

Dual Citizenship: examining belonging, identity and racialization in the lives of transmigrants

Jenn Scribner

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ABSTRACT

Dual citizenship is on the rise as a result of not only growing advances in technologies which allow people to move around the globe, but also as a result of changing state policies to accept the practice. Old conceptions of citizenship that suggest ties to the nation state expire upon emigration and transfer to the new state of residence are no longer applicable in an era of globalization. As a result, increased acceptance of dual citizenship is an important change that recognizes the transnational lives of immigrants. Using qualitative data collected from 19 participants the research presented here explores the transnational experiences of dual Canadian -UK and Canadian-Bangladeshi citizens to understand the everyday lived experiences of transmigrants. Exploring issues of citizenship and the impacts of citizenship on identity and belonging, the research finds that little importance is placed on the concept as a signifier of identity, but rather that citizenship can help to foster belonging in the host state. More importantly, citizenship is recognized as facilitating the maintenance of ties to the home and host states and to some extent in fostering a sense of belonging. The research also found that citizenship cannot mitigate the effects of racialization as a result of colonial histories. Instead, the impact of its settler colonial history has been the continued exclusion of visible minority immigrants from the Canadian social fabric.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the late Dr. Robynne Neugebauer who spent precious time providing comments and directions to this work. The dedication she exhibited to this project is reflective of the time and care she had for her students and work over her lifetime.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The term citizen means different things to different people. When you hear the word citizen what do you think of first: a person who is a member of the community, or a person who has legal rights and duties (Johnston Conover, Searing & Crewe, 2004:1046)?

Citizenship is important. The importance of citizenship lies not only in the legal ramifications of holding citizenship, but also in the political, psychological, emotional, and social significance attached to the status of citizenship. As a political concept it provides access to a set of rights for the individual; as a psychological, emotional or social concept it signifies attachment and belonging in a group – particularly to the state of which that citizenship applies (Kaplan, 1993: 252; Hammar, 1989: 85). The legal, political and social psychological importance of citizenship often leads to intense arguments around citizenship, arguments that most frequently centre on a debate about who can legitimately claim to be a citizen of the state. Some argue that this is the case precisely because citizenship provides not only access to a set of rights, but also permits an individual to lay claim to an identity (Thomas, 2002: 339).

Traditional conceptions of citizenship claim individuals must maintain a unique and singular membership with only one nation state, signaling a singular citizenship identity. However, the traditional model of citizenship has recently been called into question (Bloemraad, 2004: 390; Gustafson, 2002: 470; Thomas, 2002: 343; Castles & Davidson, 2000: vii; Hammar, 1985: 438). These questions have largely been raised as a result of the influence of globalization on the state. In particular, the effects of globalization raise questions about how the traditional model of citizenship defines who belongs in the nation state and the role of the state in providing citizenship status

(Gustafson, 2002: 438; Martin & Aleinikoff, 2002: np; Castles & Davidson, 2000: viii; Hammar, 1985: 438). Immigrants whose histories of migrancy lead them across state boundaries are particularly susceptible to the problems of traditional models of citizenship (Joseph, 1999:14). The difficulties that arise with the traditional model of citizenship, predominantly those that revolve around the increased role of migration in contemporary society, highlight the need for new conceptions and more practical methods of practicing modernized conceptions of citizenship. For Joseph (1999:14) this means recognizing that the idea of citizenship is one which must transcend national boundaries to allow for the continued growth of networks and ties that exist between migrants and their kin and former communities.

Past views of migration, associated with traditional conceptions of citizenship argued that once migrants left their states of origins and settled in a country of residence, former ties with their origins were cut, bringing with them only memories of the old state. Today there is greater recognition of the extensive ties that are maintained between immigrants and their countries of origin as they move across state boundaries and take up residence in new states. The assumption that ties to the state of origin are forgotten, or replaced, is no longer prominent and instead the focus has shifted to understanding the lived experience of migrants as they adapt to life in the country of residence while maintaining active ties to the country of origin.

Transnationalism can be “defined as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and

settlement” (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:116, see also Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1995:7). Through transnational relations, ‘transmigrants’ engage in political, economic and social aspects of life in the home and host country in their daily lives. The tenets of transnationalism pose one potential means for acknowledging the lived experiences of individuals for whom traditional models of citizenship no longer account. In a practical form, dual citizenship offers the possibilities of transnationalism in the lived world, providing one possible solution to overcome the challenges of traditional models of citizenship realized as a result of social changes. Dual citizenship, despite the associated consequences, provides a viable means for negotiating the complexities of globalization that impinge on traditional models of citizenship. In the face of increasing international migration, the question of citizenship is central. As states attempt to reform nationality laws to deal with migrants entering state boundaries, questions of identity, membership, rights and obligations are confronted as policy makers grapple with how to apply old citizenship policies in a modern world (Feldblum; 2000: 477).

How these immigrant newcomers are welcomed creates an important context for immigrant integration, and the policies surrounding citizenship are a cornerstone to that welcome; signaling to the immigrant the community’s reception of newcomers. Citizenship policies not only set the emotional context by providing a warm (or chilly) welcome, but also affect potential opportunities for immigrants in terms of access to resources such as social welfare programs and jobs. But while holding citizenship status is often necessary to obtain access to the gamut of potential programs offered, the acquisition of citizenship does not ensure access. For many migrants, racialization

impacts their access to programs and calls to question the tenet of equality central to citizenship (Klusmeyer, 2000:2).

The research presented here attempts to understand new conceptions of citizenship by examining immigrants' conceptions of citizenship. Specifically, the research seeks to determine the impact of dual citizenship on the transnational lives of immigrants. To do this, the research examines what citizenship means to an immigrant in a new country; the degree to which the extension of citizenship to a newcomer affects their sense of belonging within the new and old communities; and, the role of citizenship, particularly dual citizenship, in facilitating the acquisition or maintenance of transnational attachments, if any, to home and host states. The relevance of dual citizenship for either country will also be important to providing a sociological understanding of citizenship – particularly the meaning and value attributed to citizenship by immigrants. How the acquisition of citizenship impacts an immigrant's identity will also be explored. Finally, important questions regarding the access new immigrants have to social and political rights associated with being a member of the political community will be examined. At the same time the impact of Canada's white settler society past on the access immigrants from visible minority backgrounds have to the exercise of the rights associated with citizenship will also be explored.

The importance of this research is to provide an understanding of the significance of citizenship, and in particular dual citizenship, in the lives of immigrant citizens. Prior research on dual citizenship has adopted a legal or political studies position (Lipschutz, 2004; Gustafson, 2002; Alienikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001; Schuck, 1998; Hammar, 1985). Research falling under these perspectives attempts to answer questions around the

benefits and harms associated with dual citizenship (Gustafson, 2002:473; Alienikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001:78; Schuck, 1998:232, 228); the impact of dual citizenship on integration (Hammar, 1985:439) and the question of loyalties to nation states (Alienikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001:82; Schuck, 1998:232). Few studies have sought to understand the meaning of citizenship for individual citizens, and fewer have done so for citizens who have migrated. This research will attempt to fill that gap by exploring the meaning of citizenship for individuals who have acquired dual citizenship after migrating to Canada while also providing an understanding of the way that transnational ties are maintained in the daily lives of immigrants. As background to the research, the first chapter will present the theoretical literature on citizenship, providing not only the history and definition of citizenship but by also examining current problematic issues associated with traditional models of citizenship. The first chapter then explores new potential conceptions of citizenship and their practical applications.

While the theoretical literature provides a foundation for the understanding of citizenship and contemporary issues around the concept, the context of this research is outlined in the second chapter in order to situate the issues of immigration and citizenship in Canada. Specifically, the historical background of Canada and current immigration trends are presented. The immigration histories for the countries from which the participants are drawn are also briefly presented in order to provide an idea of the length of time that these groups have been present in the Canadian national fabric and the motivations for continued migration. Further context is provided in this chapter by examining the immigration and citizenship policies that enable British and Bangladeshi

emigrants, the two groups that are the empirical focus of this study, to obtain dual citizenship in Canada.

The third chapter provides the methodological background for understanding the research, including a brief description of the participants' backgrounds, recruitment and data analysis procedures. The fourth chapter provides an analysis of the findings of the research attempting to address the questions surrounding transnationalism, citizenship and identity. The final chapter includes concluding remarks, highlighting the significant findings from the current research and indicating potential areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: CITIZENSHIP LITERATURE – DEFINITIONS, THEORIES, CHALLENGES AND CHANGES

Conceptualizing Citizenship

Citizenship as a social status attached to an individual originated in Athens, Greece around the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. At that time the term was used to signify an individual's membership within the Greek polis (Croucher, 2004:45; Delanty, 2000:11; Heater, 1999:156; Kaplan, 1993:247). Use of the term 'citizen' to refer to individuals within the polis replaced other types of belonging - based on blood ties (Croucher, 2004:46; Heater, 1999:156). To be granted citizenship signified a narrow tie to one's surroundings, referring not to one's belonging at the nation-state level, but rather one's inclusion within the membership of a particular town or region (Delanty, 2000:12). Because citizenship was an exclusive status, given only to a small number of individuals in the community the number of citizens remained quite small and exclusionary (excluding women, and peoples regarded as foreign or barbarians), usually extending only to males who played prominent roles within the polis. This remained the case until the late-eighteenth century when the concept of citizenship was liberalized by modern democratic nation-states. Early Roman conceptions of citizenship could not attach the status to the nation-state as it was not until the seventeenth century that the peace of Westphalia solidified the idea of a sovereign state. By solidifying the sovereign state, the peace of Westphalia endowed the state as a legitimate political unit, allowing each state to form a government to exert control over the territory and its population (Philpott, 1995:359).

The modern liberal definition of citizenship status arose during the eighteenth century and was applied to all members living within the boundaries of a nation-state.

Consequently, eighteenth century changes broadened the use of citizenship to the nation-state level, while maintaining the significance of the status as an indicator of membership (Heater, 1999:156). The eighteenth century changes in the conception of citizenship carried with it an idea of not only membership, but also allegiance, an exclusive allegiance tied to a single nation-state. Citizenship status tied the individual to the state in what was believed to be singular, unique, and non-transferable tie of loyalties.

Individuals with state citizenship were considered bounded to the state and expected to maintain the loyalty signified by that tie (Bloemraad, 2004:390; Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001:63; Kaplan, 1993:245). Ties between the individual and the state were established, and continue to be established today, on the citizenship and nationality laws enacted by the various nation-states.

Formal, standardized supra-state methods for determining nationality and citizenship do not exist, though attempts have been made in previous decades. One such attempt was the *Convention Concerning Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality* at The Hague in 1930 where it was acknowledged that dual citizenship was a possibility. While there was acknowledgement of the possibility of dual citizenship occurring, there was little openness to the practice of dual citizenship. The opening of the convention began with statements that suggested that to serve the interests of international communities, citizenship should remain singular, tied to one state and one state only (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001:72; Aleinikoff, 2000:137). Despite attempts to standardize nationality laws, no success has been made and the rules governing designation of citizenship are determined by the individual state; a situation which has resulted in considerable diversity across nation states (Brysk & Shafir, 2004:5; Aleinikoff

& Klusmeyer, 2001:72; Castles & Davidson, 2000:100; Isin, 2000:4; Klusmeyer, 2000:14). Adding to this diversity is the complication that these rules are in a constant state of flux as nations attempt to respond to modern issues, such as globalization and migration, that impact on decisions regarding who can be said to belong in the nation-state. Despite these constant changes and instability, the rules for granting citizenship are recognized as tools of significant importance in the nation-state's ability to define who belongs and who does not (Brysk & Shafir, 2004:5; Castles & Davidson, 2000:100; Klusmeyer, 2000:14).

Collectively, the rules that govern the acquisition and loss of citizenship are referred to as nationality laws (Klusmeyer, 2000:13). The two foundational aspects to nationality law are the statements and precedence on how one becomes a member of the nation-state and, secondly, how that membership can be lost. While each state has its own rules for acquisition and loss, and despite the diversity of the application of these laws, they are generally based on one, or a combination of, central principles. The most common principles underlying nationality laws include *jus soli* (birth residence), *jus sanguinis* (blood ties), marital union, adoption, residence and naturalization but territorial incorporation and other special circumstances are also recognized in many states (Spiro, 2004:89; Weil, 2001:17; Kaplan, 1993:250). The use of these various principles in shaping nationality laws is most often reflected in the history of the state, and examining a state's history can be important to understanding the current application of nationality laws (Baubock, 2000:306; Klusmeyer, 2000:7). While history is an important influence in shaping the nationality laws of the state, it is also the case that these laws are in continual flux as current international and domestic environments can have a significant impact on

the type and extent of change nations are willing to consider in their nationality laws.

Nationality laws define membership within the state and the simple act of continued use of a particular form of nationality law, as well as state actions to change nationality laws, are important signals of who belongs and who does not belong within state boundaries.

As Klusmeyer (2000) notes

these rules ask us to consider how the relationship between a polity and its citizens should be understood...the state's choice of means for acquiring citizenship has important consequences in promoting the inclusion or exclusion of persons and groups within a polity...the most fundamental issue turns on the question of 'who belongs' (6).

As indicated, a central tenet of nationality laws is the explicit definition of state subjects, an important aspect of state sovereignty. Despite the importance of nationality laws most provide a weak, and often disappointing, definition of who belongs (Kaplan, 1993:247).

These weak and often ambiguous definitions of state membership have created complications in the past and continue, in the face of current state issues around migration, to expose difficulties, questions and problems around membership that extend beyond the scope of the law.

Problems inherent in nationality laws can be largely traced to the traditional conception of citizenship as a relationship between a single state and the individual citizen. Carried forward from traditional Greek conceptions of citizenship, the classic model of citizenship is founded on a belief that an individual can be a member of one, and only one nation-state. Underlying assumptions in this classic model of citizenship suggest that states are composed of culturally homogeneous populations, where individuals within the state are believed to be of one group with shared cultural and physical traits. While this conceptualization of citizenship has to some degree always

been somewhat contestable, it was largely sustainable in past decades. While states have not always been culturally homogeneous the traditional conception of citizenship based on homogeneity was functional because states suppressed any diversity that did exist within the state, pushing instead for the assimilation of those different from the majority. More recently, however, the surge in international mobility over the last few decades has questioned the ability to suppress diversity and complicated this model of citizenship which has left scholars trying to manipulate a concept developed in the past to fit the current situation (Bloemraad, 2004:390; Castles & Davidson, 2000:viii; Heater, 1999:155; Kaplan, 1993:245). Challenges to the classic idea of citizenship as an exclusive link between the individual and the nation-state have come from several directions. Large scale migration, globalization and multiculturalism are among only some of the factors that have served to strain the classic model of citizenship (Harty & Murphy, 2005:15; Soysal, 1996:19). Presented with these problems, it falls upon the democratic state to find new methods of extending inclusion oriented policies to those who might otherwise fall outside state and territorial boundaries as defined by nationality law. Recognition of the importance of citizenship, and attempts to reconstruct a citizenship model that fits current political, social and cultural environments has been highlighted as one of the motivating factors for the reinvigoration of citizenship studies (Harty & Murphy, 2005:24); “the very importance of the status and activity of being a citizen [that] commands us, not to neglect the subject, but, on the contrary, to understand the complexities and tensions that do exist and worry them to resolution” (Heater, 1999:155).

Research interest in citizenship has been in and out of vogue throughout the last several decades. More recently and particularly over the last few years, citizenship has been a topic of interest for academics from across political, social and cultural fields (Kastoryano, 2005:693; Croucher, 2004:44), and multidisciplinary interest in citizenship has created an arena in which much literature has been published on citizenship. Despite this growing level of interest and flurry of writing, the field remains complicated by disagreement around what it actually means to be a citizen (Klusmeyer, 2001:9; Joseph, 1999:4). The growing interest and increase in publications has led to a divergence in the use of the citizenship term and some ambiguity around definitions of citizenship (Klusmeyer, 2001:9). While most definitions acknowledge to some extent the many meanings of citizenship, academic authors will often place particular emphasis on different aspects of the concept of citizenship.

Traditional definitions of citizenship, often emanating from the political fields of thought, draw on the concept of citizenship as a marker of ties to the nation-state (Bloemraad, 2004:390; Fasit, 2004:4; Faist, 2000:271; Castles & Davidson, 2000:vii; Spinner, 1994:168) and the rights and obligations (Delanty, 2000:127; Eriksen & Weigard, 2000:15; Kaplan, 1993:245,247; Hammar, 1989:85) resulting from those ties. Citizenship, and the legal papers and documentation (such as passports) accompanying this status, certify affiliation with the political community of the nation-state and signify the individual's belonging within the territorial boundaries defined by that nation-state (Castles & Davidson, 2000:vii; Delanty, 2000:9; Vandenberg, 2000:5; Schuck, 1998:236; Soysal, 1996:18; Fulford, 1993:104). Individuals who are deemed members within the nation state are granted certain political, civil, social (and other such as cultural or

environmental) rights and these rights are theoretically conceived to be equally applied and accessible to all citizens of the nation-state (Spinner, 1994:39).

While membership in the state entitles the individuals to a certain set of rights, these rights do come with obligations on the part of the individual. In return for the rights offered by the state, the individual is expected to uphold a duty to perform as a member of that state. While these obligations can take many forms, in many modern states the obligations usually end at the expectation that the individual will be a conscientious citizen, respecting others and the state by acting as a good member of society (Delanty, 2000:217). Duties of a good member of society for most modern states include upholding the laws of the state and payment of taxes. Voting is also often included in this list of obligations, and in some states is mandatory.

In contrast to political legal definitions of citizenship which emphasize membership, rights and obligations, a sociological field of citizenship research is emerging. Rather than placing emphasis on the aspects of citizenship valued by the political legal theorists, sociological citizenship researchers stress the importance of understanding the concept of citizenship as defined by the individual citizen. More specifically, emphasis is placed on understanding the value of citizenship in the every day life of citizens. This sociological perspective on citizenship has resulted in a new interest in citizenship studies and has, for some researchers, altered the conception of citizenship to include ideas about identity and sense of belonging (Isin, 2004:6).

The foundational theory to impact the academic literature on citizenship originated with T.H. Marshall in 1950. Marshall conceived of citizenship in largely liberal terms that linked the status of citizenship not only to membership within a political

community but also to a collection of historically evolved rights affiliated with that membership. Marshall believed that these rights granted fully and equally to each member of the community, could be divided into three categories, each developing in its own era. Marshall's tripartite of rights was composed of civil rights which afforded individuals certain freedoms within society; political rights which enabled participation in political processes; and social rights which guaranteed a level of economic welfare and security (Ginsborg, 2005:26; Miller, 2000:44; Oommen, 1997:224; Turner, 1997:11; Somers, 1994:67; Anthias & Yuval Davis, 1992:30; Turner, 1990: 191; Marshall, 1950:10). Within this framework of rights, individuals were free to pursue their goals provided their pursuit did not hamper the ability of others to engage in similar individual pursuits. The granting by the state of these citizenship rights was assumed to provide equality, moderating the inequalities of social class and providing equal footing to all to pursue individual good (Neal & Paris, 1999:425).

The classical definition of citizenship as employed by Marshall, which emphasizes the tie between the nation-state and those who belong within that political boundary, is believed by some scholars to fall short of a full understanding of the significance of citizenship. While Marshall's work moved the concept of citizenship in important directions, several significant changes in society have proved aspects of his work unsustainable. Marshall's development of a citizenship framework was based in British social culture and history during a time considerably different from contemporary eras. Given modern changes to societal composition and structure the foundational assumptions in Marshall's work have proved untenable. Specifically the assumption that suggests the state to be composed of a homogeneous national group bounded by state

borders and impervious to outside influence is no longer realistic, if it ever was.

Challenges to the Marshallian conception of citizenship have also come from the emergence of new forms of rights such as collective rights and cultural rights largely unaccounted for in Marshall's development of citizenship (Delanty, 2000:126).

Challenged by the emergence of new forms of rights, and changing societal composition, Marshall's theory of citizenship has been called into question. However, these have not been the only questions raised about Marshall's framework. Others have argued that the conception of citizenship built by Marshall has been one that has largely constructed the individual as a passive recipient of citizenship rights, acting autonomously in their everyday life (Delanty, 2000:19; Ong, 1999:193; Turner, 1997:15). By emphasizing the passive dimension of citizenship Marshall neglects to account for changes in citizenship that result from the active claims of citizens against the state and negates the role of social movements in increasing citizenship rights (Turner, 1990:200). For many, this passivity fails to capture the true essence of citizenship, arguing that the very definition of citizenship calls for an active dimension in which the individual joins together with other individuals within the community to act together towards goals and the expansion of citizenship rights that are of common good for not only the individual but also for the community as a whole. Political actions aimed at bettering the social good are taken as signaling not only agency within the individual, but also a shared commitment to, and identification with, the community (Delanty, 2000:19; Ong, 1999:193). The absence of these aspects of citizenship from Marshall's work have not gone unnoticed, and the focus on identity and participation as an important aspect of citizenship have been elaborated on by communitarian and civic republican theorists.

Communitarians believe classic definitions of citizenship do not present a full understanding of citizenship. They argue that the status has evolved to encompass greater meaning than simply nation-state membership, rights and obligations. Although these authors do not deny that citizenship entails political-legal aspects such as rights and obligations, they argue that the concept has also come to take on emotional and psychological aspects of belonging to a community, solidarity and identity (Hart & Murphy, 2005:76; Kastoryano, 2005:694; Vandenberg, 2005:5; Thomas, 2002:339; Isin, 2000:4; Tully, 2000:214; Fulbrook & Cesarani, 1996:209; Kaplan, 1993:252; Morton, 1993:50). By emphasizing identity and belonging this evolved conception of citizenship expands areas of interest to those beyond simple rights and obligations. The communitarian definition of citizenship has been quick to address research and has renewed interest in citizenship. As a focus of academic interest communitarianism has placed particular emphasis on the area of identity and belonging.

Communitarians argue that the major flaw with liberalism is its insistence on seeing the individual as without ties to any groups or other individuals within the community. They argue that the conception of individuals developed by liberal scholars is one in which individuals are shaped independently of their interaction with the community and in which identity is predetermined and uninfluenced by those with whom they have daily interactions (Delanty, 2000:25; Spinner, 1994:17). However, communitarians believe this interaction between individuals and others within the community to be an integral part of understanding the shaping of individual identity. Rather than neglecting the interactions between the individual and members of the community, communitarians take this as a central aspect to be considered in the

development of an individual's self. Accordingly, individual development is not autonomous and free from the influences of the community, but rather the individual, and in turn the goals pursued by an individual, are influenced by the culture, race and social position of the individual, as well as other aspects of the community in which they are embedded (Delanty, 2000:25; Vandenberg, 2000:9; Spinner, 1994:27).

Central to the communitarian perspective is the emphasis on identity and participation, both of which are strongly linked to the majority culture within the nation-state. With a strong emphasis on culture, participation and community, all of which are intrinsically linked to the state, individual action becomes highly intertwined with collective good. That is, the individual's primary concern is in ensuring their actions will result in good for the community; self interest is absent as a motivator for action. The emphasis on collectivity, and in pursuing actions of collective good accentuate the role of the citizen in shaping the direction of the society's future (Delatny, 2000:27; Hutchings, 1999:9; Miller, 1999:63). At the far end of this communitarian perspective is the idea of civic republicanism. Civic republicanism, like communitarianism, emphasizes participation, but extends beyond the idea of moral responsibility to emphasize participation in public life (Delanty, 2000:31). Civic republicanism, unlike communitarianism, places an important emphasis on the active participation through collective politics and obligations and duties inherent in the status of citizenship. By highlighting this emphasis civic republicanism addresses one of the central critiques of the individual as passive recipient of rights seen in the liberal perspective (Lister, 1997:32).

Despite communitarian and civic republican strengths addressing the shortcomings of liberal traditions, communitarian and civic republican ideas are not without their own limitations. One of the most profound shortcomings is their emphasis on participation within the community, an emphasis that implies attachment to a single national community. This emphasis is problematic in the current environment of immigration where research has shown that individuals can, and in fact do, maintain physical, participatory and emotional ties in two or more states (Ramji, 2006b:704; Sokefeld, 2006:280).

Though research has suggested that citizenship is an inclusionary concept which emphasizes one's acceptance within the community, a body of literature exists which reminds scholars of the exclusionary tendencies of citizenship arising as a result of the ideological limits which serve to curb immigration of particular groups while encouraging others (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:13; Thobani, 2000:36; Bhabha, 1999:13; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992:31). Immigration policies are some of the policy most apt to demonstrate the racially discriminative and exclusionary tones, even in multicultural states where diversity is encouraged. These discriminative tones are discernible in the way that multiculturalism is promoted within a largely hidden hierarchy in which value is placed on an ideal type of citizen who is white and easily integrated into everyday Anglo-Celtic customs (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:13; Abu-Laban, 2002:460).

Criticisms advancing the argument that citizenship plays an exclusionary role have been largely endorsed by critical theorists who argue that that the exclusionary nature of citizenship is one which creates second-class citizens whose needs remain unmet by the hegemonic system as a result of their positioning as outsiders. This

positioning is based largely on their different ethnicity, race and gender which stands opposed to the value inherent in the ideal citizen (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:18; Lister, 1997:36; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992:31).

The concept of citizenship, particularly as defined by communitarian and civic republican theories, is closely related to the concept of nationalism – a term often used to denote national solidarity between state members and the nation-state. While nationality can be conceived of as similar to citizenship, there are important differences. A brief exploration of nationalism and nationality, and its links to citizenship, are presented below.

Nationality

Broadly, nationality can be defined as “a cultural concept which binds people on the basis of shared identity” (Thomas, 2002:235). Like citizenship, nationalism denotes the allegiance of an individual to the state, state culture, and state institutions and can typically be conceived of as ethnic or civic. Ethnic nationalism refers to a nationalism that stems from a shared ancestry and common culture between the members of the group. Alternatively, civic nationalism implies patriotism based on a loyalty to the political institutions and values of the state (Croucher, 2003:87). Like the traditional model of citizenship, nationality assumes a homogeneous population and suggests belonging, and attachment, to a single state based on shared values, traditions or political institutions. The sharing of these values and traditions among members of the nation-state creates a solidarity and sense of belonging to the nation (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:57; Miller, 2000:103; Bankowski & Christodoulidis, 1999:92). Where there is

ethnic diversity, resulting from immigration, it is assumed that immigrants will assimilate to the core values of the dominant national culture.

In fact, the similarity between the two concepts – citizenship and nationality – has led to the two often being used interchangeably to refer to an individual's membership within the nation-state (Kastoryano, 2005:693; Turner, 2000:23; Fulbrook & Cesarani, 1996:210). While it is often the case that the two are used interchangeably this is largely because the term, nationalism, is highly disputed and used as a broad term without specific reference to the type of nationalism implied. While civic nationalism, a nationalism based on shared commitment to political structures and values within the state, may conjure ideas of citizenship, ethnic nationalism should not as it is based on ethnic ties to a group or region, a situation which can leave many individuals feeling excluded from a place they live because they do not share similar backgrounds. Regardless of its civic or ethnic tone, nationalism continues to be a term used to structure and denote belonging (Croucher, 2004:90).

Debates concerning the terms citizenship and nationality, however, continue. For some authors the two words are distinctly different in character and interchangeable use of these terms is unacceptable. For those who draw this distinction, nationality is used to represent an emotive, psychological sentiment between the individual and the nation, in which “the nation” is defined as a cultural grouping of individuals who share common ethnic and cultural histories. Citizenship, on the other hand, represents a legal concept denoting one's formal socio-political involvement with the state (Gottlieb, 2004:106; McCrone & Keily, 2000:25; Oommen, 1997:19). However, even within this division, the usage of the terms is complex, and often confounded. For example, Alonso (1995:587)

makes a clear distinction between the emotional aspect of nationality and the legal aspect of citizenship, but continues within his work to use national and citizen interchangeably to reference individual members of the state.

Recognizing the still unsettled debates, murkiness and lack of clarity around the concepts of nationality and citizenship, this research will use the terms interchangeably to denote sentimental and legal attachments to the state. Consequently, citizenship in this research can be understood to have a significant role in the construction of identities, something that is coming to be recognized in citizenship studies. Citizenship, as a reflection of identity, though somewhat new as an area of academic interest, is not a new concept. Upon sovereignty, states will invest in constructing national stories. Part of this investment lies in an attempt to delineate a population and provide a national identity to those within the state boundaries.

Citizenship & Identities: The Nation Building Project

The link between citizenship and the nation state is based largely on the nation-building project undertaken by nation-states during early periods of sovereignty. Nations built themselves, and ensured sovereignty by delineating a territory, and a population within that territory. State populations were conferred through citizenship and solidarity built through definition as a nation and granting of citizenship. By conferring citizenship upon the individuals within the territory, states not only defined their populations (Delanty, 2000:97), but also contributed to “the national story [to] invoke[s] a grand narrative of belonging into which citizens are inducted” (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:57). The grand narrative created around an individual nation-state defines the

inclusion of certain individuals within the state, and by doing so grants them access to institutions, programs and social rights available through the state (Halfmann, 1998:513).

The nation-building project was constructed on the premise that inclusion was also exclusive. That is, defined as a member of one state, individuals were prohibited from being included in, or defined as members within a second state. The project involved significant investments on the part of the state – these investments were made to ensure that single and exclusive ties were drawn between the individuals within the state and the state itself. These investments were not only material, ideological, and cultural, but also emotional, developed to ensure a stable democracy by endowing citizens with a sense of identity and devotion toward the state (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:24,41; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000:6). Developing an understanding of the way in which belonging was, and is, promoted by the state is impacted by contexts within the nation-state itself. Among the contextual considerations to be examined are the political, economic, social and cultural environments within the state. How these various aspects are promoted and regulated within the state can have significant impacts on the sense of belonging established by the citizen (Croucher, 2004:41).

