved in the work of the Boat People Committee, providing interpretation and translation for many who arrived after him.[194] Nationally, private refugee sponsorship was also dominated by middle-class and wealthy Canadians, though people of all backgrounds were involved. In other cities also, and to greater extent than in Peterborough, mobilizations around sponsorship were often led by existing Southeast Asian and East Asian communities, as well as by other ethnic or religious groups motivated to help by their own communities' histories of persecution.[195]

Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee (PNLOC), 1981-1986

By 1981, around 250 people had arrived in Peterborough County from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Though many had chosen to leave for Toronto and elsewhere by this time, around 150 Southeast Asian new immigrants were still living and working in the area.[196] As newcomers built relationships with established local residents who had begun to take on the work of immigrant welcome, some residents got a glimpse of new immigrants' resilience, as well as the structural barriers they were facing. A loose group of refugee sponsors, the local refugee liaison officer, and ESL teachers in Fleming

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[194] Judy Lough, "They study the little things," *Peterborough Examiner,* 21 March 1980, 6; Diệu, interview with the author, September 27, 2016; Kha, interview with the author, September 11, 2016; "Safe in Canada: Vietnamese refugees cable," *Peterborough Examiner,* October 3, 1979, 3; Paul Irwin, "Refugee pair tries catering business," *Peterborough Examiner,* January 17 1981; Jim Hendry, "Our new Canadians," *Peterborough Examiner,* 26 February 1983; "Application: Prospective Sponsorship Organization or Group," David Carley fonds, Trent University Archives.
[195] Howard Adelman, "Refugee Sponsorship and Backlash," The Indochinese Refugee Movement: The Canadian experience: Proceedings of a conference in Toronto, Ontario, October 19, 20, and 21 1979, (Toronto: Operation Lifeline, 1980), 93-94; Adelman, Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 87-89.
[196] Irwin, "Refugee pair tries catering business."

College's newly-expanded ESL program[197] began organizing to help mitigate these barriers. Run by a volunteer board of directors, the organization became known as the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee (PNLOC). This group of established residents, mostly white settlers, took a leadership role in formalizing the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough from a place of empathy across difference, and an intention to help. Their organizing coincided with increased engagement and funding for immigrant settlement services in Ontario and in Canada, prompted by pressure from immigrant communities and voluntary agencies through the 1960s and 1970s who pointed out the inability of mainstream services to adapt to new immigrant clientele, and the lack of culturally diverse and relevant supports.[198] Their practices of welcome through the 1980s focused on the perceived needs of refugees, and of immigrant women.

From its beginnings as a group designed to serve Indochinese refugees, and influenced by its close connection to the local federal refugee liaison officer, PNLOC remained through the 1980s largely an initial point of contact and service provider for immigrants arriving in Peterborough with Designated Class or Convention Refugee status, sponsored by the government, by a private group, or by a family member. In its early years, this meant a continued focus almost exclusively on government-sponsored

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[197] In 1979, supported by federal funding specifically tied to the Indochinese Refugee Program, Fleming College expanded their English as a Second Language courses. These six-month classes were fully federally subsidized for some refugees with landed immigrant status, and thus many newcomers from Indochina who were eligible, privately-sponsored and government-sponsored, took advantage of this. The first cohort of 20 students began in November 1979, and by February 1980, there were 119 students. Until the NCC rented its own office space in 1986, the ISAP counsellor (who started in 1982 or 1983) worked out of the ESL office at Fleming College. Fleming became a de facto hub for PNLOC's work as it began to formalize. This was another factor shaping the new immigrants they most readily connected with (i.e. those taking the federal, six-month ESL class and their families). Irwin, "Refugee pair tries catering business." Fred, interview with the author, August 3, 2016; Catherine, interview with the author, June 22, 2016.

[198] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 87.

refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos who continued to arrive in Peterborough throughout the 1980s (and less so after the Indochinese Refugee Program ended in 1989[199]). Also between 1981 and 1986, people began arriving in Peterborough, largely as refugees, from Poland, as well as a smaller number from Iran, who also may have sought support from PNLOC.[200]

In 1982, PNLOC got funding for a part-time Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) counsellor.[201] Given the structural barriers that many refugees from the Global South at this time were facing upon arrival in Canada, and the immediate concerns of survival in a new place, the role PNLOC envisioned for the counsellor tended to focus on new immigrants' most basic, initial needs, providing immediate, ad-hoc support. An early description of the counsellor's duties demonstrates this: "A resources person in all matters of health, educational, social, financial, personal and practical problems. She answers the frantic calls for help when the pipes burst […] and the non-English speaker is helpless and she takes the about-to-become mothers to the hospital."[202] Implicitly, the counsellor as described here is not unlike the private refugee sponsor in their practices of welcome: a local, Canadian-born insider, facilitating new immigrants' access to mainstream services and the dominant, white, Anglophone status

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[199] For discussion of the end of the Indochinese Refugee Program, see Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic,* 398; Madokoro, *Elusive Refuge,* 209-210.

[200] Joelle Favreau, Bina Mehta, Gichaine Muraguri, and Leslie Woolcott, *Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment,* (Peterborough: Rainbow Alliance, 1995), 42. This report includes graphs made with data provided by the New Canadians Centre. The data for this particular graph was provided to the NCC by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.

[201] Northcott, "Letter to the editor." In 1979, the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission established the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, to be delivered through community agencies. This was a central program developed in the wake of aforementioned community pressure. Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 87. Research participant Catherine suggested that the ISAP counsellor might not have started working in the Fleming ESL office until 1983.

[202] Northcott, "Letter to the editor."

quo. Indeed, for new immigrants from Indochina in Peterborough, survival was hard work. As is well-established in sociological literature from the time, these newcomers faced a number of structural barriers initially, including dealing with the trauma of displacement, violence, and loss. Many did not speak English. Many had not had access to education and training relevant to the Canadian job market, or struggled to get non-Western credentials recognized, and found themselves initially either struggling to find employment, or working in physically demanding and low-paying jobs to pay rent and put food on the table.[203] Finding a sense of belonging in a small, white settler majority city like Peterborough was another challenge altogether. As will be explored in greater depth in later chapters, they were not, however, "helpless," navigating much of local life on their own outside of the limited, part-time hours of this ISAP counsellor, for example. As the language of "helpless" here indicates, however, in their efforts to advocate for refugees locally, PNLOC sometimes drew on powerful discourses of refugee helplessness and deficit that did not reflect the fullness of new immigrant lives and efforts to survive locally.

Early on in the work of PNLOC, organizers also focused on the needs of immigrant women. In 1979, when ESL options expanded in Peterborough, the available federally-funded training was a free, six-month class with a living allowance, explicitly geared toward labour market integration, for one head of household per landed immigrant family.[204] This ESL training option excluded many women, particularly wives and

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[203] See, for example, Louis-Jacques Dorais, Kwok B. Chan, Doreen M. Indra, Eds, *Ten Years Later: Indochinese Communities in Canada (*Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association, 1988).

[204] The six-month duration of the class was confirmed by multiple former refugees and ESL teachers in our interviews. For further context about language programs for immigrants through the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission through the 1980s, eligibility, income support, labour market orientation, and

mothers whose husbands had been designated "head of household" and granted a spot.[205] PNLOC's first formal initiative (and namesake) sought to address this gap. ESL teachers and other organizers partnered with the Peterborough County School Board to secure funding from the provincial Newcomers Language and Orientation Program for an ongoing free English language class at Central School with daycare provided, geared toward immigrant and refugee women.[206] Since the 1960s, immigrant women from the Global South and their allies had drawn attention to the barriers to women's participation in ESL and job training offered by the Canadian federal government.[207] They argued that this approach to ESL training reinforced sexist immigration policies that favoured male migrants, and circumscribed the opportunities of many female migrants—particularly those who were married, and who had children to care for. Further, the gender gap in these training opportunities put many non-anglophone immigrant women at a disadvantage as they sought paid work to survive, relegating them to low-paying jobs and leaving them vulnerable to exploitation.[208] The Ontario government's Newcomer Language and Orientation Classes program (NLOC) (including the "parent and

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their bias toward male migrants, see, for example, Agnew, *Resisting Discrimination,* 174-177; Das Gupta, *Learning From Our History,* 16.

[205] In March 1980, just a few months after the first Southeast Asian refugees had arrived, a class geared toward refugee women began at George Street United Church downtown. It was spearheaded by Anna May Young, who had immigrated to Canada herself from Hong Kong some years earlier, who spoke Cantonese, and who was involved in the Boat People Committee. Ms. Young's course appears to have run only once, and without any formal funding, and Ms. Young does not appear to have remained involved with PNLOC or the NCC. It is likely, however, that Ms. Young's class influenced PNLOC organizers' to pursue funding to establish a similar course soon after, in 1981. For news accounts of this class, see Dave Carley, "Boat People: Refugees received warmly in the Kawarthas," *Kawartha Sun*, 12 June 1980; Lough, "They study the little things."

[206] Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion," 53.

[207] Das Gupta, Learning From Our History, 39-44.

[208] See, for example, Agnew, *Resisting Discrimination,* 172-80; Das Gupta, *Learning From Our History,* 16; Ng, *The Politics of Community Services*. I elaborate on the significance of these structural dynamics in Chapter Two.

preschooler" language program that Peterborough organizers secured funding for) was among community-based ESL options that emerged as a result of pressure to address this gap.[209]

The community-based ESL program PNLOC (and later the NCC) ran at Central School in downtown Peterborough was arguably one of their most effective, and longest-running programs. The classes filled an important gap in resources available locally to support new immigrants from the Global South. During the twenty years that these classes ran in Peterborough, they tended to benefit groups marginalized by masculinized immigration policies, such as women, elderly immigrants, those with more precarious immigration status, and those with less formal education in their native language.[210] As PNLOC expanded their programming throughout the 1980s, they continued in small ways to address the needs of immigrant women in particular. A tension persisted in their programming for immigrant women, between catering to women as mothers and wives, and catering to the reality that they were also often paid workers. The classes at Central School, for example, were initially held during the workday, which wider critiques of ESL options for women at the time suggested rendered training less accessible to working

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[209] Morgan suggests that such community-based ESL alternatives were an effective way of "increasing access to language instruction by way of special provisions for childcare, flexible programming, outreach programs in areas with few newcomers, and lessons designed for those with low levels of formal education." Cuong David Morgan, "Exploring Critical Citizenship in a Community-Based ESL Program," (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 3. For more information on the NLOC program, see Nuzhat Amin, *A Preliminary History Of Settlement Work In Ontario 1900 – Present*, (Ottawa: Ministry of Citizenship, 1987), 27.

[210] An Immigrant Needs Assessment carried out in Peterborough by an independent, immigrant-led coalition called the Rainbow Alliance in 1995 agreed that these classes, with no fees, no status requirement, and childcare available, were the only "formal language education" available to many in Peterborough who could not easily access the federally-funded language training for landed immigrants. Favreau et al., *Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment ,* 22. Despite advocacy on the part of the NCC to maintain the class, the school board decided to withdraw their funding for this program in the late 2000s, resulting in the termination of the program. Marisol, interview with the author, September 19, 2016.

women.[211] In 1986, however, PNLOC employed a "research officer," whose role was "to assess the occupational skills of New Canadian women for the purpose of helping them find extra training where required and markets for their skills." While this program does not appear to have continued beyond 1987, a women's sewing group that aimed to train women in sewing skills and helping them sell their products may have evolved out of this earlier initiative, as it ran from 1987 to 1989.[212] The tension in settlement services between supporting immigrant women as caregivers, and supporting them as workers, was a wider phenomenon identified by newcomers and their allies.[213]

By 1986, PNLOC was operating on a budget of $19,000 with funding from the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC), and the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Aside from one part-time counsellor paid through CEIC and the ESL teachers and daycare leaders paid through the NLOC program , the organization relied heavily on a network of 75 volunteers for crucial duties including interpretation and translation, and board governance.[214] The board remained dominated by established locals (mainly white settlers) and remained very "hands-on," in the words of one staff

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[211] Das Gupta, Learning From our History, 16.

[212] "Centre helps new residents get along from day to day," est. date 1987-88, publication unclear, private collection of the New Canadians Centre; Northcott, "Letter to the editor."

[213] In her study of Ghanaian immigrant women at this time, for example, Martha Donkor is among critics who deemed government-provided ESL training efforts for immigrant women as "lukewarm," and limited by assumptions at the intersection about gender, race, and geography about women from the Global South: "Essentialized and stereotyped, they became the targets of programs whose focus was to train them to speak English to be able to perform as mothers, wives, and caregivers." While access to training was certainly an improvement that many immigrant women welcomed, Donkor and other feminist researchers and activists argued, learning solely "language for social interaction was inadequate and limited immigrant women's full participation in Canadian life." Martha Donkor, "The Education of Immigrant Women: Prospects and Challenges for Ghanaian Immigrant Women in Canada," (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 97.

[214] Northcott. "Letter to the editor." Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Fred, interview with the author, August 3 2016.

member, in the running of the organization.[215] There was minimal representation on the board and no representation on staff from the relevant and newly-growing (though small) immigrant communities in Peterborough that made up much of PNLOC's clientele, such as newcomers from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, as well as Iran, and Poland.[216]

In 1986, seeking to establish a more permanent community presence, the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee incorporated as a charitable organization, rented a small office space in downtown Peterborough and hired one staff member, to continue in the settlement counsellor role established at Fleming, and also to act as office administrator.[217] It is at this point, and in this dedicated space, that the organization became known as the New Canadians Centre and Immigrant Services.[218] The organization developed a mission statement that was two-fold: first, "to operate, maintain and conduct facilities for the integration of refugees and landed immigrants"; second, "to operate exclusively as an organization dedicated to the integration of refugees and landed immigrants, educationally, culturally and socially in order to guide them to become Canadian citizens."[219] As their mission statement

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[215] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016

[216] "Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee Board Meeting," Tuesday December 1, 1987, private collection of Donna (research participant). Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. Margaret, interview with the author, May 31, 2016. Donna did confirm that there was some representation from longer-established Southeast Asian and Polish immigrant communities on the board from the organization's early years.

[217] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. The counsellor/administrative coordinator hired was a white, settler woman with expertise in social services.

[218] "Peterborough Newcomers' Language and Orientation Committee, Annual Report—August 1/92 – July 31/93," private collection of the New Canadians Centre; "Centre helps cover the basic needs," private collection of Donna (research participant). In 1988, the New Canadians Centre moved from their location on Charlotte Street to a bigger office downtown on nearby Sherbrooke Street. The landlord, Len Martin, a leader in the local Polish community and PNLOC board member and volunteer, initially provided the organization with affordable rent at their new location where they remained until 2013. Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016.

[219] "Letters Patent: Peterborough Newcomers' Language and Orientation Committee," 16 February 1987, private collection of the New Canadians Centre.

indicates, as this work became formalized through the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee and then the New Canadians Centre, fairly rigid discursive divisions between new immigrant "clients" and majority white, Canadian-born hosts (or "guides") persisted. As a "guide," PNLOC sought to support and advocate for new immigrants, and to expand new immigrants' access to resources and opportunities throughout the 1980s in Peterborough. In terms of organizational structure and distribution of power in its first decade, however, PNLOC did not find ways to share leadership with or transfer power directly to the newly-immigrated communities they sought to support. While the organization's practices of welcome relied on the expertise and local influence of Canadian-born hosts in its early years, this approach began to be called into question through the 1990s.

Opening the New Canadians Centre, 1986-1992

At the New Canadians Centre (NCC), starting in 1986, new immigrants could access the services of the part-time ISAP counsellor which included facilitating access to ESL training, housing, medical services, other social services, providing job search guidance, and, broadly, providing "the training needed to survive in a new culture."[220] The NCC also began offering "a drop-in service for all new immigrants to get together, discuss the differences in cultures, any particular problems they may have encountered and learn new things by socializing."[221] By 1989, the NCC was a registered member of the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI), as well as a regional

[220] "Centre helps cover the basic needs," private collection of Donna (research participant).
[221] "Centre helps cover the basic needs," private collection of Donna (research participant).

association of immigrant-serving organizations in eastern Ontario called CISEO.[222] Through these umbrella organizations, NCC staff and board members attended conferences and trainings, connecting with colleagues across the province and emerging best practices in the field.[223] By 1989, the organization had also begun to more formally position themselves as a voice for immigrant rights in the City of Peterborough, emphasizing their role as an "advocate with mainstream service providers to make services more accessible to our immigrant community," and pursuing projects such as a multilingual health handbook and maternal health workshops in Spanish and Polish.[224] From its roots in ad-hoc community organizing and an intention to help, the NCC at this point began to engage professionally with the growing field of immigrant settlement services (though many core organizers remained consistent). Increasingly, they attempted to take a needs-based approach to their work. By 1991, their mission statement had moved away from the language of immigrants needing "guidance" to become "Canadian," stating more simply that they sought to provide "settlement and adaptation programs and services" for "recent immigrants/refugees."

In the first several years after the New Canadians Centre opened, their client base grew. The organization felt an increasing need for their services, and staff, by one news account, felt "stretched thin" by 1990.[225] A second and third counsellor were soon hired to

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[222] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. "Administrator's Report," 1989, private collection of Donna (research participant).
[223] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. "Administrator's Report," 1989, private collection of Donna (research participant). Throughout Donna's personal records of their decade at the organization (1986-1996), there are references to many conferences and workshops attended over the years through OCASI and other groups such as the migrant workers rights organizations Intercede, as well as references to regular meetings of the regional association, CISEO.
[224] "Administrator's Report," 1989, private collection of Donna (research participant).
[225] "Administrator's report," 1989, private collection of Donna (research participant). Barbara Lloyd, "Centre helps new Canadians settle into city," *Peterborough Examiner,* April 28, 1989.

respond to growing clientele. As before, the organization's growth to 1991 depended largely on the arrival of immigrants with Designated Class or Convention Refugee status.[226] Between 1981 and 1991, the number of direct immigrant landings in Peterborough grew steadily and significantly, from just 30 in 1981 to over 300 in 1991. People were still arriving from Vietnam and Cambodia, increasingly from Poland, as well as from El Salvador, Iran, and Afghanistan.[227] Connecting with clients immigrating directly to Peterborough seems to have depended more on the organization's relationship with the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission than on relationship-building with existing and emerging new immigrant communities. In cases of direct landings, the NCC was often informed in advance of people's arrivals by local CEIC representatives, and in many cases, coordinated arrivals, meeting people when they got off the bus (usually from Toronto).[228]

As the organization secured more funding and increasingly engaged with best practices in their sector, they sought out make their services more relevant to their multilingual clientele, and they sought more representation from newly-immigrated communities on their board of directors. Two new counsellors were hired around 1990. One was Polish speaking, and a Polish immigrant herself and the other was a white settler woman who spoke Spanish.[229] These languages were useful for some clients from Eastern

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[226] Until 1991, this group made up more than 50% of the NCC's clientele, with the remainder being mostly Family Class immigrants, and a very small percentage of Independent immigrants. Favreau et al., *Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment*, 29-30.
[227] Favreau et al., Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 43.
[228] Fred, interview with the author, August 3, 2016; Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. The organization's focus on government-sponsored refugees, Donna also suggested, is because they were often the newcomers with the least community support, and so the NCC was a particularly useful resource for them. Immigrants sponsored by family members and international students, for example, Donna recalled, had different support networks in the community and did not necessarily rely on the New Canadians Centre.
[229] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion", 55.

