“Strangers in the New Homeland”: The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children

By

Marva J. Ferguson

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Graduate Department of the Faculty of Social Work
Memorial University, Newfoundland & Labrador

Abstract

Globalization has and continues to impact developing countries such as Jamaica, a nation that depends on countries such as Canada for economic support. Within this structure and dependence is migration, which is a common practice in Caribbean countries. Given the power structures involved in the global economies, where developing countries such as Jamaica experience economic hardships, parents of the participants in the study made the tough decisions to migrate to Canada to make a living and support their families. In the process of migration, children (participants) are often left behind with the plan to be reunited with their parents in Canada. It is argued that the process of reunification between children and their parents is oftentimes characterized by many problems, misunderstandings, unaligned expectations, resulting in unanticipated tension and conflictual relations between children and parents. This study presents qualitative research findings that highlight the social and economic barriers that Jamaican Canadian adults experienced when they reunited with their parents in Canada. Results from the study revealed that the participants experienced isolation, devaluation of their education, and anti-Black racism, yet they were able to persevere as successful individuals who continue to contribute to the development of Canada. Using a Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework to understand the stories of the participants, findings revealed that anti-black racism and discrimination targeting Black people in their migration, during integration, and settlement stories in Canada are not aberrant but consistent with the anti-black racist migration history of Canada. If anything, participants' stories reveal how little has changed in the struggles of Black people to migrate, integrate, and settle in Canadian society. The outcome of this research adds to the ongoing dialogue with service providers, learning institutions, policy makers and the general Canadian population about the importance

of addressing racism and discrimination targeting immigrants of colour in Canada, as well as to improve on how social services are provided for immigrants of colour in Canada.

Land Acknowledgement

As a Black woman who left her own homeland and have called Canada the new home, I acknowledge that I live, work, and play on the traditional territories of the Blackfoot Confederacy (Siksika, Kainai, Piikani), the Tsuut'ina, the Îyâxe Nakoda Nations, the Métis Nation (Region 3), and all people who make their homes in the Treaty 7 region of Southern Alberta. I respectfully acknowledge and recognize the relationship that the First Nations, Inuit and Metis across Canada have with the land where you may be.

As a student of Memorial University of Newfoundland, I recognize the ancestral homelands of the Beothuk and the island of Newfoundland as the ancestral homelands of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk. I also recognize the Inuit of Nunatsiavut and Nunatukavut and the Innu of Nitassinan, and their ancestors, as the original people of Labrador. We strive for respectful relationships with all peoples of this province as we search for collective healing and true reconciliation and honour this beautiful land

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Acknowledgement

Easter 2015 over fried fish, jerk chicken, fritters, and Jamaican "drinks" at a family gathering, I emoted to my friend Margaret and her sister Sonja that I was accepted to study for my PhD in social work. I expressed concerns about the number of years that it would take to complete the program and even suggested that I shouldn't even bother. Sonia gave one of the best responses "what is 6 years that the PhD program will take." She explained that whether or not I complete the PhD the years will pass, and that I should go ahead and pursue the program. I am glad that I did.

Navigating work and studying had some interesting moments as most of my writing and assignments were completed in airports, hotels, and libraries across Canada as I travelled back and forth to Jamaica to provide care for my aging parents. Planning and strategizing helped me through this journey. The person that I was in 2015 has grown and evolved into someone who is more self confident, aware, who critically examines the world in which we live and is more responsive to social issues.

I am inspired by the fighting spirit of the participants whose stories are told in this thesis. The information shared is a small portion of their everyday lives and existence and speaks to their personal, social, and economic development and ongoing contribution to this country — Canada, from coast to coast.

Thanks to my Aunt Nid, her children Garfield, Dale, and Lavern on whose lives this thesis is based. I also recognise the role of my grandmother Doris M Ferguson (Windrush survivor) and the contributions that she made to the United Kingdom during the post-World War II, while her family was left in Jamaica. To all the parents who made the difficult decision

to seek jobs internationally to maintain the family, thank you for your contributions to the world and sharing your stories with your children — you did what you had to do.

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Rev. Ivan and Olga Ferguson (Mom and Dad), my guardian angels, you have shown me unconditional love and encouragement during this journey. I hope I have done you proud. I miss you both so much, and wish you were still here to share this precious moment with me.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"Home is where the heart is" is a proverb attributed to the first century Roman author, naturalist, and philosopher Pliny the Elder (Auteiors,1896), what will make one a "stranger" in a new homeland? Studies and committees' reports about Blacks' history and experiences in Canada have often alluded to a perceived growing feeling of alienation, rejection, and a sense of insecurity among some Blacks in Canada, due to systemic discrimination and racism targeting Blacks (Chadwick-Parkes, 2012; Dei, et al., Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Walcott, et al., 2008; Winks, 1969; 1971; 1978). Other studies allude to the desire among some Black immigrants to retain the cultural and ethnic traditions of their countries of origin while attempting to integrate into the mainstream Canadian culture. The difficulty of negotiating between what sometimes appears to be two opposing cultural values — mainstream White middle/upper class heteronormative Christian Canadian cultural values on one hand and the cultural values of countries of origin — can itself make one feel like "a stranger" in Canada (Baffoe, 2012; James & Brathwaite, 1996; Reitz, Bannerjee, Phan, & Thompson, 2009). Murdie & Ghosh (2010) argue that satisfaction with life in Canada can alleviate the barriers that weaken the functional integration of racialized immigrants in Canada. However, Murdie and Ghosh (2010) also note that racialized immigrants who face social exclusions in Canada do not see themselves as fully integrated in Canada. Therefore, I have employed "strangers in the new homeland" — a phrase I borrowed from a conference theme hosted by the Faculty of Social Work in the University of Manitoba — to hypothesize that given what the literature says about Blacks' experiences in Canada, many of which are discussed in the present thesis, there is possibility that some Jamaican-Canadians who migrated to Canada as children may feel like "strangers" in Canada.

The immigration process impacts the Jamaican family through sequence migration where predominantly women, due to their economic circumstances, are forced to settle in developed countries like Canada (Smith, Lalonde, & Johnson, 2004; Suares-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002). As I write, I wish to disclose that I am an aunt who has assisted in raising nieces and nephews, which is a common practice in the Jamaican community that contributes to family connection. With the understanding of raising children, I also admire the remarkable work of parents who arrived in Canada and worked two or more jobs to provide for their children while awaiting their arrival from Jamaica.

I pondered the pervasive stereotype of the Jamaican family, for example, statements that Jamaican parents have poor parenting skills, are marked as strangers or sojourners and that they are perceived as threats to the nation (Thobani, 2007). This stereotypical belief is entrenched in Canadian society and becomes common knowledge and has made its way into journals (Henry, Hastings, & Freer, 1996). To challenge this belief and perception, I turn to the work of educators and community activists such as, Dr. Wanda Thomas Bernard, Dr. Michael Baffoe, Dr. David Este, Dr. Delores Mullings and Dr. Afua Cooper, well known Canadian academics and their allies, who have challenged myths and perceptions that contribute to racism and other forms of oppression. The work of these scholars contributed to the Canadian society developing a more realistic understanding of the challenges families face in settlement and integration in Canada.

The discussion of systemic barriers such as racism is relevant for this thesis as it contextualizes the history of immigration and present-day practice of working with families who reunite with families through sequence migration. This body of work will contribute to an understanding of social work practice, critique the systems, develop alternative strategies, and suggest changes. I must admit that in some social settings there is resistance to the dialogue

surrounding racism as it speaks to the personal and general experiences of Blacks in Canada and creates tension and discomfort (Dei, 2011; Solomona et al., 2005; Tatum, 1992). Questions suggesting the non-inclusion of other racialized groups may be raised. In response, I have moved away from the generalisations that construct the experiences of all Black people or racialized groups in recognition that there are significant differences and diversity within the communities (Maynard, 2022; Razack, 2010). I also recognise that racism and racial discrimination affect the lives of all persons in Canada. And we all need to take actions to combat it. However, this study will focus on the participants from Jamaica to address the research question: What is the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents? I have selected Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children from the age of 5 to 21. As of October 24, 2017, parents living in Canada are allowed to sponsor to Canada their children up to age 21 and under, who are not married or in common-law (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada -IRCC 2017; 2023). Previously, the policy and regulation provided for children under 19. The new policy states that:

> A primary objective of this regulatory amendment is to enhance family unity and reunification by enabling Canadians and permanent residents to bring their young adult children between 19 and 21 years of age to Canada. This is consistent with two of the main stated objectives of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRRC)*: with respect to immigration, "to see that families are reunited in Canada," and with respect to refugees, "to support the self-sufficiency and the social and economic well-being of refugees by facilitating reunification with their family members in Canada. (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada -IRCC 2017; 2023)

Jamaican Canadians are historically not one racial or ethnic entity; however, in this dissertation, I focus specifically on Jamaican-Canadians who trace their ancestral affinity to the continent of Africa. Such group are often termed as Blacks. The term White is also used in a socially constructed way to mean individuals who link their ethnic ancestry to Europe. My discussion on the stories of Jamaican-Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children may raise several questions and discussions that cannot be addressed in a thesis. The intent is to highlight their stories of settlement, integration, and reunification with their parents in Canada. I acknowledge that research of this level would be helpful to provide a comparison with the parents of the participants. With this limitation in mind, I present what is known through the stories of the research participants with an intent to enhance this information through dialogue and plans for ongoing research. This is the beginning of addressing one of my passions through scholarship and advocacy.

Over the last two decades, many scholarly articles, publications, newspaper articles, and anecdotal information have attempted to discuss the phenomenon of children reuniting with the parents who live in the global north. In this dissertation, I am considering specifically the experience of Jamaican Canadian experience, and I stand by my personal experience that has become political by advocating for individuals in the intended research to provide a platform where participants can share their experiences as adults who experienced sequence migration. The intent of this thesis is to unravel critically — from the place of literature, embodied experiences, as well as the stories of participants, who migrated to Canada as children — what it means to migrate, integrate, and settle as Black in Canada.

Research Objectives

I was always intrigued by the air-mail letter that arrived from the United States or Canada from my cousins who would share how they were excited about joining their parents "overseas." It was not until I migrated to Canada that curiosity got the better of me based on statements made about Jamaicans being bad parents and how they are unable to take care of their children because of their migration to Canada. This curiosity arose from seeing my own family transition from Jamaica to the United States, Canada, as well as Ghana and the United Kingdom. The overarching question for my research study is: *What are the experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents?* The three sub questions are posed as follows:

(1) *How do Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society?*

(2) *What are the barriers that posed challenges to the resettlement and integration experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?*

(3) *What are the success stories about the integration and settlement experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?*

Maintaining family relationships between immigrants is critical to people living apart from their family and home due to geographical distances especially when the immigration process is involved. Referred to as 'sequence migration,' 'process migration,' 'step migration,' or 'children left behind'; this has been the generational and historical experiences of families in their quest to make and create a better life in developed countries such as Canada. For the purposes of this thesis, the terminology "sequence migration" is adopted to mean the process where parents arrive in the receiving country (Canada) and are later joined by their children

(Smith et al., 2004; Suares-Orozco et al., Thobani, 2007). This migratory process is associated with economic and immigration factors where parents arrive in Canada and access job opportunities to provide financial resources for the arrival and settlement of their children (Thobani, 2007). Sequence migration involves two stages. The first stage is the separation from parents who immigrate to Canada, which is the host country, and the second is when children reunite with parents in the host country, Canada (Razack et al., 2010; Suares-Orozco et al., 2002). As the reader will discover from the stories of the participants, the immigration requirements for the reunification of families migrating to Canada can take several years and contribute to substantial documentation, financial issues, and stress (Bernhard et al., 2008; Thobani, 2007). At the time of writing this thesis, I am not able to provide any information about the impact on families during the COVID pandemic. However, it is fair to presume that the impact on families, and world challenges such as refugees from Afghanistan and Ukraine have contributed to additional struggles and waiting time for documentation.

For parents involved in the reunification process, the thought of leaving a child or children with family friends and colleagues in the search of a better life is not new (Thobani, 2007). Conventionally, families move inter provincially and internationally to contribute to their economic well-being. For example, families have moved from the eastern parts of Canada to the western provinces in the search of a livelihood (Finnie, 1999; Thornton, 1985). The difference is that internal movements do not usually involve processes that are fraught with documentation and bureaucratic "red tape" experienced by immigrants choosing to make Canada their home. On the other hand, as globalisation continues to have an impact on world markets, citizens (predominantly women) of developing countries are forced to seek jobs in developed countries with the intent of rejoining/reuniting with their children once they are settled in the new country.

The topic of reunification cannot be studied in isolation as the impact of divisions between the North and South has become part of the international migration systems (Jennissen, 2007).

I lived through the economic crisis in the 1980s where the response to the financial challenges was to migrate to richer, more developed countries such as Canada or the USA. Financial policies forced nations to examine how the crisis halted economic and social progress, which impacted people in the middle and working class, hence the disruption to families and the alternative to migrate (Report of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment, 1990). Decades later some of the identified problems continue whereas globalization continues to be characterized as a single space leading to universal prosperity and freedom (Scholte, 2005). If globalisation had contributed to prosperity and the freedom expected, I would argue that many of the people who had made the choice to migrate would not have made the decision, if they knew that they had to undergo rigorous tests and certification to work in Canada. Jamaican Canadians who as children arrived in Canada have shared their stories about the social factors (arrival, integration, racism, employment, family) that continue to challenge families upon reception in contemporary Canada. The study is intended to examine the gaps in the immigration process and service, and to develop better experience to immigrants to alleviate social issues associated with family reunification in the Jamaican Canadian community. These gaps can be examined and remedied with the consultation and help by the policymakers, community partners, learning institutions and participants in the research.

Locating Myself in the Research

In his book, *The People of Ostrich Mountain,* Dr. Ndirangu Githaiga cites a Kikuyu (Kenya) proverb "Kumagara ni kuuhiga" —that means: "to travel is to become wise." For me, I have travelled to different countries around the world, and here in Canada I cannot pretend that

that there are no problems with family reunification. This area of study has peaked my curiosities where I want to know more about the experience of Jamaican Canadians who arrived as children and experienced reunification with their parents.

I thought about my background and philosophy in relation to my thesis. It was the British cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1990) who once said that we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular context, with a specific history and culture. Feminist Donna Haraway (1988) also reminds us of the partiality of our knowing. I, therefore, work within the limits of my knowledge, the partiality of such knowledge as well as the engaging power of not knowing everything.

In choosing to pursue the research on the experiences of Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as children (sequence migration), I am mindful of my familial and social position. These positions help to provide understanding about my early life and contextualize the thesis. I was the only daughter with three brothers to a father who was an Anglican Minister, and mother who was a homemaker and seamstress. My family was part of a rural agricultural community in Labyrinth, St Mary with humble beginnings where life was focused on taking care of the chickens, cows, picking pimento and fruits (especially during the summer), helping my mother with sewing school uniforms for the children in the community, school, cricket matches and church. In fact, my father pursued theology in his fifties while employed as an ambulance driver with the Jamaica, Ministry of Health. Stories told by my brothers suggest that when my father would return from work at the end of the day, as children, we would run to greet him. Apparently, as a child I would take the *Jamaica Gleaner* (the national newspaper) while my brothers would aim for his lunch pan as it was generally known he would save something tasty for them. The *Jamaica Gleaner* was my introduction to the rest of the country, where I would ask questions about politics and other social issues at the dinner table. Some of my questions

went unanswered not because there were no answers, as I was known to needing an explanation for questions much to my brother's annoyance. In the search for clarity, I ended up losing my food to my brothers who took very little interest in my conversation at my inquiry at the time.

Both my parents were active community organizers and through their advocacy, contributed to changes in the community through religion, education, and sports. Additionally, I had the joy of sharing a household with my grandmother who was a farmer, the "regular" cousins, who never left, unannounced visitors, and extended family who created a lively and supportive household until I left home at age eleven to live with a relative to attend high school, and subsequently transitioned to adulthood.

For several years, I worked at the Bureau of Women's Affairs (now Gender Affairs) where I developed skills for advocacy and enquiry. The Bureau of Women's Affairs also provided an opportunity for me to examine and learn about world affairs and specifically, the migratory patterns of Jamaicans to the Global North. It was at this stage of my life where I started to write letters to the editor of the *Jamaica Gleaner* (at the angst of my aunt with whom I lived) and challenge some of the injustices and commentaries.

My parents were given the opportunity to migrate to North America and refused on the basis that they would not leave their children in the care of extended family members. Initially, I framed my research around my aunt and her family who had migrated to Canada as the basis of this thesis. It was Dr. Dennis Kimberly, social work professor at Memorial University, who thankfully "pushed" me to think deeper about the topic and the history of my family. His comments and suggestions contributed to my feeling vulnerable, yet the interaction provided an opportunity for me to reflect deeply on the research topic. What else did I need to know about this topic?

Through discussions with relatives, I discovered that family members — brother, auntie, cousins, and grandmother migrated to Bermuda, Canada, Ghana, Nigeria, the United Kingdom, and the United States so that they could "put food on the table" for their families while working overseas or settling in new marriages and relationships before sending for their children. Of note my grandmother migrated to England in the mid-1960s as part of the Windrush era. The Windrush era was a phenomenon when my grandmother and many other people from the Caribbean went to England to help in the building and development of the United Kingdom during the post-World War II (Hewitt 2020; Mead, 2009). An article in the UK newspaper referred to my family member under the heading: Baby of Windrush generation taken in by Glasgow Family speaks of happy memories (Daily Record, 2020; Mead, 2009). The sad part about this process was that family members of my grandmother's era were deported to their home country as part of the 2018 mass deportation back to Jamaica. While the story of the Windrush is not the focus of the thesis, I think it is worth mentioning as there are some similarities with the immigration experience of immigrants who came to Canada as part of the domestic scheme where women from Jamaica were brought to Canada to work as domestic workers and were not provided with the opportunity to bring their children with them because of the entrenched systemic racist barriers in Canada (Lawson, 2013; Mead, 2009; Thobani, 2007).

I discovered in the research that there is judgement towards Caribbean parents and their parenting style especially when it is discovered that they migrated to Canada without their children. As an aunt, I wanted to have my nephew come to visit me in Canada. However, the question that I had to ask was, at what age is it permissible to leave children alone at home without supervision? This question is relevant because leaving a child without supervision in Canada is legislated by Provincial Laws and Policies (Alberta Works Income Supports, 2012). In

comparison to living in Jamaica, parents and caregivers were able to leave their children with a family member or friends. These are some of the issues that parents grapple with in the Canadian society because they are unaware of the complexities associated with parenting in their new homeland. This sentiment contributed to exploring the rationale of this dissertation which will be discussed later in this chapter.

As I reminisce and write this thesis, I can still recall the day in 1970 during a time when my family squeezed into the Volkswagen bus and headed to the Norman Manley airport to see my aunt board the Air Canada plane destined to Canada. My cousins' eyes watered as they watched their mother leave the shores of Jamaica. As indicated earlier in the thesis, parents arrive in Canada followed by their children. Immigrating to Canada is a lengthy process. I wish to provide a snapshot on accessing the Canadian embassy in Jamaica with the hope that it clarifies how one begins the process of getting to Canada. Like most business places, across the world, embassies are in the major cities, usually the capital of the country. In Jamaica, the Canadian embassy is in Kingston where for rural people, it can be challenging to travel to the city as it means hiring private taxis or getting help from family members to make the journey that may take up to two days. I share this information because I feel that there is a perception that the process to apply to migrate to Canada is easy "at the click of a computer button." For many people in Jamaica, they may need the help of friends and family to navigate the web sites, borrow data plans and might not have access to technology as well as, the immigration information can be overwhelming.

It took my aunt nine years to reunite with her children in Canada. The process of reuniting is more complex and prolonged and consequently adds to the frustration, anxiety, stress and worry for families wishing to be reunited (Bernhard et al., 2008). According to the

Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (2022), it is estimated that family reunification takes eleven months to process. However, this estimation might be overly optimistic based on the ongoing reports of families waiting for an extended time to be reunited. Additional mechanism operates to add to the prolonged period such as cumbersome paperwork, changes in policies and unavoidable (COVID) delays. Anecdotally, families share that they must sell their car, house, and cattle or borrow money from friends and family to pay for the immigration processing as well as the airline ticket. The reader needs to understand that those who have sold off their belongings to migrate to Canada, have done so at great risks because they could be refused immigration status. My cousins reunited with their mother (my aunt) nine years later.

By coincidence I arrived in Canada in 1993 as an adult in my mid 30s, I immediately set out to make "something of myself" by working at different jobs. Upon arrival in Canada, I worked in housekeeping at a hotel, department store clerk, social worker, community worker, advocate, and presently a professor. I have also worked in several social work settings including sexual assault, domestic violence, medical and intensive care, the Canadian Federal Government and presently in academia. These job movements are significant in the immigrant experience as I found that as a new immigrant in Canada, one is forced to start at the bottom of the rung no matter the person's level of education which will be highlighted in this thesis. In my social work practice, I have encountered individuals who shared information about their immigration and resettlement experiences as individuals who migrated to Canada as children. This sharing aroused my curiosity to know more about their experience resettling and integrating into Canada specifically for those who came as children.

What is it like to live in Canada as a Black person from a childhood to an adulthood? At the 1994 Caribbean Festival held in Calgary, I met Leona (pseudonym) who exuberantly told me that: *mi pickaninny dem come"* (meaning that her children arrived from Jamaica). The similarity of her story to my aunt's contributed to my questioning of children arriving after their parents in Canada. It was a pivotal moment that began my introduction to sequence migration. Her story began to make sense to me when during my academic years in a Canadian university, and in social settings, I came face to face with stereotypical statements about Jamaicans and their methods of parenting, or that most individuals were criminals living in Canada. For example, it was not uncommon for students to state, "you must have left several children behind in Jamaica" or "women from your country always leave their children behind…I couldn't do that." Additionally, I would also hear the comments by middle and upper-class women and state, "my Filipino nanny is so good with my children." Yet, on the other hand nobody challenged the argument or discussion about the *"nanny"* that left their home country to look after children in Canadian homes. Surprisingly, none of the other social work students challenged the notion or spoke up about the fact that most of the women who worked as nannies in Canada were taking care of the nation's children so that families could go to work (Thobani, 2007). While in a social work class, it was Professor Tim Pyrch who saw the look of dismay on my face and encouraged me to turn the experience into a class presentation which I did.

What is the purpose of sharing this information as part of my social location? I am a Black heterosexual Jamaican Canadian woman, an educator, a social worker, and a doctoral candidate. My educational journey has been shaped by my humble beginnings that solidify the person I have become in questioning actions associated with social justice, racism, and other forms of oppression and life in general, as well as how I teach. My belief in the practice of social

work, and the helping profession, is that there needs to be social inclusion at all levels of society. This belief is based on my lived experience where I observed the barriers, isolation, social exclusion, and systemic racism in Canada.

In saying this, I recall in 1994 as an employee of an organization in Calgary, I went to the bank to cash my first pay cheque. The clerk and manager questioned the validity of my cheque and even called my office to demand further particulars that prove that I am indeed who I claimed to be. My experience may not be in isolation. Adjei (2008, 2013) recounted a similar experience when his identity as a Ph.D. student at the University of Toronto was questioned and challenged by an administrative staff of the same university. Although these examples may not represent the totality of Blacks' experience in Canada, they offer important knowledge for any study about resettlement and integration experience of Blacks in Canada.

I feel that the time has come for immigrant communities to tell their stories on their own terms. Giving a voice to participants or individuals in this study allows me to interrelate through personal knowledge by demonstrating mutual realities that are present. This thesis is about stories of *Aaron, Belinda, Bevan, Cassie, Brenda, Celeste, Claude, Elaine, Kelisha, Patricia, Shernett, Steve,* and *Veronica* (pseudonyms). I highlight the names of the participants for several reasons. First, I recall helping with the coordination of a major international research project by organizing meetings, interviews, and transporting members of the team to the homes and workplaces of participants to complete the study on the impact of structural adjustment on women (Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s, Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on women and Structural Adjustment, 1990). Similarly, I observed my grandfather who assisted researchers in the process of mapping out land located in some rugged terrains in the hilly interior of St Mary, Jamaica. In both cases, there was no acknowledgement of the contribution

towards the completion of the projects. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) illustrates that while research is an integral part of tertiary education and government policies, there is the tendency that the exercise is done at a distance from the community. I will add that it also ignores the contribution of participants or those who have helped to complete the work that becomes the sole entity of the researcher or researchers. Second, during 2020 when the world was "shocked" into reality about racism specific to the death of George Floyd, it reaffirmed my role as a social worker, professor, and anti-racist activist to examine how I research, write, and teach. Black people have been researched and interrogated to the point of annoyance by some in the communities. Further, some of the stories perpetuate the information as the problem of the Black community when in fact it is the concern for the community, nationally and universally. Similarly, when we celebrate the successes, it becomes part of the greater community. Sharing the stories about the participants in this thesis is not enough as a recognition and, therefore, I refer to them by using pseudonyms as a way of creating the visibility of their participation and contribution to this body of work.

Noted researcher and educator Charmaz (2006, 2010) shared this knowledge creation in research. This research has implication for social work practice as it will reify the ideas and questions that I developed to gather the information through reflexivity. Michel Foucault's concept of *parrhesia* means free speech which helps me to identify and examine truth, and the use of power that constrains knowledge sharing (Foucault, 1977,1980). With this source of knowledge, I examine the work of philosophers who have used western models as framework to assess and draw conclusion about the experiences of families that experience sequence migration.

I provided an extensive background information about who I am, my family, their experiences with family reunification, values, beliefs and how I see the world. This information is important as I carry some bias that may influence my position in this study and my interpretation of the data. I feel that readers need to be aware of my background and the personal and political position that I take in research. My hope is that this thesis can create an understanding about the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children, and that social workers, psychologists, educators, and other front-line workers in the community can begin to think about the participants who are part of the immigrant communities as they bring to the fore multiple experiences and dynamics. It is also hoped that the research will address the racism that is embedded in immigration and settlement policies with an opportunity to contribute to institutional and systemic change. The following section outlines the questions that were investigated in the research.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

Historically, the foundational information on social work is based on a white Eurocentric view that had systemically erased contributions of Black social workers (Dumbrill & Green, 2008). Since studying and practising social work, I have also come to realise that the profession and the body of knowledge is learned, practised, and integrated differently in communities and countries especially when immigrants or "foreigners" are involved. What I mean is, there is the tendency to categorize, research and speak about immigrants as if they do not have agency. Instead, there is the tendency of instantly adding them to the category of marginalized people and not taking the time to fully integrate them as part of the decision-making process into the Canadian society. Settlement and integration are a wide field of study with so many complex issues specific to family reunification. I wondered, do social workers know or think about the

implication of reunification associated with parents who migrate to Canada first and are joined with their parents later? Are they even aware that it is a phenomenon for families globally? If so, what are the implications? Are these questions about reunification being posed in interviews and counselling? As an educator, I observed that social workers new to the profession of practice are excited about the prospect of working in settlement and integration. However, lack of preparedness can contribute to conflict and misunderstanding specific to reunification of families. For that reason, I continue to challenge the practice and work towards the decolonization of the education by ensuring the voices of participants and the work of Caribbean writers are the contributors to this body of work.

As a Ph.D. student, I pursued relevant courses that enhanced and developed my understanding about research, practice, and ethics. The courses provided an opportunity for me to share what I know, critically analyze concepts about social sciences, and specifically about the practice of social work. My Ph.D. scholarship included courses such as *Philosophy and Historical Base of Social Work Practice* and *Critical Thinking for Social Work Practice* as part of the overall comprehensive courses, and in preparation for my research. In learning and discussing the philosophy and historical foundation of immigration, I gained a better understanding of linking theories to the experience of the research participants in the study.

The objective of this thesis requires that I provide a compelling argument by identifying my substantive area of intended empirical study. The area of study that I have identified is "*Strangers in the new homeland": The personal stories of Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children*. Thus, I will draw upon an exploration of the topic to demonstrate an understanding of adults who experience sequence migration. In reviewing the literature on the area of study about separation between children and receiving parents, some

researchers took their stories and characterized them based on high-risk problems and challenges (Adams, 2000; Glasgow & Ghouse-Shees, 1995) instead of examining the wider societal structures and the impact on the participants. While the intended information gathered from adults is retrospective, I also acknowledge that stories change over time and that recalling information is widely accepted and that it is for me as a researcher to re-author "the truth". I put the term "truth" in quotes to denote that "truth" as Foucault (1977) suggests "is produced by virtue of multiple constraints and it induces regulated effects of power" (p.112); therefore, I re-author "the truth" from a particular subjective position.

To understand the significance of the stories of adults who as children were reunited with their parents I start with an historical perspective on the settlement of immigrants in Canada. The term immigrant[1]in this paper is loaded with semantics which provides other meanings such as "other" "migrant worker" or "settler", which contribute to alienation and leveraging citizenship as reminder that the person is not born in Canada (Madokoro, 2019; Maynard, 2022; Schick, 2014).

Early practices of social work were influenced by charity and settlement house movements (Brieland, 1995; Camilleri, 1996; Daly, 1995). Both social movements focussed on poverty and the welfare of people in response to industrialization and urbanization, however their practices and views were different. The charity movement was based on the religious practices and the treatment of people with problems (Daly, 1995; Lieby,1985). While the supporters of the industrialization ideology where working-class people were exploited by wealthy people, social

[1] Immigrant is an umbrella term used to describe newcomers to Canada. Sequence migration centers the knowledge on Jamaican Canadian immigrants. Consideration was given to other immigrants from the Caribbean and other parts of the world.

workers argued and agitated, that part of the problem had to do with capitalism, a model that contributed to the oppression of the poor. In response to this belief, supporters advocated for social and economic conditions that aligned with the labour movement (Chapman & Withers, 2019; Davis, 2022).

Settlement of immigrants focussed on the alleviation of despair and poverty among newcomers and was an entry point for social workers (then referred to as settlement workers) who lived in the neighbourhood of the newcomers and provided them with social and economic support. Settlement workers used social justice as an entry point where they challenged the unfair and oppressive practices toward immigrants (Lundblad, 1995). Some of these challenges were aimed at family preservation and ensuring that families stayed together so that they could communicate in their own language and practise their religion.

The first Canadian settlement at Dorset Mission was established in Toronto by the St Andrews Presbyterian Church. This history of Canadian immigration highlights an era when settlement houses were established for parents and family members journeying to a new country. The historical information outlines that prior to 1986 the immigration policies favoured immigrants with a European background (Lundblad, 1995). Canada was a colony which accepted Irish, French, and Polish immigrants. This information helps us to understand the history of Canadian social work practice which is based on European cultural knowledge, values, and worldviews practices.

Social work practice changed in the mid 1980's, reflecting a broadening of class analysis that included race and gender (Domenilli, 1989). Post modernism and post structuralism have provided further ways to understand racism and oppression such as inclusion and exclusion in the 21st century. The ideologies raise questions about the everyday experience of individuals who

participated in the study. However, as society continues to participate in debates about settlement and integration, the study raises questions about present day social work practices and to ask the question how or what has changed in relation to the experience of Jamaican Canadian families given the history of social work in Canada. The intent of the study is to examine the real-life experience of the families involved in sequence migration and the experience of adults from Jamaica who, in the quest to support their families, moved to Canada.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter One introduces the thesis and outlines the research objective, which is to examine the experience of Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as children. In this section I provided information about my social location that included factors such as my race, class, sexual orientation, and abilities. As a determining factor, social location is used in social work education, and speaks to my awareness about class and privilege as a Jamaican living in Canada and how this awareness impacts my thesis. Chapter One also provides a rationale associated with reunification between children and parents upon arrival in Canada. The thesis outlines family relationships and explains the different migratory processes associated with reunification between children and parents upon arrival in Canada.

Chapter Two reviews literature on the history of Black immigration to Canada, and the struggles of their resettlement and integration into Canadian society. The chapter also reviews the resilience and resistance of Black people in making their humanity recognized despite many individual and institutional efforts to ignore and reject the humanity of Blackness in Canada. The literature of Black migration history is provided as it is relevant for understanding Black experiences in contemporary Canada. This chapter also helps to put to rest some of the myths

and misconceptions about the benevolence of Canada as a haven for Blacks escaping slavery in the United States.

In *Chapter Three*, the study continues reviewing the literature paying particular attention to various theoretical frameworks that highlight Black migration experiences in the global north.

Chapter Four outlines the research methodology and helps to provide a rich understanding about Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada and for whom this thesis is the central focus. The chapter describes the qualitative data collection method used to collect the stories and discusses some of the process involved with working with the Jamaican community such as the location recruitment. Critical race methodology was used to understand and present the stories of the participants in the research to explore the constraints of their lives in Canada, for example, race, class and gender. In essence, participants shared their stories to clarify some of the myths that are pervasive in Canada.

Chapter Five, discusses findings which include the participants' responses to the research questions that focus, for example, on their arrival in Canada, schooling and reunification with their parents. Data from this research represents the substance of the stories and highlights the realities of the participants in the research. It is an opportunity for readers to get to know the participants through their lived experiences that they have shared in their stories and quotations in the thesis.

Chapter Six highlights the role of the researcher by making sense of the data. While explaining the data, the analysis sticks closely to the information provided by the participants, which helps to provide an understanding about the stories of the participants in the study.

Chapter Seven highlights the research and emphasises the themes that emerged from the data. The chapter also speaks to the limitations of the research and discusses the implications for

social work education, specifically, as it relates to immigrant and refugee services. Recommendations and conclusion include the need to involve community organizations and to begin the difficult conversations that will contribute to working towards the transformation of education, immigration policies that will remove the racist barriers associated with the experiences of the participants in the study.

Summary

This chapter highlights the background information and forms part of my introduction to the thesis. The discussion helps to provide a context about how I came to Canada. At the same time, I understand that by using my embodied experience and history as an entry point of this thesis I am exposing myself to criticism and questions about my action in discussing family issues that are supposed to be private. Despite the potential backlash, by contextualising my family's history and embodied experience as theoretical underpins for the research, I can create a discursive understanding of Black immigrants' experiences, especially those who migrated to Canada as children. Combined with prior knowledge about Jamaicans migrating to Canada, I enter the position of researcher with cultural awareness, life experience, sensitivity, respect, and ethical practices.

Accessing information from the Jamaican community tends to be political, which will be discussed further in the section on data collection. With this awareness and knowledge, I enter this research with a high level of commitment to confidentiality and respect for the needs of the Jamaican Canadian community in Calgary, Alberta.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW, HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF BLACK MIGRATION TO CANADA

Introduction

Dr. Lucille Mathurin Mair —historian, professor, author, and activist— detailed the oppressive experience of slaves at the hands of their masters, as well as their survival skills on the British plantations in the Caribbean Islands such as Jamaica in her book *Rebel Woman in the British West Indies during Slavery* (Mair, 1975). She described how slaves stood up bravely to the horrors of their slave masters. The resistance was led by the Ashantis, who were shipped from Ghana, West Africa to be enslaved in the West Indies. They became formidable leaders of enslaved resistance (Mair, 1975). Planters and landowners in the Caribbean region refused to buy slaves from the West African region because they were viewed as "troublesome people." The term troublesome can be interpreted in many ways especially in an environment where one has power over, or subject others to their own bidding. In this thesis the term will surface as "angry" and "combative" as the terms tend to be associated with Blacks who dare to resist or take a stand against racist practices (Lorde, 1997). On the plantation, it was expected that slaves were supposed to be passive, without agency, ignorant, and docile to domination. Those who had the audacity to resist were to be punished to serve as a lesson for would-be resisters (Cesaire, 2000).

On the other side of the western hemisphere, Zora Neale Hurston, in her latest publication *Barracoon, the Story of the Last "Black Cargo"* (Hurston, 2018), helped us to understand the actual experience of the presumedly last slave in America. An anthropologist, Hurston incorporated features of ethnography and folklore-collecting process as part of her methodology to gather the story of Kossola (otherwise named Cudjoe Lewis), whom she interviewed about his journey on the slave ship *Clotilda.*

I likened this historical context to contemporary Canada where many Black people including participants in this thesis identified oppression in the form of racism as part of their everyday existence. They also shared how they received little to no responses in the form of addressing oppression and racism and were left on their own to fend for themselves. Several researchers have confirmed both overt and covert racism in Canada (Adjei & Minka, 2018; Adjei 2018, 2013; Adjei & Gill, 2013; Pon et al., 2011). Even with the theoretical information and lived experience, there is continued racism denial in Canada. One way of denying racism exists and is labelling those who dare to speak out as the problem which serves to further ostracize and marginalize the group or persons. Concepts from the historical background and scholarship by researchers are relevant to this thesis as they help to understand how race permeates and subjects Black people to the norms and values in Canadian society. This denial and the ongoing of racism forms part of the everyday lived experience of the participants in the study.