The nation-building project has been central to defining a population as included within the nation state and recent interest in this concept of inclusion has begun to be addressed in literature on identity as linked to the state. This link between identity and belonging within the state has been the result of a concept of identity which is dynamic and flexible. Various definitions of identity exist, ranging in practice from a concept that is stable, immutable and rigid to one which is fluid, dynamic and constantly in change (Croucher, 2004:38), but it is the latter definition which is drawn upon most often in

discussions of identity and belonging at the state level (Fortier, 2000:2). Fortier (2000) finds this emphasis particularly noteworthy, and draws on the work of Probyn to emphasize the link between belonging and a dynamic identity;

belonging as it operates in Probyn's work is useful because it displaces identity from its foundational status. She slides from 'identity' to 'belonging', in part because...the latter term captures more accurately the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as stable (Probyn as in Fortier, 2000:2).

The boundaries erected by the state foster citizen identity by way of extending a sense of belonging to individuals defined as part of the state. These boundaries act to define who is considered part of the state by defining who is excluded from the state; boundaries delineate an 'us' and 'them' of state belonging. Beyond providing a definition of the individual within the state, the state territory represents a space for individuals to act out their own identities. The extension of citizenship to individuals defined as belonging within the state is an integral process in shaping this identity and belonging process through the internalization of the state-defined boundaries (Meinhof & Galasinski, 2005:8; Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:46; Steedman, 1995:60; Spinner, 1994:168).

What this alludes to is that the extension of citizenship as an indicator of belonging functions not only on a legal basis, formally acknowledging the inclusion of the citizen within the state boundaries, but also on a psychological level, opening the arms of the state family to embrace the defined citizenry (Simms, 1993:35). Much of the research on the idea of state-linked identity (often referred to as national identity) emanates from research following the communitarian perspective on citizenship and

suggests that this identity is an important aspect of an individual's sense of self, providing an important definition of the individual's place in society (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:39; Coleman & Higgins, 2000: 66; Johnston Conover, Crewe, Searing, 1991:805; Miller, 1999:62). Unlike the liberal conception of identity in which individuals are self-created and fixed on these core understandings of ourselves, the conception of identity used by communitarians is constructionist, appreciating that identity can be shaped by multiple factors encountered in an individual's life, of which the state and the state community within which the individual is located, is only one factor. These various factors encountered during an individual's engagement with the community of the state will impact the identity shaping it across time and space, for the most part intersecting in ways that are coherent and understandable to the individual (Kastoryano, 2005: 694; Meinhof & Galasinski, 2005:8; Croucher, 2004:38; Tastsoglou, 2001:3; Spinner, 1994:17).

Critical theorists, particularly feminist critiques of citizenship, have been particularly prominent in moving communitarian researchers to draw on the constructionist perspective in understanding the national identity associated with state-citizenship (Carruthers, 2002:426). Their work has emphasized the ability of the communitarian perspective to offer a greater sense of fluidity, closer to the real life experience of individual identity in which people often experience multiple identities tied to multiple aspects of life. While many of these identities may be 'nested', fitting easily together within the individual's life as they play various intersecting roles within the family, the community and region, there are some individuals who may face challenges in integrating identities not so well integrated, particularly those from disparate

communities, such as may be the case for immigrants who feel attachments to two culturally different nations. Furthermore, placing value upon the constructionist perspective permits an understanding of citizenship that draws on the performative aspect, that is, it draws attention to the need to recognize that adoption of state citizenship means not only access to rights within the state, but also an acceptance of what it means to be a citizen and act as a citizen of the state (Roseneau, 2003:193; Joseph, 1999:3).

An understanding of citizenship which emphasizes the multiple and performative aspects of citizenship is particularly important to comprehending the sense of belonging and identity held by new immigrants in various countries and contexts. The importance lies in the ability of this conceptualization to manage multiple connections to states and foster greater connections to citizenship frameworks that move beyond traditional conceptions of unitary ties and singular national identities. While the assumption of homogeneous national populations where a single cultural identity exists may have largely worked within past decades, suppressing diversity when it was present, large scale international migration and the acceptance of diversity within nation states, has complicated this conception of the homogeneous nation. The unified national history is also called into question as individuals move across borders and face the risk of exclusion from the recipient nation-state when defined as a single history. New accounts of citizenship must attempt to reconcile this (Halfmann, 1998:519).

While much of the literature on migration and immigrant identity reflects identity changes as a result of migration, the literature is cognizant of the fact that the identity changes highlighted are not often a permanent and unidirectional switch from one national identity to the other, but rather are tied up in a *mélange* of national identities in

which the individual attempts to master two or more identities in their new home

(Tastsoglou, 2001:27; Coleman & Higgins, 2000:67). As Spinner (1994) notes:

...our identity is tied up with our memories; who we are depends on who we were...Immigrants have memories of the old country, of the customs and traditions of their native land. With these memories, they often stand between two cultures. They often fondly remember (part of) their past, but they are in a place where that past can no longer continue on the path it was taking (65).

The identities held by these individuals who are tied to more than one state are multiple and can result from a number of situations, one of which is the movement of lives across borders. While Spinner's (1994:65) quote realizes that the lives of immigrants are impacted jointly by two or more cultures, his description of how immigrants are involved in these two countries seems less reflective of the realities today. His sentiments about national identity seem to indicate that individuals move from one state and culture to the next, bringing with them only "memories" of the "old country". Today the reality suggested by transnationalism scholars is that individuals who migrate are often part of, and involved in, the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of not only their new country of residence, but remain part of these activities in the home country from which they have emigrated. The living between states impacts not only the events in daily life, but also on identity, leading individuals to find ways to incorporate both cultural backgrounds into conceptions of who they are.

Individuals in their daily lives are constantly juggling multiple identities, as student, as caregiver, as employee and friend and it is assumed that this ability to juggle multiple identities within one's life is something that is also mastered by immigrants who move across state-boundaries, by adapting to their migration through alterations in identity and by finding ways to incorporate multiple (including diasporic) identities into

ideas about themselves (Roseneau, 2003:192). For most immigrants this means not living two separate lives, one which exists in the home state and one in the state of residence, but living through an incorporation of the two places not only in their identity, but in daily activities of the life they lead (Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994:5). Literature on diasporic populations is particularly informative of this emphasis of the lived experience between two places, highlighting that immigrants bring with them customs, languages and religions practiced in the old country to establish communities in the new host country. The diasporic communities formed in the new host country are reflective of the cultural, social and political environments of the home country (Abdelhady, 2006:431), and the transfer of these cultural practices from home to host country draws attention not only to the shared identities between the home and host communities, but also to the multiple loyalties and attachments that an immigrant maintains. While maintenance of these ties is central to an understanding of diaspora communities, how these ties are maintained is played out differently depending on the various circumstances of the groups (Ramji, 2006:704; Sokefeld, 2006:280).

For some this means frequent return trips to the country of origin, for others it can be contact with family and friends in the home state over the phone or through real-time internet conversations, or email (Gibau, 2005:406; Ramji, 2006:704; Sokefeld, 2006:268). Abdelhady (2006:445) found that the use of on-line communications, email and other media, is a growing means of maintaining attachments to the host community in his study of the Lebanese diaspora in Montreal and New York. Contact with family and friends provide transmigrants the opportunity to hear first hand about social, political, economical, environmental or other events occurring in the home state. Other sources of

information that allow the individual to remain active and informed about the daily happenings of the home country include internet, newspapers and satellite television. Finally, cultural engagement with the home country may also occur through films and literature available in the host country as a result of globalization. Furthermore, the establishment of cultural and religious communities and community groups in the host country provides for the practice of cultural and religious customs of the home country while in the host country.

While the transnational ties of transmigrants to home and host states assist in the fostering of multiple identities, it is not without some conflict both within the individual and within generations. Inter-generational conflicts may arise as the emphasis on cultural values or the practice of cultural customs change. Internal conflict may arise as the result of individuals' ideas of their self not conforming to the ideas of the imposed majority about their self, particularly where there is a colour divide. While the potential for conflict is present, research suggests that for the most part, transmigrants find means to fit these identities together in ways that are not conflictual (Kastoryano, 2005: 694; Tastsoglou, 2001:3; Spinner, 1994:17).

This new transnational understanding of citizenship, one which provides an opportunity for individuals to find an identity which is linked to two or more states and reconcile their identity as multiple, has been the result of various social challenges and changes that have impacted how citizenship is conceptualized.

Challenges to Citizenship & Nationalism

The use of citizenship and nationality as terms to denote inclusion within the state has been challenged by a number of changes and social developments in recent history.

These changes have complicated what it means to be a national, or hold state citizenship, how one obtains citizenship as well as who can hold citizenship. These new challenges have been reflected in multiple criticisms against the traditional model of citizenship and the concept of nationalism suggesting that a strict interpretation of citizenship leaves many individuals feeling stateless. Strict interpretations not only create the potential for statelessness, but also potentially create conflicts where one state encompasses, but does not represent, all of the population within the state (Croucher, 2003:87). Schwarzmantel (2002:85) agrees with this problematization of nationalism, highlighting that nationalism refers to a single national identity based on a specific culture and history. He argues that this reference is often exclusionary to new immigrants who seek membership in the state, but do not share the cultural and political history of the state members.

Many of the advances in society which new conceptions of citizenship attempt to capture arise as a result of globalization. The critics of the traditional citizenship model argue that the process of globalization has highlighted the need for approaches to citizenship that recognize multiple forms of belonging and which are accepting of ties to two or more states (Bloemraad, 2004:390; Gustafson, 2002:470; Thomas, 2002:343; Castles & Davidon, 2000:vii; Hammar, 1985:438). Globalization has increased the mobility of people and information and has resulted in a highly interconnected world. One of the most impacting effects of globalization is an increase in migration as a result of new technologies that make travel over greater distances easier and faster. The consequences of these changes on citizenship are explored below following a brief description of globalization itself.

Globalization, Migration, the State and Citizenship

Globalization as a sociological concept is highly contested and is often defined in a number of diverse ways in the literature (Croucher, 2004:10). Despite these difficulties, there are a set of characteristics that can be agreed upon as defining globalization. These characteristics are often broken down into four related aspects: an economy located less at the individual state level and instead increasingly at the international level; increasing visibility of supra-state institutions to govern rights and legal norms accompanied by a global interest in promoting and sustaining the values and standards associated with those rights and legal norms; the increased movement of individuals around the globe, and; a rapid growth in technological innovations which have facilitated the interpenetration of economies and societies, communication, and the rapid movement of individuals around the world (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005:1; Brysk & Shafir, 2004:6; Castles & Davidson, 2000:4; Croucher, 2004:11).

It is these final two aspects of globalization which have had the most profound impacts on the application of citizenship and nationality laws and policies in defining state nationals. The technological changes which have drastically eased the ability to travel and communicate across greater distances have had a significant consequence on the way citizenship is conceived and applied (Bloemraad, 2004:390; Croucher, 2004:31,71; Castles & Davidson, 2000:4).

Others argue that the effect of globalization has been a reduced legitimacy and capacity of the state which has served to limit the importance of the role of nation-state citizenship as a dispenser of rights and locus of belonging and identity (Gustafson, 2002:438,465; Castles & Davidson, 2000:viii; Hammar, 1985:438). Some academics argue that the traditional conception of the state as providing rights through citizenship is

no longer required as more and more rights are enforced via international agreements and accords signed by states. Though contested by other scholars who argue that the major providers and enforcers of rights (citizenship or human) remains the state, the criticism remains one which must be addressed. These two factors have greatly impacted the ideas around traditional models of citizenship and are explored in greater depth below.

Travel and Communication Technologies

Increases in travel and communication technologies have helped to give more people greater access to the world. Consequently, more people today travel, and are able to travel, to places much further removed than was once the case. In fact, the thought of a person spending their life in one place is no longer as common as it once was, largely a result of advances in technology which have significantly lowered the costs associated with communication and travel. Consequently, migrants who move far away from their home country are no longer required to cut all ties to the home country. Instead, through global media, the telephone, and less expensive travel, migrants are able to remain in touch with, stay informed about and maintain ties to, their country of origin (Brysk & Shafir, 2004:6; Hanafi, 2003:np; Martin & Aleinikoff, 2002:np; Faist, 2000:212; Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994:24). These technologies emphasize the possibility of

the continuance of overseas relationships [which] has undoubtedly changed in character...these changes have transformed the landscape of trans-border networks...the possibility of near-instantaneous communication has permitted a stronger presence in the lives of those remaining in the country of origin (Lewis-Watts, 2005:13).

The above highlights not only the ease with which cross-border communication can occur, making it easier for immigrants to leave their country of origin, but also highlights the emphasis that migrants place on retaining attachments to multiple homes. It is this

emphasis on multiple memberships and experiences of belonging that academics seek to recognize in contemporary conceptions of citizenship (Gustafson, 2002: 470; Thomas, 2002: 343).

Greater access to travel as a result of globalization has also led to an increase in the number of people who move across borders, and who take up residence in a country to which they do not politically belong (Gustafson, 2002:465; Castles & Davidson, 2000:viii; Hammar, 1985:438; Joseph, 1999:7). Yet the state of political belonging is different from the emotive aspect of belonging, and many argue that migrants experience a sense of belonging to these places where they do not belong politically or legally, creating significant instances for exclusion of migrants from host societies. Much of the literature theorizes that a migrant's sense of attachment to the home country does not automatically expire upon coming to the host country, but rather the migrants begin to develop strong ties to both, or multiple, countries (Duncan, 2003:np; Gustafson, 2002:470; Castles & Davidons, 2000:viii; Halfmann, 1998:518).

The maintenance of ties to multiple homes through travel and communication technologies has profound impacts on what it means to be an immigrant. As Basch, Schiller and Blanc (1994) argue

the word 'immigrant' evokes images of permanent rupture, of the abandonment of old patterns of life and the painful learning of new culture and often a new language. The popular image of immigrants is one of people who have come to stay, having uprooted themselves from their old society in order to make for themselves a new home and adopt a new country to which they will pledge allegiance...yet it has become increasingly obvious that our present conceptions of 'immigrant' and 'migrant', anchored in the circumstances of earlier historic moments, no longer suffice. Today, immigrants develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and host society (4).

These changes impact not only our conception of what it means to migrate, or to be an immigrant as the authors have pointed out, but also have substantial impacts on citizenship and the ways in which this status is maintained, acquired or lost as people move around the globe crossing state boundaries.

Considerable technological changes have altered the way we conceive of immigration, and have resulted in immigrants who functionally maintain ties in two, and sometimes more states at the same time (Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994:7). Although there are many pros associated with the maintenance of multiple ties, the greater mobility of transmigrants across state lines increases the chances of social, political and economic exclusion from host societies. This exclusion can only be rectified by state level policies that promote the inclusion of mobile individuals. Recognition of the impacts of technological changes as a result of globalization on the mobility of individuals means having also to allocate greater attention to ensuring these individuals are not excluded from their new host societies.

Changes in the technologies available to maintain ties with those left behind, however, have not been the only issues prompting scholars to consider new meanings of citizenship. Some argue that, as a result of globalization, states, and state legitimacy, are in a constant state of flux and this flux is forcing challenges to citizenship that were not present during previous eras.

The Changing Role of the State

As noted above, some argue that the process of globalization leads to questions about the autonomy, legitimacy and policy-making capacity of the nation state. In particular, some authors argue that the strength of international organizations has

weakened the national state. This research has brought focus to the ways state power is being confronted by international agreements which lend power to an individual's capability to watch out for themselves through bundles of human rights accorded to the individual (Croucher, 2003:32-33,52; Thomas, 2002:339; Castles & Davidson, 2000:6). Coupled with this move to human rights provided at the supra-state level is the current market context of citizenship in which former state responsibility to ensure the well-being of citizens is being replaced by the neo-liberal ethos of competitiveness and reduction in state welfare policy. Attitudes of competitiveness and reduction emphasize decreases in state social spending and encourage the privatization, or abolishment, of state welfare provisions, casting the responsibility for individual welfare to the individual themselves and reducing the importance of the state (Sassen, 2004:195).

Sassen (2004: 202,203) furthers the arguments surrounding state decline by suggesting that while the state has been maintained and continues to play a role in citizenship, that role has changed largely due to the changed meaning, and loss of authority of the state. State authority is questioned, according to Ford (2001:211) by the emergence of global and sub-national actors which impact the ability of states to create and enforce laws at the national level. Instead, nations are strong-armed, by global forces, into positions where the individual is empowered to act individually rather than as part of the collective nation¹. While Ford (2001:211) highlights the impact of global and sub-national state actors, Sassen (2000:48) argues that greater access to the international arena provided to NGOs and other individual actors also undermines the authority of the

¹ Ford (2001:211) uses the example of market politics where global competition drives down prices and allows the individual to act as a consumer motivated by the desire to save money. State policies to encourage domestic goods, goods usually of higher cost because of higher working standards and better wages to their employees, result in economic difficulties for the state.

state. In light of the difficulties faced by the state Sassen (2004:202,203) claims that consideration must be given to the state-citizenship relationship, and these considerations should allow for the possibility that the relationship has moved to other territorial locations, such as the city or supra-state level.

Despite the problems with the nation state identified above, some authors believe that the nation state still plays a role, and that it is the issuing of citizenship status and the relationship between the state and citizen which is particularly central to the role of the state. These authors argue that the centrality of the state is reinforced by the simple fact that the nation state issues and enforces citizenship rights (and to some extent is also responsible for enforcing human rights). This belief, they argue, is further supported by the fact that there is still a large number of people who seek out citizenship in states (Bloemraad, 2004:393; Croucher, 2003:68; Duncan, 2003:np). Regardless of the arguments presented against the state, the state, as Brysk and Shaffir (2004:4) note, remains an important consideration in the topic of citizenship as the rights associated with citizenship continue to be dispensed by the sovereign state. Recognition of the state as a provider of citizenship rights highlights the central role continued to be occupied by the state.

Despite questions regarding the authority of the state, the importance of the state as the purveyor of citizenship and the rights associated with that status within the nation-state community, remains clear. Globalization, however, continues to present challenges for how the state deals with citizenship for migrants who have moved across state boundaries but continue to lead transnational lives and remain active in the political, social and cultural activities of both states.

Transnationalism: Recognizing Multiple State Ties

Conceptually, transnationalism emphasizes lives lived across nation-state borders by highlighting the ways that immigrants maintain ties between their countries of origin and countries of settlement. Lewis-Watts (2005:26) argues that transnationalism must be seen as “an act that permits social and economic ties to multiple locations, permitting a hybrid conceptualization of place and belonging”. Transnationalism results in ties that may be maintained through participation in one or a combination of social, cultural, political or economic activities in the home and host states. How these ties are maintained is often shaped by social, legal and economic capital that immigrants have access to after migration.

The idea of transnational ties presents a perplexing puzzle for those who have understood proximity to others as a key aspect of strong social networks. However, for those who can move beyond this restriction to an understanding that geographic nearness is no longer a requirement to maintain social ties to a community, transnationalism becomes an important aspect of understanding immigrant integration (Faist, 2004:9; Faist, 2000:317). New understandings of social networks suggest that those which are large and diverse create greater opportunities for immigrants to participate in social, cultural, political and economic opportunities beyond the borders of the nation state. Participation in these transnational spaces has been found to positively impact the adaptation process of many immigrants.

While national belonging to some is questioned by the directions of transnationalism, other see the prospects as enhanced. Carruthers (2002:424) argues that national belonging becomes a key lever in transnationalism, allowing immigrants to

better gain access to the potential benefits of migration. By taking advantage of opportunities for membership within the nation state Carruthers (2002:424) argues that non-white transmigrants can transfer cultural capital into other forms of capital to gain success in new host countries dominated by whiteness. More specifically, he argues that transmigrants “accumulate[ing] national capital [is] to transform it into national belonging, the form of symbolic capital specific to the national field, and recognized as legitimate by the dominant national grouping” (Carruthers, 2002:430). Carruthers goes further by suggesting that when migrating to a country dominated by Whiteness, the symbolic capital most desired is whiteness, which he argues can be seen as not only a physical trait but also “an agglomeration of nationally valued physical and cultural styles” (Carruthers, 2002:430). The accumulation of symbolic capital associated with whiteness, Carruthers argues, allows non-white transmigrants to legitimately claim membership within the state, though actual legitimacy is limited by the fact that the transmigrants is not a natural white.

Regardless of how these ties are acquired, acted upon and maintained, the act of crossing a border is now much more reversible and less unidirectional than was once the case (Croucher, 2004:92; Faist, 2004:1; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003:1213; Carruthers, 2002:426; Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:2; Faist, 2000:235; Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994:8). While some argue that the idea of transnational ties is not new given that a central part of international migration has been the dispersion of families across international borders (Faist, 2000:211), it is recognized that the intensity of transnational interactions is increasing (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:116; Feldblum, 2000:479).

Transnationalism calls attention to the need for conceptions of citizenship that recognize that the lives of transmigrants do not fit neatly within the borders of a single state. Transnational studies suggest that the experience of many immigrants is in fact active participation in the social, political, economic or cultural activities of more than one state (Bloemraad, 2004:394; Hanafi, 2003:np). The recognition that immigrant activities can take place in multiple states highlights the central tenet of transnationalism –state boundaries are transgressed in the everyday lives of immigrants (Croucher, 2003:92).

Conceptions of citizenship organized around transnational ideas move further from the idea of citizenship as a set of obligations and rights between a single state and the citizen, and closer to a picture of citizenship which emphasizes the changing relationships between individuals and states. In particular, many migrant-sending states are now actively building ties with their diasporic populations, and encouraging a sense of belonging with their far-flung nationals. As discussed below, one of the ways in which states facilitate ties with overseas migrants is through tolerating or even embracing dual citizenship. The transnational conception of citizenship suggests the idea of citizenship is actively constructed through a set of performances played out between individual subjects and various states, highlighting the changing nature of membership in states (Gustafson, 2002:466; Stasiulis, 2002:366)

The cross-border interactions within transnationalism not only affect the ways in which immigrants live their daily lives, but are also theorized to have an impact on the shaping of immigrant identities where transmigrants draw on both cultures to constitute their identity (Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1994:8). For scholars of transnationalism, the

transgression of pre-defined boundaries not only occurs in the physical sense of living between nation-states (Carruthers, 2002:426), but also in the way that it impacts on the identities of immigrants. Transnationalism weakens the link between a single engrained identity based on the nation state, and instead alters this to a recognition that identity can be shifting, multilayered and negotiable (Tastsoglou, 2001:12; Faist, 2000:277; Delanty, 2000:64; Ong, 1999:64; Roseneau, 2003:192).

The emphasis on accommodating multiple attachments and flexible identities through citizenship and national belonging is clear, and recently more and more states have moved to accept, and accommodate this view of citizenship (Fasit, 2004:5; Sassen, 2004:194; Gustafson, 2002:470; Faist, 2000:200; Klusmeyer, 2000:2; Hammar, 1989:82). One means of accommodating the idea of multiple attachments has been to allow the practice of dual citizenship. Bloemraad (2004:390) argues that processes associated with globalization which are inherent in modern society, such as the increase in international laws, a move to global economies and significant increases in international migration arising as a result of advances in communication and transportation technologies create possibilities for belonging to multiple states, and that this possibility calls attention to the need for new practices in citizenship, such as the possibility of claiming dual citizenship. She argues that a greater number of immigrants claiming dual citizenship will result from increasing acceptance of the concept of transnationalism.

Acknowledging Transnationalism: The Practice of Dual Citizenship

As emphasized above, the concept and application of citizenship in modern states requires reconsideration. In the context of global change, current citizenship policies, primarily based on traditional models of nation-state citizenship, are no longer adequate

(Gustafson, 2002:470; Thomas, 2002:343; Castles & Davidon, 2000:vii; Hammar, 1985:438). In an attempt to deal with these inadequacies many states have made the move to a more current citizenship policy which attempts to account for the increased mobilization of people not seen in previous eras. The change for some states has been to allow individuals to claim dual citizenship (Sassen, 2004:194; Gustafson, 2002:470; Hammar, 1989:92). While states have in the past looked negatively at the idea of dual citizenship (Bloemraad, 2004:390), many states have now recognized the need to adapt to increasing internationalization, and many have done so by opening and addressing issues of dual citizenship (Gustafson, 2002:466; Feldblum, 2000:478; Hammar, 1989:82).

Dual citizenship occurs when an individual holds citizenship in two states; multiple citizenship occurs when individuals hold citizenship status in more than two nation-states. As a citizen of these states, the individual must act in accordance with the rights and responsibilities deemed of them through their citizenship. The concept is not new although its application to modern nation-states is; Romans were concerned over how to represent the legal recognition of multiple identities as a result of mobility and discussion of the benefits and consequences of dual citizenship, though they wax and wane, have been around in some form since that time (Heater, 1999:117). Recognition of dual citizenship intrinsically represents recognition that an immigrant can maintain ties with the country from which they emigrated and hence, should not have to relieve themselves of all ties to that nation (Faist, 2000:277).

Despite lingering concerns over the loyalty of citizens tied to two states, many states have been changing their citizenship and nationality laws to reflect the increasing mobility of individuals. These changes have resulted in many countries around the world

acknowledging, and accepting dual citizenship – today the total nears half of the world's countries (Croucher, 2004:72; Sassen, 2004:194; Spiro, 2004:96; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003:1214; Fasit, 2000:278; Schuck, 1998:221). Increasing acceptance of dual citizenship status has resulted in a greater number of people who claim dual citizenship status. While no sound data on the number of individuals holding dual nationality exists, recognizing the changes in state policy and subsequent claims to dual nationality can only lead to the understanding that dual citizenship is on the rise (Bloemraad, 2004:406; Renshon, 2000:np; Hammar, 1985:443). Changing state laws have played a significant role in the increase of dual citizens as it has led to an increase in the number of ways that one may obtain dual citizenship. Naturalization is the most well known, but marriage, child birth, and adoption are others. In the past, a marriage between individuals of two different states would result in the wife giving up her citizenship and taking the same citizenship as her husband. However, today, in some but not all countries, the woman (and the man) can claim dual citizenship, each choosing to adopt the citizenship of the other's home state as their own. Increasing international connection as well as advances for women that have reduced gender discrimination in the application of citizenship has made this a growing reality. Similarly, growing immigration has increased the number of individuals who gain dual citizenship through birth, that is, by being born in a state other than that which their parents hold citizenship to, or by inheriting the citizenship of parents when the individual's parents are from different states. While these are just a few of the ways through which one might become a dual citizen, the implications are clear. An increase in the number of dual citizens is a result of the rising acceptance of dual citizenship (Hammar, 1989:82). Despite these generalities, the actual changes to state law

are diverse, and cannot be summarized in overarching statements about how one becomes a dual citizen.

As noted above, naturalization is one of the primary ways an individual can obtain dual citizenship, and “refers to the process by which an individual not born into a particular state can gain membership in that state” (Croucher, 2004:71). While not all naturalizing citizens will result in dual citizens (the naturalization laws of both the state to which they are naturalizing and the state from which they are coming must both accept dual citizenship for this to occur) the instances of this possibility are rising. The naturalization and citizenship laws of a country make strong statements about the states’ definition of who belongs within the territory and within the state. Because of this aspect of naturalization, various perspectives have cropped up on the role of citizenship in denoting inclusion, exclusion and cohesion between state members. One perspective suggests that the extension of citizenship to newcomers promotes the inclusion of these newcomers within the state (Klusmeyer, 2000:6), while other writers argue that dual citizenship leads to immigrant loyalties which are divided between states (Bloemraad, 2004: 393; Gustafson, 2002: 473).

Dual citizenship recognizes and encourages the transnational citizenship model by providing space for the recognition that immigrant lives transcend the borders of a given state. This is accommodated by easing travel requirements to and from the home and host states by way of granting passports and by legalizing the engagement of immigrants in both home and host states while also valuing that the identity of the immigrant is composed of multiple roots (Kastoryano, 2005:694; Bloemraad, 2004:394; Croucher, 2003:92; Hanafi, 2003:np). If transnational sentiments exist among immigrants the

numbers of dual citizens will continue to rise as globalization continues to foster the transnational living of immigrant lives (Bloemraad, 2004:395). While dual citizenship recognizes the transnational aspect of immigrant's lives by bringing a modern understanding of citizenship, it also may be central to projecting a states' welcome to newcomers and signaling the state's acceptance of an immigrant's belonging. Though this may be a potential, some research suggests that not all immigrants experience full rights of dual citizenship in instances where it has been formally acquired.

Excluded from the Nation Building Project: Second Citizenship

As noted above, the nation-building project is an attempt by the sovereign state to extend its boundaries around the population of individuals which are said to belong within the territory. As recognition of belonging within that political-legal boundary, individuals are extended citizenship, a status which is intended, in the liberal perspective, to grant individuals equal access to a set of shared social, political and civil rights, and in the communitarian perspective, to extend a place of being, a community. However, despite its best intents, the extension of legal citizenship, it is often argued, cannot be equated with equal membership within the state for all members. While citizenship can help immigrants to secure a legal sense of belonging it cannot be said that this legal position is associated with a similar stance of equality in social, political, cultural, and economic areas (Sassen, 2004:197; Kaplan, 1993:255).

Many modern Western societies have grown out of a national story where whiteness and Eurocentrism is written into the history of the state. Building the story in this way has had the effect of ascribing a racial category to those who exist outside of the dominant white race. As Castagna and Sefa Dei (2000) note

an examination of the everyday, common-sense knowledge and practice of racism reveals the ascription of race to “others” but not to the dominant group.... Many times, however, white is deracialized and rendered invisible in the eyes of dominant groups. (30)

As such, whiteness becomes the point of reference through which others are seen as having to integrate. Despite being accepted into the nation-state, those who do not share the race of the dominant group of the state are faced with difficulties when it comes to accessing equal rights granted by citizenship, or when attempting to gain entrance into the state community. The extension of citizenship, while a precondition for access to equal rights, does not guarantee an individual's access to the set of rights available given the citizenship status (Savage, Bagnall, Longhurst; 2005:182; Coleman & Higgins, 2000:52; Kaplan, 1993:252). The individuals to which this inequality applies are referred to as “second class citizens” (Brysk & Shafir, 2004:7; Johnston Conover, Searing & Crewe, 2004:1037; Rosenau, 2003:1999; Bhabha, 1998:601; Kaplan, 1993:252). Second class citizens can be defined as

people who have formal legal citizenship but are denied equal respect and feel reluctant to participate in the wider society's civic and political life; to be equal citizens individuals need civic equality or equal standing in society, not just formal legal rights (Johnston Conover et al., 2004:1037)

While greater strides have been taken by modern Western democracies to extend the citizenship status to immigrants, the extension of citizenship and the rights associated with this access has not resulted in a similar situation of equal access, equal respect and shared participation. Instead, access to the system of rights and entitlements are limited by an immigrant's race, ethnicity, gender and social class. Immigrants who more closely resemble the hegemonic character of the nation state can more easily access those rights associated with citizenship. For others, access is compounded by their difference.