Europe and Central America. The language needs of other clients, however, remained unmet by paid staff: for example, people from Vietnam and Cambodia who continued to make up a significant portion of the NCC's clientele, and people from Iran and Afghanistan who increasingly accessed the NCC's services. In part, this was an issue of limited material resources, and constraints on government funding. It was also, however, an issue of the organization's priorities in allocating the resources they did have.[230]

Similarly, while interviews and internal NCC records indicate their desire to engage more new immigrants on the board,[231] other accounts suggest they had limited success in doing so. In her 1993 Master's thesis on immigrant experiences in Peterborough, Leslie Woolcott states, "There is […] no representation of recent newcomers on PNLOC's board, that is, there are no Polish, Phillippino [sic], Asian, Hispanic or Middle Eastern immigrants with input on PNLOC decisions."[232] In terms of relationship-building with immigrant communities, the NCC's most sustained collaborative effort appears to be with the already-established Polish Catholic community between the late 1980s and the early 1990s when many established Polish families, led by local Polish priests, were sponsoring people fleeing Poland as refugees in the wake of the Polish Solidarity movement.[233] In some ways, then, hiring priorities and community outreach priorities reflected the needs of some new immigrants to Peterborough at this time. In other ways, organizational priorities were shaped by board members' existing

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[230] Research participant Donna also recalled that finding qualified candidates was a challenge—that those in the community she connected with who had relevant language skills and experience were already employed, and thus not available to join the NCC staff.
[231] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Donna records, "Administrators Report to the Board of Directors Meeting," May 27 1993; Donna records, "Administrator's Report to Board of Directors," 18 November 1993;
[232] Woolcott, "Voices of Exclusion", 55.
[233] Dorota, interview with the author, November 8, 2016; "Centre helps cover the basic needs of newly-arrived immigrants," *Peterborough Examiner,* May 6 1990.

relationships in the community. Societal racial biases toward white, European immigrants, and against immigrants of colour from the Global South may have also played a role. Structurally, as NCC staff themselves reflected in 1994, there were also barriers to racialized, non-anglophone immigrants' board participation that the organization had not fully identified or addressed: "We realize that training in this area is needed as many immigrants we feel don't understand boards and their functions and drop out quickly."[234] These multiple factors shaped the development of the NCC's client base, in terms of who might have found their services most useful, and who might not have, as well as the direction-setting for the organization. Limitations aside, NCC staff continued to provide flexible and wide-ranging support to hundreds of new immigrants each year, with staff regularly going above and beyond paid hours to support clients.[235]

Challenges, adaptation, and crisis: The NCC, 1992- 1997

By 1992, the New Canadians Centre began acknowledging an ongoing decline in the number of new clients, and a struggle to get existing clients to return.[236] After 1992, the number of Designated Class immigrants and Convention Refugees arriving in Peterborough, on whom the NCC had relied for much of their client base, began to decrease. Direct landings of immigrants in Peterborough dropped abruptly after 1991-1992, from over 300 people to just over 150 people arriving in 1992-1993 and 1993-1994

[234] Donna records, "Administrator's report to Board of Directors," 18 November 1993. Research participant Catherine echoed this sense that more capacity-building and skill-building for new immigrants in Peterborough was necessary to support more representation of new immigrant communities on the board and on the staff. English language ability was a barrier here that she also identified. Catherine also suggested that fact that many newcomers left Peterborough for other cities after only six months or a year was another barrier to fostering board and staff participation from new immigrant communities.
[235] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Donna records, "Administrator's report to the Board of Directors," March 24 1994.
[236] Donna records, "Administrator's report to Board of Directors Meeting," September 17, 1992.

respectively. The refugee and Family Class clientele that the NCC had come to rely on, and whose needs they had worked to address, were less relevant in the wake of changes to immigration policies. After peaking in 1989, Canada's refugee quotas declined drastically through the 1990s in an increasingly conservative political and economic context. Canada's immigration policies were increasingly influenced by neoliberal ideologies, favouring highly-skilled, independent immigrants who "could contribute to the economy."[237] A 1995 local Immigrant Needs Assessment also observed that by this time, the NCC's Polish clientele had also "begun to decline," suggesting that "Perhaps some are now relying on Peterborough's established Polish community, which has developed over the previous five years."[238] Given that in 1992, over 60% of the NCC's clientele were Designated Class or Refugees, 20% were Family Class, and over 40% were of Polish origin, these changes was bound to have a significant impact on their operations.[239]

In the context of the decline of manufacturing in Peterborough and a wider economic recession in Canada that intensified through the early 1990s, staff felt increasingly unable to adequately support clients in their search for jobs locally. By the late 1970s, manufacturing in Peterborough—which until that point had sustained major companies such as Canadian General Electric, Quaker Oats, and Outboard Marine, and employed significant numbers of people—was on the decline.[240] By 1983, wages in Peterborough were among the lowest of all Canadian cities, and unemployment was on

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[237] Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic,* 395; 419.
[238] Favreau et al., Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 40, 43.
[239] "Collected from OCASI Database Relating to PNLOC for years: 1989, 1990, and 1992, 5 May 1993, United Way Planning Session," private collection of the New Canadians Centre.
[240] Jones and Dyer, *Peterborough,* 8, 73; Sangster, *Earning Respect,* 15-16.

the rise.[241] The ongoing collapse of local manufacturing through the 1980s and 1990s had lasting negative effects on local employment prospects. In 1991, unemployment in Peterborough was 10.2%, consistent with the national average. By 1996, local unemployment had risen to 10.7%, higher than both the federal and provincial averages. In internal discussions of difficulties connecting clients with jobs, staff tended to attribute this to the wider economic recession. Counsellors also found the placement and training programs available through the provincial and federal governments to be ineffective locally.[242] The 1995 Immigrant Needs Assessment confirmed that jobs were a core concern for new immigrants locally and crucial to their well-being. The report also confirmed counsellors' sense that the NCC's supports around employment were inadequate. Clients were unsatisfied with this aspect of the NCC's services and expressed a need for more action and advocacy to support their search for decent and meaningful employment.[243]

Like many grassroots community organizations, the New Canadians Centre struggled to secure and maintain adequate funding from the beginning. From the late 1980s, organizers had been wary of remaining entirely dependent on provincial and federal government grants, which sustained only part-time employees, and fluctuated from year to year. Additional funding they secured from the United Way and the City of Peterborough, however, was also limited and fluctuating.[244] Through the early 1990s, the

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[241] Jones and Dyer, *Peterborough,* 8; 79.
[242] "Administrator's report to Board of Directors Meeting," June 8, 1992; "Administrator's report to Board of Directors Meeting" August 1992; "Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee Annual General Meeting," October 29 1992, private collection of Donna (research participant).
[243] Favreau et al., Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 46.
[244] For the NCC's discussion of government funding limitations, see Barbara Lloyd, "Centre helps new Canadians settle into city," *Peterborough Examiner,* 28 April 1989. See also aforementioned new mission statement adopted in 1990, as well as adapted mission in 1993 for emphasis on fundraising. For details on

precarity of the NCC's funding intensified. In the context of globalization, economic recession, and the rise of neoliberal political ideologies, the voluntary sector in general was struggling in an increasingly austere public funding climate. Though provincial and federal funding was dwindling generally, it was also dependent on client numbers and decreased alongside the size of the NCC's client base.[245] As new clientele began to decline around 1992, the twin problems of ensuring they had enough *funding* and enough *clients* to stay afloat and continue to offer core services became a serious concern for the NCC. Each problem exacerbated the other, with paid hours decreasing so that staff did not have adequate time or resources to address client outreach and service delivery issues.

Decreasing numbers of new clients, unstable core funding and limited staff hours likely also contributed to increased scrutiny on the part of the NCC's core provincial and federal funders. Most drastically, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, who funded the key, ongoing ESL classes and daycare at Central School informed the organization that their funding for the 1992-1993 fiscal year would be contingent on the organization engaging in a "long term planning" process with board and staff, and coming up with an "immediate plan of action" in reference to low enrolment, and possibly also perceived issues with governance.[246] Over 1992 and 1993, NCC staff and board members did initiate a strategic planning process, culminating in an updated mission statement and core goals by October of 1993.

United Way and City funding, see Lloyd, "Centre helps new Canadians settle into city." Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. For discussion of decrease in City funding between 1992 and 1993, see Donna records, "Administrators Report," November 29, 1992.

[245] "Administrator's Report to the Board of Directors meeting," February 25, 1993, private collection of Donna (research participant).

[246] "Administrator's Report to the Board of Directors meeting," November 29, 1992, private collection of Donna (research participant).

The NCC's updated mission statement read: "We are a non-profit organization which provides direct assistance to new Canadians through resettlement services in Peterborough. We promote cultural bridging through public awareness and community activities." The six core goals emphasized increased leadership and direction-setting by new immigrants themselves, shifting from the language of help and service provision to the language of "advocate and resource partner for new Canadians." Whereas before the mission statement had emphasized the need for immigrants to adapt to host culture and institutions, the 1993 goals asserted instead the need for the host culture and institutions to adapt, acknowledging the NCC's role in challenging and working to change mainstream local culture. Professional development for staff was also prioritized.[247] While ostensibly from the funder's perspective client numbers were the issue that strategic planning was meant to address, the NCC's updated mission statement indicates that the organization was reflecting more broadly on the limitations of their approach to date, and considering more fully the structural forces and local power dynamics that were shaping the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough.

Whether a direct influence or not, these changes indicate that the NCC was aware of criticisms of their services from local new immigrant communities suggested by Leslie Woolcott's 1993 MA research, and later, by the Rainbow Alliance's 1995 Immigrant Needs Assessment. New immigrant participants in both Woolcott's study and the Rainbow Alliance's study expressed disappointment with the lack of relevant, immigrant staff and leadership at the NCC. New immigrants also felt frustrated and marginalized by

[247] "PNLOC strategic planning workshop minutes" May 8, 1993, private collection of Donna (research participant). "Peterborough Newcomers' Language and Orientation Committee Annual Report- August 1/92 – July 31/93," October 28, 1993, private collection of Donna (research participant).

the Centre's inability to help them with employment and other issues they were facing. Others raised questions about the Centre's lack of education to help new immigrants identify and challenge racism, and learn more about their rights.[248] The changes to their mission and goals also suggest the NCC's increased engagement with the immigrant settlement sector beyond Peterborough and emerging best practices, which similarly emphasised the importance of leadership and direction-setting from new immigrants, an anti-racist approach to service provision, and an understanding of integration that demands changes on the part of mainstream society.[249]

In addition to continuing to provide counselling through the ISAP program and ESL training through the NLOC program after 1993 when they renewed their mission and goals, the NCC pursued a number of other initiatives. Pragmatically, in light of declining ISAP funding after 1992, staff pursued other project funding strategically in the hopes of keeping core counselling services running.[250] New projects also reflected attempts to work toward their new goals. A cultural interpreter program with the YWCA, for example, engaged new immigrant women in training and service provision. A workshop for domestic workers in partnership with migrant worker's rights group

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[248] Favreau, et al., *Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment;* Woolcott, *Voices of Exclusion,* 51-55; 152-55. Notably, of 41 new immigrant participants in the immigrant needs assessment, the conclusions of which were critical of the New Canadians Centre's services, 30% were from Cambodia and Vietnam, 20% were from Afghanistan, and 25% were a variety of other Global South contexts including Somalia, Ethiopia, Brazil, and India among others. A much smaller number of participants were immigrants from white, European contexts such as Poland and Albania. This corroborates my earlier discussion (regarding ISAP counsellors and the languages in which services were offered), and the implications for who might have found the NCC's services useful, and who might not have.

[249] Canadian Council for Refugees, *Best Settlement Practices: Settlement Services for Refugees and Immigrants in Canada (*Montreal: Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998), Retrieved from http://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/bpfina1.htm July 2017.

[250] In a report to the board, staff framed the federal Host Program funding opportunity explicitly as a way to maintain the salaries of core counselling staff in light of decreased ISAP funding. "Administrator's Report to the Board of Directors meeting," February 25, 1993, private collection of Donna (research participant).

Intercede connected new immigrant women with rights-based, anti-racist advocacy.[251] In 1993, the NCC piloted the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission's Host program, as a means of first, mitigating declining ISAP funding and second, working toward their new goal of addressing racism in Peterborough via education and outreach. Invoking the principle of integration as a "two-way street," the Host program was designed to both "assis[t] newcomers to adapt to and understand Canadian values, customs, rights, and obligations" and also "hel[p] Canadians understand the diverse backgrounds of newcomers," matching new immigrants with "hosts" or established residents in their community.[252] While the personal, local connection offered to newcomers by this program was certainly potentially valuable, the normative understanding of integration that underpinned this program did little to unsettle uneven power dynamics between immigrant and host that the NCC, in their adjusted approach to welcome, were trying to be cognizant of. While the program had some success, it is an indication of the limited utility of such a program to immigrants locally that, by the end of its first year, despite having developed a long list of willing hosts, the NCC struggled to find enough new immigrants interested in participating.[253] In the wake of their new goal-setting, then, the New Canadians Centre had success implementing changes in some ways, and struggled to make that change meaningful in other ways.

Despite attempts to adjust their practices of welcome to be more supportive of immigrant home-making in Peterborough, the New Canadian Centre's client numbers and

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[251] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016.
[252] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Evaluation of the Host Program,* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2010), 7, Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/2010-eval-host-eng.pdf.
[253] "Administrator's report to Board of Directors," 18 November 1993, private collection of Donna (research participant).

funding continued to decline. The escalation of the New Canadian Centre's struggles after 1995 were part of a wider phenomenon affecting the immigrant settlement sector. The federal government initiated a process of "settlement renewal" in 1995 wherein they downloaded responsibilities for carrying out and monitoring standards for immigrant settlement services onto the provinces. In the same year, Mike Harris' Conservative government took power in Ontario, drastically cutting funding for immigrant-serving organizations and anti-racist initiatives.[254] From the 1970s until this time, the settlement sector had experienced fairly consistent growth, becoming an integral aspect of the social safety net in Canada.[255] As OCASI wrote in a newsletter to its members received by the New Canadians Centre in October 1995, "Rising anti-immigrant sentiment reinforced by the new fiscal climate will mean hardship and challenge for OCASI agencies and the communities we serve." They anticipated "funding cuts from 30% to 80%" across the sector.[256] These sector-wide factors, combined with some of the weaknesses in the NCC's services that they were already seeking to address at this time, may have made the New Canadians Centre particularly vulnerable to the funding cuts and forced restructuring that were having sector-wide effects.

In December of 1995, NCC staff and board members attended a conference in Toronto run by CultureLink and the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture called "Tools for Transitions," where "participants from settlement agencies across Ontario

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[254] Nicholas Acheson and Rachel Laforest, "The Expendables: Community Organizations and Governance Dynamics in the Canadian Settlement Sector," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 46, 3 (2013): 597–616; Frances Frisken and Marcia Wallace, *The response of the municipal public service sector to the challenge of immigrant settlement,* (Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002), 15-18, retrieved from http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Municipal_Sector.pdf in July 2017.
[255] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations," 2.
[256] "OCASI Monthly Report, October 1995," private collection of Donna (research participant).

grappled with the many issues in the process of preparing for change in settlement." At the conference, participants discussed key sector issues, impending changes, and proactive strategies to mitigate funding cuts.[257] Also in December of 1995, the aforementioned Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment was released, which recommended re-structuring and expanding local settlement services, prioritizing new immigrant input on service provision and leadership on board and staff, and prioritizing immigrants' "economic integration" in addition to social integration. In their 1995-1996 Annual Report, the NCC responded positively to the needs assessment, noting how its recommendations aligned with their aforementioned new directions (established in 1993). Their optimism at the prospect of future changes was in tension with the general atmosphere of crisis of material resources and political buy-in that they and others in the settlement sector were facing.

By late spring of 1997, due to dwindling government funding and lack of other funding sources, the New Canadians Centre reached an untenable financial crisis. In the 1996-1997 annual report, the board of directors stated, "The state of our finances precipitated the drastic step of restructuring our Agency." The board of directors laid off all four part-time staff members, which included three settlement counsellors who also ran the NCC's other programming and community partnerships, and an administrative assistant. Of these four staff members, one had worked at the NCC since 1986, and the others since around 1990. All were women; one was a Polish immigrant herself, while the others were Canadian-born.[258] The board of directors planned to "advertise for one

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[257] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016. Amy Go, Kim Inksater, and Patricia Lee, *Making the Road by Walking It: A Workbook for Rethinking Settlement,* (Toronto: CultureLink, 1996), 2-5.
[258] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016.

comprehensive position" to keep the organization afloat.[259] None of the previous staff were rehired in the new, "comprehensive" position. This was, by former staff member Donna's account, unexpected and devastating. She recalled, "I was stunned, I thought that they would, I thought that they would let me go, and another staff go, and leave it in the immigrants' hands. Our newer immigrant staff, who was very educated and had gone through the experience, but to let everybody go. It was just a shock." As Donna's recollection suggests, the board's choice of new staff, notably, did not initially reflect the NCC's stated goal of increasing leadership and representation from local new immigrant communities at the organization.

The crisis the NCC faced in 1997 was in large part attributable to the sector-wide structural factors outlined here. These structural limitations made it difficult for NCC board and staff members to follow through on mitigating uneven power relations between immigrant and host in their practices of welcome, even as they learned from their mistakes and attempted to make changes to better support new immigrants over the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, restructuring was not a solution to all of the challenges the NCC was facing. Practicing welcome, and grappling with power dynamics between immigrant and host in the immigrant settlement sector, remained *work* for the organization, for new immigrants, and for others in the community after 1997 as well.[260]

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[259] "New Canadians Centre- Peterborough: Program Reports, 1996-1997," June 1997, private collection of Donna (research participant).

[260] The new executive director Larry Tylsdey, hired in 1997 was, like the majority of previous staff members, also a white settler. The board, while representation from immigrant communities had increased, was still dominated by white settlers and white, European immigrants. The new executive director, however, shortly after he was hired, brought on as a second staff member Carmela Valles, a relatively recent immigrant herself from the Philippines who was closely connected to the local, growing Filipino community. By 2000, Carmela Valles had taken over as Executive Director, remaining at the helm of the New Canadians Centre until 2008. She was followed by Ziysah Markson, who ran the NCC from 2009-2011, and then, by Hajni Hos, who remains Executive Director of the New Canadians Centre at the time of

Conclusion

The New Canadians Centre's work emerged out of an intention to make Peterborough feel more like "home" for new immigrants. Through their organizing, services became available that were not available before. Resources for language learning, training, advocacy, and social orientation proved useful to many new immigrants over the years. Organizers used their local influence to amplify what they perceived to be new immigrants' needs, their contributions to the community, and the barriers they were facing. There also were structural limitations to the New Canadian's Centre's work. Initially, the local distribution of power favoured the influence and expertise of established residents (mostly white settlers) over the expertise of racialized new immigrants themselves, reinforcing a hierarchy of power between hosts and immigrants in their work. Through the 1990s, the NCC made some efforts to mitigate these uneven power dynamics, but by 1997 had not yet significantly transformed the organization's leadership and direction-setting to centre the perspectives of new immigrants to Peterborough. Racism and sexism in immigration policy and social services, as well as an economic recession in the early 1990s, exacerbated barriers the NCC's clients were facing to full participation in local life, and led to increasingly inadequate and unstable funding for the NCC's work, exacerbating the crisis the organization was facing in client numbers and in funding by 1997.

The work of the NCC was more than a simple declaration of welcome: it was ongoing, complex, and embedded in power relations. The organization's work started

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writing. The next chapter of the NCC's existence as it evolved after 1997 is a rich history, characterized by more change, new challenges, and exponential growth. While the most recent 20 years of the NCC's work (from 1997 to present) also warrants close attention, it is outside the scope of this project.

from particular understandings of who an immigrant was and who a host was, informed by immigration policy, by multicultural discourse, by local power dynamics, and by hosts and immigrants themselves. New immigrants in Peterborough and across Ontario grappled with these categorizations, challenging them by organizing to demand policy change and more funding for relevant services, or in this local context, by formally voicing their criticisms of immigrant settlement services in Peterborough. Hosts also grappled with these categorizations, sometimes making efforts to challenge the binary logic separating immigrant from host, and sometimes reinforcing this logic. The tensions, contestations, and uneven power dynamics evident in the NCC's work begin to suggest the inadequacy of the logic of the immigrant-host binary (as established in Chapter Two), and begin to unsettle the accompanying, dominant discourses of home that accompany it. In the following two chapters, with recourse to my interviews both with social actors represented as hosts and people represented as immigrants in relation to this work, I demonstrate how people's reflection on their lived experiences of this work further unsettle the immigrant-host binary, highlight the harmful effects of dominant, white settler understandings of home in Peterborough and Canada, and gesture to more just and equitable alternatives.

Chapter Five: Host perspectives on home and welcome in Peterborough

This chapter presents the reflections of seven people who were involved in the work of the New Canadians Centre or adjacent work supporting new immigrants in Peterborough between 1979 and 1997: Amelia, Catherine, Donna, Fred, Joyce, Margaret, and Teresa (see Appendix A for compiled demographic information about participants).[261] All were established, local residents at the time they became involved in this work between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s. Three were involved in this work in a voluntary capacity, two worked as English as a Second Language teachers at Fleming College, one was employed by the federal government and worked mostly with government-sponsored refugees, and one was a paid staff member at the New Canadians Centre. As mentioned in Chapter One, I refer to these participants, broadly, as "hosts," because, as white and/or Canadian-born, and as established local residents when they got involved in the work of immigrant welcome, they have been often dominantly represented as hosts.

From its origins in refugee sponsorship, the work of immigrant welcome that developed into the immigrant-serving organization of the New Canadians Centre represented an intention to make Peterborough a more welcoming city for new immigrants. Host participants' insightful reflections on doing this work demonstrate their understanding that welcome takes more than a simple declaration. Their reflections on the challenges, contradictions, and messiness of practicing welcome in Peterborough underscore the ongoing, reiterative, and fraught processes of welcome and home, as well

[261] Pseudonyms are used throughout the report for most participants for reasons of privacy and anonymity.

how these processes are embedded in uneven power relations around gender, race, class, and colonialism. In the first half of this chapter, I present participants' reflections on Peterborough as home, suggesting that in the context of our conversations about the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, participants in fact reflected extensively on their *own* practices of home and experiences of welcome locally. In the second half of this chapter, I connect participants' understandings of home to their practices of immigrant welcome, presenting participants' accounts of their motivations and their sense of role (both their individual role and the role of the New Canadians Centre). I also explore how participants imagined who new immigrants to Peterborough were, and how they articulated a place for new immigrants in the community in their visions of welcome.

Making home in Peterborough

Teresa arrived in Peterborough in 1978 at age 18 to attend Trent University. Growing up middle-class in Toronto to Antiguan parents, she had opportunities to travel to major cities in Europe and the United States, as well as the West Indies. Of all her travels, though, she contended that moving from Toronto to Peterborough was when she experienced the greatest "culture shock":

> I had done enough travelling that I thought I would be prepared for Peterborough, but I was quite shocked. And I came here, '78, and I realized very quickly that not every place was the same as Toronto. […] It was never a community that I felt comfortable in. It wasn't so much racist as it was…backward in its vision. […] And I'd never encountered that.

There is intentional irony in the way Teresa chooses to subvert the idea of travel to an "exotic" locale. She articulates her shock, as a young, black, Canadian-born woman, in encountering Peterborough's overwhelming whiteness, cultural homogeneity, and conservativism, merely 120 kilometres away from Toronto, which she had experienced as

a racially diverse, cosmopolitan urban centre, and where she felt at home. For Teresa, making home locally in Peterborough, and feeling welcome, have not been a given. Indeed, as Ralph and Staeheli and others have suggested, the work of home and belonging is not reserved to the lives of migrants.[262] This work is ongoing, contradictory, and embedded in power relations for all social actors. As Teresa's story denaturalized the local dominance of white settler culture in Peterborough and her own local home-making practices in relation to it, most other participants also reflected on their understandings of Peterborough as home, in the context of their own particular, local "processes of placing."[263] I suggest that our conversations about the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, and their embeddedness in this work, encouraged participants to explore their own experiences of the limits and possibilities of home and belonging locally.

"First impressions" of Peterborough: Reflections on the city

It is notable that, like Teresa, all but one host participant were not lifelong Peterborians, but came to live in Peterborough as adults. When I asked what Peterborough was like in the 1970s, several participants invoked their own experiences of coming to live in Peterborough—in most cases, from other Canadian cities—in each case, to demonstrate Peterborough's conservative and socially-closed character. Donna, a white, settler woman from Toronto, described her upbringing as working-class. She attended university and studied sociology, going on to work in social services. She moved to the Peterborough area with her husband and children in 1974. She described rigid divisions between "the born and bred," and everyone else in Peterborough: "What

[262] Ralph and Staeheli, "Home and Migration," 518.
[263] Long, "Diasporic Dwelling," 331.

was Peterborough like? […] You're born and bred. I don't know your sense but that's my sense. […] And then the rest of us are immigrants. I immigrated from Toronto, that's what I've always said." Tellingly, Donna uses the term immigrant to invoke (empathetically) the logic of racism and xenophobia: that is, that immigrant means a fundamentally lesser claim to belonging in Peterborough. Though the effectiveness of this parallel is limited, Donna's description does suggest a particularly intense "born and bred" settler claim to belonging in Peterborough, and particularly intense exclusionary practices. Other white, middle-class participants similarly positioned themselves apart from a dominant Peterborough, if not in their racial or cultural identity, then in their politics and social attitudes. This was one initial way that participants raised questions about established practices of welcome in Peterborough, conceptions of home, and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, placing themselves in opposition to what they perceived to be a conservative and nativist mainstream culture and politics.