In responding to the research question, *what is the experience of Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as Children?* this section of the thesis is intended to help readers to gain a historical insight about Blacks in Canada—not just Jamaicans who were involved in the research but to examine broadly the history of Black people who were born in Canada or who migrated to the country.

Over the years Black History in Canada has been promoted as a singular event through the Underground Railroad (Henry & Tator, 2009) which to me glamorizes and portrays Canada as the savior of other who generously offered a haven for Africans escaping enslavement. Although the Underground Railroad is part of Black people's migration history to Canada, it is an incomplete story as it excludes stories of hardship, blatant anti-Black racism, and other forms

of discrimination that negatively impacted the integration and settlement of Blacks in Canada. This section of the thesis provides further insights into Black migration history to Canada.

Black Immigration History of Canada

The early presence of Blacks in Canada dates as far back as 1629 when the first Black was brought into New France as a slave from Madagascar (Hill, 1981). Although slavery was not practised in Canada to the degree it existed in the United States, arguably because the land did not support monocrop agriculture, it did exist (Walker 1980). Hill (1981) and Lampert and Curtis (1989), note that of the sixteen members of legislators in the first Parliament of Upper Canada in 1792, at least six owned slaves. Walker (1980) also notes the practice of keeping slaves was common in Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Ontario. Despite the practice of keeping slaves in some parts of Canada, most Blacks who migrated to Canada between 1763 and 1865 were those fleeing slavery in the United States including 3000 Black loyalists who supported the British in the American War of Independence (Walker, 1980). Although the British promised both Black and White loyalists hundred-acre lots, only the White loyalists received the land. Black loyalists either received no land or in some cases received only one-acre lots in infertile places (Walker, 1989).

Deprived of the land promised to them, some of the Black loyalists worked as labourers and indentured servants to White settlers (Winks, 1971). Despite being paid only a quarter of what was paid White labourers, the Black employment created resentment among unemployed whites who believed Blacks were taking their jobs (Shepard, 1991). White labourers' resentment towards Blacks reached a disturbing point such that the first race riot took place in Shelbourne and Birchtown, Nova Scotia in 1784. A White mob destroyed property belonging to Blacks and drove Blacks out of the townships (Shepard, 1991). The racial hostility towards Blacks in

Canada was so troubling that 1200 free slave Blacks accepted an offer by the Sierra Leone Company to sail for West Africa in 1792 (Henry & Tator, 2006, p. 68)

Despite the anti-Black racism that existed in Canada around that time, Canada still became the destination for more free slaves, especially after the United States Abolition Act of 1793, which classified any runaway slaves as free (Henry & Tator, 2006). Many Blacks came to Canada through the "Underground Railroad," which was one of the largest anti-slavery freedom movements in North America where people would help African Americans escape slavey in the southern United States and make their way to Canada. Blacks' presence in Canada further increased after the second Fugitive Slave Act in the United States in 1850. Bolaria and Li (1988) estimated the Black population in Canada to be around 60,000 in 1860. Most of the Blacks, including Loyalists and Maroons from Jamaica, settled in segregated communities in rural areas of larger towns. The Maroons were taken over by the British in 1655 when they took over the control of Jamaica. Unable to defeat the Maroons in battle in the Cockpit Country in Jamaica, the British forged an insincere truce with the Maroons and their leader *Cudjoe* into surrendering and about 540 most of whom were women and children (Taylor, 2021). This settlement was not by choice, as they were taken to the rural areas surrounding Halifax, Shelburne, and Digby in Nova Scotia; Windsor, Chatham, London, and Hamilton in Ontario; and Victoria in British Columbia (Winks, 1971).

Initially White citizens responded in a mostly neutral way towards Blacks who escaped slavery into Canada. However, the increasing presence of Blacks in Canada made them the targets of White rage and resentment (Winks, 1971). Black immigrants were seen as a threat to job opportunities for increasingly poor Irish labourers. Besides the daily ridicule of Blacks in the local newspapers, Blacks were blamed and scape-goated for "all the outrageous crimes and two

thirds of the minor ones" (Winks, 1971, p. 248). In fact, residents of Canada West started holding town hall meetings and even petitioned the government to close Canadian borders to all new Black immigrants, arguing that too many Blacks would be unmanageable in Canada. Lord James Bruce Elgin, then Governor General of Canada (1847-1854), wrote: "We are likely to be flooded with blackies who are rushing across the frontier to escape from the bloodhounds whom the Fugitive Slave bill has let loose on their track" (Elgin et al., 1937, p. 720). Newspapers depicted Black people as creatures to pity as well as to fear as they are not impressionable, child-like, and timid, and can be dangerous and erratic (Vinci, 2010). Such was the disturbing nature of anti-Black racism in Canada that after the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 in the United States, 40,000 of the 60,000 Blacks who previously fled slavery to Canada returned to the United States believing there was no hope of Blacks being treated as fully human deserving of rights and dignity in Canada (Henry, 1968).

The anti-Black racism in Canada took an official stance when in the early 1900s, the Canadian government devised ways to limit Blacks immigration to Canada. Despite extensive advertisement by Canada to lure farmers from the United States, the Immigration Branch of the Federal Department of the Interior informed its American agents that "the Canadian Government is not particularly desirous of encouraging the immigration of negroes" (Shepard, 1991, p.17). A 1910 editorial in the *Edmonton Capitol*, arguably, captures best the general anti-Black racism in Canada during that time:

> The Board of Trade has done well to call attention to the amount of negro immigration which is taking place into this district. It has already attained such proportions as to discourage White settlers from going into certain sections. The immigration department has no excuse for encouraging it at all…..We prefer to have the southern

> race problem left behind. The task of assimilating all the White people who enter our borders is quite as heavy enough one without the colour proposition being added. (Shepard, 1991, p.19)
>
> In Winnipeg, the superintendent of the People's Mission, J. S Woodsworth, also had something similar to say:
>
> the very qualities of intelligence and manliness which are the essentials for citizens in a democracy were systematically expunged from the Negro race. (Blacks are) cursed with the burden of (their) African ancestry...hardly a desirable settler. (Troper, 1972, p.12)

Blacks were not the only racialized groups that were openly discouraged from migrating and settling in Canada. Chinese labourers who were recruited to work in mines and on the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia between 1850 and 1860 were not permitted to bring their wives and children, and were paid less than their White counterpart (Bolaria & Li, 1988; Chan, 1982). In response to pressure from the White population, the Canadian government introduced a series of measures to limit Chinese immigration such as the "head tax" which was introduced to restrict Chinese immigration (Cohen & Freedom, 2013; Li, 1979).

Further "anti-color" immigration policies established in 1910 excluded a class of immigrants deemed "undesirable". This Act gave wide discretionary powers to Canadian immigration officials to exclude any prospective immigrant they deem "undesirable" based on race, national or ethnic origin or creed (Henry et al., 2006). The racist remarks by Prime Minister Makenzie King in 1947 are noteworthy:

> The people of Canada do not wish, because of mass immigration, to make any fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration

> from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations.

This pattern of racism and discrimination extended to housing employment and public services in the 19th and 20th centuries. For example, in Nova Scotia and Ontario, Black Canadians were barred from hotels and restaurants (Labelle et al., 2010). This pattern is a stark reminder of the overt, racist, and non-acceptance of Blacks in Canada.

Caribbean Migration to Canada

Patterns of Caribbean migration to Canada accounts for three major periods: 1900 to 1960; 1945 to 1960; 1960-1971. During the 1900-1960s Canada accepted about 21,500 immigrants from Caribbean countries (Labelle et al., 2010). The Caribbean community is one of the largest non-European communities in Canada and was originally inhabited by Carib and Arawak peoples who were eliminated by the European settlers, primarily the British, who took hold of the country and bought settlements and lands. In their need to advance their capitalist empire, the European settlers bought Africans through the slave trade to fill the labour gap (Baksh-Soodeen, 1998). The first set of Blacks, Maroon men and women from Jamaica, arrived in 1796 after the British tried to enslave them on the island. Reports also suggest that between the 1800s and 1920s a small number of Jamaican and Barbadians immigrated to Canada as labourers and settled in Cape Breton's Sydney mines (Labelle et al., 2010).

The period between 1945 and 1960 was associated with the West Indian domestic scheme where there was the need for Caribbean immigrants to fill the demands in the labour force. This era corresponds with the postwar expansion of the Domestic Scheme, which was

established exclusively, for the immigration of Jamaican and other women from the Caribbean counties who migrated to Canada to work as domestic help in many private homes of White middle and upper class (Labelle et al., 2010, 2019). Many of the women had children, who were left behind in Jamaica with family members and were required to work in a home for one year, after which they could apply for immigrant status, change employer if required, and apply to bring their families to Canada (Henry, 1968). As domestics, the women were separated form their Caribbean friends and they did not have enough spare time to meet up with friends and colleagues because of the employment demands.

Later in 1973, the system of temporary "employment visas" was associated with the Domestic Workers Scheme where the worker was employed to one specific employer and could not change their type of work. This meant that if domestics wanted to work in the factory or change their employer, they could not make changes in their employment status. The change to the work status was as a result of the labour and immigration law which meant that domestics could not change their temporary status to permanent residents in Canada. The research suggests that even after completing their positions as domestic workers, women who tried to find jobs in the Canadian society encountered stigma because their work was not recognized in the Canadian society (Henry, 1968; Ramirez, 1982).

This information illustrates the institutional structures that perpetuate anti-Black racism where Black domestic workers were not allowed to take care of their children while focusing their attention on the "nation's" homes and children. It is evident that this historical practice of denying Jamaican parents is embedded in the law that has contributed to an act of devaluing and destabilising of families and culture. Many domestic workers were not aware of the terms of their employment nor the history and level of racism within the Canadian society (Razack,

1999). Hence the question that has contributed to the development of this research seeks to discover what happened when Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated Canada reunited with their parents. The research suggests that even after completing their positions as domestic workers, women who tried to find jobs in Canadian society encountered stigma because their work was not recognized in the Canadian society (Henry, 1968; Ramirez, 1982). The inability to find jobs and be recognized for their abilities my have hindered any possibilities for parents to reunite with their children. Anti-Black racism seems to be a dynamic within the immigration process in Canada (Richmond, 1993; Jakubowski, 1997).

Many Jamaicans immigrated to Canada in the 1960s and the1970s at a time when there was a change in eligibility sponsorship, labour and qualifications that included nurses, teachers, dentists, and doctors and accounted for almost 13% of Caribbean immigration to Canada during that time (Fleras & Elliot, 1999; Labelle et al., 2010). In addition to women associated with the Domestic Scheme, there were men who helped to build the railroad and work on the trains as porters. The porters were employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway where they were serving White passengers. Even though they were in service, White passengers were annoyed by their proximity to Blacks and unleashed their hostility towards the porters, which was based on their racist belief (Mathieu, 2010).

Thobani (2007), a well-known Canadian feminist, illustrates the work of Black women in contemporary Canada. She questions the role of Caribbean (Black) women who are seen as the outsider in Canada and subjected to lawlessness and wanting to gain access to national resources, and draws comparison with Canadian women who are perceived compassionate. Thobani (2007) asserts that the Canadian government provided jobs for Canadian women in the caring professions such as social work, health care and education and that these positions tended to be

associated with White females. The Live-In Caregiver program was established in 1992 so women working in various industries in Canada could work without concern for the wellbeing of their children and family members (Thobani, 2007). This practice is similar to the Foreign Domestic Program from 1945 to 1960 that was associated with the Domestic Scheme where blacks and Caribbean women were hired to provide cheap childcare to middle- and upper-class families as an inexpensive alternative to the government providing universal childcare. These regulations denied the immigrant women the opportunity and time to sponsor their families and trapped them into depending on their employers by stipulating that they live in their place of employment for two years (Thobani, 2007).

Aligning with the practice of cheap labour is the Migrant Farm work program. However, in comparison to the Live-In Caregiver program, farm work is classified as a higher skills level, however it is almost impossible for the workers to get permanent residence in Canada (Nakache 2013). Additionally, the Seasonal Agricultural Program (SAWP) also known as the farm work program was established in 1966 where developing countries such as Jamaica would establish bi-lateral agreements with Canada and provide men to work on farms. Migrant workers who were predominantly men who were part of the migrant farm workers who would work on farms in Ontario were subjected to unfair work practices such as long hours, inadequate housing, constant monitoring, and were not able to leave the farm to access medical and social care while working in Canada (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013).

Researchers provide data that suggest that Blacks were unwanted and encountered biases, that regulated and subjugated them to criminal ideologies and that they did not have the ability to integrate (James, 2012; Wright, 2015). This statement indicated that there was the stereotypical belief that a Black person could only be a criminal and did not have the capacity to integrate in

comparison to their white counterpart. This belief was demonstrated by the Edmonton Board of Trade who led the way of barring blacks into Canada and who stated publicly "we want settlers that will assimilate with the Canadian people and in the negro, we have a settler that will never do that" (Decoste, 2014, p.2). The Canadian immigration department supported this sentiment by ensuring that stringent measures such as rigorous medical inspection of Blacks was implemented to deter Black migration into Canada (Decoste, 2014). Studies also identified that isolation and dispersion of Blacks continued; especially Black women who were placed in major urban centres across Canada where they experienced difficulties integrating into the society which contributed to a lack of opportunity to meeting and socializing with others (Peake & Ray, 2001). Because of isolation there was limited contact with people in the community, lack of awareness of resources, hence the lack of knowledge that contributed to limited success (Adams, 2000; Reischauer, 1989). Thus, when Black people fail educationally and socially, they tend to be blamed for failing to assimilate or fit into the Canadian culture.

Later research examines and contextualises the racial and exclusive policies such as the Immigration Act of 1952 that allowed Whites to settle in Canada while Blacks and other minorities were excluded (Wright, 2015). This historical context is relevant as it provides information on the prejudice, process, response by government and groups and the experiences of Blacks who upon settling in Canada were subjected to racism and feeling of not being accepted in the society. The Immigration Act invariably gave whites the permission, privilege, and position of power to dehumanise blacks by treating them as they wish without being challenged (James, 2005).

New laws opened the doors for immigrants that were incorporated in the 1978 Immigration Act. During this time, individuals in the professional categories such as doctors,

lawyers, teachers, and nurses migrating to Canada (Faist, 2000; Nurse, 2004) Even with the professional experiences, it did not mean that they automatically walked into a job in Canada. However, the scourge of racism continued, intersecting with class, religion, age and ability, thereby challenging the settlement and integration process (Dei, 2005). Many from the Caribbean, and in particular Jamaica, arrived with their professional background and found themselves at the bottom rung of jobs while their White colleagues were positioned in supervisory and management roles (Henry, 1995). Even with their professional designation (dentists, doctors' teachers) Blacks can still be found predominantly working in retail stores, meat factories, housekeeping, caregiving at hospitals and care homes.

In 2017 when I submitted my Social Work PhD Candidacy, I would have argued that some of the open hostility towards immigrants of colour have gone underground and that we were at a place for ongoing discourse. In 2021 to present, I cannot lay claim to this belief as personally, since the death of George Floyd, and the demonstration of Black Lives Matter, there has been open, vile, and vicious attacks towards Black people and other racialized groups. Some members from the Black community have reported that they no longer use social media as it has contributed to verbal attacks. Others like myself have continued to express and challenge the ongoing racist actions that continue against racialized people. For example, I organised a Black History event at the university where I teach only to be characterized as "the woke people" who contributed to "problems" at the institution. The term "woke people" and its usage is intended to dismiss, silence, alienate and signify the level of unwelcomeness and resistance to Black voices individually and collectively. Myths such as the idea that immigrants take jobs away from Canadians or that immigrants are a drain on the economy continue to pervade our society (Henry & Tator, 2006; Malarek,1987;).

Reunification with Families in Canada

Historically, immigration has played a role in the development of Canada. Since 1926, Canada has a long-standing position for admitting immigrants with relatives. In early 1908, the first provision for admitting immigrants with relatives were established (DeShaw, 2006). Family reunification is a principle developed after the Second World War when the Canadian government created categories for admission of relatives, and the policies were championed by politicians who viewed this act as a positive to admit immigrants with relatives living in Canada (Daniel, 2005). Family reunification focussed on the influx of immigrants from the rural regions of Southern Europe, and considered to have strong relationships and connection with the family system and seen as desirable nationalities. The term desirable nationalities could only mean that family members from Europe were white and acceptable in Canada. This acceptance supports the practice of exclusion where for example, the Chinese Head Tax and Exclusion Act was implemented (Cohen & Freedom, 2013; Li, 1979). This act was developed to restrict the immigration of Chinese who wished to migrate to Canada (See p 39).

In the 1950s, the family reunion class was replaced to include any known relative which contributed to administrative problems, and the class was changed in 1951 as well as expanded to include grandparents (Kelly & Trebilcock, 2010).

There were concerns about Canada's capabilities to accept immigrants, and in addition there was the growing backlog of applicants in immigration offices around the world to the point where Cabinet passed an order in council in 1959 to restrict the automatic admission for non-dependent relative (Green & Green, 1999). This order in council received severe backlash and resistance from ethnic organizations and Members of Parliament who were fearful of losing

support from their constituents (Troper, 1993). The policy remained, however the government created differentiation between eligible relatives.

Later in 1967, immigration regulations were passed that sought to stabilize the immigration of families and in the process the government created differentiation between "nominated relatives" which placed the nominee in the in the labour market and sponsored dependents" who were categorized as sponsorship requirement (DeShaw, 2006). In these categories, immigrants would be submitted to the newly created points system where the applicant would be awarded points based on the criteria such as education, training demand for their occupation, age and knowledge of English or French (Daniel, 2005). During the 1960s, the flow of immigrants changed where there were more Asian and Caribbean countries migrating to Canada and immigrants from Europe decreased. This contributed to debates about racism as part of the immigration to surface (Hawkins, 1974).

The 1970s brought about changes to the Immigration Act. The 1976 Immigration Act was established by the Parliament of Canada. The act stipulated that the objective of family reunification is to: "facilitate the reunion in Canada of Canadian citizens and permanent residents with their close relatives from abroad" (DeShaw, 2006). The points system that was established in 1967 was used to determine independent immigrants and subjected to criminal, security and health checks (Kelly & Trebilcock, 2010)

During the 1980s and 1990s, Canada experienced economic challenges, and this had an impact on the number of immigrants accepted in the country. During 1980s, 84,000 applicants were accepted which was the lowest since 1962 (Kelly & Treblicock, 2010). This was due partly to governments strict selective processes and that the government had lost control of the immigration process (Daniel, 2005).

Patterns of migration changed in the 1990s and Parliament argued for an immigration policy aimed at more immigrants in the business and independent workers class and a stricter criterion for annual admissions. In 1994, the Government of Canada announced a major consultation and the document, Into the 21st Century, A Strategy for Immigration and Citizenship, where views on family class were presented. The report highlighted the tension of family class in comparison to economic immigration. It also suggested that effort should be made to select immigrant's wo needed fewer services and implied that those not selected for economic contributions would be a drain on the society (Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1994).

In response to the 1994 report, the immigration department developed a plan that spanned 1995-2000 that emphasized the ability of immigrants to settle quickly in Canada. This idea allowed businesses and persons to capitalize on this policy and was a topic of constant negotiation and debates between policy makers (Daniel, 2005)

During the 2000, the focus of the Canadian government was to align the immigration system with the labour market and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) which received Royal Assent and was established in 2002. The focus of IRPA was to toughen and crack down on criminals and illegal immigrants from entering the Canada (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). This shift in focussing on criminals and illegal immigrant could bolster negative public opinion about immigration instead of focusing on the realities of families who would wish to continue the tradition of being together and enjoying their family life. Since the implementation the emphasis on the immigration system has been to develop security certificates which allows the Government of Canada to deport foreign nationals and non-citizens living in Canada (Neborak, 2013)

Another set of reforms to the Family Class of Immigration were introduced in May 2013. Some of these examples included the increase of the minimum necessary income (MNI) for sponsoring parents and grandparents where a sponsor must demonstrate a level of income that meet the necessary income for a family established by Statistics Canada; evidence of income confined to documents issued by Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) which requires that the sponsor must show stability of income for three years; extension of sponsorship undertaking to 20 years instead of 10 years which means that individuals interested in sponsoring parents and grandparents will be committed to a lengthened sponsorship undertaking. This includes the repaying of any provincial social assistance benefits paid to the parent and grandparent for 20 years 9 (Citizen and Immigration Canada, 2017). IRPA (2001) outlined members of the family class who can be sponsored such as spouse, common-law, partner, children parent and other identified family members.

What is evident about this history and process of reunification is that despite the changes over the years that include new immigration policies, ongoing discussions and debates in the Canadian Parliament, and public opinion, family reunification has become the scapegoat for divisiveness and polarization. The nature and tone of these discussions contribute to structural racism. Structural racism is described as a phenomenon that refers to as system of social structures and power relations that produce cumulative, persistent, and race-based inequalities (Benson, 2021; James, 2008; Ryerson Taskforce on Anti-Racism, 2010). For instance, Daniel, (2005) made mention of the ongoing debate about immigration where some critics openly made comments about the increases of non-white immigration as a problem that contribute to tensions within Canadian society. It is evident from this discussion the ongoing non-acceptance of racialized and Black people in Canada that has been identified in this study (see chapter 3).

With the policy changes to immigration processes, it begs the question, how do families keep up with these changes? How do families navigate and make sense of the requirement for reunification? What happens when at submission for family reunion and changes are made during the interim at policy levels? Most of these changes are seemingly about political justification and "toying" with the emotional well being of families instead of focusing on actual reunification.

Families want to be together as they are part of the social fabric of community and nation building. As families continue to exist within a globalised system that is interdependent on countries and people's, it would make sense that Canada, a country that is regarded as the leader in family reunification take a hard look at the process and work with those involved to create a more seamless approach.

I have taken pain to provide the immigration history and the reunification process and integration of Blacks in Canada as well as their racist experiences to suggest that an examination of Blacks' resettlement and integration experiences in Canada is not complete without looking at the stories through the lenses of Anti-Black Racism theory and Critical Race Theory. It is understood that given Blacks have historically encountered White hostility and anti-Blackness in Canada, the Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children may not be exempted from such anti-Black racism.

Summary

This section of the thesis provided a geographical and the historical information that contextualised the movements and experience of Black people from Africa to the Caribbean, and then to Canada. In their journey, Black people experienced slavery and oppression, and it is presently observed that some of the colonial past continues to shape the lives of Black people in

contemporary Canada and the rest of the world. Recognising the lack of scholars that have contributed to the history of Black people, I ensured that I included the writings of Caribbean authors specifically Dr. Lucille Mair, past professor at the University of the West Indies, Jamaica who lived and worked in Jamaican communities, and researched the topic of slavery and emancipation. She validated and used oral history passed down from families which will provide context and substance to this thesis.

Problems such as racism persist, and this history is provided to help the reader understand some of the experiences of Black people that continue to dominate their lives. The chapter has provided some themes that were noted in participants' stories: isolation, barriers, and the lack of information.

The next chapter focuses on the literature review that highlights theories that helped to create an understanding about the stories of the Jamaican Canadians who arrived in Canada as children.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL REVIEW AND PERSPECTIVES

Confronting the historical practice of children reuniting with their parents through sequence migration begins by locating empirical evidence. I looked broadly at the area of study so that I could locate empirical data. Several research documents including newspaper, online articles, and scholarly publications that focused on sequence migration and specifically on the experiences of children who migrated from Jamaica were examined. What I found was extensive research information based in the United States that highlight the experiences of Latino immigrants and their parents (Smith et al., 2004; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002). The research on sequence migration is varied in Canada and is problem-based, as well as generic of Caribbean people and not specific to the Jamaican community that I wish to study. The North American studies broadly examine the impact of separation and reunification (Smith et al., 2004; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002). I also took the time to examine the experience of members from the Filipino community because most of the women come to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program, working as a live-in domestic worker and leave their children in the care of family members in the Philippines (Parreñas, 2002; Pratt, 2006). This extensive research done in the Filipino community have some similarities with my research. While I was able to learn about their experiences which have some similarities, my research focused on the Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children.

In one study, Adams (2000) uses a case study of Jamaican children to examine the psychological consequences on children who experienced sequence migration. The researcher discovered that children from the traditional Caribbean family complained about the loss of connection from the family left behind in the Caribbean and new relations in Canada. The

outcome of this family structure is that children find themselves in a racist and unfriendly environment in Canada and at the same time losing their extended family (Walker, 2022).

As a seminal thinker, Crawford-Brown (1999)'s "Barrel Kids" provides understanding on sequence migration, which forms part of the experience of the participants I study, that describes the experience of children waiting to rejoin their parents in North America while in Jamaica. "Barrel Kids" is a term used by Crawford-Brown to describe children who live in Jamaica and depend on goods or monies arriving in barrels or parcels from their parents living in North America (Crawford-Brown, 1999). Although the terminology "Barrel Kids" helps to identify issues associated with sequence migration, the term, in some circles, is considered colloquial and demeaning. While the goods provided for children's basic and material needs, it was recognized that "goods" do not provide nurturing from the parents who are absent in their lives. Crawford Brown's (1999) foundational research clarifies the social and economic factors impacting the experience of families from Jamaica and their social and economic existence in the Global North (Canada). This phenomenon has become a structural issue due to globalization and immigration policies (Bernhard et al., 2008; Schiller et al.,1992). Globalization has contributed to the movement of jobs around the world and like those in other countries, Jamaicans are dependent on this market for access to employment opportunities.

In later works, researchers drew international attention to the vast number of children involved in sequence migration and suggested 85 % of children from the Caribbean and Asia endure lengthy separation from their parents (predominantly mothers) during the migration process (Smith et al., 2004; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002). Other researchers adopt themes of pathology, emotional development such as attachment, and a western model of object relations to describe the experience and economic circumstances of children and families and use it to

predict parental relationships that lead to significant development challenges (Demaray et al., 2005; Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Bowlby's (1982) theory on attachment has contributed to the work of practitioners who use his theory as a conceptual schema to examine, assess, and analyze separation of children from their parents during sequence migration (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Bowlby, 1969). Elliston (1985) details the concept of parenting and how the process of sequence migration is transforming the family including the separation of children from their nuclear and extended families.

The term pathology is conceptualized in a medical model perspective and disregards the wider cultural and social factors with the social system (Beresford, 2000). Using the lenses of pathology implies that racialized groups, in particular Blacks, Muslims, and Indigenous people, are encoded with genetic inferiority to the extent that they are viewed by White Canadians as representing a homogenous social group in which degeneracy, drugs, criminality, violence, and immorality are part of their normative history, culture, and identity (Adjei, 2013). Paul Gilroy (2008) made a similar observation about the perception of Black communities in Britain: mugging, robbery, drug charges (are) understood to be the material expression of Black culture, which is defined as a cycle in which the negative effects of Black matriarchy and family pathology wrought destructive changes in the inner city by internally breeding deviancy deprivation and discrimination.

Responding to the theme of pathology, Singh (1992) describes this practice as "blaming the victim" and essentially, the use of power to remove the issue from the agenda so that there is no recognition of the problem. Consequently, the perceived degeneracy associated with such bodies - Blacks, Muslims, and Indigenous people - informs draconian state policies that ensure that these bodies are continually under the gaze of racist law enforcers and decision makers who

must necessarily demonstrate, through individual and institutional practices, a commitment to keep those bodies from "harming" the rest of Canada (Adjei, 2018; Baffoe, 2012; Cole, 2020).

While this research has been instructive and insightful in understanding how race relations impact negatively the migration, integration, and resettlement experiences of Black, Muslims and Indigenous people, they do not give us the full spectrum of the migration, integration and resettlement experiences of Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as children. The data from the research and the stories shared by the participants provide insights on the family dynamics that inform and shape sequence migration for Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as children. In the discussion that follows, I review various theories that offer insights into Black migration, integration, and resettlement experiences in Canada.

Theoretical Understanding of Black migration, integration, and resettlement

Theories are used to predict, to make sense of the world in which we live, to contextualize our experience, and to legitimize our knowledge (Rubin & Babbie, 2010; Payne, 2005, 2020). As important conceptual schemes, theories guide research design to understand the phenomenon under study. While we can speak to our personal experiences, it is also important to recognize that personal knowledge may include myths and stereotypes as in the case of some of the participants. These myths and stereotypes can become so pervasive that over a period even those telling the stories, because they are enmeshed in the fabric of our social culture, believe them (Delgado, 1989, 1990). Some of these repetitions have become common tools in conversation, so much so that it becomes fact, and even make its way into academic journals, books and speeches by politicians, which gives it more legitimacy. With new information and knowledge, theories help to challenge the myths, stereotypes, and assumptions with research that contributes to theoretical robustness about families, communities, and the broader social

structures (Jennissen & Lundy, 2011). It is also an opportunity to use the theories to examine the dominant culture and its influences on the lived experience of participants in the research.

There are several theories that will be reviewed in this section: whiteness theory, anti-colonial theory; Anti-Blackness theory; critical race theory (CRT), globalization theory and intersectionality. These theories help unpack the realities of the participants who up until the time of the interviews did not have the opportunity to share their stories with such formality where the information would become part of the academia. Overall, the stories and information have helped with understanding the lived experience of the participants and the coping strategies employed in the present social system and structures.

Critical Whiteness Theory

In recent years, Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) has become a method of examining the reproduction of systemic racial inequality (Applebaum, 2016; Frankenberg, 1993; Lipsitz, 2006; Yee, 2015). One of the objectives of CWS is to make whiteness visible and to disrupt white dominated systems of power. White norms permeate and dominate Canadian society, yet these practices appear to be common and value-neutral to the social groups that benefit from them. Dei (1996) explains that colonialism is one of the structures that was designed based on White racial superiority and a social construct ascribed to White people who are validated. Scientific racism justified the colonization of "lesser races." Concept of race can be located within Western European colonial and imperial expansion activities, particularly in the 17th century (Dei, 1996). Said (2015) also suggests that colonialism was formulated on the belief of White racial superiority and is associated with knowledge and virtues while blackness is associated with degeneracy. As a category of analysis, whiteness is not biological (Allen, 2004). Whiteness has no meaning outside of colonialism, and instead it is a social construction and contested identity

and subjective racial construct. This means that in social situations Whiteness is natural and normal and is invisible to White people. Lipsitz (1998) reminds us that the problem with some White people is how Whiteness is created by politics, culture, and an unconscious everyday existence.

Personally, I feel that the dominant groups consciously and subconsciously make and maintain racist assumptions based on their upbringing, education, and socialization supported by systems of oppression. I use my experience to explain how Whiteness is privileged in situations and often becomes a learned behaviour of intimidation, power, and control. As an employee in a predominantly White organization, I was constantly bombarded with questions about my education, management position, and the ongoing comments about my family name which sounded more "English", and that there were "letters of the alphabet behind my name." These comments were intended to question my education and qualifications through micro-aggression, which is a subtle and covert act of racism, and condescending insinuation about a person of color (Gosine & Pon, 2011; Nadal, 2011; Sue, 2010). Some of the life lessons that I learned from my father was humility and telling the truth. With these life's lessons, I remained silent for two years about my scholarship. While writing about "truth" as I understood my personal experience in different industries, I did not disclose to colleagues at work that I was pursuing a Ph.D. in social work education. There were reasons for my "silence" and evasiveness about my studies. I was also growing tired of the questions yet remained undeterred and encouraged by the words of James Baldwin— "you have to decide who you are and force the world to deal with you, not with its idea of you" (Baldwin, 1989). The persistence paid off because in my professional life, I successfully argued for the non-suspension, transfers, and special accommodation for staff using my clinical skills and psycho-social assessments. Work on a major case came to a "head" when I

did the right thing by maintaining the confidentiality of a client's file. In response, I was challenged and intimidated by senior investigators who wanted to gain access to the client's information. When the mediator who happens to be White shared in the meeting that I teach social work ethics at a university, that I am a doctoral student, and that disclosure is counter to professional practice, one member of the team smirked and stated, "I had no idea you were at that level." These responses demonstrate how one can experience microaggression and assumptions based on a pre-conceived stereotype that has become part of the social norms in Canada. The reader might ask, how do you know this? The concern about this case is that there were five other regional staff with similar cases who happen to be White, and who are not investigated. Therefore, I wonder why I was selected, and, why the comments about my education?

Similarly, participants in the study shared how they were shocked and surprised at the racist treatment that they experienced in Canada. Specifically, one of the areas of discussion that seems to be a targeted area of racism was the field of education where participants shared that they felt that any information that they brought to the classroom was considered sub-standard, which carried over to their workplace as part of their everyday experience in Canada.

Race becomes significant and important when groups identify, and gain status based on their selected physical traits. With this position comes privilege, entitlement, and power, a hotly debated and contested belief that maintain Whiteness and racism (Johnson, 2012). Whiteness is not treated as a race and becomes invisible. However, Blackness and Brownness are marked as the "other," a term that is ascribed to individuals or groups of people that is perceived to be different based on their race (Frankenberg, 1993; Gallagher & Twine, 2007; Yee, 2005). In the context of migration, the racist exclusionary group barred the migration of Black people from the

Caribbean (Wright, 2015). As a theory, Critical Whiteness Studies helps to understand how Black people were not wanted in Canada (Henry & Tator, 2006; Shepard, 1991; Winks, 1971), and that the historical experience and the disturbing nature of anti-Black racism continue to be pervasive in practice based on policies that were restrictive and enforced barriers for families. Rinaldo Walcott (2001) argues that to belong to Canada and belong as Black means that there needs to be an understanding of selves lodged between the material needs of the Canadian nation, region and communities including the USA, UK, and locations in the Caribbean. Walcott (2001) helps to explain that there is an attempt to make Black presence absent. For example, the restrictive immigration policies whereby new immigrants were forced to pay huge sums of money to migrate to Canada; leave their children behind because of the measures imposed on parents; limited job opportunities; again, excluded them from full participation in the society. This practice explains the power relationship and dynamics that shape the social relationship between the immigration system and families accessing the services and opportunities and demonstrates how whiteness is conveyed in diverse ways such as the institutionalization of Whiteness regarding the immigration policies (Calliste, 1993; Simmons, 1998).

Anti-Colonialism and post Colonialism

Understanding social work practice and the experiences of individuals who migrated to Canada as children requires an understanding of historical and contemporary Canada. Earlier I discussed how Whiteness has shaped society for the last 600 years (Johnson et al., 2000). Using anti-colonial theory, requires that there is an understanding of colonialism, its meaning and impact on humans and societies. Over the years, many writers, analysts, theorists, and world leaders have produced literature that speaks to their resistance to colonialism. Works such as *Black Skin White Masks* (Fanon, 1952), *The Souls of Black Folks* (DuBois, 1903), *The Politics of*

Change (Manley, 1974), *Discourse on Colonialism* (Cesare, 1972) and *Black Like Who* (Walcott, 2003) are some of the discourses that contributed to an increasing recognition of the legacy and impact of colonialism. Prime Minister Mia Motley of Barbados, who is a member of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), has challenged western nations about the plight of the Caribbean and called on members of the international governing bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the United Nations to think about their roles and responsibilities towards developing countries (COP 26, 2021). As passionate world leaders and advocates for anti-colonialist thinking and practices, the authors and speakers continue to disrupt the political will of world leaders who imposed colonialist practices in western societies. Colonialism is described as the racist relationship with bodies with the aims of material profit (Dei, 2000).

Racism and colonialism in Canada were first experienced by Indigenous peoples and later included the enslavement of Black people of which many Canadians are unaware (Cooper, 2006); including the refusal to allow South Asians aboard the Komagata Maru to enter Canada (Johnson, 2014); the indenture of Chinese workers (Li, 1998); and the internment of Japanese Canadians (Oikawa, 2012). Academics such as Dei (2006) explain that colonialism was developed based on beliefs about White superiority that continue to have an impact on racialized groups in North American societies. Colonialism was developed on White superiority philosophy and beliefs that continue to have an impact on racialized (Black) people in North America (Kempf, 2010). Ashcroft et al. (2013), Smith (2012) and Dei (2000) define anti-colonialism as the political struggle and active resistance of colonized people against the ideology and practice of colonialism.