Carruthers' (2004:426) research with Vietnamese immigrants in Australia best summarizes this interaction. He argues that despite having acquired formal citizenship within the nation-state "the immigrant's achievement of legal citizenship does not immediately confer acceptance into the national community" (Carruthers, 2002:426).

For most immigrants, particularly those who experience racism, the extension of citizenship has secured a legal position within the nation state, but these individuals lack access to fully equal political, social and economic rights. For example, political views of minority immigrants are rarely represented within the dominant system, thereby greatly constraining the impact of immigrant views and limiting the ability of these individuals to have a definitive say in the way their new world operates (Croucher, 2004:59; Hill Maher, 2004:137; Carruthers, 2002:429; Castles & Davidson, 2000:11; Fulbrook & Cesarani, 1996:215; Spinner, 1994:171; Kaplan, 1993:255). With the increase in migration from around the globe the issue of second class citizenship is essential to address if immigration is to continue (Coleman & Higgins, 2000:73).

The rights of full citizenship are often not the only aspect of citizenship withheld from the immigrant newcomer. Citizenship-based identities are often called into question when their use is garnered by the immigrant citizen. As Booth (2001:87) notes, visible minority individuals who draw upon the citizenship of the national majority and their new host state to describe themselves are often challenged at this use. Instead, race limits the potential identity categories open to an immigrant by closing off access to those who do not fit within the typical phenotypes of the dominant group (Spinner, 1994:16). For some, this means that an attempt to find their home, or a place in which they comfortably feel they belong, is forever found in the home state, a place where they are not racially

marked as different from the rest of society (Carruthers, 2002:437). But this may not always be the case. For others, particularly those who left the country with which they share phenotypical characteristics at an early age, or who were born outside the country and attempted to return, home may be elsewhere, or nowhere. For these latter individuals, the traces of host country characteristics make them outsiders of the place where they might be most expected to fit, as well as outsiders of the country in which they reside (Carruthers, 2002:438). As a result of lacking ties to a home state these individuals may feel at home in multiple states thinking of themselves more as a citizen of nowhere in particular (Iyer, 2001:19).

In a modern world of increased migration influenced by profound social and economic changes the need for a more nuanced understanding of citizenship is apparent. New conceptions must account for not only the political-legal changes that have arisen as a result of increased migration, but also the social impacts of increased migration among which one can locate the increased propensity of immigrant lives to be lived between states of former and current residence. While some attempts have been made in the citizenship literature to explore the legal and political side of citizenship, having to do with rights, obligations and boundaries (Delanty, 2000: 81), the social side of citizenship which would provide an understanding of the meaning, norms and identities (Isin, 2002:5) associated with citizenship and the impact that contemporary social changes have had on this side of citizenship is less understood. This paucity of research extends to the importance of citizenship for migrants, particularly those who maintain dual citizenship.

Questions surrounding the impact of dual citizenship on the transnational lives of immigrants are particularly important in this respect. What does citizenship mean to an

immigrant in a new country? To what degree can the extension of citizenship to a newcomer affect the sense of belonging within the new state community? What role does citizenship, particularly dual citizenship, play in facilitating the acquisition or maintenance of attachments, if any, to home and host states for immigrants? For those who acquire dual citizenship, does either of the two statuses carry a greater relevance, or importance, than the other? What impact on identity does dual citizenship have? Finally, does the acquisition of citizenship change the access immigrants have to social and political rights associated with being a member of the political community? The research proposed here will attempt to address these questions by way of qualitative interviews with immigrants to Canada. The importance of this research is to provide an understanding of the significance of citizenship, and in particular dual citizenship, in the lives of immigrant citizens. Few studies have sought to understand the meaning of citizenship for individual citizen, and fewer have done so for citizens who have migrated. This research will attempt to fill that gap by exploring the meaning of citizenship for individuals who have acquired dual citizenship after migrating to Canada while also providing an understanding of the way that transnational ties are maintained in the daily lives of immigrants. A central focus of the current research is the extent to which a dual sense of belonging in Canada and the country of origin is affected by processes of racialization and migration of racial minorities to a country built upon a white settler colonial history.

CHAPTER THREE: SETTING THE CONTEXT IN CANADA

The history of Canada is based in immigration. Early French and British immigrants were first to settle in Canada, providing the dominant culture and structure of social order in Canada and heavily influenced the foundations for immigration to Canada. This chapter sets this history of immigration in context. Starting with early years of settlement, the chapter highlights Canadian history as a settler society where immigration from white colonies was encouraged while policies to keep 'the other' out were applied. Following this, the chapter explores more recent immigration trends in Canada, including the move to more neutral immigration policies in which overt racial discrimination was removed. Finally, a section on immigration post-911 highlights current struggles and challenges for immigration in Canada, particularly for Muslim immigrants.

The second section of this chapter provides more detail on the context of the research by way of presenting brief immigration histories of the two countries from which the participants in this study are drawn: the United Kingdom and Bangladesh. The final part of the chapter focuses on the citizenship and naturalization specific policies of Canada, the UK and Bangladesh, providing information on how citizens of these countries come to be dual citizens.

The Building of the White Canadian Settler Society - British Influence & Minority Exclusion

The influence of British and French culture on Canadian social values, institutions and culture is profound given their roles as the successful colonizers of Canada. As colonizers the British and French have had the upper hand in not only shaping society, but also have been the dominant hand in writing Canadian history (Burnet & Palmer, 1988:3). This role was particularly dominant for the British due to the large numbers of

immigrants that came to Canada from Britain in the nineteenth century and their success in subordinating the earlier French settlers, the Aboriginal inhabitants, and all other immigrants (Buckner, 1993:54). The significant influence of the British in Canadian nation-building is central to the structuring of Canada as a settler society. The predominant characteristics of settler societies are those which have been settled by and continue to be dominated by European immigrants and their descendants, following a successful process of subordination of Indigenous peoples. Domination occurs in political and social life over first residents of the country as well as continued over new immigrants who differ by class, ethnic or racial lines (Stasiulus & Yuval Davis, 1995:3).

For Canada this British domination was carried forward through a number of immigration policies that attempted to preserve the white Anglo-Celtic² character of the country arising largely out of a concern around 1920s immigration from countries other than the early English and French source countries (Metcalf, 1982:366). Early political leaders expressed deep concerns over non-English / French immigration, arguing that from an integration perspective, migrants who shared characteristics with the original Anglo-Celtic nation-builders would assimilate best (Metcalf, 1982:365; Richmond, 1967:4). In 1947, this view of immigration was solidified in a message from MacKenzie King, who in a public address, stated that the growth of the Canadian society would be fostered through immigration. King, however, was clear to assert that the immigrants admitted to Canada should not compromise the established character of Canadian society. In his address, he argued “the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass

² The use of Anglo-Celtic rather than Anglo-Saxon is applied here to intentionally include the Irish who actively escaped struggles in Ireland, and the division of Protestant and Catholics, to come to the Americas. Upon entry to the Americas Irish people's worked their way up the social hierarchy into standing with the dominating class (Ignatiev, 1995: 1, 186).

migration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population” (Richmond, 1967:3). The resounding message was clear: Canada was seeking immigrants of character similar to those who had come in past decades. In further testament to this desire to keep the Anglo-Celtic character of Canada, the 1952 Canadian Immigration Act permitted immigrants to be excluded from Canada based on several characteristics including: their ethnic group, citizenship, nationality, customs, habits or on the basis that they were generally unsuitable for Canadian society and likely unable to assimilate (Stasiulis & Yuval Davis, 1995:12; Richmond, 1967:11).

The British character evident in early Canadian national building history has remained with the country largely by way of the institutions built and social values instilled by the British in early Canadian history. The institutions and culture imported from Britain were based on those of the home country; they were established based on what was familiar to the British immigrants who imported these institutions and values to the new country (Stasiulus & Jhappan, 1995:97). The dominance of the British culture was also apparent in the expectation that other groups would assimilate to the prevailing British culture (Burnet & Palmer, 1988:3). Tied to the expected assimilation were various privileges and rights that were granted to the dominant groups while other groups were excluded from enjoyment of the same privileges and were also excluded by the political dominance and legal policies enacted by the dominant British population. The boundaries established between the British and the others were based on various characteristics of the individual including, but not limited to, nationality, skin colour and language (Stasiulis & Yuval Davis, 1995:7, 26).

Richmond (1967:196) argues that the predominance of the British in the settler society in Canada was responsible for the low naturalization of British immigrants in Canada. The closely knit British and Canadian cultures and institutions meant that there were few barriers to British privilege in Canada. Even without naturalizing, British immigrants could vote in federal, provincial and municipal elections (with some residence restrictions), could own property and were almost the same in terms of enjoying citizenship rights and privileges to other Canadians who held formal citizenship status³. Unlike British immigrants, other immigrants were not so privileged. Non-British immigrants were prohibited from voting and were unable to obtain employment in some professions that required them to be on the voter's list. Access to social benefits was unavailable to non-British immigrants, and Asians in particular were prevented from assisting families to come to Canada. These differences, for Richmond (1967:196) were clearly associated with the naturalization rates of British immigrants, but also point to the very racialized nature of early Canadian history during which there was a distinct boundary between Anglo-Celtic immigrants and those considered to be different due to language, nationality or skin colour.

While overt racism was eliminated from immigration policies in the 1960s [two acts – 1962 and 1967], the experience of many immigrants discussed earlier as second class citizens suggests that the settler society overtones remain present. While formal policies of multiculturalism are intended to create equality and acceptance of various cultures, research on second citizenship suggests that the political and social domination of the British way of life continues.

³ Mobility between the US and Canada may have been affected if an immigrant chose not to naturalize. British immigrants who did not naturalize were also not permitted to hold government offices.

Recent Trends in Immigration: 1960 – 2001 and forward

Migration from one continent, region or country to another is not new. For centuries people have been moving across borders in search of new homes, improved quality of life and safer spaces. Despite the endurance of the phenomenon of migration, it cannot be said that the practice of migration has remained stable throughout the years; rather migration has been in a constant state of flux with each new wave experiencing different issues and challenges (Cesarani & Fulbrook, 1996:2). Two of the most significant changes in migration patterns have been the scale and diversity of migration. Today, it would be difficult to claim that migration has left a single state untouched. Whether experiencing the loss of nationals to other countries, or feeling the effects of attempting to integrate many newcomers most states have, on some level, been required to deal with the effects of migration. At the same time that states are coming to deal with the scale of migration, the diversity that cross-cuts the phenomenon has also become more profound. With few regions left untouched by migration, many countries are struggling to find new ways to integrate new nationals, often of distinctly different ethnicities than the predominant national groups (Graham & Phillips, 2006:3,6; Castles & Davidson, 2000:9).

While most regions in the world have been left untouched by the effects of emigration, immigration or both, not all countries acknowledge and attempt to account for the impacts of these effects. Germany provides one example of a state which has received many immigrants yet was particularly reluctant to recognize the immigrant as part of the national fabric. Traditionally, German citizenship policy was based on *jus sanguinis* (blood ties / descent). As a result, early waves of Italian and Turkish guest

workers who spent significant years in Germany and later sought citizenship were excluded from obtaining citizenship in the German state (Joppke, 1996:466). The German government has since relaxed citizenship policies in a manner that makes it easier for immigrants without German heritage to obtain citizenship (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:35; Joppke, 1999:637). Similarly, French immigration policies recognize immigration occurs though is highly restricted by the government. Despite the acknowledgement of immigration, the French government is unwilling to change policies to reflect the diversity of immigrants within the country, especially from Muslim countries. Instead French life and culture are imposed on immigrants as the dominant way of life (Laforcade, 2006:219, 223, 226, 227).

The integration of ethnic minorities into the state has been a particular concern for Western countries which have, over the last few decades, been the landing place for significant numbers of ethnic minority immigrants. The United States, Australia and Canada are just three of the Western countries which have seen steadily increasing numbers of ethnic minority immigrants. Traditionally, these states have been referred to as the classical immigration countries for their continued acceptance of immigrant newcomers⁴ (Castles & Davidson, 2000:100). While traditional source countries of immigrants for the above mentioned states were predominantly European until the mid-twentieth century, current source countries have shifted to Asia, Africa, Central and South American and the Caribbean countries (Graham & Phillips, 2006:1; Bloemraad,

⁴ While recognized as traditional countries of immigration, these countries also share histories as “white settler colonies”, the implications of which have significant impact on the historic reception of immigrants that continue into current policies and reception of immigrant newcomers. The influence of settler society histories on immigration policy is explored in an earlier section, see *The Building of the White Canadian Settler Society - British Influence & Minority Exclusion*

2004:400). This historical shift in source countries occurred when the traditional sources of European migration dried up.

As one of the traditional countries of immigration, Canada has seen profound changes in the country of origin of many immigrants. A 2004 study published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development found that immigration to Canada is reaching new heights (Sandercock, 2004:153). In 1996 almost 40 percent of the five million immigrants accepted into Canada were of visible minority descent, and by 2004, almost 20 percent of the Canadian population was part of a visible minority (Bloemraad, 2004:400). By 2006 visible minority permanent residence accounted for over 97,000 immigrants that year (CIC, 2006). Further testament to the increasing Canadian diversity is the fact that some of the largest cities in Canada - Toronto and Vancouver in particular - are composed of foreign born populations that are greater than the populations of other immigrant destinations internationally, including New York, Miami and Sydney (Graham & Phillips, 2006:1).

While many of the immigration source countries of today add to the visible minority population in Canada, continued immigration from original source countries continues. As a result, immigrants from both non-traditional source countries, as well as the traditional source countries continue to constitute the Canadians fabric. This study intends to examine sentiments of belonging and identity for dual citizen migrants from two source countries. As the top historic source country for immigrants to Canada some participants will be drawn from the population of immigrants who have migrated from the United Kingdom. Other participants will be drawn from Bangladesh, a growing

contemporary source of immigrants to Canada but from which immigration was largely excluded until the 1970s.

The flow of immigration from both the UK and Bangladesh to Canada has been impacted by various events; political, social and environmental. The changing flows are reflected in the number of immigrants admitted to Canada yearly. Table 1 provides a general idea of the flow of immigrants from the UK and Bangladesh to Canada in ten year periods between 1946 and 2007.

Table 1: Immigration to Canada from the United Kingdom and Bangladesh (South Asia)

Year	Country of Origin	
	United Kingdom	South Asia / Bangladesh
1946 – 1950	196,528	564*
1951 – 1960	479,213	3,289*
1961 – 1970	160,005	245
1971 – 1980	126,030	810
1981 – 1990	60,145	2,960
1991 – 2000	42,645	17,575
2001 - 2007	36,878	901,926*

Sources: Table 10A – Statistics Canada 1996 Census Data; Richmond (1967:5); Cansim Table 510006 – Statistics Canada
 *note that immigration numbers from Bangladesh are unavailable, data is collected as an aggregate from South Asia (1946 – 1960) and as a total for all of Asia (2001-2007).

While Canada today accepts immigrants from many different source countries Canadian nation-building policy has historically been shaped by discrimination. Early immigration policies from many Western states, including Canada, have had racist tones, leading to significant questions regarding the statement of who belongs in the polity (Dua, 2000:55; Castagna & Sefa Dei, 2000: 32; Klusmeyer, 2000:15). While past Canadian immigration policies have been explicitly racist, the need for economic immigrants and diversity within the nation has forced consideration of new immigration policies within the country. Given the diversity of the current source countries of immigration, one of the greatest challenges to the Canadian government, and for many of

Canada's larger cities, has been the integration of newcomers into the Canadian fabric (Sandercock, 2004:153). Developing strategies which foster a sense of belonging in Canada must be promoted to ensure that citizens feel included within the nation (Cousineau, 1993:141).

One response to this has been the promotion of the federal multiculturalism strategy, a program designed with three primary goals. These goals are to promote a Canadian identity within newcomers in order to help in the development of a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada; to encourage civic participation among Canadian newcomers, and; to promote a socially just society where people from all parts of the world are respected, accommodated and treated equally within the nation (Tastsoglou, 2001:25). This program resonates with individuals throughout Canada and internationally. In a 2005 poll that asked Canadians to identify what made their country unique, 23 percent, less than a quarter of the population, recognized the diversity and multicultural nature of the state (Graham & Phillips, 2006:1), a feature encouraged and promoted by the multicultural program itself.

While the program aims to develop a sense of belonging within the Canadian nation state, this is not to the exclusion of other identities. Citizens are encouraged to maintain ancestral links and identities and create uniquely Canadian identities which draw from their own heritage as well as central Canadian values (Derouin, 2004:59). The introduction of the Canadian multicultural program provides a basis for the answer to questions around changing state membership in new eras with increased migration. Questions of how governments can continue to foster a sense of belonging among

newcomers to the community in place of feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation are becoming of major importance (Croucher, 2004:43; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000:7).

Today, as many as 93 countries permit dual citizenship (Croucher, 2003:72). Canada is one of these countries and has accepted dual citizenship since 1977. Canadian claims to dual citizenship have progressively increased since that time (Bloemraad, 2004:404,407; Galloway; 2000:99; CIC, 2004:np; FAC, 2004:1). Some authors claim that the naturalization rate in Canada, one of the highest in the world, is a direct result of Canada's early acceptance of dual citizenship (Kaplan, 1993:257). Using Canadian census data Bloemraad (2004:404,407) confirms these findings, suggesting that once the data is controlled to exclude immigrants who are unable to obtain dual citizenship because of the legal restrictions imposed by their original state of residence, the number of immigrants who claim dual citizenship is quite high. In 1981 only 5.5% of immigrants of all ages reported holding dual citizenship, however, by 1996 this figured had more than tripled to 16.6% for the same group. Moreover, these figures reflect only the respondents who were aware of their dual citizenship: many more may actually have than claim dual citizenship.

Despite attempts to welcome newcomers and promote a sense of belonging through citizenship and multicultural policies, some immigrants continue to face the challenges of second-class citizenship. Immigrants who experience a sense of exclusion, or who are considered to live on the margins where the experiences of injustice, inequality and exploitation are high, will certainly fail to build ties to and feel less belonging to the national community (Bankowski & Christodoulidis, 1999:84; Kirby & McKenna, 1989:7; Bhabah, 1998:613). Fostering a sense of belonging within newcomers

to the Canadian state is viewed as essential to creating a sustainable diversity within the nation (Papillon, 2002:iii). The importance of understanding the meaning of citizenship and the ability to foster a sense of belonging by extending citizenship is recognized within the academic literature. Although the multiculturalism program takes great steps towards ensuring immigrants feel at home in Canada, the extension of citizenship to these newcomers is also likely a major means of solidifying this new attachment and signifying belonging and inclusion within the new state (Shafir, 2004:11; Schwarzmantel, 2003:153; Halfmann, 1998:526; Schauer, 1986:1512).

While attempts at integrating all Canadian newcomers are paramount today, past issues, particularly the discriminatory history of Canadian immigration policies, continue to present obstacles preventing easy acceptance in some circumstances. Canada's early nation-building history as a white settler society, explored earlier in greater depth, continues to factor into how various groups of individuals are accepted into the Canadian national fabric, particularly as global politics remind some individuals of previous us and them boundaries.

Post 9/11 Immigration in Canada: Challenges for Coloured Minorities

September 11, 2001 changed the landscape of Canadian immigration. The changes reflected a return to what Arat-Koc (2005:32) calls a "re-whitening" of Canadian policy and the enforcement of colour boundaries that delineate the Canadian nation state as white. Associated with this re-whitening, the Canadian state, as well as the general public, have sent implicit messages of non-belonging to coloured minorities, particularly those of Arab and Muslim background and regardless of their place of birth or length of time in Canada. This message has been reflected in not only the considerable rise in

violence against the Muslim and Arab population (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:29; Abu-Laban, 2002:468), but also in the institutionalization of xenophobic policies at the state level. These policies, specifically targeted as visible minorities, included greater border control, electronic surveillance and security practices which clearly chip away at civil rights (Arat-Koc, 2005:38; Helly, 2005:9), but which have been justified as required protection for the state and not likely to affect “real or ordinary Canadians” (Arat-Koc, 2005:38).

In the political environment of post-9/11 the policy of racial profiling has stood out as among the most profound to affect the lives of non-white minorities. While the use of racial profiling is being supported as important in protecting the security of Canada its use also emphasizes the fundamental difficulties that the Canadian state has faced in dealing with racial minorities. As Thobani (2000:598) argues, the use of racial profiling calls to attention the racialization of coloured people in Western democracies, justifying negative perceptions and increased suspicion of minority individuals based on nothing more than their outward dissimilarities in physical appearance to “Canadian” nationals and greater similarities to the Muslim population (Thobani, 2000:599). The new security policies, and racial profiling in particular, have become policies on which to base the exclusion of non-white individuals, regardless of their history in the state, citizenship or reasons for being in Canada. While questioning the right of non-white minorities to be in Canada new security policies also emphasize the state’s historic past as a white settler nation and enforce the position of non-whites as outsiders (Arat-Koc, 2005:32; Thobani, 2000:599).

Positioned as outsiders the national belonging of visible minority Canadians, particularly Arabs and Muslims, is questioned, and in many circumstances, negated. Minorities are forced to reaffirm, in greater strength, their loyalty to the state, the onus being one in which they must find ways to prove their loyalty (Arat-Koc, 2005:39). These calls to prove one's loyalty to the state have resulted, in part, in surveillance of the other, by the other. Previous emphasis on policing the territorial boundaries of the state has shifted to an internal policing of the state at the local level, ensuring that the other, who lives, works and leisures among "us", is prevented from further acts against the state (Thobani, 2000:599). The post-9/11 change highlight new difficulties in the Canadian environment that challenge the way that immigrant minorities are accepted within the nation state.

Immigration Histories
The United Kingdom

Immigration from the United Kingdom to Canada cannot be viewed homogeneously as there have been different motivations guiding immigration from each of the four countries that compose the UK – England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Despite different motivations, immigration from the UK has happened for centuries as a result of a number of forces. The histories outlined here will focus on English and Scottish immigration in order to provide some understanding of the historical forces that brought initial waves of UK immigrants to Canada.

Early prominent immigration from Britain to Canada began after the French Crown turned responsibility for failing colonization over to chartered companies. After relinquishing colonization responsibility, French immigration faced continued problems and eventually slowed substantially. Subsequent to years of dwindling immigration from

France, French Acadia was surrendered to the British in 1713 (Buckner, 1993:48). Increased British immigration became evident from this point forward in Canadian history. Between 1763 and 1775 Canada received nearly 125,000 British immigrants and by 1867, after less than one hundred years of immigration from Britain, all Canadian provinces (excluding Quebec) were dominated by British-born immigrants and their descendants (Buckner, 1993:50; Burnet & Palmer, 1988:19).

Immigration to Canada from the UK during the 19th century witnessed two important forces that motivated increased immigration, including economic and imperial motives for emigration from England. Prior to this, immigration from the UK to Canada consisted mostly of fishermen taking advantage of Canadian east coast fishing opportunities. During the 19th century, many individuals came from England as public servants on official business. Upon release, many of these individuals chose to stay in the country to pursue new economic opportunities in young Canada. However, public officials and merchant immigration did not account for all immigration to Canada from Britain. In a time of high unemployment in England in the early 19th century, many individuals came to Canada seeking economic growth opportunities and the prospect of free land offered to British settlers (Woodcock, 2007:np). Although there were a large number of public officials who choose, upon release, to make Canada their home, the large majority of British immigrants were those who came across the Atlantic seeking economic opportunities. This was particularly the case for Scottish immigrants who came to Canada in search of improved economic conditions in the late eighteenth century (Bumsted, 1982:73). Many British immigrants took up land to farm and participate in Canadian settlement. Settlement experiences for the British in Canada were, however,

short-lived as a large majority of British immigrants came after 1830 and Canadian settlement was largely complete by 1860 (Buckner, 1993:50).

Immigration to Canada from the UK continued throughout the early decades of the 1900s, though greatly impacted by the two world wars. The early 1900s saw a period of assisted immigration from the UK to Canada in an attempt to keep the British character alive. Assisted immigration, though a contentious issue among Canadians seeing the process as a means for the British to abandon the welfare problems of Britain on Canada, continued throughout the war bringing great numbers of immigrants to Canada (Cavell, 2006: 345). Following the period of assisted immigration during most of the war years, immigration from the UK continued, and British Columbia and Ontario became major destination provinces for many of the British immigrants coming to Canada.

The number of immigrants from the UK to Canada fell after the war and was replaced by greater numbers of immigrants arriving from Southern Europe and developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa. These changes were the result of evolving Canadian immigration policies that opened Canadian soil to non-traditional source countries in order to attract needed economic immigrants to build the post-war industrial economy. Pre-Confederation immigration from England represented only a small percentage of British immigration, accounting for somewhere around ten percent. Immigration between Confederation and 1950, particularly in the 15 years before World War 1, accounted for almost 43 percent of all English immigration to Canada. Another 20 percent can be accounted for in the years between the First World War and the beginning of the Great Depression. While immigration from Britain continues, today it is at a

significantly lower rate than in the past (Elliot, nd:np), though it remains in the list of Canada's top ten source countries (number seven in 2006) (CIC, 2006).

Much of early immigration from Britain appears to be as a result of economic hardship and to aid in the establishment of the new colony in the early 19th century. However, Scottish immigration from the UK cannot be characterized by the same motivations. Scottish immigration to Canada has been steady for at least 200 years, first occurring in the early 17th century and continuing today. In 2001 Statistics Canada reported that roughly 14 percent of the Canadian population held some Scottish heritage (Bumsted, 2007:np).

Scottish immigrants to Canada have settled widely across the country taking advantage of opportunities in almost all Canadian provinces except Newfoundland. Despite the knowledge that Scottish immigration to Canada has been profound, it is difficult to know exactly how much of an impact Scottish immigration has had on Canadian society as a result of a decision by Statistics Canada to collect British immigration statistics as an aggregate since the 1961 census. In spite of this decision, it is well known that significant immigration from Scotland to Canada occurred in the periods between 1901 and 1914, 1919 and 1930 and 1946 and 1960. Scottish immigrants during these periods were predominantly led by the promise of greater economic success, given the difficult times existing in Scotland. Immigration from Scotland to Canada has fallen since 1960 though it continues to be a recognizable flow. Continued immigration from the period of the 1960s until the 1980s was a result of a poor Scottish economy. However, since the 1980s, economic prosperity in Scotland has negatively impacted the number of Scots immigrating to Canada (Bumsted, 2007:np).

While emigration from England and Scotland has slowed when compared to earlier decades, small numbers of UK emigrants continue to choose Canada as a destination. Policy research institutes in the UK find that continued immigration from the UK can be grouped into four overall reasons for migration, including family ties, lifestyle, adventure and work. Family reasons include individuals who move to take up residence in the country of their partner; the search for a higher quality of life was defined as a lifestyle move; adventurers were those who moved to find experiences abroad but planned on returning to the UK later in life; and, finally, those who moved to take advantage of greater career opportunities were classified as work related (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006:np).

Bangladesh

Bangladeshis come from an area referred to as South Asia. South Asia normally refers to the countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Buhtan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The country of Bangladesh is a small, densely populated country found in the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent. It is currently known as the second most densely populated country in the world. Approximately one percent of all immigration to Canada is represented by individuals arriving from Bangladesh (Buchignani, 2007:np).

The country's history has had a significant impact on immigration out of the region. British conquest of India around 1700, negatively impacted the country's ability to pursue independent growth resulting in hardships for much of the country's population, including the region which is now known as Bangladesh. Despite cultural and social recognition of difference from India, Bangladesh did not achieve formal

independence as a country until 1971. As a result, individuals immigrating prior to this time were listed as either East Indians (prior to 1956) or Pakistani (during the period 1956 to 1972). In an effort to leave behind the hardship experienced by many Bangladeshi peoples prior to independence, large numbers of Bangladeshi people migrated to areas in Europe, particularly England before 1972. Immigration to North America at this time was almost non-existent; though Canada accepted nearly 5,000 immigrants from South Asia between 1905 and 1908. This early South Asian immigration from the region consisted of individuals who were coming to Canada, particularly the Canadian West Coast, to make a new life for themselves. Most were unskilled laborers who found work in the logging and lumber industries.

Migration from South Asian countries came to an abrupt halt following the 1905 to 1908 period. Canadian politicians, and society in general, nervous about the character of South Asians and wanting to limit immigration from the region passed the “Continuous Journey Order in Council” which required that new immigrants to Canada only enter Canada via a trip directly from South Asia to Canada. Stopping at any point between South Asia and Canada would disqualify individuals from entering Canada. Because there was no direct passage that would allow South Asians to travel directly through to Canada, immigration from the South Asian region was effectively terminated. The Komagatu Maru serves as a well known example of this Order in Council. Setting sail out of Hong Kong in 1914, the Komagatu Maru was destined for Canada carrying mostly Sikhs from South Asia. Optimistic that the passengers would be able to challenge the Continuous Journey Order in Council as 38 other Sikhs had the previous year, the ship sailed for Vancouver. However, upon arriving in Canada the passengers were

unsuccessful in their attempt to challenge the order and forced to return to India. Their return was met by suspicion, and upon disembarking for the ship 20 passengers were killed in a battle that ensued between the passengers and India police suspicious of the political associations of the passengers.