When asked to reflect on what Peterborough was like when they first got involved in the work of immigrant welcome—for most, in the 1970s or 1980s—participants almost invariably spoke about race. Margaret, a white woman, was born in Ireland and immigrated to Calgary, Alberta for work in the 1960s when she was in her late 20s. She and her husband moved to Peterborough in the 1970s so he could attend Trent University, while she worked as a public school teacher. She remarked, "Well there were very few non-white people when I first came to Peterborough. It was very…white, just uni-cultural, based on Irish immigrants from way back, Irish, English, Catholic, Protestant, that seemed to be the big divide. There were very few people of colour of any kind." Indeed, in 1981, Peterborough was 95% anglophone and nearly 80% British in ethnic

origin. Culturally and discursively, whiteness and Britishness dominated as well.[264] This racial and cultural homogeneity, particularly the dominance of whiteness and Anglo-Saxon culture, were a largely agreed-upon starting point informing participants' descriptions of their experience of Peterborough as home, and their place in it. Beyond simply acknowledging the prevalence of a white, Anglo population and culture, most white settler participants did not shy away from naming racism, with a smaller number acknowledging a corresponding white privilege. After many years in the United States, Joyce returned to her hometown of Peterborough in 1971 in her early 30s with her husband and four children, three of whom were adopted, one of whom she described as Chinese, and one of whom she described as black. Her husband worked as a professor at Trent University (the job was the reason they returned to Peterborough), while she raised the children, worked sometimes as a teacher, and got involved in a variety of community initiatives. Her conviction perhaps invigorated by her children's experiences of discrimination in local schools, Joyce described her impression of Peterborough as a home for her and her children: "Well, if you have a white face, you're fine. That's what it was like. And it was like that for a good while afterward. […] Yes, there was absolute racism when we came back here." Joyce was among only a small number of white participants who not only accounted for racism, but also their own white privilege, in their descriptions of their personal home-making practices in Peterborough.

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[264] Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada*, Vol. 3 *Census tracts*, Population, occupied private dwellings, private households, census families in private households—selected characteristics: Peterborough, Catalogue no. 95-922; Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada,* Vol. 3 *Census Tracts,* Population, occupied private dwellings, private households and census and economic families in private households—selected social and economic characteristics: Peterborough, Catalogue No. 95-963. For an analysis of 20th century Peterborough's whiteness and Britishness, see Sangster, *Earning Respect*.

Among host participants who were involved in the work of immigrant welcome in the 1970s and 1980s, Teresa is the only one who identifies as a woman of colour. She spoke to her experience contending with the intersecting forces of racism, sexism, and xenophobia in everyday social encounters in Peterborough:

> It was so weird, you know, and I couldn't quite figure out…they would assume I didn't speak English, and that would create a wall, and they wouldn't hear me speaking English, and then when they understood me, it would be like, "You speak English!" […] I thought, you cannot be serious. I'm speaking to you, and you're looking at me, and all of a sudden there's a realization, and instead of keeping it to yourself, you're actually saying it?

Here, Teresa vividly recounts the experience of being "placed" as, implicitly, an immigrant woman in Peterborough, and working to place herself locally, speaking back against the intersecting assumptions about race, class, gender and geography that inform that category of "immigrant woman." She articulates the power of such assumptions to silence, and the challenge of speaking over them, even from her position of relative privilege as a middle-class, Canadian-born, university educated woman. Belonging locally for Teresa, then, was work. Making home in Peterborough for her was marked by unhomely feelings and active exclusion, as well as by welcome and inclusion. This resonates with critical literature on home that, rather than romanticizing home, insists on its contested nature and embeddedness in uneven power structures that engender feelings of "unhomely" as well as "homely" feelings for differently-located social actors.[265]

For some participants, their understanding of the local boundaries of home, and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, invigorated their commitment to creating welcoming spaces themselves. Despite Teresa's negative experiences of racism and conservativism in Peterborough, she and her husband decided to stay for work reasons.

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[265] See, for example, Blunt and Dowling, *Home*.

This strengthened her resolve to make Peterborough home: "I set about quickly deciding to make a place for myself. Which was really odd, but maybe it's how I am in everything. It was as if you see a crowded bus but you see a small space…And I'm going to use my hips to create a little spot for myself. [laughs] You know?" Even if it meant a struggle against established local home-making, Teresa was determined to make a space for herself in Peterborough. Joyce remembered learning that her children were being targeted with racist name-calling and discrimination at their elementary school. She recounted, "We took our daughter out of Westmount School, do you know where it is? One of the best elementary schools in town. We took her out of that school and put her in St. Alphonsus School. And when I went to St. Alphonsus, I told them what happened, I said, "I don't want to *ever* hear of anything like this happening again!" As a white mother advocating for her racialized children, Joyce did not hesitate to mobilize her white privilege to support her children's struggles against racism and exclusion, and work toward creating a Peterborough that felt more like "home" to her and her family.

It is important to note that host participants spoke extensively about social belonging in their recollections of life in Peterborough, and less about material survival. All host participants were in comfortable positions, relatively speaking, when it came to material survival. Most had Canadian university degrees, and all were able to secure decent, stable work in Peterborough when they sought it, often making use of their local networks to find work. Several worked as teachers. Two had spouses whose work allowed them to choose to commit their time to care work and community work instead of paid work. Host participants of course had their struggles, recounting periods of unemployment, and the challenges of raising children as a single mother, for example.

Their shared, relatively comfortable class position in the community, however, is an important part of their sense of home and belonging locally, and their ability to engage in community care work, organizing, and volunteering, such as the work of immigrant welcome.

In recounting their "first impressions" of Peterborough as local home, where they stood in relation to it, and how they worked actively to make home, foster belonging, and counter exclusion for themselves locally, participants demonstrate that they did not take practices of home and welcome for granted. Indeed, even those represented as hosts did not necessarily or readily feel at home in Peterborough: home, for everyone, is an ongoing and contradictory process. This begins to suggest one of the ways in which the logic of the immigrant-host binary is inadequate in accounting for the lives and relationships of differently-located social actors in places like Peterborough. Further, as I will explore in a later section, host participants' sense of home and home-making practices informed their approaches to welcoming new immigrants.

Everyday home-making: Connecting home to welcome

Margaret was working as a teacher and raising two children on her own when she got involved with private refugee sponsorship in 1979. For a year, she shared her home in the North End of Peterborough with the family she had sponsored, a Vietnam-born Chinese woman, Kha, and her two sons, who she was also raising on her own. Margaret remembers "vividly" how the two young boys would play outside on her "quiet, residential street.": "They said, 'Where are people? Why are they all in their homes, why don't they come out?' And it was nice weather, it was springtime. And people were just

shut up in their homes, and then they'd go to school, and go to work, and these little Vietnamese kids never saw any of us! They found it very strange."

Poking fun at how she and others tried to enforce banal social norms, she recalled, "They'd get out there in their pyjamas and run up and down the street, and we said, 'Ooh, we don't do that here' [laughs]!" Encountering ways of playing and socializing that were different than hers and her children's, Margaret reflected critically and playfully on the limits of established home-making practices in her neighbourhood for making people of different backgrounds and experiences feel at home. She observed the strict social boundaries of the nuclear family unit, dominant in postwar, North American residential life, being experienced as unhomely by her Vietnamese friends. She observed these boundaries being enforced in arbitrary ways that served to exclude more than to welcome. Indeed, in this context, Margaret's story of simply welcoming Kha and her sons to share her home, and her reflections on how this changed her own perspective on home, becomes a story of both women's quiet challenges to established local home-making. Like Margaret, other participants articulated connections between their shifting understandings of Peterborough as home and their practices of immigrant welcome. In this section, I begin to connect host participants' practices of home to their practices of immigrant welcome, to elucidate how they related to dominant home-making in Peterborough, and begin to explore how this related to their practices of immigrant welcome.

By reconfiguring their social lives and fostering intimate relationships, participants shifted their home-making practices in their efforts to welcome new immigrants. Informed by her experiences helping her Vietnamese friends feel welcome in

her neighbourhood, and her other work supporting new immigrants, Margaret described shifts in her approach to building friendships and social connections locally: "But that's one learning that has come to me, for sure, that we should make more opportunities for social gatherings. […] have dances and music and big parties. And I don't know, weekly meetings and drop-ins and, just less of this staying in your own apartment or house or whatever. I think it's very frustrating for them." Fred and Amelia also shared what they had learned about the importance of creating opportunities for social connection across difference in their own home-making. Fred was a federal refugee liaison officer who worked extensively with people arriving from Vietnam and Cambodia as refugees throughout the 1980s. He and his wife Amelia, both white settlers, were both in their 50s at this time, and had lived in Peterborough for all of their adult lives. Throughout the 1980s, Fred and Amelia hosted parties and dinners (outside of Fred's official government duties) where they deliberately tried to bring together Indochinese newcomers and other locals. Amelia and Fred both described these practices as an attempt to shake up the racial and cultural prejudices they saw in some of their neighbours and friends. Amelia remembers, "A few of our neighbours frowned." Amelia also suggested that these social gatherings challenged ESL teachers and other local Canadian "experts" involved in immigrant welcome to connect with newcomers in ways that unsettled established power relations between host and "immigrant." Speaking about the ESL teachers, she recalled, "They loved it. They said, it's a different way to see the people." It was also simply an attempt to facilitate new social connections in the community for newcomers. In Fred's estimation, this in itself was pushing back against a racist and conservative status quo. These challenges were often unsuccessful. He recalled, "People that we invited to meet

them, they never followed through with doing anything. None of them." Indeed, in a dominant social context that most host participants described as closed, conservative, and racist, their attempts to facilitate social connections across racial and cultural difference, for Fred, Amelia, Margaret and other participants, were meant to reconfigure local home-making practices, their own and those of others, in support of new immigrants in Peterborough. These reflections suggest the ways in which participants learned that a declaration of welcome was not enough: that active changes to their everyday lives, and active interventions in exclusionary social practices in their neighbourhoods and cities, were necessary to make that welcome meaningful.

Reflections on the nation

Margaret was born in Dublin, Ireland, and migrated to London, England before then migrating to Canada as an adult in the 1960s. Margaret became quite emotional recalling her arrival in Canada, describing her feeling of welcome: "I always break up at this point because it really was a welcoming to a new country. And I do have that feeling very strong." Her initial experience of Canada was connected to her experience of London in the 1950s and 60s as a white, working-class Irish person. London, she recalled, "was quite the melting pot." She noted the presence of newly-immigrated communities from Jamaica and the West Indies, and remembered her outrage at the intense racial discrimination they dealt with. Though she distinguished between her experience and the comparative severity of anti-black racism ("I recognize white privilege"), she also spoke of personal experiences of ethnic discrimination in London: "We were discriminated against as Irish." Margaret connected her experience of discrimination to her sense of solidarity with racialized migrants in Britain: "I felt, you

know, empathy there." In relation to these dynamics, she insisted, "When I came to Canada, I really felt the lack of classism, basically the lack of racism compared to where I came from." Her sense of home in Canada evolved, however, as she built new relationships, placing herself and being placed in new power relations. Reflecting on her initial sense of the absence of racism in Canada, she clarified: "That's not to say I haven't changed my views over the years, because I know there is racism in Canada, and of course I learned about Native peoples. Married to one. And experienced racism with him. In his presence. So that was a strong influence." Living in Calgary, Alberta, she met and married her first husband, whom she described as an Ojibwe man. While on the one hand, even 50 years later, Margaret still recalled a powerful personal sense of welcome in Canada, on the other hand, she came to grapple intimately and continuously with her place as a settler in a home that remained deeply unhomely for her then-husband, for Indigenous peoples, and for others. Margaret was one of few host participants to reflect explicitly on her sense of belonging on a national scale in Canada, and one of few host participants to reflect explicitly on her relationship to colonialism in Canada. In the few moments where host participants did reflect explicitly on national belonging, and particularly on settler colonialism in Canada, their insights offered important challenges to dominant home-making practices and to the immigrant-host binary, reorienting themselves not as hosts, but as settlers on Indigenous lands, and as complicit in colonial violence. In this section, I will expand upon these moments, and also discuss the significance of the silences around national belonging and around colonialism in my conversations with the majority of host participants.

It is important to note that most participants did not reflect explicitly on their own processes of welcome or belonging on a national scale, nor extensively on colonialism. Indeed, for Canadian-born white settlers—myself included—settler relationships to colonialism are actively erased, replaced with a discourse of national belonging that is intensely naturalized, and easily taken for granted.[266] Methodologically, the power dynamics by which the discourse of "Canadian" remains unspoken and dominant influenced my interviews. These power dynamics also shaped my rapport with host participants as (in most cases) a fellow white settler person (see Chapter Three for further methodological discussion). Host participant's silence on the nation, then, was in part a result of my failure to encourage them to reflect in any depth on their relationships to colonialism, and my failure to share with them my own reflections on these dynamics. Their silence was also perhaps the result of assuming that I, a fellow white settler person, would understand the shorthand of "Canadian" when they described their homes, their cultural backgrounds, or even their values, and my failure to bring a discussion of these assumptions into our conversation. More importantly, while explicit conversations about nation were less frequent, host participants engaged with discourses of Canada as settler home in myriad, *implicit* ways throughout our conversations. Their various negotiations, challenges, and consolidations are highlighted elsewhere throughout this chapter.

Notably, two participants, Margaret and Teresa, reflected on how their respective processes of home-making in the context of nation have involved confronting their relationships to colonialism as differently-positioned settlers. Margaret insisted, "We've a

[266] See, for example, Veracini, "Introducing." In her work on Canadian nationalism, Eva Mackey comments on the difficulty of drawing out "ordinary people's" views on nationalism or direct reflections on the nation. Mackey, *House of Difference,* 31.

lot of work to do in, in that too, you know, for ourselves, I mean, people of my generation and even decades younger, a lot have no idea of the history! […] A lot of people have grown up with racist attitudes and total misinformation. And, you know, that has just become part of their thinking, their lives." Reimagining the dominant narrative of Canadian history to account for colonialism, Margaret suggests, is a necessary and ongoing process—"work"—for herself and other settlers who have been making their homes on Indigenous lands. In a similar way, Teresa challenged a dominant collective identity of Canada as benevolent, peaceful and tolerant by bringing colonialism into the conversation. Recalling a recent high-profile news story about racist healthcare practices and the preventable death of an Inuvialuit man, she reflected: **"**That just brings tears to my eyes. Because that is us. I'm sorry. That is us. And if we can't understand that, we're never going to be good people." Teresa sought to reconcile her sense of outrage and injustice, with her sense of complicity and accountability by asserting that the racism highlighted by this news story was not an isolated or anomalous incident, but rather, that such an incident "is us" in a fundamental way. By pointing out harmful settler homemaking practices that exclude and erase Indigenous peoples, Teresa's comments indicate a desire to chart new settler homemaking practices, new ways to be a "good" Canadian, that seek to accountably address such injustices.

Margaret and Teresa also both reflected critically on immigrant welcome in the context of colonialism. Margaret suggested:

> There's a lot of work to be done for reconciling First Nations with settlers, all settlers, and new Canadians need to know that they are settlers, and that we are in the same boat as them. That First Nations were here first, and that's why when we acknowledge the land, it belongs to the Mississauga, Haudenosaunee, whatever it might be, that they understand why we say that.

A departure from discussions about the ways in which she and others acted as hosts, ambassadors, and facilitators in the context of immigrant welcome, Margaret here acknowledged a different configuration of power, where she, too, is a guest and a newcomer—arguably, an uninvited one—on Indigenous homelands. Teresa also reflected on the way in which the settler colonial context is often elided in the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough: "It doesn't make sense that we can put the welcome mat out for our people from away, and yet our Indigenous community is feeling so ostracized." Both Teresa and Margaret articulated the implications of the settler colonial context for their practices of welcome in Peterborough. For Teresa, she saw an opportunity for new immigrants and Indigenous peoples to build solidarity, making connections between colonial violence and other systems of oppression: "If you could help some of our students understand that what they're fighting for is what our Indigenous people are fighting for, you might actually facilitate this bridge. […] You know, because then it helps link us together." Margaret reflected on whose right it is to welcome new immigrants to, in this case, Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg territory, turning her attention toward one of the ways in which the Michi Saagig Anishinaabeg continue to practice home and welcome on their territory: "There are great opportunities, I mean the pow wows, Curve Lake invites everybody to its pow wow the third weekend in September. Very welcoming." Speaking in the context of settler colonialism and Indigenous resurgence locally, participants' articulation of the relationship and power dynamics between longstanding settlers and newly-immigrated people on Michi Saagig territory shifted slightly. In these reflections, participants began to reconfigure power dynamics of immigrant welcome beyond the binary of immigrant and host In such considerations,

participants begin to imagine possibilities of other, more unsettling and unsettled understandings of home in which their presumed role as settler hosts is questioned and decentred. Such small moments hint at the potential for decolonial solidarity between differently-located settlers and Indigenous peoples discussed by, for example, Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel.[267]

Practicing welcome in Peterborough: reflections on the NCC and other sites of immigrant welcome

Participants' assessments of Peterborough as home informed their discussion of their practices of welcome, their motivation to support new immigrants, and their sense of their role in the work, as well as the New Canadians Centre's role in the community. Catherine was particularly straightforward: "I think Peterborough people are racist." She remembered, "They just didn't get the interest in other cultures or other peoples. So they weren't open to people coming here. Which was sad. It was a fight." All participants I spoke to who were involved at this time echoed Catherine's sense that supporting newcomers to feel at home locally was a "fight," and a challenge to normative, racist home-making in Peterborough. In relation to this, participants shared a strong intention to welcome. Reflecting on her role in relation to new immigrants, as a private refugee sponsor and early organizer with the New Canadians Centre, Joyce stated, "First of all, they were welcomed. […] I mean, that was so important." Donna, involved through the 1980s and 1990s as a staff member with the New Canadians Centre echoed this sentiment: "We felt it was very important to be there…to be recognized as someone welcoming them." Indeed, there were many ways, beyond wanting to fight a racist local

[267] Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel, "Unsettling Settler Colonialism."

culture, in which different participants' sense of home linked to their practices of welcome. Host participants both placed themselves and were placed within the constellations of power of Peterborough as local home in the context of their practices of welcome. Their practices of welcome in relation to new immigrants also articulated a "place" for new immigrants in relation to their own understandings of Peterborough as local home.

On what it means to welcome (as individuals, as the New Canadians Centre)

Host participants reflected on their motivations to get involved with the work of immigrant welcome. Catherine, a white settler woman raised in Ottawa, moved to Peterborough with her husband in the 1970s. He had secured a job, and also had family in the area. Catherine and her husband were both trained as teachers and had taught English as a Second Language (ESL) in Spain. In 1979, she was hired at Fleming College as an ESL teacher just as they received 120 students, largely refugees arriving from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (see Chapter Four for discussion). In the classroom with new immigrant men and women every day, Catherine began to get a sense of the challenges they were facing locally, and perceived a need for support: "We started to realize, 'Oh, they need more than English,' and how are they going to get that? You know? They can only get it from us. And I had two little children and I needed to get home, but they needed something too." Outside of the classroom, she began working to support her students, connecting them with local services, as well as extending friendship and more intangible social supports. She recalled, "A lot of it was volunteer." Reflecting on their motivation to do this work, like Catherine, several participants, all but one women, spoke to the idea of seeing a local need, and acting to do something about it. This speaks to the

feminization of community care work established in Chapter Two. Mentioning her paid labour as a teacher as well as her unpaid labour as a mother, Catherine puts her organizing around immigrant welcome on a spectrum of care work she felt compelled to take on in her family and in her community. On one hand, this speaks to what Martin, Hanson and Fontaine have identified as the possibilities of local, place-based "feminist activism," that while it does not confront structural forces directly, quietly reconfigures social relations to re-make home in the context of neighbourhoods and communities.[268] On the other hand, Catherine and other women's experience doing this unpaid care work is consistent with structural undervaluing of community care work and social service work in Canadian society.

Indeed, struggling against the undervaluing and underfunding of their work continued to be a major challenge for organizers with the New Canadians Centre through the 1980s and 1990s. Donna, a core staff member of the NCC from 1986 until 1996, recalled her and her colleagues (all women) often going above and beyond their inadequate paid hours to support clients. Maintaining grant funding to continue established programs, as well as securing new grants to meet changing local needs was an ongoing struggle: "I had five jobs and I was still part-time."[269] In addition to trying to keep what she called "advocacy for immigrants" front and centre in her work, then, Donna recalled spending an undue amount of time advocating to municipal, provincial and federal funders simply "for funding to support the work that we were doing for

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[268] Regarding the undervaluing of community care work, see Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers of the Nation*. Regarding place-based feminist activism, see Martin, Hanson and Fontaine, "What Counts as Activism?" For further discussion of both, see Chapter Two.

[269] This struggle was corroborated by Donna's personal collection of board minutes from the late 1980s through 1997.

newcomers." These structural dynamics, and the need to advocate for the very existence of any services for immigrants in the community at all, also influenced some participants' sense of their role in the work.

Participants also reflected on their roles in relation to new immigrants, providing insight into what support they felt they could or should provide from their respective positions in the community. Most participants felt equipped, as local insiders and English speakers, to help new immigrants navigate local institutions and other aspects of community life and culture. Catherine explained, "They didn't have any supporters who spoke the language [English]. […] So I felt anything I could do would be a little something for them." Participants' recollections suggested how they mobilized their local privilege, to different effects. Some described using their insider status to explicitly challenge a discriminatory status quo. As an ESL teacher through the 1980s and 1990s, Teresa described how she would often advocate on behalf of students who, when they called local doctors seeking help, were "not […] able to get past the secretary once an accent [was] heard."[270] In dialogue and tension with efforts to challenge dominant local norms, several participants also emphasized their efforts to share "Canadian" norms and culture with new immigrants. Fred and his wife Amelia invited refugee clients for dinners and parties at their house, in part because, Fred suggested, "They were all so anxious to see a Canadian home." As will be discussed in a later section, and as was suggested in the NCC's shifting mission statement (discussed in Chapter Four), the tension between the utility for new immigrants to familiarize themselves with dominant "Canadian" norms,

[270] Relatedly, research participant Donna also noted that there was a severe shortage of doctors in Peterborough through the 1980s and early 1990s. The NCC also did advocacy around this, working with Peterborough Public Health and the local Rotary Club to develop a multi-lingual handbook for doctors to better communicate with new immigrants around health issues.

and the harmful imposition of dominant “Canadian” terms on new immigrants’ local-homemaking, was one that host participants grappled with.