By using anti-colonial theory as a framework for this research and developing an understanding of the participants' stories, I also speak from my personal experience of living in a colonized society that was owned by the British. I grew up in Jamaica, a country that was owned by the British, which came with its culture and influences. While the country gained independence in 1962, British influence remains in Jamaican society (religious, industrial, and educational systems). Here I use education as an example to illustrate how the British system influenced my learning. First, textbooks were printed at Oxford Press, United Kingdom and sold to students at exorbitant prices upon conversion of the British pound to the Jamaican dollar. As a student of the 1970's, in geography classes I learned about the River Thames of London, British leaders, books such as Rhyme and Reason that described things like the fire of London, snow, Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountain of Canada, but nothing about Wag Water River or the Blue Mountains that beautify Jamaica. At the University of Calgary where I studied social work, most of the teachings featured the history and practice from a white Eurocentric approach and made me wonder with whom the social workers intended to practice, and how easy it was to practice from a position of dominance and oppression. Most textbooks featured White characters with Black characters in position of subordination (maid) looking disfigured, or in the backgrounds with a White child on her hip and described as *Mammy*. Thus began the visual and powerful educational orientation of White superiority and the distinction between how Whiteness is the representation of good, and black meant bad and evil. How do I use anti-Colonialist theory? In response to this need and relationship, anti-colonial framework contextualizes my earlier educational experience, and helps me to question domination, oppression, and the multiple use of power (Dei, 2000).

Given the stories of the participants in this study, as a theoretical framework, anti-colonial theory challenges the perception and belief of Canada as a fair and tolerant society despite the reality of racism (Henry & Tator, 2010; Lawrence & Dua, 2005). The theory helps us to interrogate the experience of participants in the study and how the historical oppressive and colonial practice and beliefs contribute to the practice of establishing policies and practices that keep families separate. As well, I use the theory to examine the foundation and continued existence of the immigration practice that is designed to keep Black families apart and how this practice was perpetuated in the Jamaican community through isolation and dispersion in Canada where families lived in rural communities without contact to social services (Clark, 1997a; Moynagh, 1996; Vernon, 2008).

As a society, we may argue that colonialism is a "thing of the past," however, we must examine the traditional models that inhibit and limit the full potential of Black people in Canada. For instance, much has been written about the economic consequences of colonialism. As former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley reminds us, colonial economies were conceived in the context of dependence and whose purpose is to produce primary products for the metropolitan power using cheap labour which is an extension of the system (Manley, 1974). Certainly, as we continue our existence, and livelihood in a contemporary society, his words resonate as Canada and other developed nations continue to depend on the economic and social resources that Jamaica provides (See Chapter 3-Globalisation Theory). For example, the brightest immigrants are given the opportunity to come to Canada but are required to start at the very bottom of the economic and social ladder (Thobani, 2007). The author and researchers have attributed these historical practices where Black people are admitted to Canada because of their cheap labour, receive minimum wage, and are discriminated against (Manley, 1974; Thobani, 2007; Wright,

2009). Given the economic need such as goods and scarce resources by people in developing countries like Jamaica, immigrants and settlers gravitate to where economic need can be met. On the other hand, developing countries such as Canada make it difficult (through immigration fees, and restrictive policies and barriers) to access equitable recourses such as the opportunity for parents to bring their children with them during migration, which is part of the reason for this research. The social, economic, and political context of migration, and settlement, is pivotal in examining the background information on which the family and community emerge into total participation in Canadian society.

Dei (2012) posits that using anti-colonialist theory can contribute to tensions in discussions because dominant groups would prefer to privilege their position by referencing "post-colonial" over "anti-colonial". He contends that those in position of power tend to resist anti-colonial discourse and instead ignore the realities of individuals who continue to experience colonialist practice (Dei, 2012). Other reasons for using anti-colonialist theory, in response to the examination of adults who migrated to Canada as children, contribute to passionate discussions because of these relatable concepts to immigrants and marginalized communities. It also allows for the discussion on the historical treatment and displacement of Blacks, discussion on issues such as power, discrimination, and the stereotypical treatment of Jamaicans.

Anti-colonial theory is therefore relevant to understand the stories of the participants in the research as it provides a framework in understanding how the oppressive practices created and marginalized groups because of their history and racial background (Dei, 2000). Anti-colonialism theory helps serve as a reminder of the historical experiences of slavery, oppression, the attempt to dismiss and erase, marginalization and oppression, and helps to make sense of the present and ongoing experience of Blacks in Canada.

Family separation is a structural outcome of globalization and immigration policies which tends to be invisible and not part of any discussion within society (Bernhand et al., 2009). This invisibility contributes to social and political discussions where time is not taken to explain how the process of immigration can be fraught with jargon and unclear definitions as to who fits the family description according to Canadian law and structure. Anti-Colonial theory helps to bring to attention these practices and procedures that continue to impact families. Although there is often time tension and discomfort in the discourse, it is an opportunity to examine the present practices that can lead to changes.

Anti-colonialism is not the only theory that can help in understanding the experiences of the participants in the study. Anti-Blackness theory aligns with the post modernist and structuralist understanding of the experience of the participants in the study and is used to analyze and validate their stories by listening to the experience of what it means to migrate to Canada and experience racist acts every day.

Anti-Blackness Theory

Throughout this study, I discovered the work of researchers who highlighted and discussed anti-Black racism (African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2002; James et al., 2010). Racism itself is the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over others and thereby the right to dominance (Lorde, 1997). Anti-Black racism is prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination directed at people of African descent (African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2002; James et al., 2010). The utilization of anti-Black racism is about understanding the dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized, open, and blatant discrimination, policies that contributed to the treatment of Blacks that is based on the historical practices of racial segregation and economic disadvantage (Morgan & Bullen, 2015). In contemporary Canada, anti-Black racism manifests itself when

individuals and groups use racial slurs, ignore the physical presence of Black people in meetings or gatherings, or deny justice in the court of law and access to essential service such as health and education because of their skin colour. These experiences are deliberately intended to dehumanize, characterize, distort, and demean Black people through, for example, information in texts and journals, discussion, and education systems. Policy makers and practitioners ascribe certain characteristics that are based on the dominant race and at their convenience (Henry & Tator, 2000). Anti-Black racism is one of the theories specific to the inequalities experienced by Black and Indigenous peoples of using anti-oppressive theory (AOP). While AOP speaks to the general oppressions of such systems and policies, in some cases may appeal to binary racialized grouping and exclude other racialized groups. The researchers make specific reference to the experiences of marginalized people and children through the theory (Pon et al., 2011). It is also important to centre the stories and experiences of the participants in the study who would otherwise be sidelined or relegated to "a collective" where the focus of the discussion is general and ignore the factors of racism specific to the Black community. For this reason, as a practitioner, I often ask social work students to think about the community in which they will be practicing social work. When asked, the usual response is the collective "with all people". Recognising the resistance and apprehension to discuss race related topics can be challenging. I start the discussion by examining the history of Blacks in Canada and how institutional racism, policies, and oppressive practices create barriers for their integration in the society.

Laureen Van Camp, in her essay *What my Alberta Social Education Missed* (ACSW, 2015), discusses her experience as a White student in an Alberta university. In the article, she shared how the Black viewpoint was missing, and that the discussion of slavery was nothing more than a passing comment. Five years later in 2020, while teaching a class of diploma

students, I enquired about the knowledge of Blacks in Alberta and Canada. Most students could remember the sitcom *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, the hip hop artist known as *Drake*, and that most Black people work in meat factories in Alberta. This made me question several issues: how will social work students ask questions about the reunification of families? Why is anti-racism not taught? and why the curricula have not been developed to meet the changes and realities of the Calgary and Canadian society as shared in a recent interview and media release (The Sprawl Magazine, 2020). The discussion helps to contribute to the understanding that racism does exist in the society and challenges learning institutions to ensure that racism is addressed to bring about equity and fairness in the society. From my experience as a student in Canadian universities and even as an instructor, the history of Black people in Canada is not spoken or taught about in most learning institutions, even though the colleges and universities have diverse student population in the community. I find that usually the topic of Blackness surfaces during Black History Month with a "cursory" mention, and then the conversation moves on to other topics of discussion. To me, this response is indicative of uncertainty, discomfort in addressing issue of race and the power dynamics involved.

As a theory, Anti-Black racism can be used to challenge these power dynamics as well as the imposition of domination based on the set of ideas especially around education that is scripted, without flexibility, and tends to project ideas from a Eurocentric perspective and seems not to be taking into consideration the diverse community in which we all exist. Simmons and Dei (2000) suggest that this knowledge must purposively serve to challenge colonial imposition and thought. Anti-Black racism calls attention to a specific racism experienced by Black people in Canada with a foundation in slavery and the colonial period (James et al., 2010). This statement helps us to understand the connection between slavery and racial order where Black

people were related to second class citizens, the legitimization of racist practices towards Blacks and the belief that Whites were superior. Anti-Black racism theory cannot be understood apart from the histories of colonial structures and therefore the theory provides a historical, contextualized and a personal approach to the study of Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children. This history is critical in understanding and analysing the experience of Blacks from Jamaica who experience reunification. With this understanding, I was able to generate questions and use the answers that provided data for analysis.

Anti-Black racism theory will contribute to the stories shared by the participants by contextualising the history of racism and colonialism, thereby placing emphasis on a particular racism experienced by Jamaicans in Canada. Anti-Black racism is also rooted in the history of slavery and the ongoing narratives of seeing Jamaicans as strangers or "others" even though they have a right to claim Canada as home. The theory calls attention to how anti-colonial theory and Anti-Black racism are connected and contributed to the calling attention to specific laws and practices that led to the segregation in education, housing and employment experienced by Black people in Canada (James et al.,2010). Anti-Black racism like anti-colonial theory challenges laws and practices that contribute to segregation, housing, isolation, and challenges associated with employment equity and education experienced by black people in Canada.

Racialized and Black people's knowledge gained from experiences of domination and oppression tends to be dismissed and not viewed as legitimate knowledge and termed subjugated knowledge (Foucault, 1980). Too often, universities have long claimed a monopoly in defining what counts as knowledge (Hall, 1998). Aylward (1999) and Crenshaw et al. (1995) similarly note that racism is the scaffolding that structures Euro-American Canadian society, with Crenshaw et al. emphasizing that there cannot be any "perch outside the social dynamics of

racial power from which to merely observe and analyze." African American literary writer Toni Morrison (1992) extends this argument by noting that race finds its way into every social configuration of American society. For Roediger (1991) even in all–white communities, race and racism do not disappear. The central premise of my argument is that White settler societies such as Canada, the United States and Australia are predicated on a racial social ordering and "othering" that is often expressed as a legal-juridical formation (see Fanon, 1952, 1967; Razack, 2002). Here, I find David Theo Goldberg's (2002) notion of a "racial state" particularly useful in understanding ways in which the Canadian state has "through repression, occlusion and erasure, restriction and denial, delimitation and domination" (p.33) succeeded in producing a White homogeny that allows Whites to constantly deny radicalized people access to power and privilege and by so doing inflict physical and psychological violence on bodies marked as degenerates. Specifically, the thesis will demonstrate how some Jamaican Canadians' structural and systemic barriers identified in accessing social services such as health, education, social services through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race theory

The purpose of this section of the thesis is to discuss Critical Race Theory (CRT) and how it can illuminate the experience of the participants in the study. Over the last decade, several tenets have been studied and contribute to the understanding of the CRT (Abrams & Moio, 2009). CRT emerged as a framework of analysis in the mid 1970s from the writings of legal theorists Derick Bell and Alan Freeman, who challenged the ineffective approach of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. As a theory, CRT is embraced by many disciplines such as sociology, social work, history, feminist, postcolonial, and cultural studies. CRT seeks to deconstruct, transform, and create an understanding about the relationship among race, racism,

and power (Delgado & Stefanic, 2013; Stoval, 2005) that challenges objectivity, neutrality, and color blindness of the law. Although CRT was developed in the United States, it has become part of the academic, public, and intellectual discourse in Canada that interrogates Whiteness (Marx & Pennington, 2003). Although scholars such as Bell (1976, 1979) challenged the view that the law is neutral and that some laws are oppressive, they excluded the perspective of people of colour which limited their perspective to a White elite view. As a result, CRT emerged through the work of advocates and theorists (Bell, 1976, 1979). Critical race theory is informed by activism, political struggle and resistance to racist thinking. It also recognises the dynamics and complex process where racial categories are socially produced by dominant groups in ways that entrench social inequalities and marginalization (Bell, 1976). Critical race theory engages six tenets that can be used to bring understanding and analyse the stories of the participants in the study. The tenets are: 1) *interest convergence, 2) critical liberalism,* 3) *whiteness as property, 4) the permanence of racism, 5) counter-story telling and 6) anti essentialism/intersectionality.* (Bracey, 2022) For this section of the thesis, I will discuss each tenet, and then select and discuss the tenets that will be used to discuss the experience of the participants in my research.

Interest convergence seeks to deconstruct and attempts to reconstruct traditional interests and values that promote racial subordination. In this tenet the White majority (federally, privacy, traditional values) converge with those who are racially oppressed, which means that it is only when the needs and interest of racialized/minority groups align with those of White people (Bell, 1980). For example, sports teams are positioned or fronted by white majority universities to look good but may not access or get the level of education required. Socially and personally, some Black parents can be heard lamenting that it is important for their children to focus on their education instead, or in addition to the sports scholarship that they receive. This is one of the

areas that I continuously encourage my nephews (since the family is predominantly male dominated) that they get their education and insist that coaches give them the time to focus on their scholarship. As a second tenet, CRT critiques liberalism and asserts that it is endemic and an everyday occurrence for people of colour and is part of the social structures and practices in the society. There is the perception that all are equal within the society. However, Williams (1999) suggests that it is statements like this that contribute to the difficulties around discussion to challenge White privilege that has been normalised and ignores oppression based on race and continues to exist. At face value all seems to be desirable and that there is neutrality like the experiences of the participants in the study. John Horgan, Premier of British, demonstrated "neutrality" when responding to questions about his privilege as a White person and systemic racism as a key issue in the pending leadership race (Vancouver Sun, May 11, 2021). Statements made by Premier Horgan carry power given his position, and privilege and at times makes it impossible to challenge and question how White privilege is normalised by way as he (Horgan) as a White male can walk through the world and never see, experience or confront racism (Williams, 1999).

Third, CRT is whiteness as property offers and helps us to understand the permanence of racism as part of the American life (Bell, 1992), which is also part of the experience in Canada. In other words, racism tends to be perceived as a non-issue or that it "is not as bad as the USA." This belief, perception, and deflection feeds into the seething anger at those who speak out, against racism and contributes to feelings of being devalued, loss of considerable self-esteem and eventually takes it toll on both physical and mental health (Agic, 2015; Beagan et al., 2012; Report on Immigrant and Visible Minority Women in the Non-Profit Sector and Paid Workers-Calgary, 2004; Taylor & Richards, 2019). CRT also helps to dispel the myth that racism does not

exist in Canada as it was part of the stories shared by participants in the study. Critical race theory is both informed by activism, political struggle and resistance to racist thinking. It also recognises the dynamics and complex process where racial categories are socially produced by dominant groups in ways that entrench social inequalities and marginalization (Bell, 1976).

Fourth, one of the essential tenets that will be used to discuss the experience of the participant is counter-storytelling which is an essential component of this research that has utilised the work of researchers who identified a method of casting doubt on stories shared that are myths held by White people (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). Historically dominant groups tend to "voice over" the experience of racialized groups to legitimize their position of power. These silences and ignores the experience and values of racialized people and other marginalised communities. Sherene Razack (1998) stresses that "story telling" is an important part of the politics of anti-racism, because it provides, "an opposition to established knowledge" (p. 36). However, one's standpoint affects both how we hear and how we respond to what we hear. Who interprets what is heard and how? When the stories are told as in the case of the participants, how will the stories be used. Stories told by marginalized people are interpreted by those in power (judges, immigration personnel and social services, educational institutions) and are interpreted based on their norms and values that is connected to their privileged social location, and therefore not valued or understood in a different social context. Therefore, CRT helps with advocating and centralizes the voices of participants and challenges claims of neutrality (Delgado, 1989) when analysing changes and implementation in the society.

Fifth, differential racialization as a tenet helps to understand the tendency where racialized people are "lumped together" or the dominant group racializes people in diverse ways. The theory points to example of generalizing all Black people within the Calgary community during

the COVID 19 instead of examining how the pandemic impacted the different members within the Black communities. Members of the Black community were viewed as individuals who worked in the service industries and if they were successful and worked in the professional organisations, they were seen as a threat. Similarly, in Canada when the farm workers were seen as successful and skilled at their work, they were watched constantly by farm owners (Hjalmarson, 2021; Mayell, 2016).

The sixth tenet, anti essentialism/intersectionality, acknowledges the intersectionality of various oppression and suggests that focusing on race alone can ignore other forms of oppression such as disabilities and poverty. It is suggested that CRT framework points out that if researchers do not use a multidimensional framework, then there is the potential to replicate some of the patterns of exclusion (Hutchinson, 2000). The theory provides a way to further deconstruct oppressions though privileging the perspectives of the participants as they experience oppression in a different and more complex way in addition to racist and sexist oppression.

It was Crenshaw who coined the word intersectionality in 1989, and later other intellectuals who contributed to the theory that helps to understand the multiple ways that marginalization privilege and power shape the intellectual emotional and material lives of individuals and communities (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins 1998). The concept of intersectionality has also been extended to other social dimensions such as age, sexual orientation, and abilities (Knapp, 2005). In my thesis I examine how the participants in the study have come to experience oppression and discrimination and how the overlapping forms of identity contribute to inequalities. As a society, there is need to develop awareness of inequities and how multiple identities intersect to complicate individuals' experience of oppression. Using an intersectional prism can challenge privilege and subordination and contribute to collaboration and action.

Most of the participants in this study were women who shared their experience of racism. Gendered racism has become a concern for Black women because their presence in certain places of privilege is deemed unacceptable and unwelcome.

While writing this section of my thesis, I learned of the death of Sydney Poitier, a well-known actor, civil rights activist, and ambassador. In his prolific roles as an actor, he challenged the social norms of presenting Black actors. In one of his more well-known movies-"*In the heat of the night,"* Poitier played the role of Virgil Tibbs, a Black police detective, where he was slapped in the face by one of the plantation owners, and in response he slapped the face of the landowner. Poitier argued that as an actor, when choosing roles, he did not want to be perceived as accepting of social norms. Poitier argued that some of the acting roles and opportunities were reflective of the stereotypical perception of Blacks that had impacted the consciousness of the United States (CNN. Entertainment, 2022). Therefore, what he did, was to choose roles that would change the perception of Black people around the world. Similarly, in her earlier works, Audre Lorde (1997) speaks of talking back in Westernized societies where expressing oneself is not expected as a Black Women. There is the expectation by the dominant society that Black people remain silent and not ask questions. For me, having power and privilege (employment, heterosexual, physical and cognitive abilities) as an immigrant, I continue to teach students about the impact of race and the different isms on Black bodies in our society, and seek to provide representation around the different tables to serve on committees and boards so as to advance change in the society.

I have provided a brief synopsis of the CRT tenets, and it is my intention to use three of the tenets and alluded to some examples of each tenet. To fully understand how my research is

related to experience of the participants I will discuss the following tenets: *Endemic racism, counter story telling* and *intersectionality.*

Since the death of George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black man whose life ended at the hands of a White police officer during an arrest processing, where the officer had his knee on Mr. Floyd's neck for eight minutes and fifteen seconds, the world and hopefully Canadians are beginning to understand race as an issue in the society. The injuries and death of Black and Indigenous men at the hands of police, the racial taunting and subsequent death of Joyce Echaquan, an Indigenous woman who lay sick in her hospital bed in Quebec, are some examples of multiple forms of racism in Canada (Brown et al., 2022). This is not to suggest that these racist incidents have not happened in the past. The difference is that in this decade, the incident was laid bare for the public to see and hear because of the electronic devices and the publication of the incident by the media. CRT is central to the stories of the participants in this study as it helps to understand how participants are affected because of their ongoing experience of racism that continues to shape their lives.

Critical race theory helps to deconstruct and reconstruct traditional interests and values that promote racial subordination. In the process of deconstruction, CRT analyses how racism is embedded in the immigration system in Canada that views Jamaicans as the unwelcome guests.

Globalization Theory

Nearing the end of my high school years, I began to hear the words "globalization" and "bilateral agreement" being used by local and international politicians, intellectuals, as well as ongoing discussions in the media. Both terms seem to complement each other. Globalization is defined as the growing interdependence of world's economies, cultures, and populations facilitated by cross border trade in goods, services, investments, and information (Aurioles,

2021; Beck, 2018). Globalization theory critically examines how established countries practice from a position of power, and developing nations access capital and technology to transform their societies (Sparr, 1994). As a practice, globalization and "bilateral agreements" worked hand in hand, and in essence it meant countries working together to operate a market to benefit each other. Globalisation theory helps to examine how larger established countries such as Canada have benefited from migration and specifically in the case of Jamaica, recruited farm workers and domestic workers to fulfil their economic need and other groups of workers to provide cheap labour in the country. In my study, I employ globalisation as a theory where Canada is positioned as a stronger economy and the Jamaican families who out of an economic need, migrated to Canada to support themselves. The sophistication of this economic model continues to be a foundation of how most economies operate in addition to the impacts of loss of contact with friends and family and cultural norms (Morrison et al., 2008) This sophistication is linked to countries such as Canada where there is higher productivity and opportunity when compared to developing countries like Jamaica. It means that anywhere the means of productively and opportunities exists, individuals will gravitate to make improved changes in their lives, even at the risk of loss of family or friends.

In practice, globalisation means the removal of borders to operate seamlessly in terms of trade, commercialization, and the flow of information about people, societies, and culture (Aurioles, 2021; Beck, 2018). A contemporary example of globalization is the response to the COVID 19 pandemic by World Health Organization (WHO) that provides policies and rules surrounding the movement of people and medical information about the pandemic. For example, western societies can provide resources for hygiene such as soap, water and vaccines, while

access to health resources continues to be a challenge for others in developing countries (Aurioles, 2021; Beck, 2018)

For this thesis, globalization theory was considered as it relates to migration and how the world's migratory history, patterns such as displacements, anti-immigration rhetoric and calls by western societies to "build walls" continues to be part of the challenges associated with the immigrant experience (Axford, 2013; Chierici, 2004; Heisler, 2000; Caribbean Expert Group Meeting on Human Rights and Development in the Caribbean, 2005). With the need for imported labour and migration there is the border imperialism where there is displacement of impoverished and colonized communities resulting from relationships of global powers and the simultaneous securitization of the border against those migrants who have been displaced by capitalism (Walia, 2013). The concept of globalization is not a new phenomenon and it intensified during the 1970s as it relates to industrial restructuring and trade (Moody, 1995). The discourse cast immigrants as the outsider and highlights their presence within the Canadian society as a site for struggle and tension with governments where families experience challenges with immigration system (Razack, 2002). Scholars Razack and Jeffry (2010) argue that like CRT being taken up in social work education, it is also important to broaden the understanding of globalization theory that helps to understand how the historically, the brightest and the best from countries like Jamaica moved to Canada only to find themselves denied access to resources to fulfil their dreams and aspirations.

In this section, I take into consideration the experience of adults who as children were reunited with parents in Canada, and how their experience has contributed to global movements of people from the Caribbean. Bilateral agreements play a role in the immigration process, and as Yelvington (2000) indicates, in the attempt to be profitable, trade has expanded all over the

world which began when the Caribbean became the site of where the Europeans and merchants traded in sugar and tobacco. I see this practice as a continuation. Human capital is essential for the building and restructuring of developed countries. For example, the building of the United Kingdom Post World War 2, saw Britain sending the HMT Empire Windrush ships, in 1948 to the Caribbean Islands to transport workers like my grandmother to the UK to rebuild the country. Later, some of the people who assisted in building the UK and their family members were deported to their home countries including Jamaica (Taylor, 2020; Wardie & Obermuller, 2019). Luckily for my grandmother, she accessed a passport that provided her with citizenship, and access to the country's resources. However, many of her friends and colleagues were not so fortunate and experienced hardship with the social systems including deportation.

To develop and establish the building of developed countries, bilateral agreements are coordinated between small and larger countries and companies. Bilateral agreements are based on systems of power where larger nations in their role of globalization can use their position to place and replace workers at their own convenience based on the needs of the country. The field of nursing is one example (Salmon et al., 2007). This mobility of labor is driven by economic reasons where citizens from the developing and poor countries move to the rich countries to provide low paying jobs and services. This is the case of Caribbean people who migrated to Canada to work in the Cape Breton Mines and later the Domestic Scheme (1945-1960) where women migrated to Canada to work as domestics (Labelle et al., 2010; see Chapter 2). As this agreement gathered traction, the temporary foreign worker program through bilateral agreements between Canada and Jamaica became one of the well thought out plans for the provision of cheap labor with limited access to Canada's resources such as health and membership in unions (Binford, 2019).

One may ask, why do Jamaicans move? What contributed to the migratory pattern to countries such as Canada? What does this history and theory have to do with the stories of the participants in the study? The decision to move or to be relocated to another country can be viewed in two ways; economic and non-economic and can be categorized in demand "pull", supply "push" and the power of the network (Fleras & Elliot, 1999; Martin & Zurcher, 2008). The push factors in immigration allow people to flee from political situations, and in the case of Jamaica, it may have to do with the crime and violence and unstable economic circumstances. The pull factor relates to some people migrating to "get ahead" (Malkin, 2004), to provide a better life for themselves, their children and their family members left at home. The pull factor suggests that there is the demand for skilled labor in developed countries such as Canada that includes better wages that relates to an individual's plans and anticipation of a better lifestyle. This perception of a better lifestyle is difficult to ignore (Nurse, 2004). At the same time, many parents were lured by recruiters and publication that implied that, "we have great jobs here in Canada for you." The statement implies that there are better working conditions and salary only to find out that while many may have the skills and qualification, they are placed in sub-standard jobs on arrival in Canada (Quinn & Rubb, 2005). Jamaican parents tend to base knowledge and experience about their own progress on the assessment of influential people who have historically contributed to the development of developed countries. Intellectuals and leaders who studied abroad, such as Marcus Garvey, organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association that had over 1,000 branches internationally and was a part of the West Indian community in Harlem, USA in the early decades of the twentieth century (Yelvington, 2000). In Canada, people such as Rosemary Brown (Brown, 1989), and Hon Lincoln "Linc" Alexander, Canadian politician and Lieutenant Governor of Ontario (Canadian Race Relations Foundation,

2015), both fought for racial equity in Canada. It is this historical foundation, and the success of others that has inspired parents to make the journey to Canada so that their children can do better.

Reports suggest that immigration from the Caribbean to Canada is not as smooth as anticipated as many children are still waiting for reunification with parents as the Canadian government continues to implement measures and policies that are restrictive and challenging to navigate for families (Belanger & Candiz, 2020; James, 2012; Walker, 1980). This pattern of immigration suggests that parents are willing to chance moving to Canada and experience the reunification at the risk of all the social challenges. Given the history and the advocacy by immigration groups and individuals, one would think that barriers would have been decreased significantly and be less cumbersome to navigate. Globalization theory has unraveled that, despite the histories of colonization and imperialism, the practice is entrenched where powerful countries continue to sustain barriers for families. It also provides information on how the world works and how powerful countries can reproduce challenges associated with global economies. It is hoped that as social workers become more aware of international practices, and that they will give voice to the experience of the participants in the study and other interested parties so that families can navigate Canada.

Summary

In the section on theorizing the experiences of the participants in the study I referred to Critical Whiteness theory, anti-colonialist theory and post colonialism, Anti-Black racism and Globalization theories to understand adults who migrated to Canada as children. Based on what has emerged in the study, the data suggests that the social infrastructures continue to create barriers for progress with the understanding that the participants have a clear understanding of

their social positions. What I realise is that, even though participants have provided information that support theories, I have maintained an openness to integrate other aspect of their experience to add to the data.

Some of the information may be hard for the reader to see in print. However, as a scholar, I must lay bare the soul and vulnerabilities to be true to myself and the participants by contextualizing their stories. Additionally, the information is not to suggest that all White people are racist or that they treat Black people poorly. As detailed in this chapter I am suggesting that power, domination, and control based on Whiteness privilege the positions that enforce a colonialist and dominant practice based on race in Canada. Theories will present concepts that will contribute to my thesis and provide examples on ways that I could use the theories practically as the methods helps me to know how I come to be knowledgeable about adults who experience sequence migration. I am suggesting that the lessons of power, domination, and control based on being White privileges the positions that enforce a colonialist mentality that is scripted in policy, principles, and practice. The available literature provides a foundation for examining Jamaican Canadians who were reunified with their parents as children. In the next section, the research methodology is discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on the methodology and methods used to conduct the research and builds on Chapter Three that provided a theoretical context about the experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children from Jamaica. The terms methodology and methods are often misunderstood and sometimes used interchangeably. To be specific, methodology is defined as "a theory and analysis of how research should proceed" (Harding, 1987, p.2) and helps the reader to develop an understanding analysis, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to research (Schwandt, 2023). The methods are ways or techniques for gathering information and evidence to support the research (Harding, 1987). The detail of the following discussion sets the stage to explain the research methodology, methods including the interview questions and recruitment process that contributed to participants agreeing to be a part of the research study.

Qualitative Research

A qualitative research design was used for this research and is designed to generate knowledge and develop an understanding about a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). The approach privileges the exploration of human experience to give voice to the participants being interviewed (Hesse-Biber, 2013). Exploration of the participants' experience was of allowing them to share their stories and to learn about their perspective based on their settlement and reunification with their parents. Research is interconnected, scaffolded, and takes into consideration multiple ways of knowing and figuring out the unknown. Research is conducted through a process of data collection, what is often described as inductive (Morse, 2001), which means that the researcher has no preconceived ideas to prove or disprove. The term "emerge" is often used to describe the results of the research that will contribute to the development of a

theory. The impression here is that knowledge is there to be discovered, extracted, and distributed. In this research I have some similarities with the participants in the study based on the culture and race, where data gathering and research analysis were constructed from mutual experiences and interaction between me as the researcher and the research participants as well as the type of information (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). While the information from this research tends to benefit the researchers and academia, it is important that the participants' stories are shared with them after the data is collected and analysed, thereby ensuring their involvement as full participants. This involves meeting and cross referencing the information and providing participants with the opportunity to speak to their own personal information supported by the empirical data.

Nora Zeal Hurston (2018), a well-known American anthropologist, author, and researcher, rejected the objective-observer stance of Western scientific inquiry and instead adopted the participant observer position in her work on Barracoon. In her book she shares how she was sent by Dr Franz Boas to get a firsthand story of the Last "Black Cargo" where Kossola, one of the last known survivors of the slave trade, recounted his life of being captured in and put on the slave ship Clotilda in Bante (now Benin) and into slavery in Mobile, Alabama until his death in 1935. Hurston's work helps me to understand that "research is formalized curiosity and that it is poking and prying with a purpose" (Hurston, 1942, p. 91). Members of the Jamaican community have contributed to the success of the academy and universities where they were studied by students and scholars, who have built successful careers from the process without sharing the outcome with for example the Indigenous, and immigrant communities. What Zeal Hurston's research legacy means for me is that, whereas I have been schooled about the use of research that was designed from a Eurocentric approach, combined with institutional racism in

social science research (Dei, 2005, p.13), I feel that it is incumbent on me that I interrupt the practice by working from a critical race theory framework to examine my approach and decolonize the research. What I mean is that I will adopt a research methodology that will centre and help to understand the stories of the participants in the study.

I have come to realise that social scientific research has historically been conducted from a positivist epistemological position and is viewed as respected in academia (Hesse-Biber, 2013) so much so that research is taught and practiced, at the risk of ignoring racialized scholars. History is about power, and the narrative is used to maintain others on the margin and othered (Anzaldua, 1990; Tuhiwah-Smith, 2012). A rigid or even loose approach to a particular practice of research (i.e., positivist, qualitative or deconstructive) does not seem to provide flexibility of thinking and practice in research although it appears that a positivist way of doing research is embedded in our culture (Fook, 2003). Fontana and Frey (2005) argue that "interviewing is not merely the neutral exchange of asking questions and getting answers (pp. 697-697). Therefore, in this research, the stories are "unscripted and unscrubbed" and reflect the true experience of the participants. In most of the research that has informed this thesis, there are reports about children but no direct information or their "voices," which is surprising as I find that Jamaican children tend to be expressive and great story tellers from the lessons and information learned from parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Could it be that researchers subscribed to the English proverb "children are to be seen and not heard"? The dominant perception of children suggests that they are denied the rights of adults and thereby they are more vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, and marginalisation in society (Theis, 2009). Marginalization in this thesis means that as children they are not included in research and most of the information is generated from third party information and/or research that is already generated.

In the past four decades, social scientists have depended, taught, and framed grand theories and ideology that are overarching explanations about social issues such as liberalism, socialism, positivism, and psychoanalysis that has provided credibility (Wiarda, 2010). Researchers have analysed and challenged these teachings and continuously remind us to develop new theories that will help with centering the stories of the "Other' (Anzaldua,1990; Giroux, 1992). They suggest that we "retheorize" and explain that history and politics needs to be situated within the understanding of colonialism because the grand theories do not fit the lives of Black people who struggle (McGoldrick, 1998). The participants in this study have named their struggles such as racism, isolation, and challenges with the educational system. Participants spoke about their successes and how through perseverance they have learned new information about themselves. Now, collaboratively their narrative will contribute to development of new politics and work towards change. Given the sensitive nature and the time at which I wrote this thesis, I have also included a personal reflection about my challenges and experience during the Spring of 2020. The time is significant as the world watched while George Floyd, a Black man, was killed by a police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota and the event sent shock waves and responses by both Black and White people in the United States and Canada. With the aftermath of Mr Floyd's death, the following section discusses the use of critical race methodology for my research on Strangers in the New Homeland: The Personal Stories of Jamaican Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children.

Critical Race Methodology

It takes courage not to be discouraged—these were the encouraging and famous words uttered by 100-year-old *Benjamin B Ferencz*, a lawyer and a specialist in International Criminal Law after the Second World War, and who continues in his role to find and prosecute Nazi War

criminals. His passion and words of encouragement are a reminder to focus on the knowledge producers in this research, the teaching and learning moments, and how their resilience in the face of adversity can be used to empower as well as to educate others about their struggles. I also recognise how as a society; their stories can be used to work towards change.

In the introduction to this thesis, I discussed some of the defining moments that contributed to this body of work. It was my undergraduate social work class (2004) at the University of Calgary where I was "awoken" to the perception of Jamaican women in Canada and their subjugation to housekeeper, cleaner, and nanny. Years later in 2017, while teaching a social work class, one student commented that, "I know that Jamaican women are Nannies as I had one, and by the way you gave me 75% on my paper which you need to increase." It was a subtle reminder to let me know that "nannies do not teach at universities."

Another defining moment is participants sharing how as new immigrants their education was dismissed even though they shared similar British educational system with Canada and were required to retake one year of education without any testing of their knowledge. As a matter of fact, the reader will see in some of the stories of participants how Jamaicans were placed in classes designated for individuals with learning disabilities as well as mocked for their accents.

The comments and behaviour represent the racist beliefs and seek to subjugate others to use dominant and racial positions and practices in and out of the classroom (Crenshaw et al., 1995; James & Walker, 1991). CRT therefore helps us to understand how the system works against immigrants by not recognising their degrees and professional training, which is a loss to the individuals as well as Canada. These are some of the stories that remain untold or tend to be disbelieved. It is the personal experiences and the experience of the research participants that I

draw on the framework of critical race theory to discuss and analyze the stories that were shared by Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children.

The goal of CRT is to present the stories about racism, oppression, and discrimination from the perspective of participants in the research and is concerned with empowering to explore the constraints such as race, class, and gender and to focus on reflexivity (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). It is not possible to understand the stories of the participants without examining the impact of Whiteness that has impacted their daily lives. Racism is so salient in their stories and used to dismiss their lived experience. CRT is used to re-tell the stories of the participants whereby re-telling the stories is a way of clarifying some of the myths such as immigrants being dependent on welfare, uneducated, not contributing to the development of the community, Jamaican parents lacking the capacity to parent, and their children being unwanted and abandoned. These are some of the comments and myths that advance the stories from a White privilege discourse (Bell, 1976). Narratives by dominant groups such as some White elite are generally legitimised in society (Delgado & Stefanic, 2000). CRT as a methodology uses counter story telling seeking to change the relationship between racism and power. Razack (2002) suggests counter story telling as a method allows participants to tell their stories and reframes and challenges the negative information about racialized groups in Canada.