The order in council effectively eliminated immigration from South Asian sources while outwardly attempting to maintain civil relations with colonial countries that were part of the British sphere of colonization by not overtly restricting immigration by colour or creed (Mangalam, 1985:49). Despite the bloodshed resulting from the Komagata Maru immigration policy was not relaxed until significantly later in Canadian history.

For several decades after the 1908 to 1959 period there was no recorded immigration from South Asian regions. More substantial immigration of Bangladeshis to Canada began again in the late 1960s via other countries such as the United States and Britain. Opportunities for Bangladeshis to come as students at Canadian educational institutions motivated some immigration of Bangladeshis in Europe and the United States to Canada. The offer of teaching positions at Canadian institutions prompted many of the immigrants to stay and when the 1967 Canadian Liberal government made sweeping changes to the immigration policy, allowing non-white immigrants in greater numbers, many of these immigrants applied to stay (Rahim, nd:np).

Growing numbers of Bangladeshis also immigrated to Canada in the years during the civil war between West and East Pakistan in 1971. These individuals came to Canada to escape political violence against them during the fight for independence and to seek political asylum. Since the creation of independent Bangladesh in 1971, and particularly after 1986, immigration from Bangladesh has steadily increased. In 1991, 1,063

individuals came to Canada as permanent residents, a figure that surpassed all previous years (Rahim, nd:np). Many of the recent immigrants, compelled by political unrest and the inability of successive governments in Bangladesh to bring social and economic change, came as political refugees and eventually won permanent status.

While these were the initial motivations for immigration, continued immigration from Bangladesh to Canada resulted from early immigrants sponsoring relatives to join them in Canada, a trend that continues to bring many Bangladeshi immigrants to Canada today. Political volatility and social and economic instability in the country also continue to compel individuals to migrate to Canada, a process which has become easier after Bangladeshi independence from Pakistan (Rahim, nd:np). Today, Bangladeshi foreign policy on immigration is driven by the desire for greater access to the Canadian market, particularly in the form of market investment and the desire to create greater immigration opportunities for Bangladeshis (Haider, 2005:338). While foreign policy facilitates migration to Canada, other factors motivating migration from Bangladesh appears to be driven largely by challenges in the home country. Many of the individuals who chose to leave Bangladesh lead relatively privileged lives in Bangladesh and have established themselves quite well in the country. Despite this, the challenges faced by these individuals in their home country are significant stimulators that create push factors for migration. The challenges faced in the home country include political instability, environmental concerns and natural disasters and a poor quality of life⁵ (Metro Immigration International, 2006:np; BHC, personal communication, 2007).

⁵ Quality of life in Bangladesh is affected by a number of factors, among which are economic, political and environmental. Economic difficulties center on high unemployment rates and significant obstacles to finding adequate work in the country. Political instability at the federal government level creates daily disturbances for many individuals. For example, during the period of this study a state of emergency was

Comparative Immigration Past: British Inclusion & South Asian Exclusion

The British in Canada have always been considered the “invisible immigrants” (Green & MacKinnon, 2001:317). The large influence of British immigrants in Canadian history has paved the way for these immigrants to settle easily into the Canadian environment, an environment that drew heavily on British institutions and which was strongly in line with British thinking (Dahlie & Fernando, 1981:1). British immigrants were welcomed, and in fact sought after, as their presence represented the strengthening of ties between Canada and the British Empire, or, the mother country (Green & MacKinnon, 2001:335). Beyond this, however, British immigrants were also positioned as having a separate and superior identity, one which was believed to assimilate easily into the Canadian way of life and cultural values while also providing the skills required to advance the Canadian economy (Green & MacKinnon, 2001:319; McCormack, 1981:40). The result was a group of immigrants who were highly sought after, and for which immigration policies were designed in favor of (Green & MacKinnon, 2001:317).

Familiarity with the language, dominant cultural system and legal system placed not only placed British immigrants at the top of the social hierarchy, but also eased the settlement and integration difficulties for English immigrants. Immigration promotional literature available in Britain cited English similarity to Canada, and enforced that the lack of difference meant that British immigrants would have to do little in the way of acculturation. For this reason, many British immigrants continued to maintain their

called in the country as a result of changing governments. Tied to this state of emergency was the closure of all major railways, creating difficult travel situations for a majority of the population who rely on the trains for daily transportation. Similarly, environmental issues such as yearly flooding that carry polluted water throughout the towns and villages in the country displace some individuals and result in the death of many others (BHC, personal communication, 2007).

British way of life and attitude post-migration, continuing to enforce the British values and customs within Canada. The result was that despite some difficulties adjusting to the different climate, British immigrants were easily able to adjust to the way of life, facing few, if any, settlement issues (Green & MacKinnon, 2001:317; McCormack, 1981:42).

The same can not be said for South Asian immigrants arriving to Canada prior to 1960. Early Canadian immigration policies, up until 1960, were overtly racist in nature, excluding individuals based on nationality and colour. One of the groups most discriminated against were individuals of South Asian origin. In fact, by 1908 the overtly racist policies made it virtually impossible for South Asians to enter Canada (Huttenback, 1973:135). For those who made it into Canada before the enactment of the Continuous Journey order in council, settlement was not easy. Access to jobs, mobility within occupations, equal pay and the ability to participate politically in society were unavailable to South Asian immigrants and the British government explicitly stated their attempts to prevent the establishment of South Asian communities in Canada, fearing that such communities would destabilize British rule in India (Buchignani & Indra, 1981:202).

As a result of the overtly racist Canadian policies, both pre- and post-immigration, settlement periods were difficult, an aspect that continued through the integration period. The difficulties made it clear to South Asians that pre-migration promises of equality guaranteed by the status as British subjects did nothing to change the factors that led them to be segregated to the bottom of the social hierarchy. Faced with continued prejudice many South Asians turned inward, becoming dependent on the small South Asian community to see them through the difficulties. This segregation and dependence

on community allowed South Asians the opportunity to continue living their lives as in the past – continuing to speak their own language, eat their own foods and work and live together as a community. While this dependence on the community allowed them to find some solace in their discrimination, the extended exclusion resulted in resentment and animosity within the population. Despite these feelings, South Asians were limited in their resources to affect change, a result of the denial of access to political and informational institutions (Buchignani & Indra, 1981:210).

Past policies on immigration from South Asian countries have set the tone for the current reception of South Asian immigrants. While overtly racist policies have been removed, various factors continue to impede the number of South Asians immigrants able to come to Canada, particularly from Bangladesh. The failure of Canada to recognize Bangladesh as an independent country upon its independence from Pakistan is just one example of continued difficulties for the country and its citizens. Further testament to the continued difficulties is the lack of a Canadian immigration office in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, which makes it difficult for many citizens of Bangladesh to start the immigration to Canada process (Haider, 2005:327).

The various immigration pasts highlight the differences outlined in the reception, settlement and integration pasts of citizens from the two countries. The differences emphasize that while British immigrants have been easily accepted into the Canadian national fabric, easing settlement and integration issues along the way, Bangladeshi, and South Asian, immigrants have not been so lucky, facing numerous political and social challenges along the way, challenges which to some degree remain today, though in a slightly less overt manner. These policies have significant impacts on the number of

immigrants who reach Canadian soil. Table 2 provides a brief overview of the number of Canadians who hold citizenship in more than one country.

	United Kingdom			South Asia**		
	Canadian Only	Canadian + 1 country	Other Country Only	Canadian Only	Canadian + 1 country	Other Country Only
Before 1961	177,860	21,905	17,350	3,360	290	195
1961 - 1970	108,980	25,940	24,950	23,990	1,370	1,190
1971 - 1980	74,910	24,110	26,800	65,100	4,725	7,375
1981 - 1990	29,775	13,535	16,630	78,285	6,515	16,290
1991 - 2001	9,775	4,550	27,895	108,315	14,945	171,725

Source: 2001 Census Data, Table 97F009XCB2001004
 **Note that data is collected as an aggregate for South Asia.

Like settlement patterns of immigrants, citizenship policies have played, and continue to play, a role in the lives of dual citizens from England and Bangladesh. The following sections outline the policies from Canada, England and Bangladesh demonstrating how these citizens become dual. The section is followed by a brief review that underscores the fundamental differences in conceptions of citizenship between the United Kingdom and Bangladesh.

Citizenship Policies: State Policy on Dual Citizens

For most people, primary citizenship is acquired through one of two traditions – *jus soli*, emanating out of the British common law system, or *jus sanguinis*, originating in Roman law. Under *jus soli*, citizenship is passed down by place of residence; that is, to be born on the soil entitles one to citizenship. *Jus sanguinis* implies through the blood. Individuals acquire citizenship if one of the parents, the father for most of modern history until relatively recently, was a citizen of the country and irrespective of the child's actual place of birth. While most countries will use one or the other systems to govern

acquisition of citizenship, there are some states, such as Canada, that will grant citizenship based on either principle.

While principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* govern acquisition of primary citizenship, the acquisition of a second citizenship is largely relegated by nationality and citizenship laws of independent states. Although some individuals may become dual citizens by virtue of being born to parents with citizenship in a country that follow *jus sanguinis*, or to a parent who holds citizenship in a country that practices *jus sanguinis* principles in a country that abides by *jus solis* principles, naturalization remains an important means for the acquisition of citizenship for many migrants in Canada (Bloemraad, 2006:670).

Where individuals are permitted to naturalize as citizens, there are certain requirements specific to the country that the applicant must meet before they are considered for citizenship. These requirements vary by state. However, simply meeting the requirements does not mean that one acquires the new citizenship and automatically becomes a dual citizen. The interaction of various states' nationality laws govern the legality of dual citizenship, and while some countries permit an individual to hold more than one citizenship, others do not. Other states will make the acquisition of a second citizenship acceptable if it is between certain states but unacceptable with other states. Some states remain silent on issues of duality altogether. These three options are not the only means through which states deal with dual citizenship; there are an array of possibilities as a result of the different policies that states employ.

Diversity in the application of citizenship policy may have been a key factor in the movement to the acceptance of dual citizenship for many states, particularly those

known traditionally as immigration states as well as those states which encouraged immigrants to acquire citizenship as part of their integration process. Citizenship and naturalization policy in traditional immigration states and those which encourage diversity had to account for the fact that many states do not acknowledge formal renunciation of citizenship by their nationals. Dual citizenship policies were, therefore, required to allow immigrants in this situation to choose to become nationals in the state of residence. Changes to dual citizenship policies assisted in the accommodation of these individuals (Joppke, 1999:636, 638).

The policies adopted by the state send messages to those choosing to naturalize. These messages signal the state's interest in accepting newcomers. By doing so, the state provides a context in which the new immigrant must make a decision regarding their naturalization as a citizen. Both home states and host states provide a context for naturalization by shaping immigration and emigration policies. The context for naturalization is also shaped by the community, and institutions within the community. The community and state context provided by the policies and institutions provide for different costs and benefits associated with the acquisition of a second citizenship. The weighing of these costs and benefits provides immigrants with the information they need to decide on whether the adoption of host country citizenship is of value to them (Bloemraad, 2006:668).

Understanding the citizenship policies of the country of interest in order to determine the legitimacy of dual citizens in that country is imperative for any study of citizenship. For that reason, brief descriptions of the Canadian, United Kingdom and Bangladeshi policies on dual citizenship are provided in the following sections in order to

provide the background required to understand how the citizens in this study became duals.

Canadian Citizenship Act

In 1947 Canada passed its first citizenship act; prior to this date Canadian citizenship had not existed, rather Canadians were considered British subjects. The first citizenship act passed governed citizenship until 1977 when the current Canadian Citizenship Act came into effect. Several changes were enacted with the beginning of the new citizenship policy, most of which had the effect of making citizenship more widely available to those who desired Canadian citizenship and ensuring that all citizens, regardless of how they acquired citizenship, were entitled to not only the same rights, powers and privileges but also the same obligations, duties and liabilities as any other citizen within the country. The act removed any distinction between citizens by birth and those who acquired citizenship through the naturalization process. Other profound changes were also evident in the act. Among these changes were those that removed lingering discriminations in the act, particularly those which drew a difference between men and women as well as those policies that provided for the special treatment of British nationals (Young, 1997:2).

According to the Canadian Citizenship Act Canadian citizens become so as a right of birth, or through naturalization⁶. Following both *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* principles, an individual born on Canadian soil, or abroad to a parent who holds Canadian

⁶ There are also clauses of the Act which deal with international adoptions and the acquisition of citizenship through adoption. Briefly, Canadian parents who adopt an international (minor) child can expect that that child will be granted Canadian citizenship if the adoption abides by the laws of Canada and the country from which the child is adopted; if the adoption creates a parent-child relationship, and; if the adoption is not intended to circumvent any immigration or citizenship processes (House of Commons, 1998).

citizenship⁷, automatically becomes a Canadian citizen. Those not born with Canadian citizenship can acquire citizenship through naturalization (House of Commons, 1998). Naturalization is not an automatic process, and, other than through birth, no one can automatically obtain Canadian citizenship. For example, unlike other countries, one can not obtain Canadian citizenship by marrying a Canadian (Young, 1997:2). Instead, individuals who apply for citizenship through the naturalization process must meet a number of requirements before they are granted citizenship. To be eligible to naturalize as a Canadian citizen one must: (1) be of the age of majority (18 years of age or older); (2) meet the residency requirement which states that the individual must have been a permanent resident in Canada for a total of three years within the five years immediately preceding the application for citizenship⁸; (3) have sufficient knowledge of one of the official languages of Canada, and; (4) demonstrate knowledge of Canada. Prospective citizens must also demonstrate good character, and not have been in breach of any immigration laws at the time of their application. In the vast majority of cases, citizens must meet these requirements; however, there are circumstances under which the Governor General in Council may waive some of these requirements. For example, a minor who has applied for citizenship with their family is not required to meet the age of majority restriction. Similarly, immigrants over the age of 60 are often not required to demonstrate knowledge of one of the official languages of Canada. Anyone granted

⁷ Note that the passing of citizenship through the parent lasts only one generation. A parent who was born abroad, and who had obtained their Canadian citizenship via a parent also born abroad, would pass on their citizenship until the child turns 28 years of age. At, or before, the age of 28 the child must apply to maintain their Canadian citizenship, and upon the date of application have been living in Canada for a period of 1,095 days during the five years preceding the application (House of Commons, 1998).

⁸ The residency clause was one of the most uncertain aspects of the citizenship act until recent clarification was given to the section. Prior to the change, the residence requirement was interpreted to mean "significant attachment to Canada" where an individual could maintain a house or postal box in the country to demonstrate residence. The act now requires that the individual be physically present in Canada for the 1,095 days in order to obtain citizenship (Young, 2000).

citizenship in Canada must take the oath of citizenship barring an individual's inability to do so (House of Commons, 1998).

One of the most significant changes enacted through the 1977 Citizenship Act was the provision that allowed Canadians citizens to hold dual citizenship. Until 1977, individuals who applied for Canadian citizenship could only obtain Canadian citizenship if, in the process, they renounced the citizenship of their former country. While Canada required that the individual formally renounce their citizenship the legal acceptance of this renunciation was dependent on the laws of the former country. The 1977 act reversed this clause and also provided that the acquisition of citizenship in another country by a Canadian by birth would not lead to the automatic loss of Canadian citizenship as it had until 1977⁹ (Young, 199:7). Accordingly, the only way a Canadian citizen can currently lose their citizenship is through the formal renunciation of their citizenship. In order to renounce citizenship, an individual must meet the age of majority, can not reside in Canada and is required to prove that they held, or would soon hold, citizenship in another country (House of Commons, 1998).

The British Nationality Act & The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Acts

British citizens were first recognized under a Nationality Act in 1948. The implementation of this 1948 Act came in the wake of the independent former colonies such as Canada and India wanting to define citizenship for their own states in order to govern immigration. Prior to the 1948 act coming into force British nationals were considered subjects of the Crown (McCrone & Keily, 2000:26). While the 1948 act was the first to establish citizenship for the British, citizenship is now governed by the British

⁹ Individuals who acquired a second citizenship through marriage did not lose their Canadian citizenship.

Nationality Act, 1981 and the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Acts of 2002 and 2006.

Laws regarding who constitutes a citizen vary according to date of birth. Those born before January 1, 1983 are deemed citizens if, prior to that date, they were citizens of the United Kingdom or of the Colonies and were legally permitted to reside in the UK under the 1971 Immigration Act. After January 1, 1983 citizenship is extended to individuals born in the United Kingdom who have a parent that is a citizen, or, who have a parent settled in the United Kingdom at the time of their birth¹⁰. Citizenship is also extended to persons outside of the United Kingdom who has a parent who holds British citizenship if that parent is settled in a qualifying overseas territory. For some, those born outside of the UK between January 1, 1983 and May 21, 2002 citizenship is granted if one of their parents is a British national and is outside the country for the purpose of serving the Crown.

Individuals not British by birth and wanting to obtain British citizenship can do so through naturalization. As in Canada, naturalization requires that the individual meet the requirements outlined by the Nationality Act. The requirements state that the individual must: (1) be of the age of majority and of full mental capacity; (2) have proven to meet the residence requirements, which states that an individual must reside within the UK for a period of five years ending on the date of application for citizenship, and may not have been absent from the UK at any time for a period of longer than 450 days during that five year period and no more than 90 days in the year immediately prior to the application¹¹;

¹⁰ Like Canada, the UK also has provisions for the acquisition of citizenship for adopted children. The provisions are similar to those outlined for Canada.

¹¹ The individual from which the application was received must also meet all Immigration Laws. Individuals found to be in breach of any of the Immigration Laws are not eligible for naturalization.

(3) demonstrate good character; (4) provide evidence of proficiency in the English, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic language; (5) demonstrate knowledge of the UK, and; (6) make their primary residence the UK or serve the Crown. Individuals who meet these requirements and are granted citizenship are then obliged to take an oath of citizenship unless they meet one of the exemptions. Exemptions from the oath of citizenship are granted to minors as well as British citizens, British Overseas nationals and nationals who emigrate from countries where Her Majesty is Queen¹². In order to finalize the process of becoming a British citizen, individuals must take the oath within three months; failure to do so would result in the dismissal of the application.

British citizens who acquire citizenship through naturalization are recognized as “citizens otherwise than by descent”. Citizens who acquire citizenship by descent are termed “citizens by descent”. The distinction has consequence for the passing of citizenship to children born abroad. Children of “citizens otherwise than by descent” will automatically acquire the citizenship of their parents, but children of “citizens by descent” cannot acquire the parent’s citizenship through descent¹³. This would not, however, prevent them from becoming citizens if born on UK soil.

The 1948 act also served to remove previous restrictions on dual nationality. Until that point individuals who acquired a citizenship outside of the United Kingdom lost their status as British subjects. However, after the 1948 act there were no restrictions against

¹² These countries include: Antigua and Barbados, Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, St. Christopher and Nevis, St. Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu.

¹³ Though the terminology is confusing, “citizenship otherwise than by descent” includes those born in Britain, adopted to British parents, or naturalized in the UK. Effectively, this division between “by descent” and “otherwise than by descent” is akin to the Canadian clause that prevents the passage of citizenship through more than one generation to children born abroad. That is, a UK citizen born abroad who acquired their UK citizenship from a parent who gained that citizenship from their UK parent while abroad, could not subsequently pass on their UK citizenship to a child unless the parent had met the naturalization requirements in the UK.

holding dual or multiple citizenship in the UK. Currently, British citizens who become citizens in another country will not lose their citizenship, nor do individuals who naturalize in other states have to give up their home country citizenship. To lose British citizenship nationals must renounce their status as citizens, and, like Canada, the renunciation process requires that the individual be of the age of majority, of full mental capacity and be able to prove they will, upon renunciation of their British citizenship, become a citizen of another country.

The Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provision) Order

Bangladeshi citizenship is regulated by “The Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provision) Order” (1972). The order was passed and enacted in December of 1972, following the establishment of Bangladeshi sovereignty from India and was retroactive to the date of independence. The order was passed to establish temporary provisions for citizenship that were deemed necessary under the newly established independence. Although the original Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provision) Order, 1972 is only temporary there have been no attempts to make the citizenship order permanent. Despite not being permanent, some changes were made to the temporary order in 1978.

The 1972 Order was limited in scope to the definition of who was a Bangladeshi citizen. The order consisted of five clauses specifically related to the definition of citizens after the 1971 independence of the country. In 1978 The Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provision) Order was expanded to provide guidelines around the acquisition of citizenship through application. In 2005 a proposal for several additional changes to the Bangladeshi Citizenship Order was prepared by the Bangladeshi law commission. Proposed changes clarify the language around acquisition of citizenship, laying out

specific clauses for acquisition by birth, descent and naturalization. The proposal also clarifies language and adds clauses regarding the loss of citizenship and residence requirements for citizenship. While the proposed changes have formally been brought forward there is no evidence of any formal moves to enact these changes.

According to The Citizenship (Temporary Provision) Order, 1972 citizens of Bangladesh became, and become citizens through paternal lineage and residence. That is, anyone who can establish Bangladeshi descent in the male line and who on the date of independence and forward continues to reside in Bangladesh is considered a Bangladeshi citizen. The Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Order), 1978 furthers this to include individuals from which the state has received an application of citizenship. Citizenship will be granted if the applicant is a woman and married to a Bangladeshi man and has maintained residence in Bangladesh for a period of two years, or to individuals who have lived in Bangladesh for a period of five years if they do not meet the former qualification.

While the 1972 temporary order is brief, intended only as an interim until other measures of citizenship could be put in place, the order does address dual citizenship. The order prohibits dual citizenship except in cases where the individual acquires a second citizenship with an accepted state¹⁴. The 1978 order only goes so far as to reiterate this clause, making no further descriptions of dual citizenship. The acquisition of citizenship in a state other than those accepted will result in the loss of Bangladeshi citizenship. Neither of the temporary orders make reference to the rationale for accepting dual citizenship with these states, however, given that the countries listed as acceptable are traditional migration states it is probable that the government of Bangladesh has accepted

¹⁴ Accepted states are limited to those in Europe and North America, and the state of Australia.

dual citizenship with these states because of the large number of Bangladeshi citizens that take up residence in these states.

The Citizenship Hierarchy: First World versus Third

The citizenship policies outlined above must also be considered in terms of the rights provided to the citizen. While the three countries are largely similar in their acceptance of dual citizenship (though those practices are more accepting for Canada and the UK) the bundle of rights associated with the citizenship of the home countries are not all that similar. These differences result primarily from the status of the countries as first and third world. As several authors have noted the associated privileges of citizenship differ considerably between first and third world countries, forming what some refer to as a citizenship hierarchy. In this citizenship hierarchy the value of first world citizenship outweighs that of third world citizenships because of the bundle of rights and resources associated with citizenship in that country (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005:26; Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995:317).

Canada and the UK fall within those states that offer a well rounded package of rights, protections and provisions for their citizens. Among these are universal healthcare, access to education, social security, freedom of political participation and equality (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005:8). While the protection of citizens from “cradle to grave”, as the UK government, calls it, is of significant importance to first world countries such as Canada and the UK, third world countries are less conscious of, and less able to provide to the citizens of their country in a manner equivalent to that by which first world countries provide for their citizens. The result is a citizenship hierarchy where first world

citizenships are valued for the rights and protections guaranteed as part of that citizenship.

For Bangladesh the difficulties of being a third world country provide obstacles that affront the ability to provide for citizens in a manner equivalent to that of either the UK or Canada. Despite constitutional promises that the state has an obligation to secure the basic needs of all citizens, providing as needed access to education, healthcare, work, social security in times of need and the equality of all citizens, these rights are often foregone by citizens. As Bakan & Stasiulis (1995:306) note, the provision of these rights are often cut at the demand of international aid organizations which advocate the drastic reduction, or cancellation, of social spending to meet structural adjustment policies. Although these states are often urged to cut the social spending when present, it is often the case that the third world states have little social spending to cut. Hansen and Stepputat (2005:21) note that post-colonial states, such as Bangladesh, use citizenship less as a means of qualifying individuals for state programs and assistance, but rather employ citizenship as a means to exert taxation policies to promote the state and obligations and loyalty to the state over the citizens. This problem has largely been a result of the failure of third world post-colonial states to develop into functioning democracies. Furthermore, the status of citizenship is associated with control and exploitation of the citizens in third world countries, rather than protection and security as emphasized in first world countries.

The policies outlined above provide an understanding of the means through which immigrants from the UK and Bangladesh can become Canadian citizens while maintaining their citizenship with their home countries as well as a brief description that

highlights the differences between citizenship values. These dual nationals were the specific focus of this research project and the methodologies used to undertake a study of the meaning of dual citizenship in their daily lives is presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

To understand how people in [liberal polities] think about citizenship we must begin with listening to how they talk about it and by analyzing the language that they use. Only after we have allowed them to articulate their own schemata in their own words does it become meaningful to contemplate more quantitative methods of study (Johnson Conover, Crewe, Searing, 1991:805).

The need to understand the meaning of citizenship as held by members of the national polity is important. Understanding how the extension of citizenship impacts their sense of belonging in the nation-state is essential to understanding its use as a tool to foster the belonging of newcomers. At the same time, the retention of state of origin citizenship, and the sense of belonging held by individuals to that state, is also important to understand in the context of expanding migration and dual citizenship acceptance. The link between citizenship and belonging, often defined as “the felt aspects of membership in a particular political community” (Brodie, 2002:379) have been of growing interest as international migration increases and individuals move around the world making new states home as they move and resettle.

The research outlined here deals with two populations of dual citizens to attempt to explore the sense of belonging to home and host states held by dual nationals. In particular, the research outlined here seeks to answer the question of what impacts dual citizenship has on the sense of belonging held by new Canadian immigrants to their home and host states. In doing so the research will also attempt to explore the issues of citizenship, second citizenship and whether the sense of belonging in the host state is impacted by visible minority status as second citizenship theories suggest. In order to address these questions dual citizens from both the United Kingdom (UK) and

Bangladesh have been engaged to speak about their sense of belonging and own conceptions of the meaning of citizenship.

While the research outlined here has attempted to capture the participants' own sense of belonging in the home and host nation, as well as their conceptions and understandings of citizenship, there are several limitations to the research. These limitations are examined following a discussion of the methods employed for this research.

Participants

Nineteen dual citizens were recruited to participate in the research. Dual citizens, for the purpose of this research, were defined as any immigrant to Canada who held citizenship status in more than one country. Participants were either British and Canadian or Bangladeshi and Canadian. Potential existed for some individuals to hold more than one citizenship given this definition. However, none of the participants in this study were multiple citizens.

Because of the nature of the research, individuals who were sought to participate in the research were required to have been immigrants to Canada. This meant that individuals who were chosen to participate in the research were citizens of either the United Kingdom or Bangladesh before immigrating to Canada and obtaining their Canadian citizenship. Immigrants were defined as anyone who had been born outside of Canada and who had moved to Canada after spending part of their life in their country of origin. Defining country of origin in this work was difficult and problematic given the histories of some of the participants. As such, country of origin was used to refer to the country of other citizenship of interest in this research (e.g., Bangladesh or the United

Kingdom). The reason for adopting this approach to defining country of origin was that more typical definitions (such as place of birth, or country of last residence) would not have encompassed the realities of all participants. For example, some participants did not move directly from the United Kingdom or Bangladesh to Canada, and may have lived portions of their life in other countries. Similarly, to use place of birth would have excluded other participants, particularly in the case of Bangladesh where the country did not achieve independence until 1971 and some participants, while considering themselves to have originated in Bangladesh, may have been born during the time when the country was part of Pakistan, or India.

The purpose of selecting individuals from Bangladesh and the United Kingdom was to compare and contrast the responses of new citizens from visible minority backgrounds against those of new citizens from a non-visible minority background. Consequently, all participants from the UK were “white”; individuals from Bangladesh were dark skinned, visible minorities. According to the Employment Equity Act in Canada, an individual can be defined as a visible minority if they are

persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour. The visible minority population includes the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean and Pacific Islander (Statistics Canada, 2004:np).

Thus, as part of the ‘South Asian’ category, Bangladeshis are considered to be visible minorities under Canadian policy.

Both the UK and Bangladesh were also selected because both these countries permitted their emigrants to hold dual citizenship with the home country after

naturalizing in another host country¹⁵. Despite recent moves by many countries to allow dual citizenship, many of the current Canadian immigrant source countries have yet to permit dual citizenship. For example, India, China and Korea are among some of the countries that have not made a move to permit dual citizenship for their citizens. This made it particularly difficult to find a visible minority population accessible in the Ottawa area and considered under the employment equity act to be a visible minority.

Bangladesh was selected as it fit those criteria. Similarly, the United Kingdom was selected as the country from which non-visible minority individuals would be drawn because it was believed that UK citizens could be located within the area of study. UK immigrants were also selected to provide an examination of dual citizenship among a group of immigrants that are commonly, and especially historically, regarded to be part of the dominant ethnic group in Canada, and thus as little removed from the dominant culture of Canada as possible for immigrants. Furthermore, of the Western countries from which non-visible minority individuals come to Canada, the United Kingdom was the most widely accepting of dual citizenship.

Eleven of the participants selected had moved to Canada from the United Kingdom and eight were originally from Bangladesh. Of the eleven participants who were from the United Kingdom, all but one was from England, the remaining individual was from Scotland. Participants ranged in age from 37 to 84 and generally came from upper-middle class backgrounds. Individuals from the UK group were employed in a number of occupations including public servants, information and technology and entrepreneurs. Participants from Bangladesh ranged in age from 27 to 52. The individuals

¹⁵ Bangladesh permits citizens to hold dual citizenship with only some countries. Canada is one country with which dual citizenship is permitted.

were primarily employed by the public sector though two were students, one was unemployed and one was self employed. Most of the participants from both Bangladesh and the United Kingdom had been here for several years at the time of the interview, two had been here just long enough to obtain Canadian citizenship. Table three provides brief demographic information for each participant, four and five present this information as an aggregate for the Bangladeshi and UK populations by male and females.