Participants expressed different ways of accounting for the influence of racism and structural inequalities in the work of immigrant welcome. Some spoke of their role individually, and the role of the New Canadians Centre in the community, as protectors from racism and discrimination. Joyce, who was involved in private refugee sponsorship in the late 1970s, reflected, “I think Peterborough can be a difficult community for newcomers. And that’s why it was so important, those of us who were involved knew that. And were protective.” Donna echoed the role of protector against a racist mainstream culture in her description of the role she felt the NCC played in the community during the decade that she worked there (1986 to 1996): “I think we created a safe place for people to come.” Donna’s reflection on her approach to work across difference gives more context for what a "safe place” for new immigrants meant to her:

> We don’t see barriers or colours or languages as something different. It is different but it’s not something that’s below you or…it’s valued. […] I think it was just my whole life experience, there’s never been divisions between cultures. […] I guess it’s seeing the value in every human being. Not the differences. Not the differences. We are so much alike. I think I learned that. There’s more similarities than there are differences.

Here, in her efforts to speak back forcefully against racism and xenophobia, Donna chooses to deny the influence of racism in her approach to the work of immigrant welcome, and by extension, in the work of the New Canadians Centre. Donna’s reflections are consistent with the wider dynamics of the NCC’s approach. Internal records suggest that they only engaged with the language of race and anti-racism in limited ways through the 1980s and 1990s, emphasizing instead the language of cultural

difference and exchange in their programming and communications.[271] Indeed, by the 1980s when the NCC became a formal centre, multiculturalism was a well-established discourse that Canadians were encouraged to draw on to make meaning of racial diversity and difference in the places where they lived. As the critical work of Bannerji and others points out, however, what is missing from this discourse, and from the NCC's framing of cultural difference at this time, is an ability to account for the historically-specific structural inequalities that underpin that difference.[272] Further, NCC staff hesitation to reflect on the influence of racism, sexism and other structural forces *within* the work of immigrant welcome is consistent with sector-wide dynamics identified by Lee and others.[273]

In contrast to moments where participants tended to locate the work of immigrant welcome outside of racism, there were other moments where participants reflected on internal power dynamics within that work. Several white settler participants (including Donna) speculated that, though they felt certain that many new immigrants they worked with encountered racism and discrimination locally, they were not confident that new immigrants would have shared this with them. Catherine reflected, "They wouldn't have said, "Well my neighbor, you know, doesn't like us living there," or whatever. They would never say any of that, because they were very polite, appreciative students."

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[271] This conclusion is based on my detailed review of a detailed set of board minutes and other internal documents from 1987 to 1997 shared with me by Donna, additional records from this period available internally at the New Canadians Centre, as well as my review of news articles about the NCC's work during the same period, from Donna's personal collection, the NCC's internal records, and local archives. This conclusion is also corroborated by Leslie Woolcott's aforementioned 1993 MA research. See "Voices of Exclusion," 69. Donna also suggested that one reason that anti-racism did not become a focus of the NCC's work was so as not to duplicate the work of the local Community Race Relations Committee, which was focused on anti-racist education and advocacy, and that these two organizations worked together sometimes.

[272] See, for example, Bannerji, "Paradox of Diversity."

[273] Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers," 110.

Implicit in Catherine's use of "appreciative" is her sense of the uneven power dynamics of benevolence and gratitude that might have shaped encounters between host and immigrant in her ESL classroom or at the NCC. Teresa, who worked closely with the New Canadians Centre through the 80s and 90s, reflected more explicitly on her sense of how such power dynamics shaped the early work of the NCC:

> The people who were generally involved were good-hearted people from the Catholic church. […] It created very much an atmosphere of…a doer and the person receiving it. And so that charity model was all that we ever had. […] You know, "I give to you, and you are grateful, and beholden. As you should be. And don't forget who gave you this hand up.

Teresa's reflections suggest that the limitations of the "charity model" of social change may have reinforced unevenness between mostly white, settler "doers" and the new immigrants positioned and imagined as helpless and "grateful" for support offered. Margaret, a long-time volunteer and board member with the NCC through the 1980s and 1990s, shared her sense of how race was a key and limiting factor in these dynamics: "In the beginnings of PNLOC and New Canadians Centre, there was the sense of white people know how it's done, and we've always done it and we can do it well. And so it took a little prodding to get diversity on the board. The early directors were all white." Margaret's observation about the limitations of the immigrant-host binary is consistent with criticisms from immigrant communities, and the NCC's attempts to shift their mission and increase immigrant representation on staff and board through the 1990s, discussed in Chapter Four.

The New Canadians Centre was, initially, a majority white settler mobilization to support racialized new immigrants. In this context, participants' critical reflections suggest, uneven power dynamics between immigrant and host and legacies of white

settler benevolence may have been particularly easily re-inscribed despite people's best intentions. For example, none of the organization's paid staff members in its first decade were from the newly-immigrated communities from the Global South that it tended to serve (as mentioned in Chapter Four). While the community care work that new women and men were doing informally for each other did not go unacknowledged by host participants in our conversations, it did go unpaid in the work of the NCC. Multiple participants recalled the important work newcomers took on as volunteer interpreters, to help them connect with new, non-Anglophone clients. Well into the 1990s, these interpreters were not systematically financially compensated.[274] Granted, as discussed above, funding was scarce, and the organization struggled continuously to pay staff and run their programs. The way the NCC chose to distribute the funding they did receive in its first decade, however, notably favoured "Canadian" expertise and practices of welcome over new immigrant expertise and practices of welcome. As Margaret pointed out, this initial approach did little to challenge Peterborough as a normative, white settler home where "white people know how it's done." These dynamics consistent with anti-racist, feminist analyses of community care and social service work, as discussed in Chapter Two, and specifically, Lee's analysis of racialized and feminized labour dynamics in the Canadian settlement sector that exacerbate harmful divisions between immigrant and host.[275] As is discussed throughout this chapter, participants' thoughts on their involvement in this work reflected these tensions, and their own considerations of it.

On immigrant home-making and belonging

[274] Donna, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Fred, interview with the author, August 3 2015; "New Canadians Centre 1995-6 Annual Report," June 1996, private collection of Donna (research participant).
[275] See, for example, Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers"; Szczepanikova, "Performing Refugeeness."

In 1993, while Donna was working as a settlement counsellor and administrator for the New Canadians Centre, the organization received funding through the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission to run a pilot of the Host Program, which sought to match new immigrants with established local residents, invoking the "two-way street" of integration (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). Donna reflected on the program's effectiveness for new immigrants: "It was a good experience for those who had children, who we matched with families, that they had a sense of what a Canadian home is like. Not that theirs was wrong or they were right, it was just to get that experience and understand a lot more. There's a lot of things in our culture, in every culture, that's unspoken." There is a tension in Donna's remarks: on one hand, she wants to share her cultural norms and home-making practices to help facilitate newcomers' understanding of a new local place. On the other hand, she is also aware of the pitfalls of encouraging new immigrants to adhere to "Canadian" home-making practices in the context of existing white, Anglo-Saxon cultural dominance in Peterborough. Like Donna, other participants considered and raised questions about integration, and more broadly, about immigrant home-making and belonging in Peterborough. Relatedly, participants shared their understandings and imaginations of who immigrants were. Though integration is normatively framed as immigrants' relationship to a dominant culture, community, and home, host participants' reflections on immigrant integration highlighted more significantly the relationship of their practices of immigrant welcome to *their own* understandings of Peterborough as local home. Embedded in uneven and intersecting power relations, in their considerations of immigrant home-making and belonging, host participants negotiated, questioned, challenged, and sometimes reinforced dominant

norms and assumptions shaping immigrant settlement work, as well as the norms shaping Peterborough as white settler home.

Many participants emphasized their recognition of immigrant women's key role in the work of settling in and "integrating." Though gender was not always explicit in our conversations, the responsibility to negotiate the norms that govern "Canadian" domestic households in their own domestic home-making implicitly falls on immigrant women. Several, like Donna above, suggested that it was important and useful for newcomers to see a "Canadian home," and relatedly, recalled the importance of helping new immigrants navigate grocery shopping and cooking. Others characterized immigrant women as particularly resourceful, and linchpins of their families' survival. Margaret reflected, "All [immigrant women] that I have met anyway tend to be very strong women. And, you know, they will take advantage of whatever is offered in terms of resources, language training, whatever they can get in their new home, and advance themselves very quickly." In their efforts to recognize the crucial role that women play in the work of settling in post-migration, participants tended to speak frequently of immigrant women in the context of their roles as mothers and wives than their roles as workers, volunteers or community organizers, for example (though there were exceptions). As discussed in Chapter Four, the NCC's programs for women (and the design of settlement services provincially and nationally) reflected this tension also, providing supports for immigrant women that defined them more frequently as wives and mothers than as workers or political actors.

Participants also spoke to their sense of the structural barriers to integration that immigrant women have faced. Several remembered many women they had known,

particularly married women and mothers from the Global South, who had not been eligible for ESL training, or whose access to training was limited by childcare responsibilities, by limited formal education, or by their need to find paid work quickly to survive. Participants also expressed concern about immigrant women's social isolation in the context of these structural barriers, again focusing on married women and mothers. Relatedly, they spoke to local practices of welcome that they felt had worked to challenge these racist and sexist barriers. Donna emphasized, "Probably the largest success [of the NCC] was creating that ESL class at Central." She and several others highlighted the Central School ESL class as a key resource for immigrant women, as it provided daycare, was free, and was eligible to anyone regardless of immigration status or years in Canada. In their efforts speak out against the unfair marginalization of immigrant women, there were moments in our conversation where participants emphasized the victimhood and helplessness of immigrant women and families. Donna recognized this tendency, and remembered grappling with it in her role as settlement counsellor: "I would get anxious about a family in different situations, but I would forget that we're not dealing with children, we're dealing with adults who had survived some situations that were incredible." Indeed, as Donna was aware, in the context of settlement service provision, the logic of the immigrant-host binary and the harmful and limiting conceptualizations of immigrants that sometimes accompany it are easily re-inscribed.

Host participants often invoked the category of ethnic community in their discussions of immigrant welcome and integration. Several participants spoke of different ethnic communities in Peterborough (or outside of Peterborough) as assumed sites of belonging or cohesion for new immigrants. Margaret for example, felt that Vietnamese

newcomers around 1979 may have felt more "at home" with a "critical mass" of people locally who shared their cultural, ethnic, or linguistic heritage. Catherine, on the other hand, speaking of the same moment, imagined and acknowledged a mutually-supportive and welcoming Vietnamese community in Peterborough at this time: "They did rely on each other […] The Vietnamese was a large group and they became a community themselves. They were amazing! All of them were amazing." On one hand, such affirmations may have been strategic gestures of support and acknowledgement of new immigrant communities in Peterborough, in the face of an intolerant and overwhelmingly white-coded local culture. On the other hand, imagining community based on ethnicity or nationality also runs the risk of homogenizing diverse constellations of people, and leaving unexplored the politics of belonging *within* such loosely-defined groups (as will be explored in Chapter 6). Catherine, for example clarified that the sense of community she spoke of among Vietnamese people locally was "Not ghetto-like, but familiarity," demonstrating her awareness of how easily the conditional welcome offered to immigrant communities can be revoked. Indeed, the negative corollary of ethnic belonging in white settler society (raised by participants in a positive sense), is arguably the unhomely and homogenous "ethnic enclave."[276] This tension speaks to the limits of belonging *as* ethnic explored by critical race scholars such as Bannerji and Galabuzi, and the limits and harms of normative understandings of integration examined by Li.

Multiculturalism, and local multicultural events, was a topic that allowed participants to reflect on the relationship between immigrant welcome and local home-making. Catherine was involved with the Multicultural Association for many years,

[276] Li, "Deconstructing Canada's Discourses of Immigrant Integration," 5.

which spearheaded the first Multicultural Canada Day around 1980 and ran this event until the New Canadians Centre took it over. She understood multiculturalism as a potentially useful strategy to begin addressing racism and intolerance locally: "I think it's a good educational thing to the closed Canadians. You know. A bit. They'll always pick up something, every year, you know and they'll become more…aware, hopefully." With her reference to the "closed Canadians," Catherine suggests that multiculturalism in Peterborough has been directed at shifting the home-making of white settler Canadians, more than it has been for immigrant communities. Teresa was more blunt in her assessment of multiculturalism's effectiveness locally: "It's all tokenism." Beyond multicultural Canada Day every July, she suggested "there is not a lot that is multicultural" in the City of Peterborough. Catherine too reflected critically on the success of the event over the years, and its potential for contributing to social change: "It's well-attended more every year, but you know why? The food. I hear people say, 'Oh I'm going to bring my cooler down, and I'm going to get some Indian food and some Greek food and whatever, and freeze it, and I'll have my meals.' […] They're not all necessarily there for learning the culture. Unfortunately." Putting a "cultural" face on racial difference through multiculturalism, Catherine's and Teresa's reflections suggest, though it might temporarily alter Peterborough's social dynamics each July in small ways, has not adequately challenged racist attitudes and dominant settler home-making practices.

Looking ahead: challenging the status quo

Many host participants remain involved in work supporting new immigrants in Peterborough still today. Several reflected on how what they have learned through this

work has invigorated their sense of the limitations of the status quo in Peterborough for helping people feel "at home," as well as their motivation to challenge the status quo in the interest of racialized new immigrants. Margaret, who was involved in Indochinese refugee sponsorship in the 1970s and was also involved in Syrian refugee sponsorship at the time of our interview in the spring of 2016, described the way in which she mobilized her memory of her first experience with refugee sponsorship in Peterborough in 1979, to advocate for new immigrants in Peterborough in 2016:

> When the whole idea of welcoming the Syrian families came from the federal government this time around, and our City Council was considering what role they would play, I went before them, and others did too, who spoke about our experience with the Vietnamese who had been so small in number, the families, that they eventually couldn't stay here to form a community and they went to Toronto. And I sort of pleaded that the city would get behind the Syrians to create a critical mass so that they would feel at home here.

While diasporic community is not a guarantor of belonging (as will be discussed in the next chapter), Margaret's advocacy here reflects her sense of the multiple ways in which someone might "feel at home" in Peterborough that do not necessarily adhere to the white settler-dominant status quo. Teresa noted the juxtaposition between her enduring sense of Peterborough as "not multicultural" today, and her experience that there are immigrants from diverse racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds living in Peterborough, and have been since before she arrived here in the 1970s:

> We're not bringing the leaders of the Polish community, and the members of the Vietnamese community, and the members of the Chinese community, and the members of the Albanian community, and the members of the Greek community, and the Korean community, and the South Asian community, and members of the city and bringing them together to say, if you're all here, it means this community is multicultural. […] So, if it's multicultural, how do we work together to make it a good community?

Naming various immigrant and racialized communities in Peterborough, Teresa distinguished between tokenistic, multicultural rhetoric coming from local seats of power, and the everyday experience—hers and that of others—of Peterborough as a multi-racial, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural place (even if, statistically, the numbers are small). She looked beyond multiculturalism to name and challenge an uneven distribution of power that exacerbates perceptions of Peterborough as an overwhelmingly white settler-dominated place. She asserted, "The status quo continues to play out. […] People need to start to reach out to bring people together so that we can address whatever it is and we can make the status quo appear less normal." In her challenge to "make the status quo appear less normal," Teresa puts the burden of change, or what might be called integration, on the de facto "hosts," rather than on immigrants.

Conclusion

In our conversations about their involvement in the work of immigrant welcome locally, participants' reflections offered as much insight into their own home-making practices and understanding of Peterborough as local home, as they offered insights into their work supporting new immigrants. Participants' understandings of home shaped their understandings of how best to practice welcome. Host participants understood welcome to be ongoing and contradictory work, and described it as such. Many reflected critically on dominant white settler home-making in Peterborough (and some on white settler home-making nationally), and described the ways in which their practices of welcome sought to quietly reconfigure exclusionary local homemaking practices, or more directly challenge white settler dominance in local power relations. In other ways, participants' assessments of immigrant life in Peterborough were constrained by dominant discourses

available to them since the 1970s to understand racial diversity and inequality in Canada, such as multiculturalism and immigrant integration. As suggested in Chapter Four, the logic of the immigrant-host binary is powerful, and easily reinforced at the site of immigrant settlement work due to intersecting structural and discursive forces that define and limit immigrant life and continue to privilege hosts. Their reflections on the tensions they experienced in carrying out that work from positions of relative privilege, as well as moments where they drew on assumptions or generalizations about Canadians and immigrants confirm the influence of this binary thinking in immigrant settlement work. Moments of critical self-reflection, quiet reconfigurations of power on the level of social life, and moments where participants spoke to visions of welcome that disrupt white settler dominance locally, however, point to the possibilities inherent in looking beyond the immigrant-host binary to define what a more just "home" and a more radically inclusive "welcome" might look like in Peterborough.

Chapter Six: Immigrant perspectives on home and welcome in Peterborough

This chapter presents the reflections of nine people who immigrated to Peterborough between 1979 and 1997, under varying circumstances, from Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines, El Salvador, Kosovo, and Greece respectively: Ana, Cuong, Kha, Diệu, Elira, Hung, Marisol, Dara, and Sofia (see Appendix A for compiled demographic information about participants). For eight people, Peterborough is still their primary place of residence, while one moved has moved elsewhere.[277] Six arrived with Designated Class or Convention Refugee status, one sponsored by a family member, and two as international students. Though here I briefly present details related to their migration to Peterborough, these nine participants are much more than their migration stories, and much more than their initial categorization as immigrant in the Peterborough community. Each is a dynamic and engaged member of their community. They are parents, grandparents, friends, volunteers, social changers, and more. I start with these details about migration, however, to establish the influence of the category of immigrant on the lives of newcomers to Peterborough from the Global South and Southern and Eastern Europe since 1979. Throughout this chapter, however, I highlight how participants' reflections challenge the salience of this homogenizing category, and contest its sometimes marginalizing effects.

[277] This, of course, is a significant limitation of my study. The voices of the many new immigrants, by the accounts of various participants, who arrived in Peterborough and did not decide to stay and build lives here, are largely missing from this study. By pointing out that several participants expressed a sense that they were an exception to the rule, I attempt to gesture to some of the barriers to staying in Peterborough that other new immigrants may have experienced, and some of the voices not represented here.

As host participants chose to get involved in the work of immigrant welcome, so did many immigrant participants as they built lives locally. Initially, however, these participants' engagement with the politics of immigrant welcome was not a choice: participants intimately navigated the various effects of the category of immigrant in their daily lives in Peterborough, and in their work to survive and feel at home locally. In the first section of this chapter, I explore four aspects of participants' reflections on making home in Peterborough: work, social life, power and representation in the city, and engaging with the nation. In the next section, I look to moments where immigrant participants' home-making practices intersected with the work of the New Canadians Centre. Presenting two participants' recollections as clients of the NCC in the early 1990s, I suggest some of the ways that new immigrants may have experienced the New Canadians Centre's practices of welcome as sometimes complementary to their own home-making practices, and other times, limiting. Finally, highlighting several participants' discussions of their own work in the immigrant settlement sector I connect participants' understandings of home to their practices of welcome (as in Chapter Five). Throughout the chapter, immigrant participants' reflections demonstrate that their home-making in Peterborough has been ongoing work, and it has been embedded in uneven, intersecting power relations, sometimes overlapping with practices of welcome described by host participants, and sometimes not. Participants reflections on welcome disrupt the binary between immigrant and host in compelling ways, suggesting the possibilities of an understanding of welcome that takes into account complex and intersecting power relations beyond the immigrant-host binary.

Making home in Peterborough

Everyday survival: Work

Diệu and her husband arrived in Peterborough with their four young children in February of 1980, when she was 30 years old. Living in Bến Tre, South Vietnam near Saigon, the Vietnam-born Chinese couple had run a provisions store. After fleeing in 1978, they had been living in a refugee camp in Hong Kong for almost a year before their application for refugee status in Canada was accepted, and they were connected with a private sponsorship group. The sponsors and others became helpful local allies. Diệu's children started school, her husband started a government-subsidized English class, and she occasionally attended an informal English class for new immigrant women at George Street United Church. She started travelling to Toronto's Chinatown for ingredients to feed her family in a way that felt like home. "The problem was," she asserted, "nobody could find work." Diệu's narrative of her decisions around work and her family's material well-being was a central thread in our conversation about life in Peterborough.

Before proceeding to explorations of belonging, it is important to introduce the importance of material survival. In their memories of finding their place in Peterborough, for most participants, paid work was a central concern. Work was a key building block—and sometimes, a barrier— in making home. As Hung put it, who arrived in Peterborough in 1984 as a young man from South Vietnam with a high school education, "I got my life going by working." Work was a key factor in most participants' decisions to stay in Peterborough. Significantly, most were able to find steady, decent work locally. What paid work looked like for different participants was inextricable from the politics of immigrant welcome in settler society, and their location in relation to those structural forces. Local context is also important: the decline of manufacturing and general

economic downturn that began to take effect in Peterborough in the 1970s, combined with the growth of Trent University and Fleming College and an attempt to expand the service sector, influenced work opportunities and barriers. In this section, I present the work narrative of one participant, Diệu, in greater detail, to gesture to these dynamics.

After her husband finished his six-month English course, Diệu was not optimistic about either of their job prospects in Peterborough. The lack of jobs in Peterborough, and the prospect of jobs elsewhere was agreed upon by most participants, whether they arrived in 1980 or 1996, as a reason that many new immigrants in Peterborough would decide to leave. Diệu had watched many other Southeast Asian newcomer families leave already for lack of work, or resort to finding temporary, manual labour through the local Manpower office. Diệu was seeking stability: "My mum and my sisters were also in Vietnam, so I thought that if I had some stability here, that I would be able to sponsor them to come." She faced barriers, however, in her options for work. Diệu had married young, and did not have much access to formal education before coming to Peterborough. Immigrating as a married woman in 1980, and raising four young children, she had almost no access to the limited language and job training the state offered to new immigrants, though she intended to work in Canada, as she had in South Vietnam.[278] As another participant who immigrated from North Vietnam around the same time observed, these dynamics made things particularly difficult in Peterborough: "There's not many opportunities to find a job. […] Unless you become a dishwasher in a restaurant or something. […] You don't know English, it's hard to find a job in Peterborough, right."