Stories are reported in a way of "telling on" or talking about" (Adichie, 2009, pp. 17-20) which exclude them as active participants. The review of the history of Blacks in Canada indicated that when immigrants are portrayed in a negative way, even people of the racialized communities start to believe the rhetoric (Delgado & Stefanic, 2007). CRT is used to interrogate critically "how the law reproduces, reifies and normalizes racism in society" (Delgado & Stefanic, 2007, p. 189). It also values counter storytelling to challenge dominant ideologies.

"Stories about people malign and dispossess them and robs them of their dignity" (Adichie, 2009 17:27). On a macro level, successful stories of Blacks are not part of the regular news report Instead, there tends to be "detailed" reports about Black men involved in criminal gangs and racial profiling at airports (Hill-Collins, 2012). Stories of success tend not to be part of regular information such as the advancement of successful Black community leaders like Donavan Bailey (athlete) and Michael Lee-Chin (financier), and Alberta's own Cheryl Foggo, noted writer and film maker in Calgary, who continues to share historical stories about the Black communities in Alberta and their resistance to racism.

Positioning Critical Race Theory in this Study

This study follows the seminal work of legal theorist Derick Bell (1976, 1979), who recognised and challenged the dominant thinking groups that entrenched social inequalities and marginalization within societies. Participants in this study have lived with some of the myths, assumption and stereotypes, and have never had the opportunity to share their version or counter the negative stories told about them. As indicated in Chapter five of the thesis, participants shared their stories of racism that has been entrenched within the Canadian society. Delgado and Stefanic (2001), have argued that stories shared by Black people are often doubted, silenced and ignored. By using counter story telling as one of the tenets of CRT, it aligns with the goal of this study which is to present the stories of the participants and explore the constraints such as race, power and class. Using CRT will also help to understand how the participants coped with such harsh realities of racism.

The information and sharing can create some discomfort for those who are re-telling their story, and those who bear witness to the information. I share CRT as a methodology as I am entering the research in the 21st century with personal experience like some of the experiences of

the participants. In this case CRT will help in centering the stories and experiences of the participants in this thesis. The next section will provide the methods used in gathering the data to support the research.

Methods

a) Research Location

Calgary, Alberta has been my home since 1993, after migrating from Jamaica. It is Treaty 7 territory, the traditional and ancestral territory of the Blackfoot Confederacy: Kainai, Piikani and Siksika as well as the TsuuTina Nation and Stoney Nakida First Nation. Many First Nations, Metis and Inuit lived and cared for these lands for generations (Calgary Foundation, 2021). I have taken the opportunity to acknowledge and honour the Indigenous peoples of Treaty 7 some of whom I work with in the educational field. Notably, Roy Bear Chief, Siksika elder-in-residence at Mount Royal University, reminds me daily about the three Ls—Look, Listen, Learn. These are some of the learnings that I use in advancing social justice and fairness in the community.

Calgary also boasts one of the four largest airports in Canada with responsibility for transporting domestic and international passengers (Calgary Airport Authority, 2023). This information is significant as in most of the conversation with the participants in the study, they were vocal about where they landed in Canada, and that the city has become their home where they continue to live and raise families that will form part of a new generation of Canadians. Other participants shared their arrival experience at Pearson Airport, Toronto, on their way to Calgary. Pearson Airport (named after former Prime Minister Lester B Pearson) is the largest and main airport in Canada. From this airport, most participants made the nearly four-hour flight

to Calgary. As I write, I can imagine that at any one of the airports in Canada, a child or children may be experiencing reunification with their parents.

The City of Calgary and the Province of Alberta is known for agriculture and a once booming oil and gas industry. It is also known as the home for the Calgary Stampede, an event that is usually held during the summer months, where people from all over the world converge in the city for ten days of party and entertainment.

According to Statistics Canada (2018), 37,290 of the Black population in Canada were newcomers in the country and represented 36.2% of the Black immigrant population in the Prairie Provinces with their reported birth places of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Somalia, and Eritrea (Statistics Canada, 2018). Between 2001 and 2016, the Black population of Alberta grew fourfold, largely a result of the the oil industry (Census of Canada, 2016). Given some of the statistical and personal knowledge of the Calgary community supported by Statistics Canada, over 7,260 Jamaicans live in Calgary (Statistics Canada, National Household Survey 2016; 2018). Calgary was selected to complete the research because it is where I presently live, and where many Jamaicans have been calling the Prairie home. As my place of residence, given the topic of research, it was helpful to hear from the participants to gain an in-depth knowledge of Black experience in Calgary, Alberta.

To assess the possibility of pursuing this study, consideration was given to the number of Jamaicans living in Calgary. Knowing that the population exists, provided a level of confidence in selecting adults who arrived from Jamaica as children for the research.

Criteria for Inclusion

The number of participants considered for the research was 10-15 participants, and 13 participants were selected based on the requirement. To participate in the research an individual

has to be, a) must be Jamaican Canadian, born in Jamaica; b) identify themselves as Black, and trace their ancestral affinity to the continent of Africa; and c) must be age 18 and over and living in Calgary. to complete the research. Qualitative research does not require large samples, a small number of participants can produce large amount of data. This data will allow me to explore the themes and patterns that are shared by the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1998). Below is a description of the sampling method that will be used to gather information from the participants in the study.

b) Sampling Methods

This research is about the stories of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children to be reunited with their parents. While I have familial experience about the phenomenon, my intent is to gain an understanding about the lives of the participants in the study who have similar experience, and how they have come to experience Canada as a country. Given the demography about the Jamaican population in Calgary, I pondered, who will be the participants in the study? Will they be willing to participate? With these contemplations I used purposive sampling to locate the key informants who migrated to Canada to be reunited with their parents. Purposive sampling is defined as an approach to sampling a group of people who have a particular experience of a social phenomenon and is designed to contribute to the study (Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling was chosen as a method because I was familiar with the community which contributed to my assessment that the participants potentially could be hard to reach and engage, may be suspicious of the research process, hesitant to engage in research because of being interrogated by authority as well as prior experience with researchers. Bailey (1987) argues that purposive sampling allows the researcher to use their own judgement about who will meet the criteria for the study. In this case I selected individuals who had knowledge

and experience about the phenomenon, identified as Black, were originally from Jamaica and arrived in Canada as children to be reunited with their parents. Members from the Jamaican Canadian community may be hard to reach and engage in research because of prior experience with researchers where the interview occurred and no follow up was done. In addition to their experience, structural, social, and cultural barriers, as well as discrimination could contribute to mistrust of the researcher as a representative of higher education, causing members of the community to not want to participate. This potential resistance stems from the reported experience of being researched and not being able to hear or read about the research outcomes. Given this reality I am not immune to resistance from the community. At the same time, I can convey my knowledge about the research and commit to sharing the outcome as well as ask questions from a position of common experience and in a way that does not intimidate or create discomfort with the participants. Another important factor in this research is that the participants lived in Calgary for several years, which meant that they had concrete evidence of their experience that could reflect race and their lived experiences.

I am aware that purposive sampling can be prone to a researcher's bias. These judgemental issues can only become a problem when such judgements are ill-conceived or poorly considered. This means that judgements have not been based on clear criteria and theoretical framework (Bailey, 1987; Sharma, 2017) Participants in this research were chosen based on the criteria requiring that participants are Black and trance their ancestry to the continent of Africa. Based on the information provided and the historical analysis supported with research (see Chapter Two), Critical Race theory was used to understand the stories of the participants in the study. One of the questions that I was asked was what if the participant stated that they have never experienced racism? In this case, I can discuss the body of research that

indicates that there is racism in Canada (African Canadian Legal Clinic 2000; Dei, 1996, 2000; James et al., 2010) and use the opportunity to discuss their views while allowing the participant to express their position on the topic. Even though I have some flexibility to ask questions and provide my own interpretation about the responses from the participants, I stay true to what is shared in the interviews. Dei (2000) suggests that if researchers fail to resist the continued marginalization and negation of local people's knowledge and experience, then I can become an accomplice to colonialism.

The use of other techniques, such as convenience sampling (Patton, 1990), was considered. I will also argue that with convenience sampling, little or no effort is made to locate participants and it is viewed as superficial because of the lack of intent and purpose of locating participants. I therefore feel that purposive sampling would be the best technique to work with the Jamaican Canadian community in Calgary because it allowed me to sample a community that reflects the race, and evidence of reunification with parents. The following section outlines how I recruited the participants.

c) Recruitment

In my early work experience at the Bureau of Gender Affairs, Jamaica (then, Bureau of Women's Affairs), former director Hazel Blake was not in office, and a letter was needed to be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Scrambling to meet a deadline, I signed the letter on her behalf. In a moment of teaching about protocol, she stated "*the tail must never wag the head."* This statement means that there are certain protocols to be followed, and that failure to do so could have dire consequences. The statement by Ms. Blake is a teaching that I will never forget, and I rely on this memory in my work with the Jamaican Canadian Association, Calgary chapter.

My application to complete the research received approval from the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) of Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) in June 2019. With this approval, it must never be assumed that I can show up and post or publicise my research without prior communication with the executives of the Jamaica Canadian Association, and joint agreement with members. As a courtesy and respect for protocol, I contacted the chair of the of the Jamaican Canadian Association to inform the executive and members about the research. This connection is critical because of my involvement with the Association, as I did not want to be perceived as taking advantage of my membership. Informing the association about my work also gave me the opportunity to respond to questions about the research so that members and non-members could be aware of the research, feel comfortable about the intended sharing, and have an understanding that confidentiality is maintained. The criteria for the participants in the study were: Jamaican Canadian born in Jamaica and who identify themselves as Black, and trace their ancestral affinity to the continent of Africa, and immigrated to Canada between the ages of 5-21. Additionally, any of the participants needed to be adults eighteen and over and living in Calgary.

Flyers about the research were circulated in the Calgary community and distributed at local community centres, immigrant serving organisations, hospitals, universities, cab services, churches, schools, word of mouth and stores within the Caribbean. This circulation was done because the locations were frequented by members of the Caribbean and Jamaican communities. If interested, prospective participants were directed to contact the number listed on the flyers. Within two days of posting the flyers, I was contacted by members of the Jamaican community, as well as invited to present to the Jamaican Canadian Association. Nineteen individuals responded to the advertisement, and of the number of responses, fifteen participants were

purposely selected to be interviewed. When they contacted me, I followed up with a quick phone call to ensure the prospective participant met the criteria for purposive sampling. Thirteen participants were selected because they met the criteria, and upon which I contacted them by phone, explained the intent of the research and then sent them an email officially inviting each person to participate in the research. Of the thirteen participants, four were males and nine were females with ages ranging from 38-61 at the time of the interview.

I also offered optional gift certificates (gas or general voucher) of $25 as a token of appreciation for the time and contribution of each participant. I also explained that even if the participants did not want to continue the interview, they would keep the voucher/gift certificate and that their documentation would be destroyed. Finally, I explained that the data from the research would be shared with the participants upon completion, which was accepted. Recognising the challenges associated with work and movements of people, I made sure to have a list of participants more than the required number should there be no shows or dropouts. Next, I took the time to schedule meeting with participants to begin the interviews.

The interviews started in July 2017 and were completed on March 13, 2019. This day is significant as it was the day on which a decision was made by the World Health Organisation (WHO), countries, airlines borders, businesses, industries, and domestic services to stop all in person contact and work virtually because of COVID 19 pandemic. The following section outlines the interview questions used in the research.

d) Interview Questions

Qualitative research is based on interpretation and allows for exploration to gain information about a topic or area where little is known (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). A qualitative approach with questions that were carefully developed were used to understand the

experiences from the participants' perspectives. The questions were open ended to generate a conversation. Collecting information was based on a one-on-one interview, and since I cannot lay claim to be an expert researcher, I relied on the supervision by Dr. Paul Banahene Adjei, who is a researcher in the areas of social justice, critical race, and anti-colonial theory. He reminded me that curiosity as well as planning will contribute to a robust finding as well as information that may not be known. This notion is supported by researchers Graziano and Raulin (2004), who suggested that systematic and disciplined ways of questioning complement curiosity and development for research.

Earlier in the thesis, I alluded to the research questions. I take the opportunity to reiterate the overarching questions in this section and provide the questions that were used to generate discussions with the participants:

1. *What is the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents?*
2. *How do Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society?*
3. *What are the potential barriers (if any) that posed challenges to the resettlement and integration experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?*
4. *What are the success stories (if any) about the integration and settlement experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?*

Although I have curiosity as well as some experience about the topic, I was cautious about how I proceeded in developing the questions. There is recognition that undertaking qualitative research can be challenging emotionally for researchers (Sherry, 2013). Given the

sensitive nature of the topic, knowledge of some of the participants, theoretical understanding and the emotional toll associated with discrimination within the Canadian society, I took into consideration impact of the responses of the questions to the participants and myself. During the interviews, I reminded the participants about counselling services available for their usage. For me, it meant that I was in constant contact with my supervisor Dr. Paul Adjei, consulting with other clinical practitioners in the community about coping and responding to my personal health and well-being through physical exercise and connecting with family members by telephone face time.

The following research questions were used as a guide to interview the research participants. The open-ended questions were selected because I wanted to have a conversation with the participants where they could speak openly and freely about their experience after reuniting with their parents.

I. What were your perceptions of Canada before your arrival?
II. Can you describe your perception of Canada upon arrival?
III. What are some of the challenges you experienced in relation to reunification?
IV. What does settlement and integration mean to you
V. Based on your description of settlement in Canada what were your experiences in settling in Canada?
VI. Have you had experiences with social services such as Child and Family Services, Employment Canada, police or any other services that you would care to share?
VII. Based on your description of settlement and integration in Canada, do you feel that you have integrated into Canadian society? If yes, how? If no, why not?
VIII. Have you experienced racism? If yes, can you describe the incident?

IX. Given your reunification experience, would you recommend it as a process for Jamaican families? Explain

X. If you were given the opportunity to talk to the Jamaican High Commission, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, educators, and practitioners what would you say to them?

XI. What are some of your personal achievements?

XII. Would you consider sequence migration as part of the immigration and if no, why? And if yes, why?

XIII. What are your plans for the future?

Although I had these pre-structured questions that are open ended, I am aware that the responses may require more questioning and clarification as well. I also remained sensitive, meaning that the stories are based on the perspective of the participants and not about my experience. As a researcher, I emotionally prepared myself for information to unfold as the study progressed. The following section will discuss the politics of research in the Jamaican community.

f) The Politics of Research: Gaining Entry into the Jamaican Calgary Community

I must admit that the thought of completing a research project of this nature in the Jamaican Calgary community contributed to some anxiety and trepidation on my part. Access to the Jamaican communities in Canada or in Jamaica itself carries with it the political and historical experience where members either have been interrogated for research information, questioned by social services and or investigated by the police and justice system. This hesitancy is valid when it comes to research and so I anticipated that there would be the tendency by members of the

community to resist, resent, use silence or humour to deflect and deal with the discomfort of being questioned. While I have personal knowledge of "my people" in the Jamaican Calgary Community based on my race and ethnicity, my position as a researcher can be very "touchy" where participants could resist, or express resentment, and or tell me blatantly that they are not going to provide any information. In some instances, I am referred to as "Miss Marva" or Miss M" which is a way of acknowledging and showing respect for adults in the Jamaican Caribbean and African communities. Even with these accolades, I cannot assume that the position of researcher and Ph.D. candidate will grant me unlimited access to knowledge and information from the community. "Fass" a Jamaican creole term that means inquisitive is used when Jamaicans are questioned, and their privacy invaded. Barrow (1996) explains that people from the Caribbean tend to shun the idea of sharing personal information with strangers and even those who they know as the act of sharing personal information and "airing dirty linen in public." At the same time there are those who know of my work at Mount Royal University as an Assistant Professor and may view this as classist with power and authority. Some potential participants have openly stated that they are tired of being interviewed because of prior experience where their information was taken and that they never heard back from the researcher. Being mindful of these feelings, I continuously explain my position, embrace the respect, ensure that I am transparent in my actions by explaining my position, and continue to display care, understanding and confidentiality while working with participants in the Jamaican Canadian Community. However, I worry constantly about my being an "insider-outsider" researcher and the shared experience and how this might be perceived by the participants as well as the readers (Hill-Collins, 1990; Wilder et al., 2013). This information helped me to understand that while I bring different perspective to the research through enquiry, I also need to respond to

the questions from the participants openly and honestly. For instance, at the end of one of the interviews, Veronica [Interview, 03/11/2019] asked "so what about you, Marva? You can't tell me that because you are a professor you have never experienced racism." I will admit that Veronica's question took me off guard. However, I responded and shared that in fact I had experienced racism in the faculty where I teach, in other industries where I worked, social gatherings and in the general society. I went on to explain that no matter the social and economic class Black people find themselves having to explain and defend their position. I used the example where my educational qualifications were questioned and that as a Black woman, I experience conscious and unconscious biases. The interaction with Veronica was a moment of openness, truth, and honesty where I felt that I received her trust as a research participant, as stated at the end of the interview "finally someone is telling our story because nobody took the time to ask us our opinion" (Veronica and Aaron [Interview, 02/11/2019; 08/08/2019]).

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) provides a framework for professionals in their research design. She suggests that we first examine ourselves by reflecting on our actions, and then collaborate with participants so that they can identify their concerns in the situation and devise their solutions. While it was established that interviews should be facilitated at neutral locations such as libraries, here is where I challenged my anti-oppressive and critical race theory by integrating the work of Tuhiwai-Smith. What am I doing asking "my people" to take a bus to the nearest library in -30 degrees winter weather? For example, one of the participants was transported to the main library in downtown Calgary and was taken to the wrong door during a snowstorm. This incident made me re-think environmental issues as I did not take into consideration the bitter Calgary weather during the late fall, and winter months as well as the participant's limitation for travel to the

location. Some members of the community did not have motor vehicles to drive to the intended location for the interview, and they had to depend on public transportation or a friend for transportation. As Potts and Brown (2015) suggest, I may be transferring some of the hegemonic baggage in my research practice. I also thought about accessibility and availability where in some instances participants worked multiple jobs and shifts, had established business in their homes, were parents of young families, caregivers for their elderly parents or relatives. What do I do in these circumstances? I analyzed my privilege that nurtures blindness to those without the same privilege (Mohanty, 2003). In my role as researcher I am required to adhere to the rigid and required standards to complete the research. I say this because while the Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) have explicit requirement to conduct the research, I discovered that I had to exercise some flexibility in my approach. The requirement to complete research contributed to my re-thinking power sharing and privilege which are components involved in the research (Mohanty, 2003). Completing the research required relationship building with participants by ensuring trust and care by visiting and completing the interview in the comfort of participants' homes or selected locations. I felt welcomed in the homes where the interviews were conducted and most shared that it's about time that somebody write about this as it is happening too many times without support.

Prior to, or upon completion of the interview, participants provided and directed me to other candidates for the interview and invited me to return for more information if needed. In other cases, there was the announcement "dinner is ready," an indication and invitation to partake in a meal. In most cases and in Western societies, social workers and researchers have been trained to remain "neutral" and not to accept "gifts from clients." Knowing the giving and caring nature I accept and took the invitation, engaged in conversation of getting to know the

participant and even family members who joined in while maintaining the confidentiality of the research.

g) Interview Process and Data Collection

In July 2019, I started to collect the data by using a multifaceted research design that included recruitment, data collection and data analysis guided by the supervision of my supervisor, Dr Paul Banahene. I used a semi-structured technique for the research interview because it provided flexibility and a relaxed atmosphere to interact freely and openly with the research participants. I also discovered that the semi-structured interview would be more suitable to converse with the participants as it allowed an open and easy flow of the conversation with gathering the salient information for the research. For example, each interview I started with a question, "please tell me about yourself and your impression of Canada before your arrival." According to Kallio et al. (2016), the semi-structured interview method provides an advantage of enabling reciprocity between interviewer and participants. Thirteen participants were interviewed, a semi-structured approach allowed me to improvise follow-up questions based on the response by the participant and to see and hear facial and verbal expressions. For example, settlement and integration concepts proved to be challenging to answer for some of the participants and therefore I modified by asking in two sections instead of posing it as an entire question.

When considering any interview with the participant, it is good to have an idea of the formats available. In this case, a more structured format would potentially contribute to a feeling of being investigated and participants not wanting to talk and only sharing what they felt was relevant. Researchers Fontana and Frey (1991, 2005) argue that within this structure there is a limited set of response categories, and that researchers are limited to a coding scheme that is

already established by a research supervisor or organisation. This limited flexibility and more formal interview style would not allow for the comfortable exchange of ideas and the sharing of information with the participants. I am aware that Jamaicans like to share their stories and express their feelings associated with the topic. Storytelling is part of the culture of Jamaican people who like to share their stories through their information, feelings, nuances, body languages and sayings (Brodber, 2014). Given my personal knowledge, I am aware that when most Jamaicans start with the phrase "listen to me nuh, mek I tell you something" (listen let me, tell you a story), it is a "code" in the Jamaican culture for a long conversation.

Each interview ranged from 45 and 60 minutes and with their permission two digital recorders were used as they a) assisted just in case there were any technical mishaps, and b) it provided me with the ability to accurately record the interview proceedings. At the end of the interview, I reviewed the information from the recording and transcribed the information to Word documents. It was a great opportunity to complete the transcription as it provided me with an opportunity to follow up with participants to check and validate the information that they provided.

I also asked for permission to take written notes, which was kept to a minimum. As a skill in social work counselling practice, note taking was kept to a minimum to pay attention to the research participants so that there is mutual feeling that I am engaged in using my listening skills (Shebib, 2020). Another skill that I utilised was to observe the verbal and non-verbal cues. For example, when one of the participants stopped talking and had a quizzical look on his face, I was able to ask about the emotions displayed and the participant was able to share that they were recalling the time when they had to leave their mother's house and live in a group home and how it was a sobering experience for him. I ensured that all the participants felt heard and that I

created an engaging environment where they felt welcomed. All the participants were employed in either the service industry, business owners or employed in major industries in the Calgary community. Given the detailed and sensitive nature of the interview, I reminded participants of the confidentiality of the discussion and received their written and verbal approval to record the conversation. In fact, I discussed giving each a pseudonym and it was a moment where some of the participants joked about names that they liked. This exchange injected some humour in the interviews. During the interview, the questions were used as a guide, and I used active listening to notice prompts and cues to encourage participants to share or explore topics that were shared in the interview. Most of the participants opted to meet at libraries, while some were able to meet in their homes because of their responsibilities for their young and growing families and caregiving for other family members. (See section on the Politics of Doing Research in the Jamaican Community).

What was fascinating about the stories is that participants could recount, for example, the clothing that they wore on the day that they left Jamaica, the emotions of their grandparents and other family members, their excitement of flying to Canada, and most of all the weather that they encountered upon arrival in Canada. Schwartz (1999) has examined the ages at which we recall critical episodes in our lives, and he argues that "as we look back, we find ourselves remembering our lives in terms of our experience with others" (p. 15). In one instance, during the interview with a participant, she pointed to a chair and stated, "That's one of the chairs that a friend gave my mom because she knew my mom needed furniture for us, and I will keep it forever." What the participant was expressing was that the chair was now a significant reminder of her arrival in Canada that she will keep, and it potentially will become a topic of discussion at family events. I had to stop the recording for three of the participants who wept while sharing

their experiences with racism and their interaction with the child welfare system in Canada. One of the participants stated, "I did not expect that reaction to your question….it's been so long—sorry." In these situations, I applied my clinical counselling skills by "giving the client space to express themselves and for me to sit with open arms and hear their stories" (Burns, 1999). In clinical social work counselling guideline, it means to be present and listen attentively to what the participant is sharing to respond appropriately. Additionally, it is a way of validating the information shared. Guided by the Tri-Council Policy (TCP) on ethical conduct for research involving human Article 3.2 (2014), I provided and suggested a list of counselling services for the participants. Participants went on to state that they were happy to share their stories after so many years and expressed appreciation for the individuals who supported them during those challenging times.

I am fully aware of my role as researcher and recognize where roles can potentially be in conflict. I remind myself of these competing roles as well as to seek guidance from my thesis supervisor. Fontana and Frey (2005) suggest that an interview is historical, political, and contextually bound. Other researchers argue that the exchange of information in a research interview is a collaborative effort between or among people who are involved in the process of exchanging ideas and knowledge (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Fontana 2002; Hertz, 1997b). In this thesis, I listened to untold stories and experienced feeling vulnerable and mentally exhausted. Dickson-Swift et al. (2007), in their article, *Doing sensitive research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?* rightly named some of the feelings that are often ignored by researchers. Some of these emotions are highlighted in the next section on data analysis.

Data Analysis

The data analysis is based on the major research question; *what is the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children migrated to Canada*? I relied on the supervision of Dr. Paul Banahene Adjei, as I would be classified as a novice researcher (Barbour, 2019). What I mean by this statement is that I am fully aware of my limitations as a researcher, yet willing to learn and this includes maintaining confidentiality, which is a hallmark of qualitative data gathering.

Data from the participants was collected through open-ended, semi-structured interviews and were analyzed using strategies that enabled the voices of the participants to be centred and heard. After completing the interviews, my approach to analyzing the data involved listening to the recordings and recording the scripts. Some researchers may opt to hire help to transcribe the data. However, I opted to complete the data transcription, which was time consuming, yet it allowed me to stay close to the information, which offered a depth of understanding and validation of the stories. Transcribing the stories of participants can be an emotional process because the information is sensitive and powerful and helped me to realise that their participation in this project provided a unique opportunity to be heard (Patai, 1991). Researchers from a wider variety of fields of practice have written about their experiences of researching sensitive topics (Harris & Huntington, 2001; Melrose, 2002; Warr, 2004). Given the body of research, this area requires further training and emotional support for scholars in the academy as the focus of research is centered on ethical practice to protect the participants, and researchers required to be emotionally distant from the information that they are privileged to hear.

While there are technologies such as Atlas Ti to assist with data analysis, I manually transcribed the information and backed up the data on a Universal Serial Bus (USB) flash drive.

This was critical as in addition to the ethical requirement to ensure the security of the information shared by the participant, I consider it an honour that participants have allowed me the opportunity to share their stories and therefore, I make every effort to maintain their confidentiality. Dr. David Este (personal communication), professor of Social Work at University of Calgary, suggested the traditional or the "old fashion" method of coding the data instead of using a software such as Nvivo or ATLAS.ti. as this would work in my favour. Barbour (2013) suggests manual analysis of interview transcripts for quicker learning and a practical approach to qualitative analysis. These suggestions worked in my favour as I feel that it gave me the opportunity to study the data more closely for themes and patterns. The data review involved a thematic analysis that has been used in applied research areas such as counselling and psychotherapy (Braun & Clark, 2014). This method of analysis is useful in critical and qualitative research.

With the assistance of Dr Adjei, I utilised Microsoft Word where I created columns with each column assigned to (1) name of participant, (2) emerging themes, (3) voices of participants (4) key ideas in participants statements and (5) a notes column. Under the key ideas section, I was able to organise by coding and input similar themes by using different colours for analysis and organisation. I also cross-referenced participants' responses with interview notes to seek similarities and differences as well as relevance to the literature. The themes identified from the interview supported by the literature, provided a framework for analysis of the stories of the participants' perception of Canada, arrival and reception, reunification racism, isolation, cultural differences, education and parenting style in Canada, cultural differences and integration, resilience and success, and recommendation to policy makers. Stories provided by the participants were presented as quotations and represented the voices of the participants. Each

participant was provided with a pseudonym and any identifying information removed or altered so as not to compromise the participants' identity. In the next section, the participants will be introduced to the reader.

Demography of Research Participants

The following section provides a table that outlines the demography of the participants. The table reviews participants' education, family status, gender identity, age, employment, age of arrival in Canada and years of living in Calgary. This information brings a broader and nuanced understanding to participants' stories. Based on the demography and conversation with the participants, all participants were born in Jamaica and identified as Black, which means that they trace their ancestry to the continent of Africa. Their immigration history spans early 1970's to early 1990's. The sample age ranged from late 30s to mid-50s. All the participants, except one, had the opportunity to travel to Canada for a vacation prior to migrating to Canada. She explained that her biological mother had an open adoption agreement with her adopted mother, hence her knowledge about Canada. Participants' education level ranges from college certificate to PhD degree. Participants reported that their higher education was completed either in the United States or Canada. Their occupation ranges from entry level to senior level management and are employed in different sectors in Alberta industry. Connection and community were reported as an important factor to the participants. Another component shared was that they were raising their families jointly, as separated/divorced individuals. This was an important factor to share as it was felt that it was significant as part of their reality living in Canada

According to the average age of arrival in Canada by the participants, the information showed that they arrived at 12 years old. This information helps to answer one of the overarching

questions about the time of arrival and reunification with parents which contributes to the data analysis (see summary report and demography of participants)

Summary Report and Status of Interview Participants

Gender of Participant	Age	Education	Employment Sector	Family Status	Age of Arrival in Canada	Years Lived in Calgary
1. Male	46	College	Construction	Partnered with Children	**7**	37
2. Female	**?**	University	Social Services	Single and lives with parent	15	20
3. Male	58	University	Health Sector	Married with adult children	10	30
4. Male	45	Post-Secondary	Business-Insurance	Married with children	14	31
5. Female	54	University	Teacher	Divorce with Adult children	14	30
6. Female	61	Finishing School	Business Owner-Hairdressing	Married with Adult children	15	38
7. Female	51	University	C.E.O	Married with young children (under 10)	8	35
8. Female	50	University	Social Services	Married with adult children	10	30+
9. Female	48	University	City Employee	Married with children (Under 8 years old)	15	27
10. Female	48	University	Health Sector	Single parent with adult child	10	30
11. Female	42	University	City Employee	Married with young children (Under 10 years old)	14	25
12. Female	38	Some College	City Employee	Married with children (Under 10 years old)	9	21
13. Male	42	High School	City Employee	Married with children (Under 10 years old)		

Summary

Chapter 4 outlined the qualitative methodology used to gather data through in-depth, semi-structure interviews.

This section highlighted the learning associated with collection of data. Part of this section illustrated the growing, learning and coming into my own. Additionally, the chapter discusses some of the learning associated with working with participants beginning with the protocol of working with the Jamaican community. With this knowledge, I express myself based on research, theory, and the recognition that it is OK to challenge what has been taught as facts over the years. I would like to establish here for the reader that not all life changing issues in the Jamaican community are related to immigration issues and the experience of adults who migrated to Canada as children. However, one needs to have a clear understanding of the move and work to undo 400 years of history entrenched in racism that needs to be told through the stories of the participants themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

As indicated earlier, reunification with the Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada to be with their parents was seemingly filled with the unknown, challenges, tension, as well as happiness and success. During the interviews, participants were asked questions about their experience as Jamaican Canadian adults who as children migrated to Canada to join their parents. Participants recounted in detail their perception and lived experiences as well as the challenges they encountered while integrating and resettling in Canada. Participants' stories are told under the following sub-headings: The Myths and Illusions that Canada has it all; The Unwelcome Guest; Canada the land of calculated kindness; School and Education; Reunification; Cultural Differences and Integration; Interaction with Social Services; Isolation; Racism; Connection; Success in Canada; and Recommendations from the Participants. The following table summarises the findings as illustrated in the table below.

Summary of Themes Linked with Research Questions

Research Questions	Themes	Subthemes
1. What is the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children migrated to Canada to join their parents?	Perception and Challenges	(1) The myth and Illusions that Canada has it all (2) 2)The Unwelcome Guest: The Land of Calculated Kindness
2. How do Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society as adults?	Parenting Style	(1) Thin Line Between Love and Hate: Tensions and Ambiguities in Black Homes (2) School and Education (3) Reunification: "The Tie that Binds"
3. What are the potential barriers (if any) that posed challenges to the resettlement and integration experience of Jamaican Adults who arrived in Canada as Children?	Barriers	(1) Cultural Differences and Integration (2) Interaction with social services (3) Isolation (4) Racism

4. What are the success stories (if any) about the integration and settlement?	Success	(1) Connection (2) Success in Canada (3) Recommendation from the participants

During the interview, participants were asked about their perception of Canada prior to arrival. Most participants explained that after their arrival, they soon realized that what they had heard about the country did not fit their ideal about Canada because of some of the difficulties and challenges that they encountered. Their stories can best be captured in the words of Louise Bennett, a well-known Jamaican folklorist, as "tek kin teet kibba hearburn" meaning, *wearing a smile while enduring difficult and challenging situations.*

For most of the participants, their excitement quickly changed given their encounter with some of the social issues, interaction and encounters with racism which became a part of their everyday lived experiences. The excitement most of the participants felt about moving to Canada quickly changed, given the negative encounters with social issues and interactions such as racism and stereotyping. These became part of their daily-lived experiences. Evidently and consistently, there are structural and systemic barriers that existed in participants' integration and settlements in Canada. Some participants went on to explain that their parents were not even aware of some of their challenges as the participants recognised the daily pressures their parents were experiencing to provide care for them, as well as family members living in Jamaica. The following section outlines the response to the first question in the research that asked about the experience of the participants when they migrated to Canada. The following section begins with their stories of their perception of Canada.

5.1 The Myth and Illusion that Canada Has it All

Success stories of Canadian immigrants of Jamaican origins such as Michael Lee Chin and Donovan Bailey have contributed to the perception of Canada as a place of immediate success. The question posed to the candidates was, what was your perception of Canada before your arrival? Most of the participants shared that they believed that Canada had "it all" meaning that it was easy to access the basic necessities required for their existence such as food, clothing and the electronics that their parent would send to them while in Jamaica. This perception tends to dominate the mindset of Jamaicans before they arrive in Canada, and so the question was asked of participants in the study to hear their thoughts. Most of the participants shared that their perception soon faded away as reality "kicked in." They began to realise that not everything that they had perceived about Canada was the reality.

Brenda arrived at fifteen years old, and presently works as a counsellor. She was very open and forthcoming in sharing her perception that included her hope, aspiration, and excitement to reunite with her mother. She shared the following:

> My main thing was I was just coming to Canada to be with my mom and my mom is going to have her own house. I am going to have my own room ….my mom is going to drive. I'm going to have everything just like I have in Jamaica ...that's it and I am going to see snow. My main thing was I'm gonna be with my mom and it's going to be snow and I gonna see a lot of white people and all that stuff… [Brenda, Interview 07/11/2019]

Brenda's perception of Canada was a place of perfection where nothing can go wrong. She looks forward to reuniting with her mother whom she has not seen for many years and the main thing was that Brenda has hoped that life with her mother in Canada will be a continuation of what used to exist in Jamaica (if not better)—until the reality of her situation became evident. She continued her story here:

> aah as a kid oh my God! I'm coming to…I'm gonna have …how do I say this...I wanna say a bed of roses but I will not say that because that's what other people always say…I have my own bedroom and my mother would have a car and then to get us here she went and she rent an apartment, like a condo...this was…aah in Sunshine Way SE [South East]
> I think that's where she took us it was clean it was a 3 bedroom 1 ½ bath and only 1 bed (emphatic) no other furniture, there was fridge there was one small tv in her room…aah there was a dishwasher, no… there was no there was a washer dryer like there was a basic stuff with one bed and the rest of the house was empty (heavy sigh) and then it was like a shock and I didn't say anything for the first little while because I am with my mommy...nothing matters I am with my mommy, but then when reality check (laughs) reality kicked in and I am like, I call my aunt and I'am "I wanna go home." I mean I grew up on a big place like you know Jamaica have spread of land …well I came from a family with land with orange mangoes this that I can walk the land and pick whatever…and then my mom….she had this friend who brought rice and this and cornmeal…in my world in Jamaica cornmeal is for dogs…ok that's what they use to feed the dog…and I am like "mom that's dog food…you know that"…and she is like …yea I know…that's a little part of what I thought I'm thinking…this is Canada…this can't be Canada…laughing …at the time. [Brenda, Interview 07/11/2019]

For some participants like Brenda, there is excitement in coming to Canada as well as belief that it is a "bed of roses." Even though she had her mother with whom she reunited, reality sets in. It was noted that some participants began to realise certain differences and comparisons of their new home in that it was not the same as the one in Jamaica with its sprawling spaces. Others drew comparison with the land, food, and home where they lived in Jamaica where access to items such as fruits is in abundance with the option to choose. Some immigrants will go as far as wanting to return to Jamaica because the ideal of Canada has not lived up to their expectations. Like Brenda's perception about an ideal Canada, Claude, who arrived at the age of eight, and presently works as a manager, shared his thoughts and perception of Canada (before arrival) as a land of enormous opportunities. For Claude, there was confusion and that he recognised racial differences [Black and White]. He also expressed how he tried to come to terms with winter's colder temperatures. He too lamented about the living space. He shared the following:

> I thought it would be a great place because …I heard the nice things…that …you know people were doing much better, there are more opportunities…and so for me I was looking forward to …to come…except I didn't realise how cold it was…. well, it was very confusing because aaahm…you know…people didn't look like myself anymore in terms of what I thought so it was really…it was confusing… and then coming here living sort of more in an apartment was very difficult versus… everything was just so wide open back in Jamaica… For me…that …it was very difficult also because aahm…I was around family all the time and then my mom she …she is a single mom…she worked in the afternoon…so she wasn't available because she had to work, you learn that later on, but you know as a child you just didn't understand and then we didn't have as many family members around like I was accustomed to so there was a lot more time spent alone…you know so that ...that was a bit of …was really a challenge actually...it was a major shock…I guess you know…I was used to being… didn't know…there was a lot of things I didn't know…and I didn't know how to fit in …so fitting into …was…was very difficult. [Claude, interview 06/11/2019]

Based on Claude's response, Claude is trying to make sense of the opportunities as well as identifying that there are missing pieces such as the home, and extended family members. For new immigrants like Claude, apartment living is not within the scope of their experiences in Jamaica. The living space feels constricted rather like he is being "cooped up", compared to living in a house with wide open spaces, as he was accustomed to in Jamaica.