Table 3: Background Characteristics by Participants

Subject (Pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Occupation	Country of Origin	Length in Canada	Year Canadian Citizenship Obtained
Alec	Male	Early 40's	IT Professional	Scotland	10yrs	2000
Alia	Female	Early 30's	Public Servant	Bangladesh	23yrs	1984
Andrew	Male	Early 60's	IT Professional	England	28yrs	1983
Asim	Male	Late 50's	Public Servant	Bangladesh	34yrs	1976
Dilwar	Male	Late 20's	Student / Public Servant	Bangladesh	7yrs	2007
Eric	Male	Late 30's	Skilled Worker	England	7yrs	2003
Jacob	Male	Early 40's	Public Servant	England	23yrs	Brith
Jarod	Male	Mid 80's	Retired Professional	England	32yrs	1978
Jassenia	Female	Mid 30's	Public Servant	Bangladesh	15yrs	1999
Jocelyn	Female	Early 60's	Retired Professional	England	36yrs	1975
Jundub	Male	Early 60's	Service Industry / Self-Employed	Bangladesh	39yrs	1984
Linda	Female	Mid 50's	Unemployed	English	On & Off for 52yrs	Birth
Luke	Male	Mid 60's	Public Servant	England	41yrs	1990
Muslih	Male	Late 30's	Unemployed	Bangladesh	15yrs	1995
Roha	Female	Mid 30's	Student	Bangladesh	11yrs	1998
Robert	Male	Early 60's	Retired IT Professional	England	40yrs	1984
Rushd	Male	Early 30's	Student / Professional	Bangladesh	7yrs	2007
Simon	Male	Mid 40's	Public Servant	England	5yrs	2003
Victoria	Female	Mid 50's	Professional / Self-Employed	England	33yrs	Late 1980

Table 4: Background Characteristics - UK Participants

	United Kingdom										
	Age at Immigration				Years in Canada			Occupation			
	Up to 25	26 to 30	30 to 35	35 +	5 to 9	10 to 14	15+	ST*	SKD*	SSKD*	SE*
Males (8UK)	3		2	3	2	1	5		7	1	
Females (3UK)	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1

*Occupation codes: SE = Self Employed; Std = Student; Skd = Skilled; SSKd = Semi-Skilled

Table 5: Background Characteristics - Bangladeshi Participants

	Bangladesh										
	Age at Immigration				Years in Canada			Occupation			
	Up to 25	26 to 30	30 to 35	35 +	5 to 9	10 to 14	15+	ST*	SKD*	SSKD*	SE*
Males (5B)	3	1	1		3		2	2	1	1	1
Females (3B)	1	2				1	2	1	2		

*Occupation codes: SE = Self Employed; Std = Student; Skd = Skilled; SSKd = Semi-Skilled

One of the important benefits of drawing participants from the two groups outlined above is the ability to examine the influence of racialization rooted in earlier Canadian settler history. As one of the so-called 'founding groups' of Canada, British immigrants have faced few obstacles in asserting their Canadianness upon immigration; their right to be in Canada seems inherent in the historical nation-building project. While British immigrants face few obstacles, Bangladeshis face many obstacles. South Asians were explicitly banned from immigration to Canada in the early 20th century and this exclusion extended into the 1960s. The effect of this racialization where Anglo-Celtic immigrants were constructed as the perfect immigrant while others who varied from the Anglo-Celtic characteristics in nationality or skin colour were less than favorable immigrants can be explored by contrasting the responses from the two groups.

Participant Recruitment

Individuals who participated in the research were from the Ottawa area. To locate participants several methods were used. An advertisement was placed in the local free newspaper, the *Ottawa Metro*. This ad ran for nine days over two weeks and resulted in six individuals from the UK and two individuals from Bangladesh indicating their interest in participating in the research. Additional participants were found through word of mouth and by asking participants to indicate friends or family who might be interested in participating in the research. All but two individuals (from Bangladesh) were unrelated¹⁶; that is, there was no other direct familial connection between participants.

Interviews & Data Collection

Data were collected using a semi-structured interview schedule with questions focusing on general background, conceptions of citizenship, and sense of belonging in the home and host country. The interview method was selected because there were several direct benefits from collecting research using a semi-structured interview. One immediate benefit was the higher response rate from face-to-face interviews than other methods of data collection (Payne & Payne, 2004:133).

Additional benefits to using the semi-structured interview arose in the ability of that method to generate a deeper understanding of the topic explored. Pursuing the question of belonging using a semi-structured interview provided the opportunity to investigate issues that arose from the literature and had been decided ahead of time while also providing the opportunity to pursue other questions and issues that arose as the

¹⁶ The two individuals who were related were a father and daughter. The family moved to Canada to allow the mother to pursue higher education. On a prolonged study break they returned to Bangladesh where the daughter was born and spent the first few years of her life before returning to Canada with her parents again.

interview progressed (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995:207). The ability to pursue issues and questions as they arose and the greater flexibility of the qualitative interview contributed to the development of a deeper understanding of the topic (Dooley, 2001:253; Bouma & Atkinson, 1995:208; Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979:7) highlighting not only patterns but also contradictions and paradoxes that can be further probed and explored (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:47; Ragin, 1994:118). For example, while the literature on transnationalism discusses immigrant participation in both societies, it often goes no further than stating that participation is possible, and it lacks a description of experiences and interactions in both places. Discussions with the participants in this research highlighted that these experiences can be filled with paradoxes not understood by previous literature reviews. It was the semi-structured nature of the interview that allowed greater depth to be pursued around the issue of transnational experience, giving prominence to the fact that these experiences are not simple, stable interactions.

The highly personalized nature of the questions being posed also provided a heightened reason to use the semi-structured interview. Because of the flexibility, the interviewer could return to certain questions, explore questions further, and seek clarity from the participants where necessary (Gray, 2004:214; Bernard, 2000:191). Conversely, the semi-structured interview is also credited with providing the flexibility to clarify questions and change wording in situations where the questions are not completely understood by the interviewee, permitting answers which are more definitive. In the current research, the ability of the researcher to clarify questions where necessary was particularly important given that there were varying levels of understanding of the English language among participants. Therefore, for some it was necessary to talk about

the question, and find new ways of phrasing the question, before the participant could answer (Gray, 2004:215).

Interviews with participants ranged from 50 minutes to an hour and a half. Conversations were recorded and later transcribed in order to ensure accurate presentation of the participant's ideas. The interview schedule is attached in Appendix A for more detail. Accordingly, the questions and format of the interview will not be discussed in detail here. However, it is relevant to provide a brief description of the themes and particularly intriguing questions that were asked of respondents.

The interview schedule was detailed, containing many questions with several sub-probe questions. However, many of the questions outlined on the schedule were not asked explicitly as they were covered at some point in the individual's narrative. Similarly, some questions that were discussed are not included on the interview schedule as they came up in conversation between the researcher and the participant. The general themes that were covered in the interview include: general background information on the individual (such as how they obtained citizenship and when they came to Canada), the process of obtaining citizenship(s), sentiments of belonging and not belonging (associated with the home and host country) and personal definitions of citizenship.

During the discussion on the process of obtaining citizenship with one of the early interviewees the dialogue led to a discussion of the citizenship ceremony. While this question was not initially on the original interview schedule, it was added after this early interview as it became apparent that discussions around the citizenship ceremony highlighted important aspects of belonging, and provided a concrete proxy for citizenship

for some of the participants. It became one of the more important questions in the interview and, for that reason, is highlighted in the analysis section.

While difficult to answer for many of the participants, another question that was quite valuable was one which asked the participants to imagine they were in a situation in which they had to choose one citizenship, indicate which it would be and provide a reason for choosing that one. The question helped to highlight, for the researcher, the ties that the individual felt for both countries. Most of the participants, in some way or another, indicated that they could choose one (with caveats attached to losing the other – such as only choosing if it meant not losing contact with those still in the home country). The choice was often one that was preceded by silence and usually some statement indicating that this was a difficult question. Although the decision was difficult for most of the participants, this difficulty was central to the researcher because of the implied importance of both citizenships, and the attachments that were felt by the individual to both citizenships.

Ethics & Confidentiality

The research conducted in this study maintained the ethical standards for research set out by the “Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans” (1998) and a research proposal and all research questions were reviewed by the Carleton ethics committee prior to any research being undertaken. In short, this meant that all participants were fully informed about the purpose and methods of the study prior to agreeing to participate. To ensure participants were aware of their rights as a research subject, all participants were asked to read a letter of information prior to beginning the interview. The letter of information informed the participants of their rights as a research

subject, including their right to refuse to answer any questions, as well as the option to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. Participation in the research was completely voluntary, and research subjects were made aware of this. The letter of information also provided contact information for the researcher and research supervisors in the event that the participant had additional questions following the data collection period. A copy of the letter of information can be found in Appendix B.

Once participants had read the letter of information they were asked to sign a copy of the informed consent form. The consent form asked the subject to agree to the recording of the conversation in order to allow the researcher to later transcribe the conversation. Participants who were not comfortable with the conversation being recorded were able to indicate so, and hand notes were taken instead. A copy of the informed consent form can be found in Appendix C. Participants were given their own copy of the letter of information and consent form.

As it was the researcher's responsibility to ensure that the participation in the research was fully informed, and to ensure that the research subject understood the information presented in the letter of information and consent form the researcher discussed both documents and provided an opportunity for the participant to ask questions. The researcher also verbally highlighted that the participant should feel free to ask any questions, at any point during, or after, the study and should also remember that they were free to decline to answer a question or withdraw from the study at any time.

The assurance of confidentiality was also made to all of the participants. This was in keeping with the ethical rules of qualitative research. Participants were informed that data would be kept confidential, being available only to the researcher and the

primary and secondary supervisors. The presentation of data within the final report was done using pseudonyms; the actual names of all participants were removed and other background information was kept as generic as possible in order to prevent individuals from being identified in the research.

Participants were informed that throughout the duration of the study the data would be kept on a data-stick and kept in a locked box. They were also given the opportunity to indicate whether they desired, upon completion of the research project, for their own data to be destroyed, or whether data could be kept in order to allow the researcher to use the existing data in future research projects.

Narrative Analysis

Data were analyzed using narrative analysis. While an exact and agreed upon definition of narrative is elusive, there are several characteristics of narrative that are discussed and supported in the literature (Riessman, 1993:17). Narratives carry a story of personal experience. Through narratives, personal experiences are shared with others using the narrator's own words and meanings to present and discuss their experience (Hoyle et al, 2002:394; Muller, 1999:221). Narratives enable individuals to make sense of their experiences and communicate their own understandings and meanings of that experience to the audience. Through narrative an individual builds an understanding of significant events and incorporates these significant events into the whole of their life story in order to understand the events within their life (Elliot, 2005:3; Chase, 1995:1). Narrative stories represent embodiments of the social experiences of the individual. They form the focus of narrative analysis (Chase, 1995:2).

Narrative analysis enables the researcher to find meanings and incorporate relevant pieces of the narrative to support their research question. As the focus of narrative analysis is the story told by a narrator, researchers must be able to elicit narratives from the research participants. The task of gathering narratives is generally thought to be one of relative ease. It is commonly believed that people want to share their stories and that if asked to share a story, an individual will easily provide a narrative of their experience. This tendency to share personal experiences in the form of narrative is generally believed to be universally occurring, and natural. That is, people share a strong impulse to provide narratives of personal experience (Hoyle et al, 2002:396; Muller, 1999:223; Johnstone, 1997:316; Chase, 1995:2; Riessman, 1993:54; White, 1980:1). To elicit narratives researchers are encouraged to ask about experiences with questions that are open-ended while avoiding questions rooted in sociological concepts (Esterberg, 2002:183; Chase, 1995:11).

For the most part, participants were willing to share their stories; however, there were some instances in which gaining narratives was more difficult. Some of the more highly educated individuals, particularly the male participants, were reluctant, at first, to elaborate on their experiences, treating the interview more as a face-to-face survey than an opportunity to share their stories around citizenship and belonging. Consequently, it was necessary to ask participants to elaborate on issues. It was also evident that the researcher needed to attempt to create a comfort level between the participants and the researcher. To do this the researcher shared much about their own background when asked and ensured to emphasize that there were no right or wrong answers and that participants were free to elaborate on their answers as they saw necessary.

Once a narrative was collected, the researcher's attention turned to the analysis of these narratives. Analysis enables the researcher to find meanings and incorporate relevant pieces of the narrative to support their research question. Narratives, as the focus in narrative analysis, can be analyzed by examining the structure, content and/or, language used to tell the story of the individual's experience. Narratives convey what we know about experiences and provide an understanding of how we know it and how this knowledge can be understood by the individual (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997:148). Analyses that focus on the structure of narratives are generally interested in the flow of the story, that is, they look to examine how the story begins, how it progresses and how the ending unfolds. Structural analyses may also seek to understand whether the narratives revolve around a particular theme and what themes are present. Narratives can also be analyzed for content. In this study, the purpose of relying on narratives was to enable content and structural analysis.

Sociology has long been interested in understanding individual interpretations of experience and behaviour. Narratives are conceived of as one means that enable the researcher to catch a glimpse of the understanding individuals attribute to their experiences. Narratives are credited with providing the best opportunity because they enable the individual to express their sentiments about the events while also allowing the individual to indicate the importance of those feelings within the narrative (Elliot, 2005:4; Muller, 1999:223; Riessman, 1993:19). Narrative provides an alternative from more objective positivist paradigms and this alternative provides an opportunity to understand experiences of the world through the multiple perspectives of individuals and within the contexts in which these perspectives were produced.

One of the clearest benefits of narrative, which was emphasized briefly above, is that it offers the opportunity to gain a detailed understanding of the reality lived by an individual. At the same time narrative provides a sense of the individual's feelings and meanings attributed to that reality. Narrative provides not only an opportunity to examine past actions, but also the opportunity to understand how meaning is given to those actions by the narrator (Elliot, 2005:4; Muller, 1999:223; Riessman, 1993:19). Unlike survey questions, narratives can be used to understand the complex reasoning and thought processes individuals apply to their experiences. Narratives can be used to show an individual's feelings and thoughts on a particular experience or issue. Beyond this, however, narratives can also be beneficial in highlighting issues and concepts not identified by the research as important to the topic. It is also through this opportunity to identify additional concepts that narratives enable the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the topic (Hoyle et al, 2002:395).

While narratives can provide benefits to research in general, the benefits of narrative analysis can be particularly useful in research with particular populations. One population in which narratives can provide some added value is the immigrant population where stories and experiences of migrancy can be more fully understood by asking immigrants for their narratives (Ramachandran, 2004:256). A significant number of the studies that approach the topic of immigrant belonging do so using quantitative data on citizenship and participation within the community (Bloemraad, 2004:393; Derouin, 2004:59-61; Kaplan, 1993:252). A quantitative approach results in individuals being amassed into large groups in which the stories of individuals are lost. As Josselson (1995:32) notes, to aggregate people in groups means the loss of individual narratives and

with this comes the loss of an individual's own interpretations of the meanings these events hold. Narrative, according to Josselson (1995:32), encourages the recognition of complexity, it validates the unique experience of some individuals, while at the same time highlighting how experience can be shared between individuals. Rather than aggregating individuals into categories, narrative instead focuses on the unique stories of experience as much as it does the common themes in narrative. The choice to use narrative analysis in the current research was, in part, a decision to attempt to emphasize some of the unique stories of individuals' experiences of belonging rather than compiling a general story that applies to all immigrants upon their arrival. Narrative is a step in the direction of providing this unique voice. Beyond this, narrative also permitted the exploration of issues and identity associated with dual citizenship in a manner not permitted by quantitative analysis.

Quantitative data on immigration in Canada focuses, for the most part, on numbers of immigrants, location, income and integration. While some data is collected on integration and adjustment the data is collected using close-ended surveys in which respondents must choose one of a number of predetermined categories. Like the data on immigration, information on citizenship is limited to naturalization rates, countries of origin and citizenship status in other countries. While valuable for providing overall aggregate estimates of trends in Canada, the data cannot provide an in-depth understanding of what citizenship means to the immigrant. Narrative analysis presents an opportunity for the participant to express their sentiments about citizenship without necessitating that these notions fit within the preconceived categories implicit in quantitative data. Similarly, individuals can place emphasis on importance aspects of

feelings within the narrative (Elliot, 2005:4; Muller, 1999:223; Riessman, 1993:19) which allows for a deeper understanding of citizenship and one which draws on the aspects of belonging, identity and daily life as a transmigrant.

Another useful benefit to narrative analysis, provided by Menard-Warwick (2005:551) is that it is particularly useful for highlighting social and cultural changes, an experience that many immigrants are certain to encounter in their move from home to host country. Narrative analysis is credited with the benefit of allowing new topics and key concepts, unknown to the researcher, to be unearthed during the research process. Some of these key concepts and topics may arise as a result of the social and cultural changes experienced by the immigrant upon immigration (Imbens-Bailey, 1997:344). The importance of subjects being able to direct the conversation to the concepts and experiences they define as important is highlighted by the fact that many studies that examine belonging do so using the community participation marker. Yet, important concepts that signal belonging (or unbelonging) may be beyond the scope of the participation literature. By allowing research participants some say in guiding the research and highlighting important areas for investigation more progress can be made in understanding belonging.

Similarly, where narrative analysis is used, elaboration around cultural resources used to convey the narrative can be explored. Cultural resources are the tools available within the culture that help the individual convey their story as well as the meanings they ascribe to their story. These may include, but are not limited to words or languages that do not translate easily into the other language, historical events, or specific locations in the home country (Esterberg, 2002:187). A focus on cultural resources employed by

immigrants in telling their narratives is particularly important given the fact that the participants may have limited access to the cultural resources in the new country, while the researcher may be limited in their understanding of the cultural resources drawn upon by the immigrant. Through narrative analysis the participant is invited to spend greater time elaborating on cultural resources which might enable them to more successfully use the cultural resources available in the new country, or to help the researcher understand the cultural resources employed by the immigrant from their home country.

One final important benefit to letting the research participants share in the guiding of the research is that it facilitates the ability to hear the voices of the less dominant. Immigrants, particularly those who are visible minorities are frequently silenced and their voices seen as unimportant to Canadian nation building (Mahtani, 2002:29). The ability to give them a voice and hear their story becomes more important when viewed against this challenge. The path that narrative provides to enable an individual to voice their opinion makes it a significant benefit when conducting research with immigrants.

While every attempt was made to elicit valuable narratives from the research participants my own racial, age and gender position may have impacted the narratives gathered from some of the participants. As a young researcher talking about immigration with participants who often came to Canada before I was born there was potential for these immigrants to feel as though my qualifications as a researcher were limited and that investing the time in doing research with me was not valuable. Similarly, my status as a female may have prevented some participants from sharing openly some of their experiences as migrants, particularly where cultural differences govern what types of information and discussions can be held with individuals of the opposite sex. Finally, and

most importantly, my own race placed me as part of the dominant group in society. Given this position, participants from the visible minority group may have had reservations about sharing their experiences of racialization and sentiments of non-belonging with me.

Given these potential obstacles, I attempted to emphasize with the participants that the object of my research was to learn. I was clear with participants that I was not a dual citizen, and that the information they provided me was my only source of understanding their experiences as dual citizens. I also repeatedly emphasized that there were not right or wrong answers. My primary objective was to present the stories of immigration and integration as told by the immigrants themselves. The research presented in the analysis section, while influenced by my own thoughts on what I heard during conversations with the participants, attempts to present the voice of the participant with little modification by my own hand. My position as researcher was to facilitate the collection and presentation of the stories of my participants rather than to attempt to shape and influence the stories told.

The analysis has not attempted to create a unified truth for these Canadian immigrants and dual citizens, but rather to provide a first exploration of the issues within the project. Accordingly, the stories are represented as told by the participants and excerpts from the narratives have been used to highlight the various conceptions of citizenship and sense of belonging that are seen among the participants.

The findings in this research came about using comparative structural and content narrative analysis to analyze the data and present the research findings by identifying overall themes presented in the participants' narratives and analyzing the content within those themes. The questions from the interview schedule provided one set of themes,

(which included belonging, perceptions of citizenship, identity and transnationalism) around which the discussions revolved. Additional themes were later identified when similar topics reoccurred in discussions with different participants, these included the importance of family and friends in assisting in integration.

Initially, analysis began with a reading of the transcripts. As the transcripts were read, several notes were taken down the side of the transcripts to highlight important aspects and trends that appeared. Subsequently, the transcripts were entered into a data software program which was used to assist in the final analysis of the narratives. The software package used was QSR NVivo Qualitative Analysis software. QSR Nvivo was most helpful when used to sort the data. Given that the collection and analysis of qualitative data requires a complex management system, NVivo's ability to sort and link the data provided an excellent basis for the synthesis and analysis of the ideas found in the data.

Assumptions

“Immigrant” versus “National”

While the intent was not to go into the research with preconceived categories into which research participants would fit there was a significant assumption about immigration that influenced the subsequent construction and design of the research methodologies proposed. This assumption was that the immigrant dual citizen's sense of belonging to host and home countries would be different for those who had lived in both countries when compared to those who had inherited a citizenship to a foreign country in which they have never lived, or formally participated. This assumption impacted the construction of the research issue, particularly in terms of the criteria used for selection of research subjects.

The research proposed here focused on gaining a deeper understanding of the sense of belonging possessed by the *immigrant* dual national. As such, individuals selected to participate must have lived in and obtained citizenship in either the UK or Bangladesh prior to immigrating to Canada. While this greatly constrained the scope of the question, it did so in order to provide a much more detailed understanding of an immigrant's sense of belonging.

Limitations

The research outlined above was constrained by several limitations in the design. Clearly, the process of immigration and the development of bonds between individuals and their home and host countries are impacted by multiple factors and various processes which could not be accounted for in a research project of this size. The limitations that affected this research are presented below. Despite the various limitations presented, this research provides important insights into the experience and sense of belonging among dual citizens. Little research currently exists on the topic as the scholarship on dual citizenship has tended to be in the fields of law and political science. As such, this particular project provides an exploratory study of dual citizenship and belonging. It provides intriguing and important insights, building a foundation on which other studies can build.

Several potential limitations to this research exist around the fact that the population under study was composed of two groups of immigrants. In particular, the length of time in the country, differences between the country of origin and reception, and the fact that the researcher was not also an immigrant, or a member of either group studied may have had particular influences on the conduct and analysis of the research.

As was well noted in the literature review, sending and receiving countries differ in their practices in dual citizenship.

Political, Social & Cultural Ideologies of Host & Home States

Differences in the sentiments of belonging developed by individuals may be impacted by variations in political, social and cultural ideologies as well as the policies and practices around dual citizenship of the originating and receiving states (Bloemraad, 2004:400). For example, states that promote integration with policies such as multiculturalism and recognition of diversity may lead to the development of a greater sense of belonging for the immigrant. This may be contrasted with a state in which social and immigration policies do little to promote integration, or limit a newcomer's access to various resources within the state. Such policies would likely inhibit the development of a strong sense of belonging in the new state.

To the extent that this research examines the sentiment of belonging for immigrants from only two sending states (United Kingdom and Bangladesh) in one receiving country (Canada) the impacts of social, political and cultural ideologies, as well as sending and receiving policies on immigration and naturalization, have been controlled. That is, by focusing on a limited number of sending countries, and a single receiving country the context of both leaving for Canada and coming to Canada can be somewhat understood. For example, it is well understood that the outward ideology around immigration in Canada is one in which permanent resident immigrants are extended social benefits equal to those of full citizens and that the policy of integration is one in which diversity and tolerance of difference are respected.

Despite this control, how the ideologies of states impact individual development of a sense of belonging can be different for every person and can play a role in determining the sense of belonging to both states. Furthermore, while it is suggested that these factors can play a role in influencing sense of belonging, the current study has taken this as an assumption and controlled for this potential rather than attempting to determine to what extent this is the case. Future research that looks at the political, social and cultural situations in sending states and those influences on sense of belonging in the receiving state may be warranted.

The Impact of Time

While the political, social and cultural contexts of the sending state may impact the sense of belonging in the home and host country, it may also be that sense of belonging will vary by time in, as well as time away from, those places. The research outlined here sought to determine the sense of belonging held by immigrants in the home and host country, but did not specify given lengths of time. That is, no attempt was made to control for length of time in Canada, or away from the United Kingdom and Bangladesh other than the requirement that the individual possess citizenship in Canada (requiring a minimum four year residence commitment in Canada).

Previous quantitative research has found that immigrants who come to Canada at an older age are more likely to claim dual citizenship than those who migrated at a younger (Bloemraad, 2004:406). This previous research can be taken to suggest that length of time can have important impacts on sense of belonging, suggesting that those who are in the host country for significant periods of time tend to establish a sense of

belonging tied to the host state alone¹⁷. Many have a greater sense of belonging in the host country, which may also impact their belonging in the home country. Despite this previous research, the links between length of time in Canada and home country and the development of a sense of belonging in the home and host countries is not clear. The research outlined here has discussed belonging with a range of individuals who have been in the country for various lengths of time. Further research into the direct links between time and belonging may be important to understanding more completely the development of a sense of belonging.

Atmosphere of Reception & Access to Cultural Resources

The location of study may also have impacted the sense of belonging established by the immigrant newcomers. While Canada provides an excellent place to study the sense of belonging of newcomers because of its policies which promote and encourage naturalization and its acceptance of dual citizenship (Bloemraad, 2004:391) there may be limitations to the precise location selected – Ottawa, Canada. Despite being the nation's capital, Ottawa is not one of the major immigrant-receiving cities in Canada. Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are the Canadian cities that receive the largest number of immigrants, providing a different atmosphere of reception. While Ottawa does provide access to a number of diverse settings, these are much more limited than would be the case in any of the three major metropolitan centers listed above, thereby providing possible impacts on the sense of belonging felt when entering their new country. The significant difference in the number of immigrants received by the city can have impacts on the sense of reception these immigrants feel, not only in terms of access to resources,

¹⁷ This is theorized to be largely a result of the fact that the immigrant child does not spend enough time in the home country to become acquainted with the customs and life of that culture, and responds by not claiming dual citizenship with that country (Bloemraad, 2004:411).

but also in terms of the sense of community established. In Ottawa, this difference may be significantly pronounced.

For example, between 1996 and 2001 only 990 immigrants of UK origin arrived in the Ottawa area, for South Asians the total was 3,860. The previous Census recorded 875 UK immigrants in the Ottawa area between 1991 and 1995 and 2,835 South Asians. Comparatively, UK immigrants in Toronto totaled 4,840 for the period between 1996 and 2001, and 5,675 between 1991 and 1995. For South Asians these numbers were 87,760 and 67,155 respectively (Statistics Canada, 2001). While the Bangladeshi High Commission (BHC) in Canada does not keep records on the number of immigrants to Canada, they do estimate that South Asian immigration to Canada has been composed of almost 60,000 Bangladeshis since 1971. These individuals are spread across Canada, but are largely concentrated in the major cities. The BHC estimates that around 4,000 of these immigrants (since 1971) have taken up residence in Ottawa.

Upon arriving in Ottawa, Bangladeshi immigrants have limited access to cultural specific community organizations, associations and cultural groups. Immigrants will find one community association in the area and while any Bangladeshi immigrant is welcome to become a member, meetings are very infrequent. Lacking a cultural community centre of its own, meetings and special events are hosted in city community centers on an as-needed basis. In contrast, Toronto offers Bangladeshi immigrants the option of several community associations and organizations and has a few cultural centers for immigrants. Bangladeshis in the Toronto area can also read a daily newspaper providing for the community. Bangladeshi immigrants in Ottawa do not publish their own paper, however,

the Toronto paper is available in print format, or via the internet, to those who are interested (BHC, personal communication, 2007).

While Bangladesh specific resources are limited in the Ottawa area there are several resources for Muslims¹⁸. The Ottawa Muslim Network, an on-line resource for Muslims in the Ottawa area, provides daily news, a list of various businesses from food, to clothing, to dentists and doctors. Special events are advertised, links to Mosques are available and the Ottawa Muslim radio station is advertised.

For UK immigrants the reception is quite different. Canadian culture and cultural pastimes, heavily influenced by the British settler past, create an arena where access to British-style cultural activities is highly accessible. Pseudo-British pubs can be found in multitude (think the chain of *Fox Pubs* and *Royal Oaks* that appear in major cities across Canada) and many of the leisure activities practiced by Brits are similar to those found in Canada (shopping, sports, television and movies). The similarity in culture means that traditionally “British foods” (Fish and Chips, Yorkshire pudding and other roast meats) are widely available in Canada. The overlap with British culture also results in shared holiday practices.

Despite acknowledging the possible impacts of size of community in the reception of the immigrant newcomer, this study did not attempt to assess the impacts of this difference. Therefore, research on the size of community and cultural resources present in the community and the impacts these have on an immigrant’s sense of belonging is worthwhile. Similarly, research into reception policies and strategies of

¹⁸ Muslims are the dominant religious group in Bangladesh, with nearly eighty percent of the population practicing Islam.

various nations could provide additional insight into the sense of belonging established by newcomers.

As noted, Canada encourages newcomers to make Canada their home with policies that promote dual citizenship and encourage naturalization. Yet not all countries have made progress in this area and interesting research may be found in a study that compares countries with various levels of openness to immigration and dual citizenship. Additional differences may arise as the result of the national backgrounds of immigrants. For instance, immigrants coming from countries that instill a great sense of national pride and foster deep patriotism in their citizens may have a different sense of belonging in the home and host state than those countries whose nationalistic tendencies are weaker, or linked to something other than national boundaries. Research on the impact of this type of background may be important, but was not the focus of the present study.

Demographic Characteristics of the Immigrant

Various socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant may have an impact on the sense of belonging felt by the immigrant newcomer. Characteristics such as immigration status, socio-economic status, age, education and language may all impact an immigrant's sense of belonging in the home and host countries in various ways. For example, refugees who involuntarily flee their home countries may develop significantly different ties to the new state than those who have made the voluntary commitment to change home states (Roseneau, 2003:197). Similarly, socio-economic status may impact the sense of belonging in the two states by influencing the ability of individuals to continue to maintain ties with home countries. While the possibility of travel is generally increasing, more affluent migrants who can afford to maintain transnational lives through

travel and telecommunications may have a different sense of belonging to home countries than those who are less affluent (Bloemraad, 2004:410).