[278] See discussion of barriers to training and resources for immigrant women in Chapter Two and Four. For a discussion of "immigrant woman" as a marginalized position in the labour market, see Ng, *The Politics of Community Services*.

In Bến Tre, South Vietnam, Diệu and her husband had been business owners: they ran a provisions store. In Peterborough, they were encouraged by local allies—their private sponsor and the pastor of their Chinese Christian fellowship—to use this experience to open an Asian grocery store. “There was nothing like that in Peterborough.” Diệu and her husband had already begun selling prepared Chinese foods at the weekly farmer’s market, but it was an unpredictable source of income. Opening a storefront seemed a promising way to get the stability her family needed, drawing on her existing skills, and the support of a few key established locals. By the end of 1980, they had opened the store downtown. Despite these factors, however, Diệu and her husband struggled to make their business profitable for many years. Their success was limited by a slow local economy, and perhaps, by the demographics and social attitudes of Peterborough. In the early years, Diệu recalled, “Nobody went in.” Her customers were mostly international students, Chinese restaurateurs, and “some Caucasians.” Many of her Vietnamese and Vietnam-born Chinese friends had moved away to Toronto. She explained that most people in Peterborough—namely, white settlers—“don’t know how to cook” with the Asian ingredients she sold. She did not comment on whether racist or xenophobic social attitudes locally may have had an impact on her business’ early success.

While her husband oversaw the store, Diệu was forced to find additional work to make ends meet, continuing this supplementary work for over a decade, while also raising her four, school-aged children. She first took on work in the evenings and on weekends helping out at a local Chinese restaurant. It was, however, neither enough pay, nor enough hours: “Three dollars an hour. One week. Three hours. That’s it.” Through a

friend, she took on piecework at a local fishing lure factory, Lucky Strike, instead. Here, she was able to negotiate working from home, instead of at the factory, so she could earn wages and care for her two youngest children. This flexibility was very important to her. In her assessment, because of this, the factory owners "were very, very kind. And very helpful to us." As helpful, she asserted, as her private sponsors had been in terms of the way they supported her family's material survival. As we spoke, Diệu became emotional recalling the stress and difficulty of juggling this labour and responsibility throughout these years: "It's very hard. Life was very hard back then." Within considerable structural constraints, Diệu made the best choices she could to secure decent, stable work and provide for her family. By 1985, she had sponsored her mother and sisters to immigrate to Canada. By 1996, she had supported all four of her children to attend university. Her store had changed locations and become a staple in the community that still runs today (and she emphasized, maintaining the store's success is still hard work today). The success of her children and grandchildren and the success of the store are important aspects of Diệu's local home-making that she emphasized in our conversation. Other home-making opportunities locally for Diệu, however, were circumscribed by the challenges of survival in the face of structural barriers, and the demands of the paid and unpaid labour needed to pay rent, put food on the table, and raise her children. Other participants, particularly women from the Global South arriving as refugees or dependents, faced similar constraints. Indeed, as feminist political economists have argued, sexist immigration policies and exploitative labour practices in Canada are a key structural force that curtails the welcome extended to racialized migrant women from the

Global South and curtails their full participation in Canadian society.[279] Other participants who had more formal education struggled to get foreign credentials recognized. Two participants who arrived as international students and entered the job market with Canadian university degrees faced largely different challenges and opportunities related to work. For all, work was a key factor in home-making, and a central condition of welcome locally. This will be discussed further in relation to the work of the NCC below.

Everyday home-making: Social life

Significantly, only one participant I spoke to does not live in Peterborough anymore. Notably, Kha, who left after six years to go to Toronto, did not leave primarily in order to find work. Kha, a Vietnam-born Chinese woman, arrived in Peterborough as a refugee from North Vietnam with her two young sons in 1980 when she was in her late 30s. She had a high school education, and had been working as a Chinese-Vietnamese translator for the government in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Unlike many other non-anglophone refugees who had arrived in Peterborough from Southeast Asia in the 1980s who, by hers and others' accounts, struggled to find work, Kha quickly secured a steady, full-time work at a fast food restaurant downtown. A single mother of two, she was the sole breadwinner for their family. She was glad to be working. After living in Peterborough and working at the restaurant for several years, however, she recalled, "I just don't feel very happy." She explained, "Not much to do, you know. Maybe only at the weekend, we can see the Chinese TV, right? […] But…it seems the life a little boring in Peterborough." Beyond working and caring for her children, there were other, meaningful

[279] See, for example, Arat-Koç, "Migrant Domestic Workers"; Arat-Koç, "From 'Mothers of the Nation'"; Ng, *The Politics of Community Services*.

aspects of social life that she struggled to foster in Peterborough, and that she missed: friendships, activities in the community, and a connection to her Vietnam-born Chinese culture and language that went beyond the odd hour of Chinese programming on cable television. After six years in Peterborough, she decided to quit her job and move to Toronto, where she had friends and family. She found her home-making possibilities in Toronto to be very different from Peterborough: "I have more activities because I made more friends. They have more community activities that I can join." Her sense of being welcomed and finding belonging in Toronto, came much more readily than it had in Peterborough. While material survival was crucial for Kha and other participants, then, it was only the beginning of making home in a new local place. Consistent with scholarship on immigrant and diasporic home-making, fostering a sense of belonging also involved building friendships, relationships, and in Kha's words, "community."[280] The next subsections look beyond survival, considering the more intangible concepts of home and belonging, first by looking at participants' descriptions of social life in Peterborough.

Several participants noted their difficulty making social connections in their immediate neighbourhoods when they arrived in Peterborough. Ana arrived in 1990 as a refugee from El Salvador with her husband and young son when she was around 30 years old. Before coming to Canada, she had been living in the rural area of San Salvador with her family, and raising her son, while her husband worked temporarily in the United States. Knowing no one locally, she remembered struggling to connect with neighbours. She felt her lack of confidence with English was a barrier, but some neighbours' attitudes also made her feel unwelcome: "I have a neighbour here that, we moved like three days

[280] See, for example, Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing 'Home';* Hage, "At home in the entrails of the West."

apart. And he had never ever talked to me. I used to wave and say hello but he never…look at me or wave back." Elira joined her fiancé in Peterborough from Kosovo in 1996. In Kosovo, she had trained as a lawyer, but instability in her country compelled her to leave before beginning to practice law. Elira echoed Ana's feelings of apprehension, and experiences of neighbours' closed attitudes, in describing her own initial difficulty finding a sense of connection in her neighbourhood. The several participants who mentioned this attributed these unhomely feelings mainly to their own nostalgia for more socially lively neighbourhoods in the places they had lived before, not speculating about racial difference or xenophobia in their assessment of these dynamics. Cuong, on the other hand, did allude to how race informed his experience of his neighbourhood when he arrived as a young teenager. He was 13 years old when he arrived in Peterborough as a refugee from North Vietnam in 1980 with his mother (Kha—mentioned above) and his younger brother. He remembers meeting some of "the neighbour kids" on his first day in Peterborough. He had fun trying to connect across language barriers and play with them. Suddenly aware of being the only non-white kid, however, he began to feel out of place: "I guess at the time, it's the first time they see an Asian kid too, right?" Being placed as "Asian" in an overwhelmingly white neighbourhood was a factor in Cuong's initial foray into social life in Peterborough.

For the participants who did find neighbourhood social life initially unhomely, they moved quickly from these assessments to descriptions of how they found other ways to make social connections locally. Putting aside her initial feelings of apprehension, Ana pushed herself to "just get over that and get out." Attending more social events at the New Canadians Centre, at church, and elsewhere, Ana made diverse social connections

that contributed to her feeling of home: "I came across to a good bunch of friends." When Elira found herself feeling lonely at home, she recalled, though she was taking care of her young children at the time, she would take her children to a local Albanian-owned restaurant downtown where she had begun to make friends with other Albanian locals who gathered there, and with whom she shared a language and cultural context. Others described the value of the Central School ESL classes as a place to socialize and connect with others. Gender is a notable factor in these barriers and strategies for building social networks in Peterborough. Both Ana and Elira, for example, were mothers caring for young children during their first years in Peterborough. Both were also attending ESL classes, and Ana was also doing paid work, which Elira later pursued as well. These dual responsibilities of unpaid work and paid work (or training) take up a lot of time and energy, are amplified in the wake of migration, and tend to fall on women.[281] As Kha (a single mother) recalled, life for her when she first came to Peterborough was "working, and home. That's it." While Kha addressed this challenge by moving to a city where she felt she had more social support, Ana and Elira (who both had the support of working spouses) made proactive attempts to build social networks to support their well-being locally.

For some participants, being welcomed by others in various, informal and intimate ways was an important part of finding their place in Peterborough. Some spoke of the importance of feeling welcomed by neighbours, sponsors (in the case of privately-sponsored refugees) and others they met in the community. Several asserted the importance of being invited into neighbours' homes, for meals and for holidays (whether

[281] See, for example, Das Gupta, *Learning From Our History,* 16.

those holiday traditions were shared or not). Ana, for example, took the time during our conversation to name two local families with whom, for many years, she and her family have shared Christmas and Thanksgiving. Separated from familiar Christmas traditions with extended family in San Salvador, it was important to Ana that these two friends in Peterborough "took us like their own family." She asserted that these intimate social relationships helped "make us feel at home here in Peterborough." Some described the particular importance of being welcomed initially by small, existing diasporic communities locally. Hung was sponsored by his brother to come to Peterborough in 1984 when he was a young man, after fleeing South Vietnam in the late 1970s and living in Malaysia for several years. When he arrived, he connected with other locals who had recently immigrated from Vietnam. They offered him welcome and support, and many became his close friends. He recalled, "Whatever you need, they will offer you anything." Sofia came to Peterborough in her early 20s as an international student at Trent University from Patras, Greece in 1987. For her, building friendships with others in the local Greek community was key to her sense of local welcome and belonging: "You meet a person that […] speaks your own language, was approximately your age group, immediately you feel connected. And the fact that they have lived here, that's a huge, huge asset. So that's how I operated, anything I needed, I would call these people." As I will explore further below, extending welcome to other newcomers became an important home-making practice for some participants also.

Of course, such local diasporic communities are not straightforward sites of welcome or belonging for differently-located participants, nor are they homogeneous spaces. When Dara arrived from Cambodia with her brother and parents in 1987 (via a

Thai refugee camp), her family and much of Peterborough's small Cambodian community, all recent immigrants to Peterborough, lived in the same row of apartments in the South End of Peterborough. She recalled, "It felt like we had our own little community there." Initially, Dara experienced this small, tight-knit network of Cambodian families as welcoming and mutually-supportive: "We had gatherings, like getting together and having, picnics, group fishing trips and stuff like that. […] To me that was a sign of togetherness and supporting." She recalled changes, however, as some found more economic success than others: "The attitudes started to change once some people made more income and they got bigger homes, bigger TVs, bigger cars. Their attitude kind of changed towards the people that didn't do as well, job-wise, and couldn't afford, you know, cars, TVs, homes, whatever." Dara observed divisions growing between families that she attributed to these growing class differences: "I felt like there was a little bit of a separation between the classes. Like, the families that were in subsidized housing. And then there's the families that bought homes and all that stuff." Here, Dara identifies local home-making practices within the Cambodian community that reinforced exclusion and marginalization rather than fostering belonging. She explained that to her, these practices and uneven power dynamics are consistent with her understanding of Cambodian culture in terms of competitiveness, and valuing material wealth. Considering the local constellations of power within which they were embedded, these dynamics are likely also influenced by the dominant, white settler culture's stigmatization of poverty, the narrow parameters of success for those categorized as "immigrant," as well as existing class and education differences between Cambodian

families that led to differences in opportunities in Peterborough.[282] Dara's fraught experience of belonging and alienation in relation to other Cambodians in Peterborough speaks to the complexities of community, and, as Avtar Brah theorizes, the complexities of both placing oneself, and being placed, in diaspora space.[283]

For Marisol, fostering intimate social relationships with other local Filipina women was one important part of finding her place in Peterborough. These relationships spanned across class differences. Marisol arrived in Peterborough in 1990 in her early 20s to study at Trent as an international student from Cebu, in the Philippines, where she had already attended university and worked as a high school teacher. While she found her classmates at Trent provided a supportive social network, building friendships with other Filipino people locally beyond the university was also a significant part of how she went about "learning the community outside of Trent." Soon, she was socializing with Filipino friends on the weekends: "We'd go cook and eat, or go to a dance or something." Through these friends, Marisol came to better understand barriers other Filipina women in Peterborough were facing, whose circumstances were different than hers. She explained:

> At that time, many of the newcomers in the area [from the Philippines] were women that were working as caregivers. And every now and then, problems from their employers come out. The most common is, there's a statutory holiday and one or two women are missing, and I said, "Where are they?" And they said, "Their employers asked them to work." And I said, "No they can't do that!

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[282] This echoes wider dynamics in the Cambodian diaspora in Ontario identified by Janet McLellan. In her ethnographic study of Cambodian refugees in Ontario, Janet McLellan notes that the vast majority of Cambodian refugees who came to Canada were "rural people with very little education or urban experience." The smaller percentage of Cambodians in Ontario who "were educated [and] spoke English," she notes, "were especially supported by government and social service workers." This exacerbated divisions within the community. Janet McLellan, *Cambodian Refugees in Ontario: Resettlement, Religion and Identity,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 61-63.

[283] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora,* 204-207 in particular.

In these situations, Marisol chose to, in her words, "leverage the fact that I was a student at Trent" to support her friends:

> So, I would phone the employer, and I said, "No, we're coming to pick them up." And some of the employers probably were thinking all Filipino women were nannies. Like, "What? You're a student at Trent? What are you doing there?" And so the women would push me like, "Call them! Call them!" So I would call them, and say, "We're going to go there right away and pick them up."

Marisol and her friends were aware of both challenging assumptions about Filipina women at the intersection of race, class, gender, and geography, and making strategic use of Marisol's class and social position as an international student attending a local university to advocate for others in the Filipino community. While they were connected by language, cultural context, and friendship, Marisol's social location and access to opportunity in Peterborough as an international student was different than many of her Filipina friends who were working as live-in caregivers in the area. In contrast to Dara's experience of divisions exacerbated by class difference in the Cambodian community, Marisol's home-making in the context of the Filipino community involved practicing solidarity across difference. She leveraged her social location to advocate for her friends, challenging the categorization and marginalization of Filipina women in Canada as temporary (and exploitable) labour.

While, like Hung, both Diệu and Kha (respectively) arrived in Peterborough from Vietnam in the early 1980s, neither expressed a sense of belonging in a local Vietnamese community in the same way that he did. Both Diệu and Kha are Vietnam-born Chinese women. Kha was direct in her assertion that in Peterborough, as an ethnic Chinese woman, "Vietnamese" was not a meaningful category for her: "The Vietnamese

community in Peterborough? Actually…I don't join any community in Peterborough!" Diệu also explained that in her experience, this ethnic difference has meant "a bit of separation" from socializing with other Vietnamese people in Peterborough: "It's hard to jump in." She had friendly relationships with many Vietnamese families in Peterborough, and they sometimes socialized, but they did not develop close, deep friendships.[284] Unlike Hung, a young, single man, both women were also largely occupied with the immediate needs of caring for their children, and doing paid work to provide for their families, leaving little time for socializing. Despite these constraints, both Diệu and Kha found connection through the eclectic social and religious space of the Chinese Christian Fellowship. The group started around 1980, when both of them, and a number of others, arrived from Vietnam. Dr. Paul Wong, a psychology professor at Trent University, who had immigrated from Hong Kong years earlier, and his wife Lilian Wong, also a psychologist, led the group, hosting these informal gatherings at their home, and later in a rented church space.[285] By both Diệu and Kha's accounts, this was a diverse and lively social space, bringing together Vietnamese and Vietnam-born Chinese newcomers, international students from Hong Kong and Singapore who had come to Trent, and some white settlers. For Diệu, the fellowship was a meaningful religious space: "I came to my faith there and I was baptized there." Kha, on the other hand, who practices Buddhism, insisted that she and many other Vietnamese and Vietnam-born Chinese of various

[284] Diệu talked about some close friendships she did develop. She noted that it was easier to make friends in Peterborough when her children got older and were more independent, but that it still was not easy. It happened that most of her close friends were immigrants from Hong Kong, and already lived in Peterborough when Diệu arrived. She clarified, however, that just sharing an ethnic background with someone (i.e. Chinese or Vietnam-born Chinese) was not a guarantee for her that they would become her close friend.

[285] Diệu, interview with the author, September 27, 2016; Kha, interview with the author, September 11, 2016; personal website of Dr. Paul Wong, "Biography," www.drpaulwong.com/biography, accessed March 2017.

religious backgrounds were a part of the church simply for social reasons: "We don't have anything else. But over in the church, most every refugee from Vietnam went to that church. All, everybody came there. On Sunday, we just went, Sunday, even [though] we're not Christian. But we just had something, like the church is also like a community." Emphasizing the regularity of the Sunday get-togethers, as well as the sense that there wasn't "anything else," both Diệu and Kha expressed a sense of this religious fellowship as one of the few supportive social spaces where they felt they belonging, or "like a community," in Peterborough. Further, this informal religious group defies simple categorization as a space of immigrant or ethnic community, bringing together locals from diverse ethnic, geographic, class, and even religious backgrounds. Building social connections and community in Peterborough was one way that participants sought to make home and find belonging in Peterborough. This was ongoing work that involved navigating complex and intersecting power dynamics, both in relation to dominant white settler Peterborough, and in the context of various small, local diasporic formations. Indeed, the logic of the immigrant-host binary is inadequate in accounting for the complex social negotiations and relationships that participants described in this section.

Power and representation in the city

Marisol, as an international student from the Philippines living in Peterborough in the early 1990s, recalled feeling "uncomfortable going to public spaces just by myself." She did not, for example, go to a movie downtown for many years. She did not attribute this to fear, but rather to alienation: not seeing herself reflected in public spaces in downtown Peterborough, let alone in positions of power. She explained, "I think again it's something to do with…the social positioning that [new immigrants] have in the

community. If they're not reflected, if no one sees them working at the bank, or you know, even at No Frills, or at City Hall, you know…it's not." New immigrants who participated in a local Immigrant Needs Assessment in 1995 echoed Marisol's sense of limitations to their participation in city life. One anonymous participant noted a lack of events "for immigrants" in the city: "There is little socialization in the immigrant community now, but they need a push for a common ground where there can be programs or events designed purposely to attract immigrants […] I always read in paper…thousand activities happening for the rest of the citizens. None for immigrants."[286] The analysis offered by Marisol and participants in the 1995 needs assessment lends weight to other participants' assessment of Peterborough as "boring"—a central descriptor used by both Kha and Diệu, for example.[287] "Boring" is not necessarily benign, but a reflection of the conditional nature of local welcome in the context of racism, xenophobia, and other structural forces, wherein people's social opportunities can be circumscribed if their experiences place them outside of a middle-class, white settler status quo, and further, if they lack the material resources to participate in certain activities.

Sharing their home-making practices in the context of the city, participants spoke to visibility[288] and public participation for racialized newcomers in Peterborough. In my conversation with Dara, we spoke of the common-sense narrative that there are no new

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[286] Favreau et al. Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 16.

[287] It is important to note here the salience of Marisol's social class to the particular concepts and vocabulary she uses to articulate her critical reflections on immigration, race, power and privilege throughout this chapter. Arriving as an international student to study at Trent University, and already university-educated in her country of origin, Marisol had access to education, and to certain politicized language (in English), that some other participants in this study who are from rural or working-class backgrounds in the Global South, who arrived as refugees, and/or who had more limited access to higher education in Canada, may not have had access to. Such considerations are relevant to considering the differences in various participants' reflections.

[288] See Chapter Two, footnote 75 for a brief discussion of the problematic, ableist nature of visual metaphors such as the concepts of visibility, invisibility, and hypervisibility I rely on in this section.

immigrants, or that they are not a visible part of community life—one that we had both heard circulating locally (discussed in Chapter Five). She reflected on the roots of this assumption:

> I think they're right, because I think with our community we keep things within our community. We don't really go out and broadcast, like, for example our New Year is in April, we don't go, "Hey, it's Cambodian New Year, everybody come help us, join us!" You know, like St. Patty's Day, everybody knows it's St. Patty's.

Here, Dara shared her sense of power, cultural hierarchy, and how this plays out in public space in Peterborough. Comparing her local Khmer cultural celebrations to the white-coded St. Patrick's Day, she highlighted the ways in which her community's visibility is circumscribed by the dominance of a white, Anglo-Saxon culture. Marisol also spoke same common-sense idea that there are no immigrants in Peterborough: "Racism is real in this town. I think the most basic form of it is when I hear people saying, there are no new Canadians in this town. Because I think one of the key ingredients of racism is ignorance. And if you say that you don't see anyone, or that they are not here, then you don't know." Marisol explicitly and powerfully links immigrant visibility to the operation of racism as a structural force in Peterborough.

Marisol's strategy to respond to the difficult social context she described above was also related to visibility. She challenged her feelings of alienation by making space for herself in the city anyway: "I think one of the good things that I thought strategically I didn't lose, was continually to be active in the community. […] You have to go out and talk to people. Because in my experience, that's what worked." Her advice to new immigrants, on the level of the city, was to participate in public life, not only for one's own social life, but also to begin to reconfigure dynamics of representation and power:

"Go be seen. Go out there. And do stuff." As critical scholarship on multiculturalism as racial discourse has demonstrated (as introduced in Chapter Two), representation and visibility are political. Erasure of racialized immigrants, in the forms of both hypervisibility and invisibility, is harmful.[289] Participants' reflections on visibility and power reflect an understanding and strategic engagement with such dynamics.

Going "out there" and being "seen," as Marisol has strategically done, was not necessarily easy, nor was it always a positive experience, for other participants. Dara accounted for the role racism has played in her experience of these dynamics: "And also… I think we've all kind of experienced racism, and we don't want to be known. Like, we don't want to put ourselves out there so that we can have backlash against us. Because we have experienced racism." She shared her contradictory sense that visibility, for racialized immigrant communities such as the Cambodian community she identifies with, can lead to vulnerability as well as opportunity. Dara's explication is an indictment of how racism has been a barrier for her and her community feeling a sense of welcome, home, and safety in the city of Peterborough. Her account of her experience speaks to the limitations of multiculturalism as an expression of immigrant welcome as outlined by Bannerji, Galabuzi and others, if it is not accompanied by an understanding of and challenges to racism.