Another participant, Celeste, who arrived in Canada at thirteen years old, had perceptions and experiences similar to Brenda and Claude. She stated that she thought her experience would be like what she saw on television, but upon arrival she realized that it was completely different:

> Oh this is like the land of opportunities…this is where you make your life better and you think nothing but good things about Canada…when you hear Canada …we used to watch a lot of Western movies on Sundays in Jamaica…(laughs) and the Western movies kind of like portrayed a different type of people just overall everybody always think that the grass is always greener…better on the other side so obviously we thought it would be amazing…it's going to be a good life when you leave Jamaica…when you are in Jamaica we are not like impoverished, we live pretty good but we are not rich either… we lived in a small house where we wash our cloths outside and showered in a different bathroom… the toilet was a few steps away from the house back then…you wash the dishes outside. We had chickens…we had fruit trees…we had so many things…I was looking forward to this new existence…I got here and there were too many people living under the one roof and there is nowhere to

> go…so of course the place was getting crowded and there were space wars and as a child I could see the tension. [Celeste, 02/14/2019]

Celeste expressed surprise at her living condition in Canada and draws comparisons with life in Jamaica where although it may seem impoverished and may not have some of the essential in North American such as a washing machine, she was surprised at the limited living space upon arrival in Canada. In many immigrant households, people share a house until they are able to live independently. Celeste makes the point that with many people living together in close quarters, this can contribute to tension in the household.

Shernett arrived in Canada at eight years old and imagined Canada as a promised land where one does not lack anything, especially when one is living with one's parents. However, she soon discovered that the reality is different:

> Well Canada was like the promised land right?…laughs …it was like Canada was aaham… to think you were going to Canada…you won the lottery…and so that was our …when we thought about coming to Canada that was what Canada was like, that's next to heaven pauses…when you are in Jamaica and your parents are in Canada people just assume that you are going to be well taken care of …but that was not the case. My mom lived was in what we called government housing …right … we went to an inner-city school and one of the things that aahm ...like...my idea of aahm…like when we came home there was nobody there …mom was at work …so we would have been described as "latch key" children that would have been it …because she had to work long hours. [Shernett, Interview, 10/02/2019]

What is evident from the stories shared, are that upon arrival in Canada participants like Brenda, Claude, Celeste, Shernett and Cassie, all soon realized that Canada is not what (opportunities) they had imagined. Individuals planning to make Canada home tend to be provided with information that glamorizes the country without examining and sharing the serious and contentious issues that new immigrants often face. What is evident from the stories is that participants began to realise that the picture that was painted for them, the stories that they heard, and the portrayal of Canada in the movies were different. For instance, some of the participants

described their first homes in Canada as an obvious change in comparison to what they had in Jamaica. Additionally, participants discovered that family as they knew it did not exist as parents were doing more than one job to "make ends meet," and therefore were often not available at home to support the integration and settlement of their children. This experience is explained by researchers who examined the realties of parents who migrate to Canada, and because of the economic systems or working and schooling leave them with little or no time to be around their children (Pottinger & Brown, 2005). Shernett for instance noted that she was more often on her own as her mother had a busy work schedule.

Participants' perception of Canada being a perfect place of living is further noted in the manner they described Canada's weather conditions before they arrived in Canada. Cassie, presently a senior manager who arrived at the age of eight in Canada, shared how in anticipation to her migrating to Canada boasted to her friends that she knew what the snow would look like. Cassie had previously received a gift of a snow globe from a relative, and presumed the snow would be fanciful as seen in the ornament. Of course, the snow globe does not tell how chilly or cold the weather could be. This is how Cassie explained her experience like an ornament that depicts falling snow when shaken and is a popular living room item in Caribbean homes:

> I remember prior to coming here somebody had given me one of those snow globes that you shake and you see the beautiful falling snow and somehow that was an introduction to what Canada was going to be like and so we were ill equipped to face the weather and as old as I am now I think I still have an adverse reaction to the thought of winter by virtue of landing in Toronto in March and feeling the bone chilling cold (expressive) …yes it aches my bone, my body, I cried and felt that for years … I am sure it wasn't. I do recall feeling shocked and amazed at how cold it was… and had I not had the experience to touch the winter and the cold… it was beautiful and quite the contrast of back home …like it was pretty …but when snot and water running from your eyes … and there is nothing you can do to stay warm…keep warm …*sighs*…a shock to the system … and a sore disappointment to what people promised Canada was going to be like. [Cassie, Interview, 01/10/2020]

Shernett corroborated Cassie's story about the perception many Jamaicans have about Canada including its weather prior to arrival and shared some of her experiences about her new environment. Shernett went as far as to share some lessons that she gained from her experience.

> There is this myth that it is this glorious, wonderful place …almost like a street of gold type of thing …that was what was instilled in our minds … it's like snow all the time from the sky anyways …that was fascinating for all of us…and so we landed in Montreal to something very strange and then I remember it was early September where it snowed which I have never seen snow before…so that was aahm...my mom had sent us to buy bread…we went out to buy bread my sister and me…and at the store it started to snow and we put the bread down on the sidewalk and played for hours in the snow...when we got home the bread was soggy squished…it was quite funny…not to my mom...but to me it was quite funny. [Shernett, interview, 10/2/2019]

For Myrtle, she laughs at the idea of being outdoors bare feet because that was what she was accustomed to in Jamaica. For her, why would it be any different in Canada? She shared how she was able to distinguish between the differences of the two environments, and shared the following:

> ….aaahm it was really different actually, when I came it was in December so it was a little chilly…it wasn't like a winter storm or anything…I was a little chilly and so when I came I was like aaahm…when my mom picked me up…a family friend that she came with they were really nice to me…they had kids that were my age and we could play and then the snow actually fall and we were outside barefoot [laughs out loud]…never do that again…yes it was different. [Myrtle, Interview 03/11/2020]

Celeste expressed that she has not forgotten the day of arrival because of how cold it was. She recalled the impact of the weather and that she had to learn how to deal with the change in temperature:

> I arrived…it was winter…I know it was winter…I don't remember the exact date though…I believe it was like January and it would have been 1989 so shock to the system…one that you don't forget…it was cold so obviously you have to acclimatize and learn…you have to wear a jacket…so this do that …in the cold! [Celeste, 02/14/2019]

Not surprising, it was upon arriving in Canada that Cassie and Shernett realized that the weather in Canada is not what they had imagined it to be. Zilbestein (2016) described Canada's winter cold and sub-zero temperatures as something that potentially could deter immigrants from the Caribbean. Jamaica is a tropical region with the coldest temperature being around 20 degrees Celsius. Even with this temperature, Jamaicans are still open to accepting the opportunity to migrate to Canada because of the illusion of perfection as a country. Participants were asked to describe their arrival and reception, which is organized in the following section.

5.2 The Unwelcome Guest: Canada, the Land of Calculated Kindness

"Welcome to Canada" is a message of openness that eventually contributes to conflicting realities for newcomers such as the participants in this study. This openness and welcome are evidenced in the documents and policies provided to Jamaicans and other immigrants making Canada their home. Patterns of immigration have contributed to Jamaicans making Canada home between 1800 and the 1920s, working as domestic help and labourers (Labelle et al., 2010). Most Jamaicans migrated to Canada anticipating that social and economic conditions would be superior to what they were accustomed to, and that the "grass was going to be greener." However, the data suggests that Black people were unwanted and encountered biases that relegated and subjected them to criminal activities, and to ideologies that they did not have the ability to integrate (James, 2005; Wright, 2015).

Participants were asked about their arrival and reception in Canada. As individuals, they discovered they were not accepted in some of the spaces and were not sure how to make sense of the response to their presence. Over time they began to realise that they were unwelcomed in social environments and especially in their interaction with White people.

Claude expressed how he felt about his reception in Canada and about trying to figure out who he was in a new country. He explained that he did not see people who looked like him and that he was mocked for speaking with a Jamaican accent.

> People didn't look like myself anymore in terms of what I thought so it was really… and I didn't know how to fit in …so fitting into …was…was very difficult. I would say things and…people would make fun of me or I had to repeat many times…kinda thing…so that was very difficult. I was just not understood…so… for me …yes it was kinda tough…I didn't fit in either place… until…and I start making some… making some discoveries…right? You start realising that you are good at certain things, that you are bright, you noticed that… that is respected in certain circles… and I was athletic and that became much part of my calling card too because then I got involved in sports and I…excelled in sports and I …excelled also in terms of on the academic, right? [Claude, Interview 06/11/2019]

Similarly, Elaine, who arrived in Canada when she was only eleven years old, reflected on her surprise at how unwelcomed she felt here. In Jamaica she observed that everyone was treated with acceptance:

> Jamaica for the most part we tend to be diverse …yes and you had people who were Black …dark skin …light skin whatever… in position of power…so …and plus I was raised with this belief that I can do anything … and nobody is better than me …so when I came here it's like …the first time I walked into school this White girl said "to be beautiful you have to be White" I was like looking around thinking …what is she talking about …I just came from Jamaica and the beautiful people are Black people …so it was kind of a …it was a culture shock in many ways …but because I was raised this way about …nobody is better …had I been raised here …my self-esteem would have been damaged a lot. [Elaine, Interview 08/08/2019]

According to Elaine this experience challenges all the beliefs that were instilled in her by her family. It is also one of the reasons that Black children struggle with self esteem issues when they are told that they are not good enough or beautiful, according to white ideals:

> I didn't understand why kids didn't want to play with me …I had this one who did not like me …because we had the same name …Cassie…she would want to put up questions …. if you want to play with us you need to answer this math question or got other people…" if you play with her you can't play with me." [Cassie, Interview, 01/10/2020]

Cassie's story helps to explain how children learn about differences from an early age where they themselves use play as a tool to develop barriers based on race. In contrast, another participant, Patricia, who was 15 when she arrived in Canada, shared that she did not have problems settling in and that she felt positive about all the attention she and her sister received when they arrived. Patricia described her mother as a "trust fund baby," meaning that her mother was financially well off. Her mother's status afforded her the opportunity to travel between Jamaica and Canada, and she developed some familiarity with the country:

> It wasn't a shock …because I think we learned a lot about what to expect from my mom…you know. We didn't find any challenges cause we use to go back to Jamaica all the time …we did summer camp in Jamaica all the time ..I mean we were…my mom was pretty a trust fund baby (laughs) so she had money so she didn't have to…so money was no object for us so we did a lot of stuff together …all the stuff that Canada had to offer sigh I don't know. Its wasn't a challenge for me cause we came and we went to school and we did all the regular stuff that we usually do and a lot of hanging out and my mom would introduce us to all kind of cultural stuff as much as she could in Toronto because that was important to her…I mean she went to Jamaica to live because she wanted to be there, she loved it …she left Canada to live and then she was thinking of coming back here (voice lowers) ….I guess maybe because she adopted us and she wanted us to have a better education an she brought us here rather than because of the political stuff in Jamaica you know at the time and she said...so she brought us here for a *better* education. [Patricia, Interview, 09/23/2019]

In Patricia's response, she is explaining that her life was comfortable and that she did not experience many of the problems illustrated by some of the other participants. There is the possibility that Patricia was not able to articulate that having a White parent may have protected her from some or any racist response, based on the power and position of her White mother who may never entertain the discussion of race and differences and privilege in the home (Smithet al., 2011).

The next section provides the responses to questions about schooling by the participants.

5.3 Schooling and Education

What is it about an educated Black person that makes White people in the global north stop, look, express surprise and discomfort? Some will go as far as to interrogate and question one's background. Black and Brown bodies illicit comments such as: "you speak English very well." Researchers seek to provide an understanding about linguistic inclusion that extends to the inequalities in Canada (Creese, 2010; Kayaalp, 2016; Munro, 2003). In their body of work, they argue that the same questions and realities are not asked or assumed about people from European countries, and they do not experience similar barriers in their daily interaction (Creese, 2010).

As a social work educator, I encourage students with other languages to use it in the class alongside English as a model for social work. Based on my professional and practical experience, I am aware that students will be encountering situations where they will work with individuals who do not speak English or speak it as another language. Consequently, they may have difficulties expressing themselves especially during stressful situations. It is for this reason that I remind students about the use and power of language that can unite or divide us in the society, and to raise their awareness as part of their ongoing learning.

Readers should understand that Jamaican parents are known to instill the notion of education for their children because in many cases, they did not have the opportunity to gain a high school education because of poverty and lack of opportunities. This caused them to miss opportunities for self advancement. It is no surprise therefore, that parents will spend their last dollar to send their children to "extra class" to prepare them for the exams which they are required to pass in order to gain access to High School in Jamaica. When Jamaican parents have invested in their children's education, they expect that this will pave the way for their success in the education system in Canada. It is traumatizing therefore to see their children being mocked

and treated as unintelligent because of their accent. Historically, Jamaica's education system is based on the British system and so early learning was influenced by English authors Raymond O'Malley and Denys Thompson (1974) who wrote the popular Queen's Classics, *Rhyme and Reason* that was used in the majority of High Schools in Jamaica. Michael Manley in his book, *The Politics of Change*, *A Jamaican Testament* (1974), spoke about the colonial education, that was imposed on the Jamaican education system and stated, "there was a time when Jamaican poets spoke of daffodils and snow neither of which are noticeably a part of the Jamaican scene" (p. 146). Jamaican children knew about Europe and Canada and could recite the names of all the great lakes, often at the expense of knowledge about the mountains and rivers in Jamaica. This experience is another example of European influence, not only in Jamaica, but also the world. Even after being educated on a European based curriculum, learners migrating from Jamaica to Canada are still treated on education that has dominated the world. Yet after receiving European based curriculum in the Jamaican education system, learners migrating from Jamaica to Canada are still treated as illiterate and semi-literate. Jamaican students are often placed in grade levels far below their intellectual capacities. Aaron, another participant, shared that he was placed one year behind students who should be his cohort. Even when he demonstrated any form of intellectual acuity, especially with his spelling, he was told that he was incorrect by both students and teachers. This is how Aaron explain it:

> to me it was an insult to try and put me back …. which is what they want to do…cause they said I was young enough...like no…I am in grade 10. I am not going back to grade 9…I could speak English better that some people who I talked to, you know, and aahm …even that issue in English class spelling I'm like… no that's not how it is spelt...and I'm getting it marked wrong cause I have a u in there so aahm there is some adjustment there but overall it's just learning that things are very different here. Socially it might have been a good idea actually but in retrospect it is what it is…. … [Aaron, Interview, 08/08/2019]

This experience speaks to the invalidation of prior education, and it shows how easily the education system that was designed to help and enhance students can be used to hold them back. Aaron's explanation shows how the act of dismissing one's knowledge may contribute to a loss of self esteem and self confidence. Similar to Aaron's experience, Bevan, another participant, shared the following:

> going to school …aahm…actually going to school was at first very hard because …aahm in …I remember the first day we were brought into school. They told us that we couldn't go into the grade that we were supposed to …they wanted to and they took us back one grade and I have seen that happen so many times with children who are coming from Jamaica or another Caribbean country [Bevan, Interview, 10/25/2019]

Bevan thinks the practice where Caribbean children are not being placed in the right grade level is because of racist assumptions that they cannot be equally educated as their fellow white Canadians. This causes frustration for the student. For Elaine, her experience of racism in the school system did not end as a student but continued into her professional career as a teacher. Elaine was deeply passionate about her experience and shared that in addition to her experiences as a student, she continues to experience racism within the education system as a teacher. Elaine recounted the following:

> … I went to high school and university people were like…how comes you speak so well? You're from Jamaica? Yes I am from Jamaica. That testimony or testament to the kind of education system. the most shocking thing to me …aaah… (sounds exasperated) …I have had kids written on chairs … "fucking n***er" ….I have had kids call me Aunt Jemima. [Elaine, 08/20/2019]

Elaine's story speaks to her experience in high school, through to her teaching career, recognising how the Canadian educational system is presented from a majoritarian perspective as superior to any learning she might have had in Jamaica. She also felt that she was being interrogated and that she had to explain her background and knowledge.

Another participant, Belinda, had the following to share about her schooling experience:

> I remember this vividly…you go to school and I was in an ESL class…ESL class!...and the teacher said …why are you here?...I don't know…they put me in here and she said…you speak English…exactly…but because you speak with an accent… but because you speak with an accent they put you in an ESL class so it was different cause everything…. even my clothes, sayings, I had to learn…to this day I am even silenced at work. [Belinda, 02/03/2020]

In Belinda's experience, not only is she shocked and surprised about being placed in the ESL class, but also, she recognised that her experience, education and knowledge were used against her, and that it had a significant impact on her personal development. Fortunately, she had a teacher who recognised that she was placed in a class that was not appropriate for her. This may not be the same for other participants where someone would advocate for them. The narrations of Aaron, Bevan, Elaine, and Belinda speak to an education system designed for White students, and therefore deemed learners from Jamaica as intruders and unwelcomed guests. As Dei et al. (2000) argue, the wrongful placements of Jamaican students' grade levels far below their capacities is a calculated attempt to disengage learners and push them from the school system.

Decades later and in 2023, there continue to be constraints, denial, and methods designed to deny Black students an education. In fact, racism and segregation continue to be embedded in the learning institutions today (Dei et al., 2016; Griffin et al., 2016). At a recent conference that I attended, "*How the Caribbean Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British Education System* (2021), some of the presenters who were retired educators and professionals recounted their experience of migrating to the United Kingdom, only to be deemed educationally incompetent, and put in classes for students with cognitive disabilities and low intelligence. Such was the experience in the 1960s. Therefore, when Aaron, Bevan, Elaine, and Belinda shared their

experience with the educational system, it made me wonder that after so many years of diversity training, a new generation was experiencing ongoing racism and barriers in the education system. The following section provides the responses from the participants when asked about reuniting with their parents who they had not seen for an extended period.

5.4 Thin Line Between Love and Hate: Tension and Ambiguities in Black Homes

Some of the participants reported that they had not seen their parent/parents for six or more years except, for when the parent/parents would visit Jamaica for holidays, or to attend funerals or weddings. Participants shared that they envisioned reunification with their parents to be a seamless process, not fraught with the challenges and tension that they discovered in the transition. A study about parenting challenges among African immigrant parents in Alberta shows that there is incompatibility between themselves and their host country, and that the state seems to have greater influence on the relationship between parents and children (Salami et al., 2017). Similar to the experiences of African parents, the observation by the participants was that there are policies of protection where they are taught that they can call 911 if there is a conflict, and especially if their parents "lay a hand on them," meaning that they got a spanking. Aaron who was one of the participants in the study expressed that when he saw and heard his White colleagues talk to their parents by yelling and using the f*** bomb, he assumed that he could do the same thing with his parents.

> "oh this is how it is done in Canada" the lack of respect for adult is…talk to teachers however you want …I see kids talk to their parents …I was like …I hear some answers and I'm covering up my self-thinking. There is a shot coming and the parent being aah… "now that's not nice" and I'm looking going …what?…what world is this…so that part of it was very different and hard for me to accept…even though technically that would have worked in my favour, seeing that, but not with my father… he was not going to budge on that…but the thought that people did that and did that routinely …it just, it blew my mind and upset me …I was like wow I can't believe guys talking to their parents like this, this is great, I'm going that is so

> disrespectful why would you talk to your parents like that …you know …f ..off mom f ..off… …you know and as oppose to joining in activities …. [Aaron, Interview, 08/08/2019]

Aaron figured out early that the behaviour of his White friends towards their parents, while it may be acceptable in their household, was not tolerated in his father's house where respect was shown, and no foul language was used.

In another case, Myrtle, also a participant, shared the following:

> I had some struggles with my mother…I started to have struggles with my mother because I started to "back answer" [talk back], because that was what I saw my friends do "laughs out loud" …ok…but getting to know her…like I said I didn't know her that well because we left when I was a baby…we had our ups and downs…it was not perfect all the time …I am not going to lie…when I was going to junior high we started to having our little issues...I got mouthy…laughs. [Myrtle, Interview 03/11/2020]

Myrtle made the point that she hardly knew her mother since she left when Myrtle was a baby and that this may have contributed to some struggles and conflict that they were able to resolve.

Parenting rules in the reunification process contributed to challenges for some of the participants. They found that their parents enforced strict rules and regulations in their household when compared to their White friends. Authoritative and permissive parenting styles are acceptable forms of child rearing among White European, American, Canadian families and Black parents in North America see these parenting styles as giving up their roles and needing to protect their children from being harmed, killed and imprisoned before entering adulthood (Adjei et al., 2018; Hill & Bush, 2001; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). In the case of Steve, a participant in the study, he disclosed that as a teenager he had more freedom to do as he pleased while living with his mother in Jamaica. Steve arrived in Canada at age nineteen, and at that age, he felt that he had the right to determine his life without the rigidity and control of his parents. Early on in his

arrival he began to identify the tensions with his father who wanted to maintain some control on his life. Steve shared the following:

> Well …laughs…that's the good part cause I lasted a whole month living with him …yes …it didn't last …because like I said …in Jamaica…and at 19 years old…I was free to do what I wanted and coming here I guess he knew how the place was …I didn't so it's more about trying to I guess help you out …but to me it was more trying to control me. I have to call him at work to ask if I can go to the shop across the street…and I'm like I am 19 years old. I don't need to do this …so if I don't call then he has a problem with that because that's how he responds to stuff is he …well I told you, you don't leave the house without letting me know which I'm not use to challenges like those because I am looking at myself as an adult and I am his child …it's tough. [Steve, interview, 03/13/2020]

Steve's point is that in Jamaica he had the opportunity to go to the shop or a football game without consideration of being stopped by the police. However, upon reuniting with his father in Canada, the freedom that he knew changed. Now he was faced with stricter and enforced discipline in the relationship with his father. Steve's father lived in Canada for an extensive period and was perhaps aware of the social influences and outcome that is associated with raising Black children in the society. His father's concern might be rooted in the fear that Steve would become involved with other teenagers whose behaviours are likely to result in confrontation with the police. Black children in Canada, especially boys and men, are often stopped and interrogated by the police for no reason (Cole, 2020; Henry & Tator 2016). Steve's father may have reigned in this freedom as a form of protection for him. For Claude, another participant, the relationship with his parents contributed to misunderstanding. He did not know how to relate to this "stranger" who he referred to as his mother. His story described the following:

> You know I mean…we really didn't know each other cause I was…I was raised by my grandmother …so…you know that was key…that was more the key…my grandmother and aunts and now…then now my mom was a stranger really…she really was a stranger...to me… Well because we didn't know each other …and I was aaahm…*nervous laugh* I was… I wasn't understood I was one of those kids who was different, I was very bookish I wasn't playing with the other children and so I think for

> my mom she probably …maybe expected a different kind of kid…cause I …I would spend hours and hours …you know reading ...and wanting to learn. I was seen as lazy. [Claude, interview, 07/29/2019]

The important person in Claude's life was his grandmother. She raised him, but now he has come to terms with living with his mother. He shared the difficulty of making the connection with a parent whom he hardly knew. In the process of getting to know his mother he was perceived as being lazy because he was not outgoing and spent a lot of time by himself in his room. His mother interpreted his reading of books as a non-activity, and used the derogatory word lazy, as a way of getting him to become actively involved. Claude in explaining his coping with settling in his new environment, shared that he escaped to his books because he did not have the connection with his mother or other children his age to play with. Claude further explained that he used his books as a means of escape, and that this was how he transcended some of the reunification challenges with his mother. While Claude's friend may mind a haven in the company of their friends that may not mean them well, and potentially could get them involved in socially unacceptable behaviours.

For Bevan, another participant, the experience was surprising. In the interview she laughed out loud at her mother's parenting style. She recounted that her mother sent her to her room when she misbehaved. She shared that she even wondered if this were normal in Canada. Bevan explained that while growing up with her grandmother in Jamaica, she would be spanked with a switch. Bevan shared the following:

> I think one of the challenges … we had was the way she disciplined was very different from the way how my grandmother disciplined because my grandmother…if you say a bad word you can expect the whip she goes bam bam …right or wash our mouth with soap or something like that …right …that's just basic how it was …but when we got here with our mom that was very different …like she would tell us to go to your room or do something or she would take away something from you. You are expecting to get whipped …laughs…I am so serious …it was really different. I am not saying

> that we missed the whipping …I am just saying that it was very different to get use to. [Bevan, interview, 10/25/2019]

Bevan was incredulous about this form of discipline, but soon concluded that this was a parenting style her mother had adopted because she lived in Canada. The laws and policies of parenting in Canada favours one of communication and negotiating while in Jamaica it is an authoritarian style, and the switch or strap is used as part of that rule. Other participants expressed their frustration with their parents who seemingly did not understand that they were adults. Such was Steve's rationale when he described some of the conflicts that he experienced with his father. Steve shared the following:

> when I moved here when I was 18, I think… so we were grown but in his head he thought we were still kids so he was trying to be a Dad in the sense of trying to change our personalities…moved from my Dad a year or 2 after and I was basically on my own…not on my own but away from parents until I moved back in with my mom…initially it was really good but when we started having issues with my Dad…but overall it was good. [Steve, Interview, 03/13/2019]

While Steve may view age as a mark of adulthood and uses the phrase "I am a big man" (meaning that his chronological age gives him agency), in most Caribbean and Jamaican homes, no matter the age, one is still considered a child and is expected to show reverence and respect to parents and other adults. When one is deemed to have stepped out of line or have misbehaved, parents will state "I brought you into this world and I will take you out." Similar to the scene from a *A Raisin in the Sun* (Hansberry, 1984), where Walter's mother, Lena, reminds him that: "you do not talk to me like that in my house." These serve as common reminders for children of all ages in Black families, to be mindful of how they behave and communicate with their parents. Other participants discovered the challenges of meeting their parents' ideals and how these contributed to conflict in the relationship. Patricia's desire to pursue a career based on what she

wanted to do was met with opposition. She told the story of how her mother wanted her to pursue a career in either engineering or medicine so that she would have benefits upon retiring. She shared how she had to challenge her mother's perception of a career such as secretarial or nursing. Patricia shared the following:

> in my career of choice which I fought my mom to do cause she said "do something real that you will have pension and blah…blah…blah and good health" and I am like …no I want to be a hair dresser. [Patricia, 09/23/2019]

Patricia reflected that, because of this experience with her mother, she has learnt to allow her children the freedom of pursuing a career of their own choosing and that they would enjoy, instead of careers that she would like them to do. Patricia believes that her mother's values imposed on her was influenced by her own upbringing and how she was raised.

5.5 Reunification: "*The Tie that Binds"*

The thought of leaving a child or children with family, friends, and colleagues in search of a better life is not new (Thobani, 2007). In the Caribbean the metaphor, the "tie that binds," is often used to describe the belief that no matter where families may be in the world, they are linked together through relationships that are strong. Caribbean communities tend to have strong familial networks that allow mothers to migrate and leave children with relatives, friends and neighbors (Thomas-Hope, 2002). For instance, participants in the study shared that when they arrived in Canada, they discovered that mom or dad (depending on the receiving parents) had started a new family. Now they had stepbrothers, sisters or mothers, as was Veronica's experience. She expressed alarm that, upon arriving in Canada, she discovered that her father had established another family, and described how difficult it was for her to make sense of what was going on in her life at age fourteen:

> in my mind he was absent… he was so absent…he basically brought me to a home, left me with his now ex-wife [then stepmother] and she was my caregiver…she just saw me as …oh great I am stuck with this… and he was very absent. I never had a relationship with him…he was very absent in every way…he was like Santa Claus…he was a complete stranger …here it gets even crazier…I met this man at 10 but then in less that 2 years I had moved in with my step-mom …her kid and all strangers in the house. [Veronica March 11, 2019]

One needs to be mindful that in moving to Canada, the detail of the situation is not explained to the child (Veronica) as it is often considered adult business. Unfortunately, finding out about this new family in that way contributed to deepening resentment where she ultimately embarrassed the family by shoplifting.

Similar to Veronica's experience, other participants shared their challenges with the reunification, and expressed that because they had never lived with, or in some cases even met, the receiving parent. This contributed to challenges and tension. For participants like Steve, communication with his father was limited, and was fraught with incidents of his parent telling him what to do. Within the Jamaican culture, children are expected to obey without questioning or expressing opinions. In a noticeably short time, he moved out of the residence and went to live with roommates:

> I know of my father but never lived with him ..never talked to him much until he decided that he want all his kids close to him with him he was more strict with …you do as I say so that was my biggest obstacle to overcome …I just…the difference in parenting…so it was tough well …laughs…that's the good part cause I lasted a whole month living with him …yes …it didn't last …because like I said …in Jamaica…and at 19 years old…I was free to do what I wanted and coming here I guess he knew how the place was …I didn't so it's more about trying to I guess help you out …but to me it was more trying to control me. [Steve, Interview 03/13/2020]

As noted, Steve never lived with his father. However, this is not uncommon or unusual. In some intimate relationships in Jamaica, partners do not live in the same residence. Additionally,

individuals may have separated but keep in contact for the purpose of carrying out their parental roles. Now that Steve's father lives in Canada, he is ensuring that he provides for his son by reuniting with him in Canada. However, by then Steve is nineteen and this makes the relationship building very challenging, as they both hardly know each other, and Steve needs time to understand the challenge of living in Canada as a Black male. Other participants shared that not growing up with their parents contributed to some emotional distancing where they struggle to bond with their biological parents because they were absent in their formative years. For example, Elaine stated that she could not refer to her biological mother as "Mom," because she just could not make that parent/ child connection. Elaine was raised by her grandparents and therefore sees her grandmother as her biological mother, more so than her actual mother. She pointedly rejected her mother's role as a parent, in defiance of losing the relationship with her grandparents. Elaine offered some insights about the reunification process based on her experience:

> she [biological mom] left me when I was two or four …and so she would come out …during Christmas …sometimes at Easter and I think they refer to us as barrel generation because we got a lot of barrels with food and clothing and …aahm… my brothers and cousins and I we were lucky because for the most part we were with our grandparents who loved us … Most of whom were separated form their parents because they came to Canada and the parents not understanding the dynamics and so there was constant conflict…my mom is in the group home experiencing what the kids are telling them about their experience coming from Jamaica and somehow she didn't transfer it to her self.. [Elaine, Interview, 08/20/2019]

In many Caribbean families, family lines are sometimes not clearly defined. In an extended family, everyone is responsible for raising the children. In this case, grandparents are responsible for raising Elaine with whom she had developed a remarkably close relationship and connection. Mothers tend to aspire to raise their children and develop a mother daughter relationship.

However, as Elaine explained, her mother wanted to further her education and migrated to Canada with the intent to file for her once she graduated and was settled enough to support her brother and her. Even after reuniting with her mother, Elaine continues to have a deeper and strong relationship with her grandmother. Her biological mother often interprets this as ingratitude.

Like Elaine, another participant raised the issue of not knowing his mother and lamented that "this person" just picked him up at Pearson International Airport and he was supposed to figure out the relationship after not being in contact for so many years, with the exception of Easter and Christmas holidays or if there was a wedding or a funeral in the family. Claude expressed the following:

> I mean…we really didn't know each other cause I was..I was kinda raised by my grandmother… so…you know that was key…that was more the key…my grandmother and aunts and now…then now my mom was a stranger really…she really was a stranger…to me. [Claude, Interview, 07/29/2019]

Another participant shared her positive experience with the reunification process. Interestingly, knowledge of her mother came from the pictures in the living room of her grandmother's house. She shared how she had an instant connection with her mother that she could not explain. The feelings of connectedness were strong and her idea that she will experience the emotions were validated when she reunited with her mother. Bevan's eyes lit up when she discussed her experience of reuniting with her mother:

> I don't remember ever having her in my life as …like that human body …I am sure she was there when I was a baby but I just don't recall too much … I did see pictures of her like so we were separated for 10/11 years …our connection and our bonding …it was automatic (snapping fingers)…I can't explain it …but it was like …you know she wasn't there in body it almost like she was always there… we just connected …aahm right away. [Bevan 10/25/2019]

For Bevan, it was a lesson in loving someone unconditionally. Sadly, some years later she lost her mother and several family members in a major traffic accident. Bevan shared that she uses the experience as an opportunity to be closer to her stepchildren and grandchildren.

Some participants experienced an ongoing communication with the migrated parent/parents, which helped with the reunification process. One participant also explained that the financial constraints, which often plagued reunited families, was not a part of her reality:

> There was no lacking of anything, the communication was great …we were prepared to come to Canada and we were going to be living in Canada. My mom was pretty much a trust fund baby (laughs) so she had money so she didn't have to…so money was no object for us so we did a lot of stuff together …all the stuff that Canada had to offer like skating blah, blah blah …or whatever. [Patricia, Interview, 09/23/2019]

Patricia was also able to settle in Canada without the worries and challenges associated with limited finances. She had opportunities to vacation in Canada which puts her in a privileged position. By comparison, other participants did not have similar opportunities perhaps due to their limited income. What was clear from the stories shared by the participants, the process of reunification, abounded with experiences that were both negative and positive. In the next section, participants shared their stories about cultural differences and integration.

5.6 Cultural Differences and Integration

Canada is regarded as a country that values two languages---English and French--hence Canada is a bilingual country. The question of cultural differences and integration was posed to the research participants. These issues have been the fuel of a hot debate in Canadian circles. The recent attack of a young Muslim woman in Calgary and of Black people for wearing a burka and being out in social settings (Global News, March 26, 2021), are some of the illustrations of

violence against others who look different in Canada. The study of cultural integration of immigrants has been a pattern since the late nineteenth century (Algan et al., 2012). Cultural integration theorists suggest some perspective to understand the process such as assimilation, multiculturalism, and structuralism. Assimilation theory builds on the premise that diverse groups enter a new country and that their cultural patterns disappear. Multiculturalism as an alternative approach, was accepted and adopted by the Canadian Government in 1971 and is prominent in public and social policies (Canadian Charter on Rights and Freedoms, 1971). This policy was later challenged by well known scholars who suggested that integration is rooted in other forms of oppression such as race, class, and gender and that it should include an anti-racism approach (Dei, 1996; Dominelli, 1997, 2002; Gilroy, 1987, 1990; Leah, 1995). Even though reunification is a planned form of migration, it involves separation from what is known, to the unknown. This means getting to know or re-discovering the self, parent, and challenges such as the education system (Williams et al., 1998). Upon arrival in Canada people of African descent tried to integrate into the Canadian society, and it was they who began to realise the invisible colour line was evident (Walker, 1980; Tulloch, 1975). This invisibility was recognised by participants in the study who shared that they were beginning to recognise that most of the Canadian people did not look like them and that their introduction to the culture made them feel out of place, subjected to racist jokes, taunts and unwanted comments. In some cases, participants recounted some of the mistakes that they made while integrating because of how direct they were in communicating. Veronica remembers trying to figure out her life in Canada as she navigated her new home. She explained the difference in communication, and how being direct is perceived in the Canadian society. When told that she is intense, she took the time to find out the meaning of the word because of how it made her feel. She shared the following:

> I can't really tell you about settling and integration…I navigated…I had to navigate a world that I knew nothing about with a lot of errors because…were very direct and I am used to that …so I couldn't be me…and when I say anything people thought I was rude or or confrontational or abrasive …you have to be a different version of yourself because you are going to be seen as abrasive…just last week a lady said…Oh you are intense and I was very hurt by the word but I googled it and it said animated…passionate…driven…that's who I am so I have taken this word to use in a negative way and own it. [Veronica, Interview, 03/11/2019]

Veronica recognizes how metaphors and coded language are used to keep "her in her place" based on the notion of the angry Black woman. For her, it was an opportunity to use the word intense, in a positive way.

Elaine related that integration meant feeling that she was the only person in a large crowd. Specifically, one of the participants explained what it felt like being the only Black person in a school:

> it was an experience because at that school there was only there was a thousand of us and there were like only 3 or 4 Black people…… I am blank on that one …aahm …settlement? My mother had a home for us so we went to a home that we went to …into so that was kinda cool with a yard and everything in a sense replicated a little bit later on I find that that's great …in terms of how we were settling in the home or coping or getting on the settling into this new life …into this new place …this new phase of life was challenging getting to learn the culture and the different cultures and the sub culture and the school culture and the culture at home …aahm …that was …just learning about Canadian culture but then I found out that there are different types of cultures…the levels of culture and…aahm and for me to understand a lot of stuff …I look for similarities …community and education have to go hand in hand so I started a program of reading buddy and some of the teacher take it over and they highlighted it and it's like no credit given to where it came from. [Elaine, 08/20/2019]

School was one of the places where Elaine began to recognise difference in Canada and Jamaica. The Jamaica motto, "Out of Many, one People" gives tribute to the unity among the many cultures that are practiced there that instill a sense of belonging to everyone.

Even though she is still wondering about the integration process she finds time to actively learn about the Canadian culture and develop activities to be a part of the country.

Similarly, Celeste spoke about her integration process and how she took the initiative to help newcomers to Canada, even though she was new to the country. She spoke about how Jamaicans knew who their neighbors were, but in Canada people did not know the family living next door to them, even though the homes here were much closer in proximity to each other than homes in Jamaica:

> You are coming from somewhere where you are very much accustomed to… life in this environment you are settled…where we are from…we know all out neighbour …settling in is tough and I know how hard it is because I volunteer for CCIS…Calgary Catholic Immigration Society…you are like a host friend where you help people to settle and integrate… and what that means is you are a host and you take that family and you show them how to integrate into Canadian life so settlement is you pick up yourself…you move to another location and then you work damn hard to figure it all out so …yea…and integration is just like you going and mixing in with the norm so like you are not going to be a sore thumb sticking out…you are going to fit in the rest of society as how they operate so you are going to try your best to become a Calgarian…you are a Jamaican and how you get to be a Calgarian…(laughs)…so you fit in or you get out. [Celeste, Interview, 02/14/2019]

Another participant struggled with the concept of settlement and integration. In some cases, during the narrative, there were long pauses as she thought about the question. Other times she pondered the question of settlement and integration by repeating it out loud. Her ambivalence is rooted in the contradiction that Canada promotes integration in the society, yet the same establishes barriers for Black people which prevents them from a sense of belonging in the country. Brenda still finds it difficult, however she shared the following:

> Laughs…settlement and integration…I know…I do know what it means…with my experiences though…I meant …it means being taken from your homeland coming to a new land to settle with the one you love …you know …to me personally that what it means you have to integrate into society, you have to be a part of society and yea…try

> and fit in …but it doesn't always…doesn't always work like that …there is always struggles. [Brenda, Interview 07/11/2019]

For Shernett, this was the source of her challenge. She explained how she had to navigate her environment to date by being mindful of how she comes across in meetings and discussions. As Shernett explained "it's like watching your words" in response to being careful about expressing oneself:

> Aaahm getting used to different ways of interacting…our culture you know is very direct…we are very direct people…you don't have to guess what we are thinking…you will know what we are thinking… and recognising that …aahm that way of communication can sometimes take people aback. [Shernett, Interview 10/02/2019]

As many of the participants shared, she recognised how Jamaicans tend to be very direct in their approach instead of the diplomacy that is expected in a conversation. There also seems to be a double standard when it comes to integration that was specific to getting to know about each other's culture. There is the one-sided approach where members of the dominant culture feel that it is within their right to question, interrogate and assume, to the point where there is no attempt to get to know people of other cultures. This action is dismissive and silences newcomers. It would seem that Canadians have the right to say or express how they feel about other cultures, often to the point of being racist, not taking the time to examine and get to understand different cultures.

5.7 Interaction with Social Services

The last thing Jamaican parents want for their children is interaction with the police and child welfare. Some parents' constant injunction is: "don't let the cops show up at this house." This is a reminder of their beliefs about how their Black children should conduct themselves in

public, i.e. not cause any problems in society (Davis, 2022). Some of the participants reported that they experienced conflict with the law and other social services. While participants may view incidents with the law as a family matter, or a "little misunderstanding," their parents felt differently. The possibility of conflict with the law is a major concern for parents, especially when the police or a child welfare representative shows up at their residence. The research shows that reports of alleged neglect that involve Black and Indigenous families continue to be reported at higher rates by child welfare agencies (Adjei & Minka, 2018; Drake, 1996; Fluke & Merkel-Holguin, 2018). In my research, some of the participants posited that there is a direct correlation between their interaction with the child welfare system, and the familial conflict that they experienced at home. In one case, a participant tearfully recounted his experience where he was forced to live in a group home. Because of the ongoing conflict at home, he figured out that for his own happiness, he would be better off living somewhere else. He shared the following:

> remember I mentioned how for me I was so misunderstood…right…so …I had to leave home…it's really funny. I was so misunderstood… …[sobbing] ...I had to leave home to find myself. It was the best thing for me. I was about 14…and so I was gonna be kicked out …*voice trembling*…cause remember I was lazy…so aaahm…I was in grade 10 I think or 11 and I was kind of a happy kid…so Mrs Watkins …I will always remember her she…one day…I think she knew I was in trouble. I didn't have any contact for a couple of years and then I started to reach out…and my mom and I we are good…like we are totally good**…..**[sobbing]. [Claude, 07/29/2019]

Another participant informed that she had the "full works," child welfare, police, store security, and onlookers. This experience was a source of embarrassment to families in general and to the community. Veronica shared her experience:

> Well I had one experience where I remember stealing from Army and Navy and my dad nearly crack my skull…it was something I wanted and I took it …yea…my dad nearly crack my skull**.** [Veronica, 03/11/2019]

Another participant shared how he assumed the role of parenting by being a bigger brother to his sibling. This role was sanctioned by his parents as in the Jamaican culture older or senior children are required to assist in the raising of children. This is the legacy of community parenting. In his quest to correct the behaviour of his younger brother Aaron ended up being investigated by child welfare. Luckily for him, his parents supported him in his action to correct his younger brother, and explained his role of caregiver to the investigator. He shared that he was doing what his parents had practiced and taught him. He states the following:

> the kid went to church, came back…playing outside…aahm I told him to go change his clothes and he went and got them dirty, so I got the belt and clapped him one. [Aaron, 08/08/2019]

Aaron's experience is familiar to other immigrants from a Caribbean background. They are generally unaware of the consequences of disciplining the younger siblings in the manner they are accustomed to, in their home countries.

Shernett shared that she knew about cases of child welfare involvement in families. She described her experience as follows:

> I was a little older than high school and there was a woman walking up and even looking for her daughter cause she had spanked the daughter and the daughter ran away…like we don't do those things in the Caribbean but you learn that here…you learn the concept of running away…in Jamaica…where you running to…you don't run away in Jamaica. [Shernett, 10/02/2019]

Jamaican parents who moved to Canada, brought their culture, and the practices associated with what they know about parenting. In the Jamaican society, children are corrected for misbehaviour with a spanking which is not acceptable in Canada and supported by the Criminal Code (Barnett & Raaflaub, 2008). There is a tension in the Canadian society when Black parents reprimand or correct their children. The immediate response is that the child is being abused. Investigators and Child and Family Service workers tend to not examine the cultural differences

in parenting into consideration. Children already understand, based on what is taught in school that they can call Calgary Child and Family Services to report parents for taking disciplinary measures against them. For most parents the priority is to protect their child from getting into trouble so that later on they do not become the problem of the state. In reality, when Black parents reprimand their children, they are judged by White favoured standards of parenting (Adjei & Minka, 2018; Pon et al., 2011).

5.8 Isolation

"The most terrible poverty is the loneliness and the feeling of being unloved." This is a statement that was made by Mother Theresa and founder of the Order of the Missionaries of Charity. Since then, several research studies on isolation and loneliness have emerged, and help to explain the impact of isolation and loneliness impact on immigrants in a new country (Henry, 1968; Kirova, 2001; Rashid et al., 2013; Rokach, 1999). It is important to point out that the analyses of this research do not identify any examples of lovelessness in immigrant homes, rather, the love of parents was demonstrated in different ways. Whereas research participants were in constant contact with extended family members, neighbors, and friends, they nonetheless described feelings of isolation, being uprooted from Jamaica, meeting new families, getting used to new schools and acclimatising to a new country and a new home. For immigrant children and even adults, the new environment can be overwhelming. Social psychological studies of expatriates and immigrants have shown that the greater the distance between the culture of origin and of resettlement (cultural distance or CD), the greater the difficulties with integration and the greater the threat to well-being (Caldwell-Harris & Ayçiçegi, 2006; Dressler et al., 2007; Garrison et al., 2009; Schwartz et al., 2000; Sortheix & Lonnqvist, 2014b; Triandis, 2000; Wachs, 2000). In this extensive study on cultural distancing, resettlement and well being, it helps

to understand how participants cope. In addition to joining their parents, discovering new family members, and finding themselves in a new country, isolation meant having to fend for themselves. Participants recognised that their values and practices were different, and even questioned their place in Canada. Those who left loving grandparents and close family ties behind in Jamaica, questioned the value of being uprooted from a happy and comfortable existence, only to live in a household where their parents were hardly ever at home.

Some participants [Brenda, interview 07/11/2019] even went as far as to call family members (grandmothers, aunts and uncles) begging for help to return to Jamaica. Claude, a professional, shared how he missed the connection within in Jamaica, and that now there was the feeling of loneliness in Canada. He shared the following about his loneliness:

> For me…that …it was very difficult also because aahm..I guess you …I was used to being around family all the time and then my mom she …she is a single mom…she worked in the afternoon…so she wasn't available because she had to work. You learn that later on but you know as a child you just did not understand and then we didn't have as many family members around like I was accustomed to so there was a lot more time spent alone…you know so that ..that was a bit of …was really a challenge actually…it was a major shock. [Claude, 07/29/2019]

Shyra, a research participant shared Claude's experience, expressing that she was expecting to have this immediate connection with her mother, and that she thought that the experience would have been similar to living in Jamaica, only to find that she didn't even know her neighbours. Shyra explained:

> Aaahm…it's good to have support and I find it especially good to have immediate family around…it's a support because it can be difficult to be in a county that is completely foreign …aahm…and it's a little bit difficult here because it's not like Jamaica where you can go to your neighbour to talk to them or anything…you know all your neighbours…it can be isolating here…because a lot of times you don't even know your neighbours …you say hi to them and they look at you like you just call them a bad name or something…yes it can be very isolating so it's good to have at

> least friends …good friends here to support and say hi, how are you doing…you know what I mean cause this culture can be very isolating. [Shyra, Interview, 03/11/2019]

Shyra anticipated a connected community that was similar to the Jamaican way of living, wherein people are neighbourly and see and talk with each other, and check up on one another daily. She missed this community connection. Another participant shared some deeply personal experiences with isolation. She shared that the feelings of loneliness were so extreme that to deal with the emotions, she used medication. This sharing begs the question: How do issues relating to immigration affect the mental health of new immigrants?

Brenda expressed the following:

> I always have somebody with me even …and it's not just …even if I was alone in Jamaica I am not used to this being alone…and I was scared sometimes…and my sister she found friends and she is gone and I have nobody. I was just a stupid kid…she use to …get lots of medication and she wouldn't take them but she use to have sleeping pills and I use to take the sleeping pills …just slept…I don't know how I am still alive…but I just…just slept. [Brenda, Interview, 07/11/2019]

In other cases of isolation, participants recounted specific circumstances that led to them feeling isolated. Cassie felt that she was deliberately isolated because she was a Black child, playing with a group of white children. She related how she was left out of a game at school and recounted how astounded she felt that she was being isolated at school, of all places! Normally, school is a place where inclusiveness is nurtured. She also identified that sharing similar identities had contributed to finding herself on the margins where one could find themselves existing on the margin, much like she was on the outside looking in:

> there was this plot led by this young person to not aaahm include me into the game that they were playing …I did eventually find kids to play with …I do recall that time …I had a funny accent …my hair was different …my skin colour was different …and there want anyone to sort of help. I didn't understand why kids didn't want to play with me …I had this one who did not like me …because we had the same name

> …Cassie…she would want to put up questions ….if you want to play with us you need to answer this math question or got other people…"if you play with her you can't play with me." [Cassie, Interview, 01/10/2019]

Cassie's experience speaks to how at an early age, children observe and practice the "divide and conquer" rule. This act could be interpreted as simple child's play. However, one needs to ask, where did the child learn this behaviour of exclusion? Further, it is an opportunity to reflect on and recognise, the early influence of racism and how it manifests itself in the society where a child learns to isolate another child based on race.

Overall, most of the participants acknowledged that they experienced isolation. It wasn't clear from the discussions with the participants, whether their parents had any notion how these incidents of isolation and exclusion impacted their daily lives. In the next section, the questions focussed on participants' experience of racism.

5.9 Racism

Racism has been and continues to be a challenge in Canadian society (African Canadian Legal Clinic, 2022; Dei, 2014; Richmond, 1993). The idea of *racism* is not on the minds of new immigrants, as is evidenced in conversation with the research participants. Nor is racism part of their lived experiences prior to migrating to Canada. Recent events such as the killing of George Floyd demonstrate that Black people continue to face acts of racism, and backlash for speaking out about its atrocities. All the participants were able to recount at least one experience involving racism. At times these appeared to be painful to share as their recollection were accompanied by tears and expressions of anger. Like other participants, Myrtle recounted that she had no idea what she was getting into when she reunited with her parents and entered the school system. Others like Shernett and Claude shared that they have had to physically defend themselves because nobody came to their rescue. In other cases, parents were regular visitors to the school to

respond to complaints of misbehaviour. One participant explained that her mother told her that she was different, and that the children in the school would "get over the fact that she was different" (meaning Black). However, she was unprepared for what was to come and was shocked to hear herself being referred to as the "Black girl" instead of by her name. She reminisced that in Jamaica where she was coming from the motto is "Out of Many One People," and she was not raised to watch for racism. She shared the following:

> I felt that I didn't have any preparation for myself….I didn't know what I was getting myself into…like I said…I didn't know there was worse coming…I didn't know there was a difference between Black and White…I thought we were all one…you know… you see on TV think is like this happen so…I wasn't prepare for it …I just dealt with it when it comes. [Myrtle, 03/11/2020]

Others responded to racist incidents in different ways. Shernett shared that during High School, she was picked on by known bullies in the school and that she never failed to stand up for herself. She shared that on several occasions she made complaints to the teachers and principal and that nothing was done to help her or other Black students. She vividly recounted a personal incident where there was a physical altercation between her and a male student. According to Shernett, "it felt as if the school was either waiting for us to fix the problem or for us to get into trouble and have us expelled." Shernett recounted her experience:

> I fought a lot …yea …I was a fighter. I never bully people but if they called me name I did get in trouble a lot…my mom was constantly at the school …constantly at the school and I had a desk in the principal's office we use to get giant cookies and milk at recess time and there was this little skinny guy name Stu Hunt (pseudonym) and Alfie hit his milk out of his hand and took his cookie and I said "that Alfie is such a bully" and he heard me …he said "what did you just say" and so I repeated it …cause I wasn't going to back down even though I thought he was going to kill me …I wasn't going to back down… So he started swearing to me and I wasn't allowed to swear so I just said "same to you"…and then he pushed me and the room went dark when I came to I had somehow ripped off his shirt, only the little collar was left around the neck and I remember the principal …all he said to me was "huh you are stronger than Stu" and that was it … [Shernett, Interview, 09/02/2019]

For Shernett, since nobody was going to help her, she was going to help herself even at the risk of having her mother showing up to the principal's office. Claude shared about similar experiences to Shernett's where he experienced bullying, taunts and racist name calling, and had to stand up for himself. He was not having any of the bullying! Claude had to take a stand and responsibility for his personal safety, at the risk of getting into trouble:

> I experienced racism I guess … some of the …most blatant was in high school I had a few fights even in school because people were trying to put me in my place, and they call me names and remind me… I got hit once in the face with a…playing …in practice in lacrosse and was knocked out and it was totally…racially provoked thing that I liked about being Jamaican I tell you this … we are warriors… and so the one thing is… we will scrap …and me coming from the group home …now most people won't know that about me even…right … so the one thing I absolutely love about us is we will stand up and we will fight. [Claude, Interview, 07/29/2019]

Even though the rules and expectations of Black parents stipulate that their children do not get into fights, and that they stay out of trouble, participants shared that they were often picked on and experienced physical violence. Most participants indicated that when they complained to the school authorities, it was ignored. Most participants drew comparisons with White students where they are treated differently and even protected by the school administration.

Others shared their experiences based on colourism by drawing comparisons with their sibling who had a different, sometimes darker, skin tone. Celeste explained that she felt that her sister experienced racism because her skin was darker.

> I haven't received it as much as my sister…my sister received it a lot…she might be somebody you can talk to …she was 2 when she came here…anyway with racism…it was like "that Ni***er" kinda thing in passing and you know that they are talking to you but I have never had something like that directly in my face…it's happening in passing "that Ni**er" kinda thing that was on the LRT platform…just standing there minding my business …(chuckle) [Celeste, 02/14/2020]

For some people, there is the tendency to deflect the issue of race, and to view a lighter complexion as a means of protection from racism. This approach and interpretation are indicative of the days of slavery, where lighter complected slaves had more prestige, and were higher in the slave class hierarchy, than darker toned slaves. While Celeste believed racism was directed at her sister based on the darkness of her skin tone, there was no evidence that she recognized that she herself had experienced racism. For example, in her story she identified hearing the term N***** in passing. For others, there were stories of being inexplicably pulled over by the police and interrogated. This is an ongoing concern for Black males in the Canadian society. Aaron vividly recounts his experience of being out in the community being stopped by the police whether he was walking or driving. He talked about having the feelings of fear about the action of the police, which is a common concern shared by Black males in the Canadian and North American societies (Cole, 2020). Aaron shared his story in the following narrative:

> I am walking. I get pulled over … "where you going …where do you live…why you out here? Were you stealing?"…and the first time it happened I was like… what? That became routine after a while, you know, I got pulled over four different times with a gun pointed at my head so and it's silly things like you get pulled over you lock your hands behind your head because my thought is if I get shot like this way my body goes into shock they will know that this is how I did…I know it could happen driving while Black…that was like in the 90's right …so when this stuff is coming out now. [Aaron, Interview, 08/08/2019]

Brenda shared her story of blatant racism at her workplace. She posited that she was not treated fairly by management when she experienced a hostile incident where a client called her names and refused to accept help from her. Brenda shared the reality of not being assisted and the hurt and evident dismissal of her experience by supervisors in the organization.

> I'll give you one example…I was at aahm… this guy came in and I was …he needed to hand me his paperwork for me to process for him to get money…"What do you mean you need to speak to someone else…I'm the only one here who can help you at the moment." He's like…. "no… I'm not giving you my paperwork because you're Black"…right in front of everybody! you're Black you need to go back to your country" even though he call me that and acted that way you know in front of everybody and all that what pisses me off *excuse my French* is the most, is that my managers, and that it's not the first time they do it they…they are all Caucasian. We have no minority as supervisor or managers within…within social services or social.. in the welfare office…and instead of telling this guy that what he did is wrong and then he needs to submit his paper accordingly and come back what they did they come they took his paper process it and give him his money right there and then and then other people they see this then think ok if I come and act this way then I will be taken care of… [Brenda, Interview, 07/11/2019]

For many Black people who are employed in customer service positions, they are likely to experience verbal, physical and stereotypical comments by white people. Even though Black frontline personnel may be prepared to deal with the racist attack, what takes away the level of confidence is when managers and supervisors override their decision and ultimately give permission for the public to treat them unfairly. The next section speaks to connection and how participants were supported when they arrived in Canada.

5.10 Connection

Caribbean families are connected based on a history of colonization, indentureship and different family relationships (Thakur, 2021). The realities of adaptation in a new country may contribute to tension. Within the Jamaican community early teachings of "each one helps the other" is part of the values of the community and the church to which many of the participants are affiliated. Connecting and network can be difficult for the newcomer. While therapy or counselling is positioned as the central place for support in the Canadian society, it tends to not be a resource that is accessed by members of the Jamaican community. This form of support is viewed as a source of shame and discomfort in some of the immigrant communities (Fernando,

2004). Sharing problems with strangers is akin to "washing dirty linen in public," and therefore many of the participants shared how they developed connections that helped them to deal with isolation and support through navigating a system that was fraught with racist experiences where at time they felt like giving up. Some expressed their gratitude to members of the community where were it not for their emotional and social interventions they would not have been where they are in society. Myrtle, a stay-at-home mother, who shared that she was on parental leave with a new baby expressed the following:

> …. *sigh*...It was so isolating during my years in school. Even to this day….Ok…well my community is not really much…I really stay to myself…just me and my husband…my mom and my kids and church…not really…I attend but you know…I have a good friend of mine…we have been friends since I have been in Canada…I just don't feel that it is OK to share my personal information…we don't do that in our culture…and that's about it. [Myrtle, Interview, March 11, 2020]

Similar to Myrtle's experience Brenda explained that she was brought up as an only child and didn't have many friends. She shared the following:

> I don't think there is many people…there is one person that I …I would reach out to but he passed away last year. He's been here for me since the day I came to Canada…well not since the day but within months and he passed away … but no it's just my mom. [Brenda, Interview 07/11/2019]

Elaine, another participant, spoke about the racism that she experienced in the school system and how this created a barrier against all forms of connection. She shared that she was lucky enough to have a teacher who helped her during some very challenging times.

> I was called every name in the book…especially by this one white girl and ostracized from groups. Some teachers even made me feel that I was the "big dunce" in the class. I cannot remember his name, but he was my grade nine English teacher …and he was an amazing man and he more or less took me under his wings and he …aahm… saw a potential in me and he fostered that potential. [Elaine, Interview, 08/20/2019]

While others as Elaine above also found support outside the home, Shernett found support within the school environment. Shernett shared that even though she got into some trouble, there were people who understood and believed in her. She insisted that these connections helped, especially as she saw injustice happening around her and spoke up about it. She spoke highly of the church as a source of help while she settled into Canada:

> I had a teacher, not a teacher, but a principal who aah… despite me getting in a little bit of trouble believed in me…she really, Joan Billings (pseudonym), she really believed in me and she understood that aahm the trouble I was getting in wasn't that I was being in fights and stuff like that but if I saw injustice I raised up…Church is big …laughs…probably for most immigrant families our faith is big. I am very involved in our church community …it's a diverse community but it's a very close knit community and so our church has people from India...it's got indigenous people that's there…the majority of it …it's got Caucasian Canadians aahm but the majority of it is Caribbean …African so I have a pretty strong social support system … God forbid that I am somewhere and my kids get hurt …I can call them and they will drop whatever and go pick them up at school…I have a small close knit friends that we are just there for each other. [Shernett, Interview, 10/2/2019]

The stories shared by the participants indicated how forging connections can be difficult. Stories indicated that in addition to settling into a new country, they also grappled with racism and at times were not able to figure out the correct responses on their own. Had it not been for individuals outside of their family settings, they may have ended up in trouble. This information is significant, and it speaks to the lack of cultural sensitivity where perhaps they could not reach out for help as teachers and others could not relate to their cultural and racial practices. The question of how successful they have been in navigating the Canadian society was asked of the participants. The responses are discussed below.

5.11 Success in Canada "*If you want good, your nose have to run"*

The stories shared by the participants were not all negative. Although participants experienced struggles with various systems, they evidently kept focused on their goals and achievements. There is a saying in Jamaica that *"if you want good, your nose have to run"* which means that life is fraught with struggles and hardships, but these are necessary hurdles to cross in order to be successful. This saying reflected the coping skills of the participants who explained that they measured the value of their successes based on the extent or severity of the accompanying challenges that they experienced in Canada. Participants explained that they recognised that they had to work twice as hard as White Canadians to achieve the success for which they strived, and that they were not willing to give up on the struggles and their need for survival. Interestingly, most of the participants were emphatic when stating that they observed the struggles of their parents, and they vowed not to go through the same experiences. Shernett shared that her mother instilled the idea of gaining an education and not to depend on the government. Her mother did not believe in owing money or using the welfare system to get ahead in life. She defined success based on some of the beliefs provided by her own mother. This learning has contributed to her providing for her children so that they can get ahead in life:

> I mean I have managed to get a decent education … but I think the biggest deal …my biggest accomplishment …(claps her hands)…is my kids …my biggest accomplishment are my kids and when I am dead and gone the only legacy that I look for is for my kids to say "she was a good mom," that's my legacy…right, my kids are in a French school cause I want them to be bi-lingual …I think it is an advantage so they are in a French school. I contribute to the society through voluntary work…I am a resource to people where they can go to for information ….leading this organisation …it's a mainstream organisation. [Shernett, Interview, 02/10/2019]

Celeste, who was another participant, had a similar story to Shernett's. Celeste remembers how her mother and aunt raised her to be independent. She informed that she is trying to do the same for her children.

> definitely obtaining a good job…career that I feel passionate about…it's a major success for me…I love what I do…aahm…I really enjoy my work and my husband…like having a really supportive husband. I am in school too and am taking Real Estate and Development at the university and I am just always teaching myself so that I can teach my kids having a home that we purchased…not renting a bunch of places. My kids now they are comfortable enough to just relax. [Celeste, Interview, 02/14/2020]

Like Celeste, others expressed the view that education would open doors for themselves and their children. Even though she experienced bullying and racism at school, Cassie determined that one of the ways that she was going to beat the system was to prove that despite the challenges she could be successful:

> I knew that I needed some form of education because I also liked eating and so my ….what is the quickest thing that I could do to get some sort of paper and get to working and each time …so I went and got a diploma in social work …I'm like …I want more …there was the thirst for more information and knowledge, then I got the BSW …I'm like I got into health care …and I'm like …I know more than this but I can't get anywhere because I don't have a piece of paper …and so I went and got the paper and …I'm like …I think I'm OK right now but …I'm ok in terms of an education component and I do …I continue to do my own seeking out of training. [Cassie Interview, 01/10/2020]

Elaine, also passionately explained that one way to beat the racist system is by becoming more educated. She posited that while money was important, gaining knowledge was just as important to survive in Canada:

> I love the fact that I am a mother …having my boys, my children, was the best thing ...my best job ever…I love the fact that they went to …cause education is part of the Canadian culture regardless where you come from it's part of that Canadian but those things about education and learning didn't happen because I came to Canada …they were inculcated prior to coming from Jamaica, they were imbedded in my psyche

> from Jamaica because the people in my family …you know…like I said…a family of teachers …right started with my great grandfather …my grandfather…my maternal grandfathers …father …school teacher form a one room school. Material things are nothing …there is money but you still have debt and so on …but at the end of the day it's not the money or material things …the things that are the intangibles …the love the care …the ability to help others back home. [Elaine, Interview,08/20/2019]

5.12 Recommendation from the participants

Immigration Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) creates the pathway for new immigrants to enter Canada. A consular service of the Canadian Embassy is in the capital city, Kingston, Jamaica. In addition to serving the citizens of Jamaica, staff at the location are responsible for handling procedures for anyone wishing to enter Canada temporarily or permanently. In the study, participants talked about the length of time it took to be reunited with their parents and questioned the immigration process that seemed to be fraught with documentation and paperwork that were at times confusing for their grandparents or care giver to figure out, or that they had to pay extra money to have a lawyer or a Justice of the Peace to help with the paperwork. Additionally, upon arriving in Canada, participants discussed how what was described as a seamless process and "accepting" environment in the brochures was not what was experienced. Instead, they found that there were many difficulties that included confusion about school, and other resources in the community.

One of the questions asked of the participants was whether they would recommend that as parents they would have their children join them in a step wise fashion and if they think that this process is recommended.

Some participants shared that they would not want to limit anyone's opportunity, while at the same time acknowledging that the reunification process should be seamless. One participant

even wondered if the Immigration and Refugee Board knew what Jamaican families go through to get their children reunited with them in Canada:

> I sometimes think that the government and the refugee board don't understand that it's children that they are dealing with and children's development and in order for them to become contributing members of our society they have to have a go even if you don't care about these kids and you don't care about these families it is in their best interest in terms of the use of expensive services …court services…health services, legal services to have this reunification happen quickly …quickly and seamlessly and without a lot of money ….it is very expensive to reunify a family …very expensive …I am passionate about that obviously. [Shernett, Interview, 10/02/2019]

Another participant had similar views to that of Shernett and questioned why the process of reunification took so long. She went on to state that the IRCC has a responsibility to explain that process to the community. This she felt would alleviate some of the stress and concerns associated with immigration processes.

> we need to fix our immigration system that people are coming as a family…and if there is a …if there needs to be the parents going ahead to set up shop it shouldn't be years and years before reunification does occur …it should be a matter of months for that to happen …I think people need to …if that's it...there needs to be some education about what the impact if that is …these are relative strangers while they might have a DNA that ties them they do not have the relationship that others who were not separated have and so we need to have an appreciation that they are relative strangers trying to navigate relationships with each other and relationships with their existence. [Cassie, Interview, 01/10/2020]

As indicated in the study, reunification can contribute to tension and misunderstanding because of the length of time that it takes. Shyra felt that had she been in Canada, the development of the relationship between her father would have been easier:

> I would say it might be a good idea to not only allow family members to stay together but to shorten the time …there are times when a mom will come here and it takes years for the kids to end up here…the kids get grown by somebody else and they come here and there are problems because the kids are grown by somebody else so

> they have been taught other values that might not line up with mom's values or Dad's values. [Myrtle, Interview, 03/11/2020]

Others lamented the lack of information and resources for their parents. Brenda stated that all she knew was that her mother was working several jobs and had no idea about the resources that were available in the community that she could access. She went on to state that people feel that immigrants come to Canada and depend on the welfare system whereas her mother did not even know about the resources. Had she known, she possibility would not have worked as hard as she did at the detriment of establishing a relationship with her. She shared the following:

> The Jamaican High Commission…they just need to inform aahm people who want to come to foreign countries…let them know that they need to ..to do their research, educate them before they come…you know…aahm people are coming ..like I said people are coming here to better themselves but Canada is not always a bed of rose. They come and they lean on working on social services…you know there are resources out there that my mom didn't know about like she was not educated enough to know about or people did not inform her about it …so they need to reach out to organisation and resources and take advantage of it aahm some people come and they don't go back to school, they need to really… whether it's grants, students loans, whatever they need to do that educate themselves. The lack of information and needing to know more about their environment at the time of. [Brenda, 07/11/2019]

Brenda made the point that she recognised that there would be resettlement challenges, and had enquired about the social workers who could help in resettlement. She explained that although she made Canada home, in the initial years after migrating to Canada she felt that it would have been better to stay with her grandparents in Jamaica, instead of moving into a home where there was no emotional connection, and which contributed to her getting in conflict with the law. Veronica, another participant pointed out that while her father was able to provide for her and give her the things that she needed, she would trade what she got for some attention:

> Hell no…no…it is destructive …yes you are providing for your kids' physical needs but emotional needs and well-being is not there and that is the reason why a lot of

> people have attachment…brokenness… a void…searching for something "it's about pickney you have clothes food in your belly so you alright…there is money in your pocket"…no but what about their emotional wellbeing…I have cousins that have the same thing…I am not talking about it's based in just me…I am talking about that's based on other family. [Veronica March 11, 2019]

Veronica went on to make the point that she would rather have the close emotional connection, instead of having a parent provide for her by purchasing items. It might be one of the ways that her father made up for lost time during their separation. It is likely that, like many other Jamaican parents who found themselves in similar situations, he did not know how else to try and connect with Veronica. In responding to the question on recommendations about the process of reunification, most of the participants acknowledged that they would support others coming to Canada. However, they articulated that the federal government needs to provide information about the impact of separation between parents and children. They also felt that embassies may not be aware of the phenomenon of reunification or even have a cultural understanding of the country and communities that they serve. This lack of understanding by the government could be a contributing factor to the lengthy process and wait to be reunited with parents.

Summary:

In this chapter, participants shared stories that illustrated their realities as Jamaican Canadians who migrated to Canada as children. Their stories have contributed to substantive findings in this study. Participants -- Aaron, Bevan, Brenda, Belinda, Cassie, Celeste, Elaine, Kelisha, Veronica, Myrtle, Shernett, Shyra, and Steve -- provided information on their lived experiences with arrival and reunification with their parent or parents in Canada. The details of their experiences ranged from; the myth and illusion that Canada has it all, the unwelcome guest: Canada the land of calculated kindness, the thin line between love and hate, tension and

ambiguities in Black homes, cultural differences and integration, interaction with social services, isolation racism, connection and success in Canada. The stories of the participants also provided a window into their lives, where although they experienced the joys of reunification, there were the complexities of navigating societal issues such as, stereotypes, racist encounters, and assumptions about them. Stories from the participants illustrated how power and dominance are sustained in the Canadian society, yet they can and have navigated the various social systems, achieved successes, and contributed to the community and society. Participants were forthcoming in sharing their ideas about meaningful changes to the immigration system. Participants also provided recommendations for policy makers, front line practitioners, educators, social workers, and government officials with the hopes that changes will be made for the next generation experiencing a similar process of reunification. In Chapter Five, the stories of the participants were shared in quotes. Chapter Six provides an interpretation of the findings of the research.

CHAPTER SIX: INTERPRETATION

The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children

Earlier in Chapter Five, the participants shared detailed information about their experiences as new immigrants and reuniting with their parents in Canada. Building on the findings in Chapter Five, Chapter Six will discuss and interpret the stories of participants in relation to overarching research questions: *What are the experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents?* The question is further broken down into: *How do Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society? What are the potential barriers (if any) that posed challenges to the resettlement and integration experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children? What are the success stories (if any) about the integration and settlement experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?* In discussing the stories of the participants, this chapter will provide an understanding of their experience as adults who migrated to Canada as children and its significance to the field of social work, and immigration and social policies. The findings and discussions follow the order of the overarching questions asked in Chapter five

The Real Story: What is the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents?

New Terrain

The data revealed that for many participants, their arrival in Canada was a revelation as they quickly identified the complexities as newcomers, and that their skin colour was a factor of non-acceptance in their early experiences in Canada. Prior research indicate that Blacks were unwanted in Canada and supports the racist practice towards Black people in Canada (African

Canadian Legal Clinic, 2022; Dei, 2014; Richmond, 1993). For many participants, the reality of their arrival "sunk in" when they met immigration officers that did not look like them, and neither did most of the other travellers, nor their neighbours. What was evident from the data is that the participants were not provided with information about the realities of Canada as their new home. As some of the participants recounted, it wasn't until they were at the airport in Jamaica that they realised that they were going to Canada. Culturally, information about immigration is kept from children because of fear that the immigration process might not be successful and the last thing that parents would want to do, is to disappoint a child. All these matters are taken into consideration especially since families know about the uncertainties associated with "going to a foreign country."

The study findings suggest that the pervasive myths and stereotypes about Black people continue in contemporary Canada. Based on the evidence from the study, it showed that participants learned surprising information about themselves as "foreigners," newcomers, and Black people in their social interaction in Canada. Additionally, participants discovered that Jamaican was like a "tag of negativity," where they felt that that was the only identity that they had as a person because of some of the myths about Jamaicans. The practice of "othering," where immigrants, on basis of the fact that they are immigrants, are identified as a problem has been a historical phenomenon in Canada. The media tends to proliferate ideas based on its own negative assumptions about new immigrants (Baffoe, 2012). The findings also revealed that participants found themselves having to correct some of the assumptions associated with criminality, and that at times conversations became a source of tension.

One of the revealing factors about the study was the necessity for the participants to figure out some of the social systems and infrastructures on their own. For example, while some were

taken to school by their parents, others were given the number for the bus stop during the initial few weeks of arrival and were forced to quickly become familiar with the process so that they could commute independently in their new communities. Veronica, one of the more vocal participants, explained that she was left to figure out her environment on her own such as getting on the bus and riding to the end of the city without her parents' knowledge. She laughed at the memory as she recognised the danger of her action. The research findings revealed the initial relationship between the participants and their parents upon reunification. The data suggests that as children, participants were excited about reuniting with their parents in Canada and expressed that there was a profound sense of joy, and happiness to see "Mommy and Daddy" outside of the planned trips to Jamaica for a wedding, funeral or other family emergencies. This data revealed that arrival and reunification with parents in Canada was not only the beginning of the parent/child relationship, but also the breaking of the relationship between child and grandparents who were left behind in Jamaica.

Isolation

My grandmother used to talk about the feelings of loneliness and isolation that were part of her experience living in London, England during the 1960s and 1970s. She shared that she lived for the dates when she would go to Caribbean dances and social events so that she could connect and make friends with people from the Caribbean/ Jamaican community. I use this introduction to bolster the findings in the research which forms part of my social location in Chapter One which helped me to begin to understand the experiences of the participants. If this was my grandmother's experience as an adult, then I ask, what was the experience for a child of twelve who was new to Canada? (11-12 was the average age of arrival for the research participants.) The findings in the study suggest that participants were given the impression that they would

make friends easily, and that when this did not happen, there was a profound sense of disappointment. This information surfaced in the study where parents of the participants felt that; *"dem young, dem will mek friend,*" (meaning they are young and will make friends). For instance, the findings revealed that participants were often left on their own, and shouldered responsibilities being given keys for access to their homes, being required to prepare family meals, and being expected to call their parents upon arrival home from school or other activities. In comparison, many of the Jamaican homes in the Caribbean are places where grandmothers and other family members tend to be present to provide solace, and the opportunity for the participants to have the physical and emotional connection they need. The research revealed that there were feelings of anger after migrating to Canada because there was no way of building a relationship with their parent. In most instances, participants felt like outsiders. These outsider feelings emerged when participants explained their arrival to Canada to be reunited with their parents and in some cases finding a blended family about which they had no information. The construction of family changes to include new members is recognised as an impact of the migration patterns, and stressors associated with reunification in Caribbean families (Lashley, 2000). In some cases, participants found that they had new stepparents and stepsiblings. Therefore, it would be good to find out how this new family impacted the participants since they had no knowledge of these changes.

There is the perception by parents and some members in the Jamaican community that children are better off being reunited with their parents in Canada for economic reasons, a thought that is seemingly supported by material possessions by migrant parents (Thompson & Bauer, 2005; Crawford-Brown, 1999). This idea stems from the belief that providing participants with items such as phones and new clothes was enough to make up for parental absence.

Participants reportedly felt disconnected, and experienced isolation that was not only limited to home life, but also extended to school and social interaction. Feelings of isolation extended to the neighborhood of the participants where they did not know their neighbours. In contrast, while living in Jamaica, participants knew their friends and neighbours alike would drop in to say hello, share a meal, or play together. As one of the participants shared, they missed the vast open spaces where they could pick fruits and walk the land which was fun. Research on the reintegration of families separated by migration suggests that neither parent nor child is afforded the time to learn about each other, as parents are busy working two or more jobs, and/or working and going to school (Adams, 2000). Based on the study, it is evident that there was a lack of connection between the child and parents in the early stages of living in Canada.

One researcher designed a case study that examined the integration of immigrant families separated by migration; it recognised the role of institutional structures that contributed to the isolation (Adams, 2000). It was argued that a multifaceted response be designed to respond to the social needs of immigrants. The social structures were not designed for Caribbean, Jamaican or Black parents. Barriers such as job opportunities for the parent who arrived first contributed to them arranging and managing their lives accordingly (Hyman et al., 2011). This means that for parents to have their children reunited with them, this meant sacrifices of time associated with constantly working instead of spending time with their children who they desperately wanted to come to Canada. What the research finding highlights is that efforts need to be made to assist children in an unfriendly and unfamiliar terrain (Adams, 2000; James & Walker, 1991). However, one needs to be mindful of the limitation of parents especially when they themselves are having to navigate an environment associated with employment challenges and taking care of

a family. Participants noted that it was difficult to make meaningful connection in their new home.

How do Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society?

The data indicated that family members (grandparents, aunts and uncles or caregivers in Jamaica), felt that the participants would be better off with their parents in Canada. This idea was built on the beliefs and assumptions that the participants would be successful and have a better standard of living in Canada. However, most of the participants found that although they experienced excitement upon reunification with the receiving parent, there were some emotional disconnections. For instance, one of the participants shared that when he met his mother at the airport he felt as if it was a stranger whom he had met for the first time. This encounter contributed to challenges in the relationship with his mother in the initial stages of the reunification, where they hardly spoke with each other. Studies show that reunification with children after extended periods of absence may contribute to difficulties between the receiving parent and child in establishing their relationship (Carlson, 1998; Lashley, 2000; Levy & Orlans, 1998; Rutter, 2008). Participants initially had difficult experiences and challenges in developing emotional relationship with their receiving parent or parents, and participants' feelings ranged between anger, crying and experiences of unresolved emotional issues. The data also revealed that many of the participants longed to return to Jamaica as they missed their grandparents and caregivers. In some instances, participants contacted family members in Jamaica and the USA bemoaning the fact that they did not like living in Canada and wanted to return home to Jamaica. This information suggested that the relationship with their grandparents and other family

members with whom they had lived prior to their arrival in Canada was as a source of familiarity and comfort, as opposed to the new relationship with their parents.

Research on family systems in the Caribbean reveal that grandmothers, aunts and extended family members are part of the households where there are close kinship groups and communities (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001). This research also revealed that despite the complex and difficult beginnings of reunification most participants had resolved the tensions with their parents as they became adults.

The findings in the study also highlighted the timeline of participants' reunification with their parents. It was evident from the data that reunification took longer than expected, and that it was upon arrival of the participants to Canada that they began to recognise the reason for the delay in their departure from Jamaica. Participants were also able to grasp how the Canadian immigration system and process operated after settling in Canada. Research suggests that migration timelines are unpredictable even as the parent or parents migrate with a plan for reunification with their children, and that the time period for reunification could be extended beyond the initial expectation (Brown & Grinter, 2012; Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2001; Fletcher-Anthony, Smith, & Jokhan, 2018). The time for reunification is often delayed by the processing of the application and interviews (Brouwer, 2005; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005; Coates & Hayward, 2004; CPJ, 2005;). This research complements the historical information on Caribbean Migration in Chapter Two that speaks to the experience of Caribbean and specifically Jamaican Canadian migratory patterns in Canada. It helps to understand the difficulties and complexities associated with the immigration system in which children were caught in between the parents who would like to have their children reunited with them, and the

Canadian system that has historically prevented the reunification based on the policies that have been in place.

The research revealed the average age of children when they newly arrive in Canada is between eleven and twelve years. What could be the reason for this age of arrival? Using information that was shared as part of my social location in Chapter Two, I reflected on my aunt's experience that helped to make sense of the of arrival pattern supported with research. For instance, in the 1970's when my aunt would write to my mother (her sister), she would share information about how a child or children in the Jamaican community (Don Mills area, Toronto) were "taken away." Evidently, my aunt as well as other parents in the Jamaican Canadian communities learned the racial and conscious rules of engagement where Black and indigenous children were apprehended based on the inequalities and racist practices by the child welfare system (Brownstein, 1995; Mohamud et al., 2021; Pon et al., 2011; Rollock, 2012; Talley & Rajack-Talley, 2018). It is amazing how families living in Jamaica became aware of the child welfare policies in Canada. Prior to the information and technology age (cell phones, WhatsApp, and texting) parents in Canada would write and share their experiences with child welfare. The present information age and systems of communication has contributed to instant messaging and information, and any action by the child welfare system in Canada instantly goes viral and any community member has immediate access to the details (Jamaica and Canada). This information then contributes to fear and anxiety for parents.

Most of the literature on transnational reunification among Caribbean families suggests that reunification occurs during adolescent years (Lashley, 2000; Lashley et al., 2014). Age determinization seems to be a factor that is embedded in the policies of child welfare supervision of children (Provincial and Territorial Child Protection Legislation and Policy, 2018). The age at

which a child reunites with the parents is an important factor in the success of the reunion although it does not seem to be as crucial as the length of time apart (Smith et al., 2004; Lu et al., 2020). What the study has revealed is that for many parents of the participants, there was the priority to settle in Canada first and then send for their children at an age when they could be left unsupervised in their home. Child welfare jurisdiction across the 13 Canadian provinces and territories requires that parents always provide for the supervision of their children, and that they are responsible for their child/children's safety (Provincial and Territorial Child Protection Legislation and Policy, 2018). This document outlines legislation and policies of each province in the context of child protection. The document includes, for example, protocols, grounds for intervention and culture, Indigenous Heritage and Best Interests. The protocol helps to provide an understanding of the protection policy. According to the Child, Youth and Family Enhancement Act of Alberta (2021) it is advised that children under 12 years should not be left at home alone and falls under provincial jurisdiction.

Many of the parents involved in reunification were employed in low-income jobs which meant that they did not have the financial resources to pay for childcare. In a study on the cost of childcare, the Toronto Neighbourhood Information Post indicated that immigrants are required to show proof of status and residency to access childcare subsidy (Alberta Child Care Subsidy, 2022; NIP, 2005). At the same time, while the information about the subsidy was on the website, many parents may not have had access to the online resources or knew where to go to access the subsidy. In another case, the cost of childcare support was so costly and prohibitive that it revealed that parents in the Chinese community were forced to send their children back to China to live with grandparents (NIP, 2005). The study revealed that the economic realities became evident to the participants and helped to provide an understanding of why they found themselves

on their own while their parents were working. The research revealed the realities of the parents who in their quest to be reunited with their children were caught between the policies, rules and regulations of Canada and could not send for their children earlier.

Child welfare and immigration policies and legislation also seemed to play a strong role in the decision and years that it took for reunification between the participants and parents. The fact that parents must make these decisions has serious ramifications. As migrants' parents are expected to follow the rules recognized by governing authorities and according to the values and established procedures, this means that they provide care of their children according to the Canadian standards (Nyers, 2015). These expectations may contribute to stress and worry where parents feel threatened and exist in a culture of fear. This implies that the way they are expected to live in Canada is different from how they are accustomed to living in Jamaica.

There is a second option for migration- the business Immigration Program, through which parents might gain access to Canada. In addition to allowing immigrants to start their own businesses immediately (at least on paper), this program offers the added advantage of allowing parents to migrate with their entire family, all at the same time. The issue here is that most Jamaicans choose to migrate to Canada for an opportunity to improve their financial realities and cannot afford the Canadian $75,000 fees (Immigration and Refugees and Citizenship Canada, (IRRC, 2019) to prove they are capable of starting their own businesses attached to this program.

The research findings suggest that children reuniting with parents after migration present complex issues. These issues range from government institutional policies to continuous changes in relationships that have complex implications on families. Information regarding these complexities is not normally explained to children migrating to Canada as parents tend to treat the information as "hush hush" or adult information which they will not share with their children.

One reason for this is that in Jamaican culture parents see their role as child protector, and they have the obligation to shield their children from unnecessary details so that they can focus on childhood activities.

The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children Barriers to success

Participants in the study revealed that they were subjected to systemic discrimination. A form of racism that is pervasively embedded in system laws, written or unwritten polices, entrenched practices and beliefs that condone and perpetuate widespread treatment and oppression of people of colour (African Canadian Legal Clinic 2002; Braveman et al., 2022; James et al., 2010; Lorde, 1997), these studies help to put into context some of the everyday experiences of racism that the participants encountered in Canada. Additionally, the theoretical and historical context discussed in Chapter three is relevant as it contributes to a greater understanding on the embedded racist treatment that the participants had to endure.

Where is the first place that parents would send their children upon arrival and settlement in Canada? The answer to this question is school. The study revealed that school was the first place of racist encounters and where participants began to see the conflicting realities of what "Welcome to Canada" truly meant. Consistent with the findings in Chapter Five, school was intended for the participants to learn about the sciences, literature, mathematics, and Canada. In addition to these, participants learned about racism from both staff and students, and therefore retreated into themselves because of the stresses and feelings of extreme encounters caused. As one of the participants explained, "I felt like I had dummy sign on my head because the teacher would single me out and tell everyone the grade from my exam… it was as if I did not know anything." It was evident from the study that some educational institutions reminded participants

about their Blackness in a negative way. At the same time, despite the challenges of being singled out based on their race, participants in the study realised that it was inescapable to attend school, as not only was it required by Canadian law, but it was also the "law of their parents." Caribbean, and specifically Jamaican parents, place high value on, and extol the virtue of, having an education on their children. There is a saying in the Jamaican community; "parents will spend their last penny so that their *pikaniny* get an education." The term "pikaniny" is used to refer to a small child in the Caribbean culture. Parents of the participants in this study did not have the same educational opportunities as their children and therefore insisted that they received education and training. It is culturally known in the Jamaican community that parents take pride and "bragging rights" about their children's academic and social success.

Approximately eleven of the thirteen participants in the study attended colleges and universities, and three attended skills training such as hair dressing, millwork, and construction. What was revealing about the study was how the participants were perceived and held back educationally, and how learning institutions measured the education of immigrants against western standards. The findings were complemented by scholars and researchers who recognized that the practice of devaluing the education of new immigrants was a past and ongoing practice in the education system in Canada (Codjoe, 2001; Dei, 1993; Hampton, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2009; Henry et al., 2006; Lee & Rice, 2007; Maynard, 2022). The research highlighted the pervasive stereotype and beliefs that Black people are not educated in comparison to their white colleagues in Canada. This ideology resulted in the widespread practice of educational practitioners placing newly arrived Black children a year behind their grade levels and placing them in special classes designed for children with cognitive issues without first testing their abilities. This ideology begs the question of who would place students a year in school and place

a student with others who experience cognitive abilities without testing them? The findings support the criticism that racial bias pervades the education system and in particular the traditional models of assessment which suggests that Black students were incapable of learning and below the academic standard of their White classmates (Henry, 2017). The study also reveals the invalidation of participants' prior education, accent discrimination by teachers and classmates, and the assumption by educators that they did not understand the English language. Of note, some participants' teachers expressed surprise about participants' ability to "speak English so well" even though they were coming from a country that is a member of the Commonwealth, where English is their first language. Disparaging comments by people of dominant cultures about Jamaican students' mastery of the English Language Comments is viewed as a lack of awareness, and a display of microaggression (Sue et al., 2007). What this action indicates is that there is still the ongoing perception that students or newcomers are not competent educationally, and that the education system has the right to make the decisions about class placement for newcomers without knowledge, or cultural awareness.

Historically, many enslaved African Americans knew firsthand the horrors of learning to read as their forefingers would be cut off (Span & Anderson, 2005). Being literate was not accepted. It was one of the ways in which where slave masters ensured that slavery was perpetuated, as there was the feeling that learning would embolden slaves to seek freedom and empowerment.

Author Naomi Finley, in her fictional book---A Slave of the Shadows (2018), depicted true to life experience of slaves on the plantation in South Carolina. In the book, Willow Hendricks, who was the daughter of the plantation owner, offered to teach her slave Mary-Grace to read. Mary-Grace reacted with shock and fear because she knew from the code of practice by slave

owners, that learning to read was forbidden, and that as a slave she could be put to death for knowing "her letters or numbers." Other academics and researchers helped to shed light on the practice of learning institution, which are tasked with practicing and promulgating inclusion, yet on the other hand, they were sources and sites of oppression where Black students are made to feel left out (Coard, 1971; Dei, 2003; Dei et al., 2016; James & Brathwaite, 1996;). What this practice demonstrates is the maintaining of barriers to ensure that Black students do not get ahead in learning institutions, and at the same time they are blamed for not being progressive.

While the study revealed many negative reunification experiences of the participants, there were also positive outcomes. Participants noted specific individuals who took steps to ensure that their education was on the right track. As one of the participants shared; "thank goodness for this teacher who had me on her radar." Shernett, a participant in the study, referred to one of her teachers who took her out of a class designated for students with physical and mental challenges and insisted on placing her in a class that was appropriate for her level of education. This action suggests that although there were challenges associated with barriers to education, there were teachers who challenged the system by doing the right thing in ensuring the participant's appropriate education.

The findings revealed the predominance of bias, and racism, and the unwillingness of educators to explore and examine the skills and backgrounds of the participants. Participants detailed that whenever they made a complaint about racism, it was discredited and dismissed, and they were required to prove that the incident happened. Being asked to prove racism was a common practice even though there were individuals who saw the racist act themselves. The data suggests that participants were made to feel as if they were creating problems or accused of using the "race card" whenever they shared stories of racism. Some students withdrew from school

activities. This denial of racism is predominant even though researchers have confirmed the covert and overt forms of racist practice (Adjei, 2018, 2013; Adjei & Gill, 2013; Kobayashi & Johnson, 2007; Pon, 2009; Pon & Philips, 2011). This study on race and racism in Canada revealed that the participants' parents encouraged them to ignore the taunts and to do the best in their schoolwork. This deferral to schoolwork could be based on the work demands of parents as well that they may not have fully understood the inner workings of the education system and the impact of racism on the children.

The research indicated that in some cases it was by luck that the participants found individuals to support them, which was a relief given the intensity of racism. The lack of support contributed to some of the participants taking matters into their hands by getting into a physical altercation with students who used racist taunts and physical attacks by other students. The study revealed that both male and female participants were forced to "take matters in their own hands" as a form of self defence when teachers and administrators did not take actions even though they were aware of what was happening.

Educational institution failed to recognise the emotional pain that the participants experienced because of the racist practices. Several of the participants recounted horrific stories that provide examples of blatant racism in the school that were witnessed by teachers, the principal and students. One participant pointedly asked in the data; "at what point does a child accept being spat on, have a classmate go to the bathroom, does his business," and place the paper on their desk while the teacher smirks, or accept name calling and being physically beaten?" Another described a violent fight where, in defencing herself, she beat the male student and the only comment by the principal was that she took care of the "matter." What the data revealed is that there seems to be the perception that individuals who experience racism should

be the ones to take care of the situation themselves. These responses to Black students' presence in the education system seem reflective of some of the dynamics of slavery and colonialist practices. The stories of the participants are reflective of the hegemonic practices entrenched in the society, where sadly, youths at the very beginning of their formative years suffer the harsh realties of racism daily. This lack of awareness about racial trauma by those in management can take its toll on young lives.

Everyday Racism

The findings indicate that in addition to the challenges in the education system, everyday racism was part of the process of reunification with the participants' parents. Everyday racism is defined as the recurring debilitating and seemingly small injustices that a person comes to expect (Essed, 1991; Husbands et al., 2022). The practice of everyday racism is described as mindless, unconscious, and powerful since it conveys disregard and contempt (Cudjoe, 2001; Lee, 2000; O'Brien, 1998). It was clear from the data that the scourge of racism was a part of the continued everyday experience for the participants within social encounters.

Data collection is a factor of research. To support this research, it was just as important to observe the body language and expression of participants when they shared their stories (Kanuha, 2000; Trowell & Miles, 2004). In recounting the response to the questions in the research, participants also revealed through their body the raw emotions through prolonged silence, sighs, changes in seating positions, eyes downcast, slumped shoulders, tears, animated and passionate responses to the question, and most of all, anger at the level of racism that they encountered upon arrival to Canada. This observation suggests that racism had impacted them in ways beyond words that could describe their feelings and suggested that participants were still dealing with the pain of racial trauma.

The study revealed that the men tended to be targeted repeatedly by the police when out in public and social spaces. Researchers have contributed extensive body of work to support the experience by males in this study (Cole, 2022; Worthley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011; Meng, 2017; Waldron, 2021; Mullings, et al., 2016). As one of the participants in the study revealed, when stopped he was able to repeat the questions in unison with the police -- "where you are going …where do you live…why you out here, what you are stealing?" The research revealed that as a new immigrant to Canada, there was shock when they were first stopped by the police. The actions by the police contributed to a fear of venturing out into public spaces. The findings revealed that males in the participants began to have a better understanding as to the reasons why their father gave them "the talk" when they arrived in Canada and how they found themselves giving the same talk to their sons. Participants felt that they were studied, meaning that they were under constant surveillance, blamed for ongoing social problems, and were either judged more on their looks, or stereotyped for being criminals and not being intelligent. One participant shared that when she provided written reports for her director she was constantly asked if she wrote the report because it was felt that she did not have the competence to write at the level required in the company. Overall, participants felt as if they were constantly watched and reminded of the "violence of low expectations" through organizational surveillance and constant critique of their work.

The term pathology is conceptualized in a medical model perspective and disregards the wider cultural and social factors with the social system (Beresford, 2000). Pathology belongs to the modernist and psychodynamic approach and is rooted in the enlightenment era that is grounded in faith (Johnson, 2000). Pathology in this context also implies that racialized groups, in particular, Blacks, Muslims, and Aboriginals, are encoded with genetic inferiority to the extent

that they are viewed by White Canadians as representing a homogenous social group in which degeneracy, drugs, criminality, violence, and immorality are part of their normative history, culture and identity (Adjei, 2013). Paul Gilroy (1987) made similar observations about the perception of Black communities in Britain where "mugging, robbery, drug charges" (are) understood to be the material expression of black culture which is defined as a cycle in which the negative effects of black matriarchy and family pathology wrought destructive changes in the inner city by internally breeding deviancy, deprivation, and discrimination. These discriminatory acts support the notion and pervasiveness of anti-Black stereotyping and the fact that African Canadians consistently are targets of racism in Canadian society (Cole, 2020). Additionally, Elliston (1985) details the concept of parenting and how the process of sequence migration is transforming the family including the separation of children from their nuclear and extended families. It would also seem to be that the institution and understanding of family is still entrenched in the westernized model of mother, father and siblings and does not take into consideration extended family and community support as identified in Chapter Five of the thesis where participants shared their stories of coping in Canada.

Responding to the theme of pathology, Singh (1992) describes this practice as "blaming the victim" and essentially, the use of power to remove the issue from the agenda so that there is no recognition of the problem. Consequently, the perceived degeneracy associated with such bodies - Blacks, Muslims, and Aboriginal people – informs draconian state policies that ensure that these bodies are continually under the gaze of racist law enforcers and decision makers who must necessarily demonstrate, through individual and institutional practices, a commitment to keeping those bodies from "harming' the rest of Canada (Maynard, 2017; Mullings et al., 2017). Instead, their personal and economic experiences are patronized, weaponized, questioned, and

describes the historical absence of parents as a lack of active participation in development (Foner & Dreby, 2011). Further to this lack of active participation of the participants, psychologist Jack Flasher (1978) explains that there is the belief that children are born inferior, and that this belief contributes to rejecting and excluding a child's experience. In research, there is a paternalistic and oppressive practice in working with children where juvenile ageism exists (Burman, 2008; LeFrancois, 2013; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). These practices support the traditional saying "a child must be seen and not heard" and extend to the practice of adultism which extends a cultural practice that denies historical and situational experiences (Lefrancois, 2013). The researchers suggest that there needs to be a social, economic, and political context as their experience goes well beyond the household and family (Foner & Dreby, 2011). Overall, the study demonstrates that participants were exhausted from the "fight" of not being heard, to their present existence as professionals, where their stories tend to be told from a deficit and not how they have contributed to the development of the Canadian society.

While the Canadian government and society have made some gains in implementing settlement and integration policies, based on my professional experience supported with theory, more needs to be done regarding the training of social workers, educators, psychologists, and medical teams to ask questions and to appropriately respond to emerging issues specific to immigration and settlement. Immigration is a broad term with complex issues associated with the process, and it does not go far enough to start discussing how immigrants and specifically Jamaican Canadians came to Canada as children. Overall, the research has revealed the unmistakable and ongoing barriers associated with settlement and integration which are part of the participants' lived experience.

Coping… *"By and by when the morning comes."*

Findings in the study illustrated that participants were often questioned about their origins, which constantly reminded them that they were not Canadian born and were from somewhere else. As seen earlier in Chapter Five, which discussed the arrival and perception of the participants upon entering Canada, the study revealed that participants recognised immediately that they did not look like most of the people in Calgary. The discussion acknowledged that questions about their ethnicity and feeling "othered," and dealing with racist barriers in the Canadian society, contributed to participants developing various means of coping.

The research revealed that participants looked to their spouses, family, both in Canada and in Jamaica, new friendships, telephone calls to family in Jamaica, and most of all, the church, which became the bedrock of support. Participants looked to the various forms of support during times of hardship or when they were dealing with racism. Many of the participants viewed the church within a framework of support, an entity that they could rely on for sustenance through challenging and happy times. The research showed that many gravitated to the Black churches which, although limited in number were places that they felt welcomed. Church was described as a place of safety where participants felt a sense of belonging especially during the most challenging times of their lives. The findings also emphasized church as a support for their mental health and well-being and most participants have become permanent members. Black churches in African Canadian communities are historically known as one of the institutions for emotional and psychological support for members of the community (Este, 2007; Petropoulos, 2008). The historical information on spirituality revealed that the church not only contributed to members feeling better about themselves, but also contributed to them developing relationships with members of the community and forming strong and lasting bonds.

Several conceptual models have identified that racism may be a health risk, because of the cumulative exposure (Gallo & Mathhews, 2003). Undeniably, racism operates at multiple levels; at the institutional and personal levels, continued racism impacts both the health and wellbeing of Black Canadians and continues to be institutionalized through the concept of white privilege (Borrell et al., 2006; Bowen-Reid & Harrell, 2002; Krieger, 1999; Peters, 2004; Utsey et al., 2007). In another study, researchers, Varcoe, Brown, and Blanchet Garneau (2019) argue that racism is longstanding in the Canadian society and that health research should analyse the occurrence and effects of racial discrimination. Participants revealed that they navigated and tried to fit into a landscape that was predominantly white. As one of the participants stated: "I mean…it means being taken from your homeland coming to a new land to settle with the one you love, I thought I was going crazy." Many participants indicated that Canada felt like a new world to them, and at times questioned their own sanity. Prayers and the church became the answer for many of the participants.

People from the Caribbean tend to communicate through songs and proverbs to enhance their expressions. Historically enslaved people used language and music as a way of coping after forced relocation where their language was taken away from them, and the "master's" language became the way of speaking (Anderson & Cundall, 1910; Brathwaite, 1994; Tomlinson, 2017). For many of the participants, the research revealed that they coped by listening to music. The findings indicate that spiritual songs were powerful coping tools for participants in the study. One participant shared through laughter and tears in the interview, as she sang the well-known song; *"By and by when the morning comes…We will understand it better by and by,* which was written by Charles Albert Tindley who died at the age of 82 on July 26, 1933. As a freed slave he knew the experience of hardship, and his music has been adopted as an "anthem" of Black

struggles by many gospel and religious groups as it speaks of strife and hardships in societies. It is through famous pieces of music that one participant explained the connection to religion and church family and how she overcame the difficulties of reunification. The participant shared that it was for the Grace of God that she is alive. Her comments, and that of other participants explain the challenges that are indicative of the barriers encountered in the society. The findings highlighted that it was through "luck" that they were able to form alliances through their church communities, and involvement in sports. Participants believed that the idea of "luck" was based on having a close family member such as an aunt, grandmother, or family friend who provided emotional support. Some participants explained that while the church provided a sense of community, they turned away from the predominant White church because of racism.

Sports as a form of coping emerged in the study. This strategy was employed as a way of being integrated in the society in activities such as football, bike riding and basketball. Studies on school and community integration for newcomers to Canada highlighted it as a way of connection to others (Fletcher, 2015; James, 2011).

The research revealed in the story shared by one of the participants, how focus was placed on other Black leaders such as Andrew Young, American politician and civil rights leader, and Lincoln Alexander, Lieutenant Governor for Ontario and first Black Member of Parliament in the House of Commons. As the research suggests, it was an opportunity for participants to dream and idealized that one day they could also be in the position of the leaders. While there may have been other Black leaders within the Black community, they did not know of their existence as the information was not made public, a feature that participants bemoaned because people like them were not represented in schools or textbooks. The findings in the research revealed that others were fortunate to have parents who knew other parents with

children with whom they could play. Others were appreciative of the level of support that they received and were emotional (crying). The findings emphasized the importance of network, church, friends and family and that it was crucial to have the support which contributed to their resilience and success.

What are the success stories (if any) about the integration and settlement experiences of Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children?

Resilience and Success …. The Indomitable Spirit!

The findings of this study demonstrate that despite the challenges associated with arrival, settlement and integration, the racism encountered and experienced in the educational and social systems, being stopped by the police, and racial taunts and physical attacks, participants were able to persevere and succeed as professionals at various positions in the society. It is quite telling that the research illustrates the life of each participant who is employed in a professional practice despite the myths, beliefs, stereotypes, and assumptions about them and about their education, and the barriers encountered in the education system.

The data provided information on the skills of the participants who are now employed in professions and practice such as social services, managers, business owners, skilled artisans, homeowners, and directors. Participants provided detailed information based on their experience of what it means to be resilient and how to cope with challenges associated with everyday racism in this research. What does the research tell us about the lives of the participants? The research emphasized how participants defined their lives and success on their own terms with the help of support in their communities Participants emphasised that having children, starting a family, being granted Canadian citizenship, and having a good job are all part of their success. Support systems were vital for them as new immigrants who are susceptible to discrimination and isolation. While this research suggests that parents would encourage the participants to ignore the racism in the society, for some of the participants they saw education as a way out to deal with some of social exclusion in the society. Participants viewed using the education to challenge the ongoing biases in the society. In the case of the participants in the study, the data suggests that

there was a thirst for education because of parents who embedded the belief over the years that they needed to get "the piece of paper," which would position them to be successful in the Canadian society. Research on social support among immigrants and refugees suggests that there is a gap in the understanding of the needs of newcomers, needs which contribute to impediments to coping (Stewart et al., 2008). This lack of support could potentially contribute to a lack of confidence and low self esteem. In a report on discrimination and social exclusion it is suggested that youth are at risk of low self esteem (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012).

Culturally, Jamaicans have a history of adjusting to difficult situations and see themselves as survivors. One example of their attitudes of survival is how they dealt with the weather. Many spoke about their struggles adjusting to the sub-zero temperatures with mirth. While historically the weather has been used to punish the Jamaican Maroons (Locket, 1999), and the myth persists that Jamaicans are not able to handle the harsh weather, participants discussed how they have been able to deal with the prevailing weather conditions and joked about how Jamaica has competed in the Bobsleigh Winter Olympics of 1998 in Calgary. Their humor does not bely the seriousness of the challenge, however, it merely underscores another aspect of the survival instinct of Jamaicans which allowed them to laugh as they wrangled with the serious hardships or, in this case, the memories of serious hardships. They demonstrated the same humour as they reflected on the fact that as parents, they now must navigate the winter in response to their children participating in winter sports and games. I was reminded of my nephew who qualified for the 2014 Bobsleigh Sochi Winter Olympics, and in the process, he coped with the harsh winter weather in Calgary as part of his preparation. Such is the indomitable spirit of Jamaicans who tend to not let the adversity of challenges get in their way to success. The Jamaican phrase "no problem, man" is a common reaction in Jamaican culture

which means, do not worry, everything can be accomplished, and it also points to the Jamaican resilience and penchant for survival.

In the book, Walter Rodney Speaks, the making of an African Intellectual, he describes the Jamaicans in London, England as having a sense of combativeness as they took on racism, and that they would take on a whole railway station if necessary (Rodney, 1990). What Rodney may be expressing in his writing is that he provides a graphic image of the railway station to provide understanding of the level of racism within the British society during the 1970s-1990s. His words and description may be misunderstood as anger. However, his historical work resonates with the experience of the participants who have similar experiences in Canada.

How Participants View Reunification as an Ongoing Immigration Practice-"*beg you tell the government seh"(* a message to the Government of Canada)

Participants had a clear understanding about the process of reunification with their parents. Chapter Two of this research highlights the work of researcher Dr. Lucille Mair (1975), whose research sheds light on the struggles and defiance of slaves on plantations who were not afraid to resist and speak their truths. This "defiance" in this case speaks to the thoughts and feelings expressed in their messages to policy makers, requesting them to change the immigration system.

The findings in this study suggest that only two of the thirteen participants suggested that they would not reconsider the same system of migrating to Canada which is to be left in Jamaican with family and then reunite with parents six to ten years later. The data helps to contextualise the challenges that participants encountered, which left a negative feeling that they would not want another generation to experience reunification with their parents in a similar pattern. For the other eleven participants, the data provided information that suggests that they

had learned from their experiences and would strive to avoid some of the missteps that their parents made. What the participants are suggesting is that although they had the difficulties, they are in a position where they can provide advice and suggestions These missteps may be based on lack of information and communication that failed to include their participation in the decision-making process of migrating and integrating in the Canadian society. Second, participants were emphatic about their experience with the education system, and some went as far as to state, "I wouldn't wish the experience on my worst enemy," which was an indication of how hostile the experience was in the school and social system.

The research highlighted new information and reflection for the participants, where they have made it a point to be involved with their children in the Alberta school system. The findings emphasized that the education system, and especially the schools that they attended in their formative years, robbed them of the fun and excitement that they could have experienced. Instead, participants in the study were left with the responsibility of navigating a system fraught with negative assumptions by students, and teachers who should know better and ongoing racism. The findings highlight how through no fault of their own, parents of the participants had their own battles in navigating an environment that did not validate their education or their experiences and forced them to start at the bottom of the economic ladder instead of having the same opportunities as their white colleagues. Third, and as one of the participants stated *"beg you tell the government seh,*" meaning, please inform the government and policy makers, that it is important to provide training on diversity and cultural issues that dispels the myth and stereotype around immigrants dealing with separation and reunification. Institutions such as Border Services are purveyors of systems of oppression as well as intimidation. Participants insist that cultural training needs to be ongoing and sustainable rather than reactionary and

isolated. The findings illustrated that participants are passionate about their feelings and would welcome the opportunity to call on the Canadian Government to provide sustained training and orientation at embassies to foster better understanding about the reunification between parents and children.

The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) has come under criticism for its approach to processing the applications of people who would like to live in Canada. For example, it takes time for families to settle in Canada. Unfortunately, settlement and integration tend to be based on practice dominated by a Westernized approaches and traditions that does not take into consideration the associated stress and limited resources (e.g. employment and housing) available for new immigrants in Canada (Said, 2015; Stewart et al., 2014). In a longitudinal study and survey of immigrants to Canada, which followed a cohort of 2000 people for four years, and an extended survey that examined labour market and immigrants' earnings, participants described barriers such as language and credential recognition (Zhang & Banerjee, 2021; Stats Canada, 2011). What the study underscores is that intentional changes need to happen so that participants can experience a level of comfort in their reunification processes.

The study was conducted during 2019-2020, within the twenty first century where there has been an increase in access to technology such as cell phones and other forms of communication. This technology contributes to access of information. It means that the public as well as social and government agencies can access the information instantly and gain knowledge about Jamaican Canadians who as children reunited with their parents in Canada. This research will provide a comprehensive information about Black immigration history to Canada, and how the lack of acceptance of Black people have continued to challenges associated with racism in Canada. The research will hopefully contribute to participants, agencies and governments asking

the question, what has changed? It is hope that the policy makers and institutions will open the conversation, analyze the study and develop new ways to respond to past and present issues of race and power in Canada that can lead to changes associated with family reunification.

Summary

Earlier in my thesis, (Chapter 5). I spoke about the importance of centering the voices of the participants and to hearing their stories. I feel that there has been an over reliance on second hand information and stories, myths, and "untruths" without consultation with the participants who are experiencing the phenomenon of reunification. What the stories of the participants in the study have done is to challenge as well as enhance prior research about them. At the same time, there are gaps and areas that need be researched.

I reflected on the impact that reunification had on adults when they were children. For instance, migratory patterns and experiences where children were reunited with parents existed between African Countries (Ghana), Europe, and Southeast Asia (Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam). What the research on reunification in other countries illustrates, is that it is a global phenomenon that mirrors the experiences of the participants in this study (Dreby, 2015; González-Ferrer & Baizán Beauchemin, 2012; Hoang et al., 2015). This body of work speaks to the different streams of migration that are at the heart of the reunification process and practice, whereby parents chose to migrate to more developed countries to make a living for themselves, their children, and other family members.

The stories of the participants speak to the history and continued practice of racism in contemporary Canada. For example, participants highlighted isolation, racism, dismissal of education experience and background, and stereotyping of Black men as gang members (Hill-

Collins, 2012). The data validates the stories of the participants and begs the question, what has changed in the Canadian society? In a reported interview with James Baldwin, he lamented that "not much has changed in the 47 years of my life" (ABC 2020, 1979). This was his response to the question which referenced the narrative about Black people and racism in the USA. His comments are reflective of the 21st century where not much has changed regarding the stories told about Black people. I tend to agree with his beliefs, philosophy, and his anxieties, and worry that if the narrative about Black people is related as inferior, then the opportunity to ascribe to a position of power will continue to be challenging. I credit his advocacy work and literary skills as he has changed the perception of Black literature and academic writers. I owe some of my work to his identifying the historical struggles of Black people that has been overlooked or ignored in the diaspora. I acknowledge that through the voices of the participants in this study, that in some cases, participants expressed that they felt as if ninety percent of work associated with diversity and anti racism that has been completed has yielded ten percent results. This estimation meant that there is far more work to be done to change the ongoing racism in the Canadian society. Overall, despite some of the negative outcome of their experiences, most participants shared that they consider Canada home and that they are more emotionally and psychologically stronger.

The stories shared by the participants in this thesis suggest that in addition to the settlement and integration in Canada, there continues to be social and racist barriers associated with the process of reunification with parents. A major concern that garnered passionate discussion shared by the participants was the length of time that it took to be reunited with their parents in Canada. As indicated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the area of immigration is broad as well as complex, however, I would argue that part of any assessment should include the history

of how immigrants came to Canada and the impact it has had on their everyday life. The data from the research indicated that for the participants, their parents chose to immigrate based on the opportunity it presented, and the invitation by the Canadian Government to improve their economic situation. Instead, multiple barriers, including employment and education, fostered limitations to their success.

Counter-story telling as a theory is a useful tool for analysing and exposing and challenging the dominant stories about the participants (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Researchers have examined the role of stories in reproducing racial ideas and stereotypes and in perpetuating racism (Bell, 2003; Van Djik, 1984; Morales, 1998). These stories help to critically examine race and racism in our society and how they impact participants at the individual, and systemic levels. Now that the participants (e.g., Aaron, Brenda, or Celeste**)** have shared their stories, I plan to ensure that the information is told the way that it should through their lived experiences without altering their voices and their stories. Their stories are deliberately told to amplify and resist the power that has denied their voices, and that finally their voices are included in this research. The following chapter discusses the implication for social work education and practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study about the personal stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children provided a historical understanding of immigration, settlement and the journey of Black people who came to Canada. Moving beyond a model of settlement, social workers (case workers) are required to deal with attitudes that promote racism and to advocate for the elimination of discrimination (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2005). These principles provide for social workers and frontline workers to respond to the concerns of new immigrants to Canada. The stories of the participants help to question the changes related to reunification in the present decade as well as to examine stages and changes in Canadian History as it relates to immigration. Since social workers are involved in settlement and integration, an emerging question is, how are they responding to cases involving the impact on family reunification? Are social workers even aware of the historical and present-day practice of *step migration*, *sequence migration* and *children left behind* who and are reunited with their children six to ten years later because of both the bureaucratic immigration process steeped in racism? Based on the data identified, there is global information on the reunification of children and parents, but this is limited to the specific population under study.

Teaching and learning in social work appear to be individualistic, as well as characterized as case work with a focus on clinical practice versus community development (Salle, 2003; Hick, 2006). If social work is designed to help communities, for example, with the settlement and reunification of families, then concrete changes will have to made in the development and changes in the curriculum with an emphasis on community development that address the practice skills required in settlement and integration. One of the ways of engaging in discussion on the topic is to create a link between agencies, communities, and faculty in the settings to ease the

tension and address the conflict in practices (Healy, 2005; Preston et al., 2014). Social workers may not know about the phenomenon of family reunification. Creating an environment that is supportive to their learning (community and faculty) would contribute to discussions, awareness and practice of social workers who would begin to ask questions and respond effectively to the concerns surrounding the complexities of family reunification.

My thesis on, *Strangers in the New Homeland:* The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults Who Migrated to Canada as Children, seeks to answer questions about the participants' lived experiences when they reunited with their parents. I started the discussion by stating the reasons for my research interest, my personal location, and I provided my theoretical understanding, and the impact on my research. In research, this practice is referred to as reflexivity where I consider my epistemological assumptions. Epistemology is defined by Mason (2002) as a theory of knowledge which answers the question of who can be a knower and the scrutiny that beliefs must pass to be considered legitimate knowledge. In the thesis I spoke about some of my earlier experiences in social work education, my practice in other industries, being a Black woman, doctoral candidate, spouse, and aunt, and I feel that all these factors of my life have positioned me to contribute to this body of work. I have also contributed to the thesis through the creation of knowledge based on the narratives from the participants that has created understanding of marginalization, racism, and anti-oppression that will re-construct social work. This reconstruction will help to challenge the myth of Black inferiority and focuses on the great contributions made to the development of Canada and society by the participants.

Supporting my social location and knowledge production, Chapter One discussed the implication for social work education and practice especially for workers and practitioners who will elect to work in immigrant and refugee services, as well as work in other social services

where they will encounter Jamaican Canadians. As a social worker on the front line in different industries and higher education, these experiences supported by the research have provided me with some awareness about gaps in the educational and social system especially. As some of the participants indicated, they were never consulted for their opinions, or their voices heard about the challenges they experienced as newcomers to Canada. This lack of opinions and voices raises the question, are social workers comfortable asking about race, settlement, and immigration? If so, how have they asked about the participant's experience in settling and reunification with their parents? I am aware of some of the systemic and social challenges in the Calgary community and wider Canadian society, and how this impacts the role of social workers. For example, in research by Adjei & Minka (2018), the authors argue that Black parents raise their children to prepare them to survive the anti-Black racism environment in Canada. If students, and especially social work and other front-line workers, are not aware of this protective practice by Black parents, they may miss out on some of the realities of the participants in this study.

Implications

One of the challenges that has been at the forefront of many discussions with the participants is the lack of racialized and Indigenous scholars in higher education. What this absence of racialized scholars indicates is that the educational system does not reflect the reality of racialized individuals in the study. This lack of reflection and understanding was demonstrated when many of participants expressed surprise at the perception about their racial background by teachers and students alike and the demeaning comments that they had to deal with daily. In my thesis I used CRT, and, in the classroom, I offer conceptual tools for interrogating how race and racism have been institutionalized and are maintained. One of the tenets of CRT is that it explains how institutions are systematically organized (Bell, 1987; Solorzano & Delgado, 2001).

To me it means that in addition to this thesis there is need to teach differently. We can start with the history of social work, which is dominated by information that focuses on the history of the settlement movement and charity organization which originated in England (Jennissen & Lundy, 2011). This history made mention of Jane Adam's contribution to the activities of Civil Rights Activist, W. E. B. Dubois (Dubois, 1968, pp. 218, 260), while very little to no mention is made of other activists including Indigenous peoples who contributed to the early development of social work. This means that for students learning about social work history, their early introduction is based on Eurocentric and Western values. It is hoped that social work students can begin to critically interrogate and question the missing information related to racialized people, and what it means on their lives and practice in social work. As a matter of fact, I feel that all course material as a practice of integration should include topics of race and racism and not an "add on" or an option for discussion. For example, each Fall semester when I teach Social Work History, which is one of the courses required for the diploma and the degree in social work, I ask students to think about the historical information and background about social work, the authors of the books they use in their studies, who is included or not included in the text, and how are the stories told about the subjects in the books and journal articles. This activity is used as a foundational discussion because the history of social work is presented from a white Eurocentric perspective. The question for the students is, how do we interrupt hegemony? Historically, information about settlement in Canada favoured white settlers from Europe and focussed on individuals, families, community, and systems such as the church (Adams, 1910; Irving, Parsons, & Bellamy 1995).

For decades, Dr Wanda Thomas Bernard and other Black educators have challenged the educational system to bring change to the profession that is often fraught with racist practice. In

the book, Still Fighting for Change (2015), Dr. Thomas Bernard draws on the stories of Black social workers who continue to address racial and cultural diversity in social work education in the community. Other researchers have identified the learning gaps in higher education and posit that educators themselves engage in self-reflection, unlearning and having uncomfortable conversation about race and racial ideology (Friedel, 2010; Lopez-Littleton, 2016; Love et al., 2016).

Social workers are required to maintain social work values and principles in response to attitudes and behaviours that promote ant-racism and are required to advocate for the elimination of discrimination (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2005). Social workers are becoming aware of some of the global realities because of technology such as the internet. However, in most of the writings, the information is told by scholars in the North who alienate or reinforce and universalize their experience (Lyons, 1999, 2006). This is one of the areas of tension in academia where there is a sense that writers from the South tend to be isolated in scholarly work or their work dismissed as sub-standard to western scholars. In response, I continue to work toward centring the work of researchers such as Dr. Verene Shepperd, Dr Carolyn Cooper, Dr Lorna Goodison and Dr. Douglas Wade-Brunton, all scholars from the University of the West Indies, Jamaica, who contributed to the awareness of Black History, Caribbean, and international development.

Since social workers continue to be involved in settlement and integration, an emerging question is, how are they responding to cases involving the impact on family reunification. Are social workers even aware of the family reunification model, and are they asking relevant questions of families to gain a sense about their experiences with family reunification? I feel that

these questions need to be asked to respond and develop more understanding and advocacy for participants in the study.

As I reflect on this research and the contributions by the participants, I am reminded of my early childhood and friendly debates about politics and social issues. I also taught Sunday School at age ten at the St Andrew's Anglican Church, Labyrinth St Mary, Jamaica, even though the visiting bishop thought that I was too young and should be part of the class instead of teaching. The desire to teach was based on my admiration for my Aunt Esmine Buck who was a primary and high school teacher along with her husband and high school principal, who was referred to as Teacher Buck. Both demonstrated how they embraced teaching as a passion that transformed the lives of individuals in areas such as literature, geography, and drama across the Parish of St Mary, Jamaica, and the rest of the Caribbean community. As a community of learners, they took the time to gently guide me in the "teaching" process, and recently Aunt Esmine and I discussed learning plans and how in "her days of teaching, curricula and lesson plans were handwritten because there were no computers." Our conversation contributed to a discussion about the history of teaching and learning, and how she would teach differently if she had the chance. As we drove through the Rocky Mountains on our way to Lake Louise, Alberta, she exclaimed that she found it weird and surreal that she taught geography that included information about the Great Lakes of Canada and the Canadian Rockies, and the River Thames of London without any personal knowledge (E. Buck, personal communication, October 16, 2021). The discussion brought to the fore some realities about the reproduction of knowledge and how easy it is to teach from a place dominated by western information intended by the elite to globalize education (Brennan, 2002). My aunt implored and reminded me about the importance of integrating Caribbean and Black History as well as immigration content to my

teaching and learning outline (E. Buck, personal communication, October 16, 2021). The prior teaching experience and the recent conversation with my aunt, solidified my present teaching philosophy where, as a social worker and educator, I continue to observe and challenge social work teaching to include an understanding of Black people who have settled in Canada and the prairies. Presently, I teach diploma and undergraduate courses, and I challenge the fact that several of these syllabi have not integrated a full understanding and content about Black people. While efforts have been made to review the course outline and ensure that it covers multiple topics and include current issues, there is much more to be done in teaching information about reunification at high schools and universities as we move towards the inclusion of social justice and advocacy.

With dogged determination, I have taken various steps to improve on course content as well as my classroom deliveries, where I organise the course outline to include the work of Indigenous and racialized people who contributed to the history of social work. Students are also introduced to the racist immigration policies that created a white national population that enjoyed rights of citizenry and the present racial hostility towards Black people (Henry & Tator, 2006; Thobani, 2007). I do this as I found that it contributed to students reflecting on their knowledge and examining how they come to understand their social location in a social work practice that is designed to make changes to individuals and families and the communities in which they will be working. Failure to approach teaching in this way may contribute to the ongoing practice and belief of perceiving the experience of Black people in a demeaning and derogatory way. Adjei (2007) uses the phrase "chew and pour" (learning and memorizing), and I see this as a potential for maintaining structural inequities if the beliefs are not challenged. These inequities were highlighted in Chapter Five where participants explained how they were treated in the education

system. In social work education where, for example, I highlighted some of the experiences of the participants in the Chapter Five.

The determination, grit, persistence, and bravery of parents to migrate to the unknown in Canada and to take care of their families is often misunderstood. As a researcher, I do not speak for all Jamaicans or Black people. However, I have come to realize that we present to Canada varied concerns, contributions and issues that are sometimes unknown to the public, service providers and specifically social workers. How does this research align with the "person" and social work as a profession? Reunification has wider implications other than the personal connection, and as identified in the research, it can be challenging for families at reception. Caribbean women came to Canada in the 1945-1950s as domestics to work in the homes of White middle- and upper-class people who were employed in Canadian industries (Labelle, Larose, & Piche, 2010). In their positions, they contributed to childcare and other household duties and were exploited and dehumanised (Bakan & Stasiulis, 2016; James, 2005). The work of domestics included extensive hours and being asked to take care of the children of friends in the neighbourhood, being afforded no vacation, or sick leave and being isolated. As Pauline, a friend stated, "it hurts to see families having meals with their children while I couldn't, and even when I call my children back home because I was only allowed one telephone call per week--and they monitor it."

The movement of people over the world, provinces and regions is not new (Finnie, 1999; Thorton, 1985). For example, families have moved from eastern parts of Canada to the western provinces searching for a livelihood especially in the oil and gas industry that once was a lucrative base for employment. The difference here is that Canadians are within provincial boundaries and may have no idea about the experiences of the immigration process for

newcomers. In most cases, the newcomers, much like the cases of the participants in this study, discovered how the immigration process to join their parents can be overwhelming, encompassing documentation, bureaucratic "red tape," medical procedures and multiple trips to the embassies in Jamaica for interviews and further document processing.

Immigration Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRRC) is responsible for the processing of documents and procedures for new immigrants entering Canada. On the other hand, in an internal investigation of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada it was found that the department made several errors in the processing of immigrants' application at the Canadian government mission (Immigration Canada, 2016). At the same time this error begs the question of why there are mistakes on the forms? This is potentially an opportunity for the IRRC to examine the documents and modify the forms for clearer understanding by the applicant to lessen the time for processing.

Limitation of the Research

As a Black woman completing this study, I am mindful of my position as an immigrant and that my experiences, biases, and assumptions could also impact the study. I also recognise the emotional labour associated with this body of work, oftentimes influenced by a culture of work ethics and its cycle of continual achievement (Bunting, 2004). As social workers, we tend to be known as caring people, and this care extends to the participants in the study, especially in the process of hearing about their stories that describe the racial barriers and its impact on their lives.

This research utilized qualitative methodology that examined the experience of Jamaican Canadian Adults who reunited with their parents in Canada. Qualitative research methods are designed to gather data that is not in the form of numbers and encompasses ways of thinking and seeing the world and the personal experiences of the participants (Charmaz, 2006, 2010).

Thirteen participants were selected to participate in this research from the Jamaican Canadian community in Calgary, Alberta. Although the sample of participants is small, the data reflects extensive data that supports an in-depth analysis. The participants were also specifically selected to provide rich information and it was large enough to create an understanding about the phenomenon under study.

Most participants had never had the opportunity to speak about the details surrounding their immigration from Jamaica and their reunification with their parents in Canada. The stories of the participants were in-depth, and the interviews and conversations provided an opportunity to develop a relationship with the participants where their information was validated.

Another limitation was that I explored the experiences of the participants but not of the parents who would have provided their interpretation and experience of reunification. I feel that this is a phenomenon that warrants exploration.

Areas for Further Research

As I listened to the stories of the participants, who were generous with their time, yet vulnerable in sharing detailed information about their lives and experience, their stories have tweaked my interest in other areas to be studied such as resilience in the Jamaican Community and the perception and experience of parents who were separated from their children in migratory processes.

I also feel that when this thesis is shared with the participants and wider Jamaican community, it will generate ideas for future research. I feel it is important that participants in the study recognise their work and personal contribution that will for example be shared at conferences, community events, and educational institutions. I say this because based on the data, at the very beginning of their lived experience in Canada, school was where the participants encountered

racist barriers the most. This data is similar to a virtual conference that I attended- *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal…* (March 31, 2021). As I listened to the participants speak about their experiences in the educational system in the United Kingdom, I also feel that my thesis could add to this ongoing discussion and other conferences, as well as provide an opportunity for the participants in the study to tell their stories publicly.

The research also helps to recognise that there is an opportunity to develop manuals and short informational videos that can be used as age-appropriate tools for Jamaican children who are reuniting with their parents in Canada. Even though the intent is specifically intended for the Jamaican community, the tools can be used by other immigrant serving communities.

In social work education, spirituality is an area that is important for members of the Black community but receives little to no attention in professional practice. Therefore, it is an area that can be further examined as we seek to explore coping strategies for members of the Jamaican Canadian community. It would also be beneficial to host a session where both parents and adult children can have an open dialogue to discuss the "dos and don't of the immigration and reunification process." This study has the potential to address gender differences and parenting roles in Jamaica, stereotypes and misinformation that can help social workers and educators become more culturally aware and competent through sustained training.

Recommendations for Social Work Education- "*We will understand it better by and by"*

My research discussed the personal stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults Who Migrated to Canada as Children. As an immigrant woman from Jamaica, I am fortunate to have a sense of the poverty that exists there, and to be able to draw comparisons between Jamaica and Canada and how globalization that is multifaceted and complex has contributed to migration, where brilliant and promising professionals chose to leave the country because of economic challenges

as well as promises by receiving countries about access to lucrative jobs. Migrants include large numbers of domestic workers, teachers, nurses, and professionals who were prepared to undertake jobs that are substantially below their qualifications but offer other economic rewards. Changes in the immigration process has also contributed to the complexities of separation from immediate, extended, and nuclear family. According to the research participants the reunification has contributed to challenges and struggles associated with isolation, devaluation of their education, frustration, and some loss of hope, yet perseverance where all the research participants have succeeded albeit the racist barriers. One may wonder why the passion about this area of study. The area is not researched extensively and as stated in Chapter One of this thesis, I have seen the firsthand account from my own family of how challenging the process can be. As a practitioner, I feel that social workers need to understand the historical background of the Caribbean Immigrant family. With this context social workers will begin to understand their social location and how a deeper reflection can benefit themselves and clients whether it is in community development, capacity building or counselling.

Professor Verene Shepherd, a Social Historian and member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at the United Nations General Assembly, notes that the Durban Declaration and Program of Action (2002) was designed and developed to address the harms of colonialism and slavery, both historically and in the present (OCHR, 2021). She reminded the audience that that the declaration and program of action were adopted and recognized that colonialism has led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. and urged greater action by world leaders to combat racism. I use the highlights of her speech as a background to contextualise and question actions taken to eliminate racial discrimination in Canada. It is evident from the conversation with the participants that the

patterns emerging suggest that more needs to be intentionally done to address the racism entrenched in the society, that would address their experiences and the immigration system. It is therefore important that action be taken to address the ongoing phenomenon of Jamaican Adults who migrated to Canada as Children so that the next generation of individuals may not encounter similar experiences or are provided with skills to navigate the systems in Canada.

While some of the racist practices were experienced by the participants when they initially migrated to Canada, these practices continue. It means that the society cannot maintain complacency or willfully ignore the problem. As a society, there is failure to discuss racism and a tendency to deny that it exists even though it is a part of modern political theory and practice that has become a feature of the Canadian society (Solomona et al, 2005). This discomfort is transferred to the classroom where I find that the discussion on race and racism can be uncomfortable, and students, in their discomfort defer to the United States as a source and place where racism thrives, and other places around the world that are known for social problems. As noted by Wagner & Yee (2011), this lack of or resistance to align with racist beliefs enables social workers to avoid implicating themselves; therefore, the tension or difficulties associated with this lack of discussion contributes to ongoing concerns in the workplace.

Some of the findings may appear to be negative. This is not to say that there were no positive stories. Most of their positive experiences came out of the discussions around coping, resilience, and success. For that reason, the participants have my validation, appreciation, and admiration for being vulnerable in sharing their stories that at times were difficult to hear, yet the information was insightful, meaningful and a significant contribution to this body of research. Given the narrative, I am compelled to be forthcoming and share the realities of the participants, and not "water down" the information, but to use this research to tell their truths.

Research findings can lead to improvements in services for immigrant families and support emerging practitioners, students and educators to provide and engage in culturally sensitive information, services and practice to diverse and specifically racialized communities. On a macro level, it is hoped that policy makers will acquaint themselves with these findings and work towards change, and removal of barriers for families who wish to be reunited in Canada.

Conclusion:

The life experiences of families migrating to Canada from Jamaica are complex and varied (Razack, 2010). The finding from this research is that intolerance and racism continue to be part of the Canadian fabric. While we continue to discuss, challenge, and lament the inequalities, and barriers such as those experienced by participants in the study, it is also recognized that developing countries like Jamaica, although they strive for independence, depend on countries like Canada as for economic survival. I am passionate about this study because families continue to experience separation because of globalization that intersects trade and technology, to create connection for the world. One of the outcomes of globalization is that it contributes to parents making the tough decision to migrate to Canada and other countries to make a living to take care of their families leading to a settlement and reunification process that sometimes takes many years.

To bring about change in relation to the reunification process between families, the Jamaican Canadian Association, educational institutions, participants in the study, people with lived experiences, and Immigration Canada, and other relevant bodies, will need to "sit at the table" and all parties fully participate in open and honest dialogue about their concerns, be uncomfortable with some of the information that will be shared, and assist in the exploration of policies and community services that examines cultural awareness and racialized groups.

Participants in this study have recognised the research as an opportunity to painfully recall their experiences. In some instances, they articulated the length of time that immigration interviews lasted, the process of reunification and contributions to stress and anxiety within the family. This research is a great opportunity to bring to the attention of readers, scholars and interested personnel, the experiences of adults who as children were reunited with their parents. The study addresses a key issue: the experiences that they encountered in Canada, part of the global north-Canada and some of the pain as well as the joy that they hold. Social workers who have a keen interest in immigration studies may not consider the phenomenon of reunification apart from observing in the media how Canada provides reunification with immigrants and refugees.

Research historically promoted a white Eurocentric view of racialized people, and any concerns related to immigration. It is evident that from this body of work that change is needed in how social work is taught and the practice implemented in the community. The knowledge gathered from this research helps to make sense of the experience of the participants by helping to raise the consciousness of readers and challenging us to examine the issues and concerns. This research highlights the myths and negative perceptions associated with the Jamaican Calgary community and that despite all, they have shown extraordinary resilience and continue to contribute to the development of Canada. This resilience was expressed in song by one of the participants…. "We will understand it by and by," a stanza and song made popular by singer, Charles Albert Tindley (1907). I hope that this research will provide an opportunity for others who have experienced similar phenomenon to share their stories if they desire, where it can contribute to scholarships and centring their stories.

Personal Reflection on the Interviews, Data Collection Process and completion of the Thesis

My intention was to complete this thesis by 2021 as I was able to complete the interviews in a short time span and then move on to reviewing and analysing the data. In addition to studying and working, several events occurred. The first was the loss of family members during the years 2016-2022, and the fact that family and friends of the tight knit circle died of other circumstances or succumbed to COVID-19. To make the situation worse, in some cases, I was not able to attend the funeral service in person due to COVID-19 restrictions. The death of George Floyd sent shock waves across the world and became a "hot topic" of debate in homes, offices and social circles. Here in Calgary, conversations about George Floyd and the impact of his death contributed to unimaginable responses from the Black community. For the first time, I saw the largest Black Lives Matter march in Calgary, without interruption and voices of dissent. I say this because in the past, these demonstrations have been under attack by white supremacists.

Secondly, because of the death of George Floyd and the emotions and feelings demonstrated in the workplace and industries, I was inundated with requests to speak at workshops and training, to consult, to provide counselling sessions and emotional support to members of the Black community. Members of the Black communities were searching for racialized counsellors to provide emotional support, and there is a gap in this specific resource which meant that I provided help as much as I could. Behind the scenes, I grappled with several questions, what do I do? Do I need counselling? What was the impact on me as an interviewer and researcher? How do I process this emotion while staying true to the requirement to complete my scholarship? To contextualise my response, I was completing the

data analysis which coincided with marches and demonstrations in response to the killing of George Floyd. Participants in the study detailed some racist incidents, and here I was feeling anxious and angry as some of the stories shared by the participants were in full display in the media. It became impossible to focus on the debates, demonstration, WhatsApp, and Tucker Carlson on Fox News. What then? This meant that as a scholar it was time for me to take some time away from the written work and instead channel my energy by assisting others in the Calgary community.

Thirdly, isolation and social distances keep us from each other. Loneliness and isolation were the result of the epidemic. Researchers define loneliness as feelings of the realization of a lack of meaningful contacts with others and a loss of companionship (Berget et al., 1981; de Bie, 2019). To compound this isolation there were lockdowns, which meant restrictions on meeting with people, and shopping, and isolations in homes and supported living, along with limitations on people to move from place to place and across provinces and borders. In a recent study by McQuaid et al, (2021), the authors suggest that loneliness was experienced differently among different groups during COVID-19, and that it is a potential risk factor for developing health conditions. In response to the challenges, complexities and isolation associated with COVID 19, Dr Paul Banahene Adjei organized thesis meetings which offered respite from dealing with the isolation and I was able to continue with my scholarship. Attending these meetings offered some relief from the isolation.

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APPENDICES

Ethical Protocol

The following section outlines the ethical protocol associated with the research. The Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), provides guidance that applies to all research involving human participants. As a member of the council, the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) Memorial University upholds the ethics of research. As a researcher, I completed the core course that consists of nine modules that contributed to a greater understanding of research and regard for the participants involved. The research started on July 11, 2019, and ended on March 13, 2020. Beginning with the certificate of completion that is required, the reader will find the following supportive documents: a) Ethical approval, b) Recruitment letter, c) Interview guide, d) Questions for the Individual interviewees, e) Demographic Fact Sheet, f) Poster Requesting Research Participants, g) Post Interview Observation, h) Research Telephone Script.

Appendix A- Tri-Council Certificate of Completion

PANEL ON RESEARCH ETHICS
Navigating the ethics of human research

TCPS 2: CORE

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Marva J Ferguson

has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)

Date of Issue: **28 March, 2018**

Appendix B-Ethical Approval

Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)

St. John's, NL Canada A1C 5S7
Tel: 709 864-2561 icehr@mun.ca

www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr

ICEHR Number:	**20192506-SW**
Approval Period:	June 10, 2019 – June 30, 2020
Funding Source:	Not Funded
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Paul Adjei School of Social Work
Title of Project:	*Strangers in the New Homeland: The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children*

June 10, 2019
Ms. Marva J Ferguson
School of Social Work
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Ferguson:

Thank you for your correspondence of April 27 and June 10, 2019 addressing the issues raised by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) concerning the above-named research project. ICEHR has re-examined the proposal with the clarification and revisions submitted and is satisfied that the concerns raised by the Committee have been adequately addressed. In accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2)*, the project has been granted *full ethics clearance* to June 30, 2020. ICEHR approval applies to the ethical acceptability of the research, as per Article 6.3 of the *TCPS2*. Researchers are responsible for adherence to any other relevant University policies and/or funded or non-funded agreements that may be associated with the project.

The *TCPS2* **requires** that you submit an Annual Update to ICEHR before June 30, 2020. If you plan to continue the project, you need to request renewal of your ethics clearance and include a brief summary on the progress of your research. When the project no longer involves contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated, you are required to provide an annual update with a brief final summary and your file will be closed. If you need to make changes during the project which may raise ethical concerns, you must submit an Amendment Request with a description of these changes for the Committee's consideration prior to implementation. If funding is obtained subsequent to approval, you must submit a Funding and/or Partner Change Request to ICEHR before this clearance can be linked to your award.

"STRANGERS IN THE NEW HOMELAND": The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada as Children

All post-approval event forms noted above can be submitted from your Researcher Portal account by clicking the *Applications: Post-Review* link on your Portal homepage. We wish you success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research

KB/lw

cc: Supervisor – Dr. Paul Adjei, School of Social Work

Appendix C- Recruitment Letter

My name is *Marva J Ferguson*, and I am a *student in* the *Faculty of Social Work* at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I am conducting a research project called *"Strangers in the Homeland": The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults who Migrated to Canada* as for my *PhD* degree under the supervision of *Dr. Paul Adjei.* The purpose of the study is to examine the experience of Jamaican Canadian adults who as children (5 years-21 years) migrated to Canada to join their parents

I am contacting you to invite you to participate in an interview. During the interview you will be asked to share your experience of reunification in Canadian society, and the potential barriers (if any) that challenged the process as a child. The results of the interviews will be used to inform social work practitioners in the field of education, settlement and integration, child welfare and the levels of government in Canada. The information that you provide will help to address gaps in the information and literature by adding insight and help learning institutions to understand into how Jamaican Canadian adults who arrived in Canada as children understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian society.

You are free to decide if you want to take part in this study, to respond or not answer questions for any reason, and you may stop taking part at any time during the interview. If you decide not to take part, or you withdraw, it will not change the care and services that you or members of your family receive from any affiliated organizations. If you decide to take part, you will not get any special treatment. If you withdraw from the research, your shared information will be destroyed. The interview will take 45-60 minutes and will be conducted at a time and location that is convenient for you. There is no physical risk from taking part in the interview. However, if you need help dealing with issues raised during the interview, you will be provided with a list of resources with information on a variety of telephone crisis, and community services.

So as to participate in this study, you re required to be a resident of Calgary (and area), Alberta, born in Jamaica and who identify as Black and trace your ancestral affinity to the continent of Africa, immigrated to Canada between the ages of 5-21, and that you must be 18 years of age to participate. Additionally, you will be asked to provide your gender, age, and length of time in Canada I order to ascertain certain demographic information. All of your personal information will be kept in strict confidence. Electronic audio tapes and other data will be secured and protected by password. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the information.

To help cover the cost related to participating in this study, you will be offered a gift card valued at $25.00

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me at my telephone number to arrange for a meeting.

If you have any questions about me or my project, please contact me by email at *mjf535@mun.ca or by phone at 403-830-0985.*

Thank-you in advance for considering my request,

Marva J Ferguson

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr.chair@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Appendix D-Interview Guide

"Strangers in the New Homeland": The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults Who Migrated to Canada as Children

(The interview includes the following questions and/or statements.)

Hello, _____, my name is Marva Ferguson. Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research. Before we begin, will you please complete this demographic fact sheet?
Do you have any questions before we begin?
You have been given the Informed Consent. Do you have any questions about this research, or your role as a participant?

Please sign the Consent form and I will sign and date it. Thank you.

This interview is being audio recorded. If at any time you wish to stop the interview and not proceed any further, please let me know immediately. I will turn off the recording device and erase the data, including your name and any other names you may have mentioned. There are no negative consequences to you if you should want to stop the interview process.

Are you ready to begin, Okay, let us start? (Recording device turned on).

This is Marva Ferguson, the dissertation researcher for the study entitled "Strangers in the New

Homeland": The Personal Stories of Jamaican Canadian Adults Who Migrated to Canada as

Children

This interview is taking place on _____at _____a.m./p.m. An Informed

Consent has been signed by both parties.

Appendix E-Guide Questions for the Individual interviews

a) Can you tell me a little about yourself?
b) When did you arrive from Jamaica?
c) How old were you when you arrived from Jamaica?
d) How long have you been living in Canada?
e) What is your educational background?
f) What is your present occupation?
g) How do you identify your gender?
h) How would you describe your overall health and well-being?
i) Which one of the following explains your income status: (a) low income (b) Middle income (c) upper income?
j) Can you describe your social supports (friend, community, work, church)?
1) How long were you separated from your parent/s
2) What were your perceptions of Canada before your arrival?
3) Can you describe your experience upon arrival in Canada
4) Could you describe your reunification with your parent/s
5) What are some of the challenges you experienced in relation to reunification?
6) What does "**settlement"** and "**integration"** mean to you?
7) Based on your description of "**settlement"** in Canada, what were your experiences in settling in Canada?
8) Have you had experiences with social services such as Child and Family Services, Employment Canada, Police or any other services that you needed to contact?
9) Can you describe your experiences?
10) Do you know of others who may have had interactions with service providers (family, friend, neighbours or co-workers)
11) Based on your description of settlement and integration in Canada, do you feel that you have integrated into Canadian society? If yes, how? If no, why not?
12) Have you ever experienced racism? If yes, can you describe the incident
13) How did you respond? What were the outcome
14) Whom do you reach out to when you have problems or concerns?
15) Given your reunification experience, would you recommend it as a process for Jamaican families? Explain
16) If you were given the opportunity to talk to the Jamaica Canadian High Commission, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, educators and practitioners, what would you say to them?
17) What were some of your successes since living in Canada?
18) Is there anything you want to say that I did not ask you?
19) Do you have any question/s for me/

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. I am turning off the audio recording device at this time.

Appendix F-Demographic Fact Sheet Researcher Designed

Please provide the information requested below. As discussed with you, your name and identifying information will be maintained as confidential

Identification: SNH #	**Gender:**
Age:	**Sexual orientation:**
Educational level earned:	
Income	
Professional /Employment background:	
Religion:	
Are you Jamaican Canadian?	
At what age did you migrate from Jamaica to Canada?	
Are you a resident of Calgary (and area), Alberta?	
In the process of migrating to Canada, were you reunited with your parent/parents?	
Do you self identify as a Black ?	

Thank you for providing the information. It will help to ensure the credibility of this research.

*SNH-Strangers in the New Homeland

Appendix G- Poster Requesting Research Participants

Research Participants Needed

The purpose of the research is to learn about the personal stories of Jamaican Canadian adults who migrated to Canada as children, and to understand the impact of reunification within the Canadian Society, and the potential barriers/success stories that contribute to settlement experiences

Criteria

Jamaican Canadian born in Jamaica and who identify themselves as Black and trace their ancestral affinity to the continent Africa
Immigrated to Canada between the age of 5-21
Adults between the age of 18 and over, and living in Calgary

Participation is voluntary and remains confidential
Participants will be invited to attend a one-on- one interview that will last for 45 minutes
Participants will receive a gift certificate of $25.

To Learn more about this study or if you wish to participate, please contact Marva Ferguson , PhD Candidate by phone or by email at mferguson@mtroyal.ca

403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985 403-830-0985

Appendix H- Post Interview Observations

At the end of the interview, the researcher will transcribe all observation into the format noted below:

Description of the Interview Setting:
Description of the Participant:
Miscellaneous Notes:
Participant's Reaction /Responses to the Questions:

Appendix I- Research Telephone Script

Research Telephone Script

Hello, I am calling for _____.

This is Marva Ferguson. I am returning your call regarding the research study. Thank you for connecting with me. Can I ask you heard about the study?

Have you had an opportunity to look over the information letter about this research?

If yes, do you have questions about this research or your participation in this research before we begin?

-If no, review the study/information in the letter with the person verbally. Questions?

May I ask, what brings you to this study? (screen for inclusion criteria)

Obtain address or e-mail for mailing participant information letter and consent form.

If in person

Is there somewhere you might feel comfortable with us meeting? (Obtain whatever details are needed to make arrangements for meeting/offer some suggestions)

If by skype or facetime,

Is there a time and place that might be convenient for you?

I will send you the information and consent forms. Please do not hesitate to contact me by phone or email if you think of more questions

How can I best reach you over the next few weeks so that we can make arrangements to meet?

Thank you, I look forward to speaking with you

Marva J Ferguson

403-830-0985