Lastly, characteristics such as age, education and language ability can potentially influence the development of a sense of belonging, or maintenance of a sense of belonging in the home or host country. Higher human capital in the form of education may permit some migrants to move into economic affluence, allowing them to maintain ties in a manner that is different from those who are less affluent as a result of lower human capital (Bloemraad, 2003:410 Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003:1229). Some research has also found that the age at which individuals migrate can impact the ties to home and host countries as a result of the ability to learn new things (Bloemraad, 2003:411; St. Joseph's Women's Health Center, nd:2,4). Those migrants who have come at earlier ages have the potential to learn new things more quickly, thus perhaps fostering a greater sense of belonging in the host country. As the host country sense of belonging increases, the potential for reduced sense of belonging to the home country also becomes more possible.

The research outlined here has not controlled for these various socio-demographic characteristics presented above. Instead, individual of all ages, education backgrounds and affluence have been included in the research. Further research that controlled for these characteristics would make important contributions to the understanding of belonging and how it is developed and maintained among dual citizens.

Importance of Understanding Citizenship

While there are several limitations to the research outlined above the importance of continuing to research the understanding of citizenship and impact of dual citizenship

should not be overlooked. There is a paucity of research exploring the subjective understanding and experience of citizenship held by individual citizens, particularly Canadians (Theiss-Morse, 1993:360). Furthermore, the lack of literature around understandings of citizenship extends to interpretations of new Canadians' understanding of what it means to be a citizen not only in their new country of residence, but in the country from which they have emigrated. The research proposed here attempts to fill that gap by providing an initial understanding of the conceptions of citizenship held by Canadian immigrants while also exploring the transnational ties that these individuals maintain with home countries and the experiences of transnationalism in their daily lives.

Theiss-Morse (1993:361) also highlights the importance of understanding citizenship given its theorized link with identity and ability to situate the individual within society. The research detailed in this paper attempts to investigate this theoretical link between identity and citizenship by speaking to immigrants about the role of citizenship in creating and, or, maintaining an identity link for them in their country of origin and host country. While examining the link between citizenship and identity the research here also highlights how it is that citizenship positions individuals in society, particularly through the concept of second citizenship highlighted in the literature review. The discussion of second citizenship is particularly useful in providing an understanding of the differences available to individuals when using citizenship to position themselves, or others, in society.

The emphasis on the impacts of racialization on visible minority groups attempting to integrate into the Canadian settler society is an important aspect of the current research construction. The contrast of daily experiences as dual citizens in

Canada between those from backgrounds akin to early Canadian settlers (the UK participants) against those who, in relative terms, are newcomers to the Canadian social fabric (the Bangladeshi participants) and have historically faced exclusion and discrimination, provides an important understanding of the impacts of settler society ideologies on the welcome and integration of new Canadians from backgrounds other than those of dominant race. The differences in backgrounds can also be used to highlight the variations in sense of belonging that is held between the two groups. While the contrast in experiences of these two groups is important for understanding possible effects of racialization, the potential for understanding the cultural experiences of the participants in these groups is also increased because of the restriction to these groups.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMMIGRANTS' IDEAS OF CITIZENSHIP – THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSNATIONALISM AND IDENTITY

The primary goal of the research undertaken in this study was to determine the impact of dual citizenship on an immigrant's sense of belonging in the home and host country. In particular, the impact of dual citizenship on the daily lives of immigrants and their ability to maintain transnational links with friends and family in the home state are of particular interest. To do this the research examines what citizenship means to an immigrant in a new country; the degree to which the extension of citizenship to a newcomer affects their sense of belonging within the new community; and, the role of citizenship, particularly dual citizenship, in facilitating the acquisition or maintenance of transnational attachments, if any, to home and host states. The research also examined the relevance of dual citizenship, particularly the meaning and value attributed to dual citizenship by immigrants. How the acquisition of citizenship impacts an immigrant's identity is also explored. The research also probes the access new immigrants have to social and political rights associated with being a member of the political community. Finally, the research was designed to determine the impact of settler society histories on the access immigrants from visible minority backgrounds have to the exercise of the rights associated with citizenship

As a result of these research objectives, a major focus of the narrative analysis was on understanding the level of belonging participants established in each of the two places where they claimed dual citizenship. Consequently, some of the questions explore the acquisition of citizenship in Canada, and the sense of belonging that was fostered by the acquisition of this 'host country' citizenship. Others explore return trips to the home country and the sentiments surrounding these trips 'home'. As is highlighted below, most

individuals were comfortable in both their country of origin (Bangladesh or the United Kingdom) and the Canadian host country, and overwhelmingly, most participants agreed on some level that they had established a sense of belonging in the host country, though this sense of belonging differed in strength for most of the participants in the study. Nine of eleven UK participants indicated they had established some sort of connection to the host country, while five of the eight Bangladesh participants indicated similar sentiments.

While sentiments of belonging to Canada were often stronger for those who had originated from the United Kingdom, these feelings were echoed by a majority of the participants who had immigrated from Bangladesh as well. When asked “do you belong equally in both places”, most participants (ten of eleven UK participants and all eight of the eight Bangladeshi participants) indicated that they felt some level of belonging in Canada. Despite the fact that participants felt a sense of belonging, three of the UK participants, and six of the Bangladesh participants expressed that there were certainly times where they felt that they did not belong in Canada.

Belonging: Settling into the Host Country

For those who expressed sentiments of belonging in the host country, reasons were varied but two factors were clearly associated with a sense of belonging; (1) the time spent in the host country; and, (2) family, friends and other social connections. While these factors were apparent in fostering a sense of belonging in the home country, their presence or absence were also linked to feelings of belonging and ties to the home country. Because these factors were clearly associated with belonging in both the home and host country, a more detailed discussion of these factors is presented following the discussion of belonging in the home country. While the variables of time and social

connections jointly affected belonging in the home and host country, belonging in the host country was negatively affected by unfamiliarity with cultural institutions, social activities and pastimes, and positively affected by the attendance of the citizenship ceremony, a requirement for all new Canadians obtaining citizenship. These two aspects associated with belonging in the host country are explored below.

Cultural Institutions, Activities and Past-times

General findings indicated that time and family, friends and other social connections played an important role in fostering enduring ties to place – either home or host; however, the sense of belonging to the host country was associated with adoption of the Canadian culture and cultural activities. For many, the cultural factor inhibited their ability to establish a deep sense of belonging with the host country that could be maintained in any long-standing or deeply felt manner. Surprisingly, this was reported by not only seven Bangladeshi participants, where cultural differences are more distinct, but also by two UK participants despite recognition of the similarity in cultures that exists between the two countries.

For Alec, a 37-year old skilled worker in the high-tech industry, who migrated from Scotland to Canada only 7 years earlier, the development of a deep sense of belonging with Canada was negatively impacted by the fact that he was not completely familiar with early formative institutions, such as the school system, and cultural activities of Canadians. As he noted

I feel now, I'm not a part of, I'm not really a part of Canada, except that I'm physically here and working and things like that. But I didn't go through the school system, people at work talk, and ahh, so people at work will talk about things like sports stars, or movie stars, or politicians, or, uh, you know things like that, but I have no idea who these, who they are or what the history is behind it, or they'll talk about cartoons or things like that, or characters, but again, I have no

idea who they are. Unless its fortunate enough that it was one of the ones that came across from the UK, 'cause some, I mean there is, obviously there is a big UK influence here as well, and, and then, so I find that I sort of partially fit in here....

Similarly, Jocelyn, a British immigrant who has been in Canada since the mid-1970s and is now retired after several years as a professional in Canada, noted the difficulty in feeling at home when Canadian cultural references came up at work. Jocelyn commented that she may have felt more included at work

...if I had made more of an effort to sort of keep up with programs going on, 'cause people would talk about them at work, and I didn't have a clue what they're talking about. But I've never been that interested in television, the program has got to be really interesting, or a documentary or something like that, for me to watch it. So in a way I sort of sat on the sidelines a little bit because I wasn't part of those programs.

While cultural references to the media, social institutions such as the school system and past times like hockey, limited the sense of belonging held by Canadian newcomers from the United Kingdom, it was also felt among participants from Bangladesh. For one individual, the sense of not belonging felt as a result of references to cultural activities was also exacerbated by the lack of (self-assessed) language proficiency. For Rusd, a student and sessional instructor at a Canadian university in his late twenties who has been in Canada since September 2000, language and common Canadian expressions or other plays on words were sometimes highly responsible for his lacking in sense of belonging. He spoke explicitly about the role of language in restraining the level of belonging he came to feel with Canada. When asked whether "there had ever been a time where he felt that he didn't belong in Canada", he responded:

And ahh, yeah...yeah, the social and cultural part. In Canada I don't belong, of course, whenever they are talking about ice hockey. And sometimes, I think language is a big barrier for me, I sometimes miss the jokes; people make a lot of... Catching a sense of humor in English I find kind of difficult, so, it's that kind

of thing when you realize that English is not your mother language and you don't get the joke that people get so easily.

Mention of the role of cultural institutions, activities and pastimes, including the Canadian obsession with ice hockey, is not surprising. Research examining the development of national identities has noted the role of such cultural institutions as the school and national holidays in identity formation while also noting the relevance of cultural pastimes and activities. For these researchers, the institutions, activities and forms of recreation of a society contribute to the development of an ideal-type national with a particular ethnic character and practice (Westwood & Phizacklea, 2002:32). Those unfamiliar with the activities and institutions are positioned as outsiders, signaling their less than ideal-type status.

While this current research easily provides some understanding of the difficulty of constructing a sense of belonging in Canada among Bangladeshis, who have since Confederation been largely excluded from the building of the Canadian national story, these findings are puzzling for the associated difficulty in establishing a sense of belonging for the two UK participants, particularly in light of the fact that the Canadian national story is built largely on British history, institutions and cultural roots. While perplexing, McCormack's (1981:42) own review of British integration in Canada suggests possible factors to account for the difficulties. In reviewing British settlement McCormack (1981:42) found that immigration literature provided to British emigrants emphasized their similarity with Canada and suggested that upon arrival immigrants would have little difficulty fitting into the very British way of life. As a result, some British immigrants resisted full acculturation, opting instead to maintain the British sense of identity acquired pre-migration. For these immigrants, British ways of life including

leisure activities such as soccer and other values were imported to Canada where the British immigrant was able to continue in this way of life.

While this less than full shift to a Canadian way of life may account for some of the difficulties faced by the two British immigrants who speak above, it may also be the case that the result is an impact of differentiated British involvement in the creation of the Canadian national story particularly as the two UK participants who noted the impact of cultural activities, although from the UK, had different relations to the British environment than the rest of the participants in the sample. Alec originated from Scotland which, although part of the UK, can be considered to have a significantly different culture and historical root than Britain. Jocelyn, on the other hand, was born in England, but spent many of her formative years in South Africa, where her parents had moved to take up employment. While Jocelyn maintained contact with Britain through summers back in the country, and an eventual return to the country for a period after marriage, it is possible that the long durations spent out of the country impacted the connections she established to British culture.

While these two cases fall outside the purview of what has been found in previous research linking Canadian and British national identities and cultural institutions, activities and pastimes, and seem to present a slightly perplexing problem the fact that not all of the Bangladeshis in this study reported the same impact of cultural references on their sense of belonging also complicates the research that suggests the structuring of an “ideal-type” national identity based on certain ethnicities. In fact, at least three of the eight Bangladeshi participants reported a strong connection to Canadian cultural references. For Jundub, a self-employed 60 year-old father who has lived in Canada for

more than thirty years, his adoption of Canadian clothing and enjoyment of Canadian (or Western) music signaled for him a certain level of belonging: “So legally, culturally my, my behaviour, my clothing my, my ahh, my social life, if you asked me what kind of music I listened to we listen to a lot of the old musical of all those people...”.

These findings encourage the consideration of not only time spent in the host country, but also the important impacts of globalization in the immigration and integration process. In particular, as a consequence of globalization and transportation and media technologies that promote the flow of international goods around the world, immigrants can find not only activities and cultural referents of their home country in their host country, but also may experience host country cultural referents in their home country before even coming to the host country. As Diliwar notes

... for example, music, I was always interested in, you know, like the Western, not everything Western, but say, I was always interested in rock and roll¹⁹ and that sort of stuff. And so I can identify myself, I can recognize myself more in that scene than in the Bangladeshi cultural scene, especially the music. So I can see myself in this part of the planet. I can recognize myself more there. But there are other things that have always been there in me which may be more prominent here in this part of the world so I can relate myself to that...

The transnational flow of goods as a result of globalization was also mentioned by one of the UK participants as a likely factor in the development of his sense of belonging in Canada. While he noted the similarity of cultures, he further elaborated on this by

¹⁹ The influence of American mass media on Canadian culture comes through strongly in the above passages. While Canadian culture does have some iconic differences from its American neighbors (think hockey, Mounties, igloos and Maple syrup) many other cultural past times are shared between the United States, Canada and other Western cultures. In particular, music and television broadcastings from the United States (and to a lesser degree other Western countries) strongly influence the Canadian way of life, culture and ideology because of their widespread availability in Canada. As a result of the similarity between cultures arising from American influence on Western culture as a whole, much of what the narratives suggest as Canadian culture, is in fact something that can be considered Western culture in general.

stating that his sense of belonging in both countries was increased by the availability of home country goods in the host country and vice versa.

I also think that one of the differences between when I first came to Canada in the mid-'80s and now is globalization of culture and places, and I think that on some level the UK and Canada are perhaps more similar now than they were when I first came, so that my sense of comfort and going back and forth is I think helped by that. I mean here I have access to lots of things that I wouldn't have had access to in the mid-'80s. Whether it be newspapers or television programs or beer for goodness sakes. You know, it helps, and similarly in the UK, you can buy Labatt Blue in supermarkets in the UK now. So I think that sort of sense of homogenization helped my sense of dealing, (Jacob, skilled professional from the UK, Canadian resident for 24 years).

The development of a sense of belonging, as noted above, can be negatively impacted by the lack of familiarity with cultural references in the host country or similarly, can be promoted by the availability, in the host country, of cultural influences and goods originating in the home country. While research has noted the importance of cultural activities for defining the ideal-type national, complete with a defined ethnic character fitting the national story, the research above highlights that while still maintained on some levels, there may be some weakening of the connections between distinctive ethnic culture and belonging because of transnational flows of information and goods. Despite this potential weakening, it should still be recognized that cultural institutions, activities and past-times can provide a barrier to the development of a full sense of belonging for the Canadian newcomer.

Although the aspects of culture identified above may hinder or facilitate the establishment of a sense of belonging, there are aspects of the citizenship process, and acquisition of citizenship, that help foster an immigrant's sense of belonging in the host state. In particular, the citizenship ceremony that new Canadians are required to attend

plays a strong role in promoting a sense of belonging in the host country among newcomers.

The Citizenship Ceremony: Solidifying belonging to the host country & providing security

While not originally a question on the interview schedule, discussions with participants from both the UK and Bangladesh around the change in sense of belonging after obtaining citizenship (and in particular after attending the citizenship ceremony) proved to be very useful in understanding the sense of belonging established by newcomers to Canada. The ceremony was mentioned as being important to three out of five UK and four out of five Bangladeshi citizens who were asked about their participation in the ceremony; however, the importance was for a couple of reasons which differed between participants. For some the importance lay in the fact that the ceremony was a chance to solidify a feeling of belonging that had developed within the individual (mentioned by three UK and four Bangladesh participants). To the participants, the ceremony indicated an *open-arms-welcome* from Canada to the newcomer. For others, the importance of the citizenship lay in the fact that it demonstrated that they were now a secure member of the country (specifically mentioned by two Bangladeshi participants). Worries about deportation and other potential threats to the acquisition of citizenship were no longer relevant and individuals could feel secure in their status as Canadian citizens. For some, the acquisition of citizenship represented both the solidification of new ties, and a new found security.

For Rushd, citizenship was about solidifying his new ties to the host country. It signaled a warm welcome, an indication that he was an acknowledged part of the country

with rights and responsibilities that were reflective of that inclusion. In his own words, the ceremony was

a good occasion, I mean, it's a good way for a person to feel what citizenship means. It's an occasion where you become part of a country, a citizen of a country, and it's just a good way to psychologically realize that you have become a citizen and it means something to you in terms of your responsibilities and rights.

Jessina and her husband felt similarly about the ceremony. She noted that attendance

felt really good. When we got the citizenship we felt that we belonged to this country....I knew that because I'm an immigrant I'll get the citizenship, so I started to feel that I'm a Canadian when I became an immigrant, but when I got my citizenship it, I really felt that I'm a citizen now, and also attending the ceremony it was a really good experience. We saw so many people; we have all the pictures...

While some participants, like Rush and Jessenia were most affected by the sense of belonging the citizenship ceremony confirmed, others were more concerned with the sense of security this new status held. This sense of security was primarily noted among the Bangladeshi group of participants. Rushd and Jessenia, while having noted the benefit of increasing sense of belonging, were also two of the individuals to speak most strongly about the sense of security the status of citizenship provided.

For Rushd, who originally came to Canada as an international student, the status provided him with the legal certainty that he could no longer be asked to leave the country for reasons of poor academic performance, or other otherwise minor academic issues. He noted that when he first came to Canada

I was quite insecure with what is going to happen to me because it's a new country and the only way that I was permitted to be in this country was because of a student authorization, and it had lots of conditions. If you don't perform well, if you get ah, if you, if the university doesn't, if it doesn't keep you as a student any more, for any reason, low grades or anything, then you lose the right to be in this country or to get in any other program. It's just a lot of uncertainty surrounding

your choices, like you don't have many choices other than studying and doing well. That was a very mentally, I mean, that was pretty tough. I did feel insecure because like, because I felt that I didn't have much right in this country, because they could throw me out any time they like, I can't even defend myself.

Jessenia echoed this perspective. She added that although a certain level of security was provided by becoming an immigrant (permanent resident), the acquisition of citizenship went the furthest in providing a sense of security and right to be in the country. Similar findings have been suggested in research with immigrants in the United States which suggests that citizenship can help to provide a platform on which immigrants can secure a more definitive sense of belonging. Westwood & Phizacklea (2002:13) highlight that while an immigrant may begin to develop that sense of "home" in the new country, this process is usually not complete without the "papers" that provide a documented and official sense of belonging.

When asked explicitly about the changes in sentiments of belonging after acquiring citizenship, comments on sense of belonging were less definitive than when asked about the citizenship ceremony, perhaps because the ceremony provided a tangible demonstration of one's new status. If the ceremony itself can be taken as a proxy for the acquisition of citizenship, then the ceremony indicates that citizenship does indeed have some impact, though this impact may be small, on sentiments of belonging in the host country.

Ultimately, the findings from interviews with the immigrants selected for this study suggest that the sense of belonging to the host country can be affected by a number of factors, citizenship being just one of them. Jessenia commented on this link at one point in our discussion. She noted that the link between citizenship and belonging was for the most part, unidirectional – that one must feel a sense of belonging to the host country

in order to be motivated to obtain citizenship. She noted that although the adoption of host country citizenship is likely to increase feelings of belonging in the host country, sentiments of belonging must be there before one decides to become a citizen. She also noted that the acquisition of citizenship cannot be the only variable used to indicate a sense of belonging because some newcomers who immigrate to Canada will feel a significant sense of belonging in the host country, but may never obtain citizenship because of the loss of various rights in their home country, particularly where dual citizenship is not accepted as a practice.

If the adoption of citizenship in the host country impacts the sense of belonging of Canadian newcomers, it would suggest that the retention of home state citizenship affects the sense of belonging these newcomers to Canada maintain with their country of origin. Therefore, if asked to renounce their country of origin citizenship in the process of naturalizing in Canada one might predict that an immigrant's sense of belonging to the home country would weaken as a result of the forced renunciation of their legal and symbolic ties to the home state. Questions addressing these issues were seen as central to an understanding of the impacts of dual citizenship on sentiments of belonging in the home country, and are the focus of the following section.

Belonging: Returning Home

Sense of belonging attached to the home country did not expire upon leaving the home country for most of the individuals who participated in the study. Instead, individuals indicated that their country of origin remained a place where they felt they belonged and upon returning, it was easy to reintegrate into a role as a national of that country (as noted by six of the 11 UK and five of the eight Bangladeshi participants). As

noted, earlier, the time spent in the host country and the number of family and friends that remained behind, were valuable indicators of one's sense of belonging to the home country, however, the maintenance of a sense of belonging in the home country was also facilitated by an individual's ability to remain involved and informed about the events there. The transnational ties of immigrants in maintaining a sense of belonging with the home country are outlined below.

The Importance of Transnational ties

Several questions in the interview were aimed at revealing the participant's sense of belonging in the home country. Among these were discussions of returns to the home country, experience of, and sentiments in, the home country upon return, and whether individuals would be able to choose just one citizenship if forced to do so.

Questions regarding belonging in the home country were initiated with a discussion about returns to the home country. While it may not be necessary for an individual to return to the home country to maintain a sense of belonging with that country, these questions provided an opportunity to segue into other questions around belonging in the home country. All of the individuals that participated in this research had returned to their country of origin at least once since their immigration to Canada. For most, returns to the home country occurred as frequently as every second year, however, this was more consistent among individuals from the UK. Eight UK participants indicated that they returned no less than once every two years, two participants returned as frequently as every year. One UK participant who no longer had much family in the UK returned only very infrequently.

Returns were less frequent for those from Bangladesh, leaning toward the five to eight year range for some participants. While visits to the home country were less frequent for Bangladeshis this was not associated with a lack of sense of belonging, as many pointed out, but instead was associated with the higher economic costs associated with returning home. For two of the Bangladesh participants, returns home were as frequent as once every two years. One participant returned as often as once every two to three years, and another three participants were able to return every three to six years. Two participants were only able to return around every eight years.

For many participants, the frequency of travel to and from the home country was also impacted by the family members who were still in the home country. For example, participants with aging parents often made the trip home more frequently to visit their family than those who were not in that situation. For example Andrew, an older skilled professional who immigrated from the UK in 1979 while in his mid-twenties and had remained in Canada since, mentioned “my mom and dad are both 87... My mom and dad aren’t going to be there much longer so I go as often as I can. I’m going back this summer if I can. But yeah, I go a lot”.

The results indicated that belonging in the home country was unquestioned for most of the participants in the study, however, it was not always associated with citizenship. Instead, belonging in the home country was the result of a sense of right because of the association that country had with their roots and the origin of their life. While individuals felt they belonged to this home country, the sense of belonging for most of the participants was not intricately tied to maintenance of the citizenship associated with that country of origin.

While participants expressed sentiments of belonging associated with their countries of origin these sentiments were not necessarily attached to the retention of their home country citizenship. When asked whether they would be able to choose between citizenships many, though not all, indicated that if they had to, they would likely retain their Canadian citizenship and renounce the citizenship of the country of origin. The choice to renounce the citizenship from the country of origin was stronger among the Bangladeshi population (six of eight compared to six of 11 for the UK) and may have been so for a number of reasons, particularly those surrounding opportunity. For many of the Bangladeshi participants, Canada was seen as providing opportunities for a quality of life above that which could be achieved in the home country. Their Bangladeshi citizenship was regarded as providing fewer social citizenship rights, and instead was associated more with a patriotic affiliation with the state. For Bangladeshis, this is likely a result of past colonial administration, which, in an effort to prevent anti-colonial struggles stressed the move from subjects to citizens upon colonization. The accommodation of this transition from subject to national resulted from state investments to engrain state loyalty. Citizens were taught to uphold state laws and to practice the conduct of a citizen as nationals should. Proper citizen behaviour was stressed at the expense of emphasis on political rights. The result was a citizenship based on loyalty and patriotism to the state, rather than premised on rights and freedoms, a conceptualization which has largely remained in practice in post-colonial states today (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005:26).

While citizenship in Canada was cherished by Bangladeshi participants for the opportunities and securities it could provide, UK participants were more reluctant to

renounce their home country citizenship as it was associated with a greater set of privileges that would be surrendered with the citizenship. While Canadian citizenship provides many rights and opportunities, those associated with UK citizenship are much greater when one considers that the UK passport allows one to work and travel in 27 countries across Europe²⁰. In total four of the five UK participants who indicated they would not renounce their British citizenship indicated this because of the opportunities presented to them in the European Union as a result of holding UK citizenship. Absent from the narratives of UK participants were themes that highlighted the social resources to which Canadian citizenship provided them. While quality of life changes were clear for Bangladeshis, this was less the case for British immigrants for whom the experience of social benefits associated with Canadian citizenship were similar to the health care, education and other social supports and welfare rights previously enjoyed by these citizens when in the UK.

The question of having to choose one citizenship over the other implicitly carries with it old notions of citizenship which assume that the adoption of citizenship through naturalization aligns with a transfer of allegiances from the home country to the host country. While old notions of citizenship imply a transfer of allegiances, new conceptions suggest an additive model of citizenship in which individuals do not replace old allegiances, but build new allegiances with host countries (Bibler Coutin, 2003:510). Participants from the UK and Bangladesh, despite the caveat discussed above, indicated they would if forced to renounce their home country citizenship only because they felt that to do so would not impact the most important facet surrounding their connection with the home country – the ties they maintained with their friends and family who remained

²⁰ See footnote 22 for a very brief description of the important employment and travel rights of EU citizens.

in their countries of origin. The participants suggested that losing citizenship would not affect their ability to maintain contact with the individuals still in the home country and therefore they would surrender it in order to maintain the life they had begun in Canada.

While most indicated that if forced to, they would renounce their home country citizenship, the reluctance suggests that an additive model of citizenship is more reflective of the emotions and experiences that simultaneously create ties to both places shared by immigrants. A more detailed discussion of the importance of friends and family is provided below; however, the comments of Alec and Jessenia were particularly poignant comments on the importance of friends and family. Alec indicated

...certainly for me because, my father was still alive, there was a very strong pull to go back to the UK, I still felt that to be my home. And when I went back I was always very comfortable, and, almost getting back into, not quite childhood, but you get back into the securities that you are used to and the safety of being around your parents and the things you are familiar with.

Jessenia mentioned that

...I can still keep my relationship with my family and friends, so it won't matter. If you tell me that I cannot keep any relationship will you be Canadian, no, probably not. But if you say that no, you have to choose one, probably I would choose the Canadian one.

For all participants, travel to and from the home country to visit friends and family was fostered by the ease of going back and forth because of having two passports. This indicates that while dual citizenship may not have been important in maintaining a sense of belonging with the home country, it certainly played a role in assisting dual citizens to maintain ties to both countries. Typically, UK participants who held a UK passport used this passport to travel to the home country in order to avoid lengthy customs lines (as was the case for five of the seven who held current passports). Bangladeshi participants more often used their Canadian passport to travel (indicated by

five of the eight participants). Those who indicated that they used their Canadian passport to travel did so to avoid hassles that were otherwise associated with the use of their Bangladeshi passport, such as extensive questioning by airport security.

For most, discussions around returning home clearly pointed to the sentiments of the home country as another home. For example, Robert a retired computer programmer who has been in Canada for over 30 years indicated the ease with which he could re-integrate into the British lifestyle and patterns upon return trips.

So uhm, in England, well, England is easy because I know my way around, and uhm, you know, in some ways it's like I never left. And, my mom lives in a small town...and sometimes I'll walk into a pub in that town and the guy will say to me oh I haven't seen you in a long time, where you been, they don't even know that I don't live there.

Jessenia also articulated that a return to the country of origin was a comfortable feeling, one in which she could mix back into the routine of life in the country of origin. In part, she associated this with the lack of physical changes to her outer appearance. She noted that

...going back, it's of course, it's good that we meet all our family members and friends, and it's like, I stayed there for three months, and every time, like we are so busy visiting our friends and you know family members all the time in every city in all of Bangladesh...that is the good thing...we feel like oh my god we cannot live in other countries like just completely leaving behind Bangladesh, no way, because we have a tie there...yeah, yeah, yeah, those kinds of things we still feel that we are Bangladeshi, and its so nice to be at home...you can see that I didn't cut my long hair.... I use still the outfit that we use, I use, that outfit over there. I never go in this kind of outfit when I'm there. Some people say you don't look Canadian; you look like the same as before. But it's different; some people are very much the opposite. I don't want to feel to be different, so now I live in Canada so now I am a different person, I don't want to feel like that.

Despite general agreement amongst the participants who felt they belonged in both places, that involvement in two countries was relatively easy and that a sense of belonging and attachment could be established with both, there was also an

overwhelming agreement that certain things in the home country were difficult to adjust to when first returning. For half of all the Bangladeshi (four of the eight) participants and half of all the UK (six of eleven) participants, the experience of going back was often associated with a period of adjustment, or adaptation to change during the first few days of the return. For UK participants this was often associated with overcrowding and building out of cities and towns that was associated with the growth of a place. For example, Jarod, an 85-year old retired skilled professional from the Aerospace industry, who has been in Canada since 1974 felt, upon his returns to England, that the country was

going downhill...[because of] overcrowding to some degree. You'd miss it if you lived there all the time. ... and a lot of the towns... near the seaside, what they've done is they've driven bloody main highways right into the centre of the place and if you can imagine it's devastated the areas on either side, nobody wants to live, its like the old railways, nobody wanted to live by the old railways. Nobody wants to live by these roads. And then, there's, they built up these bloody great sound barriers along the side of them, and this sort of thing, they nearly devastated whole areas of these towns, really.

While many of the UK residents spoke about having to adjust to the crowding and new growth upon return home there were added adjustments for those originating from Bangladesh. Individuals from Bangladesh spoke not only about having to adjust to the crowds in the small country, but also to the heat, different environmental standards and inferior living conditions. Dilwar's comments regarding the overcrowding within the country were particularly resonating.

I always thought we had like so many people, you know, it's a tiny country and we are like what, 140 million people. And ahh, it's kind of like, like ahh, when I first went back I was really, I couldn't take it, I felt like, it was so congested, it wasn't an issue when I lived there.

For Roha it was not only the heat and overcrowding, but also the difference in living standards that affected her upon her first return. In particular, the lack of access that

Bangladeshis have to steady electrical flow was an annoyance that she had to overcome on her return visit.