Dara reflected more explicitly on her sense of home and belonging in Peterborough, explaining the ways in which, for her and her family, welcome here has been limited, and conditional:

> I feel like that's why my community stays quiet, you know? We just don't feel like people will accept us, maybe. […] We don't want to, like, offend the racist

[289] See, for example, Bannerji, "Paradox of Diversity"; Galabuzi, "Hegemonies, continuities, and discontinuities,"; Mackey, *The House of Difference*.

> people. I know that's how I conduct myself sometimes. And my dad's that way too, and my mum too—I feel like we try not to offend people…*I feel like this is my country now too*. But I don't know how my parents feel. Maybe it's because *we feel like this is not our homeland* and we don't want to offend people. I don't know.

Between "this is my country," and "this is not our homeland" is an unreconciled tension for Dara. On the one hand, Dara has practiced home here for nearly 30 years, fostering a sense of belonging and a life here; on the other hand, the effects of racist and uneven power structures continually remind her and her family that they might be here, but they are, as Avtar Brah articulates in her analysis of home, not "from" here or "of" here in the same way as those who easily and readily claim Canada as homeland.[290] Underscored here once again is the fraught and contradictory work of local homemaking, and the complexities of welcome beyond intentions and declaration, in the context of power dynamics in the city of Peterborough.

Reflections on the nation

In the initial moments of our conversations, most immigrant participants chose to engage with discourses about Canada, speaking about their arrival and first impressions with reference to nation. Several participants spoke of Canada as a site of freedom and safety. Hung reflected, "It's freedom, you know?" Others expressed their gratitude to Canada as a nation-state. Describing her initial arrival in Edmonton, Diệu paused her storytelling to add: "Thank you Canada government for coats, boots." In particular, it was the six participants who had initially been categorized as refugees to gain entry to Canada who chose to emphasize freedom and express gratitude in their descriptions of Canada.

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[290] Brah explains, "[…] a group settled 'in' a place is not necessarily 'of' it. Idi Amin asserted that people of Asian descent could not be 'of' Uganda, irrespective of how long they had lived there." *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 3.

Each participants' understanding of Canada as a nation was informed by their unique circumstances and their particular experiences. How they chose to bring it up in our conversations may have also been informed by what they chose to share with me in particular (a white settler researcher), and what they chose to share with other audiences they imagined might hear their stories through this research.[291] It is also important to account for the potential influence of powerful social discourses of refugee gratitude in Canada and other white settler societies. For example, Dina Nayeri, a former refugee from Iran who came to the United States in the 1980s, has written eloquently about the pressure she felt to express gratitude to the nation that opened its doors to her—as if it was the very condition of her claim to belonging in this new country. [292] Though participants did not speak to this directly, it is possible that in part, their stories engaged strategically with these power dynamics. Most importantly though, those who fled very difficult and often violent circumstances in their former homes explained that finding safety and a chance to rebuild a life in a new place for themselves and their families was extremely important to them. They expressed to me that Canada offered them that chance.

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[291] See Methodology for further discussion of these power dynamics in the research.

[292] Nayeri writes: "That was the key to being embraced by the population of our town, a community that openly took credit for the fact that we were still alive, but wanted to know nothing of our past. Month after month, my mother was asked to give her testimony in churches and women's groups, at schools and even at dinners. I remember sensing the moment when all conversation would stop and she would be asked to repeat our escape story. The problem, of course, was that they wanted our salvation story as a talisman, no more. No one ever asked what our house in Iran looked like, what fruits we grew in our yard, what books we read, what music we loved and what it felt like now not to understand any of the songs on the radio." Dina Nayeri, "The Ungrateful Refugee: 'We Have No Debt to Repay,'" *Guardian* (London, UK), April 4, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/04/dina-nayeri-ungrateful-refugee**,** accessed May 1, 2017. For scholarly accounts, see Yen Le Espiritu, *Body Counts: The Vietnam War and Militarized Refuge(es),* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014); Szczepanikova, "Performing Refugeeness."

Kha's story about national belonging in Canada, for example, was invigorated by her experience of explicit exclusion from another national discourse of home and belonging. As a Vietnam-born Chinese woman, Kha had faced discrimination and marginalization in North Vietnam in the wider context of ongoing conflict between Vietnam and China: "…they don't let you have, not many churches you can go to, universities, whatever. Because we're Chinese […] we're caught in the middle." Like other Vietnam-born Chinese people in Vietnam during and after the Vietnam War, Kha described being "chased" out of Vietnam by the communist government, and rendered stateless.[293] In the context of the devastating experience of exclusion on a national scale, being rendered stateless, and having to leave the place she had known as home, Kha explained, "I'm proud of being Canadian." She went on, "Canada is an open heart for everybody [who] come over. Like, treat everybody like an equal." In this way, Kha drew on mainstream, national discourse of Canada as welcoming to shape her understanding of her belonging in the nation. This discourse of inclusion, she explained, became meaningful to her in relation to her sense of explicit exclusion from the nation of Vietnam.

As participants described their general, unspecified imaginations of Canada as nation before living here, they tended to invoke the linked images of Canada as wilderness, and Canada as multicultural metropolis. Cuong's narrative of his first impressions of Canada speaks to this. He recalled, thinking of his understanding of Canada when he was living in Hong Kong, "I thought it was igloos, snow, just a bunch of

[293] Adelman, The Indochinese Refugee Movement.

trees and forest." When he arrived in Toronto, however, before travelling to Peterborough, his perception of the nation shifted:

> And I opened my eyes and said, "Oh my god, this is not the picture that I imagined!" Toronto is a huge big city. And then when we went to Chinatown, it's totally like I'm in Hong Kong! I see everything there, like all these Chinese-speaking people, and then there's restaurants everywhere. […] So from that time on, my thinking of Canada, totally different than what I imagined in Hong Kong at the time.

Though in our conversation Cuong and I did not reflect on this explicitly (see Chapter Three for methodological discussion), the discourses of both wilderness and metropolis that he draws on here both place Canada as specifically a *settler colonial* home. As scholars such as Veracini, as well as Leanne Simpson have pointed out, as powerfully as Indigenous lives and lands are erased in the discourse of Canada's wilderness, they are erased with equal or greater intensity in the discourse of Canada as urban, multicultural metropolis.[294] In the metropolitan centre of Toronto, Cuong saw the possibility of Canada as a "big city": urban, multiracial, multilingual, and socially lively. He saw, in Chinatown, representation, visibility, and a right to the city for "Chinese-speaking people" like himself. What he did not see, and what he was not encouraged to engage with in this space (and in the discourse of multiculturalism) was the theft of Indigenous lands, or the possibility of Indigenous resurgence. Thus the normative claims about Canada that participants engaged with, considering both the wilderness and the metropolis, as Tuck and Yang's discussion of the "brown settler" suggests, indicate that the Canada they were encouraged to make their home in mainstream discourse was

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[294] Simpson, *Dancing On Our Turtle's Back,* 11-30 in particular; Veracini, "Introducing," 3. See also Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi, "Where is the Great White North? Spacializing History, Racializing Whiteness," in *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada* (Vancouver: Unviersity of British Columbia Press, 2011), 1-15.

specifically a settler colonial Canada.[295] Further, in our interviews, it was the default discourse about the nation many participants drew on, in the absence of prompting on my part to reflect on colonialism (see Chapter Three for methodological discussion).

In the one conversation where a participant and I did explicitly discuss colonialism and its legacy, her vision of Canada as home included accountability to colonialism. Marisol stated, speaking of connections between new immigrants and Indigenous peoples, "There is a very important and I think significant link. Because, number one, new Canadians should learn the real history of Canada. Number two, a number of the clients of the new Canadians Centre are also Aboriginal peoples from their home countries." This is an important reminder of practices of immigrant welcome, strategies being currently undertaken and also possibilities for the future, that do not necessarily reinforce a sense of Canada as settler colonial home, and speak to decolonial solidarities between differently-positioned settlers, including new immigrants, and Indigenous peoples imagined by Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel, for example.[296]

Navigating welcome: The New Canadians Centre

The NCC opened its doors as a formal centre in 1986. Of the five people I spoke to who arrived in Peterborough as new immigrants after 1986, four had had some awareness of and interaction with the New Canadians Centre in their early years in Peterborough.[297] In the remainder of this section, focusing on two participants who first

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[295] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," 18.
[296] Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel, "Unsettling settler colonialism."
[297] Of the five participants who arrived before 1986, two made use of the ESL classes offered at Fleming (which PNLOC was involved with coordinating), and one made use of the Central School ESL class and daycare spearheaded by PNLOC. None remembered accessing PNLOC's other programs that ran in the early 1980s, like the women's group and sewing collective. These participants also varied in their awareness of the New Canadians Centre generally as a resource for new immigrants in Peterborough that has existed since the 1980s.

migrated to Peterborough in 1990, I detail and compare their accounts of their experiences with the New Canadians Centre. Their contrasting accounts of where the New Canadians Centre's services complemented their home-making practices, where they may have circumscribed them, and where the NCC did not intersect with their homemaking practices at all, speak to the politics and conditions of immigrant welcome, and the possibilities and limitations of formal immigrant settlement services in Peterborough in the 1990s.[298]

Ana identified the New Canadians Centre as a central support in her first few years, and complementary to her home-making practices in Peterborough: "That was the place, it's the only place we went whenever we need something. And I think it was a place where…everything good that happened to me and my family started there." When Ana and her family got off the bus in Peterborough from Toronto, after arriving in Canada from El Salvador as refugees in April of 1990, they were met by someone from the New Canadians Centre, and went straight to their office. Since Ana did not have any family or friends in Peterborough, nor in Ontario at all, this initial connection was very important in helping her get her bearings. She explained "The information, we got it there." Ana made use of NCC staff and resources to initially connect with ESL classes,

[298] Whereas the two participants I will focus on spoke at some length about their experiences with the New Canadians Centre, the other two participants spoke about the NCC's services briefly and ambivalently. This resonates with Leslie Woolcott's assessment in her MA research around racialization, inclusion, and immigrant experience in Peterborough, conducted in 1993. Woolcott observed that, though of her 14 participants who were new immigrants to Peterborough, almost all were aware of the New Canadians Centre, most were reluctant or uninterested in discussing their services. Those who did offer their thoughts, however, had "a number of concerns" with the way the organization was run; in light of this, Woolcott suggested that the ambivalence or silence on the part of others may also speak to more participants sharing such concerns. She also suggested power dynamics particular to a small urban space that might be informing participants' reticence: "Peterborough's ethnic minority population is indeed small and people may have been apprehensive to criticize this tight network [of immigrant-serving agencies] that tends to be made up of either acquaintances or service providers." "Voices of Exclusion," 152. Indeed, such dynamics are worth noting and attending to in my project as well.

find housing, and get her young son enrolled at a school. She continued to participate in the NCC's social events and community orientation activities for some time after she arrived. She also found the centre to be very helpful in her employment search, crediting staff with helping her secure the permanent, full-time position at a long-term care facility that she still holds today.

For Marisol, on the other hand, the NCC did not play a role in her life in Peterborough initially, and when she did seek their help, she found their practices of welcome to be at odds with her home-making practices. In our conversation, Marisol vividly recalled her negative first impression of the NCC. After her first visit to the NCC she remembers telling someone, "I wouldn't go there even if someone will drag me." She went to the NCC for the first time around 1996, six years after she initially came to Peterborough as an international student from the Philippines in 1990. Unlike Ana, during her years as a student at Trent University, from 1990 to 1994, she was not aware of the New Canadians Centre: "Trent was my community." She had also found ways to connect, outside of Trent, with other Filipina women and families living in the area, building for herself a rich and multifaceted social life. It was when she graduated, got married and decided to stay and build a life in Peterborough that she sought the NCC's support navigating the local job market. Her impression at the NCC was that "basically no one knew what to do with me." In contrast to Ana, Marisol found that the NCC's practices of welcome in regards to her concerns about finding work had the effect of circumscribing, rather than enabling, opportunities in this place she was trying to make home.

Ana mentioned that she found the basic orientation to the community offered to her by NCC staff to be very helpful. For Marisol, these services were not relevant to her needs as a student, and she had found much of this support through her own local social networks. Other participants too who arrived as family class immigrants or students recalled relying instead on friends, relatives, and local diasporic networks, where present and relevant, for this kind of support. Through the 1990s, the NCC consistently offered these orientation services to privately-sponsored and government-sponsored refugees, as they were alerted to the arrival of such newcomers by their federal government contacts and were able to easily connect with them. A local immigrant needs assessment in 1995 noted, however, that the NCC had taken "no systematic approach" to reaching out to others in newly-immigrated communities who might find such a community orientation helpful, in terms of understanding how to access services, resources, and opportunities locally.[299]

In terms of continuing to access the NCC's services beyond basic orientation, Ana and her husband also benefitted from the fact one of the settlement counsellors who worked at the centre spoke Spanish (their first language), and that Ana's husband spoke some English. Others who were newcomers at that time noted similar advantages, whether they were able to access services because of a relative's English language ability, or because an NCC counsellor spoke a language relevant to them.[300] As noted in Chapter Four, by about 1990, NCC staff spoke English, Spanish, and Polish, but not other

[299] Favreau et al., Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 9.
[300] Elira noted that she was only able to access the NCC's services because her husband spoke English and could facilitate communication. An anonymous participant in Woolcott's 1993 Master's thesis also noted that though he found the NCC's services to be helpful, it was dependent on his access to a counsellor there who spoke his native Polish. "Voices of Exclusion,"154.

languages relevant to newcomers from Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam and Cambodia, who continued to make up a large part of the its clientele, nor to newcomers from Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere in Western Asia who were beginning to arrive in more significant numbers. These shortcomings were noted as a key issue by participants in the 1995 local immigrant needs assessment, many of whom had concerns about the lack of relevant immigrant staff and leadership at the organization. One anonymous participant argued, "If there's a [New] Canadians' Centre, at least I believe one of our friends should work there […] because in this way there will be a connection between the immigrant families and between the services, and there will be a complete understanding of what's going on among families or in the city."[301] Thus, while Ana found the NCC's services complementary to her home-making, this context suggests that funding limitations and organizational decision-making rendered their services less available to immigrants in Peterborough who were not categorized as status refugees (independent, family class, students, migrant workers, and others); further, regarding language, their services were less useful to much of their clientele from Southeast Asia, Western Asia, East Africa, and elsewhere, trying to make home in Peterborough.

For both Ana and Marisol, as for the majority of participants, finding work was a central concern and aspect of making home in Peterborough. Ana recalled, "I had good friends. Good support. But I really wanted to find a job." Since she had only had access to minimal English language training, and since training and educational opportunities for immigrant women in Ontario at that time were also minimal (see discussion in Chapter Four), she found her job options to be limited. Notably, when Ana went to the NCC for

[301] Favreau et al., Peterborough Immigrant Needs Assessment, 17.

help with her job search, she had already been connected with the organization for some time through the orientation they offer for refugee newcomers, as well as through her continued participation in their social events and other programming. She knew all the staff—"the ladies"—that worked there. Staff at the NCC connected Ana to a provincial job program. She was accepted, and secured a full-time work placement as a housekeeper that paid her wages for a year. From housekeeper, she was encouraged by her colleagues to become certified as a Personal Support Worker (PSW) and she was hired back on at the same long-term care facility in this new position. The NCC's initial facilitation of this job opportunity was a central factor in Ana's praise of the organization: "[the NCC] help me to get started there. So I will never forget that, because I [am] still there."

Marisol was surprised at how much difficulty she had finding work in Peterborough when she started looking in 1996 after graduating from Trent: "I shouldn't have this much problem because I've already lived here, I know the language, I have a university degree from Peterborough." She wondered, "If I have this problem, how much worse the others? […] Or maybe it's just me." Marisol was aware of her commonality with "the others"—that is, new immigrants in Peterborough at the time—but also the ways in which her education, her English language ability, and her strong social network in the community set her apart from many other immigrants from the Global South who were trying to make their way in Peterborough at the time. She expressed an interest in connecting with others who may have had similar experiences to allay her doubts: "Maybe it's just me." These concerns are what led her initially to the New Canadians Centre, seeking resources for her job search. Unlike Ana, she had no previous knowledge of the organization or relationships with staff there.

The first suggestions that the staff made were unrelated to her concerns around employment: "She insisted that I go to English class. And I said, 'Are you sure I would qualify? I have a degree from Trent!'" This suggestion did not address Marisol's specific concerns about employment in Peterborough. She remembered feeling, "I was a statistic. They were just looking for numbers." In terms of support around employment, they suggested she go to Service Canada, but did not call ahead on her behalf. For the rest of the afternoon, she recalled, starting with Service Canada, various agencies downtown "just passed me around," offering little help, and referring her back to the New Canadians Centre. Her day, which started with asking the New Canadians Centre for advice finding a job in Peterborough as a new university graduate, ended at the local Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission office,[302] where, to her confusion, she was treated as a completely different kind of would-be worker in the community:

> "They asked me if I had steel toe boots. I said, "I have winter boots, how many kinds of boots are there, then?" [Laughs]. And they said, "No, it's because, you know, that when you're working, something drops on your toes…" What am I working that [when] something drops on my toes, that my feet will be in trouble?"

Whereas for Ana, the employment support the NCC offered resonated with what she needed, and the kind of work she was hoping to secure, Marisol experienced a profound dissonance between her experience and her concerns, and how she was interpreted and categorized by the NCC and other local service providers. As a university-educated, English-speaking woman, well-connected socially in the local community, Marisol strayed from the mould of immigrant client—and immigrant woman in particular—favoured by the framework and funding formulas of immigrant settlement services, and

[302] Though the name of this federal department changed to CEIC from Manpower and Immigration in 1977, most participants referred colloquially to this local office as "Manpower."

sometimes reinforced by assumptions at the level of community and service providers. As Roxana Ng and others have argued, the category of immigrant woman is constructed and bounded by uneven structural relations and discursive assumptions (see discussion in Chapter Two).[303] In the context of Marisol's anecdote, it is clear how such categorizations might limit the possibilities of immigrant women's lives and home-making in white settler societies, if not denaturalized and challenged. Indeed, her story clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of the logic of the immigrant-host binary as it can sometimes play out in the context of immigrant settlement services.

Though Ana insists she was "lucky" to access the opportunities she did and find suitable and well-paying work, she worked hard to achieve this while dealing with the structural limitations she faced in accessing job and language training, taking on the unpaid work of caring for her young son and family, and also working to build social connections and friendships in a new city. What Marisol experienced was the other side of the coin: the assumptions and structural limitations that naturalize uneven power dynamics between immigrant and host, and limit mainstream imaginations of what Peterborough can look like as a home for certain immigrant women. Marisol was disappointed by the NCC's lack of understanding of employment issues new immigrants were facing at this time, and their lack of advocacy around this: "If the New Canadians Centre didn't know what to do with me, I wouldn't expect the other agencies to know what to do with me." As mentioned in Chapter Four, supporting clients with employment needs as a challenge for the NCC staff, though they did what they felt they could on a

[303] Rose Baaba-Folson, "Representation of the Immigrant," in Rose Baaba Folson and Hijin Park, Eds., *Calculated Kindness: Global Restructuring, Immigration, and Settlement in Canada*, (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Publishing, 2004), 21-32; Ng, *The Politics of Community Services*.

case-by-case basis. Providing more thorough support, and addressing wider structural dynamics around work, was identified as a gap in their services by newcomers in the 1995 Local Needs Assessment. Their individual advocacy for clients, as Ana's story indicates, was helpful in some cases. In others, however, their efforts were limited by wider structural dynamics and reigning assumptions about who exactly immigrants were and what they needed, left unchallenged. Analyzing participants' perspectives on the NCC as a site of immigrant welcome elucidates where their services have been effective, and where they have been limited by the politics of immigrant welcome in settler Canada, and the logic of the immigrant-host binary. As the small body of critical work on the immigrant settlement sector has argued, and as my analysis also suggests, considering experiences and power dynamics at this site allows scholars and activists to denaturalize the immigrant-host binary and to challenge the conditions and limitations of immigrant welcome.[304]

Immigrant becomes host: Reflections on the work of immigrant welcome

In this section, broadly, the immigrant becomes the host, revealing the inadequacy of this binary at the same time. Significantly, nearly half of immigrant participants—all women—spoke about their experiences working, volunteering, and serving on boards in the immigrant settlement sector in Peterborough. Two in particular have built careers related to immigrant settlement work, since arriving in Peterborough in the late 1980s and early 1990s respectively. Due to the particular development of immigrant settlement services in Peterborough, the power afforded to immigrant women and communities

[304] See, for example, the case studies of Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations"*;* Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers;* Sczcepanikova, "Performing 'Refugeeness.'"

through immigrant settlement work as identified by scholars such as Lee and Holder has been even more recent and even more precarious in this local context.[305] In this context, immigrant participants, in a sense, became "hosts," navigating established practices and norms of immigrant welcome locally and imagining and creating practices of their own. As majority white settler hosts were embedded in uneven and intersecting power relations, so too differently-located immigrant participants engaged variously with local configurations of power dynamics, and reigning norms and assumptions governing immigrant settlement work. Exploring their reflections on immigrant settlement work, this section demonstrates the inadequacy of the immigrant-host binary in accounting for complex constellations of power, and the negotiations by which differently-located immigrant participants situated themselves as hosts at the site of immigrant welcome.

On integration

Immigrant participants involved in settlement work engaged explicitly with normative ideas about immigrant integration. Sofia identified power dynamics skewed in favour of the status quo in discourses of integration: "That's the goal that *we're* setting, as in, it would be lovely for, you know…there are opportunities for integration." Drawing on her own experience and that of the Greek community that she knows, Sofia expressed empathy for those who "hesitate to integrate" "for fear of losing your language, your culture, your faith." Ultimately, however, she made the case for strategic integration with existing structures and the dominant culture as access to opportunity and power—and in Peterborough, as compared to major urban centres, as a simple question of survival: "Here in Peterborough, I mean, to survive, you have to make those steps." Later in our

[305] Holder, "The Role of Immigrant-Serving Organizations"; Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers."

conversation, she went on: "If you're really limited to your own ethnic, group, you just…don't have opportunities. You can't succeed." Sofia insisted that taking these steps did not come at the expense of producing and maintaining evolving connections to diverse languages, cultures and faiths: "You are free to practice any religion you want, and believe in anything you want…and nobody's going to take that away from you, and you're free to gather with people of your own culture and all that. So you have nothing to be afraid of if you bring others in your life." Her assertion of "rights" here as a guarantor of safety is at odds with other moments in our conversation, for example, when we discuss the racist violence of a recent arson at the local mosque, and the implications of this act for local racialized Muslim people's feeling of safety. In tension here in Sofia's comments, then, is her sense of the need to compromise to access opportunity and avoid persecution, and her more aspirational sense that no compromise should be needed. This tension remains unresolved in her reflections on immigrant integration.

Marisol's vision of integration, on the other hand, posed a more direct challenge to power dynamics in Peterborough that favour the status quo. Sharing her vision of immigrant settlement work in Peterborough, she suggested that it would be "a very serious pitfall" for the New Canadians Centre and others involved in immigrant welcome "if their services becomes just…settling *for* Peterborough." Instead, she suggested, Peterborough should be a site of contestation and ongoing change:

> They chose Peterborough. So for that, we should at least meet them halfway. And in a respectful way. Not in a…missionary way that, "This is the best thing that could have happened to you." Right? And have that understanding that, you know, why of all places Peterborough? And once they tell us that […] make sure that at least we make the effort, that we don't fall short of the reasons why they picked Peterborough.

In Marisol's vision, instead of new immigrants making concessions and compromises, it is the dominant culture that must change. This resonates with Peter Li's critical examination of integration discourse, and his insistence that a more just reimagination of integration would centre new immigrants' "right and legitimacy to challenge the status quo."[306]

Power and practices of welcome

Indeed, most participants shared an awareness of the structural forces of racism, sexism, xenophobia, and more that animated uneven power relations in the "status quo" in the local culture, in mainstream social services, and in Canadian immigration policies. Marisol spoke to the tension between playing by the rules of the status quo and challenging injustices in her efforts to support new immigrants to survive and thrive in Peterborough: "That's what I do. Helping people navigate the system. But hopefully I am not…being complacent or would just, you know, [want] people to agree with this. I mean, right now, I'm helping you navigate this, but I really have a problem [with] the way we're doing this. You know?" She gave a compelling example of how for some new immigrants' strategies for navigating the status quo in Peterborough have the effect of reproducing harmful racial hierarchies:

> There are immigrant-owned businesses that I have talked to that would not hire black students. Or anyone who is black. Because they believe that that is not good for their business—in Peterborough. They said, it's not that I don't like black people, Peterborough doesn't like black people, and I'm doing business here. I want to do a good business.

Looking beyond the binary of immigrant and host, of racist Peterborough and victimized new immigrants, Marisol points to the complex ways in which differently-racialized new

[306] Li, "Deconstructing Canada's Discourse," 12.

immigrants, and new immigrants in different class positions, "place" themselves in what Brah characterizes as the relational "configurations of power" between differently-located individuals and groups in diaspora space.[307] Marisol draws attention to the inadequacy of the immigrant-host binary for understanding the agency and complex social worlds of differently-located newcomers as they navigate power dynamics at sites of immigrant welcome, and in white settler society. Further, her story implies, if practices of welcome in the immigrant settlement sector are reproducing anti-blackness and other structural inequalities, the effectiveness and expansiveness of that welcome is significantly circumscribed.

Participants also reflected on internal power dynamics in immigrant settlement work. Marisol asserted, the "bottom line" in an immigrant serving organization is **"**how, what they perceive the immigrant community is. And the families and the people that they serve." In her understanding of immigrant settlement work here, she centred the power—potentially harmful, or potentially transformative—of how new immigrants are imagined and represented. She identified, for example, certain powerful tendencies shaping immigrant settlement work, and social service work in general, to treat clients as "a problem to be solved," reinforcing their marginalization in the community. Sharing her vision of how to welcome new immigrants to this community, she emphasized, "I would push, as I can, to say that we're working together." She elaborated, "You go to the New Canadians Centre and you're not only welcome, that they're happy to see you, or that you're important." She spoke of an approach to welcome that was aware of, and actively working to challenge, normative client-counsellor or immigrant-host power dynamics.

[307] Brah, Cartographies of Diaspora, 179-180.

Sofia also reflected on the importance of how different new immigrants are imagined and represented in immigrant settlement work: "I learned one thing, that it's not a good idea to generalize, or to have assumptions of different cultural norms, or faiths […] those generalizations that we all tend to do. They really…they're not helping. Because that's what I have learned, with this work, that it's one family at a time." In Sofia's approach to immigrant welcome, she is aware of the need to work continuously to become aware of, and unlearn, different potentially harmful—and certainly "not helpful"—assumptions, and homogenizing generalizations based on intersections of race, ethnicity, religion, et cetera. Ana, who served as a board member and volunteered with various groups and organizations involved with immigrant welcome, including the NCC, remembers her discomfort with the role she sometimes felt was expected of her as a Spanish speaker and volunteer interpreter: giving newcomers advice, or rules, for how they could and could not live their lives in Peterborough: "I was finding that very…I didn't like to do that. […] Because I think it was up to them to understand that." In Ana's approach to this work, she tried to be aware of these dynamics, and the assumption that new immigrants needed this kind of advice, working to put newcomers' autonomy and capability first. The visions of immigrant welcome, and ongoing practices of welcome described by these women reflect what they have learned through their formal and informal work, and through their own personal experiences: that a declaration of welcome on its own is not enough. Their descriptions and reflections demonstrate some of the ways in which they understand that welcome must be enacted through ongoing practices that seek to unlearn and challenge harmful assumptions about differently-located immigrants, and create new representations that honour the diversity of new

immigrant lives. As Marisol put it, “You are not work. We’re honoured to be a part of your life experience.”

Conclusion

Looking back on twenty or more years of building lives anchored locally in Peterborough (or for Kha, elsewhere in Ontario), participants shared some of the processes by which they both survived and made home locally, recalling challenges and successes, barriers and opportunities. In the process, they articulated the negotiations by which they had placed themselves and were placed locally in intersecting, local power dynamics around gender, race, class, and colonialism not simply immigrants but as complex and unique social actors. Most people’s stories of settling in locally overlapped minimally with the work of the New Canadians Centre. Participants described, for example, various informal supports beyond settlement services that helped them feel welcome locally. For those who did make use of language training or settlement services, some described these services as useful, and even as crucial to their initial processes of settling in. Others were either ambivalent or explicitly disappointed with the disjuncture between their particular needs, desires, and aspirations in Peterborough, and the imagined immigrant client the NCC’s services were designed to best support. Like host participants, immigrant participants’ practices of welcome reflected their understandings of Peterborough as local home. Marisol and Sofia’s nuanced reflections on their work as immigrant settlement professionals—as both immigrant and host—underscores the inadequacy of the immigrant-host binary for understanding how different racialized new immigrants work to feel at home in a particular local space, and how others might best work to support them. Their visions of welcome resonate with Lee’s assessment of the

"space of possibility" for immigrant women's activism and participation in social and political life that the immigrant settlement sector offers.[308]

[308] Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers," 111.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Near the end of our conversation about the work of immigrant welcome in Peterborough, Marisol shared a different vision for the future of this work: "Imagine if you don't need a New Canadians Centre." She explained, "That is where you basically would want you as an organization to disappear. That the new Canadians would not have any need for you anymore because they'd feel fine and happy to go around Peterborough and people know what to do with them." Indeed, the New Canadians Centre has been an important hub for the work of making Peterborough a more welcoming local home for new immigrants. As this study has demonstrated, however, and as Marisol's remarks indicate, the simple existence of such an organization after 1979 did not transform dominant home-making practices or guarantee welcome for all in Peterborough, nor does it today. Rather, participants' reflections indicate that it has been through ongoing and specific practices of welcome in the context of immigrant-serving organizations, intimate social relationships, neighbourhoods, communities, and city institutions that the messy work has been done to support diverse individuals' full and equal participation in life in Peterborough.

In this thesis, I have investigated the social, political, and economic circumstances animating the founding and development of the New Canadians Centre, the first and only immigrant-serving organization in Peterborough, Ontario, between 1979 and 1997. Drawing on interviews, and employing the analytical concept of home, I have investigated the relationship between how (and to what effect) differently-located actors have understood and practiced home in Peterborough since the 1970s, and how (and to what effect) they have understood and practiced welcome in the context of local

immigrant settlement work. Overall, though local efforts to welcome new immigrants have sometimes consolidated more than challenged a status quo that favours white settler dominance, I argue that everyday practices of welcome in the context of settlement work—and critical reflection on those practices—have offered possibilities for negotiations with, reconfigurations of, and outright challenges to dominant white settler home-making and uneven power relations between immigrant and host in Peterborough. In this chapter, I offer closing thoughts on three major themes of the research. I then briefly reflect on limitations and directions for future research, and end by discussing the broader conclusions of the study.

The New Canadians Centre: Successes and limitations

The New Canadians Centre's work proceeded from an intention to welcome. The organization made available services and resources locally that were not available before. The support and advocacy the organization provided through the 1980s and 1990s made concrete, positive differences in the lives of many new immigrants, particularly refugees and some immigrant women. The NCC's development after 1979 was consistent with exponential growth in the settlement sector in Canada at this time, influenced by policy change and advocacy from immigrant communities and their allies. The organization's financial crisis and closure in the mid-1990s was also consistent with a wider crisis in the settlement sector, influenced by restructuring, funding clawbacks, and fading political buy-in. Initially, the NCC was led by established residents (mostly white settlers), and favoured their expertise at the expense of making room for the expertise of racialized new immigrants in the organization's leadership. This distribution of power sometimes reinforced a hierarchy and a set of harmful assumptions opposing helpful Canadian hosts

and helpless new immigrants. As the NCC grew through the 1990s, engaging with the wider settlement sector and feedback from immigrant communities in Peterborough, they made efforts to mitigate these uneven power dynamics. By the organization's restructuring in 1997, however, they had not yet transformed their power structures to centre new immigrant leadership. Ultimately, the NCC's work in its first two decades was complex, contradictory, and embedded in power relations. The tensions in the organization's distribution of power reflect the ongoing process by which those categorized as hosts and those categorized as immigrants in the context of immigrant settlement work grappled with the limitations of these categories, sometimes consolidating normative, uneven power relations, sometimes reflecting critically on them, and other times challenging them directly.

Everyone makes home: Process, practices, power

This thesis has built on scholarship that conceptualizes home as process and practices, and as embedded in power relations. Participants' descriptions of working to feel at home in Peterborough, and working to welcome others, resonate with this critical understanding of home as process. Participants' experiences of Peterborough as local home, where they felt belonging and where they felt alienation, varied depending on their unique circumstances as well as aspects of their social location including gender, race, class, immigration status, relationship to colonialism, and more. While white settler home-making is intensely naturalized in dominant discourses of home in Canada, our conversations about immigrant welcome encouraged host narrators (mostly white settlers) to reflect on their own understandings of Peterborough as home, and to denaturalize their own home-making practices. Most framed Peterborough as racist, and sought to

counteract racism in their work to welcome immigrants. While immigrant narrators generally emphasized the ways in which they had built a sense of home and felt welcomed locally, most also reflected on barriers they had encountered to full participation in Peterborough life, describing barriers related to immigration status, education and language ability, gender, race, and a faltering local economy. Most also accounted for racism and xenophobia in their experiences, and identified a local status quo that favoured the dominant, white, Anglo-Saxon culture. Immigrant participants also emphasized the central importance of paid work in their experiences of making home in Peterborough to a degree that host participants did not, indicating the inextricability of feeling at home from the politics of material survival and access to resources. In our discussions of Peterborough and Canada as home, participants (including myself as researcher and interlocutor) sometimes considered settler colonialism and Indigenous sovereignties in challenging and unsettling ways, and other times, consolidated settler dominance and the erasure of Indigenous life. These complex and power-laden reflections on home informed and underpinned participants' discussions of their practices of welcome, and their visions of how to make Peterborough a more welcoming local home.

Linking home to welcome

Throughout this thesis, I have understood welcome, and the politics of immigrant welcome, to be a central expression of home in white settler society, and a sub-set of home-making practices. I have explored connections between home and welcome in several ways. Investigating links between immigrant participants' home-making practices and the NCC's practices of welcome, for example, I found that most people's stories of

settling in as newcomers between 1979 and 1997 overlapped minimally with the work of the NCC. Participants were more likely to focus on their own efforts to build a sense of home locally, as well as on informal supports from friends, family, and other diverse local allies. Some people did make use of the NCC's services. Of these, some described the organization as helpful, and a key element of their initial sense of well-being in Peterborough. Others were ambivalent or critical of the organization's inability to help them, or rather, the organization's misguided attempts to categorize them as immigrant in a way that did not resonate with their experience, needs, or desires. I also explored how participants' understandings of home informed their practices of welcome. Most host participants described their roles as supporters and advocates for new immigrants as they navigated structural barriers and a racist local culture. While most described Peterborough as racist, host participants only sometimes accounted for the influence of structural racism in their own practices of welcome and in the work of the NCC. Other times, they set themselves (and the NCC) outside of and in opposition to the uneven power dynamics of structural racism. Though they understood new immigrants to be resilient and capable people, host participants sometimes described immigrants in ways that portrayed them as helpless or as culturally inferior. This confirms the powerful influence of dominant settler discourses and structures of home that reinforce a hierarchy of claims to belonging in Canada, which, among other things, allows generalizations and assumptions to circulate that have harmful effects on racialized immigrant lives. At other times, host narrators reflected critically on these uneven power dynamics and envisioned practices of welcome that would challenge this racist hierarchy of belonging, including,

for example, envisioning a welcome that accounted for the settler colonial context and their complicity in colonial violence as settlers.

Turning to immigrant participants' practices of welcome, I found that a significant number of immigrant participants—all women—became involved in immigrant settlement work or other adjacent work, either volunteering or building careers in this field. This is consistent with activist scholarship arguing that immigrant settlement work has come to serve as an important social and political platform for immigrant women.[309] More than host participants, immigrant participants involved in settlement work readily identified the harmful effects of racist assumptions about immigrants or representations of immigrants as helpless within this work. Like host participants, some immigrant participants envisioned a welcome that would challenge harmful mainstream representations of immigrants, and challenge local power structures that favoured the dominant, white settler culture, in one case also emphasizing the importance of challenging colonialism, and building solidarities between new immigrants and Indigenous peoples. All participants' reflections indicate both the limitations and the possibilities of the immigrant settlement sector as a site for fostering visions of welcome that are fair and equitable, and challenge the status quo.

Limitations of this study

This study examined the first two decades of the New Canadians Centre's work in Peterborough. Since 1997 (where this study leaves off), the New Canadians Centre has continued to evolve, as has the character of migration to Peterborough. This period warrants a study of its own. Further, the New Canadians Centre's work represents only

[309] Lee, "Immigrant Women Workers," 111.

one piece of multi-faceted organizing that has been ongoing since the 1960s to make Peterborough fairer and more welcoming for new immigrants. There are a number of other local organizations and grassroots mobilizations alluded to throughout this research whose histories are worth exploring in greater depth.[310] The local scope of this project also presents limitations: first, comparing this case study to the development of immigrant settlement services in other similar-sized cities across Ontario and Canada may have revealed resonances, tensions, and other broader insights. Second, though looking beyond local experiences of home was beyond the scope of this project, further exploring participants' conceptualizations of home in terms of diaspora and/or transnational practices would have enriched my discussion of home. Finally, throughout this project, I only began to tease out the connections between the politics of welcome and settler colonialism, and between migrant solidarities and Indigenous resurgences. There is much more to be said here: a burgeoning body of community and academic work is exploring these connections and building solidarities, in Peterborough and across Turtle Island.[311]

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[310] Some of the local organizations mentioned in this research project include: Casa Maria Refugee Homes, the Community and Race Relations Committee, the Rainbow Alliance (active in the 1990s), and more recently, the Nogojiwanong Youth Solidarity Initiative and the End Immigration Detention Network.

[311] For examples of work in Peterborough, see, for example, the work of the Nogojiwanong Youth Solidarity Initiative. Elsewhere on Turtle Island, see (in addition to many other initiatives across many territories) the work of No One Is Illegal, the 4Rs Youth Movement, and Canadian Roots Exchange. In scholarship, see, for example, Zainab Amadahy and Bonita Lawrence, "Indigenous peoples and black people in Canada: Settlers or Allies?" In *Breaching the colonial contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada,* ed. Arlo Kempf, (New York: Springer Publishing, 2009): 105-136; Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua, "Decolonizing Antiracism," *Social Justice* 32, 4 (2005):120–143; Snelgrove et al., "Unsettling settler colonialism"; Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor"; Walia, *Undoing Border Imperialism*.

Broader conclusions: Making home and making welcome in white settler society

Conceptually, this thesis has offered a sustained reflection on what it means to make home for differently-located actors in white settler society. As established in Chapter Two, the use of home as an analytical tool is a well-established approach in migration studies for exploring the complexities of migrant lives. The concept of home is less commonly employed, however, to examine the lives of those represented as hosts in white settler society, or as Avtar Brah calls them, those with "genealogies […] of staying put."[312] Drawing on Brah's conceptualization of diaspora space, this thesis has examined the uneven connections between differently-located actors in a shared local place, who are embedded in complex, overlapping, and historically-specific constellations of power, focusing on relations between racialized immigrants and white settlers. Building on the insights of Brah and others, this thesis demonstrates that the analytical lens of home, when turned on the dominant white settler hosts as well as racialized immigrants, is a productive tool to unsettle a normative politics of immigrant welcome in Canada. Further, the analytical lens of home offers a strategy to firmly situate the politics of immigrant welcome in Canada as inextricable from the violence of the settler colonial system on this land, and the fundamental truth of Indigenous sovereignties.

This study's focus on a small city in Central Ontario is also significant. Despite what popular narratives might imply, it is not only major urban centres in Canada that have been shaped and transformed by immigration since the 1960s. New immigrants are also arriving, building lives, and creating change in small and mid-sized cities like Peterborough across the country, and have been for many years. These smaller

[312] Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora,* 16.

communities are also seeking ways to support new immigrants, to fight racism, and to foster welcome, and have been for many years. Indeed, the recent, significant community mobilization around the Syrian refugee crisis in Peterborough and other small cities, mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, indicates this. The findings that emerged from my conversations with research participants contribute to ongoing discussions in small and mid-sized communities across Canada about how to make these places fairer and more welcoming, while attending to the unique possibilities and challenges that smaller cities offer for new immigrants and others.

This thesis also extends the small body of critical literature on the immigrant settlement sector, offering a capillary-level analysis of one immigrant-serving organization's embeddedness in the social world. In terms of praxis, the findings of this study underscore the importance of examining and challenging uneven power dynamics in immigrant settlement work, looking critically at the categories of immigrant and host. The category of immigrant can reinforce harmful stereotypes and assumptions animated by intersections of racism, sexism, and xenophobia. Being categorized as immigrant, both in policy and in daily, life, can limit individuals' access to opportunity. The category of host can reinforce the harmful idea of white, European cultural superiority and structural dominance, and can also reinforce the disempowering assumption that immigrants are helpless without the help of this dominant host. This research has shown that recognizing the harm and limitations of these categories can allow new immigrants and their allies to challenge them, and to envision practices of welcome that reject the inadequate binary categories of immigrant and host, and the exclusionary understanding of home in Canada that underpins them. Accounting for the complexity and multiplicity of immigrant lives

(and the lives of those normatively positioned as hosts) is one fruitful way to challenge the immigrant-host binary. Unsettling settler colonialism, and making connections between new immigrants and Indigenous peoples—the true hosts to settlers on this territory—is another.

These conclusions give weight to what Marisol meant when she imagined a welcome in Peterborough that does not necessarily "need" a formal immigrant-serving organization like the New Canadians Centre. Her vision responds to the structural limitations of the settlement sector that my research findings have highlighted: the sector's chronic underfunding and marginalization in relation to mainstream social services; the flawed immigration policies that inform it; and relatedly, the ease with which the immigrant-host binary is reinforced in this work without deliberate efforts to disrupt it. In imagining a Peterborough that doesn't "need a new Canadians Centre," Marisol also looked beyond the limited vision of home in Canada that creates and maintains harmful divisions between immigrants and hosts. Relatedly, Marisol also posed an important question to me during our conversation, relevant to all those invested in making Peterborough a more welcoming local home for new immigrants: "Can we imagine a New Canadians Centre working toward annihilating themselves?" Based on the findings of this study, I argue that working toward its own disappearance would not signal the failure of an immigrant-serving organization like the NCC, but the ultimate hope for its ability to contribute toward the transformation of uneven power relations in Peterborough. Indeed, in the NCC's growing focus on community development in addition to service delivery over the past decade, the organization is arguably engaging with this idea, looking toward building capacity beyond the walls of the organization, and

hopefully also toward transforming local power structures. Ultimately, the "space of possibility" for social change that the settlement sector offers to racialized new immigrant communities and their allies is contingent upon accountability to power dynamics and structural forces in this work. It is only with such critical self-reflection and deliberate efforts to unsettle the status quo that we can gain insights into how we might more fully honour the diversity of people who seek to call Peterborough home, and how we might work toward more equitable practices of welcome and more just visions of home on this land.

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Appendix A-1: Participant information chart (part one)

Name (* = pseudonym used)	**Age**	**Year of birth**	**Year of arrival in Canada**	**Where were you born / where are you from?**
Amelia*	87	1930	n/a	Born in Woodside, Nova Scotia.
Ana*	53	1964	1990	Born in San Salvador, El Salvador.
Cuong	49	1967	1980	Born in Hanoi, North Vietnam.
Catherine*	Not stated	Not stated	n/a	Born in Ottawa, Ontario.
Dara*	37	1980	1987	Born in Thailand.
Diệu*	67	1949	1980	Born in Saigon, South Vietnam.
Donna*	71	1946	n/a	Born in Toronto, Ontario.
Dorota*	69	1948	1977	Born in Płock, Poland.
Elira*	55	1963	1996	Born in Kosovo.
Fred*	92	1925	n/a	Born in Peterborough, Ontario.
Hung*	61	1956	1984	Born in Hau Giang province, South Vietnam.
Joyce*	81	1936	n/a	Born in Keene, Ontario (just outside of Peterborough).
Kha	74	1943	1980	Born in Haiphong, North Vietnam.
Margaret*	76	1940	1966	Born in Dublin, Ireland.
Marisol*	48	1969	1990	Born in San Isidro, Leyte, Philippines
Sofia*	51	1966	1986	Born in Patras, Greece.
Teresa*	57 (approx.)	1960 (approx.)	n/a	Born in Toronto, Ontario.

Appendix A-2: Participant information chart (part two)

Name (* = pseudo -nym)	**Reasons for migrating to Canada (if applicable)**	**Reasons for coming to live in Peterborough**	**Educational background and work history**	**Relation to NCC?**
Amelia *	n/a	Moved to Peterborough to work at Dominion Woolens at age 18. Has lived there since. (Married to Fred).	Education: not stated Work: -Dominion Woolen factory worker -Raised children -Ran charity clothing store through the Catholic Church	Informal involvement in supporting Indochinese refugees in 1980s through her husband Fred, who was local federal refugee liaison officer.
Ana*	Migrated as a government-sponsored refugee with her husband and young son, fleeing civil war in El Salvador.	Suggested by government liaison upon Ana's arrival in Toronto, when she said she wanted to live in a small city, safe for raising children. Has lived there since.	Education: High school (San Salvador, El Salvador) Personal Support Worker (PSW) Diploma (Sir Sanford Fleming College, Peterborough, ON) Work: -In San Salvador, worked in a family-owned bakery In Peterborough: -Retail- sorting at clothing store -Cleaner, long-term care facility -Personal support worker, long-term care facility	At first, used NCC's services as a client. Later, was volunteer, board member with NCC and refugee support organization Casa Maria.
Cuong	Migrated as a privately-sponsored refugee as an adolescent boy with his mother and younger brother, fleeing violence and persecution in Vietnam. Son of Kha.	Privately sponsored by a group of individuals based in Peterborough. Moved with his mother (Kha) to Toronto after six years in Peterborough. Now lives in Cambridge, Ontario.	Education: -College Work: -Worked as a chef for many years. Now works in quality control at Toyota.	Came to Peterborough as part of private sponsorship effort that led to creation of NCC. As a young boy, did not access services.
Catherine*	n/a	Moved to Peterborough with her husband for work in 1974. Has lived there since.	Education: -Teacher's college Work: -ESL teacher at Fleming College	Worked as an ESL teacher at Fleming College in 1979 when Indochinese refugees arrived.

				Became informally involved with supporting her immigrant students beyond the classroom from 1979 to the mid 1980s. Was also involved in the local Multicultural Association. Her husband also served on the board of the New Canadians Centre.
Dara*	Migrated as a government-sponsored refugee with her parents and younger brother, fleeing violence and displacement in Cambodia.	Were sent to Peterborough upon arrival at the airport as government-sponsored refugees, "and we stayed."	Education: -Bachelor's degree Work: -Works as a nurse.	Remembers some initial support from NCC staff when her family first arrived but not directly (she was a child). At first, her father took ESL at Fleming, and her mother took the NLOC English course with daycare at Central School.
Diệu*	Migrated as a privately-sponsored refugee with her husband and four young children, fleeing war in Vietnam.	Privately sponsored by a group of individuals based in Peterborough. Has lived there since.	Education: -Little formal education before marrying and starting work Work: -Ran a provisions store with her husband in South Vietnam - Did piece work for fishing lure factory in Peterborough -Runs an Asian grocery store with her husband in Peterborough	Came to Peterborough as part of private sponsorship effort that led to creation of NCC. Took provincially-funded language class, geared toward women, spearheaded by PNLOC (NCC precursor).
Donna*	n/a	Moved to the Peterborough area with her husband and children for work in 1973. Has lived outside of Peterborough	Education: -Bachelor's degree in Sociology, University of Western Ontario Work: -Social services	Was a paid, core staff member at the NCC from 1986 to 1996. Worked as ISAP counsellor, Host Coordinator, LINC Language

		choosing a different lifestyle.		Assessor, NLOC Coordinator and Administrator.
Dorota *	Was invited and sponsored from Poland by the Catholic Diocese of Peterborough to continue her educational work as a nun with the Passionate Sisters.	See previous column. Has lived in Peterborough since.	School: Elementary School, High School, Teachers College in Poland. Work: -Worked as a teacher in Poland, and in Canada	Through the Catholic church, has been a central organizer of Polish language and culture classes for the local Polish community since the 1970s. Direct involvement with the NCC has been minimal beyond participating in multicultural Canada Day celebrations. She recalled cooperation between the Polish community and the NCC to sponsor Polish refugees in the 1980s.
Elira*	Was sponsored by her fiancé to come to Canada, who had migrated to Peterborough from Albania several years earlier.	To join her fiancé. Has lived here ever since.	Education: -Law degree (University of Pristina, Kosovo) -Social Service worker diploma (Fleming College, Peterborough)	At first, used NCC's services as a client. Later, pursued a diploma in social service work and worked at the NCC.
Fred*	n/a	Has lived in Peterborough since birth. (Married to Amelia).	Education: not stated Work: -Dominion Woolen factory worker -Employment Counsellor at Manpower (later Canada Employment and Immigration) -Refugee Liaison Officer at Canada Employment and Immigration	Was hired as a federal refugee liaison officer in Peterborough in the late 1970s when refugees from Indochina began arriving in Peterborough. Became informally involved with supporting new immigrants beyond the parameters of his day job. Served

				on the board of PNLOC/NCC.
Hung*	Migrated as a privately sponsored refugee with his brother, fleeing war in Vietnam.	After Hung's brother and his wife were privately sponsored by a church congregation in Peterborough, he convinced the same church to also sponsor Hung and their other brother to join him. He has lived here since.	Education: not stated Work: -Was a student in Saigon, but left with his family in 1975 when North Vietnam took over to return to the province where he was born and work in the rice fields. -Since arriving in Peterborough has worked at manufacturing company, being promoted from painter and repairman, to assembly worker, to Brake Press Operator.	Took federal government-funded ESL class at Fleming.
Joyce*	n/a	After growing up in the Peterborough area, Joyce moved to the United States with her husband for before returning to Peterborough for his work with her four children in 1971. Has lived here since.	Education: -Teacher's college Work: -Worked as a teacher for the deaf/hard of hearing - Raised four children while her husband worked as a professor at Trent University	Was involved in private sponsorship of Indochinese refugees in 1979, and served on the board of PNLOC/NCC in its early years.
Kha	Migrated as a privately-sponsored refugee with her two adolescent sons, fleeing war in Vietnam. Mother of Cuong.	Privately sponsored by a group of individuals based in Peterborough. Moved to Toronto with her two sons after six years in Peterborough. Now lives in Cambridge, Ontario.	Education: -High school Work: -Worked as a Chinese-Vietnamese translator for the government in North Vietnam -Once in Canada, worked in food service and manufacturing	Came to Peterborough as part of private sponsorship effort that led to creation of NCC. Took federal government-funded ESL class at Fleming.
Margaret*	Trained as a teacher, she migrated from England for work to Calgary, Alberta, along with her mother.	Came to Peterborough in the early 1970s with her then-husband so he could attend Trent University.	*B.A. London, England. Taught high/elementary school in Jamaica, Calgary, Toronto and Peterborough.*	Was involved in private sponsorship of Indochinese refugees in 1979. Volunteered and served on the board of PNLOC/NCC in its early years, and continues to be involved today.
Marisol*	Migrated from the Philippines	See previous column. After graduating,	Education:	Remembers attempting to

	on an international student visa after being awarded a scholarship to attend Trent University.	decided to stay in Peterborough. Has lived here since.	-BS (Cebu State College, Philippines) -BA (Trent University, Canada) Work: - High school teacher and university faculty in Cebu, Philippines - Housekeeper at hotel in Peterborough after graduating from Trent - Program coordinator for the Community and Race Relations Committee and at the New Canadians Centre in Peterborough - Executive director of the New Canadians Centre from 2000-2008. - Independent immigration consultant since 2009	make use of NCC services as a client only once. Was hired on as NCC staff member after 1997 restructuring. By 2000, became Executive Director of the NCC and held this position until 2008.
Sofia*	Migrated from Greece on an international student visa to attend Trent University.	See previous column. Initially, was drawn to a smaller city and a smaller university. After graduating, decided to stay in Peterborough. Has lived here since.	Education: -BA (Honours), Trent University, Canada -Teacher's college Work: - Has worked as a teacher with the Catholic School Board in Peterborough for 26 years.	Did not make use of NCC's services as a client. Became involved in refugee sponsorship organization Casa Maria in the 1990s. Now coordinates private refugee sponsorship for the Catholic Diocese of Peterborough, and works as an ESL resource teacher with the local school board.
Teresa*	n/a	Came to Peterborough in 1978 to attend Trent University. After graduating, decided to stay. Has lived here since.	-BA, Trent University Work: -Has worked as an ESL teacher at Fleming College since the early 1980s	Began working as an ESL teacher at Fleming College in the early 1980s and from there got involved with supporting new immigrants. Later served on the board of the NCC.

Appendix B-1: Interview guide for immigrant participants

Background/ brief life history

1. Do you want to start by telling me a bit about yourself, where you come from?

-age?
-family background? (religion, ethnicity, etc)
- Married? Children?
- Occupation?

Migration to Canada

1. Can you tell me about your experience of coming to Canada?

a. What led you to leave [your country of origin]?

b. Do remember when you first started to think about coming to Canada?

c. What did you already know about Canada/Peterborough? How did you imagine Canada/Peterborough?

d. What were your early experiences with Canadian immigration?

Settling in Peterborough

1. Can you tell me about how you came to Peterborough?

2. Can you tell me about what it was like settling in Peterborough?

a. What were your first impressions of Peterborough?

b. What were people's reactions to you as a newcomer? (Media?)

c. What was the most difficult part? What helped the most?

d. Were there others [from your country of origin]? Other ethnic communities?

e. "Network" to help you meet people, find work, find housing, get your bearings?

Settlement support in Peterborough

1. Can you tell me about any supports you found in Peterborough to meet people, find work, find housing, get your bearings?

-People, communities, groups

2. Can you tell me about any programs or services you made use of to support your transition to living in Peterborough?

- Can you tell me about your relation to PNLOC/NCC?

- Can you tell me about your access to English language training? [if appl]

Life in Peterborough

1. Can you tell me about what life in Ptbo has looked like for you and your family… I'd like to hear about work, schooling, where you have felt good, what the challenges have been?

a. How have you made your living since coming to Peterborough? Have you ever had difficulty finding work?

b. When/where do feel most comfortable in Peterborough? Where do you feel most out of place?

c. Do you celebrate holidays or traditions from your home country? Are there new holidays or traditions that have become important to you since being in Peterborough?

d. Do your children like it here? [if applicable]

3. Do you think there are differences in your life compared to your parents' lives? Similarities?

4. I am wondering if you think your feelings of home have changed since moving to Canada/Peterborough?

Further reflection on integration experiences and supports

1. I am interested to hear more of your reflections on official programs/services provided in Ptbo [if applicable], their usefulness to you, and the role [NCC/PNLOC] played in your life in Peterborough?

a. What was helpful about [program/services] for you? What was not helpful?

b. Were there needs that you had that were not met? Do you think these needs were different for [someone of a different gender]?

c. Were there social events, community events you participated in? Multicultural events?

2. I am interested in hearing more about your impressions of the people who might have been trying to help you to get established in Peterborough?

a. Any significant relationships or encounters that stand out? Positive? Negative?

b. Can you tell me about how it felt to receive help from people in Peterborough (who were, at first, strangers?)?

3. Do you feel as if Peterborough at the time you arrived was a welcoming community for you?

a. Are there ways in which the Peterborough community might have presented barriers to inclusion for newcomers?

3. Looking back, what could have improved your experience of settling in Peterborough?

Conclusion

1. What would you most like others outside of your community to know about your experiences? Others within your community?

2. Is there anything that you think is important that we haven't covered?

Appendix B-2: Interview guide for host participants

Background/ brief life history

1. Do you want to start by telling me a bit about where you come from?
   - age?
   - how long in Peterborough?
   -family history/background? Married? Children?
   - education/occupation? Working currently?

Perspective on immigrant reception work, formal and informal, in Peterborough

Motivation, details of involvement, context of life at the time

1. What drew you to the work of supporting new immigrants and refugees? How did your interest in this develop?

2. Tell me about your work with immigrants and refugees

   -PNLOC/NCC specifically? Role(s)?

   -typical day?

3. What else was occupying your time during the time you were involved with PNLOC/NCC?

Relationships

1. Tell me a bit about what it was like working with/getting to know new immigrants and refugees?
   - Significant relationships?
2. What do you remember about the kinds of support new immigrants and refugees were asking for?
   - What kinds of support do you feel you were able to provide?
3. What did you have in common w newcomers you worked with, what drew you together? Were there places where your perspectives were different?

If not addressed:

- Differences in needs- women/men?

- Rewards/challenges of this work?

- How would you describe the work you were doing- volunteering? Advocacy? Activism? Service work? Education? Friendship?

Reflections on place of newcomers in Peterborough community life

1. I am interested to hear your thoughts on how newcomers trying to integrate may have perceived and experienced life in Peterborough.

   -was it a welcoming community? barriers to inclusion/belonging?

If not addressed elsewhere:

-Can you tell me about the Peterborough community in the [70s, 80s, 90s]?

-continuity/changes in PB community?

-impact of immigration on community?

Defining success for newcomers

1. What do you think success looked like for the newcomers you worked with?

If not addressed:

-What do you think of this word integration? What does it mean? What should it mean?

PNLOC/NCC as an organization

1. In what ways do you think PNLOC/NCC was successful as an organization? What challenges do you think it faced?

If not addressed:

-What role do you think PNLOC/NCC played in the lives of newcomers? In the wider Peterborough community?

Big picture, immigration in Peterborough

1. What role do you think you/people involved in immigrant reception played in the lives of newcomers? Where do you/they fit into the wider Peterborough community?
2. Looking back, is there anything you would do differently if you were trying to support new immigrants and refugees trying to establish lives in Peterborough today?

Colonialism?

3. Thinking about First Nations communities in/around Peterborough. Your work has been about making people feel welcome, not allowing them to be treated as outsiders (racism). First Nations have called this place home but still might not feel welcome, or might welcome newcomers to their land in their own ways. I'm curious to know if there was any collaboration or overlap with local First Nations people as part of your work with immigrants?

Conclusion

1. Is there anything that you think is important that we haven't covered?

Appendix C-1: Letter of information for immigrant participants

LETTER OF INFORMATION B- Former immigrants to Peterborough

An oral history of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/New Canadians Centre, 1979-1997

The purpose of this project is to examine the history of immigrant reception in Peterborough from the 1970s to the 1990s through the settlement experiences of new immigrants, as well as the experiences of staff and volunteers of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/the New Canadians Centre, and the activities of that organization during this period. I am particularly interested in women's experiences, both as new immigrant clients, and as staff/volunteers of the organization. It is important to understand how the PNLOC/NCC emerged and evolved, and what kinds of encounters and relationships came about between staff/volunteers and immigrant clients through the organization's programs and services, as there is little existing written record of this time in the community's history. It is also useful to ask how different people involved in settlement activities in Peterborough, as staff and as clients, understood and practiced "integration," how their understandings were similar or different, and what effect this may have had on settlement outcomes.

I am interested in your experiences of arriving and settling in Peterborough as a new immigrant or refugee during this period. This information will be gathered informally through an interview. With your consent, this interview will take place over two sessions. Should you prefer to conduct the interview in just one session, this can be arranged. Each session will last one to two hours. During the interview you will be asked to describe and explain your experiences with arriving and settling in Peterborough, and your experiences with the programs and services of PNLOC/NCC, if applicable. With your permission, I will audio record the interview to be transcribed later.

The questions asked will be mainly about your experiences with arriving and settling in Peterborough generally, and how you felt about these experiences, as well as some questions about your personal background. I will also ask questions about your experiences with any programs and services of PNLOC/NCC you may have taken part in, and how you felt about these experiences.

There may be minor social and psychological risks related to your participation in this study. There is a risk of loss of privacy involved: due to the personal nature of information shared and due to the small, close-knit nature of the Peterborough community, I cannot guarantee your complete anonymity. However, you have several options to ensure as much anonymity as possible under the circumstances. There is a further risk that by participating in this interview process, you may revisit memories of your past that are emotional or distressing.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable. You are

free to withdraw from the study at any time and doing so will not affect you in any way. A copy of your recorded interview and transcript will be provided to you, and you will have the opportunity to revise or clarify any of your statements, should you choose. The raw interview data and transcripts will not be shared with the New Canadians Centre. If you consent, you may be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications, and if you wish a pseudonym can be used. You will also receive a draft of the final report and be provided with an opportunity to reflect on your own contributions to the study and provide further clarification. You will receive a copy of the complete final report, as well as a concise executive summary of the findings. This final report and executive summary will also be shared with the New Canadians Centre.

All data will be kept in a secure cabinet accessible to only the investigator working on the project. Audio recordings and typed data will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected laptop, and in a locked cabinet. All audio and paper copies of interview data will be deleted or shredded within 7 years of completing the dissertation. Findings of the study will be included in future publications (scholarly articles as well as conference presentations) in accordance with the consent form signed by you. Please indicate on the informed consent form if you consent to be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications, and if you wish to have a pseudonym used.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project you are free to contact the Trent Research Office:

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Appendix C-2: Letter of information for host participants

LETTER OF INFORMATION A- Former staff/volunteers of PNLOC/NCC

An oral history of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/New Canadians Centre, 1979-1997

The purpose of this project is to examine the history of immigrant reception in Peterborough from the 1970s to the 1990s through the settlement experiences of new immigrants, as well as the experiences of staff and volunteers of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/the New Canadians Centre, and the activities of that organization during this period. I am particularly interested in women's experiences, both as new immigrant clients, and as staff/volunteers of the organization. It is important to understand how the PNLOC/NCC emerged and evolved, and what kinds of encounters and relationships came about between staff/volunteers and immigrant clients through the organization's programs and services, as there is little existing written record of this time in the community's history. It is also useful to ask how different people involved in settlement activities in Peterborough, as staff and as clients, understood and practiced "integration," how their understandings converged or varied, and what effect this may have had on settlement outcomes.

I am interested in your experiences as a staff member, board member, or volunteer with PNLOC/NCC during the 1970s, 80s, or early 1990s. This information will be gathered informally through an interview. With your consent, this interview will take place over two sessions. Should you prefer to conduct the interview in just one session, this can be arranged. Each session will last one to two hours. During the interview you will be asked to describe and explain your involvement with the activities of PNLOC/NCC and in the lives of new immigrants to Peterborough during this period. With your permission, I will audio record the interview to be transcribed later.

The questions asked will be mainly about your involvement with immigrant reception in Peterborough, and how you felt about these experiences, as well as some questions about your personal background. I will also ask questions about your involvement with the programs, services and activities of PNLOC/NCC, and how you felt about these experiences.
There may be minor social and psychological risks related to your participation in this study. While I will do my utmost to ensure your privacy, I cannot guarantee your complete anonymity, mostly due to the small, close-knit nature of the Peterborough community. However, you have several options to ensure as much anonymity as possible under the circumstances. There is also some risk that by participating in this interview process, you may revisit memories of your past that will bring up strong emotions.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable. You are free to

withdraw from the study at any time and doing so will not affect you in any way. A copy of your recorded interview and transcript will be provided to you, and you will have the opportunity to revise or clarify any of your statements, should you choose. The raw interview data and transcripts will not be shared with the New Canadians Centre. If you consent, you may be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications, and if you wish a pseudonym can be used. You will also receive a draft of the final report and be provided with an opportunity to reflect on your own contributions to the study and provide further clarification. You will receive a copy of the complete final report, as well as a concise executive summary of the findings. This final report and executive summary will also be shared with the New Canadians Centre.

All data will be kept in a secure cabinet accessible to only the investigator working on the project. Audio recordings and typed data will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected laptop, and in a locked cabinet. All audio and paper copies of interview data will be deleted or shredded within 7 years of completing the thesis. Findings of the study will be included in future publications (scholarly articles as well as conference presentations) in accordance with the consent form signed by you. Please indicate on the informed consent form if you consent to be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications, and if you wish to have a pseudonym used.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project you are free to contact the Trent Research Office:

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Appendix D: Informed consent form for research participants

An oral history of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/New Canadians Centre, 1979-1997

Informed Consent – Interview

I, _____, have read the letter of information provided and have had any questions answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that the purpose of the study is to examine the history of immigrant reception in Peterborough from the 1970s to the 1990s, through the settlement experiences of new immigrants, as well as the experiences of staff and volunteers of the Peterborough Newcomers Language and Orientation Committee/the New Canadians Centre, and the activities of that organization during this period. I understand that my participation today will be the first of two interviews lasting approximately 1 to 2 hours. However, I understand that can also choose if I prefer to conduct this interview in only one session. I have indicated at the bottom of this form whether I consent to have a voice recorder record my responses to this interview. I understand that all audio recordings and typed data pertaining to this study will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected laptop, and in a locked cabinet.

I understand that this research is independent from the work of the New Canadians Centre, and that my interview transcripts will not be provided to the New Canadians Centre without my permission. I understand that the final report will be shared with the New Canadians Centre.

I am aware that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without penalty or refuse to answer any question that I find objectionable or that makes me uncomfortable. I am aware of the minimal social and psychological risks associated with my participation in this study. I understand that should I withdraw, any data previously collected will be destroyed. I further understand that my participation today does not oblige me to participate in any other aspect of this study, including a second interview. I understand that I my right to anonymity and confidentiality, and the limits of that anonymity and confidentiality, as per the limits of this particular study, as well as circumstances where disclosures are required by law. I have indicated at the bottom of this form whether I consent to be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications, and if I wish a pseudonym to be used in place of my name. I understand that the findings of the study will be submitted as the researcher's Master's thesis, and may also be used in future scholarly articles and/or conference presentations.

I understand that I will be given the opportunity to review and provide feedback on my interview transcripts and a draft of the final report. I understand that I will receive a copy of the final report and an executive summary of the findings.

I understand that I will receive a copy of this form for my records. If I have any

additional questions or complaints, I understand that I can contact the Trent Research Office.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

CONSENT TO USE OF VOICE RECORDER:

□ I **DO** consent to have a voice recorder record my responses.

□ I **DO NOT** consent to have a voice recorder record my responses.

CONSENT TO BE QUOTED VERBATIM:

□ I **DO** consent to be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications.

□ I **DO NOT** consent to be quoted verbatim in the final report and future publications.

REQUEST FOR USE OF PSEUDONYM:

□ I **DO** ask that a pseudonym be used in the final report and future publications.

□ I **DO NOT** ask that a pseudonym be used in the final report and future publication