I feel so, it's so hot. ... Working in Cambodia, India and born in Bangladesh, still I feel like I can't take the heat... I [also] complain in terms of the electricity, the load sharing. They call it load sharing, they share their electricity, and water crisis and overpopulation... But some kind of, you feel like, you uhh, even if you stay 6 months, you have this culture shock even coming back to your own culture, returning to your own culture, and I think some of those feel like more than before. Like, you know, it's too hot, or over crowded, more busy, suddenly you feel like yeah, oh oh ok, yeah.

Despite the unease of returning to the home country after even a short time in Canada, participants adjusted to the changes and were able to carry on with their return visits feeling to some degree as though they belonged just as easily there, as in Canada.

Discussions surrounding the importance of maintaining contact with family also frequently highlighted that keeping in touch with friends and family was increasingly easy because of communication and travel technologies that not only increased the possibility of communication (either in person or otherwise) but also continued to become less expensive over the years. For some, knowing that communication could be maintained easily played a role in facilitating the decision to migrate.

For all of the participants (both British and Bangladeshi), the low cost of telephone communication meant that this was one of the primary tools used to keep in touch with family, particularly aging parents for whom many of the newer technologies such as email and web-based chat forums were too complicated. As Robert noted, he primarily used the phone to communicate with his aging mother; "she's what, you know she's 86 so the internet isn't her thing. But, I mean the phone is so cheap today, when you get less than 5 cents a minute you can't be bothered to look for anything cheaper".

Similarly, Jessenia noted the extensive use of the phone in keeping in touch because it

was inexpensive as a means of communication. She used the phone to stay in touch “all the time. Everyday. We took a phone just to call Bangladesh even though we are paying \$30 extra phone, because it’s cheaper, its two cents per minute”.

Extensive use of the phone to stay in contact with family and friends in the home country highlighted that the experience of these new immigrants to Canada was a transnational one, in which these individuals maintained involvement in aspects of life in both the home and host countries. While it can be said that many maintained transnational connections, for many of these immigrants these were loosely maintained connections not resulting in any formal participation in the home country, but rather was maintained through activities that were informal and irregular. For many of the participants this involved watching television programs that kept them current with political and social activities in the home country or seeking such information through other media such as the internet or newspapers. The involvement in social and political activities, however, seemed to be clearly divided by country of origin. For most UK residents, transnational activities were largely associated with social activities and leisure time, such as keeping up with sports scores, current music or other leisure activities. Of the four UK participants who indicated they used media to stay informed about events in the home country all of them indicated that this was for information associated with leisure activities. For example, Simon, a skilled profession who came to Canada at the age of 43 and has been here for about seven years commented that he “look[s] at the BBC everyday, I follow my football team. Everyday I watch football, I’m still very stringently connected with what goes on”. This passion for following the sports scores for home

teams was echoed by several other participants from the UK as well. Two of the four sought some information regarding political and economical events in the home country.

Participants from Bangladesh, however, were more often involved in watching television programs and reading papers for information on political, environmental and economic activities²¹, though this was not to the exclusion of social and leisure activities (four of the four participants who indicated they used media to stay informed about their home country sought primarily political information). Asim points to the use of specialty channels to fulfill the desire for information on Bangladesh that he seeks

I watch ATN, Asian Television Network, every day. I watch it every day...Every night when I go jogging at 5:00. And I watch Bangladesh news...Even the newspapers, I read the newspapers. As the technology has made it more possible, and ahh, I guess my interest has grown because of technology too. Even since a couple of years ago when we were going to universities to read newspapers that used to come once in a while. But now we can read the daily newspapers. My friend here reads them everyday, he's retired now. He will have access to the newspaper on the internet and he actually reads it before the people in Bangladesh read it.

For many researchers reflecting on the transnational ties of immigrants, television and the ability to access information and programming of the home country through television, is a significant part of the transnational experience. As Ginsborg (2005:108) notes satellite televisions and programming broadcasts allow individuals and families to remain part of, and engaged in, international or national communities. Having the ability to watch news programs and remain informed about the home country allows individuals to generate their own opinions and ideas and remain involved in a wide viewing audience that shares

²¹ The difference between the two groups of participants in terms of the orientation to the type of information they seek is interesting, however, may be only a result of the particular time of the study. During the study there were political activities occurring in Bangladesh that drew the attention of many, including non-Bangladeshis, to the country. The country was undergoing an election, a new government was taking over, but public concern over the neutrality of the government prompted civil unrest and the declaration of a state of emergency.

the cultural and social activities. For UK and Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada there are several television options for those who receive satellite television and choose to select the specialty channels. Seven Hindi stations for news, movies and music, as well as an English cricket station are available to Bangladeshi viewers in Canada. For UK immigrants this is narrower, five channels provide sports, entertainment and news from Europe specifically.

Although many mentioned their willingness to keep Canadian citizenship and renounce the citizenship of their home country if they were forced to choose, this option was rendered somewhat less difficult by the knowledge that giving up citizenship would not change the contact they could maintain with friends and family in the country of origin. Clearly, it was not something that appeared to be an easy decision, with many of the participants starting their answer to the question with “that’s a difficult question”, or “oh, I don’t like that question”. For many, giving up home country citizenship would mean to them not only increased hassles traveling to and from the home country (because of longer waiting times crossing customs) but was also associated, for about half of the participants (indicated by nine of the participants – 5 UK and 4 Bangladeshi), with a sense of giving up their root, or origins, a topic which will be addressed further in the discussion of identity.

As noted above, the importance of family and friends in the home and host country was found to be an important variable in the sense of belonging established between the immigrant and the home and host countries. Associated with this variable, was also the impact of time spent in either country. These factors are given special

attention below as the research has demonstrated that their impact on both home and host country belonging is significant.

Family and Time: Important Considerations for Home and Host Country Belonging

The variables of family and time were two factors that were continually noted in the participants' discussions of sense of belonging. In both instances the variable of interest seemed to be positively correlated with the sense of belonging. For example, those who were older at immigration, and hence had spent longer in the home country than in the host country, talked, for the most part, about holding stronger attachments to the country of origin, whereas those who immigrated earlier, or who had spent a significantly longer period of their life in the host country than the home, were found to associate stronger feelings of belonging with the host country. This seemed to be a relatively robust finding, being equally likely to be mentioned by either UK or Bangladeshi participants. For both Alec, an immigrant from Scotland who left at a later age in life and who has been in Canada for around ten years, and Rusd, the instructor at the Canadian University who recently immigrated to Canada, their sentiments were strongly tied to their country of origin where they had spent much more of their time. However, for Jacob, a skilled professional who came to Canada when his family moved to Canada after high school and who has lived in Canada since, and Jundub, a 60 year old father from Bangladesh who came to study in Canada at the age of 22 and has remained in Canada since that time, their sense of belonging were associated much more strongly with Canada than their countries of origin.

(Alec): I feel that my home is really Scotland, that's where I was born, that was where I was brought up, I was there until I was, well we left in '97 so I was 30, 34 when I left.

(Rusd): There are stronger ties to Bangladesh... I have lots of relatives, most of my relatives living in Bangladesh so I don't really want to give up my citizenship. It's also a patriotic aspect I guess... Bangladesh spent a lot of resource, whatever they had on me, all of the education is really highly subsidized, I didn't really have to pay a lot for my undergrad or high school or colleges and so Bangladesh has paid for all of this, and I have come to this country is for, just basically selfish.

(Jacob): Yeah, maybe in the early years in Canada I felt less equally, like my belonging here was slightly less equal, but in time, uhm, I guess, as I say I've had more years now in Canada than I have in the UK.

(Asim): Initially I had to make an effort to make an interest in things that are Canada, but then 'willy-nilly' they became part of me because I have lived here so long.

Those who developed strong connections with family or friends or other social networks in the host country also demonstrated a sense of belonging that transferred from the home country to the host, while for those who maintained strong networks of friends and family in the home country, with only smaller networks in the host country, the sense of belonging remained significantly tied to the home country. Again, this finding was relevant for both UK and Bangladeshi participants. Simon was particularly attuned to this development within himself. He noted

when I got my citizenship, my circumstances haven't changed in that intervening period, but certainly I've become more happy to be here, more stable, I don't think of moving back to the UK. My sense of belonging has certainly increased to here, markedly in that time, since November 2003 when I got my citizenship... I'm involved with [a political association] and involvement with that group increased my involvement with the community. I didn't have that level of involvement in the UK. Here for some reason I got involved, and it certainly increased my connection. That connection, in a sense is my family connection, in the UK I have that family connection, but here I don't have that connection, but I have that connection to community.

For Bangladeshi participants coming to Ottawa family and friends can have special importance in the early days of immigration. With few cultural resources in the Ottawa area, many immigrants rely on the help of friends and family already settled in the area to assist them in their settlement and cultural adjustment. The Bangladeshi High

Commission in Ottawa, Canada emphasized this as an important facet in dealing with integration barriers. When asked if there were cultural groups or associations that Bangladeshis could join to help overcome homesickness or cultural adjustment when first immigrating to Canada, the commissioner responded that they should seek the assistance of family and friends.

Significant cultural differences and limited financial resources of Bangladeshi immigrants upon arriving in Canada highlight the added importance of family and friends. Upon Jessina's arrival in Canada she contacted others from Bangladesh. She explains the situation:

...what happened is that at the airport from the University, they say that somebody will be there, you know every fall season they stay at the airport to receive international students, you don't know that, but they say that somebody will be there to receive you. But when I came there nobody was there. Nobody was there; it was like oh my god where do I go now. But I had a couple of addresses that helped me, so I phoned somebody but then the person was not home so he was not receiving me. So it was really an experience. I felt so helpless, like what do I do, what do I do now, those kinds of things. So then I took a cab and then went to a friend's place even though like, she, I never met the person. I just knew the address of a person that somebody gave me, one of my professors, who studied in that city, back home. He just said that, he gave me some addresses, that there were these Bangladeshi people, like not many people, there were not many Bangladeshi families at that time, he gave me some addresses and phone, and then I phoned somebody and they were not there so nobody answered the phone, so I just took the cab and went to this place. But Bangladeshi culture is like that, especially in that situation, it was ok. But here you would never do that. Yeah, that's kind of different culture here. Here we, as long as I stayed in Halifax every year students used to come and my husband would help them. Initially, one girl she stayed for about two weeks because she couldn't find any apartment until then. But usually two three days. And you are so poor that even if you bring some money when you convert it to Canadian it's very little, so it's not that you can afford to stay at the hotels. Usually it's very few people who can afford this type of thing. We don't have money to stay in a hotel. Like we helped many students in Halifax, we just know, it's not friendship or anything, it's just we know they are a Bangladeshi guy. They know somehow that we are there so they will give our phone number. Like when we first came to Ottawa we got a phone call from the airport saying I got your phone number from my brother because he was studying at the University and my husband's brother

was working there. He had somehow got “oh your brother stays in Canada, can you give me his phone number”. Something like that. Then my husband went to the airport to bring him home. Like this kind of thing, we always do this kind of thing.

[Interviewer]: You said it's not a friendship, but then when they are here, do you sort of maintain ties and develop a friendship?

Yeah. And then after that when they came here, because when they came here initially, probably we never met, like in Bangladesh there is no relationship, no friendship or nothing, only that there is a source. Somebody knows that, oh I know somebody that knows somebody that lives in Ottawa. But somehow somebody knows that we are here, so they got the phone number and they will email us or phone us. Even if you cannot do that you can help somehow. If the whole family is coming then you can aid somehow. That's a sense of belonging, even though you come from a poor country, but the tie is really different, we feel it for each other. Just from Bangladesh, even if you don't know them, you feel that they are coming from my country so we just feel that he is very close to me and I have to do something.

Jessina's comments reinforce not only the importance of family and friends in the immigration process, as noted by the BHC, but also strongly emphasize the importance that the assistance provided to others from Bangladesh plays in maintaining ties and a sense of belonging to the country.

The emphasis on family and friends as a significant part of the process of developing a sense of belonging draws attention to the relational aspect of national citizenship and belonging largely missing from conventional thought on nationality, citizenship and belonging. Knop (2001:111) encourages researchers to attend to the relational factor, suggesting that the usual emphasis on the 'general other' in nationality obscures the importance that 'particular others' (Knop, 2001:95) play in the development of ties between the nation and the individual. For Knop (2001:111) a “relational perspective on nationality and nationalism allows us to see public loyalty and private relationships as connected – in particular that an individual's relationships with particular

others parents, siblings, spouses, children – help constitute her loyalties to her own state and theirs”.

Knops’ (2001:95) analysis also provides an explanation of the development of stronger ties to the host state over time, suggesting that it is not, in fact, time itself, but rather the development of a relationship that occurs over that time, whether familial or social. For the participants above, this was clear. As newcomers’ own lives began to develop around their own families and lives in Canada, through the birth of their own children, many indicated that their sense of belonging within Canada began to increase. For Victoria, her legal attachment to Canada (through the acquisition of citizenship) was particularly influenced by this relational aspect as it was the birth of her own (Canadian) children that prompted her to seek Canadian citizenship for herself as well as encourage her husband to take up Canadian citizenship. For Victoria, it was important that the whole family be Canadians, not just her children.

By attuning the research to the role of individual relations with particular others in the state the understanding of how state loyalty may be developed is strengthened. Recognizing the potential for these relationships to be multiple, in the same way that our lives consist of multiple loyalties to a diverse set of individuals regardless of state calls attention to the importance of transnational thinking, particularly for diasporic populations. Duarte (2005:316) emphasizes that an important aspect of the diasporic consciousness is a feeling of strong, lasting ties, that bind the communities of home and host state together. The above example of helping those who come to the host country in any way that they can simply because they are Bangladeshi highlights the enduring ties that remain when people transverse borders. The emphasis in this quote highlights that

the loyalties between home and host state are maintained and result in a sentiment of belonging, solidarity and community for those both home and abroad.

Overwhelmingly, the impact of time spent in Canada, as well as the impact of family and other social connections appear to shape the sense of belonging held between the individual and the home and host country. While citizenship was linked to these factors in terms of the importance of easing travel between the two countries to maintain these familial relations, it was not seen as linking individuals to the home country in any other way. However, participants implicitly alluded to the importance of citizenship in altering their sense of belonging in the host country if one considers the citizenship ceremony a proxy for actual tangible citizenship – a ceremony which most respondents regarded to be an important indication of what it meant to be a citizen of a country and felt that it had helped to increase their sense of belonging within the host country.

While citizenship was linked, through the ceremony, with an increased sense of belonging, it was not the primary importance, or motivator, for obtaining citizenship. Instead, most of the participants indicated that citizenship was important for mobility, security and future opportunity. The importance of citizenship for these aspects is explored more fully in the following section.

Importance of citizenship: mobility, security and opportunities

For many of the participants the concept of citizenship was an instrumental one, something that could be used, in Dilawar's words, "for practical purposes to assist in daily life", rather than one which denoted a more emotive aspect associated with identity. This was the case for five of the eight Bangladeshi and seven of the 11 UK participants. For the most part the practical purposes that citizenship served centered on mobility

(seven of 11 UK and five of eight Bangladeshi), security (three Bangladeshi) and opportunity (4 Bangladeshi and 3 UK).

Security

The aspect of security was visible in two different ways. First, security was associated with a right to be in the country. Once citizenship had been obtained, immigrants no longer feared being deported from the country as the pieces of paper denoted a legal status that allowed them to be within the state borders permanently. This aspect of security was discussed by three of the Bangladeshi participants.

A minority of individuals (two participants from Bangladesh) also noted that obtaining citizenship in Canada was associated with security for the future in the sense that if ever opportunity was lost in Bangladesh, the option of relocating to Canada remained open. Similarly, Bangladeshi citizenship provided a resource in the event that something happened in Canada which would limit opportunities there. In that instance, the possibility of returning to Bangladesh was still available. Regardless of the type of security implied, it was clear that a significant factor motivating the acquisition of host country citizenship was the security it provided in the daily lives of the immigrant.

Opportunity

While opportunity was an oft-cited reason for obtaining or maintaining citizenship in either the host or home country respectively, it varied by participants' country of origin. Four UK participants indicated they not would give up their UK citizenship. They provided this answer because their UK citizenship enabled them, and their children, to work and live in 27 countries across Europe while with Canadian citizenship they were limited to working and living in Canada only. Three of the eleven UK participants made

no specific mention of opportunity or travel for motivations to keep their UK citizenship, and three of the eleven answered that their UK citizenship was not important and they were more inclined to keep their Canadian citizenship because of family connections and access to social benefits in Canada.

For the Bangladeshi participants, 75 percent (5 out of 8) noted that their Canadian citizenship was associated with a new set of opportunities and with social citizenship rights. For the most part, the opportunities that were noted had to do with work and accesses to resources, though some also mentioned the opportunities for learning. Overall, the acquisition of Canadian citizenship was important for being able to access an improved quality of life, a fact highlighted by the United Nation's Human Development Index. Of the three countries examined, Canada ranks quite high among the United Nation's Human Development Index, sitting at number six. The UK remains within the top 20, at number 18, and Bangladesh falls to the bottom of the list at number 137. The positioning of these countries, particularly Bangladesh, reinforces the desire for many migrants to remain in Canada in order to secure a better quality of life. As Dilawar noted, "I mean, for me staying here is like serving me a practical purpose. A better life, better work, better opportunities".

One of the most often mentioned opportunities was the ability to travel. Given that it was discussed at length with many of the participants, it has been explored separately in the following section.

Mobility

For almost all the participants, citizenship was associated with a passport, whether it was the Canadian, UK or Bangladeshi passport. Given this association, almost all of the

participants, with the exclusion of one UK participant, indicated that citizenship was important for travel. All but one of the UK participants mentioned that the retention of their UK citizenship made travel to and from the home country much quicker and facilitated a smoother trip through customs. Those who indicated wanting to keep their citizenship mentioned this as a major factor. Some also mentioned that the UK passport allowed them to travel not only through UK customs, but now permitted them to travel easily throughout the European community²².

While UK residents associated travel and mobility with their home passport, this was not the case for Bangladeshi participants. Out of the eight Bangladeshi participants who commented on the mobility aspect of the passport, five indicated that the ease with which they were able to travel on their Canadian passport was a big motivation for obtaining and keeping Canadian citizenship. This was particularly associated with the avoidance of hassles and unnecessary questioning at international airports that was otherwise associated with holding the Bangladeshi passport. Others also noted that obtaining the Canadian passport would decrease the number of countries for which it would be necessary to obtain a visa prior to traveling.

Bibler Coutin (2003:510) found similar results in her research with immigrants in the United States. Her research suggested that naturalization strengthened not only ties with the host country, but also transnational ties with the home country, finding that immigrants who were able to obtain citizenship had greater access to the freedom to travel internationally consequently gaining increased connections with friends and family

²² British citizens are considered part of the European Union. With a valid EU passport British citizens are able to work in any of the 27 European Union states, all which must maintain basic employment standards. Similarly, traveling in the EU with an EU passport is eased for British citizens. Their passport allows them easy mobility within the 27 member countries without the requirement of a visa (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, nd:np; Europa, nd:np).

outside the US. Conversely, immigrants who were awaiting decisions on asylum applications were less inclined to leave the US feeling that to do so would endanger their chances of being allowed to remain permanently in the US.

While citizenship was important for mobility, security and opportunities, there was also some indication that citizenship on a small level, was relevant to establishing a sense of belonging. The descriptions of belonging and opportunities associated with citizenship that were outlined above were consistent with the definitions of citizenship provided by the individual during discussions in which participants were asked to speak generically about what it meant to be a citizen. The results of this discussion are presented below.

Definitions of Citizenship

When asked to identify what it meant to be a citizen, over half of the participants (including 9 UK and 7 Bangladeshis) described citizenship using terms similar to both the liberal and civic republican strain of communitarian perspectives. Despite this majority, three participants, one from Bangladesh and two from the UK, defined the concept by using only terms similar to those of the civic republican strain of communitarianism.

Although those that saw citizenship in a manner affiliated with only ideas of civic republicanism were few, those few emphasized that the concept of citizenship equated to membership within a country and that this membership entailed participation in civic life. They articulated that to be an active member of a country meant focusing on issues that were important to the community and oneself and engaging in these issues to make life better. Delanty (2005:31) highlights the aspect of public participation in civic life as

central to the ideas of civic republicans. While both rights and responsibilities were also noted by the participants, the focused remained on active participation in socio-political life. Dilwar, a student from Bangladesh who had been in the country for seven years noted that

A citizen everywhere means focusing on issues that are important to yourself and your community. I mean, not just getting along with life, you know, but maybe engage yourself to make it better. If you feel, citizenship means responsibility too. You are not only getting things, you shouldn't expect things, but also you've got to be aware of your responsibilities and giving things to your society. If you think there is something to speak out about you should be doing that, that's people's responsibility, even if you have to go against the majority, speaking against the majority of the people, not just uhm, its not a luxury, it's a responsibility.

Dilwar's comments highlight the importance of active civic participation in public life.

However, his comments also demonstrate inconsistencies with communitarian and civic republican ideas of citizenship. Communitarianism and the civic republican strain, is based in the idea that participation within the community is about social good and upholding majority culture - people feel like citizens, therefore act like citizens, and create possibilities for participation in the political community (Delanty, 2005:27).

Dilwar, however, emphasizes the importance of speaking out, even where such ideas may contradict those of the majority.

The majority of the participants from both Bangladesh and the UK spoke of citizenship as a concept that reflected both civic republican and liberal aspects. For these individuals, there was a balance in the emphasis placed on belonging to a community in which one should participate and the need to ensure to uphold civic responsibilities, as well as an emphasis on individual rights²³. While not all of the participants who shared in this perspective that combined rights with community participation and civic

²³ Few participants actually identified a particular right, but rather alluded to the fact that citizenship meant they were accorded certain generic rights within the state.

responsibilities placed a similar emphases on each component, it was clear that their conception of citizenship included both.

One participant, Roha, a student who had emigrated from Bangladesh to gain experience and knowledge about Canadian culture, noted that citizenship was about actively participating in social and political life and emphasized that the term denoted not only belonging within the community, but equality, rights and obligations. Roha's definition as with that suggested by others, is in keeping with the emphasis of civic republicanism, and draws on the need to participate in social and political life and through collective politics (Delanty, 2000:31). For Luke, an older immigrant from UK who had immigrated to Canada during his twenties, the concept denoted responsibilities, but also strongly indicated one's acceptance within the state community. As he stated

you're part of the country. You are here, you chose to come here. And, uh, well, I mean to me its ahh, you've blended in, you are part of, you are joining the people who have accepted you. And, and uhm, showing them that you are not still different or whatever. And of course you can vote, but I mean, well, the main thing is, is just that. It's that simple really.

The majority of the participants held views of the term citizen that mixed civic republican and liberal conceptions, others referred to citizenship in a manner that reflected liberal conceptions. Clearly missing from individuals' narratives, however, was the communitarian perspective that emphasized the relevance of any link between identity and citizenship. When asked about identity, almost none of the participants linked citizenship to the idea of providing a sense of identity.

Identity – not a motivator for obtaining citizenship

While many noted that citizenship represented a sense of inclusion within a community, individuals did not speak of this community as one which provided any sort

of identity or was used by them to express an identity. Although individuals stated that their identity was not impacted by the acquisition of host citizenship or the retention of home citizenship there were instances where identity was linked to conversations about citizenship. For the majority of the participants who were asked whether they kept their home citizenship as an indicator of their identity, the response was an immediate no, but when probed further, some drew associations between citizenship and identity.

The difficulty discussing this connection between citizenship and identity may have been linked to what Basch, Shiller and Blanc (1994:8) call the “contemporary fiction” of transnationalism, which alludes to the fact that the term transnationalism is something that has not been widely used by states, communities or individuals to define themselves, but rather is found solely in contemporary literature around migration. The authors point out that in “living in a world in which discourses about identity continue to be framed in terms of loyalty to nations and nation-states, most transmigrants have neither fully conceptualized nor articulated a form of transnational identity”. Reluctance to move from the hegemonic definition of identity as defined by loyalty to one state may have overwhelming resulted in individuals choosing to avoid identification with a particular state when there are two that impact on their lives. For more than half, eight out of eleven, of the UK participants, citizenship was not important for maintaining an identity, but there was a sense of importance attached to citizenship as a signifier of their origins. For example, Simon noted that that his citizenship was about his background, he stated

I value citizenship, in the end of the day. You know, I do enjoy being here, but my cultural background, you know, I was born there, and I can remember things, my culture is there...my personality is related, I do link the two in my brain, yes. If that was gone then part of me would disappear I think.

Similarly, Jacob noted the importance of one's cultural background in his comments

...as I said, I think that where you are formed, where you are made, where you first enter into the world and all the things that help to form you, make you, are important, are significant. And I think that it would be hard for me to give that up. If I had to, I mean if I had to, if it meant that life here would become particularly difficult and inconvenient, and problematic, I would, and I don't think that I would feel particularly bad doing it, giving up my British one. But if everything, if all else being equal, if I really had to choose, I think I would choose to maintain my original one. 'Cause I think that even if I'm here until I'm 90 those formative years, I think that probably, those formative years are probably still significant.

While citizenship played a role, though minor, in indicating the roots and origins of part of the UK participants, it was much less of a factor for those from Bangladesh, being indicated by only one of the eight participants as important. This is perhaps explained by the fact that Bangladesh, as a sovereign country, is a relatively new country whose past has been riveted with attachments to other countries. As one of the participants noted, the historical origins of the state and country of Bangladesh has made it so that the important focus of Bangladeshi people is culture, not the status of citizenship.

... I would say, Bangladesh as a country has lots of common cultures with a part India which is West Bengal. So there was this whole Bengal and then it divided in 1947 and one became the West Bengal and it was part of India, and one, the other part Bangladesh, was part of Pakistan in 1947 and then it got independence from Pakistan and now its called Bangladesh. So we share, all of this Bangladesh belongs to two different countries now, India and Bangladesh, but we share a lot of culture – all of our authors are the same, all of our classic authors are the same. Every thing is same. So I do identify with Bangla culture, which is not a country dependent definition I guess. So, citizenship is not the main identity, or the main factor, in defining the culture as Bengali.

Despite certain ambivalences, and often negative statements that indicated that citizenship was not important in shaping identity²⁴, there was a general agreement

²⁴ For example, the conversation with Andrew highlighted that citizenship was not important to him in terms of providing a sense of identity. When asked: "so it [citizenship] doesn't mean anything in terms of shaping your identity, or sense of belonging?", his response was: "No, honestly. Nothing. I belong where my heart is, or where the people I love are. Or whatever, it has nothing to do with citizenship". Similar

between the participants that there was room for both of their national identities in their lives if they so chose.

While belonging to an ethnic or national group provides a certain identity usually conceived of as exclusive, implying that one can belong to only one group and hold one identity at a time, the reality is that the boundaries are not so clean and many individuals report belonging to any number of ethnic groups, holding multiple identities, at the same time. For example, Canadian immigrants may report their ancestral heritage and new Canadians identities, such as Indo-Canadians and Canadian-Asian. The 2001 Canadian Census supports this proclivity to self-claim multiple ethnic backgrounds. Data from the 2001 Census finds that almost five million Canadians reported a multiple identity. By claiming multiple identities these individuals are indicating an adoption of both ethnic groups as part of their selves. While acknowledging the importance of belonging in multiple ethnic groups, such recognition should not be oblivious to the potential conflict that this may cause for individuals, particularly those arising out of necessary identity shifts. While conflicts can arise, these are often dealt with by the individual, and the greater importance is ensuring an understanding of the significance that the recognition of multiple belonging brings – particularly in providing roots, and “in their [the immigrants’] understanding of ‘who I am’” (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992:6).

While the accommodation of multiple identities may be dealt with by individuals, some states, even those with policies largely accepting of diversity, show signs of difficulty accepting the multiple identities of certain individuals (Abu-Laban, 2002:466).

sentiments were heard from Dilwar, who to the same questions responded: “I don’t think it would really matter; a piece of paper doesn’t matter. I will always be a Bangladeshi, nothing is going to take that identity away from me so what does it matter if I give that up, give my citizenship up?”

Recent Canadian decisions in the province of Quebec that prevent Muslims from maintaining certain cultural practices in Canada are one example of the difficulties faced by Muslim as they attempt to assert their dual identity. State actions to limit cultural expression suggest that the mixing of the Canadian and Muslim identities is incompatible. Similarly, Muslim women in many western states face controversy surrounding their cultural practice of wearing the hijab. These debates emphasize that the acceptance of blending of certain identities, while something that the individual may come to terms with, may create difficulties for the state and the dominant state culture (Labelle, 2005:93).

The adoption of multiple identities was reflected in many of the discussions with the participants. Few specified a need to adopt only one of the identities associated with their citizenships, and instead emphasized that there was a way to juggle both (as indicated by four Bangladeshi and six UK participants). For example Jessenia noted the importance of articulating both attachments when asked

...it matters to me, that still I want to be identified as Bangladeshi Canadian. It is important to me; I won't tell all the people like somebody that I'm a Canadian. Like suppose that I'm going to Australia, I won't tell them that I'm a Canadian, no not just only Canadian, I would tell them that I'm a Canadian but my origin is Bangladesh. Like, I will, at the same time I would mention that I'm a Bangladeshi Canadian. So its not that, ahh, like I want to belong to both, its not this one or the other. I don't have to choose, I can answer anything, but sometimes it's difficult to answer that question when people ask. But I'm proud to be both.

Some also directly mentioned that identities, for them, were fluid and that those boundaries were not rigid, leading to identities that were flexible and variable depending on the context. For example, Dilawar notes that various events have impacted and shaped his own identity and that immigration and the two countries in which he has lived are just two factors that have shaped him to how he is

... I wouldn't say that because I'm a Bangladeshi, it doesn't have any fabricated or concocted value on my identity, it's something that I got because I was born there. Do you know what I'm saying? Because I was raised there, and also because I have some influence of the culture, but at the same time, things around me had some influence in shaping my identity, but at the same time I don't take it as a very rigid thing, it's a dynamic process for me, I'm not the same person as when I was ten, but that, I was different back then I had a different set of ideas. Some have remained some have left.

This was similar for Jacob, from the UK, who mentioned that identities are variable, impacted not only by where we are located at particular times, but also by the roles we play in our daily lives

...I never tried to switch identities, its always been a bit of *mélange*, I guess ... I think that you have multiple identities and they come to the fore depending on the context in which you find yourself, so sometimes I'm very much the British guy, you know, in a context when I'm here, watching perhaps the world cup soccer game in some pub in Ottawa with a bunch of other British guys, I'm very much a British guy and that identity comes to the fore. But most of the time I'm neither particularly Canadian or particularly British, I'm just a dad, or a colleague, or a whatever.

For many of the participants, their comments regarding their own identity suggest the mixing of both cultures into a hybrid identity that reflects aspects of both cultures. For many scholars, this hybridity provides an advantageous position from which the individual can access both cultures easily, learning to negotiate and mediate between both cultures to cultivate open communication and cooperation between individuals both communities (Iijima Hall, 1992:328/329).

Individuals with a hybrid identity are able to occupy one of a number of spaces in which they can transcend otherwise implicit identity categories. These spaces can include: the border identity, in which the individual chooses to identify between the spaces of the identified categories and emphasizes the aspects of the identity which differ from the majority; and, the protean identity, which places emphasis on the fluidity of

identity and the ability to move between boundaries as desired. By adopting these various identities the individual can emphasize that identity and belonging in one culture is not fixed, but rather is created on the individuals' own terms and determined by the context of the interaction (Rockquemore, 1998:200).

While some authors suggest the hybrid identity creates an opportunity to move beyond the boundaries of the traditional categories of belonging and identity, others present concerns over the emphasis on hybrid identity. The concerns are primarily around the ability of the hybrid individuals to challenge the dominant constructions of identity and belonging. Concerns surround the inability of those who articulate a hybrid identity to transcend hegemonic constructions of racial categories caution that the hybrid identity rests firmly on the idea of racial purity, thus reifying ideas of race and racial purity rather than presenting a challenge (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001:226). For some participants in this research, their inability to challenge dominant racial categories was reflected in their discussions of the way others refused to accept their own assertion of a hybrid Canadian-other identity, particularly for the Bangladeshi participants.

While most acknowledged that the duality of national identities was something that was manageable for them, some indicated that the ability to manage this duality was complicated by responses from others. This was primarily felt among the Bangladeshi participants who noted that although they could accept having two identities others could not. One Bangladeshi noted that regardless of his own attempts to fit in, and irrespective of the ideas and thoughts he possessed, he would always be restricted in some forms of participation because of being viewed as an outsider in Canada. For Alia, a 33-year old professional who immigrated to Canada with her family when she was six years old,

difficulties in juggling identities because of how others perceived of her were particularly pronounced. She noted that while she felt comfortable in her Canadian identity, others saw her as Bangladeshi, but when in Bangladesh, she was called a foreigner and considered a Canadian

...after years and years of feeling like an outsider here then you go to Bangladesh and they have a word for it – BIDESHI – you're a foreigner, they would say oh well she grew up somewhere else, and people would know that I was not from there either. It was the same, and I was hitting this wall. I can't tell anyone from here that I'm from here 'cause they won't believe me, and I can't tell people from there that I'm from there 'cause they don't believe me there either.

These feelings of being an outsider expressed by the Bangladeshi participants point to what is referred to in the literature on citizenship as second citizenship.

Second Citizenship

Indications of second citizenship were explored by asking participants about “whether they ever experienced a sense of not belonging in Canada”. When asked about times when they did not belong, there was a clear split between the UK and Bangladeshi participants. Most of the UK participants, 70 percent, or eight of the 11 participants, responded with an immediate no there were never times when they felt they did not belong. A few, 20 percent, or two of the eleven, indicated that having two official languages, and their inability to speak French, sometimes led to a feeling of not belonging, and one individual recounted a time when he was challenged on issues having to do with the royal family and their views when another citizen learned he was from the UK. While there were exceptions, the general sentiment from the UK was that they had encountered few instances where they were led to feel as though they did not belong in Canada. In fact, two individuals expressed that they found that their origins had actually opened doors for them, and helped them to feel more welcome in the country. Alec and

Eric, both UK immigrants who have been in Canada for about ten years, reported that their origins were associated with an elevated positive perception. As Alec noted

...people are pretty favorable because they do stereotype you see, they do stereotype the English because of experiences in their own life, or a generation ago or two generations ago. They have an idea of what it is, maybe coming from the war, I don't know, who knows where it comes from, it comes from all different places. So that helps me because if they have a positive view, stereotypical view of the English that helps me because I'm English and I just fit straight into that right...plus you got the bonus of being from England, and so I actually find it pretty easy here. And in a way it's easier here because, uhm, I have that advantage you see. It is an advantage being from somewhere which generally people have positive ideas about. In England I'm just the same as everybody else, you know what I mean, so it's like, it's like, you just, you're just another number, I mean we are all numbers, but here its just a shiny number.

Similarly, Eric reported that his accent “seems to open doors for me”.

This positive welcome and acceptance is likely linked to the national history of Canada discussed in the previous chapter. Constructed as a ‘founding nation’ in white settler historical accounts of Canada, many people look to the British as having an inherent right to be in Canada, unquestioning their status as citizen. This inherent right may be linked to the presence of anglophilia in Canada. Anglophilia, defined as the construction of English values, culture and ideologies as the most advanced of civilizations, is particularly prominent in white settler societies where the primary institutions, culture and values of the society have been imported from the mother country. It signals certain nostalgia for imperialism. Studies suggest that the use of the English accent in television and audio media is drawn upon to present a character with greater knowledge and higher social status than others (Jhappan & Stasiulis, 2005:153; Huttenback, 1973:109). The association between English accents, historic presence in Canada, intelligence and greater social positioning is also suggested here as a potential factor for the warm reception received by the UK participants.

While for Eric and Alec, and the majority of UK individuals, there were no major problems with feeling as though they belonged, this was not the case for Bangladeshi participants. Seventy-five percent of the Bangladeshi participants (six out of eight) recounted that there were times when they did not feel as though they belonged in Canada, only 25 percent (two of eight) reported that they had not experienced a sense of not belonging. For participants from Bangladesh who reported not feeling as though they belonged, these experiences often revolved around inclusion in the labour market, perceptions as an outsider and differences in political opinions. Dilawar describes his experience with feelings of being an outsider and difficulties accessing the labour market in the following

...I would like to add here without being critical, I'm always, the way, it's an observation, so no matter what ideas I possess I will always be, it's just an observation, I will always be a foreigner. I am always an outsider to society. You know what I'm saying? Because it's the way people look at things...No matter how, what differences there are, or whatever commonalities we have as people, me and the rest of society, I would be seen as an outsider, this is my observation... people work within a set of boundaries, within a certain set of parameters, probably they're not even aware of it...I don't know whether it's discrimination, but in Canada you have boundaries that you will face in different situations, and these are not always very explicit always, there are parameters set for everybody within which people are allowed to function. Like, for example, getting a job with the government, on paper you can work, but in reality you can't. By you I mean an immigrant. Well I'm working part-time, but getting a full-time job is extremely difficult, and you will hear on the cable news that the Canadian government is doing a lot of stuff to integrate people who are coming from abroad with qualifications. I don't really belong in that category because I came here as a student and I got my degree from here, and even I can't work.

For Jundub, issues around politics left him feeling as though he was not part of the Canadian fabric. He indicated that

I have a piece of paper, but I'm still told to go back where I came from if I disagree with matters to economic or foreign policy or government practices. If I disagree with somebody who look likes an Anglo-Saxon white Caucasian I have

been told a number of times to go back, if I didn't like it to go back to my country.

Events such as those experienced by Dilawar and Jundub are consistent with the findings on second citizenship and that suggest immigrants, while having access to formal rights associated with citizenship, often experience difficulties in accessing these rights. For example, Dilwar's comments regarding difficulty accessing the labour market suggest that despite employment equity policy in Canada, enacted to attempt to provide equality in treatment in the labour market, non-white immigrants continue to face discrimination when attempting to find employment.

Their comments also lead to the need to ensure that individuals are welcomed and that they are given the chance to become equally participating members of society. As Ginsborg (2005:149) notes, "civil society needs to be a place where individuals feel welcome and able to express their opinions freely". The experiences of Dilawar, and Jundub in particular, do not support the idea of free expression of opinions and warm welcomes to all in Canadian society. Furthermore, instances such as those reported by the majority of the Bangladeshi participants lead these individuals to reconsider what it means to be a Canadian.

Bangladeshis who experienced exclusion and a sense of not belonging in Canada were often brought to reflect on what it meant to be Canadian. For most, experiences which raised a sense of not belonging led them to the belief that to be Canadian was still predominantly guided by the belief that one had to be white. This sentiment regarding the significance of race was particularly prominent in discussions with Roha, who indicated that her experiences of not belonging led her to the conclusion that an immigrant newcomer from a visible minority background can never be a pure Canadian because full

“Canadians are coloured white”. The ramifications of such events are a society in which any modicum of belonging established by the individual, developed through various mechanisms such as the extension of citizenship are challenged by the very barriers and insensitivities that exist and that have historical precedent. Steps taken to alleviate these challenges, such as the extension of citizenship or the federal government’s employment equity and multiculturalism policies, can be undermined by these other exclusionary expressions and acts.

The experience of visible minority newcomers as less than full Canadians is likely predominantly rooted in the settler society history of Canada and a history of selective and discriminatory immigration policies, the implications of which have been to construct an “ideal-type” of Canadian premised on white, Anglo-Celtic, or European heritage. As the dominant race in Canada, individuals of Anglo-Celtic heritage have retained the power to control federal policies linked to the definition of the state population, resulting in policies that continue to promote successful immigration of white backgrounds (the preferred race) while creating difficulty for all others considered to be from non-preferential races (Thobani, 2000:36; Dahlie & Fernando, 1981:1; Huttenback, 1973:136). The result has been a stereotype which defines Canadians as white and emphasizes a naturalized white settler society past in which individuals of Anglo-Celtic heritage are established as having always existed. As a consequence of this naturalized past the nation is divided into two types of citizens: those that belong as a result of their longstanding belonging in the country (which according to the history is not a result of any colonization or migration), the “us”, or “Canadians”; and those that are new to the country, the “them”, or “immigrants”. Canadians thereby become a homogeneous group

of individuals sharing cultural values who have opened their door to the immigrant other who is culturally diverse from others within the Canadian state, and who must be accommodated (Thobani, 2000:38). The result is clearly divisive of Canadians and others, but also serves to trivialize the process through which the other was excluded, insinuating that current practices have always been the way (Dua, 1999:7). For visible minorities this means that regardless of the length of time they have been in Canada, they continue to be marginalized and prevented from full participation in the Canadian nation-state (Moodley, 1981:14). The result is a social and political definition of who belongs that is underscored by clear racial divisions. The post 9/11 environment only served to increase these tensions as the Western world tightens the watch over Muslim looking people. Consequently, the reassertion of the Canadian nation-state as a white state rebuilds 'us' and 'them' views, drawing boundaries that serve to enforce the separation of Canadians and immigrants.

Overwhelmingly the research suggests that the importance of citizenship for dual citizen immigrants lies in the more practical applications it serves – providing a security of place and opportunities for improved quality of life and increased mobility. For migrants, the security of place attached to the acquisition of host country citizenship acknowledges their formal right to be within the boundaries of the state and participate in cultural, social and political activities within the state. Migrants found the citizenship ceremony particularly relevant to highlighting this new right to participation.

Opportunities were also highlighted as a major benefit of citizenship and played a significant factor in the decision to acquire citizenship. The retention of home state, or acquisition of host state citizenship, was largely considered, for the immigrant, to be

about benefits acquired, particularly for the participants from the underdeveloped country of Bangladesh. Many of the dual citizens saw citizenship as a means to access resources in the host country. However, opportunities were also cited as a reason for keeping dual citizenship where immigrant participants from the UK emphasized their reluctance to give up home state citizenship because of the opportunities associated with it.

One of the most emphasized opportunities was the ability to travel, the benefit of mobility. This was particularly important to participants given the transnational natures of their lives. Canadian citizenship for the Bangladeshi participants was associated with easier travel between Canada and Bangladesh. It also provided individuals the opportunity to visit other states without the need for additional travel documents such as visas. For the UK participants, the ease of travel was associated with their UK citizenship enabling them to return to the home country when required or vacation just as easily in any of the other 26 countries.

The importance of mobility was highlighted by the fact that many of the individuals' daily lives were transnational in nature, maintaining, for most, social connections in both the home and host states. Mobility between the two countries facilitated the maintenance of social and family ties that remained between home and host country. These ties were important markers of the transnationality of immigrant lives; however, they were also central to the establishment of a sense of belonging.

Most of the participants indicated that their sense of belonging (in either the home or host state) was associated with the presence and strength of family and friend connections. Country of origin remained "home" as long as there were family and friends there, however, country of residence became home as the immigrants' own family and

friend network grew in the host state. The importance of advances in telecommunication and travel technologies were central to the persistence of social and familial ties that spanned borders.

For most of the participant, the idea of citizenship was associated with rights and civic participation in the community mirroring, for the most part, both civic republican and liberal theories on citizenship. While both these strains of thought were evident in the conceptions of citizenship held by immigrants there was less of an indication that their conceptions of citizenship were tied to identity as communitarians might suggest. While identity did not come up as tied to the acquisition of citizenship, it was discussed. Most of the immigrants discussed adopting both Canadian and home-state identities, finding that they could relate to aspects of both places in their lives. While for some one identity played a greater role than the other, others expressed sentiments that indicated both identities played an important part of their life.

While many of the respondents expressed that they took on a multiple or hybrid identity, this was not without some difficulties, particularly for the participants from Bangladesh. The impacts of Canada's white settler society history, which has constructed ideal-type Canadians as white, presented problems for Bangladeshis who adopted a Canadian-Bangladeshi identity. These difficulties were largely a result of conflicts not within themselves, but with other Canadians from the dominant group who failed to recognize their status as Canadian, or who questioned that status when conflicting opinions about state matters arose. These findings emphasize the need to change Canadians' conceptions regarding the ideal-type Canadian in order to promote full-inclusion of newcomer Canadians.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Contemporary changes around immigration and perceived changes to the role of the state brought on by globalization are calling attention to the need to reconceptualize citizenship. The desire to obtain citizenship in the receiving country by many immigrants highlights the continued need and presence of the state in creating a sense of inclusion from which important benefits flow, while the reluctance of immigrants to give up citizenship status in their home country emphasizes the need for states to consider the construction of new policies around citizenship, particularly those which acknowledge transnational lives and ties to both home and host state. Ultimately, this may also include a renegotiation of the spaces of the citizenship-state relationship.

Traditional models of citizenship, which were closely associated with nation-building and building a cohesive national identity no longer adequately represent the sentiments of immigrants or 'transmigrants' who move across borders. Instead, new citizenship models that consider multiple ties must be developed. Dual citizenship offers a possible solution to negotiating the complexities of globalization that impinge on traditional models of citizenship. Dual citizenship negotiates these complexities by drawing on more modern conceptualizations of citizenship which allow dual citizens to maintain multiple ties to multiple states. The benefits of political participation and identity building highlight the importance of dual citizenship in nation building and suggest that dual citizenship may actually "further Canadian nation-building and integration efforts" (Bloemraad, 2004: 422).

The research presented in this thesis has explored the meaning of citizenship to dual citizen immigrants in Ottawa, Canada using qualitative research with dual citizens

from the UK and Bangladesh. The particular focus was on the lived experiences of dual citizenship and its impact on a sense of belonging and not belonging. Predominantly, citizenship for the participants in this research was understood in terms that reflected civic republican and liberal ideals of rights, civic responsibility and participation. Overall, the findings suggest that while citizenship may play a minor role in extending or maintaining a sense of belonging in the home or host country, it is not something that citizenship alone can foster. Immigrants, despite their citizenship, felt comfortable in both their country of origin and the Canadian host country. The citizenship ceremony was seen as a particularly important aspect of host country integration, signaling to the newcomer a welcome extended by the country.

According to the narratives, integration in the host country was most complicated by perceived cultural and social differences between sending and receiving societies that impacted on leisure and social activities. For immigrants unfamiliar with the cultural (e.g. mass mediated) pastimes of Canadians, integration was more difficult.

In the same way that citizenship was not strongly associated with belonging in the host country, participants also indicated that their sense of belonging in the home country was associated more with a right to be there, rather than based on the piece of legal documentation that allowed them to be there.

In both instances of home and host country belonging, networks of relations were stressed as important influences on shaping a sense of belonging. Family and social networks were particularly relevant to establishing a sense of belonging in either country. Strong social networks in the home country suggested that an individual's sense of belonging would be more strongly located in the country of origin. Similarly, as social

networks grew in the host country, many of the participants developed a greater sense of belonging with the country of residence. These findings were similar for the length of time, where belonging was associated with a greater length of time spent in either of the two countries.

For many participants, the fact that their belonging spanned across two countries also meant the adoption of social and cultural values from both countries were incorporated into their sense of identity. While this was a fairly easy process for most of the UK participants, Bangladeshis faced greater challenges in this task. These challenges arose as not problems within the individual, but instead were associated with the dominant group's reluctance to accept the participants' assertion of "Canadianness". Host society difficulties accepting the multiple identities of Bangladeshi participants suggest the effects of racialization present within society. While UK participants had little to no problems with not belonging, and in fact in two instances indicated a greater sense of opportunity, several Bangladeshi participants indicated a sense of belonging that was, at times, compromised. These feelings were largely associated with their experiences within the labour market, perceptions as an outsider, and differences in political opinions. As visible minorities, this raised considerable questions regarding what it meant to be a Canadian. As a result of their experiences the Bangladeshis were led to feel as though the Canadian label was still largely a title endowed to those with white skin.

This suggests that there is further research to be done around the reception of immigrants and sense of belonging in the host country. As outlined in the limitations section of this thesis, the reception for immigrants in this study was quite particular, they were received in a country supposedly open to immigration, in a medium to large sized

city with some cultural resources. However, this would not be the case for all immigrants in Canada, and certainly cannot represent the experiences of all immigrants in Canada, or internationally. Instead, further research is required to explore the impact of host country reception on immigrants, particularly the importance of historical construction of the national narrative on the way that immigrants are received and incorporated into the national fabric.

Further research on the lived experience of dual citizenship would also be important, particularly that which would delve further into the specific characteristics of immigrants that make integration less daunting. For example, age at immigration, language ability and education all appear to have an impact on the sense of belonging developed, but these particular influences were not the focus of this particular study.

Lastly, it appears that the transnational experience of immigrants is greatly enhanced by the availability of dual citizenship. However, it was beyond the scope of this study to examine the transnational experiences of individuals who are forced to give up their citizenship, or who do not to acquire citizenship in the host country for fear of losing their citizenship in the home country. A comparative study examining the transnational experiences of these individuals would add greatly to the understanding of the daily lives of transmigrants.

While the current study has several limitations, the contributions of the current study should not be underestimated. The findings from this research have important contributions for the understanding of citizenship and transnationalism in the daily lives of immigrants. Few studies have sought to understand the meaning of citizenship for individual citizens using their own voice, and fewer still have done so for citizens who

have migrated. This research fills that gap by exploring the meaning of citizenship for individuals who have acquired dual citizenship after migrating to Canada. It provides a preliminary understanding of the way that transnational ties are maintained in the daily lives of immigrants and the importance of citizenship in maintaining those ties. For the most part, Canadian research similar to that undertaken in this study is limited as a result of the data collected by the central data agency, Statistics Canada. Statistics Canada data provides quantitative statistics on immigration and citizenship in Canada, and is largely useful for providing overall aggregate estimates of trends of immigration and citizenship in Canada. However, the data cannot provide an in-depth understanding of what citizenship means to the immigrant.

To provide a deeper understanding of the topic of immigration and citizenship, qualitative research must be employed. Narrative analysis presents an opportunity for the participant to express their sentiments about citizenship without necessitating that these notions fit into established categories implicit in quantitative data. This allows individuals to place emphasis on importance aspects of certain topics, highlighting their own feelings and ideas within the narrative (Elliot, 2005:4; Muller, 1999:223; Riessman, 1993:19). This aspect of narrative analysis is essential to providing a greater understanding of citizenship, one which draws on the aspects of belonging, identity and daily life as a transmigrant.

An important role of this research has been the emphasis on the importance of what Karen Knop (2001:111) calls a relational analysis in determining belonging tied to the nation-state. This relational aspect draws attention to the need to understand the important dynamics between family, friends and social networks as contributors to the

sense of belonging established in the country. While greater analysis is certainly warranted around this area, the research presented here suggests that it is an important consideration for those concerned with the integration of newcomers into the Canadian social fabric while also pointing to the need to understand the impact of the diaspora on immigrant belonging.

The greatest contribution of this research has been to provide an understanding of the impact of racialization in the context of the nation-building history of the country. The influence of the white settler past on Canadian nation building and immigration policy was clear in the way that visible minority immigrants spoke of their uneasiness about belonging in Canada and was further reflected in the way the participants spoke about what it really meant to be Canadian. This was especially so in the comments of Bangladeshi participants, many of whom noted that to be a true Canadian meant having to be white. While policies of multiculturalism and tolerance of diversity have been promoted within Canadian society, the impacts of these policies have not eradicated the belief that native-born and white Canadians are still different from racialized immigrants, views which have been compounded and largely reawakened following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States.

These findings point to lingering sentiments of exclusion that resulted from early settler constructions which have resurfaced with a vengeance following the events of September 11, 2001. To ensure the integration of immigrants, Canada must make attempts to overcome the view that naturalizes the history of Canada as one in which white Canadians have always been present and are at the centre of nation-building (supported by Thobani, 2000:52). Changes must focus on reorienting ideas of what it

means to be Canadian from the historical view of white Anglo-Celtic (and French) heritage to a more contemporary view that reflects the multicultural and multi-racial nature of Canada in order to address the sense of exclusion and non-belonging sometimes confronted by new Canadians. As Brodie (2002:379) emphasizes, the importance of citizenship can lie in the ability of the status "to provide the glue that holds diverse and unequal polities together", however, this glue can only function where it is recognized that every citizen, regardless of colour or creed, is entitled to the equal status of citizenship.

In an era of globalization where the movement of individuals across borders is in a less uni-directional and permanent state, and during a time where questions regarding potential security threats have reawakened debates about the potential harms attached to dual citizenship, it is important to understanding the lived experiences of those whose lives would be changed by a move to retract such advances. The findings here suggest that dual citizenship is an important aspect of the lives of transmigrants. Citizenship, and importantly, dual citizenship has a significant impact on the sense of belonging to states and social spaces and the maintenance of relationships that exist across state borders and between home and host country.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Demographic / Personal Information / Motivations

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

(Probes: What is your country of origin / from what country did you migrate? How long have you lived in Canada? What do you do here now (work, student etc?)? When did you decide to come to Canada? How long have you been living in Canada? How old were you when you migrated to Canada? Did you consider immigrating to any other country? What other countries were considered? Why were there not selected? Why did you decide to come to Canada? Did you have family or friends already in Canada? Were you given information about Canada from a source at home? Had you visited Canada prior to making a decision to immigrate to Canada?)

2. Can you tell me about what it was like when you first arrived in Canada?

(Probes: At school, at work, in the community, adjustment issues? How did you decide on what city to live in? Was there a reason for choosing the particular area? What factors lead to the decision to live in the urban, cultural area? (establishing whether sense of community important, linkage/connection with own?)

3. Do you continue keep in touch with your home country or family and friends in your home country?

(Probes: Do you go home? When was the last time? How long did you stay? What was the purpose of your visit? How often do you go home? Is it family related, or do you go home for work / business as well? How do you keep in touch? Communication with friends and family (phone, email writing)? Watching television? Reading Newspapers? Do you own property? Participate politically (by voting or other)? Do you send money home, to family or political / social institutions? What about sending gifts, souvenirs etc. or bringing family over? Can you tell me about the experience of going home? Is it positive or negative? Do you feel like you belong? Like a stranger?)

Citizenship – Themes: Identity and Belonging

5. When did you decide to become a Canadian citizen?

(Probes: Had you been living in Canada longer than the required period? What factors motivated you to become a citizen in Canada? Were there people in your life who influenced you to make this decision? Was there a particular service / job / program you wanted to access that required citizenship? Was it political / social / economic? Would you have made this decision if you had to give up your citizenship in your home country?)

6. What factors were behind your decision to keep your citizenship with (country of origin)?

(Probes: Were there economic / social / political reasons for keeping your citizenship? Is it associated with an identity or sense of belonging you wanted to maintain?)

7. In your own words, what does it mean to you to be a citizen?

(Probes: What makes you a citizen? If you had to describe a citizen, how would you describe what that is? Does citizenship have anything to do with one's sense of belonging? With identity?)

8. Can you describe for me a time(s) when you citizenship is important to you?

(Probes: May be your Canadian or other, or both. Can you tell me about times when you have felt most like a citizen? Least like a citizen? Are there particular places or events that elicit feelings of citizenship or not? Have you ever felt discriminated against? When do you feel Canadian? (other citizenship)? How do you feel as a Canadian in (country of origin)? As a (citizenship) in Canada?)

9. How do you feel about being a dual citizen?

(Probes: Does having that citizenship paper make a difference? Did it change life in anyway? Is there a different sense of citizenship when you compare it to when you were a citizen of only one country?)

10. In your experience, do you feel you belong equally in both places?

11. Is there anything else you think I should know about being a citizen of Canada, (country of origin), or a dual citizen?

11. What are your plans for the future?

(Probes: Do you plan to return to your country of origin for retirement? Travel to elsewhere for retirement?)

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF INFORMATION

LETTER OF INFORMATION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this letter of information is to recruit individuals to participate in a research project on the impacts dual citizenship may have on and immigrant's sense of belonging in the home and host country. The study to be undertaken is being conducted by Jennifer Scribner as a requirement for the completion of her MA thesis.

PROCEDURES

Data for the research project will be collected through interviews roughly an hour to an hour and a half in length. Some participants may be contacted regarding participation in a second, follow-up, interview of up to an hour in length. The interviews will pursue questions around the themes of: individual conceptions of the citizenship term, the individual's sense of belonging, reasons for migration, participation in society, as well as the role of legal recognition of that belonging and identity. Demographic information such as country of origin, age at migration and years in Canada will also be collected.

Interviews will be audio taped where permission is granted. The purpose of taping the interviews is to allow the researcher to later transcribe the interviews.

BENEFITS

The researcher foresees no direct benefits from participating in this research project other than providing further contributions to the knowledge around issues of dual citizenship.

RISKS, STRESS OR DISCOMFORT

The researcher does not foresee any risks, stresses or discomforts arising from participation in this research project.

The participant has the right to refuse to answer any questions without consequence. Participants may also withdraw from the research project at any time. Those who withdraw from the study should indicate whether the information provided can be used in data analysis.

Participants should not expect financial compensation for participation. Participation is on a strictly voluntary basis. Should participants incur any costs from their participation (parking fees, child care, etc.) the researcher will reimburse those costs.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Information collected by the researcher is kept strictly confidential and will only be available to the researcher, Jennifer Scribner, and the faculty members of her committee: Dr. Daiva Stasiulis and Dr. Robynne Neugebauer. All identifying characteristics will be removed when data is included in the final report. Data will be stored in a on a memory

- There is no obligation to answer; I may refuse to provide an answer to any of the questions posed by the researcher;
- **Information collected by the researcher is kept strictly confidential and will only be available to the researcher, Jennifer Scribner, and the faculty members of her committee: Dr. Daiva Stasiulis and Dr. Robynne Neugebauer;**
- Identifying characteristics will be removed when data is included in the final report, I will not be identified as a participant in the research;
- Data will be stored in a on a memory stick in a locked box. Jennifer Scribner will be the only individual with access to the locked box.

BENEFITS

I am aware that the researcher foresees no direct benefits from participating in this research project other than providing further contributions to the knowledge around issues of dual citizenship.

PROCEDURES

Interviews:

Data for the research project will be collected through interviews roughly an hour to an hour and a half in length. Interviews will be conducted in quiet places convenient to the interviewee. This may include libraries, coffee shops or other public places. The interview will pursue questions around the themes of: individual conceptions of the citizenship term, the individuals sense of belonging, reasons for migration, participation in society, as well as the role of legal recognition of that belonging and identity. Demographic information such as country of origin, age at migration and years in Canada will also be collected.

My written consent to participate in the interview also indicates that I give my permission to the researcher to audio tape record the interview for the purpose of transcription. I may wish not to be tape-recorded in which case I will ask the researcher to take hand-written notes only.

CONFIDENTIALITY

I understand that information collected by the researcher will be kept strictly confidential and will only be available to the researcher, Jennifer Scribner, and the faculty members of her committee: Dr. Daiva Stasiulis and Dr. Robynne Neugebauer. All identifying characteristics will be removed when data is included in the final report. Data will be stored in a on a memory stick in a locked box. Jennifer Scribner will be the only individual with access to the locked box.

I understand that the data collected will be kept upon completion of the research project for possible use in future projects. I have indicated below whether I consent to the storage of my data for future research projects, and understand that if I have indicated yes, I will be contacted for my consent before my data is used in other projects.

I HAVE BEEN GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM

RISKS, STRESS OR DISCOMFORT

My signature on this consent form indicates that I am aware that the researcher does not foresee any risks, stresses or discomforts arising from my participation in this research project. I am also aware of my right to refuse to answer questions that I do not wish to answer. I may also withdraw from the research project at any time without consequence. Should I withdraw from the study I may ask that my responses not be used in the research analysis.

OTHER INFORMATION

By signing this form I am indicating that I have read, and understood, the contents of this information sheet and that I understand and agree to my rights as a participant in this research project. My signature also indicates that I have agreed to participate as a research subject. I am aware that I have the right to be continuously informed of the research process, and that should I need clarification or more information at any time throughout the study I should contact the researcher or her supervisor.

I HAVE BEEN GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM