"DAY BY DAY, DAY BY DAY": A STUDY OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S
ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SETTLEMENT IN HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

by

Carly Rose Pender

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
June 2012

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "'DAY BY DAY, DAY BY DAY': A STUDY OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SETTLEMENT IN HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA" by Carly Rose Pender in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dated: June 19, 2012

Co-Supervisors: _____

_____

Readers: _____

_____

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DATE: June 19, 2012

AUTHOR: Carly Rose Pender

TITLE: "DAY BY DAY, DAY BY DAY": A STUDY OF IMMIGRANT
WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SETTLEMENT IN HALIFAX,
NOVA SCOTIA

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: Department of International Development Studies

DEGREE: MA   CONVOCATION: October   YEAR: 2012

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for non-commercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions. I understand that my thesis will be electronically available to the public.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

The author attests that permission has been obtained for the use of any copyrighted material appearing in the thesis (other than the brief excerpts requiring only proper acknowledgement in scholarly writing), and that all such use is clearly acknowledged.

_____
Signature of Author

DEDICATION PAGE

This thesis is dedicated to my sister, Abbey Pender, whose warmth, generosity, and humor inspire me to see the world in happier ways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

This research illuminates the gendered nature of immigration and business ownership in the Atlantic Canadian context. A feminist analysis of semi-structured interviews with 15 immigrant women entrepreneurs in Halifax, Nova Scotia, shows that immigrant women face many barriers to meaningful employment, but entrepreneurship in the food sector can facilitate substantive citizenship. The research explains why and how stores, restaurants, and farmers' market stalls exist. The processes through which participants come to open their businesses and settle in Canada align with twentieth century anthropological understandings of rites of passage as developed by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner. Liminality – a key element of every rite of passage – is found to be a time in which participants feel lost between their old and new lives, so conclusions in this research advance policy and programming recommendations aimed at reducing the length of time immigrants' feel like outsiders in Halifax and the business realm.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ISIS   Immigrant Settlement & Integration Services

SMEs Small- and medium-sized enterprises

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must wholeheartedly acknowledge **the 15 women who participated in my research**. These busy entrepreneurs hit the "Pause" buttons on their lives just long enough to give me insight into their migration histories, business pursuits, and family life. Moreover, they shared thoughts and ideas with me that perhaps they would not have normally conveyed to a stranger. I am not sure what prompted them to put their faith in this project, but I am grateful they did. I was privileged to hear their stories and hope that my research has done them justice. As I told my participants, I hope this thesis can contribute to a body of work that attempts to make the lives of immigrant women and their families a little easier.

Of course, I could not have completed this thesis without a great deal of mentorship. I was lucky to have spent my first semester in **Dr. Pauline Gardiner Barber's** citizenship and immigration seminar where she made so many important issues come alive for me. I came to Dalhousie hoping to study immigration and gender, and Dr. Gardiner Barber steered me in the right direction. After offering her help as a supervisor, she recruited **Dr. Evangelia Tastsoglou** onto my team. These two professors provided the no-nonsense guidance I needed to take my first steps towards a proposal, execute my fieldwork and, finally, write the many pages of my manuscript. In the final stages of my work, I was grateful to have **Drs. Alexandra Dobrowolsky** and **Lindsay Dubois** on my side. I am certain that I will be asking myself, "What would my committee say?" throughout any future academic pursuits.

On a more personal note, I am glad to have had the support of my amazing family and friends as I worked on my thesis. Thank you to my parents, **Rosemary** and **Kelly Pender,** and my sister, **Abbey Pender**, for not putting me up for adoption as I became increasingly stressed out during this process. Thank you to **Natalia Peart** for tricking me into friendship six years ago and sticking around to see me through the ups and downs of graduate student life. I will miss our Friday study sessions, but mostly I will miss living so close to such an important person in my life. Thank you to **Ian Drake**, who likes to joke that he knows so much about my thesis that he practically wrote half of it himself. While I cannot give him writing credit, I will say his daily encouragement kept me on track, well fed, and optimistic. Finally, thank you to **my colleagues** in the Department of International Development Studies, especially my **Fiona Brooks,** for continually inspiring me as a person and scholar. I will certainly cherish the time we spent learning and growing together in this rainy, rainy city.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

When I arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to start my graduate studies, one of the first things I did was acquaint myself with the city's restaurants, grocery stores, and farmers' markets. Over time I became comfortable in my new home and realized that immigrant women and their families own so many of the places I visit regularly. While I was initially interested in their products, it became clear that the real story was about the women who sell them. The entrepreneurs' personal histories, it seemed, would be a vibrant case study in migration, gender, and business. In speaking to these women I was able to assemble a thesis documenting the contours of citizenship, multiculturalism, and the challenges of establishing a life across multiple borders. The data I have compiled adds to a growing body of knowledge on female immigrants in the Atlantic region, and offers insight into the gendered nature of immigrant entrepreneurship in a mid-sized city.

The events I studied take place in the context of dramatic shifts in global economic, political, and social processes. Globalization has seen capital flow across national borders in a decidedly fluid fashion, but people are also changing locations more than ever before for a multitude of reasons (Campbell, 2000). The immigrant population in Canada alone is over six million, with more than a million of those immigrants relocating to Canada since 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Women form a growing portion of this cohort. The "feminization of migration" has interested scholars in recent years. Since the 1970s, women have been more frequently observed and analyzed not simply as accessories to family or male migration patterns, but as autonomous subjects with individual interests and needs (Mahler & Pessar, 2006: p. 27). The majority of women come to Canada with their spouse or family (Lindsay & Almey, 2005). Census data says nearly three-quarters came in the family class, or as spouses or dependents of economic class immigrants between 1994 and 2003. In 2001 the majority of foreign-born women over age 15 lived in a family setting.

Immigrants face many decisions upon their arrival. A primary concern is if or how to enter the labour market. For racialized minority newcomers, finding adequate employment can be challenging to say the least (Li, 2000). Certainly, Canada has described its "ideal" candidates for citizenship. As states compete in a global market, "[T]hey privilege the entry of well-educated, highly qualified, and relatively young migrants and discourage others

whose economic contribution is harnessed by the low-skill job market or whose labour is largely confined to the domestic sphere" (Creese, Dyck & McLaren, 2008: p. 270). Still, human capital does not guarantee employment. Non-recognition of international work experience and education are among the more glaring factors holding immigrants back from employment (Reitz, 2003; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). Further, racism and discrimination are apparent. Immigrants (especially racial minorities) are assumed to be less capable and less intelligent than non-immigrants, decreasing their access to professional jobs (Topen, 2008: p. 139). Labour-market entry may be particularly difficult during a recession – as was the case for many in the early 1990s (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: p. 492) – or for those who lack social connections, such as networks linking them to employment information (Reitz, 2003: p. 30).

Immigrant women's rate of participation in the Canadian labour force is considerably lower than that of immigrant men and Canadian-born women (Boyd & Pikkov, 2005; Wilkinson, Peter & Chaturvedi, 2006). Those who are employed are heavily represented in jobs that women traditionally hold, such as clerical, sales or service positions (Lindsay & Almey, 2005). In this sense, labour market integration is a gendered process (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2005; Creese & Wiebe, 2009). Those who are not the principal applicants in the migration process, or those who reunite with family, may be at a disadvantage in the labour market. Women who have spent the majority or entirety of their adult lives as homemakers, for example, may not be welcome in the Canadian workplace. Similar to the competition for citizenship, the competition for jobs is fierce.

Reitz (2003) notes that successful candidates are younger and more educated than the native-born average across all age levels (p. 15). Indeed, "Across Canada, immigrants average 0.4 more years of education than the native-born, and since the relative educational levels of immigrants has been rising, the relative advantage of the most recent immigrants appears greater, at about 0.6 more years of education" (Reitz, 2003: p. 15). Many studies have cited immigrants' (especially women's) family income as a measure of economic integration. However, due to job market constraints, volunteer work and community organizing can be employed as means to achieve economic independence (Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003).

Self-employment may offer relief from a harsh welcome to Canada. Immigrants in major industrialized countries are disproportionately represented in entrepreneurship compared to non-immigrants (Abada, Hou & Lu, 2012: p. 8). Over the period 2004 to 2007, visible minorities (other than Aboriginal persons) and recent immigrants have come to be the

majority owners of a larger proportion of Canadian small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 23). Visible minorities went from representing 7.2 per cent of Canadian SMEs to 10 per cent, and persons residing in Canada for less than five years went from 1.4 per cent to 3 per cent (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 23). One in five self-employed women was not born in Canada, and while that ratio is lower than the one in four rate observed among men, women are narrowing the gap (CIBC Small Business, 2005: p. 9). The rate of business creation among immigrant women outpaced that of immigrant men by 30 per cent between 1995 and 2005 (CIBC Small Business, 2005: p. 9).

As evidenced by the vibrant ethnic food market in Halifax, some women (and often their families, too) have been exceptions to unemployment trends. They have successfully entered the economy by means of purchasing, making, and selling food from their culture. This food landscape is an important research site – one in which the settlement and integration processes come alive. Still, the degree of success of these ventures from gender and migration perspectives remains unknown. To date, no academic research has examined immigrants in Halifax's food sector, and efforts to explore the region's immigrant entrepreneurship in general have thus far been sparse. For example, while Sharif (2009) provides a welcome portrait of immigrant entrepreneurship, the data are not gender disaggregated, which prevents a gendered analysis of a relevant topic with important policy and programming implications.

My study follows work from local researchers, such as Atallah and Rebelo (2006), who explore the difficulty local immigrants have faced in securing credit due to Canada's institutionalized lack of recognition of international credit history. Such challenges – as well as their corresponding successes – must come to light if existing and future immigrant business owners are to further their efforts. Investigating the everyday business owners' experiences in a mid-sized city will be fruitful for immigrants, Halifax, and academia. As such, my research question is: How do immigrant women experience entrepreneurship in the food sector in the context of their settlement and integration processes in Halifax, Nova Scotia? Several sub-questions follow from this inquiry, specifically:

- o Why do female immigrants enter the business realm?
- o What strategies do they use in starting and maintaining a business?
- o How have these immigrants mobilized human and material resources in Canada and abroad?

- How have these entrepreneurs navigated and grown accustomed to new business, social, and food environments?
- How does entrepreneurship impact kinship and gender relations?

To answer these questions I spent three months in the fall of 2011 interviewing 15 immigrant women entrepreneurs. We discussed their migration histories, decisions to start a business, experiences as a business owner, and family life. I designed my methodology to capture key elements of business ownership – for example, financing a business – but privileged tactics that provided insight into the social nature of business life.

The necessity for this line of questioning comes from a school of thought that calls for integration as a key concept for understanding work-life issues. Integration is defined as *the person's sense that his or her identity is a coherent whole, made up of various sub-identities related to specific life and career roles* (Hall, 2002: p. 71-72). Previously, work and life were envisioned as opposite or irreconcilable realities (Las Heras & Hall, 2007: p. 183). Citing Carlson and Kacmar (2000), Las Heras and Hall (2007) write that, "Human life is a complex system, and as such, over the last decades, researchers have begun to realize that the various domains of an individual's life interact with each other and must be studied in an integrated manner and within a common framework" (p. 178). In short, work interacts with and influences a person's life outside work, and vice versa. To study one without the other would provide a short-sighted version of the truth. I employ this understanding of integration in my thesis for this reason, but also because in the context of migration I see entrepreneurship as a crucial part of the settlement process that must also be viewed alongside immigrants' personal lives in order to be fully illuminated in a research setting. In this way, my work can respond to Tastsoglou and Preston's (2005) call for research to explore "the subjective dimensions of integration, particularly those relating to the links between paid employment and the feeling of belonging in Canadian society."

1.1 OVERVIEW OF ARGUMENTS AND FINDINGS

I examine my data through the lenses of citizenship/multiculturalism, transnationalism, and feminist perspectives on work, which I will elaborate upon in the next chapter. These schools of thought enable and privilege multi-scalar analysis, allowing me to balance macro-, meso-, and micro-level observations when presenting my data. Additionally, these areas of study facilitate my advancement of a central conclusion surrounding the

immigrant business trajectory, as well as three sub-arguments to support my claims. My main argument is that the processes of immigrant settlement and business ownership align with the twentieth century anthropological understandings of rites of passage (or *rites de passage*). Immigration, and the settlement and integration processes that follow, is a rite of passage with three phases: separation, liminality, and reincorporation. Separation involves leaving a mental or physical state, liminality is a period of uncertainty experienced before entering a new state, and reincorporation is the culmination of the "journey." Further, business ownership has the power to facilitate women's settlement and integration processes – to propel them with more certainty through liminality and towards reincorporation. I will now situate my argument in relation to anthropological arguments by offering a brief glimpse into the work of Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, two researchers whose work in the African context has become useful in the Canadian one. Then I will summarize my arguments, providing preliminary evidence of their strengths and merit.

My understanding of the three phases described above comes partly from Van Gennep (1960) who says a rite of passage is when "a person leaves one world behind him and enters a new one" (p. 19). At first reading, this description is connected most obviously to geography, but later the author makes it clear that a rite of passage can take many shapes and forms depending on the individual or group in question. For example, circumcision and marriage are rites of passage. However, "The basic procedure is always the same . . . for either a company or an individual: they must stop, wait, go through a transitional period, enter, be incorporated" (van Gennep, 1960: p. 28). Van Gennep's work shows that the pattern of rites of passage occurs throughout ceremonies that accompany, facilitate, or affect the transition from one life stage to another.

Rites of passage form the bases of other autonomous systems that are employed for the benefit of societies, restricted groups, or individuals. In this way, it is possible to apply the author's understanding of rites of passage to the twenty-first century Canadian context, despite the fact that at face value African tribal rituals have little in common with my research setting. As mentioned, in this study I assert that the three phases of a rite of passage – separation, liminality, and reincorporation, as outlined by Turner (1969) – are directly related to migration. It is easy to view migration as a transition or a rite of passage. Indeed, "Migration involves altering mental landscapes as well as physical borders" (Simich, Maiter & Ochocka, 2009: p. 253). The transition (or adaptation process) is not necessarily quick, nor

is it the same for everyone. More specifically, "'Adaptation' is not a straightforward course, but rather a dynamic psychosocial process in which immigrant individuals and communities play active roles in coping with cultural differences, navigating new systems and attempting to overcome barriers to social integration" (Simich et al., 2009: p. 253-254).

Perhaps on a more basic level, experiences or feelings associated with rites of passage are found in everyday life. Interestingly, one can find the origins of the terms employed here within Turner's biography. Weber (1995) writes that, "Turner himself provides a partial biographical source: the family's own transition, in the early sixties, to America; their betwixt and between status in the fall of 1963, waiting passage to Cornell [University] and a new life, highlighted the very theoretical issues Turner was grappling with in his research" (p. 527). Having experienced major life transitions as a student in Ottawa and Halifax, during which I needed to adapt quickly to new environments, I personally identified all too well with the feeling of being "betwixt and between" two worlds, which allowed me to recognize the same life stage in my participants' stories of life in Halifax.

It became clear that my participants had experienced (or were experiencing) separation, liminality, and reincorporation as immigrants *and* business owners. They were new to Canada but also new to business, which resulted in their simultaneous exploration of two unfamiliar worlds. Moreover, even in cases where a participant launched her business after living in Canada for several years, she still needed to navigate unfamiliar territory (both literally and figuratively) in order to do so. In this way, she will experience a protracted or delayed state of liminality. The details of these three stages of settlement and entrepreneurship form the backbone of my research, and I will describe them in three separate analytical chapters. For now, I will offer a brief outline of these phases.

In the separation phase my participants take stock of their new surroundings in Halifax and decide to start a business. The reasons women decide to start a business fall into three categories, which are not mutually exclusive. First, some women are motivated to start a business because they possess a passion for business and/or food. Second, some women decide to start a business because they are looking for a mode of social engagement to enhance their mental and emotional health. Third, some women, experiencing "blocked mobility" in the conventional labour force, decide to start a business to find a path away from survival jobs and unemployment. Later reflections on business success and personal satisfaction return to these initial business decisions. For example, women who enter business

for engagement will be more satisfied with a multitude of social ties than with the financial bottom line of their efforts.

The second part of settlement and entrepreneurship is the liminal phase. During this phase the participants mobilize resources to start their business. They do so as they navigate new social, political and economic worlds, which can prove challenging, especially when a language barrier exists. Entrepreneurs gather financing and a venue, and then they work to stock the venue with supplies and labour. Here immigrants' personal resources (for example, financial, human capital, cultural) may be limited, forcing them to rely upon a patchwork of business assets gathered from a variety of sources. It is apparent that creativity, resourcefulness, and social networking are crucial parts of this process. The immediate aftermath of the somewhat tumultuous liminal phase reveals that the women in my study have carved spaces for themselves in the local economy despite facing personal and structural barriers that make for a cold welcome in the food sector. This period is not unlike the condition of marginality Park (1950) describes. For Park, the *marginal man* "lives in two worlds but is not quite at home in either" (p. 51) as a result of exclusion, subordination, and racism. This man is not unlike Simmel's (1950) *stranger*.

The third element of entrepreneurship – reincorporation – follows immigrants through this aftermath as they establish their businesses through marketing, customer service, and other forms of business activity. During this phase, entrepreneurs work to move past the intimidating initiation phase of business ownership by securing a customer base and the accompanying flow of income. Here it becomes clear if a business will contribute to a positive or negative settlement experience, as some women will experience elements of liminality well into their reincorporation phase. For example, while some women will build their social networks around their businesses, others will not have the cultural capital (or free time) to make connections in the community. Additionally, while others will use their long hours of work to build stronger relationships with their family, others will feel tied to their business – unable to leave, unable to visit with their loved ones, and unable to experience the life they once dreamed for themselves.

What do these three phases and developments mean for the overall settlement and integration process? Moreover, how are they related to citizenship? The women in my study have maintained many different forms of connections to their families, friends and communities in their home countries. They are also rooted to their home countries by the

ethnic food that they sell and the traditions they maintain, as well as the memories and loyalties they harbour and sometimes disclose to others. Despite their physical presence in Halifax, their identities are wrapped up in multiple spaces and times. They are nostalgic and in some ways long for the past. However, with only minor exceptions they are committed to Halifax and Canada, as well as their new lives they are building here with family and friends. Interestingly, their businesses help root them in the present time and space. They tether the entrepreneurs to Halifax, allowing them to explore new ways conducting daily affairs.

In this way, it makes sense that while my participants speak fondly of the people and places they have left behind, they still cherish their Canadian citizenship or look forward to the day they can be Canadian citizens. I have watched a woman conduct a Skype conversation in French with family members in the back room of her restaurant. She pauses the conversation to serve a customer, and the pair briefly discusses the weather in English. I have sat patiently during an interview as a woman accepts a phone call from her sister in Syria. The two discuss a pressing legal issue, but when the participant hangs up she can speak with confidence to me about local politics. These women must attend to their lives and obligations in their home countries, but their minds can never venture too far from reality, including the business practices that earn them a living and provide a nucleus for family life. Their lives are proof of "reincorporation," as they have emerged from their rites of passage as new, changed women – women who speak fondly of multiple countries but reserve the majority of their time and energy for Halifax and the businesses they have created here. In many ways, they are active, engaged citizens or soon-to-be citizens – enjoying and exercising their rights and privileges, but also consciously processing their relationships with their adopted homes.

Still, participants do not move through the phases of their rites of passage at the same speed, nor are the phases experienced only once or in a prescribed order. I do not intend to view or use the separation, liminality, and reincorporation phases as blueprints or formulas for business and/or immigration trajectories. Put another way, it would be unrealistic to make a statement such as A (separation) + B (liminality) + C (reincorporation) = D (settlement and integration). Reality is much muddier and complex, leaving me only able to identify the three phases in my participants' lives and use van Gennep and Turner's writing to act as lenses through which I can understand and analyze my findings. Indeed, the sum of the participants' experiences (or the "end point" to the reincorporation process) is ambiguous because, "Regardless of their level of 'adjustment,' immigrant women feel that 'adjusting' is a process

that unfolds over time and can go on forever" (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 209). The quote in the title of this study – "day by day, day by day" – comes from one of my participants, Esra, whose repeated use of this phrase highlights the fact that it is the seemingly mundane, interrelated aspects of everyday life that shape the settlement and integration processes, slowly but surely. The rites of passage cannot be simplified as a math equation.

1.2 HALIFAX: A MID-SIZED CITY

Halifax, the major urban centre in Nova Scotia, is a mid-sized Atlantic Canadian city with relatively low ethnic diversity (Cassin & Divine, 2006: p. 67). Research shows that in general Nova Scotia struggles in attracting immigrants, which is an issue in light of a steady regional population loss that threatens economic decline (Akbari & Sun, 2006: p. 129). Abdul-Razzaq (2007) writes that, "As one of the lesser populated provinces in Canada, Nova Scotia has not been a particularly popular destination among immigrants, remaining more of a transitional entry point for newcomers as well as hosting a highly seasonal in-flow of tourists and a large majority of out-of-province students" (p. 44). Still, Halifax welcomes thousands of immigrants each year. In the 2006 federal census, the total number of recent immigrants (who have been in Canada since 2001) was just over 5,000. While this group represents just a fraction of the city's total population, I argue it still constitutes a vibrant, growing collection of people who contribute economically, socially, and politically to Halifax and Canada.

However, many of these immigrants have not received a warm welcome upon their arrival. Reitz (2003: p. 15) notes that the major metropolitan areas of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal have the largest pool of available employment opportunities, which helps immigrants find jobs quickly. However, immigrants who find their way into Nova Scotia often leave for central and western Canada because they cannot find meaningful work (Akbari & Mandale, 2005; Cassin & Divine, 2006). The province's unemployment rate was 8.4 per cent at the beginning of 2012, which is nearly a full percentage point higher than the Canadian average (Nova Scotia Department of Finance, 2012). Halifax, though progressive in many ways, is not without social inequality and injustice. Cassin and Divine (2006) have kept tabs on the province as a whole. The authors note that, "Nova Scotia overall has official blemishes on its record of human rights and inclusion in employment, equality in the delivery of public services and equality in the administration of justice" (p. 67).

In the context of a relatively small labour market compared to larger Canadian cities, Cottrell (2008) and Topen (2008) have observed that immigrant women in Atlantic Canada have experienced difficulty finding appropriate employment and are often forced to accept jobs in less than ideal conditions (for example, low-paying, part-time, temporary, and insecure employment). These conditions have a direct and lasting effect on women's mental, physical and financial well being (Cottrell, 2008: p. 133). As of 2007, only 17 per cent of SMEs in the Atlantic region were majority female-owned, while most of the area's SMEs were male-owned (Industry Canada, 2011: p. 39). Nominal relief from immigrant women's economic marginalization comes from local settlement associations. However, Halifax's local history is stained with the failure of a federally funded social service group that attempted to integrate low-income immigrant women into Nova Scotia's small business community. Its executive director – a former federal Conservative party candidate – was unable to account for some financial irregularities and the organization's doors closed (Curry, 2008).

The Government of Nova Scotia recognizes the province's labour shortage and its impact on the economy. In 2011 provincial immigration strategy there is an emphasis on the recruitment of immigrants, specifically young professionals and skilled workers (engineers, database analysts, and mechanics) who meet Nova Scotia's needs. The province intends to "attract twice as many immigrants who choose Nova Scotia as their home over the next 10 years" and "consolidate those gains by increasing the retention rate to 70 per cent or better" (p. 3). A key part of this strategy is the Provincial Nominee Program, through which immigrants can gain entry to the province via nominations by community members. Immigrants with desirable qualification will have a quicker way of earning residency, and there are methods through which immigrants can be recognized for more than just their economic contributions (Abdul-Razzaq, 2007: p. 45-46).

Still, the program is not without its critics. The program essentially "fell short of expectations for most concerned" (Dobrowolsky, Bryan & Barber, 2011: p. 4). Dobrowolsky (2011) argues that Canada's immigration policy has been shaped by neoliberal ideologies. In Nova Scotia, the author writes, decentralizing immigration policy has worsened the class, race and gender inequalities that neoliberalism provides. Looking forward, "[N]ew provincial immigration strategies must work harder at achieving greater equilibrium between economic and social priorities and must find an appropriate balances between the choices, calculations and commitments of state officials and those of newcomers" (Dobrowolsky, Bryan & Barber,

2011: p. 4). This challenge of reconciling a nation's economic and social needs is not new, and future policies must be innovative to avoid previous problems.

A large portion of my fieldwork took place in the city's farmers' markets. Hamilton (2002) writes that, "[Farmers'] markets are places where food is exchanged for money, goods or other food" (p. 73). Founded in 1750, the Halifax Farmers' Market Cooperative is the oldest continuously running farmers' market in North America (Farmers' Markets of Nova Scotia, 2011). Friday is a designated International Day in the Halifax Seaport Farmers' Market. Every Friday, vendors sell prepared foods and crafts from all over the world. The trend of immigrants selling goods at farmers' markets is not unique to Halifax. Immigrants across North America are present at farmers' markets in various capacities. Some are farmers who sell fresh produce, while others sell homemade food from their specific cultures. Their success at the markets is varied. Markets can be a site of cultural exchange and successful settlement experiences (Gillespie, Hilchey, Hinrichs & Feenstra, 2007), but there are stories of immigrants being on the wait list of the busy market days and not having enough capital to take full advantage of the vending opportunities (Singer, 2011). In my analysis, I explore how the local farmers' market lives up to its promises through the eyes of my participants.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

My study employs feminist research methodologies, which criticize traditional research paradigms, claiming superior, "truer" knowledge is derived from a committed feminist exploration of women's struggles from the standpoint of women (Landman, 2006: p. 430). This perspective gained popularity in the 1970s and 1980s during feminism's Second Wave. At this time, mainstream research was attacked for its methods that espoused conceptions of objectivity, knowledge and reason proceeding from a view of the social world only from the perspective of male or masculine values (Landman, 2006: p. 430). Authors were expected to erase their identities and opinions from their research (Charmaz & Mitchell, 1997) and use male-dominated history and institutions as models by which to measure women's experiences (Naples, 2003).

This tradition's quantitative methodological tools either objectified women or left them out of the picture entirely (Hughes & Cohen, 2010: p. 189). Moreover, consideration of the gendered nature of social life was absent, as biological essentialism understood women primarily as wives and mothers (Landman, 2006: p. 430). To counter quantitative methods

11

and their patriarchal roots, feminists employ qualitative methods in their research. In doing so, they seek to better represent women's lives. Qualitative methods, which have been standard practice among anthropologists and other schools of social science, can supplement statistical analysis with, for example, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and focus groups (Mayoux, 2006: p. 118). Indeed, statistical data can indicate an immigrant woman's business success, but only direct conversation can reveal the hidden aspects of her experiences, such as the values and the meanings she attaches to daily life.

I set my participation criteria to include first-generation immigrants to Canada who own a business in the food sector in Halifax, are able to have a conversation in English, and are between the ages of 18 and 65. I sought out women who own a business individually or with a male partner. These women fit the common sense usage of "immigrant women," which generally refers to women of colour (including women from southern Europe and developing countries) who do not speak English well or speak it with an accent other than British or American (Ng & Estable, 1987: p. 29; Ng, 1990, p. 185). Ng and Estable (1987), cited in Tastsoglou and Miedema (2005), specify that the term "immigrant woman" is socially constructed and rooted in economic and legal processes that have sexist, racist, and class biases. This perspective limits the scope of my project significantly and helpfully by increasing the possibility that, without assuming their homogeneity as a group, my participants would share some common experiences and points of view.

I located the participants in question by touring Halifax on foot and entering businesses that sold ethnic food, which I understand as products associated with a particular ethnic or cultural group. I also searched online directories of restaurants in Halifax. Upon entering a business, I asked if a woman owned the establishment, and if that woman was an immigrant. While I had planned on relying on snowball sampling, I did not use it in the end. Simply walking and searching online helped me locate all the participants I needed, and I feel I would have no trouble locating more participants for future projects. In all but two cases I spoke to the participants at their businesses. It seemed to be the most convenient for the participants to have me drop into the establishments during the participants' expected lulls in business. In many cases the participants offered me a dish or dessert from their business stock, which I accepted because it was socially appropriate to do so and the women were quite keen on feeding me.

My primary method of data collection was semi-structured interviews. I generated a list of questions related to the main research questions I wanted to explore, but was willing to change both the wording and order of these questions during the interviews. Interviews align with feminist methodologies because they allow participants to express themselves more fully than they would be able to in a structured questionnaire or survey. In this case, interview questions are "broad and open-ended, and change and develop over time to fill in a 'jigsaw' of differing accounts of 'reality,' unravelling which may be said to be generally 'true' and which are specific and subjective, and why" (Mayoux, 2006: p. 118). Hinson Shope (2006) says interviews allow flexibility and reflexivity, which permit women to bring up the issues most important to them and foster a comfortable, unforced conversational flow. Dyck and McLaren (2004) support these methodologies in migration research because, "The inclusion of women's voices in narrating settlement experiences helps to reveal the gendering of immigration processes and, we claim, is critical in denaturalizing the common-sense categories that underpin policy making" (p. 529).

I sorted and coded my data as I gathered it. The process of sorting and coding involves grouping information based on themes and looking for relationships between thoughts, with minimal overlapping between categories (Cote et al., 1993: p. 129). The themes are seen as meanings – participants' views on particular phenomena. In order to retain women's voices in the sorted data, I treated the data as accessing various stories or narratives though which people describe their world (Silverman, 2005: 154). This approach claims that, by abandoning the attempt to treat respondents' accounts as potentially "true" pictures of "reality," we open up for analysis the culturally rich methods though which interviewers and interviewees, in concert, generate plausible accounts of the world" (Silverman, 2005: p. 154). In this way I honour my original purpose of allowing women's voices to shine in my analysis.

1.4 PARTICIPANT PROFILES

I interviewed 15 immigrant women entrepreneurs. To protect their privacy, in this study I have changed their names (using pseudonyms they provided me) and altered or omitted identifying details. Three of the participants have dependent children living at home, while the rest have grown children. In several cases, these grown children live with their parents. Five women are from the Middle East, four are from Asia, one is from Africa, one is from Central America, two are from India, and two are from Russia. All but two of these

women are married, and all but one of them have children. One woman came to Canada as a refugee, while the rest came to seek a better quality of life. In terms of education, most participants had some sort of post-secondary education. Three women hold two post-secondary diplomas and/or degrees. A small minority have a high school diploma or less. My participants were reluctant to disclose information regarding their household finances, but the majority (13) say they have a "medium" level of income. Two women (one who does not have full-time employment and another whose business is struggling) have a "low" level of income.

Six women regularly participate in the farmers' market. Five of these market vendors mainly participate in the market on Fridays when there is a special international vendors' day. Some also participate in the weekend market, while one market vendor only attends the market on the weekends. Seven women own restaurants in Halifax, selling mainly ethnic foods from their countries of origin. One woman owns a grocery store that sells Asian goods, while another runs a coffee shop. This coffee shop is the only establishment in the study that does not sell ethnic goods. Most of the businesses are still relatively new. With the exception of three businesses, all are less than three years old – meaning they are on the cusp of being "established" in the local economy. Two more businesses were recently purchased (within the last three years) and are under new ownership. Thus, the practice of setting up a business is a major focus of this study. Brief individual profiles are as follows:

o   Dilbirin, 51, is a Syrian woman who came to Canada in 1995 as a refugee. She has three grown children and lives in Halifax with her son and husband. She left school after grade four to stay home and help her mother raise her family. She speaks Kurdish, Arabic, and English. After working in a factory sewing golf clothes in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, she developed stomach cancer and decided to take a break from formal employment. She has since launched a farmers' market stall selling homemade Syrian food. She is now a Canadian citizen and does not consider herself to be religious.

o   Esra, 50, moved from Turkey to Canada in 2006 with her husband and two adolescent daughters. She is a practicing Muslim who speaks Turkish and English, and she studied commerce at university, which helped her and her husband start an import-export business in Istanbul. She came to Canada via the Provincial Nominee Program and, upon her arrival, purchased an existing restaurant with her husband. After renovating the

interior, changing the menu, and hiring new staff, the business is flourishing. Esra is now a Canadian citizen.

o Sara, 52, is from Iran. She speaks Farsi and English, has a high school diploma, and has been living in Canada for 10 years. After working together at the local convention centre doing manual labour, Sara and her husband decided to start their own business. They opened a small restaurant and today, after renovating the space, they are finally debt-free. When I interviewed her, their son and daughter-in-law were preparing to come to Canada so they could help with the family business. Sara does not consider herself religious, and is now a Canadian citizen.

o Mary, 56, is also from Iran. She has a college degree in computer science, as well as an undergraduate degree in math. In Iran she owned a small tailor/gift shop. She came to Canada with her husband and son in 2008, and the pair's second son has since joined them. Mary and her husband have a stall in the farmers' market. They sell handcrafts from their home country as well as some food items. She is a practicing Muslim, and is currently a permanent resident (PR), which means she is not yet a Canadian citizen.

o Dora, 46, is from Lebanon. She is Christian, and finished three years of university at home. She speaks French, English, and Lebanese. She came to Canada in 1989 to marry her husband, who had arrived before her. They have since become Canadian citizens and now have two sons. Dora's husband owned a pizza parlour and grocery store in rural Nova Scotia before their oldest son moved to Halifax to start university. To be closer to him, the couple moved to Halifax and bought/renovated a sandwich shop. After adding some Lebanese items to the menu, they are watching their client base slowly grow.

o Linda, 36, is from Japan. She studied office administration in her home country, and came to Canada in 2004 where she met her husband. They were both working at a local restaurant. Since then, the couple has opened a restaurant (which he manages) and purchased a grocery store (which she manages). The grocery store sells ethnic goods that Linda orders from a supplier in Toronto. Linda speaks English and Japanese, and practices Buddhism. She is a Canadian citizen.

o Grace, 48, is from South Korea. She has been living in Canada for 10 years after moving from her home country to the United States in 1995. She left Korea when her husband started his doctorate in Oregon, and came to Halifax for his post-graduate position. The couple has three children under the age of 20. They also live with their niece, who has

come from South Korea to study. Grace did not work until nearly three years ago when, faced with the financial reality of raising a family, she purchased a coffee shop. The shop is a franchise that is mostly independent from its head office. Grace, who is now a Canadian citizen, considers herself to be spiritual but no longer attends the Korean church in Halifax.

o   Ling, 66, came to Canada from South Korea in 2000 with her husband. They had intended to retire, but the couple started a restaurant just outside the downtown core in 2003 for survival income. They have since watched business dwindle. Before owning the business, Ling stayed at home while her husband worked with a medical company. Ling speaks Korean, and does not speak English very well. Ling and her husband had originally moved to Toronto, but came to Halifax to escape the crowds and competition. She is not religious and is now a Canadian citizen.

o   Poppy, 47, is from Indonesia. She started an accounting degree at home but quit when a work opportunity arose. She moved to Abu Dhabi in 1995 after her husband received a position as a marine engineer. In 2002 the couple moved to Halifax so he could accept a similar position as a skilled worker. They have two grown children who live at home. Poppy started a market stall selling jewellery, and later (in 2010) began selling food as well. She speaks fluent English, is a Canadian citizen, and is active in a local Christian church community.

o   Olivia, 48, is from Zimbabwe. She has an associate's degree in business, and came to Canada 20 years ago to be with her husband who had previously immigrated. The couple originally settled in Saskatoon, but moved to Halifax two years later so he could complete his doctorate. Once in Halifax, the couple had one son who still lives at home. Olivia speaks English fluently, attends a Christian church regularly, and is now a Canadian citizen. After working a series of housekeeping and sales jobs, Olivia decided to follow her passion for business. She started a farmers' market stall and, later, a standalone restaurant. The restaurant is very new and not yet busy. Olivia also operates a children's charity in her home country.

o   Carolina, 40, is a single woman who was born in Guatemala but moved in Canada as a refugee when she was 15. She and her family originally settled in New Brunswick, but Carolina moved to Halifax as a young adult to study. Now she is a Canadian citizen. Eventually, she started a business with help from a college degree in international

business and training as a cook. She speaks English fluently and has welcomed her mother and two sisters to Halifax. Her sisters are employed at Carolina's restaurant. Carolina does not consider herself to be religious.

o Fatima, 62, came to Canada from India with her husband two years ago after the couple retired. They joined their son and daughter-in-law in Toronto and moved to Halifax after their son got a new job. Fatima is currently a PR. She speaks fluent Urdu, Hindi, and English. She has a masters degree in psychology, and was a teacher and the head of an elementary school for a total of 30 years. Today Fatima and her husband run a market stall together. Fatima also maintains a charity for orphans located in her home city. She is not religious and does not belong to any associations in the city.

o Neti, 50, is from India. She speaks Tamil, Hindi, and English. She has a graduate degree in business, and lived in Dubai for 22 years working as a college instructor before she moved to Halifax with her husband and adolescent daughter three years ago. She will soon apply to be a Canadian citizen after spending three years as a PR. Neti and her husband are not fully employed, which frustrates them. While Neti can sometimes find substitute teaching jobs in local high schools, the pay is not enough. To keep herself busy she has started selling Indian food in the market a few days a week. Neti does not consider herself to be religious.

o Anastasia, 45, is from Russia. She studied the technology of cooking in Russia, and owned a restaurant there for several years. She speaks Russian and English, and is now a Canadian citizen. She and her daughter came to Canada 11 years ago after she met her husband, a Canadian. After working in a shoe store, she eventually bought an empty commercial space and turned it into a restaurant. The restaurant is still very new but Anastasia feels optimistic that it will soon be thriving. Anastasia and her family attend a local Greek Orthodox church.

o Maria, 61, is an Armenian woman who was born in Russia. She has been living in Canada for 15 years. At first she worked in the food industry as a cook, but after injuring her hand she decided to start her own business. Today she runs a stall in the farmers' market and also offers cooking classes. She fluently speaks Armenian, Russian, Ukrainian, and English, and does not follow a religion. She currently lives with her daughter and her granddaughters, as well as her former husband, from whom she is separated. She is now a Canadian citizen.

1.5 MY SOCIAL LOCATION AS A RESEARCHER

Researchers are present in the questions they ask, the data they present, and the analyses they craft. I am no different. Feminist research acknowledges that the researcher will always be present in a study, but his or her identity can bring "values and particular dispositions" to the research experience without challenging its relevance (Landman, 2006: 431). Therefore, I prefer reflexivity over (unattainable) objectivity. Indeed, "Reflexivity in research has become the hallmark of rigour, exposing to view the part played by the researcher in constructing the stories we read as representations of reality" (Dyck & McLaren, 2004: p. 516). I am careful to honour my participants' voices, using personal reflection as a tool through which to craft a fair (but somewhat subjective) representation of reality.

As a university-educated, Canadian-born woman I was conscious of my values and privilege in relation to my participants. Our gulf in experiences was most apparent when I met Grace, who was hesitant to participate in any form of research based on a previous encounter with a government researcher. She had the impression that researchers were not interested in her as a person, but more for the sake of quickly collecting data and moving on. This conversation with Grace forced me to be more forward with my intentions as a scholar. From early on in the process, my first task upon meeting each participant was to establish a relationship based on my role as a researcher. Second, however, I wished to establish a friendly rapport, dropping our "researcher" and "participant" labels. It was necessary to convey my very real interest in engaging with and learning from each participant.

As a Western feminist, I have found Mohanty (1988, 2002) influential in processing my initial reactions from interviews as well as my more thoughtful analysis. It is my goal to portray a heterogeneous, complex set of individual experiences – not those akin to Mohanty's version of the monolithic "Third World Woman." Michandi (1999: p. 228) similarly cautions against essentialism in constructing 'The' female entrepreneur. Moreover, I am also cognizant of the potential for me to exercise what McLaren and Dyck (2004: p. 515) call "white feminist power" in viewing data through *my* feminist lens rather than *a* feminist lens.

This process requires making cautious conclusions regarding my participants' gendered experiences. For example, Fatima chooses to do all her family's housework and honours an Indian belief that "man is next after God." My kneejerk Western feminist reaction is to criticize her family's unequal division of household labour and silently urge her to put herself on equal footing with her husband. However, throughout our interview she wove an

eloquent account of her marital and domestic bliss. In this way, I do not see my politics as a hindrance. Instead, my politics are another form of checks and balances against the assertions I make here. Despite working across "difference," meaning the difference between my social location and my participants' social locations (see McLaren & Dyck, 2004: p. 516) in this research setting, I strive to allow my participants to represent themselves. My effort to do so acknowledges the women's agency and self-constructions, as well as their strengths within their families and relationships. Their unique combination of gendered checks and balances that may be different from my own Western feminist background are equally important and in no way inferior. Therefore, in reconciling their voices with mine, I must acknowledge their strengths and merits.

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter two lays the groundwork for my analysis by presenting my theoretical framework. I outline the literature on citizenship/multiculturalism, transnationalism, and feminist perspectives on work. I also provide a model through which readers can understand the way I have analyzed my data. This visual representation of immigrants' business decisions has emerged from models that have previously circulated in the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship in order to account for gender, transnationalism, and the small biographical details that make up a woman's life. In chapter three, I discuss the separation phase of business ownership, in which immigrant women make the decision to start a business taking into consideration their personal abilities and their environmental surroundings. The fourth chapter examines the liminal phase of business ownership, and the fifth chapter covers the reincorporation phase. Chapter six attempts to summarize my findings to make judgements on what factors support or hinder immigrant business. This final chapter groups my discussion within a citizenship framework and advances several policy and programming suggestions, as well as directions for future research, to ensure that current and future immigrant entrepreneurs are supported in public life.

CHAPTER 2
CONCEPTS, THEORY AND LITERATURE

In this chapter I delve deeper into the concepts and theories that have informed my analytical processes. The first section offers a big-picture understanding of the sociological research that acts as a backdrop to this project, namely scholarship on transnationalism, citizenship/multiculturalism, and feminist perspectives on work. I explain the general premise of each school of thought and position my research within the disciplines' respective debates. The second section explores theories of immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurship, as well as defines the terminology I use in the remainder of this thesis. I wish to outline the extensive existing literature that aims to explain immigrants' business decisions. Mostly, the academic interest has surrounded *why* immigrants enter entrepreneurship, but there has also been considerable debate surrounding what takes place once a business has been established. Here I offer an analysis of the former debate and, finally, conclude with a model I have devised in order to understand both debates in relation to my research context. In this way, I set the stage for presenting and reflecting upon the data I have collected.

2.1 FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON WORK

Given women's often restricted opportunities and agency in the labour force, feminism is more relevant than ever. The reality of women participating in business is relatively novel, having emerged only in the twentieth century. Thistle (2006) writes that while women's increasingly promising opportunities have often been financially fruitful and enjoyable, women and men still engage in business on unequal terms. She says many women "now spend most of their waking hours outside their homes, and wages, not marriage, provide women's main source of support" (p. 1). These changes, she notes, "have been major and traumatic ones. We are still struggling to adjust to them, without fully grasping what has happened" (p. 1). In order to examine women's entrepreneurship it is crucial to take a feminist stance on work. Feminist thought is important in that it examines the "black box" of the household and care economy, which mainstream debates commonly ignore (Whitehead, 1994). I therefore employ feminist perspectives on work in this research in order to gain an understanding of what entrepreneurship means for my participants as women, wives, and mothers.

The implications for their labour extend far beyond the financial bottom line. Do they conform to traditional gender roles in the workplace and at home? How do they divide labour with their partners? Questions such as these beg for the employment of feminist theories on work, which span many disciplines (including sociology, anthropology, and economics) allowing for a nuanced understanding of the issues at hand. These theories are especially pertinent to development studies for the ways in which they explain gender inequality and its results in the economy. Such ideas also have a long history, with many themes fuelled by Marxist analysis of class structure and exploitation (see Nielsen & Ware, 1997). Ehrenreich (2005) writes, "There is no way to understand sexism as it acts on our lives without putting it in the historical context of feminism" (p. 74). If we survey human societies at a glance – throughout history and across continents – we see they are characterized by the subjugation and objectification of women under male authority, as well as a sexual division of labour (Ehrenreich, 2005). These inequalities take place at macro, meso, and micro levels.

Central to feminist analysis is a differentiation between sex and gender. Mosse (1992) writes, "Our biological sex is given; we are born either male or female. But the way in which we become masculine or feminine is a combination of these basic building blocks and the interpretation of our biology by our culture" (p. 2). Gender, she says, "is a set of roles which, like costumes or masks in the theatre, communicate to other people that we are feminine or masculine" (p.2). Neoclassical economic understandings of women and men were not as nuanced. They were based on gender essentialism, which posited that women were biologically destined to be wives and mothers, economically dependent on men, unemployable, unproductive, and irrational (Pujol, 2003; Hewitson, 1999). This picture contrasts with the construct of the economic man.

This man's rational, individualistic, and competitive nature enabled him to "maximize the satisfaction of his personal needs, preferences, and wants to the fullest extent possible" (Burggraff, 1997: p. 19). As such, the customary division of labour has been viewed as a social and biological constant – confining women to low-wage, non-competitive jobs or unemployment (Burggraf, 1997). Any work completed in the home has been historically undervalued and invisible (Waring, 1988; Elson, 1999, 2002; Azari et al., 2004). However, understanding this work is crucial in elucidating a full understanding of women's entrepreneurship, as "it is critical to productivity in the paid economy because it sustains families, allows children to go to school and frees the time of other household members to

21

generate income" (Odgen et al., 2006: p. 334). On a broader level, it also contributes to the broader social and economic development of a country (Ogden et al., 2006). If standard economic theory does not welcome women into the economy or acknowledge the care economy, it is therefore unsuitable to explain their entrepreneurship – especially what drives women to seek employment outside the home.

Additionally, contrary to popular belief gendered analysis is about more than women. While men, race, and class may not always be the obvious subjects of feminist debates, their experiences deserve examination (Baxandall, Ewen & Gordon, 1976). Understanding the relationship between men and women, as well as their social context, is crucial in determining the position of both (Mosse, 1992). A key "discovery" of gender research in the twentieth century is that, "It is not possible to assume that the interests of everyone in the family are the same. The interests or needs of the women in a family may be quite different from the interests of men" (Mosse, 1992: p. 7). Women and men have different interests and needs depending on their social location. Their migration outcomes and experiences of citizenship differ depending on their perspectives. Still, fully understanding the dynamics at play in the "black box" of the household has its limitations. Moghissi, Rahnema and Goodman (2009) caution against seeking the 'truth' about family relations. In general, immigrants and non-immigrants alike may be hesitant to leave the intimate details of their personal lives unguarded and "perhaps there is too much at stake in relations of intimacy to admit, even to oneself, that one is in a difficult or unhappy situation" (Moghissi et al., 2009: p. 74). Bourdieu's (1977: p. 190-197) concept of symbolic violence is helpful in this case. Symbolic violence accounts for the almost unconscious cultural and social domination that can occur within everyday social habits. Bourdieu (1977) writes that, "Gentle, hidden exploitation is the form taken by man's exploitation of man whenever overt, brutal exploitation is impossible" (p. 192). Such domination and exploitation can include gender-based discrimination. Within the confines of marriage and a household, a couple may be unaware of their participation in these daily exchanges, and therefore unable to articulate their experiences. In light of these related ideas, I have approached my research with caution knowing the limitations of my efforts.

Foner (1997) asserts that, "Immigrants live out much of their lives in the context of families" (p. 961). The salience of the family unit cannot be understated. Lim (1997) writes that, "Family cooperation is understood to be the basis of survival and security for immigrant

families, who begin rootless lives in a new land and face a precarious economic situation" (p. 41). Although I am most explicitly interested in the individual entrepreneurs, my research has privileged a method of inquiry that centres migration and entrepreneurship within the family unit. I have arranged my study in this way with the impression that the family unit does not stay static in the context of migration (Dumon, 1989; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Foner, 1997; Moghissi et al., 2009). Indeed, "[T]he tension, stress and crisis caused by migration might lead to stronger family and kinship ties; or to a weakening, evading and disruption of family ties; or . . . the reorganization of family ties" (Dumon, 1989: p. 59).

The family does not deal with such changes in a vacuum, nor are the particulars of the adjustment process universal. Instead, "How the changes are processed and absorbed or made the subject of continuing internal contestation differs for individual families, depending on the social and economic conditions and other interactive factors that negatively or positively influence the process of adjustment" (Moghissi et al., 2009: p. 57). In the context of settlement and integration, women and men will retain some of the family norms, values and behaviours but they may also find solace in new forms of social interactions, identity formation, and personal expression (Foner, 1997; Moghissi et al., 2009)

For example, Kibria (1990) has found that once moving to the United States, some Vietnamese immigrant women have selectively challenged particular aspects of family structure to benefit their position. However, longstanding patriarchy has been difficult to shake. Kibria acknowledges that while migration has weakened men's control over economic and social resources and allowed women to exert greater informal family power, "the precarious economic environment has heightened the salience of the family system and constrained the possibilities for radical change in gender relations" (p. 21). Families may avoid conflict for the sake of togetherness in a new environment.

2.2 CITIZENSHIP AND MULTICULTURALISM

Migration research must consider how immigrants experience and understand their citizenship. The term "citizenship" has monolithic status in public life as "one of the central organizing features of Western political discourse" (Hindess, 1993: p. 19). Many academic discussions of citizenship begin with an overview of T. H. Marshall's (1950) definition of the term. This author says citizenship is "a status bestowed on those who are all members of a community" (p. 28), which includes civil, political, and social rights and obligations.

23

However, this understanding is too simplistic, relying only on legal notions of citizenship and evoking images of passports and border security. Legal understandings of citizenship, as well as settlement/integration, are succinct and functional for political purposes, but immigrants' substantive experiences of citizenship (the ones that are characteristic of successful settlement and integration) are not as clear. They differ from person to person depending on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and the state of their country of origin as well as global political, economic, and social structures. This perspective is crucial in the twenty-first century as, "Globalization is characterized by new forms of inclusion in and exclusion from societal relationships" (Castles & Davidson, 2000: p. 6).

Citizenship is linked to many scales and locations of analysis. Despite academia's penchant for "methodological nationalism," migration researchers must consider political, economic and social conditions in multiple nations and raise questions about migrants' social identities and agency (Barber, 2004: p. 203). Omidvar (2008) writes, "While both migration and citizenship policy will always be the purview of national governments, the lived reality of citizenship and migration is uniquely local" (p. 161). In other words, the effects of macro structures and policies are felt at the personal, household, and community levels. Citizenship is bestowed on an individual as a status, it is part of his or her identity, and is exercised or not exercised in the public realm (Weinstock, 2008). In this sense, nations are created – they do not emerge from thin air (James, 1996). At its best, citizenship can provide a sense of belonging to a community or country and encourage a sharing of its values (Institute for Canadian Citizenship, 2007). At its worst, citizenship can exclude and discriminate – making it clear who does and does not deserve membership in a community or country.

Turner (1997) goes a step further, claiming there is a protective element of citizenship. The author writes, "Citizenship controls the access of individuals and groups to scarce resources in society" (p. 6). These resources are primarily economic (for example, social security and health care) but also include political and cultural resources, such as the right to vote or speak your preferred language in a public arena. Canada's citizenship and immigration selection processes have exclusionary elements. National policies favour those who can contribute the most financially to the country, and business interests have always trumped human rights and equality (Dobrowolsky, 2008). As for multiculturalism, a society can be "multicultural," referring to the co-existence of many groups in a geographical area, but there is no single "multicultural" political strategy (Hall, 2000: p. 209). In general,

24

Canadian multiculturalism is premised on a "vertical mosaic" of different nationalities and ethnicities. Canada's multicultural legacy has its origins in the mid-twentieth century when steps were taken to liberalize federal politics. Former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson recalls her family's migration to Canada, bemoaning the lack of formal structure and institutions that now exist to integrate newcomers into Canadian society. Her family's settlement experience was largely shaped at the community level by well-meaning volunteers (2008: p. 138).

Later, in 1967, Canada removed its explicitly racist immigration policies by adopting race-neutral admissions criteria (Kymlicka, 2007: p. 44). In 1971, Canada adopted a multicultural conception of the immigration process to promote immigrants' visible and proud expressions of their ethnicity (Kymlicka, 2007: p. 44). By 1988 multiculturalism was reaffirmed in the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act.* Canada's multiculturalism policies are liberal. They seek to "integrate the different cultural groups as fast as possible into the 'mainstream' provided by a universal citizenship, tolerating only in private certain particularistic cultural practices" (Hall, 2000: 210). The state's role in immigrant's lives grew and became more formalized, lessening the burden of ensuring immigrants' wellbeing on communities. Still, over time, Garcea (2003) notes that Canada's policies have faced a neoliberal backlash. The result was a movement away from celebrating diversity to promoting Canadian identity and unity (Garcea, 2003). Much like legal conceptions of citizenship, this standpoint ignores the fact that settlement processes are not linear, nor do they arrive at the same end point. As will be discussed, transnational theory acknowledges that some migrants remain tightly connected to their countries of origins, which somewhat troubles the notion of being completely loyal to the country in which one resides. While loyalties and connections to more than one country are not incompatible, they can present a challenge for political strategies that promote nationalism.

Barber (2006: 80) prefers "managing" to Garcea's "promoting." The author writes that the government's position highlights the obligations of citizenship rather than privileges, which is problematic because it "distracts attention from the actual, social, economic and political inequalities associated with citizenship – most particularly gender but also those relating to the country of origin" (p. 80). Citizenship appears to be a gender-neutral concept but is indeed deeply gendered (Lister, 2003: p. 1) and many understandings of citizenship are gender-blind (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Vogel (1989) says women were not simply latecomers to

citizenship rights – their exclusion was an integral part of the construction of men's entitlement as individuals and representatives of a family. In particular, Canada's efforts have done a disservice to women. While citizenship and multiculturalism seem to be inclusive policies, women are excluded from enjoying their benefits. They are denied substantive citizenship in numerous ways, including in their construction as economic dependents (Lister, 1997: 35). Dobrowolsky (2008) has explained how the state has invisibilized and instrumentalized racialized immigrant women in the post-September 11 era, noting the de-funding of women's interests in favour of security spending as particularly abhorrent.

To mitigate women's marginalization in citizenship discourse and practice, Lister (2003) advocates for a feminist model of citizenship. Such a model would see citizenship as both a status and a practice that could act as a tool to analyze women's subordination and act against it. Lister, like Nelson (2003) says traditional societal constructs work in dualisms that limit society's way of conceiving possible relationships. Shattering dualisms that organize men and women into certain kinds of citizens based on sex is a key part of feminist citizenship critiques. Moreover, feminists have critiqued liberal multicultural theory and practice for ignoring the private realm, in which women may face constricted choices and opportunities (Okin, 1998: 683). For conceptions of citizenship and multiculturalism to be of value to women, they must embrace individual rights and political participation. Of particular concern are social and political rights (Sarvasy & Siim, 1994). The conception must also embrace human agency in order to challenge construction of women as passive victims, "while keeping sight of the discriminatory and oppressive male-dominated political, economic and social institutions which still deny them full citizenship" (Lister, 1997: 35).

In keeping with this critique and understanding of citizenship and multiculturalism, in this research I explore women's experiences as new Canadians beyond legal terms. This may include ways in which they have been slighted in immigration policy but, following the lead of Ong (1999) and Barber (2008), it could also involve women's calculated efforts to become "ideal" citizens in order to reap the benefits of more accommodating citizenship. Indeed, "In their quest to accumulate capital and social prestige in the global arena, subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices favouring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes" (Ong, 1999: 6). At a time when the state is no longer the token unit of analysis in migration research, it is easier to understand immigrants' experiences as a process of negotiation vis-à-vis structural forces.

2.3 TRANSNATIONALISM

A key part of my theoretical framework is especially useful for analyzing the process through which immigrants experience settlement and integration. This school of thought, called transnationalism, emerged in the late twentieth century in response to globalization, the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of people across national borders. Falicov (2005) poses a poignant question: "If home is where the heart is, and one's heart is with one's family, language, and country, what happens when your family, language, and culture occupy two different worlds?" (p. 399). This question gets to the core of immigrants' experiences – lived realities that, historically, have involved living "with one's heart divided" (Falicov, 2005: p. 399). In the twenty-first century this state is becoming less common as immigrants navigate new communication and transportation avenues that can seemingly bring two worlds closer together. This process – and its much-studied results – are no small phenomena.

Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (1994, 1995) set in motion a tidal wave of research efforts and a new paradigm with which to explain transnational experiences. The authors reframed immigrants' lives beyond their "uprootedness," arguing that those who are rooted in a new country but maintain linkages to their homeland are "transmigrants" engaged in physical and/or emotional processes of "transnationalism." Indeed, "Transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders" (Basch et al., 1994: p. 6). Transnational theorists suggest their ideas can do to the state what gender did for sexed bodies: "Provide the conceptual acid that denaturalizes all their deployments, compelling us to acknowledge that the nation, like sex, is a thing contested, interrupted, and always shot through with contradiction" (Briggs et al., 2008: p. 627).

The term "transnational" came to the fore long before Basch et al. (1994) made it famous in the context of migration. Portes (2001) notes that Bourne (1916) first used the term in the title of an *Atlantic Monthly* article in which the author argued that the United States was doing a disservice to itself and immigrants by pressuring them to enter what would become known as its "melting pot," losing their distinct cultural heritage in the process. Bourne (1916) writes: "Just so surely as we tend to disintegrate these nuclei of nationalistic culture do we tend to create hordes of men and women without a spiritual country, cultural outlaws without taste, without standards but those of the mob . . . Those who came to find liberty

achieve only license. They become the flotsam of American life" (p. 90-91). Consistent with this critique, the modern understanding of transnationalism has been positioned as an alternative to assimilation. Citing immigrants' encounters with labour market constraints and nativist prejudice, Portes (2001) writes, "In the contemporary world there is reason to doubt that [assimilation] occurs so commonly or so easily" (p. 188).

Similar to citizenship and multiculturalism research, a key element of transnationalist thought is its emphasis on new units of analysis. Mintz (1998) highlights the weakened condition of the state, shirking categories such as 'society,' 'culture,' and 'region.' So does Ong. The author says, "There is a sense that the world we live in has changed dramatically; it is as if the continental plates of social life are sliding into new and unstable alignments" (1999: 21). Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) warn that analyses of migration only within the context of the nation-state (which characterize arguments in favour of assimilation and multiculturalism) risks losing valuable cross-cultural insight. The challenge, they say, is to avoid both extreme fluidism (by shirking boundaries altogether) and ignoring host-society influence. Kivisto (2001) warns that, in defining the parameters of citizenship the state is still crucial in determining what happens among transnational communities.

Scholars have begun to step away from an entirely macro understanding of population and cultural flows in favour of examinations of smaller phenomena, such as "everyday practices and the relations of power" at the micro level, as well as human agency and imagination (Ong, 1999: 22). Appadurai (1995, 2008) has focused heavily on the notion of imagination, expanding upon Anderson's (2006) seminal work on imagined communities that exist beyond physical borders. Appadurai says there should be more contextualized, relational understandings of locality and neighbourhoods. These ideas emerge not from the boundaries of nation-states, but from an acceptance of "situated communities characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction" (1995: 204). Translocalities, especially relevant here, arise from linkages between 'locals' within circulating populations (1995: 216).

This concept is related to his use of the suffix –*scape,* which Appadurai attaches to "ethno," "media," and "ideo," to name a few. He says the suffix "allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles" (2008: 33). A –*scape* is not an objective concept, he says, but rather a collection of "deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by

historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors" (2008: 33). As groups migrate, they reconfigure and reconstruct their histories and identities (Appadurai, 2008: 48). I understand immigrant businesses in Halifax as a feature of an imagined transnational community and smaller communities (plural) emerging amid changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of ethnic identity. More specifically, the women in my sample are united under an umbrella of an imagined ethnic community, while they each belong to other groups depending on their respective ethnicities and social locations.

Transnational lives are also shaped by the fact that gender interacts with class, race and position of state of origin in the global economy (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006). For example, Guarnizo et al. (2003) remind us: "Men and women have quite disparate views towards their receiving and sending countries" (p. 1216). Further, Fouron and Glick Schiller (2001) describe how gender constructs and roles change during and after migration. Traditions, values, and beliefs, they say, may be shaken according to how they fit into the new setting. Transnationalism supplements older feminist scholarship here, as it has historically examined gender as part of the way women and men learn to identify with a nation-state – not social reproduction – in transnational spaces. It is important, then, to consider in this research the extent to which women's identities beyond "citizen" influence their migration experiences.

It is necessary to be cognizant of the critiques levied against transnationalism. Guarnizo et al. (2003) and Kivisto (2001) argue ambiguity is transnational scholars' biggest flaw. I intend to adhere to the Basch et al. (1994, 1995) definition, keeping in mind that, "It does not establish explicit criteria for differentiating those who participate [in transnationalism] and those who do not" (Guarnizo et al., 2003: 1212). Foner (1997) says if the simple act of sending remittances or visiting home occasionally qualifies a person as a 'transmigrant,' migration studies is subject to the charge of banality since it is well-known that migrants have always engaged in these activities. Portes (2001) writes that the initial buzz Basch et al. (1994) generated with their writing "led to an enthusiastic flurry of activity seeking to document the most varied manifestations of this phenomenon" (p. 182). Still, "From these earlier writings, it appeared that 'everyone was going transnational,' a trend captured by the re-labelling of immigrants as 'transmigrants'" (Portes, 2001: p. 182).

A methodological flaw was at the root of this work. Portes (2001: p. 182-183) writes that transnationalists began their work with a strong tendency to 'sample on the dependent

variable' – focusing on cases where transnationalism was present, but not where it was absent. These early studies led to the generalization of findings to entire immigrant populations. Instead of claiming that all immigrants are "transmigrants," which weakens the validity of empirical findings on the topic, Portes (2001) suggests, "It is more useful to conceptualize transnationalism as *one* form of economic, political, and cultural adaptation that co-exists with other, more traditional forms. Relative to them, transnational practices are still quite limited in absolute and relative numbers" (p. 183). Tastsoglou (2009) provides clarification: "It is important to note that neither all immigrants are involved in transnational activities, nor everyone in the countries of origin is affected by them. Contemporary migration is simply more likely to be of a transnational nature, while earlier migrations were more often, though never always, of a more permanent nature" (p. 4).

My research, therefore, examines varying degrees of transnationalism – including the lives of migrants who chose to remain rooted primarily in their host society, as Kivisto (2001) and Nagel (2002) describe. I will also resist the temptation to romanticize transnational processes, as "ambivalent transnationalism" is a common problem. Bryan (2010) writes that negative migration experiences (including downward class mobility) contributes to migrants' unexpected reliance on networks in their countries of origin despite their wish to establish themselves first-and-foremost as Canadians. Indeed, just as there is no "classic" migration narrative, there is no standard transmigrant story. For this reason, I connect with the assertion that the individual is the first and proper unit of analysis in transnationalist research. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) write that, "Other units, such as communities, economic enterprises, political parties, etc. also come into play at subsequent and more complex stages of inquiry. Yet, the individual and his/her networks comprise the most viable point of departure in the investigation of this topic" (p. 220).

2.4 THEORIZING AND MODELLING IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Waldinger et al. (1990) define "ethnic entrepreneurship" as "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences" (p. 3). In this case it is useful to define the term "ethnic group." Yinger (1985) defines the concept as "a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common

origin and culture are significant ingredients" (p. 27). References to these two concepts are common in the literature, which does not deal specifically with immigrants. As such, in this research I prefer to use the term "immigrant entrepreneurship" to exclude those who are members of ethnic minority groups but have not personally immigrated to Canada. Volery (2007) takes a similar approach, speaking specifically of the early stages in the process of ethnic entrepreneurship, "when an ethnic group is new in a host society and its members can clearly be considered as 'immigrants'" (p. 31).

The simplest kind of entrepreneurship is self-employment (Branchflower & Oswald, 1998: p. 27), which I explore in this research. In terms of the activities involved in immigrant entrepreneurship, Lazear (2005) asserts that entrepreneurs must be jacks-of-all-trades who "need not excel in any one skills but are competent in many" (p. 649). The author defines entrepreneurship as "the process of assembling necessary factors of production consisting of human, physical, and information resources and doing so in an efficient manner" (p. 649). Ahmad and Hoffman (2007) offer a definition that better describes the relationship between the various facets of these actions: "Entrepreneurial activity is the enterprising human action in pursuit of the generation of value, through the creation of expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets. Entrepreneurship is the phenomenon associated with entrepreneurial activity" (p. 4).

Moreover, "Entrepreneurs put people together in particular ways and combine them with physical capital and ideas to create a new product or produce an existing one at a lower or competitive cost" (Lazear, 2005: p. 649-650). As such, an entrepreneur is one who initially establishes a business or reinvents the business as its later proprietor (Lazear, 2005: p. 651). Similar to the word "immigrant," the term "immigrant entrepreneur," is a loaded one coloured with class and race biases. It may inspire "images of petty traders, merchants, dealers, shopkeepers, or even peddlers or hucksters, who engage in such industries or businesses as restaurants, sweatshops, laundries, greengrocers, liquor stores, nail salons, newsstands, swap meets, taxicabs, and so on" (Zhou, 2004: p. 1041). Indeed, larger immigrant businesses can often "shed their ethnic distinctiveness" only once they have been incorporated into the core of the mainstream economy (Zhou, 2004: p. 1041).

Understanding immigrant entrepreneurship is not as straightforward as these simple definitions may imply. It is no longer plausible to rely on the traditional neo-classical interpretation of entrepreneurship, which offers a neatly packaged way to contemplate the

immigrant entrepreneur's experiences. Kloosterman and Rath (2001) explain that, according to this perspective, "Opportunities and businesses occur and entrepreneurs seize them, since setting up shop in this or that line of business has become more rewarding than any other alternative use of their resources" (p. 189). Here, everything – the actors, the resources, and structures defining an economy – are simple. In this view, "A completely transparent opportunity structure is assumed as well as economically rational, profit-seeking actors" (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: p. 189). Resources can be easily transferred from one economic activity to another, and no obstacles (such as closed shops or cartels, rules and regulations, branding or marketing) limits new entrepreneurs' efforts (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: p. 189). Unfortunately, the current economic landscape is not so linear and predictable.

As such, immigrants' business decisions and strategies must be viewed with more critical eyes. There is a temptation to draw on a single theory or framework in order to explain all immigrants' business decisions, but an all-purpose theory or framework does not exist. Further, the unique context of this case study – a mid-sized city unlike the major metropolises examined in the majority of studies – presents challenges for making connections with existing theory and data. Volery (2007) explains that, "A standalone theory is capable of explaining the business entry decision of a single ethnic entrepreneur and maybe of small groups with a similar immigration history and entrepreneurial activity" (p. 32). Certain theories and concepts can explain particular situations, while other theories are easy to dismiss in this study.

Structural theories make claims regarding immigrant entrepreneurship based on the environment into which immigrants enter. They are largely negative in tone. Borooah and Hart (1999) suggest that under certain conditions, immigrants who have no real chance of becoming employed are "pushed" into self-employment. An early and prominent understanding of ethnic entrepreneurship (blocked opportunity theory) proposed that, "Ethnic businesses are an obvious reaction to blocked opportunities in that labour market, which in many instances still holds true today" (Volery: 2007, p. 31). This theory has its roots in post-World War II history. At the turn of the twentieth century, Europe was an emigration continent. It remained relatively homogenous until after the war, when large labour forces were needed to support quickly growing industries (Volery, 2007: p. 31). Initially, Waldinger et al. (1990) note, immigrants came as a temporary workforce that filled jobs requiring few

skills. Volery (2007) continues: "As the immigrants started to settle down over time, the preconditions for ethnic business slowly started to evolve" (p. 31).

In most cases, the ethnic community created the initial demand for specific ethnic goods and services. Co-ethnics with specific knowledge of tastes and buying preferences were the only people suited to fulfil this demand (Volery, 2007: p. 31). The author continues: "The opportunities offered by the environment of a host society have a strong influence on the propensity of immigrants to turn to self-employment as a way of absorption and upward economic mobility" (p. 32). Similarly, there is disadvantage theory, which suggests that most immigrants have significant advantages hampering them upon arrival. At the same time, those disadvantages steer their behaviour (Fregetto, 2004). Volery (2007: p. 32-33) elaborates: "Firstly, [immigrants] lack human capital such as language skills, education and experience, which prevent them from obtaining salary jobs, leaving self-employment as the only choice. Secondly, a lack of mobility due to poverty, discrimination and the limited knowledge of local culture can lead ethnic minorities to seek self-employment." This theory envisions entrepreneurship as an alternative to unemployment – not necessarily as a sign of settlement success (Volery, 2007: p. 33).

A second, somewhat inward-looking school of thought turns to immigrants for the answer to their entrepreneurial activities. This culturalist approach postulates that immigrant groups have culturally determined features that lead to a collective propensity to favour self-employment as a means of making a living (Masurel et al., 2004). Such a position proposes that certain ethnic and immigrant groups are more prone to hard work, belong to strong ethnic communities, live economically, accept and embrace risk, comply with social value patterns, practice solidarity and loyalty, and generally orient themselves towards self-employment (Masurel et al., 2004). These features offer an "ethnic resource," which facilitates entrepreneurial behaviour and supports self-employed immigrants (Fregetto, 2004).

Rath and Kloosterman (2000) warn against relying on ethnicity and culture to explain business outcomes. The authors note that this approach reduces immigrant entrepreneurship to "an ethnocultural phenomenon existing within an economic and institutional vacuum" (p. 666). Waldinger (1989) also provides a critique of the culturalist approach. He writes that, "To do well in business may indeed require a propensity toward entrepreneurship: but propensities will not propel a group into business if the niche for small businesses is small or non-existent or if ownership opportunities are hotly contested by natives" (p. 50).

Opportunities are not the same for every group. For example, in Waldinger's study of immigrant businesses in New York City, he found that, "Given Hispanic population size and a tendency toward clustering, Hispanic owners find that vacancies more or less arise in areas where there are substantial numbers of co-ethnics to serve as patrons. But the same opportunity is not available for Koreans: there are simply too few of them and they are residentially dispersed" (1989: p. 70). In short, when considering ethnicity and culture, it is perhaps more useful to think of them as factors in business – not *the* factors in business.

A third position is based on supply and demand in immigrant and ethnic neighbourhoods. Green and Owen (2004) write that ethnic businesses typically emerge as an entrepreneur begins serving other members of the ethnic community and thereby satisfies their specific ethnic needs. Volery (2007, p. 33) defines middleman theory, which comes from economics. He says a middleman scenario emerges when "ethnic enterprises rapidly pop up with the expansion and growth of an ethnic community and include businesses such as travel agencies, garment shops, specialized grocery shops, tearooms, and fast-food stands." There are two clear prerequisites for the emergence of either scenario. First is the existence of a sufficient number of potential consumers of ethnic products. Second is the consumers' aim to permanently stay in the host country (Volery, 2007: p. 33). Indeed, "Immigrants have to bring their families along. Not only is the community otherwise too small to develop the necessary demand for ethnic foods, but an additional factor hindering business creation is the large sums of money being sent home to families and relatives and thus not available for start-up capital" (Volery, 2007: p. 33). The size and nature of the community is therefore pertinent in determining the outcome of middleman enterprises and business environments.

As I have mentioned, I argue that individual theories of immigrant entrepreneurship cannot explain the dynamics at play in a particular economy. Perhaps more useful than theories, then, are models. With so many theories of entrepreneurship – and so many reasons to doubt their usefulness – it is a challenge to determine what characteristics of what theories are reliable in this research context. As it stands to reason that the development of an immigrant business cannot be traced to a single variable that is responsible for the entrepreneurial success of an ethnic group (Waldinger et al., 1990), I look for an alternative to employing any of these three theories individually. The success of an immigrant enterprise depends on a complex interaction between a multitude of factors, and it is helpful to engage with materials that allow consideration these myriad variables. I will now discuss and

evaluate existing models of immigrant entrepreneurship and provide a new model suited to this research context and discipline.

Waldinger et al. (1990) have developed an "interactive model" of ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurship. The authors observe that researchers have seen immigrant entrepreneurship as a possible escape from disadvantage, but not all groups have entered equally into self-employment. Additionally, the groups have not been equally successful. How, then, can academia explain both immigrant groups' entry into business *and* their different fates? To answer the question, the authors propose their model, which views business entry and outcomes as the result of an interplay between opportunity structures (market conditions, access to ownership, job market conditions, and legal frameworks) and group resources (ethnic social networks and cultural traditions). They note the embeddedness of opportunities and resources within a specific set of historical conditions immigrant groups encounter in a host country. Opportunities, obstacles and resources interact and steer the strategies an entrepreneur implements in order to create a viable business in a new environment (Volery, 2007: p. 35).

Ten years following the introduction of the interactive model, Rath and Kloosterman (2000) noted, "The insight that entrepreneurs do not operate in a social vacuum, but that they are embedded in various social networks which they use and manipulate for economic goals, has taken root" (p. 670). Still, some scholars were ready to move on from previous schools of thought. Rath and Kloosterman (2000) asked hard questions that Waldinger et al. (1990) could not answer with their theoretical musings: *Why are immigrants a priori depicted as unchanging ethnic subjects? Why is the economic context within which entrepreneurship develops viewed as more or less static and the institutional context simply portrayed by the listing of laws and regulations?* A new framework was needed in order to elucidate a better understanding of immigrant populations and the complex, dynamic settings in which they worked. Kloosterman, van der Luen and Rath (1999) – and later, Kloosterman and Rath (2001, 2003) – developed the concept of "mixed embeddedness" to bring structure and agency together in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship.

These theorists further the development of the ethnic resources and opportunity structures approach, writing that, "The mixed embeddedness approach is intended to take into account the characteristics of the supply of immigrant entrepreneurs, the shape of the opportunity structure, and the institutions mediating between aspiring entrepreneurs and

concrete openings to start a business in order to analyze immigrant entrepreneurship in different national contexts" (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003: p. 9). Their work takes shape as a way to counter a trend in research that saw embeddedness being discussed in a one-sided way, "referring almost exclusively to the social and cultural characteristics of groups that are conceived *a priori* to consist almost solely of co-ethnics" (Kloosterman et al., 1999: p. 257). The concept of *mixed embeddedness,* as opposed to strictly *embeddedness* "encompasses both sides of embeddedness to analyze the processes of insertion of immigrant entrepreneurs" (Kloosterman et al., 1999: p. 253). In this way, researchers can pair an existing understanding of the *supply side* with the *demand side* and the *matching process* between entrepreneurs and potential openings for new businesses (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001: p. 190).

The model acknowledges that economic structures and legal-institutional factors on different scales greatly influence the creation and existence of small businesses (Volery, 2007: p. 35). Indeed, "Firms are not only embedded in these macro-economic structures but also in sets of rules and regulations, neighbourhoods, associations, and business traditions" (Kloosterman et al., 1999: p. 262). This model, however productive in many ways, is weak in the sense that it is short-sighted in terms of scale and space. It reaches its limits in discussing the importance of research and comparison at an international level (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000: p. 671) but does not expand the analysis of the structures and resources immigrants encounter to the same level. I argue that in light of the importance of transnational scholarship, especially the concept of gendered geographies of power (Mahler & Pessar, 2001), this oversight is a major one that necessitates a re-working of the model for future use. Gendered geographies of power is "a framework for analyzing people's social agency – corporal and cognitive – given their own initiative as well as their positioning within multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across many terrains" (Mahler & Pessar, 2001: p. 447). As such, scholars' understanding of space must extent beyond the home, city, and even nation-state.

In assessing the strength and weaknesses of these models against the backdrop of my theoretical orientations, it is clear that neither model can provide a workable lens through which to analyze my findings. To compensate for the models' shortcomings, I have developed an alternative model that suits the research context and could potentially be applied to similar contexts.
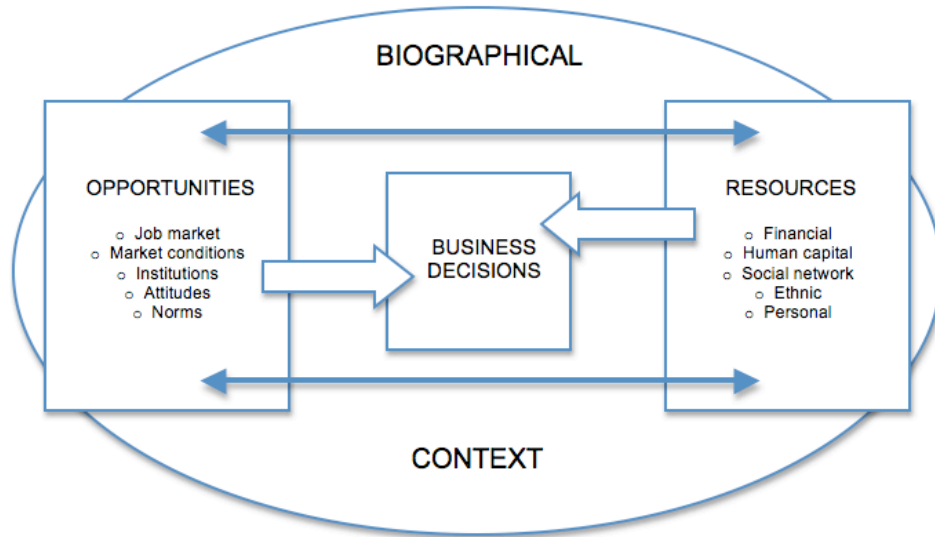
Figure 1.0: An expanded conceptual model of immigrant entrepreneurship.

My model of immigrant entrepreneurship expands on issues presented in the interactive and mixed embeddedness models, but specifically aims to emphasize women's individual social locations and biographies within transnational spaces. I argue that immigrants' business entry and decisions are based upon factors operating on many scales: personal, familial, local, regional, national, and transnational.

These factors must not be viewed in isolation, but understood as interconnected and interdependent. Key factors include resources (some of which, such as ethnic resources, I explained earlier) that can be described as different forms of capital. Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between forms of capital. First, the author outlines cultural capital. For immigrants, cultural capital generally involves an understanding of the way a host city and culture works. Immigrants who possess cultural capital may be aware, for example, that a handshake is a polite way to begin a conversation with a potential business contact. Second, the author describes social capital, which involves one's membership in a group or network that provides its members with "credit" in various senses of the word. Surely, these are not the only types of resources upon which immigrant entrepreneurships can rely. Financial capital and human capital (such as education, training, and language skills) are crucial for immigrant business owners in a competitive labour market. Other forms of resources are subtler. A woman's gendered or personal resources can be useful in providing an "edge." She

may possess an extraordinary knowledge of food based on her gendered socialization as a homemaker, or she may be extremely motivated to succeed as a businesswoman due to her upbringing in a business-minded family. As I will illustrate in the next chapter, these resources are the sort that money cannot buy – the kinds one would not list on a resume, but are nonetheless influential in starting and maintaining a business in the food sector.

It is worth repeating that there is not a single factor that leads women to make business decisions. Instead, I argue that business decisions are made when entrepreneurs consider their resources in relation to opportunity structures. These resources and opportunity structures influence an entrepreneur's *ability* to start and maintain a business. My understanding is that an individual's resources and opportunities shape (and are shaped by) his or her social location and biographical context, which includes elements such as gender, age, ethnicity, and circumstances of migration.

I have three main reasons for employing this alternative model as opposed to working within existing theoretical boundaries. First, within the context of a mid-sized city, the concepts of ethnic resources and strategies as outlined in the interactive model are not useful. These concepts seem to be more suited to large cities, where immigrant populations are fairly large and interconnected. Immigrants largely start businesses to serve each other, and they employ each other's skills in starting and maintaining these businesses. Indeed, "[Ethnic] communities have specific needs which only co-ethnics are capable of satisfying. The greater the cultural differences between the ethnic group and the host country, the greater the need for ethnic goods and the bigger the potential niche market" (Volery, 2007: p. 34). The nature and success of an ethnic business in this context depends on the size of the ethnic population of a particular area. Waldinger (1989) writes, "The higher a group's share of the population in an area, the higher its share of the stores. Similarly, the proportion of co-ethnic customers increases with the proportion of co-ethnics living in the store's area" (p. 69).

What happens, then, when a group's share of the population and co-ethnic customers are both very low? The demographics of Halifax differ from those of Canada's major immigrant centres. Sharif (2009) observes that in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver immigrant businesses benefit from and thrive on the support and patronage of immigrant communities. However, "Nova Scotia (as elsewhere in the Atlantic region) has no large 'ethnic clusters' or 'ethnic networks,' given the relatively small proportion of immigrants in the province" (Sharif, 2009: p. 24). The result is a change in business type and strategy.

Specifically, entrepreneurs choose to look for business success in the larger community around them (Sharif, 2009: p. 24). Their use of non-ethnic support and closeness to non-immigrant residents necessitates a theoretical model that allows for a conception of resources and strategies beyond the ethnic population. My data, as I will show, supports these findings.

Second, following the work of Aguila (1999), Brettell and Alstatt (2003), and Kontos (2003) I assert that individual social location, agency and decision-making are important factors in analyzing a business enterprise. However, mainstream understandings of entrepreneurship allow little room for discussion of immigrants' individual circumstances, personalities, preferences, and psychological processes. These accounts have also glossed over or ignored entirely the influence of gender on business experiences and outcomes. Allen and Truman (1993: p. 4) stress the importance of the sociologist's role in understanding "the meanings people ascribe to their own actions and the behaviour of others." This task is useful in avoiding an "over-determined structural model" (Allen & Truman, 1993: p. 4) that places greater emphasis on an immigrant's environment than his or her place within it.

It is important to achieve a balance in discussing macro- and micro-level phenomena. Thus, my framing of immigrants' preliminary business decisions aims to analyze these all-important structures while giving space to explore the daily lives and motivations of individuals. This decision relates to my first point. My theoretical strategy to analyze women's experiences beginning at a personal level is especially useful given the diversity of the study participants, who represent many different nationalities and cultures. Attempting to draw conclusions on Lebanese ethnic strategies based on an interview with one Lebanese woman, for example, would not be productive or possible. Analysis of participants' individual ethnic resources such as family and skills will replace attempts to discern collective resources and strategies. As I will outline in later paragraphs, "ethnic resources" as a variable will fall under the general heading of "resources," which shape business decisions alongside "opportunity structures."

Third, as I have briefly mentioned, an explicit emphasis on scale, space and time is not found in existing mainstream models. Although Razin and Light (1998) have "provided evidence for spatial variations among the same immigrant groups and variations between different ethnic groups in the same economic milieu" (Volery, 2007: p. 35) there is not sufficient reference to life beyond national borders, with the local context gaining the most attention. Similarly, while Waldinger et al. (1990) allow for space to discuss historical context

and circumstances of migration, I do not think this approach best allows for discussions of the role context can play in influencing migration and business outcomes. It should be noted more explicitly in visual representations of a model that context is the backdrop on which all business activity takes place. Perhaps one of the most obvious aspects of context is gendered socialization, which, as I will explore in the next chapter, primes women in many cultures for a lifetime of cooking to feed a family and later prepares them for food entrepreneurship.

Making the connection between gendered socialization across scales, space and time (for example, by referring to a woman's upbringing decades ago in another country) and her business outcomes today is imperative in understanding her story. Rose (1993) offers insight from the field of geography. She stresses that as a result of global feminist movements, scholars now recognize that women do not belong to a singular, homogenous group. Instead, she writes that women are inscribed by race, class, history, movements, etc. that arm them with unique subjectivities. They may experience the same spaces in very different ways – the same space can be emancipatory for some women, yet subversive for others. In the context of my study, the most obvious space – Halifax – cannot be the sole site of inquiry. In order to fully understand what happens in this space I need to review what took place in other spaces across time, or risk painting a two-dimensional portrait of "the immigrant women entrepreneur" instead of a multi-faceted documentation of many unique immigrant women entrepreneurs.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored the literature and theory that have led me to create a conceptual model of immigrant entrepreneurship in the context of this project and, most specifically, the mid-sized city of Halifax. This location calls for a more nuanced understanding of business decisions in light of its demographics and business context, which leads immigrants to serve the mainstream (native) population more often than their co-ethnic peers. In analyzing my data I will call upon literature from a diverse array of disciplines: feminist perspectives on work, citizenship/multiculturalism, and transnationalism. Key elements of these theories and bodies of work prioritize multi-scalar research employing units of analysis beyond the nation-state, which offers a view of both macro *and* micro phenomena. This detail is the take-home point from this chapter. Indeed, in this research I emphasize women's individual social locations and biographies that have led them down the winding

path of entrepreneurship. Where their stories merge form the basis of my analysis, which I will unravel in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER 3

SEPARATION: MAKING PRELIMINARY BUSINESS DECISIONS

For decades, researchers have been interested in the factors fuelling immigrant entrepreneurship. One reason these factors are so hard to pin down is that they vary largely depend on the research context and the individual circumstances of the immigrants in question. In this chapter I offer my understanding of the circumstances surrounding immigrant women's preliminary business decisions in Halifax. More specifically, I ask two questions: (1) Why the women in this study decided to start their businesses; and (2) Why they chose to sell food and not something else. These decisions, as I will explain, occur in the context of "separation," an early stage in the settlement process named for the anthropological concept developed by van Gennep and, later, Turner. As I will show, the main reasons my participants chose to enter entrepreneurship are threefold, and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A woman may choose entrepreneurship for more than one reason.

The first reason women choose business is because of a genuine passion for entrepreneurship. This passion relates to the participants' motivation and personalities. The second reason is for social engagement and mental health. Having a business (no matter its size) offers women a chance to get outside the house, make friends, and feel a sense of validation. The third reason is to avoid blocked mobility and survival employment in the labour force, elements characteristic of not-quite-substantive citizenship. Without entrepreneurship, some participants may be unemployed or underemployed due to structural inequalities and discrimination and/or human capital deficiencies in the labour market. In terms of choosing to sell food, it is apparent that some participants possess a genuine love of food and chose to sell food for reasons related to their passion. However, I argue that for others the decision to sell food was related to the low cost of starting a food business as well as their gendered skills acquired during a period of gendered socialization. In these ways, starting a business is a result of both "push" (negative) and "pull" (positive) variables unique to each woman's individual circumstances.

3.1 THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ROOTS OF SEPARATION

Separation is the first phase of a rite of passage. Van Gennep (1960) refers to the rites of separation as "preliminal rites" (p. 21). Rites of separation can involve a person's physical

separation from a location or state. For example, circumcision involves a physical disconnection from an entity, while a funeral involves a more spiritual separation when an individual separates from the physical world and enters a new one. Van Gennep notes that, "The rite of passing between the parts of an object that has been halved, or between two branches, or under something, is one which must, in a certain number of cases, be interpreted as a direct rite of passage by means of which a person leaves one world behind him and enters a new one." (p. 18). Turner (1969) adopted van Gennep's terms. He wrote that, "The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a 'state'), or from both" (p. 94-95). In short, separation involves beginning a journey – and leaving an old world behind.

3.2 SEPARATION IN THE CONTEXT OF IMMIGRATION AND BUSINESS

I argue that separation is a key part of the processes of migration and business. Van Gennep and Turner were not concerned with these topics, but there were enough hints within their work to make a real connection between separation and this thesis. Perhaps most obviously, Turner (1974) speaks of pilgrimage as a rite of passage. He writes that, "There is a *rite de passage,* even an initiatory ritual character about pilgrimage" (p. 182). He draws upon the Buddhist understanding of the concept: "It seems that Buddhist usage derived first from Hindu practice. This makes it interesting that the Pali form of the Sanskrit word for pilgrimage (*pravrajya,* Pali *pabbajja,* literally, 'a going forth,' 'retirement from the world') should be the technical terms for the admission or 'ordination' to the first grade of Buddhist monkhood" (p. 182). I equate this "retirement from the world" as a form of leaving (separating) one state for another. Some Buddhist and Hindu holy men spent their lives visiting pilgrim centres, leading Turner to conclude that there is a *rite de passage* (even an initiatory ritual character) about pilgrimage (1974: p. 182). Similarly, just as a pilgrim or monk moves away from his or her "structural involvements at home" (Turner, 1974: p. 182) a migrant (who is partaking in a particular form of pilgrimage) leaves familiar territory and enters new, uncharted ground. At this time, "The world becomes a bigger place" (Turner, 1974: p. 182). I argue that embarking on this journey is a form of separation.

Aguila (1999) likens international labour migration to a pilgrimage. The author makes the link between migration and rites of passage explicit, writing that, "Morphologically and

structurally, international labour migration is an analogue of the ancient religious journey, a modern, secularized variant of the ritual pilgrimage" (p. 102). This comparison is apt. Indeed, "In lieu of the spiritual centre, the higher-wage employment centres and semi-peripheries of global capitalism become the site of this secular journey through vast distances across the earth's surface. The context of sacred geography is replaced by economic and political cartography" (Aguila, 1999: p. 102). Arguably, the "return" aspect of migration is not a requirement for a period of migration to be labelled a pilgrimage. The participants in my case study have made no immediate plans to return home – as they would in a more traditional, spiritual pilgrimage – but their experiences can still be likened to such journeys.

Cousineau (1998) would agree. The author believes that the term pilgrimage is "a powerful metaphor for *any* journey with the purpose of finding something that matters deeply to the traveller" (p. xxiii). Further, "With a deepening of focus, keen preparation, attention to the path below our feet, and respect for the destination at hand, it is possible to transform even the most ordinary trip into a sacred journey, a pilgrimage" (Cousineau, 1998: p. xxiii). Repeatedly during field research, immigrants told me that their journeys to Canada were fuelled by the promise of a better life, which is somewhat ambiguous but still meaningful. A pilgrimage in this sense does not need a concrete plan. Instead, "*Pilgrimage* is the kind of journeying that marks just this move from mindless to mindful, soulless to soulful travel. The distance may be subtle or dramatic; by definition it is life-changing. It means being alert to the times when all that's needed is a trip to a remote place to simply *lose* yourself, and to the times when what's needed is a journey to a sacred place, in all its glorious and fearsome masks, to *find* yourself" (Cousineau, 1998: p. xxiii).

In the same way that I view migration (and the related concept of embarking on a pilgrimage) as a form of separation, I understand female entrepreneurship, especially female immigrant entrepreneurship, as separation. Kontos (2003) is instrumental in illustrating this point. She argues that, "Dependent work is still the dominant model for institutionalized expectations of and plans for life in modern society. Therefore, entering self-employed work usually means leaving the terrain of 'normality' and starting in a terrain without recursive legitimation" (p. 188). As of 2010, there were 2.67 million self-employed workers in Canada, representing only 15.7 per cent of all employed workers in the Canadian economy (Industry Canada, 2011: p. 30). Kontos (2003) continues: "To become self-employed means that the individual departs from the established model of the 'normal' work relationship of salaried

work and enters a work field in which he/she is not only responsible for the creative and conscious development of new, everyday routines, but also takes on the burden of responsibility for the maintenance of the job itself" (p. 190). Indeed, the "established model of 'normal' work" Kontos mentions is the "fixed point" Turner (1969: p. 94-95) describes in the context of African rituals. Separating from it marks the beginning of the entrepreneur's rite of passage.

For female entrepreneurs, this rite of passage has even greater significance. I take this position because entrepreneurship is as much a social phenomenon as it is an economic one, and it relates intimately to gender. Both gender and entrepreneurship are the institutionalization of values and symbols – they are cultural phenomena that are produced and reproduced in social spaces (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004: p. 406-407). Entrepreneurial action and the entrepreneurial space are deeply gendered. Bruni et al. (2004) note that, "The features of entrepreneurship reside in the symbolic domain of initiative-taking, accomplishment, and relative risk. They therefore reside in the symbolic domain of the male and when these same features are transposed to the symbolic domain of the female they become uncertain" (p. 407-408). In other words, women are not associated with business, nor are they assigned leadership qualities. Instead, they are associated with passivity, adaptation, and flexibility (Bruni et al., 2004: p. 408), which are perceived as business liabilities.

These constructions have permeated social consciousness and the nature of business activities. Research shows that in many countries fewer women than men become entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurship is typically seen as a masculine field (Gupta, Turban, Wasti, & Sikdar, 2009: p. 409). These processes and thought patterns are not biological, but socially imparted. In other words, "Men and women seem to choose to participate in a system of self-imposed occupational segregation in entrepreneurship due to insidious and complex processes rooted in culturally produced and socially learned stereotypes" (Gupta et al., 2009: p. 413). To many, those who enter the field should possess masculine characteristics, and those who see themselves as more similar to males have higher entrepreneurial intentions (Gupta et al., 2009: p. 409). Epstein (1993) writes that despite a greater number of women entering the workforce in recent decades, many cultures still dictate that the women's primary role is in the home. If such cultural norms predominate, women stay out of business or confine their businesses to the home, "where they do not conflict with their primary duties to watch their children and keep the household going" (Epstein, 1993: p. 22-23).

This is not to say, by any means, that *all women* in *all cultures* are expected to stay out of the business realm or assume household duties. Clark's (1995) research examines survival and capital accumulation among West African market women. The author discusses the Kumasi Central Market in Ghana, for example, and writes that, "Its size and complexity make Kumasi Central Market an appropriate symbol of the power of the city and the market women identified with it" (p. 1). Further, like many other marketplaces in Ghana and the surrounding region, this market population is predominantly (70 per cent) female (Clark, 1995: p. 1). Scholarly accounts of West African market women have portrayed the markets as a "traditional" female occupational sector (Clark, 1995: p. 6), signifying the women's embeddedness in regional business structures and indicating, for the purpose of this research, that generalizations about women's exclusion from entrepreneurship are misleading. Instead, women have carved niches for themselves in sectors that would support them – with some sectors in some cultures clearly being more accommodating than others. The feminist narrative, in this case, comes with a few footnotes.

Mahler and Pessar (2001) question the role of gender in the processes of creation, transformation and fortification of transnational social spaces – spaces they say are anchored in but extend beyond the borders of a single nation-state. Entrepreneurship (part of the traditionally male-dominated public sphere) is one such transnational space that is influenced by and influences transnational phenomena. The authors use the concept of 'power geometry' as elaborated by Massey (1994: p. 149) to examine the types and degrees of agency people assert given their social locations and the forces that place them there. The authors take up Massey's argument that foregrounds agency as "people exerting power over these forces and processes as well as being affected by them" (p. 446). In this spirit, it is clear that if gender and power have organized the landscapes of entrepreneurship, female entrepreneurs are not only exercising agency but indeed exercising power to overturn the notion and reality that only men can do business, and that business can only exist in the public ("male") sphere.

This process should not be surprising. In any culture, "The symbolic gender order is not immutable: it is not static but dynamic and therefore varies across time and space" (Bruni et al., 2004: p. 408). Still, the process is notable, and connected to separation rites. Women who exercise agency and power to achieve entrepreneurial status – whether they know it or not – are separating themselves from dominant social constructions of both gender and business. When they do so, Kupferberg (2003) writes, they are treated as if they are

46

"newcomers" in business. While this fact may discourage many women from starting or continuing a business, inflicting them with what Kupferberg classifies as a lowered self-esteem, it also has transformative potential. For example, "This structural handicap and lower-self esteem might also lead women to the decision that they will not accept the given structures and instead try to change them" (Kupferberg, 2003: p. 91). In this way, women immigrants' entrepreneurship is as much an act of separation as their immigration itself.

3.3 MOTIVATION: AN INTIMATE STARTING POINT

Motivation differs greatly from more visible, concrete types of resources (which are usually financial) normally considered in business policy and programming. Kontos (2003) describes motivation as a biographical resource. The author writes that, "Assumptions about the resources needed for successful entrepreneurial activity underlie policies of support for business starters – for instance policies of granting bank loans as well as social policies promoting self-employment" (p. 183). Kontos proposes broadening these assumptions in order to both better understand the entrepreneurial experience and offer opportunities for a more gendered analysis. The author writes, "The conception of resources that underlies policy implementation is coupled with a notion of 'standard' or 'normal' entrepreneurship based on a model of privileged self-employment deriving from considerations on mainly native male entrepreneurs" (p. 183). Motivation can be even more powerful than traditional resources in starting a business.

While all the participants have chosen entrepreneurship (none lack agency) a select few are in business because of a genuine love of food, business, or both. These participants possess a heightened level and type of motivation unique to their cohort. They also possess a belief in their products and/or processes unsurpassed by other participants, whose business ownership is not necessarily their "first choice" of employment. This genuine form of motivation is part of biography – connected to the very core of a person's self – but it is not without its complications. Kontos (2003) writes, "The motivation to start business has to be strong and supplied with special meaning, because the problem of motivation does not disappear after the business has been started. Therefore, in order to create, strengthen and keep their commitment strong, business starters have to develop self-commitment strategies by performing steady work on the self" (p. 191). If nurtured, the passion for a craft is what sustains a woman's work.

While the motivation to start a business can revolve around such issues as the recognition of an unlived life or the acquisition of social recognition, it can also hinge upon "positive relationships of affection towards the work object, relationships that emerged out of the biographical processes" (Kontos, 2003: p. 199). The term "biographical" here is crucial. While financial resources can be seen and touched by anyone, the desire to start a business to fulfil a lifelong dream or obey a calling are deeply personal, and can be of a long-term story that begins in childhood. The five participants in my study who have such strong motivation to be in business have started these businesses as a result of opportunity structures and other resources, but motivation is the strongest resource – one that has served to overpower any negative opportunity structures they have encountered.

Carolina and Olivia were exposed to entrepreneurship at a young age, and the desire to own a business has stayed with them into adulthood. The fact that they are in business for themselves now is not unusual. For example, of 24 Greek female entrepreneurs in Montreal, 72 per cent noted that their family role models inspired them to follow in their footsteps and start a business (Polideras, Abadir, Robotis, & Halkias, 2011: p. 202). Dhaliwal (2000) cites Ram and Jones (1998) when she writes that membership in a "business family" can socialize an individual into a worldview that is sympathetic towards all the values of business ownership: independence, self-reliance, deferred gratification, and competitiveness, to name a few (p. 212). These values underpin the continuing survival of the small enterprise economy (Dhaliwal, 2000: p. 212). Carolina describes her family's long history in business. She notes that her grandmother, who grew up in Guatemala, bought a fresh stock of avocadoes as a young girl. Carolina's great-grandmother questioned the purchase, but in no time the girl had sold every avocado for a profit. Today, Carolina recalls that story with fondness and acknowledges it as part of her life's fabric – her core being.

Her love for food is also ever-present, as is a desire to share that food with appreciative customers. Therefore, the way she measures success is different from that of someone who is motivated purely by profit or other standard measures of business success.

> Carolina: This business is always something I wanted to do . . . My mother, she was a businessperson. I saw how she cooked. She never teach me but just to look and you know, to see, and taste, that's what I like to do . . . I know I'm successful when the plate comes clean. You know, I would say 0.5 per cent waste. I don't waste anything. People eat everything, so that's my success. It's not money, it's not if I'm in a magazine or anything like that. It's just that people are happy to eat what I cook. And the plate comes clean, and they'll tell me, 'Thank you for being here. The food was delicious.' That's my success.

Similarly, Olivia expresses her business in terms of a natural ability she feels compelled to exercise. She discusses her time spent working at a company that rewarded its top salespeople with points that could be used towards purchasing household items.

> Olivia: I just had this age-old business mentality, ever since I was a little girl. I just like selling stuff, so I've always sold things even when I was a little girl . . . It's very, very natural to me . . . It's my calling. I can sell very well. When I was working at [this company] I would sell . . . I tell you, at the end of the day I had so many points that I had TV, fridge, whatever. You name it, I had it. I had so many sales.

Despite working in the general labour market for many years, these women eventually turned to entrepreneurship when they recognized the capacity of their strengths and passions to produce a legitimate livelihood. They could be more productive in a solo operation than under another organization's watch.

Esra and Anastasia discuss business in more pragmatic terms – as if business is indeed first something to pay the bills. However, their attitudes towards their business ventures show their long-term orientation to the business world. It is clear these women do not want to be in another sector. Esra, who studied commerce in a Turkish university, tells me: "Of course, everybody wants to get own business and then there was opportunity [for my husband and I]. We got this opportunity and we had this business. Thank God we succeed." Her word choice indicates a natural affinity for business. Anastasia was initially not as enthusiastic about business as the previously introduced participants, but after working in the food sector she developed a passion for cooking and business, which led her return to business ownership after working in retail in Halifax since her arrival.

> Esra: I have this business in Russia and I keep in my mind I want to continue my business here . . . I worked when I finish my college. I worked and after I bought the restaurant I want and I worked for many years . . . I continue because I have knowledge how to manage a restaurant business, how to make the dishes . . . So that's why it was interesting for me to see what I can do in Canada . . . In Russia it's very, very big industry and so they teach us exactly how to cook, how to manage and how to take control of the technology. So everything supposed to be right way cooking, right cut, right temperature, right time. You know what I mean? So this is exactly what I knew about cooking . . . When I was a young person [the food industry] wasn't too attractive to me but when I start to work and find out lots of things, lots of people, and see how people can work. So I start to get some interest. It just came with experience.

In this sense, it is clear that for these women entrepreneurship was a preferred choice – one that was made after careful introspection and an evaluation of personal skills and passions. I maintain that despite the existence of other personal and structural factors that shaped their career trajectories, their deep-seated motivation to open a business was paramount in the variables that led them to ownership.

3.4 A DESIRE FOR ENGAGEMENT AND VALIDATION

Like many of the business owners described in Dhaliwal (1998, 2000) and Das (1999) a large portion of my research participants began their businesses for the social and health benefits of the venture. In this sense, they have been "pulled" rather than "pushed" into entrepreneurship (Das, 1998: p. 154). Consistent with findings from Buttner and Moore (1997) and Das (1999), for these women the financial bottom line is not as important as the feeling they receive from having a place to go every day, and the feeling of having a purpose in life. For newcomer women, community involvement can have the simple goal of "getting out of the house" and breaking isolation (Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000). These findings are deeply gendered – different from the reasons men typically cite when entering business or their values in the business context. For some women, the business environment is seen as more of a hobby than a full-fledged economic venture. The social connections they make in the business context are, as I will explain in chapter five, valued and nurtured. Rather than limiting their worlds to friends and family, some women chose to expand their networks to include the many strangers that come and go from their businesses every day.

Poppy, Fatima, Neti, and Mary, for example, all enjoy the money they receive from their farmers' market stalls, but each woman speaks of her project in terms of the social benefit it provides and would classify it as a "hobby" rather than a "business." Poppy's experience is a common one. She began making jewellery to pass time with her friends. Once she amassed a great collection of creations, she began to wonder if there was some way she could make her hobby more objectively useful. She started a farmers' market stall and, eight years later, under the advice of Immigrant Settlement & Integration Services (ISIS) in Halifax, opened a second stall selling food. Mary, who also considers her work a hobby, offers an explanation of the way she measures success in her business: "Most of all it's my feeling, and second it's people knowing me and my products because when I'm satisfied, when my customers know me, they come by and bring money for me. It's just about fun for us right now because it's not really a business – just two, three days a week." In short, garnering a sense of purpose is central to turning a hobby into a business.

Making social connections, as I have mentioned, is also an important part of business ownership. Esra, who co-owns a restaurant with her husband, does not consider her business a hobby but classifies it as a significant means of socialization in her life.

> *Esra: I like to be with the people, and I like to work of course. It is good. It keeps me busy. If I stay at home I feel really bored. That's why I want to come to help my husband and when I come I see the people. Sometimes I chat with them and it makes me happy . . . That's why I want to come every day, because with the people it makes me happy, it makes me happy.*

Similarly, Dilbirin notes that meeting new people at the market directly impacts her mood and, in turn, her overall physical and mental health.

> *Dilbirin: In the house I feel growing depressed. I'm tired, I'm sick. Yes, emotionally. I felt more sick so I decided to find some job . . . My balance up, down . . . When I don't want to [to the market], I feel tired, I think, "How can I finish the whole day?" I get there and forget all of my pain. Everything happy. Somebody come by, 'Hi, how are you?' [We] start talking about something, some information about food, about something, anything. We have something. Many times, some conversation. So I feel I'm fine. I'm never sick. Make me more relaxed. And same time I make money . . . It's very good income for both sides. We benefit for both sides: To make money and to make you relaxed.*

Several participants noted the trouble they have experienced in making friends outside the business context, and I believe these business connections may form a viable alternative until they feel more comfortable reaching out to new friends.

Largely, my participants' ability to leave the house for work is a product of their life stage. Gattrell and Cooper (2007: p. 69) write that the "maternal wall" restricts the career opportunities available for women who have children, largely because of the time involved in taking care of a family. This is not the case for the women in my study. Instead, my participants' children are grown – living outside the house or taking care of themselves at home – or, in Linda's case, can attend day care. Linda says, "I didn't want to stay and take care [of my children] all day. I didn't want to stay in my home anymore. It was very boring. I used to stay at home all day – two years. I wanted to start something." Linda's agreeable work schedule offers her a level of flexibility and control over her time that the organizational world could not (Hopkins & O'Neil, 2007: p. 143; Polideras, 2011: p. 2020). Fatima, who is a retired teacher, also enjoys the freedom involved in owning a low-key establishment. When she came to Halifax she began looking for a way to pass the time outside her family life. She spends weekdays with her young grandson. On the weekend, when her son and daughter-in-law are home, she needs something to do. She tells me: "I don't want to disturb the family, naturally, because everyone wants independent life."

3.5 BEYOND BLOCKED MOBILITY AND SURVIVAL EMPLOYMENT

I have established that immigrants have experienced trouble entering the Canadian workforce. Correspondingly, Waldinger (1989) writes that, "Immigrant concentration in

business may well be a response to blocked mobility in the labour market. Immigrants are likely to fare less well than natives in gaining access to career jobs" (p. 58). Epstein (1993) examines the experiences of female petty entrepreneurs in developing countries. Their experiences are similar to the ones I have encountered here, although the context and degrees of employment challenges differ. The author writes that, "Poverty accompanied by a lack of income-earning opportunities, rather than profit incentives, motivates an increasing number of rural women to become petty entrepreneurs. These women are thus pushed out of their conventional setting rather than pulled into entrepreneurship because of the profit it offers" (p. 14). This statement is an example of a "negative" view of entrepreneurship that explains how immigrants are "pushed" into entrepreneurship. While there may be "positive" reasons to enter entrepreneurship (e.g., scheduling flexibility) under blocked mobility circumstances these appear to be influenced by financial concerns.

One result of blocked mobility is "survival employment." Creese and Weibe (2009) use this term to describe the type of jobs many immigrants find upon arriving in Canada. The authors, who interviewed 61 recent immigrants from countries in sub-Saharan Africa living in the Greater Vancouver area, write, "Instead of pursuing the fields in which they were trained, most African women and men were . . . forced to take jobs well below their qualifications – and dignity – in order to ensure basic economic survival" (p. 9). Unfortunately, this is the reality across Canada. While many immigrants are well-educated, "Immigrants may find that the schooling obtained abroad does not go far in landing a good job, in part because of language difficulties, in part because of distinctive training requirements, in part because licensing requirements bar entry into the field for which one has trained" (Waldinger, 1989: p. 58). In this situation, there is a clear link between knowledge and power: The country's failure to acknowledge prior education and experience disempowers qualified immigrants while erasing their claims to knowledge (Creese & Weibe, 2009: p. 10).

An expensive way to avoid this hurdle is to obtain a graduate degree in Canada in order to re-enter a profession (Creese & Weibe, 2009: p. 10). The de-skilling process and survival job market have gendered undertones. For men, low-wage employment can mean manual labour positions, while women have been historically relegated to feminized care-giving occupations (Creese & Weibe, 2009: p. 10). These realities are among the many that lead immigrants to seek jobs they would have normally avoided. In Creese and Weibe's (2009) study, three immigrants used self-employment as a strategy to carve out a better

position in the labour market. The authors do not mince words in describing the participants' careers: "All three participants who were self-employed or small business owners pursued it as a direct response to experiences of discrimination and/or the inability to move beyond survival employment in the Canadian labour market" (p. 21). Self-employment is often financially precarious, but it offers the autonomy and dignity immigrants may be hard-pressed to find in traditional forms of employment.

Alund (2003) discusses entrepreneurship in the Swedish context. The entrepreneurs in this study used their businesses to regain a semblance of belonging in a society that had rejected them and placed them on the periphery of social, cultural and economic life (p. 82). Sharif (2009) determined that human capital in terms of language skills and level of education plays a large role in determining immigrants' entrepreneurial success in Nova Scotia. In terms of language, approximately 82 per cent of the immigrant entrepreneurs in the author's study indicated that their skills were good or excellent, while 16 per cent rated them as average. Only one per cent rated them as poor (p. 15). Almost 70 per cent of the participants have at least a university degree. Almost 23 per cent have a post-secondary certificate or diploma, while only six per cent have a high school degree or less. Consistent with the aforementioned findings, however, the author notes that, "Educational attainment in a foreign language reduces the value of human capital within Nova Scotia" (p. 15).

One participant in particular – Neti – embodies the challenge of finding employment with foreign experience and solid English language skills.

> *Neti: I'm looking to go into some colleges, universities, because that's the profession where I was teaching in Dubai. I can teach accounting and business communication, statistics and business. But I'm still waiting for good opportunity to enter because I need Canadian experience, so that's the problem . . . I have my certificate to teach in schools but there is no job available. That's the problem.*

While she is waiting for a full-time position she operates a farmers' market stall as a hobby, which is illustrative of Miedema and Tastsoglou's (2000) observation that women who cannot economically integrate in their preferred manner often try another form of integration, such as volunteering, as a second-best endeavour.

> *Carly: In general, are you satisfied with this business experience?*
> *Neti: Not at all satisfied. We have no choice. We just maintain it because we put our food, we don't want to take it back. We just got started . . . Still here I'm not able to get any sort of job. Three years, still I didn't get it. That is a little bit sad. What to do? . . . I don't know what they require. That's the problem. No one helps you and no one tells you what to do. Maybe they want a degree from here. And then I will have to spend money to study, which I don't have. But I have done my masters from India and also the Bachelor of Education. I feel with that I*

should get some job. I'm not looking for a full-time lecturer, you know. At least some part-time job I should get at a university. That's what I'm trying [to find].

Her competencies have so far not been sufficient enough to secure a full-time job, leaving her discontent and financially burdened. Saying, "I don't know what they require" with a heavy sigh is illustrative of (a) her lack of cultural capital – she has not yet determined how to navigate the education system and job market; and (b) her frustration and isolation. She uses "they" to refer to agents with power in the economy. In the process she indicates her distance from these agents and the resentment she harbours as her story progresses.

In many cases a woman's English competency may not be enough to provide her with steady, meaningful employment. Creese and Weibe (2009) write that clerical, sales and services jobs typically require English-language fluency. In jobs dealing with the public this seems appropriate, but elements of racism overshadow women's job prospects. The authors note that, "Speaking with 'African-English' accents, women in this study reported being treated as if they lacked English fluency (embodied cultural capital) despite the fact that the vast majority of women, three-quarters of participants, came from Commonwealth countries in Africa where, given their middle-class backgrounds, they had been formally educated in English" (p. 15). Olivia found that her successes at her jobs in sales were undermined by the fact that her managers would frequently scold her for having an accent – asking her to tone it down. Olivia says that starting a business was a way of escaping this type of interaction.

However, once Olivia had established a farmers' market stall selling her crafts, she was not immune from the discrimination she had aimed to leave behind. She then set up an independent restaurant, in which I visited with her and reflected on her past employment experiences.

> *Carly: What made you set up this particular business?*
> *Olivia: I think I got frustrated about the market. I didn't think they were treating me fair. Like, I found too much being discriminated at the market by the management, so that discrimination that I was facing frustrated me. Like, if [another vendor] comes and I don't come this week [the management] kicks me out of my space. Even though I've been in the market for a long time, a Canadian who has come to the market can get a better spot than me.*

The thought process that led her to restaurant ownership was clear.

> *Olivia: I'm like, 'If I can pay rent I can go somewhere else. Even though [a new restaurant] is not as busy as the market, at least I can have something that I can own. I'm being abused and discriminated.' So I looked for this space and I found it and I'm happy.*

In leaving a steady sales job and a post in the market, Olivia sacrificed financial stability in the form of a regular pay cheque and the promise of hundreds of potential market-going

customers on any given Sunday. However, the satisfaction that she gets from owning something (and not having to answer to anyone) makes up for the losses. Her career move may contribute to a larger movement that aims to remove the daily struggles she had originally endured.

Age is among the factors that set up immigrants for blocked mobility in the labour force. While immigrants are generally youthful, they tend to arrive at an age past the time when most native-born residents begin their careers. Consequently, immigrants are less likely than non-immigrants to find entry-level jobs in career hierarchies (Waldinger, 1989: p. 58). Ling and Maria's cases are evidence of this statement as well as the difficulties that arise when English is a second language.

> *Maria: This business come from because I work in Halifax restaurant for 12 years and I get, I injure my hands. And I couldn't work anymore. And I'm 60 years old now. I'm getting 60-dollar Canada pension. Sixty dollars. How can I live on that? Yes. Nothing. And I needed something to do, you know. I was thinking. I was telling my daughter: 'Where can I go?' I cannot use my hands for work because they're injured. So my tongue. How can I use? I'm not best in English.*

Ling was at a particular disadvantage when entering the Canadian labour market because she had never been employed. Although her husband had retired from his job with a medical company in South Korea, they needed to work to keep bringing in money.

> *Carly: Why did you decide to start this business?*
> *Ling: For survival. We can't get a job. We can't, yeah. We are older so there's no way.*

Maria and Ling found themselves in Canada at an age when many women would be retired – yet they could not retire.

While age can be a negative factor in an immigrant's employment trajectory, the blocked mobility it presents can also be interpreted in a positive way. For example, Fatima and her husband experienced blocked mobility, but their resulting business was not "survival employment." Fatima took early retirement from her job in education in India. What separates Fatima from Maria and Ling are social support and stable finances. Ling's closest family members – a son and daughter-in-law in Toronto – do not financially support her. While Maria currently lives with her daughter, son-in-law, and former husband, she wishes to be independent and needs a reliable flow of income in order to do so. Fatima and her husband, however, live comfortably in Halifax with their son and daughter-in-law. Their financial situation is sound, leaving room for recreational employment activities.

Carly: Your husband runs the business with you. Why do you do it together?
Fatima: We do it together because he was trying his best to find some job. I said 'No.' If we are together we can do better. If he's working somewhere in the office and I'm alone, I cannot do without him. So I just, I questioned him: 'Can we do this business?' We'll just take care and don't worry. You know he was worried because we were never in business. Business is a new thing for us.
Carly: When your husband was trying to find a job, was he having trouble?
Fatima: No, he had [a job] . . . [But] it was quite far out [of town]. We were new here. He had to change busses and all because that time he was not having car. Driving license was not there. So for that reason we decided cannot go farther. If he go farther we will all worry when he will be back because we are old people now so we have to be together.

Given her husband's previous experiences in the Halifax job market, the logical choice was a flexible form of employment that allowed them to enjoy their family life at home while keeping engaged with the community.

Mary and her husband, who also run a farmers' market stall, are in a similar situation. They came to Canada after Mary's husband retired. Despite having some savings to live on in Halifax until they can start a business outside the market, they are navigating preliminary business prospects to avert the challenge her husband's age and qualifications present.

Carly: What was your husband's job in Iran?
Mary: In Iran he was, he had some business. He had some land, landscape. Sell them, buy again some land and sell them, you know. Like that.
Carly: And what does he do here?
Mary: Oh, unfortunately nothing . . . Because he doesn't have any Canadian experience. He had, his major, he studied in the States and his major is auto mechanic engineer. And here, they say, you don't have any Canadian experience so and he's 60. They don't hire him. It happened for all of our friends. They came from Iran, they had high degrees. Some of them are specialists in some way, you know. Doctors and specialists. But they don't have Canadian experience or they were businessmen in Iran. They cam here, they are just looking to see what they can do.

Her nonchalance is evidence of the fact that she perceives blocked mobility to be "business as usual" for immigrants in Canada. Still, their finances (which, as mentioned, are coming from the sales of land in Iran) will not last long under the current circumstances. Given her life stage, Fatima, Mary, and their husbands were table to try something new and slightly outside their comfort zone. Dora's story is different. Having arrived in Canada 20 years ago and settling in a rural area, Dora's English skills never improved to a point where she would feel comfortable working outside her family's small business.

When her sons started school in Halifax and she and her husband decided to move to be closer to them, the natural choice for her was to stay in the small business environment.

Dora: I don't want to be out there without my kids. This is the reason we decide to move out and start a new business here, because you have to do something and this is the only job we can do now because that's the only thing we know about. We've been in this business for 20 years . . . Since I came, that was the job for my husband and I used to do volunteer at the

school like for French or for interview about Lebanon history and all that . . . I wasn't doing very well English. I have to do like do something with French or I have to study, and I lived too far from the city to go study and come back.

Correspondingly, without a high school diploma and fluency in English, Dilbirin found herself working survival job in Halifax's neighbouring city, Dartmouth. Her job with a sporting goods company involved sewing golf clothes.

> *Dilbirin: I worked for three years. I worked from 8 to 4 o'clock. No, 2 o'clock because my son was in school – primary – so I had to pick him up at 2:30. So later I start work full-time, from 8 to 4 o'clock and then I get two big [sewing] machines at home. Even weekends I was sewing at home because I'm alone so I spend my time with business to make money to cover my family. We don't want to broke down and go back to welfare. We don't like that stuff. Still, out time. We're young, we have to build our life. So I get stomach cancer, I get surgery, I get medications. I growing older, even . . . I felt more sick so I decide to find some job . . . I can't work for people. I need job. So I decided that if I'm sick, I stay home. If I'm fine, I will continue this job. Part of, first, of making little money – extra money for family because I have car, spend money for gas, go ground. My husband's working. He's working, giving me his money for my life in the house. That's my only source. But I found it much better to do something.*

Dilbirin mentions that her husband can now support her with a full-time job as a driver. Her work in the farmers' market is now more recreational – for her mental and emotional health – but her mobility has been limited due to her lack of human capital.

3.6 THE CLASSED AND GENDERED NATURE OF THE FOOD SECTOR

A major topic I wanted to unravel with this thesis is the workings behind women's decisions to start food businesses in particular. Sharif (2009) writes that the fact that most immigrant businesses in Halifax are related to food "tells us that immigrant entrepreneurs are at an early stage of development where their capital needs are relatively small and the business does not require a high level of skill from its employees" (p. 18). There are two components to this assertion. The first concerns capital and the second concerns skills. I will address each of these components in turn. Sharif (2009) writes that, "For most immigrant entrepreneurs who did not come as business immigrants, the importance of financial capital for helping immigrant businesses set up and stay in business in Nova Scotia *cannot be overstated"* (p. 28). As I will explain in the next chapter, many entrepreneurs cannot go through mainstream, institutionalized channels of accessing business loans. Brettell and Alstatt (2007: p. 385) illustrate that using only personal savings to launch a business is a common way for immigrant entrepreneurs to begin their careers. Alternatively, the authors note, they can supplement their personal income with money from friends or kin.

Several participants in my study did not have access to formal business loans upon entering Canada, which hindered their business aspirations. For example, Ling and her husband largely relied on credit to start their restaurant.

> *Carly: Why did you decide to sell food and not something else?*
> *Ling: Because it's café, not much money, yeah. We need not much money. Just need groceries. We don't have much money, so not a choice. No way. Because we don't have money. We have the small money for small restaurant. Best way.*

Compared to launching an independent, full-time restaurant, grocery store, or coffee shop business, opening a farmers' market stall is an especially inexpensive way to start a business or moneymaking hobby. Typically the costs include groceries, hot plates and packaging, and rental costs if using a commercial kitchen. There is also a "table fee," which covers the cost of being a market vendor on any particular day. Neti expresses that not only was she skilled in cooking, making the venture suitable for her, but she also did not have enough money to start a business elsewhere.

> *Neti: I've studied all about business and I've been teaching accounting so I love, I'm involved, and I love to do business, but [in Halifax] the rent and all the overhead, everything is expensive. So I can't start my own business too. So if somebody is to support you and start, I don't mind working with them but I can't do anything on my own because it's very expensive to start anything here . . . I didn't have any experience in the other products. I can cook well so I thought this is okay. That's it. Because I did the food safety course so I said this would be easy to do.*

Similarly, Dilbirin notes that selling food she cooks herself is cheaper than buying someone else's products and selling them. She says, "If couldn't make, like, something from different country, bring it here and sell it? Not good benefit. Would cost more to order, to bring it." These perspectives reveal the women's strategy of cost-benefit analysis, which has resulted in their participation in the food sector.

In terms of skills, the fact that many of my participants entered the food sector because they had pre-existing food-preparation skills is representative of a gendered socialization process that exposes girls and women to domestic chores. There is also a gendered nature to the enterprise. Food businesses – focused on cooking and serving, two skills typically relegated to the realm of the female – could be interpreted as a more "feminine" business than, for example, a store that sells electronics. Allen and Truman (1993) write that sectoral segregation hinders women's business activity. They note that, "Several contributors focus on gender-specific divisions of labour, which restrict the areas in which women operate. Throughout the world women are most likely to be found in food production,

nutrition, health and child care. This segregation is compounded by a lack of access to technical know-how to enable them to operate in other markets" (p. 8).

Institutions have been slow to support change. Alund (2003) found that within an immigrant women's catering business the participants had been somewhat relegated to their government-supported jobs based on their perceived qualities. The women, who had been unemployed in a Swedish suburb, had little passion for their craft. The author writes that, "Being both women and immigrants, it had been more or less taken for granted by local authorities that they were good at cooking exotic food. The food was indeed very good, but it was not certain that any of these women had the option of choosing to do something else. None of them seemed especially enthusiastic about cooking professionally in Sweden" (p. 82). The authorities reinforced women's gendered positions, and the participants did not challenge them.

Significantly, little technological development has taken place in "women's tasks." In general, many women lack access to technical skill training as well as marketing or business training, which also obviously limits the range of their activities" (Epstein, 1993: p. 24). The draw to the food sector is further related to human capital in the sense that, "A too-narrow market horizon means that in many societies women are unlikely to diversify their entrepreneurial activities simply because they are unaware of the pattern of demand that prevails in wider society. Their narrow market horizon is a function of their low educational as well as of their multiple responsibilities which constrain their spatial mobility." For several of my participants (for example, Dilbirin, who left school after grade four) their low educational achievements and bleak outlooks for future re-skilling has relegated them to a forum in which their skills are already useful.

Kupferberg (2003: p. 95) writes that, "When entering business as entrepreneurs, women tend to cluster in areas which are well known to women both in their domestic and occupational capacities." This trend suggests that, "As they make their way in the business world, women tend to use a relatively cautious strategy, focusing on those areas where they have been traditionally strongly represented. We could call this the 'home-skills' strategy, as these fields are clearly touted in the types of skills women have used both as housewives and workers in the labour market" (Kupferberg, 2003: p. 95). In addition to food preparation and serving, these fields include hairdressing and beauty, cosmetics, and lingerie (Kupferberg,

2003: p. 95). My participants' opinions reflect an understanding of their skills' marketability and viability in the business context.

> *Carly: Why did you decide to sell food and not something else?*
> *Neti: I don't have any experience in the other products. I can cook well so I thought this is okay. That's it. Because I did the food safety course so I said this would be easy to do. Or interesting to do, rather. Not easy to do.*
>
> *Dilbirin: I'm not that person to work on computers, to find cheap stuff and order it. I found that this is like easy for me, to get from here, to make it and to take it.*
>
> *Carly: Do you enjoy making this food?*
> *Ling: Not enjoy. It's very hard.*
> *Carly: Do you cook at home?*
> *Ling: I stay home so always we homemade cook. So that is my experience.*

These quotes show that selling food is not necessarily a choice or a passion, but a strategy.

In this way, these women and their peers are not without agency in choosing their enterprise or working within it. With food businesses, women can – whether consciously or unconsciously, assert their power over elements of the private domain in public spaces. Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio (2004) use the term "boundary-keeping" to explain the process of a business's gendering. They write, "Unlike 'remedial' and 'ceremonial' work, in fact, 'boundary-keeping' concerns not only the assertion of different symbolic fields but also their deference. Representative of this process are episodes in which an action is intended to preserve an acquired space" (p. 424). The women who established their business on the basis of their "womanhood" protect the benefits that they have acquired and preserve their space against trespassing by "outsiders" (Bruni et al., 2004: p. 425). One of the consequences of this process is what the authors call "gender commodification": "If 'doing gender' and 'doing business' acquire a concrete form through the progressive separation of spaces (both symbolic and action), then the commodification and exploitation of one's own symbolic territory appear to be the practical consequence" (p. 525).

At the same time, the participants are practicing entrepreneurship and gender in forms that can be considered alternative to the one prescribed by traditional models of masculinity and entrepreneurship. Bruni et al. (2004: p. 426) made similar observations in viewing the two women who own a welding company. The sisters refused to frame their activity as "entrepreneurial." Instead, they claimed they were "dis-entrepreneurs" and shattered belief that only men can be professional welders. In the same way, despite performing traditional, ethnic, and gendered skills in their businesses, the women in this study are still asserting themselves in the public sphere – separating themselves from standard notions of employment

and womanhood. Indeed, just like the female welders, "They deliberately reject certain assumptions about entrepreneurship as a male corporate performance, principally as the aggressive, competitive, solitary hero who aspires to the conquest of new markets" (Bruni et al., 2004: p. 426). Esra makes her feelings about "women's work" clear.

> Carly: Do you consider any jobs or chores women's or men's chores?
> Esra: No, no, no, because somebody who has ability has to do every job you know. If you have ability to do something, you have to work. I don't say this job should belong to this woman, this job should belong to man. I don't think any separate, and if somebody has the ability and skill, they have to work which job they like it. I think they will be successful.

Esra echoes my participants' sentiments that women should not be restricted in the labour market based on their gender, which leads me to conclude that while my participants may have been limited in their entrepreneurial choices, their confinement to the sector is not based upon an understanding of their need to perform "women's work."

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored three main reasons my participants have turned to entrepreneurship during their settlement (and separation) processes. The first reason was personal motivation to start a business (which often hinged on upbringing in a business family). The second was for social and mental health benefits, and the third was a means to avoid blocked mobility and survival employment in the traditional labour market. I have revealed that, in keeping with Buttner and Moore (2007), the factors influencing the women's paths to entrepreneurship were significantly related to the ways they measured success, which contributes to an understanding of women's career motivation. For example, women whose primary goals were social engagement and mental health measured success by how they feel in the workplace, rather than by how much money they made. They may see their businesses as a hobby instead of a business.

In this chapter I have also explained the factors that contributed to their involvement in the food sector, as opposed to an alternative sector. These factors included financing, human capital, and gendered socialization. In general, while there are many structural barriers influencing women's decisions to enter the business market, I argue that there are times and places where the participants have exercised agency and control in their surroundings. Essentially, while some of them may not have chosen entrepreneurship in the most explicit sense of the term, they have all entered the workforce with intent, and strategy. In doing so they have not only separated from their lives in their countries of origin – they have separated

themselves from the standard employment paradigm that calls for traditional employment under the watchful eye of an employer. As I have argued, breaking away independently in such a manner is notable for the participants as immigrants *and* women.

CHAPTER 4

LIMINAL LIVES: LAUNCHING A BUSINESS,
NAVIGATING NEW WORLDS

In this chapter I explore how Halifax's immigrant women business owners have navigated new social, political and economic worlds in order to launch their respective businesses. I pay close attention to the strategies employed in gathering business resources, specifically financial capital, formal and informal labour, and the various physical elements of the business environment, such as specialty ingredients and kitchen spaces. These strategies largely involve taking advantage of family and kinship networks, and discovering new, non-ethnic connections and resources in the city, region, and country. Such processes are influenced by gender, race/ethnicity, and class – as well as other biographical realities that colour an immigrant woman's social location. Launching a business requires a certain amount of resourcefulness and determination. Networks and resources are never found in one place at one time. Rather, they are scattered, waiting to be gathered and employed.

Consistent with the literature, the immigrants in this study have engaged in 'bootstrapping' activities (Harrison, Mason & Girling, 2004). Depending on their personal circumstances, they have used imaginative and parsimonious strategies to compensate for any lack of resources they may otherwise face (Bruder, Neuberger & Räthke-Döppner, 2011: p. 310). In keeping with the theoretical orientation of this study, I present data against the backdrop of the term "liminality" as understood in the context of Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner's anthropological fieldwork. Liminality colours the experiences of new business ownership and immigrant settlement, which mutually influence each other in immigrants' daily lives. Indeed, the women in my study have carved spaces for themselves in Halifax's economy despite the sometimes outwardly cold welcomes they have received.

4.1 THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ROOTS OF LIMINALITY

Liminality is the condition of being midway between one status and another. In a rite of passage or transition, liminality follows separation. A liminal being is not yet "reincorporated." He or she has not reached a final destination, which can lead to feeling "betwixt and between" two positions or worlds (Turner, 1969: p. 95). A liminal being may

not recognize his or her environment, and is forced to navigate unfamiliar territory unsure of its norms, protocols, or rules. Turner (1969) writes, "During the intervening 'liminal' period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the 'passenger') are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state" (p. 94-95). In other words, liminal beings "elude or slip through" networks of classifications that typically locate states and positions in cultural space (Turner, 1969: p. 95). When Van Gennep (1960) formulated his theory of rites of passage, his transitional (liminal) phase was a place in which an individual could find liberation from social norms. However, a liminal being may not find his or her circumstances liberating.

On the contrary, a liminal state can be restrictive and all-consuming. For liminal beings, "Their behaviour is normally passive or humble; they must obey their instructors implicitly, and accept arbitrary punishment without complaint. It is as though they are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope with their new station in life" (Turner, 1969: p. 95). Thus, an individual's transformation is not entirely on his or her terms, as the powerful beings – nothing less than the total community – who rule a liminal space largely dictate the terms of daily life. The community possesses culture, values, norms, attitudes, sentiments, and relationships, which liminal beings will encounter and (potentially) retain (Turner, 1969: p. 103). In essence, a liminal being is a blank slate – "mere matter" – upon which is inscribed the knowledge and wisdom of the main group (Turner, 1969: p. 103).

4.2 LIMINALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF IMMIGRATION AND BUSINESS

It has been argued that the term liminality captures the stress and uncertainty migrants can feel once they reach their destination and discover they are on the margins or threshold of society (Cwerner, 2001; Huang, Yeoh & Lam, 2008; Noussia & Lyons, 2009; Simich, Maiter & Ochocka, 2009; Simpson, Sturges & Weight, 2009). Faced with unlimited possibilities, yet countless barriers to social inclusion as they negotiate their transnational life courses, migrants often grapple with the ambiguity, openness, and indeterminancy that characterize liminality (Huang et al., 2008: p. 7). Newcomers are no longer who they were, but have not yet become their new selves. Occupying an 'in between' space can cause uncertainty over one's identity, position, and routines as he or she copes with a divorce from existing structures and known ways of 'doing and being' (Simpson et al., 2009: p. 55). Cwerner

(2001: p. 27) writes that the liminal times of migration prompt indecision, confusion, incompleteness, underachievement and eternal expectation. For liminal migrants, "The future is uncertain; the present seems to be leading nowhere; and the past cannot be relied upon as a guide for action" (Cwerner, 2001: p. 27).

Similar to the ways in which van Gennep and Turner's liminal beings must learn the knowledge and wisdom of the main, powerful group, immigrants must grapple with life "out of the ordinary," when anything can happen in a setting in which they have little control (Cwerner, 2001: p. 27). Indeed, "The old rules do not apply, while the new ones are still to be internalized" (Cwerner, 2007: p. 27). Noussia and Lyons (2009) provide an explanation of the centrality of liminality in a migrant's life. They note that liminality can derive "from the merging of recreated home life and nostalgia, with instrumental and urgent survival and progression strategies" (p. 619). Liminality can continue for years or, in extreme cases, indefinitely. For some immigrants, "The sense of disillusionment about their powerlessness with respect to cultural identity and social integration grows stronger as the time passes" (Simich et al., 2009: p. 259). Immigrants can experience this sort-of emotional displacement despite being relatively secure in long-term employment, "seeking the consolation of services and friendships in their own language and culture of origin" (Noussia & Lyons, 2009: p. 619). The term "one step forward, two steps back" (a term that appears in the title of Lenin's 1904 critique of the Second Party Congress) aptly describes such protracted transitions.

It is somewhat presumptuous to declare liminality an entirely cruel experience. Sharpe (2005), for example, approaches the concept with optimism. The author writes, "To recognize the significance of the Arabic word *barzakh,* a liminal fissure, is to perceive the importance of a space of memory, an imaginary realm of possibilities" (p. 398). In this sense, liminal times are filled with expectation and uncertainty, but there remains room for hope, creativity, and unparalleled personal growth. Such growth can be a conscious choice. Simich et al. (2009) write that, "While some [immigrants have described] feeling 'stuck' on the margins of, or between, two societies, others reported striving to come to terms with cultural differences in order to resolve the tension of living between two realities" (p. 262). As such, many immigrants find themselves in circumstances they would not have imagined while they were living in their country of origin (Cwerner, 2001: p. 27), which may be a good thing.

Newcomers, as I have illustrated in the previous chapter, may find themselves ensconced in a new business venture, which is a liminal experience in itself. The complexity

of these experiences can be encompassed in the term "double liminality," which alludes to the harsh reality of feeling socially and economically out of place – attempting to reconcile two forms of unfamiliar territory. New business owners, who have made the choice to enter the market economy, leave their old selves behind and attempt to find their business identities. As it will become clear in this chapter, immigrant business owners must mobilize resources and navigate new social and business environments in order to shirk or minimize feelings of liminality. They must learn "the rules of the game" and learn them fast – or face economic peril. I argue that during this time connections are key for new business owners. Indeed, as Waldinger et al. (1990) write, "[I]mmigrants may be vulnerable and oppressed, but, because they can draw on connections of mutuality and support, they can also create resources that offset the harshness of the environment they encounter" (p. 35). Escaping double liminality is a formidable task for a single individual or family.

4.3 FINDING FUNDING AND MANAGING MONEY

A key part of launching a business is securing financing. Sharif (2009) notes that, "For most immigrant entrepreneurs who did not come as business immigrants, the importance of financial capital for helping immigrant businesses set up and stay in business in Nova Scotia cannot be overstated" (p. 27). Not all of the participants in my study required a significant amount of start-up capital to launch their businesses. For those working in the farmers' market start-up costs included little more than groceries, display and packing supplies. These women could fund their efforts with their existing savings, without the need of loans or credit. However, those who did require more substantial start-up capital did not stumble upon it easily, a difficulty which, compared to the relative ease with which official immigrant entrepreneurs arrange start-ups can be attributed to their differential class and ethnic resources as a cohort that largely arrived in Canada without the intent of owning a business (Marger & Hoffman, 1992: p. 976). I have observed that, similar to Brettell and Alstatt's (2007) findings, financing an immigrant business can involve patching together various forms of funding – supplementing personal savings with money from kin, for example. These funding sources are both informal and formal, and originate locally and internationally.

Immigrants' struggles in obtaining formal business financing are extensively documented (Waldinger, 1990; Malecki & Veldhoen, 1993; Dallalfar, 1994; Mulholland, 1997; Light, 1999; Watson et al., 2000; Min & Bozorgmehr, 2000; Rajiman & Tienda, 2003;

Martinez & Aldrich, 2011). Kushnirovich and Heilbrunn (2008) list four determinants of financial funding of immigrant business: an immigrant's economic status, ethnic ties, government support, and human characteristics (for example, business experience, previous profession, age, gender, language proficiency, and current labour market status). Their comparative study of native Israeli business owners and immigrant entrepreneurs revealed that immigrant businesses differ from non-immigrant businesses in terms of the scope of investment and proportions of different capital sources. Immigrant entrepreneurs invest in their businesses less than non-immigrant entrepreneurs, and are more likely to rely on informal sources of capital. Ethnic resources in particular are vital for small business development when prospective business owners lack financial and human capital resources (Waldinger, 1990; Light, 1999; Watson, Keasey & Baker, 2000; Min & Bozorgmehr, 2000; Rajiman & Tienda, 2003). Transnational ethnic ties have also been noted as influential in the business start-up process (Katlia & Wahlbeck, 2010).

What, then, are the particular barriers to business financing? A chief problem immigrants may face in applying for financial support relates to credit history and, further, a lack of Canadian research on the topic. Atallah and Rebelo (2006) write that, "Canadian financial services are credit-oriented. However, financial institutions in Canada generally do not recognize international credit history, making it hard for recent immigrants, even those with years of stable banking practices in their own country, to access personal and/or business financing" (p. 4). Moreover, immigrant entrepreneurs have less equity capital and assets that can be pledged as collateral (Bruder et al., 2011: p. 309-310). These financial pitfalls translate to banking institutions as risks and, as a result, many loan applications by small businesses are declined (Watson et al., 2000: p. 81). A general take-home point from this research is the fact that a family's inability to organize finances upon arriving in Canada can disrupt or impede the settlement process (Atallah & Rebelo, 2006).

When business loans are unattainable, hopeful entrepreneurs must find other resources. Several participants relied heavily on credit to launch their businesses. Sara and her husband, for example, used a line of credit as well as credit cards to start their restaurant after approaching their bank and the Workers' Compensation Board in search of a loan. Sara tells me, "I have a seven years account with TD Bank, all the time I told them I pay off my bills. I never paid late. They didn't care. They didn't care about a business like that." This quote is an example of the feelings of dislocation and disorientation an immigrant can face during times

of liminality when he or she must navigate a new country's systems and structures (Simpson et al., 2009: p. 59). The fact that Sara, who is in charge of the couple's finances, approached the Workers' Compensation Board for a loan (when the organization does not perform that function) relates to the notion that some immigrants' problems with financing can be explained by "their comparatively poor integration into society" (Bruder et al., 2011: p. 309-310). Further, "Lack of information about possible sources of external funding and relationship-lending services of local banks and public subsidies may play a role [in their financial problems]" (Bruder et al., 2011: p. 309-310). It appears that a communication breakdown between financial institutions and immigrant businesses is exacerbating the issue.

Gender may also contribute to women's financing barriers. Interestingly, research has identified gender differences in immigrants' financial capital use and accumulation. Kupferberg (2003) notes that women tend to start businesses with less capital investment and a smaller proportion of equity than men (Verheul & Thurik, 2000; Kupferberg, 2003). This discrepancy can be attributed to the type of business and type of management and experience, as well as potential discrimination against women on the part of banking institutions (Verheul & Thurisk, 2000). Women, who may have experienced a socialization that generates negative self-image, tend to lack confidence in their entrepreneurial capabilities, which can negatively affect their attempts to convince financers to support their enterprises. In the long-term, gendered business funding can both increase and decrease the probability of success. Kuperburg writes that when women have fewer debts to pay off, they can build up their businesses more slowly. On the other hand, the author continues, "An undercapitalized business faces an increased risk as it starts to grow and attract a larger number of regular customers. The unintended result might be that women, because of a greater unwillingness to take risks, exclude themselves from businesses with growth potential" (p. 93).

Where credit is inaccessible or limited, immigrants rely on personal savings or financing from family and friends (Dallalfar, 1994; Atallah & Rebelo, 2006). For some participants in my study, personal and/or family savings were enough (or nearly enough) to start a business without a loan. Olivia, for example, could not access financing and instead relied on her savings (taken from her Registered Retirement Savings Plan) as well as some cash from her husband in starting her restaurant. Mary and her husband currently rely on money they receive from selling assets in Iran, while Linda's father supplemented her savings with "just a little bit of money" when she and her husband purchased their grocery store.

Maria borrowed $3,000 from her son to start her business because she did not want to earn interest on a bank loan. In her culture, she says, she was raised to only spend what money she has, so a formal loan was out of the question. Linda and Maria's informal arrangements, Watson et al. (2000) note, can be satisfactory for both parties, but there remains an element of risk-sharing (Martinez & Aldrich, 2011: p. 16). Indeed, "The relationship between borrower and lender, particularly when they are members of the same family or a close-knit ethnic or religious community, can be expected to be driven, at least in part, by a non-economic or 'embedded' logic characterized more by trust and non-obligating resources exchanges than considerations of risk and return" (p. 81).

A minority of participants considered themselves fortunate to have access to formal business loans, crediting their preparation and existing assets as helping them secure funding. The following quotes are examples of what I would consider a "best-case scenario" in terms of financing.

> *Grace: Because my husband got a salary, his salary high salary, and we have a house and I have already have money, it was not very hard to take loan.*
>
> *Carly: How did you get the money and the equipment to operate the business?*
> *Anastasia: Oh, we just got some loan.*
> *Carly: Did you apply to the bank?*
> *Anastasia: Yeah, the bank . . . It's not easy, yes, but I dunno. We live here so many years. We have good credit story and everything so that's why probably.*
> *Carly: Did you present a business plan to them?*
> *Anastasia: Yeah.*
>
> *Carolina: I had some savings, but I didn't go to the bank that I was working at [to present my business plan and ask for a loan]. I went to another bank and then I presented and then like you know they ask you questions, so you have to prepare to answer the questions . . . So I had all the answers, I had the right research the data and all this stuff. It took me about six months to build up a business plan. So I convinced them and they said, "Okay we're going to study [the business plan]." And after I would say a month they decided to lend me the money.*

These success stories are largely the result of over a decade of working and living a middle-class life in Canada. Additionally, as Carolina noted, there is a great deal of expertise required to prepare a business plan. It requires an in-depth knowledge of the local business environment (cultural capital) as well as business principles in general, which few of my participants possessed. The women quoted above all took formal college training, which provided them a base of business know-how. Alternatively, for example, Mary and her husband have business experience but have never worked in the Canadian context. Having been in Halifax for a comparatively short period of time, they hope to attend seminars on

writing a business plan – but are not making plans until they gain a greater awareness of the business environment.

Interestingly, most participants noted that they share financial management with their spouse. In Mary's case, she says her mother and father set this example for her. Like the other participants who have spend time as homemakers, in the past she has relied on her husband's breadwinner income without complaint.

> *Carly: How do you and your husband manage money?*
> *Mary: Oh, it's not like my money or his money. If I work, we have one pocket. It's not like my pocket or his pocket. We spend together, we bring money together. If I don't work, mostly I don't go out. He was working, but any time I need money I have it. It's not just every month or every day he give me some money to spend, no. It's not like that. I have my own credit card, I will spend it and he will pay it. I'm not worried about my payment because he's going to pay.*

Although the participants consider this kind of arrangement equal and satisfactory, Pessar (1995) clarifies that it is "a more traditional and patriarchal form of household budgeting" (p. 42). In this author's words, "This is [an arrangement] in which the man is given the authority to administer all of the income entering the household. His wife is commonly given an allowance to meet basic consumption needs . . . while the man alone has the discretionary rights to use household income for his personal expenditures" (p. 42). Dilbirin's husband is the family's main breadwinner as her personal income is very modest. She says her husband trusts her to spend money wisely, and she reports every expenditure to him. In this way, she says, they share financial management. However, he does not report any expenditures to her, indicating an unevenness in the arrangement, which she does not question – even to me.

Some participants note that in their relationship and business it is their explicit responsibility to handle either their personal finances of those of the entire family. The following quotes illustrate this theme:

> *Carly: How do you and your husband manage money? Is one of you more responsible for managing money?*
> *Olivia: I don't think so. We don't share money. The money I do is my money, the money he does is his own money. So we pretty much don't know each other's money . . . It makes sense to do it like that. When I got married my friends had joint accounts and I was like no, your money is your money. After some time I like it because he doesn't ask me about my money. If I think of sending $500 to my mom today I can just do it without nobody asking me, I can choose to go and buy whatever I want to buy. A nice outfit for $1,000 something, nobody asking me. He does not care. So I just do my own thing. It's my money. He has his money, but he pays everything. He buys the food, the groceries, everything, he pays the mortgage, insurance for the house. Everything I guess.*
>
> *Sara: I'm going shopping, I'm doing accounting. I contact the bank, you know, everything from outside is with me.*

70

Grace: when I was in United States [my husband] didn't have time to involve house things and he just studied. He studied until he came back home almost after midnight and yeah. I only took care of my kids and it was hard time and so most of the things I had to do. I had a bank account. I had to send all bills, even tax return I did. And my husband didn't know how much account money left or how much we have to pay electric bill. He never, he didn't know most the things. I did everything during 15 years I did and he still doesn't know. So sometimes he wants to spend money for something and I say, "No, do you know much we have left in that account? We have to save money."

Few participants leave money management to their spouse. Women's clear involvement in this chore runs contrary to neoclassical economic theory, which, as discussed, posits that women are irrational and unfit to control matters of the economy. Further, these arrangements seem to be less the product of immigration and business ownership than arrangements that seemed natural in the context of a marriage. When prompted, many participants questioned why their arrangements with a spouse would change since their business opened. Instead, they gave variations on Mary's answer: "It has always been this way."

4.4 FAMILY: A SOURCE OF LABOUR AND SUPPORT

Aronoff and Ward (1995) write that, "[T]he family almost universally appears to be society's fundamental economic unit. Its connection with business is therefore obvious and unsurprising if we think of business as the ownership and management of productive assets residing in the family" (p. 121). As such, it is natural and somewhat expected that my data should reveal my participants' strong reliance on family ties in starting their businesses. My findings correspond closely with existing research. According to Anthias and Cederberg (2009) the immigrant entrepreneurship literature focuses on immigrants' efforts to use social ties to raise capital, gain information for the purpose of starting and running a business, and create a labour force through relations of trust and reciprocity.

Waldinger (1989) writes that family and co-ethnic labour is key in securing upward mobility from an initial disadvantaged social position. The author notes that, "If immigrants can then mobilize those networks to raise capital or to obtain trustworthy workers willing to work long hours at lower wages they may gain an edge over native competitors, who are less likely to have similarly strong ties and are more likely to rely on market processes in recruiting labour" (p. 56). In this way, it is clear that familial economic strategies coordinate the behaviour of individual family members with macro social, political, and economic processes embedded in the family (Sanders & Nee, 1996: p. 246). Once again this argument comes down to historical fundamentals. Across place and time, the themes of family business

have stayed constant: "Family objectives and business strategies remain inseparable, family reputation continues as a basis for survival and prosperity, and a reputation for moral integrity continues to reduce transaction costs and provide competitive advantages for family businesses" (Aronoff & Ward, 1995: p. 123).

In my study I discovered that even when a single participant was outwardly the sole owner of her business, behind her there was a family member (or several family members) willing and able to help her with business-related chores. The ethnic networks these women rely upon for businesses are typically very small, but in some cases transnational in scope. Families' involvement in the business ranges from informal to formal, marginal to integral, intermittent to constant – but by and large family labour was the most common form of labour. Only a handful of participants relied on non-familial labour to complete daily business tasks – and that non-familial labour appears to be secondary in importance to the family labour that forms the backbone of the business. In total, eight participants co-own a business with a male partner, eight work with other family members, and six informally rely on family labour. These categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, a woman who co-owns a business with her husband may also employ her son or nephew.

As mentioned, eight women co-own their business with a male partner. These arrangements are not unusual. One multicultural study found that, "Looking at family composition, being married and living with the spouse increases the odds of self-employment for each ethnic group. For men and women, being married is associated with a 20 per cent advantage in the net odds of self employment" (Sanders & Nee, 1996: p. 240). In a few cases, my participants described their work partnerships as equal. The partners would accomplish whatever tasks needed completing at any given time, with no clear division of labour. In most cases, however, there was a more obvious distinction in roles – often along traditional gender lines. Fatima, who runs a market stall with her husband, is one of the older participants. She expresses a more traditional point of view regarding family relationships. While she considers her husband the head of her household, she takes a lead role in preparing the food the couple sells in the market.

> Carly: Does your husband help make the food?
> Fatima: Yes, sometimes. Of course he helps, like arrangement and of course he's helping me.
> Carly: Does he do any cooking?
> Fatima: No, he doesn't know. He doesn't know. That is the truth . . . Everything I do. That's of course there's shopping or some hard work he does. Cooking I don't want he should touch because he doesn't know he will create a mess . . . [My family] don't do properly, so most of the things, cleaning and all, I love to do myself.

Ling, another older participant, does all the cooking in the restaurant she runs with her husband. She told me that she was a homemaker for her entire married life, while her husband worked outside the home. When they opened the business it was her job to cook because cooking had always been her job. In this way, her family role extended to her business role.

Similarly, Esra, Linda and Dora co-own their businesses with their husbands. While the men play managerial roles, the women work in a more administrative and secretarial capacity. Esra speaks of her involvement as "helping" her husband.

> Carly: What do you do at work?
> Esra: I usually set up the cash, and then I pay attention for the cleaning of course. I answer the phone, I take orders, I take the delivery or to-go orders.
> Carly: Do you serve people at the tables?
> Esra: Hardly ever. I usually stand up at the cash . . .
> Carly: What does your husband do?
> Esra: My husband is working very hard and he organize everything. And if any small problem he try to solve it. And he does. Works very hard.

In Linda's case, her husband spends five days a week at his other business and one with her at their co-owned grocery store. His restaurant is so busy and understaffed that he can rarely leave, but he can maintain his grocery store with her assistance. To assist her with the store, he taught her what he learned in a local business course – a gesture that is part of the ethnic social structures described in Aldrich and Waldinger (1990: p. 130).

When Dora worked at the family's first business, a rural restaurant with an accompanying grocery store, she also fulfilled a "helper" role.

> Dora: My husband had the business and I had to work with him . . .
> Carly: Why did you decide to help him out with the business?
> Dora: Because we was just starting the business up there. So just I have to help him to work. I wasn't doing very well English. I have to go like do something with French or I have to study and I lived to far from the city to go study and come back, and he needed people to work with him so I decide to work with him.

Dora's role in this business relates to the previously discussed reasons why women enter the food industry. In many cases, women's socialization and human capital shortcomings restrict their work opportunities to positions afforded to them by their gendered social location, even if they come from privileged backgrounds in their country of origin (Miller & Smith-Lovin, 1982; Granovetter, 1985). Interestingly, Dora's story does not end here. Her earlier efforts were a stepping-stone to more responsibility. After gaining experience, refining her English skills, and developing a greater interest in the industry, Dora has taken a larger role in the couple's new business, a move which echoes Kontos' (2009) findings of Greek immigrant

women in Germany. She says: "[The business] is for both me and my husband. We're partner. Half and half the business. So it's under me and him."

While it would be easy to make claims of these women's roles in their business – to dismiss them as the "invisible" and possibly exploited workers in male-dominated enterprises Dhaliwal (1998, 2000) describes in the European context – but Anthias and Mehta (2003) caution against doing so. They urge researchers to avoid denouncing the family business as "a place that merely reflects male interest" (p. 108). To do so, they write, "is to homogenize the family and decontextualize it" (p. 108). Anthias and Mehta offer a gentler understanding of my study's "helper" women: "There is no doubt that the term 'family business' is often a euphemism for male-owned business in which the role of women and other family members is crucial" (p. 108). Women's labour can act as a buffer against labour-market exclusions that could stunt a family's (or man's) economistic aims of migration (Anthias & Mehta, 2003: p. 107). Moreover, Dora's story shows that businesses can evolve (and perhaps, from a feminist perspective, equalize couples' experiences) as their owners' needs and interests change.

These coupled labour arrangements arose for reasons of both compatibility and convenience/necessity. Indeed, "The preference for relying on family members reflects a pragmatic assessment of the potential for conflict and increased transaction costs when nonfamily business partners are involved" (Sanders & Nee, 1996: p. 236). For example, Esra and Dora's cases are primarily an example of the partners' compatibility. Upon arriving in Canada it was assumed she and her husband would own a business together because they had worked in that capacity for years in Turkey. She tells me they always worked well together – that they were happy to be around each other at work and home. Dora and her husband work together every day, and even on Saturdays, when business is slow and only one person is needed at the restaurant, they work together to keep each other company. Sanders and Nee (1996: 233) argue that the family's chief advantages are not only tangible products, such as labour, but also mutual obligation and trust characteristic of small groups.

The authors write that, "Members of a family engage in social exchanges that give rise to mutual dependence and expectations based on the past performance of routine tasks and duties encompassing sexual, child-rearing, and productive activities. Cooperation within the family stems not simply from self-interest, but from a moral order in which the accumulation of obligations among members builds a degree of solidarity" (p. 233). The fact that many participants cited "trust" as one of the aspects they most like about their romantic

relationships, it is unsurprising that within business, trust is cited as a key reason family businesses emerge and thrive. For example, "Family labour can be trusted to handle sensitive transactions in which the risk of opportunism and malfeasance is high" (Sanders & Nee, 1996: p. 233). Moreover Sanders and Nee (1996) write that, "Family labour is also important in businesses that hire non-family workers" (p. 236). Family labour can be counted on to keep an eye on non-family employees. Reliability is also a part of this conversation, "Because the characteristics of kin, unlike those of strangers, are known and familiar, their behaviour is likely to be predictable, if not reliable" (Waldinger et al., 1990: p. 38).

Reliability, while comforting and helpful in theory, can be a burden in practice – forming one pitfall of coupled business arrangements. Esra, who helps oversee her business's 18 employees, is a watchdog in the dining room as her husband mills around completing managerial tasks. She says, "I help the waitresses. I notice them, I have more experience. And I try to remind them to do something." I argue that maintaining tight control over the business – rather than delegating tasks to staff – can result in a stressful work environment. Esra's experiences once again illustrate this point.

> *Esra: Of course we try to do best, my husband and I, and then somebody make mistake. I don't like because if somebody make mistake as the owner you get the penalty, this is not good. Everyone does this work as a team and everybody should pay attention. They have to get their responsibilities and make the best. It is really important for us, and if something they did wrong it makes me really sad and I don't like it because I really pay attention for anything, from beginning. The goal is the customer satisfied and we try to do best for that, but if somebody make mistake I feel really sad . . . For example one of our chef has problem about shift and he didn't come, just sometimes we keep difficulty just one chef to serve all the time and I feel stressful if I couldn't do it, I feel stressful. We try to serve on time, that's why I feel stressful, and then sometimes of course something happen. You feel stress.*

In this way, when couples and families unite in business out of convenience or compatibility, they may sacrifice peace of mind or mental health in the workplace, when their assigned roles do not align with their personal strengths and preferences – or when they take on more responsibility than they would like. Moreover, Yeung (2000) writes that critiques of Chinese family restaurants have typically focused on business paternalism, a scenario in which "top decision-making is often directive, centred around the founder or his successor, rather than consensual" (p. 58). Delegating tasks or business roles – and relinquishing total familial control – may alleviate the stress Esra describes and promote business growth.

However, hiring managers or more staff may not always be possible. Ling's case is an example of business arrangements for the sake of convenience/necessity, which relates to notions of blocked mobility and illustrates the classed nature of business ventures. She told

me: "We don't have the money so we can't hire helper because [the business] is only small. But if we hire more help we not busy, so we don't keep money. So it's all own self. Two of us." This business arrangement, it seems, was not a preferred choice, but one that allowed the couple to access the market. It is worth reiterating that, "Most entrepreneurs, and this holds *a fortiori* true for immigrant entrepreneurs, tend to lack financial resources or do not have easy access to significant funds. This implies that, generally speaking these entrepreneurs can only start a business that requires a relatively modest outlay of capital" (Kloosterman, 2010: p. 28). Indeed, a co-owned business allows couples to retain their capital instead of spending it on labour that they can provide themselves.

Similarly, Sara and her husband decided they would be more productive as a unit than separately after her husband became injured and couldn't work at his very physical regular job. Their decision to start a business together was the result of pooling their collective strengths, which complement each other. While her husband is content to do much of the cooking, she is competent in managing their finances and shopping, for example, and their division of labour within the business reflects those preferences. In this way, they work together for the sake of both convenience *and* compatibility. Anastasia and her husband also operate this way. When asked how she and her husband divide business chores, she says, "It's 50/50. Sometimes I follow his ideas, sometimes he follows my ideas." In terms of the business partnership, she brings very particular cooking and restaurant management skills, which she gained in college, while her husband is more proficient in completing advertising and paperwork responsibilities for the restaurant.

Male partners are certainly not the only form of labour active in my participants' businesses. For eight women, the business operation is a true family affair and, in some cases, an extended family affair. Carolina has four employees: her older sister, her twin sister, her niece, and a local university student. Carolina and her older sister work full-time, while the other employees are part-time. The emergence business relationship is similar to the ones described above in that there are elements of compatibility that contributed to its current state.

> *Carolina: My twin sister helped me to put in everything. I don't have a great imagination like other people you do, you know you can see the space empty and you say, "So what do you think? How will look?" And then I say, "I don't know." But for my sister, she can. So in that part she helps me to put in the table and all that stuff. She has an eye for it. I don't.*

Carolina is quick to acknowledge her shortcomings, and she knows her family members bring

certain skills that she needs and values in her business space. In return, she has provided them financial stability.

Three participants have recruited family labour internationally, all under different circumstances. First, Esra and her husband welcomed Esra's sister's son into their home and business environment after he expressed interest in studying in Canada due to the economic opportunities in Canada. Second, Dora and her husband encouraged Dora's sister to apply to come to Canada as a skilled worker and work in their restaurant. Third, Sara and her husband welcomed their son, daughter-in-law, and grandchildren to Canada. Their daughter-in-law, who is a skilled pastry chef, was going to work in the kitchen, while their son was going to generally help run the business. At the time of my fieldwork, Dora and Sara's family members had not yet arrived, but the business owners were greatly looking forward to having extra help and extending their family ties in Halifax. The latter point seemed especially crucial for these women, who have few or no other family members in Halifax.

It's clear from these vignettes that the flexibility of family support enables extended family members to pursue long-term plans, such as training and re-skilling (Creese, Dyck & McLaren, 2008: p. 285). Indeed, despite the fact that family members' economic integration may be uneven, family members (especially women) can provide a base of support, allowing each member to plan a future (Creese, Dyck & McLaren, 2008: p. 285). Esra's nephew, for example, relished the chance to continue his studies in Canada while making spending money at his family's restaurant. Sara's son and daughter-in-law will arrive in Canada with little in the way of economic resources, but Sara hopes they can expand the restaurant together – if she can persuade the young couple that staying in Halifax will also be personally fulfilling for them. Dora's sister will alleviate a great deal of the couple's workload, perhaps allowing them to enjoy the free time Dora craves, while the newcomer navigates a new life in Canada. As such, immigrant business owners and their family members can day by day, year by year, enable each other's positive settlement experiences through their physical labour, but also through their expressions of support and devotion.

Six of my participants rely on informal family labour and support. This runs contrary to Anthias and Mehta's (2003) findings, which suggest that women typically help men in the business realm – but the opposite is rarely found in research. I have found that the women in my study greatly benefited from the help of male relatives. Men's informal assistance is not only a cost-saving measure, but one of convenience that can, in a pinch, complement a

woman's individual strengths, compensate for her weaknesses, and provide comfort in an unfamiliar business environment. In Poppy's case, for example, her husband is most useful when it comes to physical labour. She says, "He even help me cooking . . . He's the one who mix the noodles and the fried rice, because sometimes it's quite heavy." Some participants also rely on other family members. Dilbirin notes that her husband and son were helpful in setting up her market stall. Her son accompanied her to a food safety course required for farmers' market participants. He sat beside her translating the course material. Now, she says, the men help her transport her with logistics – dropping her off at the market, helping her take her food inside, and picking her up later.

These informal ties can compensate for a woman's inability to hire and pay an employee. Indeed, several women spoke of the problems that have arisen over the course of their business journeys due to lack of hiring funds. Dora, for example, does not lack family members eager to support her business. Still, since money is limited she needs to be strategic about who she works with and how. She tells me that, "Just one son help, but the other son, we can't afford to pay for two. I pay for one son . . . Like he can help, my other son, without paying him. See, he help me, he does work with me, but not like I gotta pay him. You're my son, we're your parents, you gotta help us." When her sister arrives from Lebanon as a skilled worker, her son will likely lose his paying job – as she cannot afford to hire both relatives. Dora's case is an example of the ways in which divisions of power can shape kinship relations. Similarly, Neti says, "I can't take nobody's help because I have to pay. Nobody will do anything free of cost." With her sister in school and her husband unprepared to help in the kitchen, Neti settles for making, transporting, and selling the food on her own. Without local social ties or family, she sees no options for support.

New business owners often identify difficulties in obtaining information relative to marketing and technology (Malecki & Veldhoen, 1993). As older women with little previous exposure to modern computer technology, Maria and Mary rely on their adult children for assistance in advertising their businesses and running their day-to-day operations. Maria tells me her daughter is her secretary, while her son designed and printed her promotional materials. Mary, like several other participants, offers a cultural explanation for her close ties with her sons in the business context.

> Mary: We are so dependent to each other. As I saw with Canadian family, as soon as the children get 15, 16 years or 18, they go out. They move out. And they start life for themselves

and they rent a house or apartment for themselves and they live separate. But in my culture, in Iran, we live together 'til they get married or they go far away so they live alone.

Culture plays another role in business owners' team-building decisions. As mentioned, hiring and training staff is expensive. These costs can be greatly mitigated if a potential employee or casual helper possesses what Light (1999) would call "ethnic resources," particularly ethnic skills and knowledge related to food preparation. Dora, for example, has made the conscious choice to hire employees who do not require much training in preparing Lebanese dishes. Kontos (2003) cites Light (1999), mentioning that ethnic resources come into force when migrants become entrepreneurially active despite having no or few class resources at their disposal. The author writes that, "Ethnic resources are thus resources that compensate for the lack of class resources and thereby make entrepreneurship a way out of poverty" (p. 186). Though none of my participants explicitly stated using ethnic employment as a marketing strategy, Anthias and Cederberg (2009: p. 911-912) suggest such a strategy can be useful in establishing legitimacy in the eyes of non-immigrants and co-ethnics alike seeking "authentic" ethnic food.

Some authors are sceptical about the protective environment the family business provides, arguing that ethnic social ties and networks cannot be a substitute for opportunities offered by mainstream capital, such as linguistic and educational capital, or knowledge of the local business sector (Anthias & Cedarberg, 2009; Martinez & Aldrich, 2011). While ethnic social ties and networks cannot "guarantee freedom from the processes of inferiorization, othering and exclusion in the broader labour market and society . . . there is no doubt that they function to mitigate, at the personal level, some of the degradation and discomfort such processes entail" (p. 915). I understand their hesitation in supporting immigrants' whole-hearted reliance on ethnic ties. A key portion of an interview came to mind upon reading their critique. Esra, it seems, despite taking numerous English classes in her spare time, feels insecure with her English skills.

> *Esra: If you're far away I forgot my practice of course, and in the beginning when I came here I was thinking maybe six months I could speak very well, but it wasn't like this. Day by day, day by day it is getting a little complicated to learn second language of course, and then still I am challenging. But at home we speak Turkish. We have Turkish channel, we watch Turkish channel and then here I have chance to speak not much. Our two chefs they speak Turkish, I speak Turkish with them of course. With the waiters sometimes and customers I have chance to speak, that's why my English improves slowly.*

Indeed, her relative social isolation in an environment saturated with elements of her Turkish

heritage has perhaps hindered her learning process, causing her to continue to feel elements of liminality even six years after arriving in Canada.

Further, Kirchoff and Kirchoff (1987: p. 31) have shown that family members' productivity does not increase a business's profitability. In fact, "As paid family labour increases, profitability decreases. As family member participation increases, wage and salary expenses increase as a percentage of revenue, thereby causing profit as a percentage of sales to decline" (Kirchoff & Kirchoff, 1987: p. 31). This reality can partially explain why, in the early phases of business ownership, family labour is often unpaid and long working hours is a source of resentment (Kirchoff & Kirchoff, 1987: p. 31). Business owners' schedules limit social interactions outside the business context. For those who wish to accelerate the settlement process, relying solely on family in the business context may be a hindrance.

Despite the potential drawbacks of relying on family labour, I argue that the benefits are far more influential during the liminality phase of migration. After all, it is possible that many of these businesses would not exist without family support. Indeed, I agree with Creese et al. (2008) who convincingly state that, "Rather than being a 'burden,' households may be the lynchpin to successful integration. Such 'success,' however, is contingent on intra-household dynamics as well as local and global barriers and opportunities" (p. 286). It seems that the majority of my study participants have been able to mobilize their familial resources in the faces of local and global structures in productive ways that have eased their transition into business ownership. Lem (2010) writes that family businesses – or businesses that rely in some way on family labour – help the enterprises remain self-sustaining and flexible in a "competitive neoliberal environment" (p. 172).

The author's study of Chinese immigrant families in France emphasizes the exploitation that can come with involvement in such businesses, and the possibility of exploitation (as well as self-exploitation) is something of which to be cognizant when examining entrepreneurship. Still, within their families, the participants in this study seem to have found reliable labour, companionship, and, in general, access to a fickle industry. Much like financial resources, a patchwork of family and labour resources must sometimes be relied upon in times of difficulty or change. Regardless of the size and nature of a familial network, there is an element of give and take – an exchange that hinges on mutual obligation and love. This give and take of personal resources and offering of opportunities is a key aspect of the family business. In short, there is often "something in it" for everyone, but perhaps not

immediately. As in any business, success may take months, years, or decades to materialize. In the meantime, there is family support and togetherness.

4.5 SETTING UP KITCHEN AND RETAIL SPACE

Securing a retail venue can be a challenging venture that involves a great deal of resourcefulness, frugality, and attention to detail. It is clear that in purchasing or renting the space and securing the equipment necessary to prepare food, budget limitations can squash elaborate blueprints, but employing creativity and navigating social networks can mitigate financial burdens. All but three of the participants in my study work in and around the city's downtown core. Two of the three women cite the financial restrictions that kept them from finding a more prime business space. As a result, their businesses are in less desirable areas of town – with little foot traffic and little income in the neighbourhood to support their work. Businesswomen with market stalls face few logistical and budget constraints, but must be innovative in the ways they present the face of their businesses. Given little physical space, they are limited in how much décor and atmosphere they can create. Olivia, who still often sells her African dishes in the farmers' market, remarks how difficult it is to focus on décor or atmosphere when you only have a small table to work with.

She compares her standalone table to the more permanent venues in the market – the regular fixtures that do not disappear during the week, but offer food every day from kitchens and imposing, well-decorated display cases. There is a stark contrast between the two types of outlets, she says, which makes it hard for a temporary vendor to compete with a permanent one. Not content to let her products sit on an empty table, Mary is trying to avoid the pitfall Olivia describes. When she is not selling her products, Mary says she is thinking about how she and her husband can decorate the booth. Her products are somewhat foreign to Haligonians, she says, so she tries to think of unique ways to display them so customers can understand how they can be used in the kitchen. Additionally, her sons have created professional looking banners that describe the products to onlookers. In this way, Mary has established a business that can visually compete with the market's permanent venues.

Many of the women who sell food in the market cook their food in commercial kitchen spaces. Fatima notes that ISIS staff members directed her and her husband to the kitchen. The main benefit to cooking in a commercial kitchen is convenience – the spaces are large and equipped with all the tools the women need to make their dishes. They do not need

to worry about dirtying their kitchens at home or wear and tear on their personal equipment. Neti notes that the main drawbacks to using a commercial kitchen are transportation and cost. Hauling her ingredients to the kitchen, and then transporting the food to her apartment and then the market can be time-consuming and physically challenging. She also spends at least two hours cooking (Fatima spends longer), which can add a minimum of 30 dollars to her weekly expenses, which also include 50 or 60 dollars for table rent at the market.

For participants with a standalone business, securing a physical space for their food outlet is a major decision, and decorating the space is completed with intention and attention to detail. Some participants noted working through a real estate agency to buy a business space, but interestingly my data also shows how other informal arrangements have been made before and after the initial transaction. For those with a standalone business, the process of securing a space is less straightforward, but in the end the women have more control over the look and feel of their spaces. Esra says that when she and her husband came to Halifax they met the original owner of their restaurant. The original owner is also from Turkey, and he wanted to sell the restaurant. The arrangement was made outside a formal real estate transaction. Instead, Esra says, "He explain his feeling to sell [the restaurant] and we decide to get this business. Nobody help us. Just, we speak together and make decision." Linda and her husband had a similar experience when they bought their grocery store. The store was originally owned by a Taiwanese man who Linda says stocked the store with Chinese groceries. When the man no longer wanted the business, he approached Linda's husband, who bought the store and suggested his wife manage it during the week.

Other participants enjoyed the benefits of social connections when setting up their businesses. Sara and her husband, who did not have much money at the outset of their business venture, secured an inexpensive venue with the help of a benevolent landlord. She says, "We just rented. Our landlord was very nice with us. When we start this place he didn't charge us lots of money for start. When our business started our rent you know went higher a little bit, not too much. He was very nice with us. He helped us to, you know, grow." Carolina had the good fortune of owning a new business space, and she marvels at the interactions she had with the builders during the construction process. The building's owners, she said, consulted with her during the building process and allowed her some input on the café's design, as well as reserved an apartment above the shop for her. Two years later, Carolina is thankful for her living arrangements. Living close to work improves her quality of life. Her

mother can live with her, she says, and if she forgets something at home she can easily "commute" upstairs to retrieve it. For a busy woman, such arrangements are an asset.

Similarly, Carolina, like several other participants, carefully navigated their social relationships in decorating and furnishing her new space. The paintings, tables, and chairs that line the café were commissioned in and imported from Guatemalan artisans. Carolina tells me: "I like to bring the richness here: the richness of what we [Guatemalans] can do, you know. Even though people don't have the opportunity to go to school or university to get a degree, but they do have the potential of making beautiful things. That's one of the reasons why I did this." In particular, the tables and chairs were custom designed to reflect her culture. The heavy wooden tables support glass inlays that house Guatemalan commodities, such as coffee beans and various grains. Carolina, like most of the other women who had physical spaces to decorate, has intentionally decorated with her culture in mind. There are other ways to add ambience, as well. For example, Carolina and Esra make sure music from their home countries is playing in the background as their customers eat.

For co-ethnic customers, such décor and atmosphere serve as a form of "marketing nostalgia," which Khosravi (1999: p. 504) says can create a sense of homeland as part of an "exile discourse." Basu (2007: p. 154) writes that restaurants can market nostalgia through "authentic" décor, music, advertising and even the names of businesses. Here I use quotation marks to display the notion that there is perhaps no real authentic cultural experience, but perhaps the most mainstream, well known, or well received. Baxter (1988) cited in Chan (2007) illustrates that ethnicity-based marketing allows restaurateurs to exploit the ethnic differences of these communities. This point is especially relevant in the context of my study, in which the majority of the participants serve mostly non-ethnic clients. It is evident among my participants that creating an "authentic" ethnic experience is a prominent goal, but one I would argue is equally attractive to the mainstream market. Many participants market nostalgia with all or most of these aspects of their businesses. In this way, customers may be transported into another place or time, which can assist in making the act of eating a pleasurable experience (Basu, 2007: p. 168). In Halifax, such a strategy is especially novel given the fact that in many cases there are very few restaurants representing a given culture.

Olivia and Grace demonstrated great resourcefulness in furnishing their respective spaces. Olivia, who had mentioned trouble funding her start-up, was frugal when hunting for necessities. She tells me: "I used some cash to buy the tables and chairs. It was pretty good. I

would get the things at a pretty good price, like I could afford them." For example, she had a connection at Mount Saint Vincent University that gave her a deal on the many chairs she needed to buy. Since the school no longer required the chairs, they were offered at a low price, which were discounted further through bargaining. Olivia notes that she appreciates the fact that another local woman supported her business. Conversely, Grace supported another local women when she decided on the décor for her café. The café walls are lined with tasteful, framed artwork. When asked about the art, she says:

> *Art belongs to my friend. At first it was empty here. Previous owner take out all art and then I ask one of my friends who's artist. So she talk with her friends, two more, and then sometimes students came and they want to put their art and okay, so. And they independent. We not charge any. So if they sell, we give money. We just directly give them so that's not belong ours. We not in charge, so if that's $700 that's $700 to give her . . . It's a win, win. You are good, I'm good.*

To Grace, this transaction is part of a business strategy. She says, "If we want business success we have to have something different than other coffee shop. Have something unique." What money she does spend on other decorations, she says, is not wasted because it makes the customers happy.

Grace, along with several other participants, stresses the necessity of offering customers a hygienic place to buy and/or eat their food. Basu (2007: p. 166) notes hygiene as a common strategy among British Indian curry restaurants. Grace tells me: "I'm trying to make good quality and trying to make it clean, same as a house for family. And sometimes restaurants is very dirty and can't, yeah, one of my staff members told me, 'I've never seen this kind of coffee shop – very clean.' It's because I'm working here, so I don't like to give customers dirty shop." After displaying her food in the market for over a year, Dilbirin is beginning to set up a more elaborate table with food placed behind a glass display case. What might seem like a small, negligible detail is actually a crucial part of establishing peace of mind as a vendor. She tells me how it made her nervous to have her food exposed as people walked by it – and now her products are shielded. In general, the women I spoke with spend a great deal of time and energy cleaning their business spaces. Dora's restaurant is especially immaculate – evidence of her self-proclaimed prioritization of cleanliness and customer service.

Setting up the physical space is one task, but stocking it with supplies and ingredients is another altogether. Buying groceries and other business supplies involves a great deal of cultural capital. Business owners must navigate unfamiliar business environments. In general,

my study revealed that women have become proficient in stocking their businesses with attention to cost, convenience, and quality. A business owner's preferences depend on the nature of her business, as well as her social location and networks. Across the board, though, cost it seems cost is a key component of keeping a fledging business afloat. Several women reported shopping at several locations to save money.

> Carly: Where do you get your groceries?
> Poppy: Everywhere. Atlantic [Superstore], Sobey's, whatever I can find. I cannot buy it [at the market on the weekend] because I cook on Thursday. If I shop on Saturday the vegetable already rotten, right? It's not possible to do that on weekend. I always shop like on Tuesday or Wednesday.
> Carly: Do you keep an eye out for where you can get the best prices on things?
> Poppy: Yeah, oh yeah. Because I told you that uh it's not a big business right, so we cannot buy the best because you don't know today it will sell or not you know?

Dilbirin, who has free time during the week to shop for ingredients, spends up to five hours shopping for ingredients. Her shopping territory extends all across Halifax, and on any given week she knows where to go for the best prices on an ingredient or supply.

Still, these women will not sacrifice quality for price. Dilbirin makes a special trip to Windsor, Nova Scotia, to buy meat. The trip, she says, is worth it because of the quality of the product she can find there: "More healthy, guaranteed meat is fresh, didn't come from Calgary. Costco meat all from Calgary, so how many days will they take to get here? It's not fresh, and maybe I keep it in my fridge for two, three days. Will be garbage [by market day]." Grace notes that she must have quality coffee in order for her café to be successful. She says:

> Coffee shop is easy to open, easy to bankruptcy . . . But I don't like that and I want to give more and good quality.

Maria is so adamant about the quality of her ingredients that she is willing to assert herself when the products she buys are not up to her standards. After receiving a bad batch of produce, which resulted in an inferior batch of baked goods, she spoke to her supplier. She says, "I tell them we wasn't happy with this. What should we do? It's money, you know, and I like to make quality [products]. I don't like to give people who are buying, spending money, bad things. I'm doing this with love."

Some participants make an effort to source their supplies locally. These decisions are based on a combination of political stance and convenience. Grace buys bread from a bakery near her café because it is the most convenient option, which also offers her customers the best quality sandwiches. She tells me:

> Every morning after break, fresh bakery come. Last time I try to order French bread some from Lunenburg and they working only Thursday delivering here Thursday to Sunday, so we

have to keep the freezer or I think it taste different, so yeah. After that I'm not doing that. So next-door delivering is easy. First thing is easy. They bring fresh one every morning.

Not wanting to spend too much time rounding up groceries, Fatima buys all her vegetables from the farmers' market where she works. She says this is easy for her, and is perhaps a product of her life stage, as she mentions that as an older woman running the business is tiring. Carolina buys her meat and vegetables in the farmers' market, but notes that this tactic has its limitations: "I try to support the local businesses, but when the winter comes there's no real choice. You have to go to [a large grocery store] or whatever."

Providing specific, unique cultural items can cause business owners to favour quality over convenience and cost. In a limited retail environment, Mary, Linda and Neti face limited choice in terms of where they can buy their supplies. Neti must buy her ingredients mainly from the sole Indian grocery store in Halifax, which is more expensive than she would like, but absolutely necessary in offering her customers quality Indian food. She tells me:

> *Costs are more than a hundred bucks because we have to buy all the ingredients, right, for four items. Yeah, so. We are to take 23, 24 ingredients. These are all different spices from India, which are expensive here. Indian ingredients are minimum 20 ingredients, or five ingredients in every products. So we need to buy at least 20 ingredients 100 grams each, which are not so easy to buy, so we need everything. So if you miss one then the flavour doesn't come.*

As pioneers in the local retail industry, Mary and Linda must look outside Halifax for their business supplies. Linda and Mary buy their food items and house wares from companies in Toronto. Mary describes her family's calculated decision to do so:

> *These [products] are made in Iran and there are lots of companies in Toronto, Iranian shops and companies that import. Now, right now we bring from Toronto because we don't just want to bring from Iran and if you want to bring it from Iran you have to bring a lot. Not just a suitcase, you know.*

Olivia perhaps takes this importing a step further – she brings some products to her gift shop from Zimbabwe. In these cases, authenticity can be hard to achieve, but worth the effort. Min (1987) says a strategy like Olivia's is an example of immigrants taking advantage of their newfound social locations: "Immigrants have advantages in terms of language, customs and information for importing home-made products when their home and host countries maintain active trade relations" (p. 180). I believe, however, that these advantages extend to anyone – even suppliers in Canada – who the mainstream population could not necessarily readily access to due language or cultural barriers, such as a lack of product knowledge.

4.6 NETWORKING IN THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

In some cases, business interactions can extend beyond traditional cut-and-dry selling and purchasing. Developing relationships with suppliers can take time and energy, but can yield benefits for both parties as mutual trust and confidence emerges (Miller, Besser & Maishe, 2007). Maria's insistence on and enthusiasm for organic produce has led her to local farmers. She tells me:

> *We have our organic farmers. We love them, we visit them, we hug them. We appreciate them.*
> *I'm giving them what I'm making too, charging less. She came, she was my farmer was last*
> *day, last Saturday she came to me and buying my apple pie and I said, "Free for you."*
> *Hugging, everything. That's her cabbage. And they, oh my God, how they take care of land . . .*
> *Garlic we getting for winter, onions we getting, this cabbage.*

Maria and her farmer suppliers exchange goods at a discounted rate. Dilbirin noted a similar experience with one supplier, but not with another.

> *Carly: Do you have relationships with the business owners that you buy things from?*
> *Dilbirin: Yeah, because long time we are customers for the meat. When we came to Canada*
> *we buy our meat from there. We sometimes have conversation, joking, talking, but the price*
> *that's it. Nothing change. Whatever we have conversation, the price always, nothing they*
> *change. But that Lebanese, two or three times for whatever reason they change price for me.*
> *But he just change, like, seven dollars from the pay for many things. Something very normal*
> *you know.*
> *Carly: Do you find that makes a difference?*
> *Dilbirin: Yeah, sometimes you save at least to cover gas.*

Bargaining with suppliers can be considered a productive use of ethnic skills and resources (Dallalfar, 1994: p. 557-558) as bargaining is more common in some cultures than others. Dilbirin's familiarity with bargaining is evidenced by her characterization of the exchange as "very normal." Carolina relishes her interactions with her suppliers, but cites the social aspect of her relationships as beneficial and makes no mention of discounts or perks. The man who sells her coffee, for example, gave her sincere, honest advice about prices, which she trusted. This advice formed the basis of a working relationship – which she goes as far as calling a friendship – that carries through every business interaction.

They can discuss non-business matters casually and honestly, which Carolina says is unique to the business environment in which she and her suppliers work.

> *Carolina: You can [have those relationships] with a small business, but with big companies*
> *because they're bigger I think it's completely different because the personal touch is lost,*
> *right? But with the small business it's different. It's the same for the meat I buy in the market,*
> *you know. We talk, "How's your business?" and everything in the market and all this stuff, so*
> *I like that type of business relationship.*

While these interactions differ slightly, they are all examples of what Mulholland (1997) would classify as business opportunism: "A business practice which extends beyond the

formal boundaries of business activity and engages forms of social relationships which are instrumental in intent" (p. 703). The author writes that, "The value of social relationships is that they either create or access business opportunities" (p. 703). They are inherently social in character and have the potential to enhance a businessperson's reputation, but they are first and foremost instrumental (Mulholland, 1997). It is worth noting that these examples of social relationships involve business relations outside the participant's ethnic community.

Such interactions are evidence of these women's cultural capital – they have the language skills to hold sustained conversations in English, and the connections to operate business outside co-ethnic networks. They also demonstrate women's individual personalities, as well as the local business environment. Adopting Dallalfar's (1994: p. 558) understanding, these relationships are thus evidence of business diversification and expansion – despite taking place in the context of relatively new business environments. In short, in Halifax's business environment, which is not especially diverse (as evidenced by Mary and Linda's importing strategies and Neti's experiences at the Indian grocery store) such interactions may be necessary for a new business. Miller et al. (2007) have an optimistic view of such strategic networking. The authors write that, "Possible benefits to businesses from networking include self and employee training and development opportunities, improvement of management, and advancements in work practices, or productivity, or use of technology. The business may not survive without the helpful advice or specific business knowledge provided by a trusted colleague" (p. 638).

Diverse networks may be more beneficial than homogenous networks. Martinez and Aldrich (2011) write that, "Diverse networks, comprising members from highly varied backgrounds, facilitate access to wide-ranging sources of information and alternative viewpoints" (p. 7). Moreover, the interactions I have described may also be evidence of positive settlement experiences. As Mulholland (1997) writes, "While ethnic capital may appear more fluid, [interacting with native-born business contacts] is a way of shifting out of peripheral sectors, and embodies an accumulating strategy, which leads to more stable and prosperous economic environments" (p. 706-707). Indeed, such experiences are examples of a way in which entrepreneurship can help integrate immigrants into society and contribute to the economy of the host society.

Such networked businesses, including those in my study, are examples of belonging in networks that "have more openness toward the society at large and will provide integration

inside the business community at large" as opposed to singularly inside an ethnic community (Brenner, Menzies, Dionne & Filion, 2010: p. 166). It therefore stands to reason that as these businesses grow, immigrants may become further entrenched in local business and social networks. For this to occur, network members must hold a common vision about what the members should accomplish, what is valued or of interest, and what is required or expected from membership (Wollebaek & Selle, 2002).

4.7 FRIDAY MARKET VENDORS: NARRATIVES OF "COMMUNITAS"

A phenomenon that can emerge during a liminal period is "communitas." Turner (1969) writes: "Among themselves, neophytes tend to develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism. Secular distinctions of rank and status disappear or are homogenized" (p. 95). Liminal beings may find themselves in a type of sub-section of society different from the "structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical" system that traditionally separates men and women in terms of "more" or "less" (Turner, 1969: p. 96). Turner notes that he prefers the Latin word "communitas" to the English word "community" because it allows him to distinguish this type of social relationship from "an area of common living" (1969: p. 96). Communitas "is almost everywhere held to be sacred or 'holy,' possibly because it transgresses or dissolves the norms that govern structured and institutionalized relationships and is accompanied by experiences of unprecedented potency" (Turner, 1969: p. 128). However, the spontaneity and immediacy of communitas is temporary. Turner (1969: p. 131-132) notes that communitas eventually gives way to a structure in which free relationships between individuals are converted into norm-governed relationships between social beings.

It is possible for communitas to emerge in modern contexts. Simpson et al. (2009) write that, "Individuals can experience 'unstructured communitas' with others similarly positioned, oriented not around hierarchical differentiation as in a structured community, but around comradeship and undifferentiated homogeneity – features that can be intensified during periods of unpredictability" (p. 56). The authors provide the example of international students who come together after crossing borders and, in their period of liminality, become close friends. The emergence of communitas connects to the nature of citizenship. Nouissa and Lyons (2001) write that, "Groups are defined by both inclusion and exclusion. The experience of liminality socially unifies individual who may not have been together in other circumstances. Members of each group are also tolerant of other groups, although they may

consider them inferior or improper for sharing the same space or activities" (p. 619). In light of my research findings, I argue that those experiencing life on the margins of citizenship may feel drawn to one another.

On the particular drizzly, mid-fall Fridays that I visited the market, the venue was bare. Very few customers milled around the market. The ones who did were not there to stroll and browse, but grab a favourite product with intention. The women I interviewed agreed separately that they were not making much money from their market ventures. Instead, they had gained friends and were enjoying social time with each other.

> Poppy: You know it's not that big money really, but I told you that it's really fun and you make friends . . . The vendors, we become friends.
>
> Neti: All my friends are there. I need them, and you spend time with your friends. We exchange foods too. We learn a lot from different people every day, so maybe I'll learn something from her, something from her, and it's good. We all get together sometimes so we make friendship.
>
> Carly: Have you made any friends in Halifax?
> Fatima: Here [in the market] only. I don't have time to go out. They are all my friends. All the vendors who are doing business, same business . . . So when [it's time to leave for the day] we exchange our food: "Here, you take this, I'll take this."

When interviewing women in the market, I would need to pause the interview often because the vendors would stroll by and talk to each other, sharing a laugh and the occasional hug.

The vendors not only share leftover food at the end of the day – they help each other with chores at their stalls and direct customers to each other. Neti explains that the help they extend to one another is out of friendship, but also a desire to give customers what they want.

> Mary: We're like neighbours (laughs). I look after their stuff, they look after mine. During the cruise time the lady's here [next to me] and she's selling cheese. She didn't come every day. Some of the passengers, they like to buy the blue cheese. So I sell them, take the money and give it to her. Yeah, we are helping each other. All of us.
>
> Neti: And I'm especially concentrating on vegetarian food because I don't want to compete with everybody. There is another Indian. So she makes other than meat or chicken, she makes, so I make only vegetarian. So that also is a speciality, so all what I have is vegetarian. In one way is good, because I don't want to be her competition, my friend. So that's right. So I have samosas, which are lentil and potato, two types, and she has chicken and beef sometimes, so it's good that people want meat they go to her, they want veg they come to me . . . They are sometime here, they come and ask, do you have butter chicken or chicken samosa, and I say go to her. Because she has.

In spite of their efforts, market attendance continues to dwindle. However, instead of complaining about the lack of sales, the vendors find it to be a point of lively discussion.

> Mary: Here in market you can see the very slow market. Hardly we can get make money. We are not making money but we are passing our good time here.
>
> Carly: How do the vendors help each other?

90

Fatima: Like if somebody wants [food packaging] that is not there, I'll say: "Okay, you take my packing." If we both have food from Pakistan, our food is same, so if she over with her naan or rice she'll come to me: "Give me rice." I'll give her rice, I'll give her naan. Same way she also give me something if I need. So we help each other.

I view this lack of concern about money to be evidence of standing outside normal social roles, and embracing alternative social arrangements and values – all key elements of communitas. Their goals extend beyond the financial, and the market allows them to experience a world outside a more competitive economy. Moreover, the market has brought together women from diverse social locations. Outside the market they may have never met. Inside the market the women are stripped of the differences that would have kept them apart. Everyday definitions of status and division are unimportant. Waldron (n.d.) writes, "Communitas emerges in the form of spontaneous sociability, love for each other, a sense of solidarity and equality and heightened emotional or spiritual experience. A heightened sense of joy, wellbeing and belonging that challenges the orthodox social order" (p. 6). The focus if on the common experience of being human rather than a person's status and socially ascribed role (Waldron, n.d.: p. 7).

Deflem (1991) and Waldron (n.d.) interpret Turner's work on liminality and communitas as somewhat of a suggestion for society to incorporate elements of communitas into everyday life. Indeed, "Turner came to see the operation of a meaningful and powerful human energy by which the tight nets of the social structure could be circumvented. In this way, Turner's work may be read as a plea for people to engage in communitas-inspired action and constantly to defy the social order" (Deflem, 1991: p. 18). While one should take caution not to overestimate the power of liminal spaces in transforming social structures, the social interactions I have observed in the market lead me to believe that, during times of liminality, such a form of suspended reality may be crucial for integration and settlement processes. If liminality is inevitable during any transition, communitas may provide therapeutic benefits. The most obvious benefits are social connections and community engagement, but there is also the potential for identity formation (Simpson, Sturges & Weight, 2009: p. 65) and cultural capital. Living in exile "can extend our capacities to see ourselves through the eyes of others, creating opportunity for reflexivity" (Simspon et al., 2009: p. 65).

Noussia and Lyons (2009) write that, "People in 'liminal' moments depend heavily on socialization in the public realm, using and contesting urban public space. Ethnic minorities and poor and illegal migrants typically occupy space in locations 'abandoned' by locals" (p.

601). This statement connects to the Friday farmers' market. Some of the women I spoke with revealed their frustration at not being able to get space (or a good space) at the much busier weekend farmers' markets. I think it is telling the International Market was allocated time and space on Fridays, mostly during working hours where there is less likely to be active foot traffic. This problem is evidenced in news reports from Singer (2011) in Portland, Oregon, and Lebens (2011) in St. Paul, Minnesota, who also note that immigrants have a difficult time competing with native-born vendors for space in the farmers' markets. Singer's informants, like mine, come to the market on slow days and, as a result, barely make enough profit to pay their entrance fees, let alone earn an hourly wage. Nouissa and Lyons (2009) characterize immigrants' "colonization of public space" as a form of displacement (p. 602).

As Turner (1969) explains, camaraderie must lead to structure. As a result, "Although the groups identified in the area are not competing for dominance – indeed they accept each other's activities in close proximity – this requires that spatial boundaries be created and maintained" (Nouissa & Lyons, 2001: p. 619). In the context of the market, I understand that there is a limit to the camaraderie the women enjoy, and I am uncertain as to where the lines will eventually be drawn. Already it is clear that for these women communitas exists only in the market, which is evidence of the phenomenon's limits. Still, for the time being, as long as there is a Friday market, there will be a community of like-minded women passing time while sharing laugher, light-hearted complaints, and hearty meals.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The portrait of communitas I have described perhaps paints an overly optimistic conception of liminality. After all, I began this chapter with a discussion of being separated from one's reality – and feeling lost between old and new. Surely, elements of such grave feelings have been shown here as well. Elements of budget constraints and social isolation are evident in the voices I have presented. Yet, I hesitate to dwell on them in the face of the promise shown via the resourcefulness of women who rallied money, supplies and allies when there were few other options. In this chapter I have shown the struggles women have faced in obtaining business financing in an economic system that devalues their credit history and business prospects. I have revealed the teamwork, sacrifice, and commitment required to staff a new immigrant business venture, and I have shown how networks and creativity in constrained circumstances can lead to productive physical spaces. Throughout the uncertainty

of liminality, the participants in my study have emphasized the importance of family, persistence, parsimony and hard work – assets that will surely remain integral to future business experiences.

CHAPTER 5

REINCORPORATION OR SETTLEMENT?:

THE DAILY REALITIES OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In this chapter I explore "reincorporation," the third element of immigration and entrepreneurship that sees women establish their businesses through marketing, customer service, and other forms of business activity. I illustrate that once a business is open, there remains a great deal of work to be done in terms of positioning it in the local market and luring customers to the premises. Similar to the bootstrapping activities described in the fourth chapter, the women attempt to establish their business through creative means that require little money and employ social connections. Still, many women face long hours in the workplace, which is a tiring but cost-effective strategy of keeping a business open.

In the end, to a certain extent those long hours have been shown to contribute to the strengthening of their spousal and family relationships and, in some cases, the alteration of gender roles within the household. In this chapter I reveal that the women in this study do not fit the common model of transnational immigrants, given that very few of them send monetary remittances home to their family. The essence of this chapter is that the business environment – which needs near-constant attention – is inseparable from family and social life, making it a locus of possibility in terms of positive settlement and integration outcomes. For those who set aside the time and initiative, a business can kick-start or complement a life beyond its walls. For those who are strapped for time, money, and energy, the journey toward social connections, community involvement, and business success may be turbulent.

4.1 THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ROOTS OF REINCORPORATION

In the third phase of a rite of passage, the passage is consummated. Here, "The ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and 'structural' type" (Turner, 1969: p. 94-95). During this time the individual "is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions" (Turner, 1969: p. 94-95). Turner maintains that for groups and individuals, social life is a type of dialectical process. The culmination of the dialectic is the

conclusion of a passage from lower to higher status through a limbo of statuslessness (1969: p. 97). If liminality is the period of statuslessness, reincorporation is what follows: the arrival at a higher status. Those who pass through a liminal phase are initiated back into society as changed, more knowledgeable individuals (Turner & Turner, 1982).

4.2 REINCORPORATION IN THE CONTEXT OF IMMIGRATION AND BUSINESS

It is possible for a migrant to move beyond a state of liminality into what van Gennep and Turner would call reincorporation. In the Canadian context, "settlement" and "integration" have similar meanings and imply a similar fate – establishing a space in society and following its various norms and guidelines while maintaining a personal sense of individual and group identity. In this thesis, as previously noted, I use the terms "settlement" and "integration" while staying conscious of the fact that Canadian policies and immigration strategies have set forth a particular meaning for them. (I also acknowledge that settlement and integration are synonymous in many ways with substantive citizenship, a term that I defined in the second chapter.) The Canadian context is very much like the one van Gennep and Turner describe, in which immigrants are expected to behave according to a particular set of norms and practices.

These norms and practices were agreed upon at a national level and enshrined in legislation (particularly multicultural policies) and institutions across the country. However, in keeping with my efforts to examine the small, biographical details of my participants' lives, I envision "settlement" and "integration" as a balance of the legislative understandings of the terms and the first-hand perspectives of those experiencing the processes. Such an approach is necessary, as there is no pre-determined script for migration. Instead, "Migration trajectories are always contingent, often precarious and sometimes even volatile" (Huang, Yeoh, & Lam, 2008: p. 9). The "one step forward, two steps back" nature of transitions explains why, even after years of living in Canada, an immigrant can experience lingering feelings or characteristics of liminality, such as a longing for home. In this way, here I offer snapshots of reincorporation, acknowledging that "total" reincorporation may be unattainable.

To a business owner, reincorporation may simply mean the survival of the business. Fisher and Reuber (2010: p. 9) say the term "survival rate" indicates what types of businesses are being established in a country. Further, "High survival rates suggest that businesses are productive, innovative and resourceful enough to have staying power in the face of changing

market conditions" (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 9). The data on survival rates show that more than 50 per cent of new Canadian firms survive at least five years, and the rate of attrition drops each year (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 9). Most of the businesses in this study are "young," meaning they have not yet been fully established in the economy. They are still evolving (some are growing) as their owners "learn the ropes." This information is important because young organizations "face many vulnerabilities and liabilities" (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 10). Indeed, "They may lack sufficient financing, business networks and skilled employees in their early days. They may still be having problems ensuring consistent production quality. It takes time to develop a reputation in the market and a stable set of customers and suppliers" (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 10).

As I have previously explained, the participants in this study have satisfactorily jumped the (initial) financing, labour, and networking hurdles of business ownership. Developing a reputation and a customer base is not as easy. My data show mixed results in these departments, with some participants enjoying a regular, steady stream of patrons. Others have yet to fully break into the market due to barriers regarding cultural, human and financial capital. Additionally, as I will show, there is the opinion that establishing a business in the community simply requires time and patience. However, for participants who place social time above profits, Ahmad and Hoffman's (2007: p. 9) definition of business "impact" as job creation, economic growth, and poverty reduction is not applicable. These participants may consider their efforts successful if they make friends rather than profits, which further emphasizes the necessity of this research to allow participants exercise agency in defining and evaluating their daily realities.

4.3 FINDING A PLACE IN THE FOOD SECTOR

Market conditions largely influence any kind of business, but to immigrants those markets can provide the opportunity to start something unique. After all, "Entrepreneurship involves the creation of something new" (Fisher & Reuber, 2010: p. 6). One participant, whose restaurant in Halifax is truly one-of-a-kind, tells me that her business came after an assessment of local market conditions: "It's a niche that I felt in Halifax. You know, it's something that's not here." Canadian food trends show that the market is open to "exotic foods." Rosolen (2008) writes that, "In the past five years or so newer ethnic flavours, such as Thai, South Asian and other regional dishes, have increasingly become the choice of

consumers looking for something different" (para. 2). The author credits the media and globalization for this change in consumer preferences.

Choi and Henneberry (2000) argue this trend emerged as early as the 1990s. A report from Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (2005) notes that, "Canadian food patterns are influenced as much by the food preferences brought by immigrants from their home countries, as by exposure of the general population to different foods and methods of preparation" (p. 16). This exposure is supported by the proliferation of ethnic food restaurants, the availability of ethnic foods in grocery and specialty stores, the development of ethnic foods produced locally that are migrating into the mainstream, and a growing awareness of the health and novelty of certain foods (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2005: p. 16). A result of this trend, businesswomen have welcomed the opening of new markets and business possibilities.

For example, a Montreal-based study of 24 Greek immigrant businesswomen found that the majority of the participants perceived the competitive edge of their ventures to lie in the kind of specialization required to meet market needs in their local and ethnic communities, which prompted them to sell mostly Greek-themed products (Polideras, Abadir, Robotis & Halkias, 2011: p. 202). The immigrant women in my study have also taken advantage of the relative lack of ethnic food outlets in Halifax in order to secure a space for themselves in the food sector. For some, the opportunity emerged from social connections. The local immigrant settlement centre recognized this trend and suggested some of its network join the emerging International Market at the Halifax Seaport Farmers' Market. For others, the opportunity was recognized independently – after evaluating the current market, noting a gap, and strategizing ways in which to fill it.

All participants who offer ethnic goods (14 of 15) have done this in two ways: by selling authentic food from their country of origin, and/or by altering or marketing traditional recipes to suit the local clientele's tastes, needs, and requests. They are aware that they are offering unique dishes, and have an awareness of the voids they have filled in the local market.

> *Carly: Do you feel like your recipes are authentic?*
> *Poppy: I think so, yeah. Because sometimes people like, you know, the ones who know Indonesian food, who used to go to Indonesia, or Dutch descendants, and they just like, "Aahhhh, feels like my mom or something back home."*
>
> *Carly: Do you use traditional recipes or do you change them for Canadians?*

Dilbirin: No, not that much. The same recipe. No, actually, nothing. Kibbeh, same recipe. Falafel, same recipe. Sometimes you have to put more hot spice.

Carly: Why would people come to your stall?
Neti: My food is very different and a little above average in spice. So there are some people who really come for some of my snacks, who are the regular ones, so that's why I'm here . . . Especially my mango lassi and my lentil samosa, which are very special.
Carly: You say they're a little higher in spice. You mean heat-wise?
Neti: Yeah, spicy.
Carly: And you find people are looking for that?
Neti: Some of them, yes. I think 50 per cent of the Canadians, they love to have Indian food. They love Indian food because it is spicy.

These quotes are illustrative of the perceptions the women have of the market, as well as a few strategies they use to appeal to customers.

In offering these products, the women recognize that a certain clientele is more likely to respond. The majority of the participants told me their customers are mostly Canadian. Dora and Dilbirin explain why this might be.

Carly: Do you Middle Eastern people visit your restaurant?
Dora: No, most often you can say 80 per cent are Canadian, which is good.
Carly: Why do you think that's good?
Dora: I like to have Canadians because Lebanese know what my food is. Mediterranean they know. But Canadians, with Lebanese food we're new to them. I like to them to try our food. I'm Lebanese. When I'm going to go out to eat, most of the time I eat Canadian food, not Lebanese, because I can make [Lebanese food] at home. See?

Carly: So most of your customers are Canadian?
Dilbirin: Canadian, oh yeah. Ninety, 99 per cent. Oh, my culture not that much buy our food here. From my country, only like two customers I have from there. Sometimes they buy from different country. Like, you know you grow up with this. No point to come to market to eat same food. Of course you will go to Indian or Pakistani or Indonesian or African or whatever.

Serving traditional ethnic food to native-born Canadians has distinct cultural and social implications. Within the literature there are divergent views of authentic ethnic food. Some scholars see the sale of traditionally prepared food in a positive light. For Goldman (1992) a cultural insider who offers authentic food is partaking in an act of cultural resistance against mainstream homogenization. Abarca (2004: p. 6) suspects that a proliferation of ethnic food outlets hints at the acceptance of ethnic minorities into mainstream society, the creation of ethnic enclaves for immigrants who establish and work in ethnic restaurants, and functions of ethnic restaurants as social sites for cultural solidarity (p. 6). As a litmus test for cultural harmony, the author notes that foods that may have been deemed "unfit for human consumption" decades ago are now part of the mainstream food market. While it is perhaps too soon to claim that ethnic food outlets are a sign of minorities' acceptance, it appears that at least consumers are no longer xenophobic when it comes to *food* (Abarca, 2004: p. 6).

Minh-ha (1989) highlights the problem of *asking* people to be representatives of their foreign culture, as such expectations can ask minorities to remain as "Other." She writes that, "Today, planned authenticity is rife; as a product of cultural hegemony and a remarkable counterpart of universal standardization, it constitutes an efficacious means of silencing the cry of racial oppression. [It says] We no longer wish to erase your differences[;] we demand, on the contrary, that you remember and assert [them]" (p. 89). A recipe, it is clear, it not just the sum of its parts. Raviv (2003) notes that food products can become symbols of national identity. For example, "So intimately is rice joined to Japan and wine to France that it is difficult to excavate the historical origins of these associations" (p. 20). How then, can immigrant business owners regain a sense of control over their products and identity?

The answer may lie in adaptation and communication. Abarca (2004) makes the argument that, "When people add their own *chiste* (twist) to the preparation of a recipe, they add their knowledge and creative expression to it" (p. 4). Some informants demonstrate their ability to add *chiste* to traditional foods. They have done so to carve out an edge in business, yes, but in the process have taken control of their food production. Carolina and Neti, for example, tell me they have found a niche in offering their clientele gluten-free snacks.

> *Neti: I have something special called gluten-free snacks. So I prepare because some of the people cannot take flour. They are allergic to gluten. So at least four of my snacks will always be gluten-free. So they come and ask for it, and that's the thing which I bring more . . . And I give them something for tasting and see what they like, so each week there is a different menu. They are happy with that.*

Maria sells healthy version of Armenian and Russian favourites. None of her products are cooked, so the challenge is determining how to make raw or dehydrated versions that also taste good. In this sense she is a pioneer.

> *Maria: I was making, you know, baking. It's pastry. You open, put something inside – cabbage or meat or eggs you know, with spices. Then you close it. Like perogie. And put in oven or fry, and it becomes delicious of course. But when I understood it's not healthy, I tried to make my [own] recipes. I looked at all different books. I started buying books, you know, learning from each other.*

Further, in interacting with their customers – sharing what they know about the food and learning from them in return – they are retaining an element of control over their crafts and identities.

Moreover, the cross-cultural conversations my participants so enthusiastically described may be a key part of their settlement experiences. Simpson et al. (2009) write that, "Entering into dialogue with the Other can help you develop your own identity. Living 'in

exile' can extend our capacities to see ourselves through the eyes of others, creating opportunities for reflexivity" (p. 65). These interactions are a form of agency (Abarca, 2004: p. 4). Dora, Maria, and Anastasia describe their conversations in the business realm.

> Dora: I prefer to have more Canadian customers. Tell them about our traditions, our culture, how we eat, how we live, how we prepare the food. It's important to us.

> Mary: So I like to tell everyone about my culture, about my identity. So they, they will know about me if they know about my culture. They don't look at me like I'm strange. I mean, if I don't know anything about you, about your culture, how can I live with you, you know what I mean?

> Anastasia: Lots of Canadians with Russian backgrounds, grandparents. So I find out lots of interesting stories. People told me about their grandparents, parents.

In these ways, migrant businesswomen can simultaneously appeal to customers and assert their mastery over their flexible cultural staples, retaining a sense of their heritage in a new environment and engaging in cross-cultural dialogue. These *chiste* tactics may be the key to business success. Basu (2007) writes that successful entrepreneurs are "truly entrepreneurial in the sense that they actively search for opportunities in the open market and adapt their product offerings to satisfy the host community's needs and tastes" (p. 168-169).

4.4 ADVERTISING AND MARKETING STRATEGIES

The majority of the women in my study told me they could not afford to formally advertise their respective businesses. Dora says, "It's really expensive to [advertise] now after we did all the renovations and the business is very slow, like lately. The first two, three months we open was kind of very slow. So now it's kind of very good, the people start to know us. I know advertising makes much better. We will [advertise] maybe later on but not now." Indeed, advertising is an expensive luxury – one that also requires a great deal of cultural capital. Knowing where, how and when to advertise, as my conversation with Maria indicated, does not come easily. Maria wondered how she could secure an advertisement in a local newspaper, and asked me if I knew of any free advertising services from which she could benefit. In light of these details, it came as no surprise that resourcefulness, as well as social connections, were women's best options for alternative, budget-friendly advertising.

An example of resourcefulness came from my interview with Grace, who told me that last year her business applied to use Groupon, a coupon service that relies on loss-leader strategies to sell pre-paid coupons to online patrons. After a positive experience with Groupon, Grace made 5,000 copies of a to-go menu and placed them in mailboxes

surrounding her coffee shop. The menus serve a functional purpose – she can also stock them in the café – and they let locals know of her new take-out service. Dilbirin and Maria have relied largely on social connections to spread the word about their businesses. Dilbirin's husband requested that his friend mention Dilbirin's business in a multicultural association's newspaper. Maria's daughter manages the business's Facebook page, updating frequently with tantalizing photos of Maria's latest creations. The business's online following has grown in recent months, with many connections expressing their gratitude after finding Maria's healthy snacks for restricted diets.

In lieu of more straightforward advertising techniques, the most popular way women attract people to their businesses is through interpersonal networking strategies. Martinez and Aldrich (2011: p. 22) write that while the relationship between entrepreneurs and their customers is a market transaction, social dynamics affect the exchange process. Further, "Relationships between entrepreneurs and their customers vary in their degree of embeddedness, from one-time market transactions to continued exclusive use of one particular entrepreneur" (p. 22). Developing relationships and positive rapport with customers and potential customers, the women report, helps attract and retain followers. Grace notes that customer service is among her coffee shop's biggest strengths.

> *Grace: We try to remember most of customers. [We know] what they want before they want to talk. If they come most time every day, we know what they drink and before they come in we already set up their coffee and yeah, so [we try to be] very kind . . . And sometimes they talking about their personal lives.*

Her perspective corresponds with the tactics employed in many British curry houses. Basu (2007: p. 166) says these businesses compete on the basis of the quality of their products, but "treating the customer as king" also plays a key role in shaping business strategy.

For women who sell specific cultural goods, positive customer service can make or break a business transaction, as explaining the products is often required.

> *Mary: Because I had a small gift shop. I know how to deal with the customers, how to talk with them, how to offer them a good deal. For example my tablecloths, most of the people they don't know what's that. And they just look at it. If I don't explain to them, if I don't display for them, they're not going to buy it because they don't know what's that. But when I display or when I show them and explain for them, they love it. Sometimes they buy two, three (laughs). They go and come back and buy more. Yeah, I think that helps me a lot.*

> *Fatima: I have to take care of every people who come to my table. I love those people who come to my table, so I want to give time to everybody. Of course, sometime they ask, they ask about Indian food and all, we talk also. If I give one person more time, naturally another person will go [to another table instead].*

Dilbirin: I have conversations many times with some customers but more to explain it, to make sure, because some people really very picky. They don't want to take it, they want to know what in this thing and how, some people know just they say oh, or maybe they have information about it. They choose, they decide to buy it. But some people, yes, they ask me, make sure, talk about that food and how I made it, what's in it. So sometimes you have different conversation about Middle East food, about what is good.

I also noted, similar to Khosravi's (1999) analysis of Iranian small businesses in Stockholm, that some entrepreneurs have taken to extending themselves – offering special services – in order to foster customer satisfaction and loyalty. Maria, for instance, will schedule cooking classes at a customer's convenience, and will plan the lesson according to his or her taste preferences. Maria is a gracious and hospitable hostess, relying on what Dallalfar (1994) would describe as her gendered ethnic resources. In this sense, she further challenges male dominance of the economic sphere. She does so by blurring the line between the public and private sphere (Pessar, 1995: p. 39) – turning the home into a business and bringing business into the home. Other participants, with their conversational customer service style, also perform the function of "hosting" customers in their business space. Developing relationships with customers has helped many participants enjoy the benefits of repeat business.

Fatima: They write on the Facebook: "We love your chicken curry, we love you, you bring back your pumpkin curry." You know? Sometimes I stop making this samosa because it is difficult to make and it takes more time. So when I stop, everybody says, "Bring back your samosa."

For women like Fatima, who are in business for social engagement, such interactions can be the chief goal of the endeavour.

4.5 ATMOSPHERE OF WORK CONTRIBUTING TO SETTLEMENT

In light of the social nature of these businesses and the long hours their owners keep, it is unsurprising that the interactions my participants noted have positively contributed to their settlement experiences. The personal connections these women make are not typical of immigrants working survival jobs. Khosravi (1999) writes that, "The self-employed have established good relations with customers and employees . . . because they are not performing 'typical' migrant tasks, such as washing dishes or cleaning" (p. 500). The type and intensity of these connections varies greatly depending largely on the social location and personality of the businesswoman. It did not surprise me that Poppy, who was without a doubt the most outgoing woman I interviewed, has made friends with some of her customers. She has even taken a customer on a trip to her home city.

Poppy: We don't have childhood friends here, right? But since the international market opened, my network of friends is just grow. Because a lot of Canadians who likes Indonesia or who already visit Indonesia who's married to Indonesian or the Dutch descendants, and they become friends. And sometimes some of them I invite them to Indonesian gathering because they can speak the language, they like spicy food, so I say, "Do you like to come?" and they said, "Yeah!" and they just click directly. So it's good. From customer become friend.

While Poppy's case is perhaps an extreme example, it is not the only case in which a woman has achieved her personal social settlement objectives via the business environment.

All of my respondents told me their interactions with their customers usually extend beyond the basics necessary to complete a transaction. Dora's comment exemplifies what typically occurs in the business setting.

Dora: I like to do business, talk to people, and see people. I like a lot of conversation with the people. So like when I have a customer not just do the order and let them go. I can talk to them for five minutes. I like to do this so, I don't like to just sit in the office or in the room just talking to no one. I like to work with and talk to people.

Several women noted that speaking with their customers affected their social lives in the short- and long-term.

Esra: Our business really helps to know the other people, and actually we have really good reputation. We like to be with people, and we like to share everything with them. I think in Halifax many people know us and then it is good network. It is good for social life, and when you meet the new people, sometimes you get a friend. You are getting friends with these people, which is good.

Fatima: I'm so happy to go out. At this age some [women] feel like old ladies. They sit at home and nobody talks to them. At least this business has given me chance to communicate with the people, that is the great thing . . . Money-wise if you ask we would say we are working so hard and we don't get that much in return, but I'm fully satisfied because money at this age money is not much matter, but engagement, meeting people, the place, that matters very much.

Social interactions allow businesswomen to learn more about they people they are serving and the culture in which they are working.

Fatima: I'm very close to their culture, close to their you know in communicating with them I can understand their living and their culture, which is you know because we are new here so we must know their culture and their ways so that I will feel more comfortable. So this is a chance I got in the market, this chance I got here. It's very nice.

Fatima's comments show that for the older women in my study these connections are especially vital. Maria, Poppy and Grace tell me they feel it is harder to make friends in middle age as opposed to during childhood and adolescence. Business life helps them connect with people they might not otherwise encounter.

Many participants note that the atmosphere in Halifax, a mid-sized city, is different compared to that of a larger city. When asked what they like about living in Halifax, they frequently cite the friendliness of their customers and other residents. Anastasia compares

Halifax to her hometown in Russia, where she would not feel comfortable greeting a stranger. Here, she says, on the streets and in her business everyone is so friendly that it brings out a friendly side of her. Such interactions, she says, help her feel more at home in Halifax. Fatima, who has also spent time in Toronto, expressed a similar opinion. She says, "Here I feel people are more human. More humble and friendly. They're very friendly people. That's why I want to be in Halifax. If I want to be in Canada, I have to be in Halifax only Toronto is a good city, it's a big city, but you know we are lost there. We are lost. Here at least people know you." Dilbirin neatly summarized her opinions on social life in Halifax by saying, "I think we are 100 per cent okay with Halifax. We not feeling like we're strange. Like we're immigrants, we're not feeling because people nice to us. Doesn't give that feeling, you know?" In this sense, when it comes to these immigrants' social lives, location matters.

Deficits in terms of language skills can hinder such opinions. Almost all of the women I spoke with apologized for their English language skills. Many of them noted feeling uncomfortable speaking English despite having taken courses. Grace, for example, remarks that she feels limited in the ways she can interact with her customers.

> *Grace: In the case of our country we start learning English when I was junior high. But it's hard to get a chance to speaking. We always just reading book and taking exam and grammar. And grammar is best important part . . . Because speaking and knowledge is different . . . Sometimes I feel uncomfortable but it's okay. This is my second language, and even I cannot communicate 100 per cent. I can understand not everything, but most things. I can understand and customer can understand when I'm talking. So yeah. We can communication little bit and yeah, I think I need to study more but I didn't have the time to. I think speaking is a problem. I'm immigrant, but if I can speak English well they cannot do that. But when they going to complain but they cannot do that because their speaking is not good.*

Grace, Linda, and Ling have explained the limitations they have experienced in making connections or forging friendships with those outside their ethnic networks. As a result, the three women express longing for their countries of origin, or a place in Canada where they may find a larger immigrant community. Dora and Esra once experienced similar social restrictions, but after gaining cultural and linguistic capital they were able to feel more embedded in their social environments, including the workplace.

4.6 ALL WORK, NO PLAY

It seems that for the women in my study regardless of the type or quantity of employee assistance, working long hours comes with the territory of owning a small business. A full schedule can have physical and mental consequences. Grace tells me: "When I'm

working my shift, I'm working almost double of my regular employees. So I'm working, standing long hours and I hurt my legs. I'm using my right hand, and when I'm making espresso and latte I hurt my shoulder and arm." The nature of the small business is not for the weak or faint of heart: "The risks of failure remain substantial and those businesses that survive often depend on their owners' willingness to work long and hard" (Waldinger, 1989: p. 65). Indeed, these demanding conditions are often enough to deter non-immigrants from entering the retail field (Waldinger, 1989: p. 65). Putting in long hours against low wages is a characteristic of small-scale retail operations in an easily accessible market that does not require much human capital as it involves small-scale, low-skilled, labour-intensive production (Kloosterman, 2010: p. 31). Anthias and Mehta (2003: p. 111) note that working in low-growth sectors of retail, catering and service can subject immigrants to competition from larger retailers. Such a reality, the authors note, can lead to self-exploitation from those who own family or personal businesses and bear sole responsibility for their operations.

For women in my study who own a standalone business (as opposed to a market stall) the norm is to work at least six days a week – above and beyond the national standard of five. Many participants feel "tied to the business." Anthias and Mehta (2003: p. 112) suggest this feeling common among those who work in businesses that are not client based (for example, beauty salons, accountancy) which allow entrepreneurs to gain flexibility in their working arrangements, gaining more personal and family time. In some cases, they would not have it any other way. Sara is particularly enthusiastic about her schedule, despite acknowledging the stress and physical discomfort that can come from jam-packed weeks. Sara tells me that, "We work. We work seven days a week. We work hard, and we love to work you know. We love it." However, Carolina partially credits her seven-day workweek for putting stress on her personal relationships, and ended a three-year relationship with a partner who could not come to terms with her near-constant work presence.

Still, she makes few apologies for her business life, which she considers to be non-negotiable.

> Carolina: I said, "I shouldn't be feeling guilty. I'm doing something for the two of us you know. It's not like solely for my benefit." So that was something, you know, and that ended us. I didn't feel too bad, you know. I tried, I said, "You know I tried." It didn't work and there's not much I can do about it. So that one it was okay.

Dora explains that her life revolves around work, and whatever social time she takes is generally devoted to her family life.

Dora: By the time I finish working here, I have my two boys I can cook for them, sit with them, talk to my sister back home, to my mom, do my work papers, do my housework. I don't have the time with this place to do much, really.

Olivia shares similar sentiments, noting that although she goes to church every Sunday, her work commitments have held her back from the type of friendships and community involvement she craves.

Olivia: By the time I finish here, it's like 8 o'clock, sometimes 9. I go home, I sit in my recliner, I'm gone. I'm completely tired, so I haven't been keeping in touch with my friends as much as I would like to.

It appears that while my participants are aware of their hectic schedules and they would enjoy more free time, they are not exactly resentful of their situations. They tend to see it as part of the territory they have entered – and feel like they have little control over it.

Relief from a busy schedule can come from looking forward. For some participants, the long hours and hard work characteristic of their business experiences are products of the early stage of their enterprises. Among several women, there is the agreement that in time they will be able to relax.

Mary: We think that if you want to have business, if you want to start business you have to have patience. It's not just you come for a few days and make a lot of money and say, "Okay that's good." That's not business. You have to have patience. You have to come frequently and you know because business goes up and down you never know which day is good or not. You have to know the customers.

Maria: You know, of course I'm not relaxing, you understand me, yes. It's hard, it's hard, but I don't have any choice yet. I'm waiting. I'm waiting, this is my what can I say? I'm hoping. It's my hope, my business . . . If someone give me, you know, house or something and say, "Go do your business – after, you can give me money back." But I hope I will get something, God see what I'm doing: Good things for people you know. I think so.

Carolina: Next year will be okay. I will be able to leave, without my family because it's my family who works here with me. And I won't be able to worry about it anymore because the business will be established. And the business has a very good reputation. Only 2 per cent negativity of all the surveys or the comments that you will see on the websites you know? Everything is, one of them is 96 per cent. So you know it hasn't gone down. So that tells me I'm doing something right.

These stories are examples of the manner in which liminal experiences can linger even after an immigrant's reincorporation has begun.

Running a market stall seems only marginally less demanding, but the definition of "demanding" certainly depends on one's social location. For Fatima and her husband, who are formally retired, preparing food six hours every week and then selling it all day on Friday is very physically demanding.

Carly: Would you like more physical help with your cooking and selling?

Fatima: Yes, for selling I think we should have help. My son is also advising me because we get tired. And he doesn't want that his parents should be so tired. When we go home they want us to be lively. You know, that time we are exhausted. He says, "Mama, come on let's go somewhere out." But I feel like sleeping. That's why he's advising you should take help – somebody should help you so you could relax.

Maria expresses similar concerns, which is partly why she looks forward to transitioning from her market stall and into in-home cooking classes, full-time. Her current situation, she says, involves waking up at 3 a.m. on market days and lifting all the food and heavy glass display cases into the building. After setting up her stall, she'll stand on a concrete floor for several hours, haul everything home, and wash the display materials for later use. During the week, she has hours of food preparation to complete. All in all, her work and family obligations leave her with barely an hour to fit in leisure time – a brisk walk in the mornings. Maria's case is a compelling example of the trials of balancing work and personal life.

When discussions of immigrant business involve hours of work, the gendered nature of business becomes apparent. Anthias and Mehta (2003) write that, "For women such pressures are exacerbated since they also bear responsibility for the domestic sphere" (p. 111). The authors conducted a study of male and female business owners and reported that in the female biographies, words such as "hectic," "stressful," and "juggling" are common, but they do not feature in the male biographies (p. 111). Feminist scholars attest that women's responsibility for reproductive labour puts them at a disadvantage in the labour market through periodic or long-term absences, and through the burden of the second shift that wage-earning women bear in the home (Hochshield, 1989). There is also a degree of intersectionality in the context of reproductive labour, including paid reproductive labour. For example, Duffy (2007) examines the history of racial minority women's involvement in paid reproductive labour and write that currently, "While white women are much more likely to be associated with the private forms of non-nurturant reproductive labour, racial-ethnic women are significantly overrepresented in both the private household and institutional incarnations of cooking and cleaning work" (p. 311). Men, on the other hand, are barely represented in these realms, although racial-ethnic men are disproportionately found in institutional cleaning and food preparation and service occupations (Duffy, 2007: p. 311).

The women in my study who explained feeling overworked owned fairly new businesses and/or had no other staff to rely upon in their absence. Their challenges were mitigated only partially by the fact that few of them had dependent children to care for. However, despite acknowledging that housework is not necessarily "women's work," most of

my participants bear the majority of the responsibility for the household sphere, a challenge that can add stress and physical strain to a daily schedule. Indeed, seven of my married participants (Ling, Dilbirin, Fatima, Linda, Mary, Grace and Esra) and my two unmarried participants (Carolina and Maria) complete the majority of household tasks and have always done so. Mary and Fatima tell me they claim responsibility for housework because their husbands do not properly complete the tasks.

> Mary: My husband helping me, but mostly I don't let him (laughs). When he want to do something it makes more job for me. If you want to wash dishes, it takes long time. I do it very fast or I just put it in dishwasher, so it's very fast. I work very fast. But he's working very slowly so I don't let him do anything.

> Fatima: Everything I do. That's of course there's shopping or some hard work he does. Not for that. Cooking I don't want he should touch because he doesn't know he will create a mess . . . They don't do properly. They don't do properly, so most of the things, cleaning and all, I love to do myself. Even my daughter-in-law, she doesn't do properly so I always tell her leave those things for me. I will do this. So when she's not there I clean and then when she comes home she'll say oh mama, it's looking so good, so clean. This is the way you know we enjoy life.

Fatima's final sentence indicates her enjoyment of household tasks, a sentiment unique in this study. She also tells me, "In India, husband is first after God." She considers her husband the "head of the household" and provider, and is content to fill the nurturer role.

These arrangements can change over time. Lim (1997) writes that sometimes, "With a sense of injustice, wives attempt to change the unequal division of family work by demand or appeal to their husbands" (p. 41). Bhalla (2008) chronicled Indian women's complaints that their household burden had increased as a consequence of migration, and their attempts at transforming traditional male-female identities in the domestic division of labour are not unique. For example, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) has shown the role of female networks in renegotiating gender relationships, and Lim (1997) has highlighted Korean immigrant women's challenge to gender inequality at home. Some women are simply tired of trying to achieve an ideal "Superwoman" status in the household, Bhalla continues, and thus cajole, prod, or even plead with men to understand their plight. In this way, although women may not be using the language of feminism, they are "displaying the behaviour of liberated women and a common understanding of their situation" (Bhalla, 2008: p. 93).

Dilbrin says household work falls on her shoulders, as her son and husband "never do anything in the house." This perplexes and angers her, considering when she was growing up in Syria her father played an active role in maintaining the domestic sphere and gave her the

belief that "housework is not just women's work because it's not just she living in that house."

> *Dilbirin: Even the water they drink, coffee, they're asking me for it because that's our culture. They grow up like that, you cannot change them. My father was opposite. But [my husband], oh no. He's really lazy, but we don't have problem. I understand, that's it. I wake up, I wash dishes, I cook, I clean. Everything, see? Oh yeah. I like it. Sometimes I'm pushing him. You growing older, I'm growing older. At least small things, small things. Even if you drink coffee, don't leave it on the table.*

Despite asking politely – and sometimes not so politely – for this arrangement to change in her favour, her requests have been ignored. She says, "I don't like it of course, but I can't divorce for that reason you know." Resigning to the status quo, Lim (1997: p. 43) notes, may be the product of a patriarchal belief in women's sacrifice for their families, as well as a desire to avoid marital conflict. Alternating between saying, "We don't have a problem" and "I don't like it" appears to indicate an effort to diplomatically express her feelings.

Grace has had more success in this area, using her full-time work as leverage in her argument. Women can attain the ability to challenge gender inequality at home through their participation in the paid labour force (Pessar, 1995; Lim, 1997). Indeed, husbands' family work is framed mainly in terms of family cooperation or adjustment to wives' employment, so as women work outside the home to reduce their husbands' burden of breadwinning, men are expected to respond to the wives' time shortage and fatigue (Lim, 1997: p. 41). Grace and Olivia are the only participants who acknowledge a change in the household division of labour since their entrepreneurship began. Until she started her business, Grace was a stay-at-home mom. After buying her café, her husband started helping in the kitchen and picked up some childcare duties. In the kitchen, "He started learning to cook step by step and now he's very good chef. 'I made this one today,' he says. Big change." However, Grace still refers to herself as the head of the household domain, as her husband's learning curve has been steep and she cannot quite relinquish control – feeling the need to oversee decision-making. In that sense, her current household status is only marginally different from her previous one.

Esra, Mary, and Ling acknowledge that their husbands help them around the house when they are needed. Ling says her husband completes perhaps one-fifth of the chores. He may help her around the house or in the garden, but since she stayed at home to take care of her children and the household before moving to Canada, she has maintained her caretaker status. She expresses discontent with her position, and is glad that since moving to Canada her husband has begun to help with some of the chores. Despite controlling most of the

domestic sphere, Mary and Esra know their limits.

> *Mary: For vacuuming, yeah I let [my husband] do it. I don't like vacuuming. It's not dividing the chores but whenever he feels that I need help, he helps me. Or if there's something I couldn't do or have time, he's doing that. For shopping usually he does because he can bargain with the sellers very good. I can't. Usually he buys everything we need, but the rest we do together.*

> *Esra: Does he help me? Of course he helps me. He usually, when I am busy, when I don't have time he helps me about cooking and he helps me about the shopping sometimes of course. Actually he helps me about many things. Many things. If it is necessary. But he likes to cook and he really enjoys to cook. And this is not help. He likes and he wants to cook, you know. But if I am busy he helps me for many things, yeah.*

Lim (1997) offers the pessimistic observation that, "As long as wives regard men's family work as a matter of help rather than a matter of responsibility, they cannot demand that their husbands help unless the men have extra time and energy" (p. 44). Still, for the most part just as the participants do not generally complain about their work schedules, they do not show much emotion regarding housework and simply consider it something that needs to be done. Pessar (1995) says when women praise their husbands for "helping" with housework and say they are "helping" their husbands with wage-earning, they convey on one hand an element of progressiveness in the domestic sphere, but on the other a more conservative message about gendered subjects. This message "holds that women are subjects whose primary interests and responsibilities are rooted in the home, while men are subjects who are responsible for maintaining the family labours in the workplace" (p. 42).

Six participants (Sara, Poppy, Olivia, Neti, Dora, and Anastasia) describe their shared division of household labour. Four participants go as far as calling their arrangement a "50/50 split." Poppy and Neti's statements are good examples of the group's sentiments.

> *Poppy: Whoever is not tired, whoever wants to do it then you do it. Sometimes he knows that I am tired. He'll say, "You just sit." Or sometimes I do everything. We don't have a, "You have to do this because I do this" arrangement. No. We just do it. Yeah. And at the market I'm here on Saturday, and he's home. Sometimes he's home and he vacuum the floor, he do everything. Always been that way.*

> *Neti: 50/50. We do it all together. We balance . . . Men don't do cooking in our country. They look after the other aspects, like outside the house. Other things. Like paying the bills and all that. Anything to do with kitchen and domestic I do it.*

These reflections illustrate the kind of bargaining that occurs in these households. The outcome of the bargaining largely depends on who is tired and who has time. Additionally, bargaining occurs when women reflect on their work-life balance and decide not to aim to achieve the "Superwoman" ideal. Dora and Sara do not cook dinner because they are too tired by the end of the day. Their family members must "fend for themselves." Since opening her

restaurant, Olivia's husband has taken over a large share of the household duties, including doing their son's laundry. Olivia feels remorseful about not having more time to do these tasks for him (which can be perceived as an expression of love) but for the foreseeable future knows she needs to devote herself to her business – a feeling that communicates the entrepreneur's deep passion for her work, a passion that is arguably shared among the participants whose busy work lives do not allow for much "play" yet they fail to launch complaints.

Pessar (1995) provides an explanation for why most of the women in my study have not seen changes in domestic arrangements since their businesses opened. The author says the view that employed women gain leverage in the household to challenge their domestic role depicts the household as helping to reproduce the gender and class inequities of the larger society. However, citing Glenn (1986), Zinn (1987), and Kibria (1993), she notes there is a second point of view that comes from a discourse developed to capture the collective struggles of households "on the margin," such as poor and minority households. The second perspective "argues for a sharper dichotomy between the organization of the household and the larger political economy with the domestic sphere providing a culture, set of social relations, and material resources to resist external inequalities and oppression" (Pessar, 1995: p. 40). Proponents of this approach acknowledge that the structures of inequality linked to gender exist in poor and minority households, but nonetheless, "these divisions are minimized in order to maintain a strong, united front with which to confront external forces which seek to exploit and undermine the poor and their institutions" (Pessar, 1995: p. 40). Therefore, depending on the participants' experiences in and perceptions of the public sphere, they will be less likely to challenge gender relations in the household regardless of their dissatisfaction with them.

4.7 BRINGING FAMILY CLOSER TOGETHER

I have found that migration has strengthened my participants' familial relationships. Additionally, my study shows that the business environment can be a site of bonding for spouses and other family members. It appears that, for many of my participants, working for long hours in close proximity can strengthen relationships or, at the very least, maintain already healthy relationships. Asking my participants about their romantic relationships was a prickly endeavour. A great deal of the time I asked if anything had changed in the relationship

since immigrating or opening a business and my question was met with a curt: "No." Similarly, in most cases when I asked if a participant would like to change anything about her relationship, I was assured there was nothing to change.

In this sense, my findings differed from a large body of literature (largely of a socialist feminist nature) that shows when women enter the workforce, they gain leverage within the household and are able to, to a certain extent, challenge patriarchal or uneven relations (see, for example, Molyneux, 1984: p. 79). Other research proposes the same is true for immigrant women in particular, and discusses the positive effect migration alone can have on the household division of labour and patterns of decision-making and authority. For example, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) describes Mexican immigrant couples' shifts in balance of power. The author writes that, "With the diminution of patriarchal gender relations, women gain power and autonomy, and men lose some of their authority and privilege" (p. 411-412).

To the contrary, my participants – who largely explained that there is no "head of the household" at home and attested to enjoying a balance of marital power – offered insight into the positive aspects of their relationships that have remained or been strengthened since migration. Most women described their partnerships first and foremost as a friendship. Generally, when I asked women what they liked about their romantic relationships, they stated qualities such as "trust" and "respect," and assured me that these had always been characteristics of their relationships. Sarah, for example, tells me: "I don't want that much [from my relationship]. Just I respect him, he respect me. We respect each other, everything goes smoothly. You know, we don't have big problems. We respect each other, that's enough." Mary is also very fond of her partner.

> Mary: We trust each other. We honour each other, love each other. And that's it. Thirty-six years we are used to each other. Sometimes it's good to go away for one week, two weeks. In my age, I think it's good for everyone. Just when he goes you know for a trip I can feel that I miss him or he misses me.

Grace's comment speaks to the idea of being friends with a partner.

> Grace: Yeah, we are very good friends. Best friends, my husband. He's very, yeah. I never seem like him. He's very calm, he's very gentle. He never yells. Sometimes I'm angry and he never angry. He understand. Sometimes he get depressed, I can understand him. We, I think we are good. Yeah. We had a talking because if you're living in Korea we have a lot of friends. We met in Korea but in Canada we don't have good friends. Only you can, we don't have family, only me and my husband. We talking anything, everything. We worry about the same things, we have kids that belongs him and me, so yeah. Our goal is same, our concerns are same.

In this sense, I have found that there is an underlying element of compatibility among the

couples I encountered. It is my observation that, as Grace tells me, in lieu of intense or close personal friendships in Halifax, my participants have maintained close ties with their partners. For some, living in Halifax has even brought them closer together.

As I have mentioned, the same can be said for the business context. Several women who work alongside a male partner have noted the pleasure and comfort they take in their daily workplace exchanges. For Esra, the couple's compatibility in their restaurant also comes down to respect. She says, "Sometimes I respect his decision, sometimes he respect my decision. He always supports me because when I am here he feels more comfortable and when he goes somewhere he doesn't think about he job because I am here. He trusts me and makes him comfortable." As a result, her relationship grows stronger.

> *Esra: My relationship, day by day, day by day it is getting very tight. It is really difficult to explain. We are really good friends and we try to help each other every time, and we take care of each other all the time. We love each other still.*
> *Carly: Why do you think you're getting closer? Does working together bring you closer?*
> *Esra: Not just work. Just to be together, kind of friendly, friends. If we go somewhere we don't have another. We enjoy time together.*

Esra and Dora have worked for their entire adult lives alongside their husbands, so they do not know another way to work. Dora says this arrangement is ideal.

> *Dora: If have a day off or if he has a day off, we don't know how to do things, like each one of us separate. We live that way for 22 years. We can't change our way. See? So if he's not with me I feel like something missing. Like now, if sometime he will go alone to the bank, the doctor, or something, you will feel something missing – cause I'm always with him.*

Dora says, "Lots of couples are not like that, but we are that way," indicating that she realizes her situation is an exceptional one.

Sara's happiness with her working conditions is based on her understanding of her relative freedom as a woman in Canada. She tells me that in Iran she did not have the opportunity to work.

> *Sara: Work make women and men closer. When just he bring the money, I complain all the time, 'Why is not enough?' Because just he was one and we were four – three kids and me. It wasn't fair, I think. It wasn't fair. If just man is working it's selfish. If just you work and I have fun, everything is not fair. It should be, I don't want to be selfish. But right now I'm happy. All the time on the phone with my daughter-in-law and if she complain I say, 'Don't worry. If you come here you have rights. Human have rights – not just woman and not just man. Many things are changed here.'*

Fatima says she is enjoying retirement with her husband.

> *Fatima: We are more close because you know when we were both working, we were not having much time with each other. Here we both are retired and whatever doing we are doing together so we are more close now.*

Their increased sense of intimacy with their husbands is a result of their newfound shared

experiences.

Lim (1997) paints a dichotomous scene, in which working together can result in both pleasure and pain. On one hand, the author writes, "The members of immigrant families may perceive their families as a source of support in resisting oppression from outside institutions rather than a locus of gender conflict; any conflicts among family members may therefore be muted" (p. 35). Alternatively, "The physically demanding work of family business couples also causes marital conflict to increase. As family business couples define their everyday lives as 'nothing except eating, sleeping, and working,' they feel so tired or stressed that they get angry at others" (p. 39). Working side by side in a small place can result in bickering and resentment. Only two participants hinted such conflict takes place. Dora says she and her husband sometimes argue about "something stupid" for five minutes before they move on. Ling is struggling to balance the majority of her business's tasks, resenting her husband's failing health and lamenting the couple's inability to pay for an extra employee. In this sense, my data reveals that the business setting has resulted in more bonding than conflict. Still, without dismissing or belittling these findings, it is important to remember the assertions from Moghissi et al. (2009) and Bourdieu (1977) as described in the second chapter of this thesis, which provide insight into the difficulty women may have in recognizing or expressing domestic tribulations.

For other participants, owning a business has been fruitful for their relationships with other family members. Maria and Anastasia, who both work with their grown daughters, have noted the business experience has strengthened the mother-daughter relationship. Carolina calls her work experience a "family reunion" and notes, "The business is something that makes us closer." When Carolina was nominated for a local business award, she was quick to credit her family's support and urged them to share the honour as a group.

> Carolina: [The business] is something that we have something in common you know, like on the weekends we can have breakfast together you know . . . so it kind of reconnects us on a certain level family-wise. So yes, that's something that the business did. And my mom always wanted to have a café. So I said, 'Well, there you go.' I said to them, 'Whatever benefits the business will benefit the family.' I like to share whatever it is you that comes with them.

Though Maria considers herself no longer married, she says her business has changed the way her former spouse perceives her. Maria has learned that the man, who still lives in the family's house, has been speaking highly of Maria to his passengers in the taxi he drives, as well as their relatives in Russia. He has told people he is proud of Maria and sees value in her work. In this way, Maria's business has levelled the playing field of their relationship – it has,

in a sense, legitimized her in the eyes of her former husband.

4.8 THE BOTTOM LINE

If this study framed business success more in terms of profit, it is likely I would offer a more pessimistic analysis of these businesses, as they are fairly new and some women (especially those in the market) report meagre profits. Aside from Esra, Carolina, Grace, Linda and Sara, whose more established businesses support their families' "medium"-level incomes, when I asked participants how much their businesses make in a day or year, I most often entertained one of two responses. The first response was a polite decline to answer in the spirit of confidentiality. The second was something along the lines of, "It's hard to say." The latter response came from most of the market vendors, indicating that their profits greatly fluctuate and they do not rigorously keep track of these fluctuations. In general, though, the vendors I spoke with who could provide an estimate of their profits said they were lucky if they earned two or three hundred dollars from a day's work. When they subtract the cost of groceries, supplies, kitchen rental, transportation, and table costs, there is very little profit. Reflecting on her cash flow, Poppy says, "Really, you get nothing."

The women of the farmers' market are quick to blame low market attendance for their poor sales. Neti sums up her colleagues' concerns:

> *Neti: Last year it was flooded by vendors. Today there are no vendors. You see only 10 or 8. It's not doing that great. Lack of advertisement, lack of marketing activities. [Little] bus access to this place. Parking is so expensive. $10 you have to pay if you want to come inside. Who will come? There is no parking. Before it was free, that was the reason. So nobody comes because there is no bus route. So they have to arrange [more busses] for this area, then it will be good. Parking for customers should be at least free. Otherwise nobody will spend 10 dollars to come to see this market. Obviously there is nothing here for them to see for 10 dollars. It's not good, that's the main reason.*

The challenge associated with low market attendance is how it negatively affects vendor attendance, and vice versa. The relationship is a complicated one, and my informants tell me a solution is so far not on the horizon. They criticize the management for not doing enough to attract attention to the vendors' efforts. Poppy laughed when we discussed her profits, saying the women working independently in the market are lucky to have their working husbands' money to support them.

The women's low profits are also likely a result of the low prices of their products and services. At one point during the fall, the women were circulating coupons for a five-dollar lunch special, and loss-leader-type sales are popular. Maria's cooking classes are very

expensive. She charges only twenty-five dollars per person for a two-hour session. While she asks participants to purchase snacks from her before they leave, the overall profits are still low considering her kitchen can house no more than eight participants. Maria is aware of the deal she's providing ("It's very cheap for two hours, very cheap") but has no plans to increase the cost. Other women blame the economy, their neighbourhood or shoppers' habits for their low sales. It is my perception that citing external factors allows women to cope with the realities of their business lives, alleviating some of the emotional burden of solving their financial problems.

Mary's story exemplifies what keeps the vendors retaining their booths despite less than stellar returns, and indicates the mindset of the participants' in general at one point or another after opening their businesses.

> Mary: Some days good. Some days slow. But in the beginning it was very good you know. All the farmers, all the booths were full. From every country. But little by little they quit to come. But we still are here . . . So it's not just like one day, two day, no every day about business and they say okay that's a good business or not. Because some days last year when we started it was before Christmas. We had very good sales. But here in the summer sometimes it wasn't so good. So you cannot just say this is good or not. You have to be patient.

This persistence extends to some women's skill-building. Grace was perplexed at her coffee shop's low sales when she first took over the business, and strives during her free time to learn as much as she can about business ownership and speciality drink making.

> Grace: I'm studying. I still study and this study. I'm reading books about business and how to make success running business and sometimes I feeling big, I'm tired, how do I work? But I'm reading book. After that they give a lot of answers. I think book is the best one to get answers and very fresh mind, and after read book – okay, I can do that. Give confidence.

For Dora, in the year that she has owned her business (which existed for decades prior to her takeover) she has seen great change in the balance sheet at the end of the day, but is still nervous.

> Dora: Like, we might need more time. But like I say, since August it's good. Like, we can see more and more people. You can see the business. We used to sell $100, $150 a day. So from $150 to three or four hundred dollar, we could say it's not big business but we can thanks God it's getting better.

The general consensus is that, in the early years of business ownership, the best thing to do is wait. Still, the negative experiences or learning curves I have documented here – such as finding financing or learning about advertising – have no doubt contributed to the businesses' overall profitability.

I expect that as the participants continue navigating the Halifax's small business

economy and gain familiarity with their craft, they will find strategies to increase their income. For example, as I have noted, some women have taken to comparison-shopping to decrease their overhead costs. This form of cultural capital – knowing where to shop – is a simple way to help preserve a business during its early years. It is worth noting that, when asked what they would like to change about their businesses, very few of the women told me they would like more customers or profits. In general, they were happy with their enterprises. Their goals for the future largely included making aesthetic changes to their booths and buildings in order to make them more attractive to customers, as well as offering more products/services and arranging advertising.

4.9 MAINTAINING FAMILY TIES ABROAD

Transnationalism literature is quick to make observations regarding immigrants' communications with family and friends in their home countries. Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001) offer insight into Fouron's active long-distance nationalism, a feature of which is his financial and material support of his immediate and extended family in Haiti. Fouron's efforts are portrayed as important for the health and welfare of his family, but detrimental to his financial and emotional stability. In this way, when a person immigrates, his or her familial obligations are not diminished by distance, nor are the emotional ties. These connections – although potentially stressful – can be therapeutic. Tastsoglou (2006) writes that immigrant women can come to feel 'at home' in Canada, paradoxically, "by meticulously sustaining close connections with their families of origin and extended families transnationally no matter what the geographical distance between them" (p. 217). Further, "Caring for far away family members is a way of asserting that the immigrant is still connected, still a part of the same yet now multi-local family, that geographical distance does not imply real, emotional separation" (p. 217). For these reasons, I was interested in learning about my participants' connections to their home countries.

Similar to Tastsoglou's (2006) findings, I have noted that the importance of an immediately available family-based support network to immigrant women is underscored by how the women feel in its absence. The author writes that, "In a new country where most of the extended family are often far away, the lack of present extended family and relatives is sorely felt" (p. 219). While some of my participants expressed only minor discontent regarding their separation from family, the majority of my participants conveyed a persistent

sense of loss that has barely cooled with time. Esra's poignant observations are a testimony to the group's feelings.

> Esra: Of course, it's really difficult. I miss [my family] but nowadays technology really helpfully, convenient to communicate to people, and I call my mom everyday on the phone and I speak with them sometimes. I call my other sister and my mother-in-law. We communicate, carry on on the phone. I don't like to use the computer, I like to speak on the phone so I hear their voice. It makes me happy, and then actually twice a year if everything is okay I want to go see them. Sometimes really difficult because you want to be with your sister to share everything, your family, but day by day, day by day I feel better. In the beginning it was a little bit hard for me, but day by day, day by day getting used to this in Halifax without family, but if I speak on the phone, if I heard they are in good health it makes me happy. Everyone has special life, I have private life here with my husband, with my daughters, I am busy and thank God we are healthy and if you think this way it doesn't bother you because if you believe in destiny you feel more comfortable.

The participants' business ownership contributes to their physical separation from family. Some of the women explain that they take trips home in shifts because one or more members of their family must stay home to manage the business. Separation need not be negative, though. While Poppy says she often feels "lost out here" because it is so expensive to fly home to Indonesia and she cannot afford frequent trips, as a consequence she is closer to her far-away family: "It's strange, but yeah. We talk more often, we share, I think because we are so far away." Such a sentiment is an example of how transnational relationships can be therapeutic.

Contrary to common assertions in transnational scholarship, very few women in this study contribute financially to the income of their families at home. There are two reasons for this. First, some families simply do not need the money, a fact that speaks to Wong and Satzewich's (2006) call for attention to immigrant individuals and groups that are "comparatively more privileged" (p. 7) than, for example, Fouron's impoverished Haitian connections. A more common action is sending money or gifts for special occasions, which the participants deem normal in their cultures. For the recipients there is novelty in Canadian merchandise – clothing, for example. Mothers and sisters overseas are especially delighted to feel "special" wearing or using their "exotic" goods.

Two participants – Linda and Grace – also regularly send small trinkets as symbols of their affection. Linda often sends her parents photos of her two small children. Grace sends her elderly parents vitamins. She says while her parents could easily purchase the same vitamins in Korea, she wants to send them in lieu of the gestures she could provide if she lived closer, such as making them dinner. Interestingly, instead of sending money home to family, Fatima and Olivia regularly contribute to children's charities that they still help

manage from afar. Linda and her husband use their grocery store as a site for collection donations for charitable initiatives in Japan through the local Japanese society. These efforts challenge the common assumption that the beneficiaries of transnational attention are solely family. None of the women who send money or gifts to family feel obligated to do so.

The second reason participants are not contributing financially to their transnational families is because some of them cannot afford to send money. Such a finding is unsurprising considering their aforementioned financial earnings and local obligations, such as business and family expenditures. Neti and her husband do not have full-time employment, so instead of sending money home they are receiving it.

> Neti: I have no money to send home. I'm struggling for my house, here to buy a house or anything.
> Carly: Does anyone send you money?
> Neti: Sometimes my brother in law helps us when we need something, lump sum, like suddenly we have to pay for car insurance or something so we do take help sometimes because both of us are not employed here, so that's a problem.

Ling and Maria both express their desire to financially support their relatives overseas. At one time Ling was able to send money home, but since her business has ceased to be profitable she is no longer doing so – and now occasionally accepts money on special occasions. Maria says simply, "I don't have big money. They are waiting from us. They are waiting from us, but we cannot do too much." For these women, eventually supporting family overseas therefore depends on developing a more robust income flow.

Emotional support is another form of "currency," and among the participants it is largely praised as more valuable than money. Esra is thankful for her family's encouragement of her business.

> Esra: [My family in Turkey] always support us. They know my husband really likes the kitchen. And he's really social and capable doing many things and that's why I always support him because he's really hard-working and he tries to be successful. That's why everyone believe in him and always we support. In Turkey they always support us.

This form of transnational relationship is worth noting, as it has contributed positively to the participants' business and settlement experiences. The support goes both ways. Several participants' speak of their concern for aging or sick relatives. Dilbirin speaks at length about her sister's legal battle in Syria, and recounts a recent effort to soothe her family's wounds over the phone. Such practices may be gendered. Wong and Satzewich (2006) write that, "In many cases, women's relationships to their cultures of origin are often stronger than those of men" (p. 9). They cite Mahler and Pessar (2001) who suggest that women's practices in

transnational spaces can be analyzed within the gendered geographies of power framework. Thus, "Understanding how gendered relationships of work are negotiated is of particular importance in the transnational context" (Wong & Satzewich, 2006: p. 10). That some participants support their husbands' relatives as an ambassador for the family is evidence of this form of gendered work that puts women at the helm of maintaining transnational ties.

4.10 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Immigrants' connections in the community outside their circles of friends and business activities provide insight into their level of settlement or reincorporation. Of course, efforts to do so are time- and, sometimes, money-dependent. While five women cite being unable to devote time in their schedules to extra-curricular community involvement, the majority of my participants cite a variety of local connections, some of which directly involve and/or benefit their business efforts. Cultural societies are somewhat of a haven for women who wish to meet people from their countries of origin and develop a sense of community and comfort in Canada (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 213).

Dora, Esra, Poppy, and Linda are grateful for connections to their respective cultural associations. They contribute their time to help organize special activities when needed. While the Lebanese and Turkish associations are large and well established, as evidenced by their well-attended events, Poppy says there is a comparatively smaller Indonesian presence in Halifax. Still, her connections with many families are very strong. They meet regularly for potluck dinners and have a sense of unity. Poppy says: "When an Indonesian family moves here, we help them to settle down, to show them to go here and there, and we invite them to go to church and they stick with us." Mary and her husband have taken advantage of a local Iranian business association. Its members unite for business fairs and other activities that help them network within the association and promote their products to a wider audience. Local media coverage has helped further the latter objective, revealing the growing embeddedness of such associations in Halifax public life.

These experiences are much different from Carolina's. Having lived in Halifax for over a decade, Carolina has developed strong opinions regarding possible community connections. She laments the lack of communication between Latin people in Halifax – saying this population generally does not organize or unite in concrete ways. She was also equally displeased following her interactions with a local small business association.

Carolina: You know a man came to the restaurant, he told me about the association, how it helps the small businesses to do certain things and all this stuff, and I said, "Sure." I paid the membership but I just saw him that day and that was it.

When the time came to renew her membership she declined, telling the representative that she was disappointed no one came to check in on her or give her updates regarding the association's activities. "At the moment I'm just very independent," she says. "I'm not a member of anything." It seems the failure of the aforementioned immigrant women's small business association has accentuated a void that continues to be felt among this cohort.

A more productive way some participants have engaged with local residents is through religious institutions. Their engagement extends far beyond weekend prayer. For example, Dora and Esra not only attend services regularly – they volunteer their time for their community's events, cooking or organizing when needed. Interestingly, while these women attend an institution that aligns with their beliefs, Poppy and her family attend services outside their chosen faith. Poppy is a fixture in her Wesleyan (Christian) church community. When her father passed away, she did not entirely cancel the bible study she hosts at her house. Instead, she invited the group to pray and mourn with her family. She says her friends told her they took a lot from the experience because it is so different from Canadian culture, which typically saves its most intense grief for immediate family.

Several of the women in this study forged additional links outside their ethnic community by joining organizations or taking advantage of local services. These ties have been largely beneficial for their settlement because "getting involved in multicultural organizations and events, sharing and cultural exchanges across cultures is a fulfilling way of becoming a part of Canadian society, of feeling 'at home' in Canada for many an immigrant woman" (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 216). Citing Bhachu (1996) Tastsoglou writes, "Sharing and exchanging across cultures implies a process of negotiation, a give-and-take, where individuals, being exposed to different sets of values and practices, unavoidably assess them and make personal choices as 'cultural entrepreneurs' who choose cultural forms and create new ones" (p. 216). The result, the author continues, is cultural syncretisms or hybridities, in which immigrants negotiate multiple sets of values and practices.

Another form of involvement is philanthropy and volunteering. Giving generously to charitable societies can have the effect of enhancing an immigrant's social status and reputation among the wider community (Mulholland, 1997: p. 706). Esra and her husband do so through their business, with the goal being to help less fortunate groups in the community

with food and financial donations. They regularly host charity dinners in their restaurant and have donated to local associations on the business's behalf. While they contribute to their mosque and various Muslim societies, some of their associations are not ethnically based. For example, Esra's husband takes an active role in the Rotary Club, which Esra also actively supports. Immigrants' involvement and leadership in non-immigrant clubs and organizations may signal "a tentative departure from social inclusion based on ethnicity to one embedded in social class identity" (Mulholland, 1997: p. 706). At each table in Esra's restaurant is a hand-written thank-you card from the recipients of her family's time and energy, symbolizing, to use Kloosterman and Rath's (1999), Esra's "embeddedness" in Halifax.

Most of my participants have taken classes or used services in Halifax to help them feel more comfortable in the city. English classes were commonly cited as not only a useful scholastic endeavour, but an engaging social outlet. Tastsoglou (2006: p. 215) says engaging with individuals from every environment one comes in contact with is a common immigrant survival strategy. Esra, for example, says she still speaks with the Middle Eastern, Asian and Canadian women she met in her English course. These connections are important to her. She tells me, "I like people. I like social life. I invite many of our friends to my home for dinner and I try to cook for them traditional food. It makes me happy." Mary speaks English well and has many friends in Halifax, but still regularly attends classes at places such as ISIS to get a feel for Canadian culture.

> Esra: [Going to classes] helps my English, it helps me to know about the people, what the culture, your culture here, because I'm living here. I have to know about it. I'm not just coming here to visit and go. I want to live here, so I have to learn about everything. I go to different classes. I had some class you know to learn how to make resume, learn how to make portfolio.

At one of her recent outings Mary met a woman from a local community college. The brief seminar this woman conducted inspired Mary to start considering formally re-skilling in order to improve her family's business prospects. Similarly, as mentioned, Mary and several of her market colleagues learned of the opportunities in the market through their interactions with ISIS. In short, these involvements have led them to enter and increase their involvement in the business realm – offering them confidence and community in the process.

4.11 TAKING STOCK: WHO 'BELONGS'?

In light of the data I have shared, how can one discern an understanding of the participants' settlement and integration experiences through a lens of citizenship and

multiculturalism? More to the point: Has entrepreneurship contributed to feelings of belonging? Tastsoglou (2006) writes that, "[T]he sense of belonging is a unique one for women because of their gender-based roles in families" (p. 206). The author cites Salaff (1997) and Alicea (1997), noting that women's roles as caregivers for the younger and older generations puts them more in contact with extended families locally, nationally and transnationally (p. 206). As a result, immigrant women are more likely than immigrant men to sustain strong forms of identification with both family overseas and local communities (ethnic and otherwise) in Canada (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 206).

Despite the institutionalization of a public perception of Canada's multicultural nature through federal policy and law (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005: p. 548), Halifax is much less diverse than the country's larger urban centres. Tastsoglou (2006) writes that the Maritimes relative cultural homogeneity can increase the likelihood for immigrants and women to feel isolated and under more pressure to conform (p. 206). Additionally, "[L]ower income and economic prosperity levels, coupled with higher rates of unemployment historically, are more likely to reinforce feelings of alienation, and lower levels of commitment, as those manifested by the high rates of immigrants who leave the Maritimes" (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 206). Despite this reality, most of the participants in this study report feeling at home in Canada and Halifax. Those who have not yet gained Canadian citizenship are excited to do so within the next year, and all participants plan to stay in Halifax for the foreseeable future. Poppy phrases her Canadian citizenship as a matter of loyalty, asking why she would keep her Indonesian citizenship when she could fully embrace the place in which she now lives.

When asked what they like about living in Halifax, the majority of participants cited the quality of life in the city. Most of the women enjoy the friendliness of the city's residents. Esra says she feels "life is easy" in "peaceful" Halifax. Many participants like the weather, calm traffic, and less crowded streets. Linda likes the city's many restaurants. Maria says the ocean reminds her of living near the Black Sea in Russia, and likes the walking trails near her house, where she can greet her neighbours and talk about the daily forecast. For Grace and Ling, having a home in Halifax makes the city their home, while Dora's immediate family has helped her settle in Halifax. Indeed, it is these facets of everyday life that lend themselves to positive settlement experiences for the women in this study.

Beyond these details, Canada is perceived as a stable country, which is seen as a comforting asset. Owing to their tumultuous upbringings in Syria, Iran, and Lebanon,

respectively, Dilbirin, Sara and Dora mention Canada's law and government among their top reasons for choosing and staying in Canada. Grace, Ling, Linda, and Poppy are thankful for the business and educational environment in Halifax. The women note that in the Asian countries from which they came, it is stressful for children to get an education. Grace says, "In Canada it's relaxed when they study. If you go to Korea the study is hard. They cannot enjoy their age. They have to study all day, morning until midnight. Lots of competition." This sentiment is related to the oft-repeated sentiment that Halifax is a good place to raise a family. Similarly, these participants note the Halifax business environment is much less competitive than the ones in bustling Asian metropolises.

Further, the business environment and the personal reflections that arise from it can counteract negative social forces. The incremental changes that occur for women in and around the business context ease the transition to citizenship. As Esra tells me, once again using her familiar phrase, "Day by day, day by day we are getting use to being in Halifax and you feel more belong yourself, belong to Halifax. If you have business, if you are a family together, you think your home is Halifax of course." The women's actions – their choices, mobilization of resources, and continued devotion to their enterprises – are evidence of calculated agency and persistence in the face of marginalization and resistance in the public realm. As displayed most obviously by the participants' choices to serve the mainstream, non-immigrant population, their businesses are not necessarily an attempt to shield themselves entirely from outside influence. Instead, they have positioned themselves squarely in the local mainstream economy. Mary, a practicing Muslim, tells me that she feels comfortable in the market - accepted as a Muslim woman who wears the *hijab,* and free to kneel behind her table and pray when the time comes.

That these women by and large report feeling 'at home' in Halifax does not necessarily mean they call Halifax 'home.' Indeed, it is possible to feel at home in more than one place at different moments, depending on the forces at play under a given set of circumstances (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 203). It is necessary to consider how identities are negotiated through ideas and social realities that are not grounded locally (Barber, 2004: p. 406). A woman's personal history and remaining family in her country of origin can prompt feelings of attachment to these places even years after migration. Esra, for instance, says she has two homes – Halifax and Istanbul – and she stays in very close touch with her relatives.

Returning to a 'home' overseas may not be entirely satisfying – it may not relieve the

conflict or confusion one feels in trying to determine a sense of place or belonging (Tastsoglou, 2006: p. 208). Esra tells me, "Really, when I go to Turkey right now, I miss Halifax. Of course, because everything [her business, home, and immediate family] is here. After two months in Turkey I miss Halifax." This was a common sentiment among my participants, many of whom spoke about the changes they have noticed in their families and home countries that shatter their image of the place they often long for. In short, despite physically living in Halifax and generally calling it home, it is perhaps natural and expected for the participants' minds and hearts to wander abroad, returning to Canada to fulfil daily obligations and tend to family life. Contrary to Tastsoglou's (2006: p. 209) point that even successfully 'adjusted' women can feel guilty about 'losing' their ethnicity, the participants in this study demonstrated enthusiasm for their new, hybrid identities.

4.12 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I illustrated the extreme energy and time commitment necessary to establish a business, as well as the creativity and innovation that it takes to maintain a customer base. For an immigrant woman, these actions take place in the context of the later stages of the settlement process when women negotiate their familial, business, and social connections In Halifax and overseas. My data show that while these women sometimes lament the amount of effort required of them (as well as the cold reality of separation from their homes) they have mobilized to forge spaces for themselves in their respective cultural communities as well as the city at large. Where they have been unable to do so, they describe financial, time, and cultural constraints, among others, that stem from their social locations.

Perhaps the most important findings from this chapter show how elements of the business process can contribute to a positive settlement experience. The data show how women's relationships with their husbands and families have strengthened in Halifax, both as a result of business partnerships and the initial lack of extra-familial social ties. These findings demonstrate the importance of the family unit in the years after immigration. Indeed, the family's dynamics do not remain static. Instead, they grow and change in response to living and working conditions, as well as the family's reception in the local community. Some of the women have experienced positive changes in the domestic sphere since moving to Canada and starting a business. They have enjoyed a more equal distribution of reproductive labour. Other women choose to perform all household tasks, or let their husbands "help" with

125

varying results. The latter case is an example of one way in which patriarchal familial arrangements have been reproduced in the Canadian context (even after a woman starts her business) despite some scholars' insistence that immigration and business can provide women with the household bargaining power they need to equalize domestic gender relations.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

Three years into her life as a business owner, Grace sits near the doorway of her coffee shop and tells me, "It's all sort of coming together." She says she is trying to ignore the financial side of her life and focus instead on the customer. When she pushes for profit, she says, she loses sight of offering customers a satisfying experience. Customers steadily stream in and she greets the ones she knows as politely as she greets the strangers. "I'm trying my best," she says. The 14 other women in my study tell me versions of the same sentiment, and they show their hard work in different ways. Fatima, for example, arrives to the market at 8 a.m. to set up – long before the market's 10 a.m. opening. Carolina, Dilbirin and Maria vigorously research to find the best ingredients for their enterprises, forging close connections with local suppliers. Poppy makes an effort to personally connect with her customers, learning about their heritage as they learn about hers.

Whether at a market stall, restaurant, café or grocery store, there is no doubt these women have put their businesses, along with their families, at the centre of their lives. They tell me their food and customer service are what bring people to their businesses, and several women speak of offering "something different." These businesses come at a good time, as research on food trends illustrates Canadians' desire for ethnic food. The entrepreneurs' efforts, they tell me, give customers not just food, but "an experience," and in return their gain social connections, practice speaking English, and cross-cultural learning. In this sense, immigrant entrepreneurship can form a major part of the settlement and integration process.

My research, like these businesses, is well timed. It adds to a growing body of literature on female immigrant entrepreneurs, and brings that concept to Halifax and the Maritimes, which so far has not seen a comprehensive gendered analysis of women's business endeavours. This location – a mid-sized city with low ethnic diversity – is a point of interest, as most studies of this nature focus on larger cities. Substantial urban metropolises, such as Toronto, offer immigrants large co-ethnic populations that provide business support and an eager clientele. In Halifax, without these large populations and several other characteristics of bigger cities, the women in my study have displayed a great deal of resourcefulness and innovation in offering their cuisine mainly to the non-immigrant population. The challenges, strategies, and successes I have chronicled here shed light on the particularities of mid-sized

city research locations. It is my hope that policymakers and those involved in immigrant programming initiatives can learn from this study, applying its findings to future efforts regarding immigrant women. In particular, I hope my findings regarding women's desire for social connections and hobbies will spark a greater interest in different forms of low-key entrepreneurship as a way through which women can experience a new city. I see immigrant women who own established businesses as important agents of social change. Mentorship programs – in which, for example, hopeful business owners can connect with long-time entrepreneurs – are worth considering.

6.1 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The limitations of this study come largely from the nature of my qualitative data. While qualitative research can produce valid findings, it may be "over-influenced by the biases of the researcher" (Mayoux, 2006: 121) or unable to elucidate the best responses from participants. Therefore, I began data collection/analysis with as much background knowledge as possible to allow me to spot plausible and non-plausible data. Second, I established positive rapport with interviewees to facilitate conversation. Still, such preparation can only prime a researcher to hear a *version* of a truth. Dyck and McLaren (2004: p. 515) write that what 'happens' in interviews is probably represented by study participants to other audiences in other ways. Therefore, "[F]or any version of 'meaning-making' there will be others, constructed in different ways, between different people and for different purposes" (Dyck & McLaren, 2004: p. 515). However, instead of proffering tentative conclusions, the researcher acknowledges "the embeddedness of the interview in interlocking processes and discourses" (Dyck & McLaren, 2004: p. 515). Such acknowledgement "reveals the conditions under which women are able to construct accounts of their concerns and experiences as 'facts' that need to be heard" (Dyck & McLaren, 2004: p. 515).

Two other limitations are logistical. First, immigration scholars are increasingly urged to engage in multi-sited research in order to avoid "methodological nationalism" and procure a deeper sense of the issues at hand. Due to the fact that my participants come from a varying array of countries, multi-sited research was not possible, somewhat stifling elements of my transnational analysis. Second, due to my emphasis on gender I would have liked to have interviewed the male partners of my research participants. After all, a gender-based or feminist analysis is concerned with the relationship between men and women. Still, I did not

want to limit my pool of participants by requiring them to live and/or work with a male partner. It was also made clear that some of my participants' partners do not speak English, so my lack of a translation budget made speaking with them impossible.

In the future, with more time and resources, I would see merit in focusing on a research project that solely focuses on the relationships between men and women in the context of immigrant entrepreneurship. A concentration on family businesses and the relationships within them could add richness to the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship, and men's input would be a poignant mirror to women's comments. Where their sentiments converge and differ would be quite telling. Further, comparing immigrant entrepreneurship in different sectors, as well as across ethnic groups could be useful. Of course, the latter approaches would require large samples. Finally, as many of the businesses in this study are newly emerging, in the future I recommend both longitudinal analyses of immigrant businesses' and case studies on more established businesses, which could more fully elucidate an understanding of the reincorporation phase.

6.2 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The stories I have presented here combine to create a glimpse into the lives of female immigrant entrepreneurs. They illustrate that the trajectories of settlement and business ownership correspond with anthropological understandings of stages of rites of passage: separation, liminality, and reincorporation. These stages emerged from van Gennep and Turner's respective studies of life in rural African communities in the early to mid twentieth century. My analysis has gone beyond "facts and figures" to examine the meanings the participants have assigned to their experiences. I have used a broad theoretical framework – including feminist perspectives on work; theories of citizenship/multiculturalism; and transnationalism – in order to bring to life my participants' stories, which cross borders and span many scales of analysis.

In the process I have employed a conceptual model, inspired by scholars' previous gender-blind models, which illustrates that business decisions are made when entrepreneurs consider their resources in relation to local, national, and transnational opportunities. These resources and opportunities influence an entrepreneur's ability to start a business and facilitate or hinder her establishment in the local economy. They are also context-specific –

they shape (and are shaped by) a woman's social location and biographical context, which includes (among others) gender, age, ethnicity, and country of origin. This model proves useful because business decisions are based upon a multitude of factors that must be viewed as interconnected, not isolated.

In the third chapter of this document I explored the manner in which the participants have not only "separated" from their countries of origin, but from the standard employment paradigm. I presented the three main reasons (which are not mutually exclusive) that these women entered entrepreneurship, namely: for sake of fulfilling a dream to own a business; to have a place to go everyday and engage with others socially; and to escape blocked mobility in the labour market and enjoy substantive citizenship. Perhaps the most interesting discovery from this section is the gendered nature of the food sector. A major issue I aimed to uncover in this research was why these women chose to sell food and not something else. Their responses revealed that their entry in this sector was the result of their gendered socialization, as well as human and financial capital. Selling food was seen to be an easy and inexpensive choice, as most of my participants were competent cooks before coming to Canada and thus they required no formal training. Only three participants (Carolina, Maria, an Anastasia) have taken food-related courses, while the remaining participants learned to cook as part of their upbringing and gendered position in their homes as adults.

In the fourth chapter I explored the ways in which the participants navigated new social, political, and economic environments while launching their businesses. Here I discussed the strategies employed in gathering business resources, specifically financial capital; formal and informal labour; and the various physical elements of the business space, such as specialty ingredients and kitchen spaces. Throughout their initial business decisions, the women in this study discovered new, non-ethnic connections and resources in the city, region, and country. As I have illustrated, the participants are not alone. For the most part, their family members join them in some capacity – as both formal and informal labour. In this way, as shown in Kontos (2009), the business site doubles as a family's living room. There are positive and negative aspects to these arrangements.

On one hand, as I showed in the fifth chapter, family businesses (and businesses that informally rely on family labour) can strengthen family ties, offering relatives a shield from negative outside forces. On the other hand, relying on family can be a cost-saving necessity that results in long hours of performing hard manual labour. Indeed, these dichotomous

realities speak to the greater theme of making the most from available resources. Throughout the fourth and fifth chapters I have shown how participants have used similar "bootstrapping" activities to open and maintain a business. Creative marketing strategies are an example of the ways in which immigrant women have navigated new social, political and economic worlds on a budget. Such activities, like the decisions the women made to launch their businesses, are influenced by each woman's social location and biographical context.

In the remainder of the fifth chapter I explored other aspect of "reincorporation," the third element of immigration and entrepreneurship, in which women establish their businesses through marketing, customer service, and other forms of business activity. These processes can enforce the participants' embeddedness in their new cities – especially if they can afford to take the time to explore the social aspects of business ownership. It must be said, however, that business ownership is not a settlement and integration cure-all. As these business owners work towards establishing their businesses, they face complications in their plans. The reincorporation stage of a rite of passage sees individuals emerge from a stage of nerve-wracking liminality as changed women of a "higher status." Still, there remain elements of women's lives that have kept them from feeling economically and personally satisfied.

Mary and Maria, for example, are using their farmers' market stalls as stepping stones to owning bigger businesses. Their ambitions go far beyond the current scale of their operations. While they may be comfortable and in a decidedly less liminal place than they were a year ago before their businesses launched they are still "betwixt and between" their old lives and their ideal ones. Ling, whose business is failing, has been in Canada for over a decade and still barely speaks English. Her social circle is limited to a few Korean women, and her life outside the business environment is limited to grocery shopping and tending to her house. When compared to Poppy, whose story demonstrated unparalleled cultural capital and embeddedness in local ethnic and non-ethnic circles, Ling appears to rest in a decidedly liminal place. The women who launched their businesses mainly for social purposes are generally satisfied with their experiences, while those who seek profit are less enchanted. I consider the term "one step forward, two steps back" to be the nature of some transitions, which explains why, even after two decades of living in Canada, participants can experience feelings characteristic of a liminal being. In this way, I acknowledge that "total" reincorporation may be unattainable – and the settlement process is entirely dependent on a woman's individual circumstances, not a standard timeline.

6.3 "THE BIGGER PICTURE": CHALLENGING GENDERED CITIZENSHIP

Grounding this data in citizenship discourse is imperative in drawing conclusions regarding the "bigger picture" of immigration and entrepreneurship. Castles and Davidson (2000) go as far as calling citizenship "the essence of the nation-state" (p. 2) and Barber (2006) offers that, "Citizenship defines the relationship between people, governments and national territory, providing the framework for public status and the foundation for achieving state loyalty" (p. 61). As has been made clear in the Canadian context, despite the constant temptation to imagine citizenship in Western liberal democracies as "proffering a neutral political space, unmarked by inequalities based on difference" (Barber, 2006: p. 62) immigrants face barriers to equality based on their social location. The consequences of such barriers threaten the nation-state's goal of shaping loyal citizens. Parreñas (2001) writes that citizenship "defines one's sense of belonging" (p. 1130).

As such, partial citizenship, referring to the stunted integration of migrants in receiving countries due to discrimination in the context of globalization, prohibits a development of this sense of belonging (Parreñas, 2001: p. 1130). Immigrants – especially racial minorities – can face elements of restricted citizenship and the consequences thereof, not the least of which is a sense of isolation. In the face of these restrictions – and in an age of increased communication across borders, it is easy to maintain transnational connections in multiple countries, thereby further compromising loyalty in the eyes of the states that provide homes to immigrants (Barber, 2006: p. 61). Several women in my study still long, on some level, for the homes they have left behind. Are they less "Canadian" for doing so?

And who is responsible for ensuring immigrants "integrate" and "settle"? Abu-Laban and Garber (2005: p. 537) use media and public perception analysis to show that there is a tendency in Canada to depict the entry and settlement experience of immigrants as connected to government policy. However, Glick Schiller (2001: p. 15) illustrates that public figures place the onus of immigrants' settlement trajectories on the immigrants themselves. As my data has shown, the women in this study have taken strides to change their personal lives – often feeling adrift amid government policy (for example, surrounding foreign credit history) that has not responded to their needs. When discussing the struggles they have faced in and outside the business context, there was a tendency among the women in this study to ask "the government" or "Halifax" to make conditions better for newcomers.

Sara, for example, is frustrated at the lack of opportunities for immigrants, especially

young people, in the city. She has seen her son and daughter-in-law pack up and leave Halifax for Toronto, and pleads in our interview for the city to create a more hospitable labour market. Neti, whose financial circumstances are unstable due to her lack of full-time employment, admits she does not know what is required of her in order to secure a teaching job. Despite having a certificate to teach in Nova Scotia, she waits for connections and opportunities to appear. In the meantime, she pieces together money from family and substitute teaching gigs to pay her daughter's university tuition. Connecting women in these situations with the services to suit their needs is imperative. If women are to feel a sense of belonging, they must know their rights and their place in the framework of government policies and programming.

Sweetman (2004) writes that the notion of citizenship raises important questions about immigrant women and men: Are women and men considered equal citizens? Do immigrants have the same rights as the native-born population? Until recently, women were excluded from formal citizenship, and still ethnic minority women are marginalized through sexism and racism (Castles & Davidson, 2000: p. 121). Often portrayed as "cultural carriers" who must biologically reproduce an ethnic group, pass its language and cultural symbols to the young, and serve as the symbolic embodiment of national unity, women's "natural" non-citizenship has historically compared unfavourably to men's "warrior-citizen" status (Castles & Davidson, 2000: p. 121). Today, women are still associated with the domestic and family sphere while men inhabit the economy and workplace, pursuing careers rationally and untainted by mundane domestic concerns (Kofman, 2004: p. 644).

In the context of gendered labour markets, women typically reside in particular kinds of jobs that play off such constructs (Lister, 2003: p. 45). Women – labour migrants, skilled workers, and family migrants alike – experience deskilling and downward mobility, while refugee women face nearly insurmountable barriers to obtaining employment commensurate to their qualifications (Kofman, 2004: p. 652). Lister (2003: p. 45) writes that the construction of women as dependants informs immigration and nationality laws and the discourses surrounding them. Therefore, as I have previously described, the laws governing immigration can be indirectly discriminatory in their effect even when outwardly gender-neutral in theory.

The migration narratives I have constructed are placed firmly in this context, and they illustrate the setbacks and disappointment that come with constricted (gendered) citizenship and lack of cultural capital in a new environment. The participants were well aware of these

constrictions, and still they remember and lament their existence. Mary, Sara, Neti and Dilbirin, at one point or another, have been frustrated at their immediate families' difficulties finding work in light of their lack of Canadian work experience.

Other restrictions are subtler. Maria has illustrated her impeccable ability to network with business contacts, yet does not know how to place an advertisement in the local newspaper or business directory. Mary has a lot of business experience but does not know how to make a North American business plan. Still, like Essers, Benschop and Doorewaard (2010) I defy the construction of women as victims of their social locations. My research offers evidence that, faced with limitations to citizenship and feelings of belonging, the women I interviewed exercised agency to change their positions in the Halifax economy and, as a result, achieve a sense of achievement and self-importance. They have come from a place of gendered citizenship and, through gendered employment in the food sector, achieved fuller citizenship. In the process, they found solace in their new, however imperfect, environments and "day by day, day by day" said goodbye to their liminal lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abada, T., Hou, F., & Lu, Y. (2012). Choice or necessity: Do immigrants and their children choose self-employment for the same reasons? Retrieved from: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2012342-eng.pdf

Abdul-Razzaq, D. (2007). '*What do you mean by Middle Eastern community?' Arab immigrant women and their narratives of citizenship, home and belonging in Halifax, NS.* Master of Arts dissertation, Dalhousie University, August 2007.

Aguila, F. V. (1999). Ritual passage and the reconstruction of selfhood in international labour migration. *Sojourn, 14*(1), 98-139.

Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. (2005). Canadian food trends to 2020: A long range consumer outlook. Retrieved from: http://www4.agr.gc.ca/resources/prod/doc/agr/pdf/ft-ta_eng.pdf

Aldrich, H. E., & Waldinger, R. (1990). Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology, 16,* 111-135.

Alicea, M. (1997). 'A chambered nautilus': The contradictory nature of Puerto Rican women's role in the social construction of a transnational community. *Gender and Society, 11*(5), 597-626.

Allen, S., & Truman, C. (1993). Women and men entrepreneurs: Life strategies, business strategies. In S. Allen and C. Truman (Eds.), *Women in Business: Perspectives on women entrepreneurs,* pp. 1-13. London: Routledge.

Alund, A. (2003). Self-employment of non-privileged groups as integration strategy: Ethnic entrepreneurs and other migrants in the wake of globalization. *International Review of Sociology, 13*(1), 77-87.

Akbari, A. H., & Mandale, M. (2005). A survey of selected presentations of the Conference of Immigration and Outmigration: Atlantic Canada at a Crossroads. *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes ethniques au Canada, 37*(3), 150-154.

Akbari, A. H., & Sun, C. (2006). Immigrant attraction and retention: What can work and what is being done in Atlantic Canada? *Our Diverse Cities, 2,* 129-133.

Ahmad, N., & Hoffman, A. (2007). A framework for addressing and measuring entrepreneurship. Retrieved from: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/21/51/39629644.pdf

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (1991). *Racialized Boundaries.* London: Routledge.

Anthias, F. (1992). *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek Cypriots in Britain.* Avebury: Aldershot.

Anthias, F., & Mehta, N. (2003). The intersection between gender, the family and self-employment: The family as a resource. *International Review of Sociology, 13*(1), 105-116.

Anthias, F., & Cederberg, M. (2009). Using ethnic bonds in self-employment and the issue of social capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35*(6), 901-917.

Atallah, N., & Rebelo, S. (2006). Recognition of credit history for new immigrants. Halifax, NS: Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) and Atlantic Metropolis Centre (Economics Domain).

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Appadurai, A. (1995). The production of locality. *Counterworks*, 204-225.

Appadurai, A. (2008). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Azari, L., Brauner, D., Chen, L. et al. (2004). Costing the care economy. United Nations Development Programme and Columbia University School of International Public Affairs.

Banting, K., & Soroka, S. (2012). Minority nationalism and immigrant integration in Canada. *Nations and Nationalism, 18*(1), 156-176.

Barber, P. G. (2000). Agency in Philippine women's labour migration and provisional diaspora. *Women's Studies International Forum, 23*(4), 399-411.

Barber, P. G. (2004). Contradictions of class and consumption when the commodity is labour. *Anthropologica, 46*(2), 203-218.

Barber, P. G. (2006). Locating gendered subjects in vocabularies of citizenship. In E. Tastsoglou & A. Dobrowolsky (Eds.), *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections,* pp. 61-83. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Barber, P. G. (2008). The ideal immigrant? Gendered class subjects in Philippine-Canada migration. *Third World Quarterly, 29*(7), 1265-1285.

Barret, G., Jones, T., & McEvoy, D. (1996). Ethnic minority business: Theoretical discourse in Britain and North America. *Urban Studies, 33*(4-5), 783-809.

Basch, L. G., Glick Schiller, N., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post-colonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-states*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach.

Basu, A. (2007). Immigrant entrepreneurs in the food sector: Breaking the mould. In A. J. Kershen (Ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience,* pp. 149-171. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Basu, A., & Goswami, A. (1999). Determinants of South Asian entrepreneurial growth in Britain: A multi-variate analysis. *Small Business Economics, 13*(1), 57-70.

Baxandall, R., Ewen, E., & Gordon, L. (1976). The working class has two sexes. *Monthly Review.*

Baxter, S. (1988). *A political economy of the ethnic Chinese catering industry.* Doctoral dissertation, Aston University, 1988.

Bhachu, P. (1996). The multiple landscapes of transnational Asian women in the diaspora. In V. Amit-Talai and C. Knowles (Eds.), *Re-situating identities: The politics of race, ethnicity and culture,* pp. 282-303. Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press.

Bhalla, V. (2008) 'Couch potatoes and super-women': Gender, migration, and the emerging discourse on housework among Asian Indian immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic History, 27*(4), 71-99.

Boissevain, J., Blauschkee, J., Grotenberg, H., Joseph, I., Light, I., Sway, M., Waldinger, R., & Werbner, P. (1990). Ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic strategies. In R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich, & R. Ward (Eds.), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies,* pp. 131-157. London: Sage.

Borooah, V. K., & Hart, M. (1999). Factors affecting self-employment among Indian and Black Caribbean men in Britain. *Small Business Economic, 13*(2), 111-129.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* pp. 241-258. New York: Greenwood.

Bourne, R. S. (1916). 'Transnational America,' *The Atlantic Monthly,* July, 86-97.

Boyd, M., & Pikkov, D. (2005). *Gendered migration, livelihood and entitlements: Migrant women in Canada and the United States.* Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Branchflower, D. G., & Oswald, A. J. (1998). What makes an entrepreneur? *Journal of Labour Economics, 16,* 26-60.

Brenner, G. A., Menzies, T. V., Dionne, L., Filion, L. J. (2010). How location and ethnicity affect ethnic entrepreneurs in three Canadian cities. *Thunderbird International Business Review, 52*(2), 153-171.

Brettell, C. B., & Alstatt, K. E. (2007). The agency of immigrant entrepreneurs: Biographies of self-employed in ethnic and occupational niches of the urban labour market. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 63,* 383-397.

Briggs, L., McCormick, G., & Way, J. T. (2008). Transnationalism: A category of analysis. *American Quarterly, 60*(3), 625-648.

Bruder, J., Neuberger, D., & Räthke-Döppner, S. (2011). Financial constraints of ethnic entrepreneurship: Evidence from Germany. *International Journal of Behaviour & Research, 17*(3), 296-313.

Bruni, A., Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2004). Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: An ethnographic account of intertwined practices. *Gender, Work and Organization, 11*(4), 406-429.

Bryan, C. (2010). Ambivalent transnationalism: Class, gender, and Nova Scotia nominees. (Working Paper No. 36). Retrieved from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre website: http://atlantic.metropolis.net

Burggraf, S. P. (1997). *The Feminine Economy and Economic Man: Reviving the Role of Family in the Post-Industrial Age.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Carlson, D. S., & Kacmar, K. M. (2000). Work-family conflict in the organization of life: Do life role values make a difference? *Journal of Management, 26,* 1031-1054.

Cassarino, J. P. (1997). The theories of ethnic entrepreneurship and the alternative arguments of social action and network analysis. (Working Paper No. 97/1). Retrieved from the Cadmus website: http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/281

Cassin, A. M., & Divine, A. (2006). Employment equity in Halifax: Issues of race, inclusion and vitality. *Our Diverse Cities, 2,* 66-72.

Castles, S., & Davidson, A. (2000). Citizenship and migration: Globalization and the politics of belonging. New York: Routledge.

Chan, S. (2007). Sweet and sour: The Chinese experience of food. In A. J. Kershen (Ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience,* pp. 172-195. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Charmaz, K., & Mitchell, R. G. (1997). The myth of silent authorship: Self, substance, and style in ethnographic writing. In R. Hertz (Ed.), *Reflexivity and Voice*, pp. 193-215. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

CIBC Small Business. (2005). Women entrepreneurs: Leading the charge. Retrieved from: https://www.cibc.com/ca/pdf/women-entrepreneurs-en.pdf

Clark, G. (1995). *Onions are my husband: Survival and accumulation by West African market women.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Clarkson, A. (2008). Citizenship is the way a country believes in itself. *Canadian Diversity/Diversite Canadienne*, 6(4), 138-140.

Cottrell, B. (2008). Providing services to immigrant women in Atlantic Canada. *Our Diverse Cities, 5,* 133-137.

Cousineau, P. (1998). *The art of pilgrimage: The seeker's guide to making travel sacred.* York Beach, ME: Conari Press.

Curry, B. (2008, September 24). Former Tory candidate fired after women's group goes broke. *The Globe and Mail.* Retrieved from: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/article712249.ece

Crapanzano, V. (2004). *Imaginary horizons: An essay in literary-philosophical anthropology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Creese, G., Dyck, I., & McLaren, A. T. (2008). The 'flexible' immigrant? Human capital discourse, the family household and labour market strategies. *International Migration & Integration, 9*(3)*,* 269-288.

Creese, G., & Wiebe, B. (2009). 'Survival employment': Gender and deskilling among African immigrants in Canada. *International Migration*. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00531.x

Cwerner, S. B. (2001). The times of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27*(1), 7-36.

Deflem, M. (1991). Ritual, anti-structure, and religion: A discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 30*(1), 1-25.

Dhaliwal, S. (1998). Silent contributors: Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business. *Women's Studies International Forum, 21*(5), 463-474.

Dhaliwal, S. (2000). Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business – an exploratory study. *Enterprise & Innovation Management Studies, 1*(2), 207-216.

Dobrowlosky, A. (2008). Interrogating 'invisibilization' and 'instrumentalization': Women and current citizenship trends in Canada. *Citizenship Studies, 12*(5), 465-479.

Dobrowolsky, A. (2011). The intended and unintended side effects of a new immigration strategy: Insights from Nova Scotia's Provincial Nominee Program. *Studies in Political Economy, 87,* 109-141.

Dobrowolsky, A., Bryan, C., & Barber, P. G. (2011). Social and economic realities and reversals: Lessons learned from Nova Scotia's provincial nominees. (Working Paper No. 33). Retrieved from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre website: http://atlantic.metropolis.net

Duffy, M. (2007). Doing the dirty work: Gender, race, and reproductive labour in historical perspective. *Gender & Society, 21*(3), 313-336.

Dumon, W. A. (1989). Family and migration. *International Migration, 27*(2), 251-270.

Dyck, I., & McLaren, A. T. (2004). Telling it like it is? Constructing accounts of settlement with immigrant and refugee women in Canada. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, 11*(4), 513-534.

Elson, D. (1999). Labour markets as gendered institutions: Equality, efficiency and empowerment issues. *World Development, 27*(3), 611-627.

Elson, D. (2002). Gender justice, human rights and neoliberal economic policies. In M. Molyneux and S. Razavi (Eds.). *Gender Justice, Development and Rights,* pp. 78-114. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ehrenreich, B. (2005). What is socialist feminism? *Monthly Review, 57*(3), 70-77.

Epstein, T. S. (1993). Female petty entrepreneurs and their multiple roles. In S. Allen and C. Truman (Eds.), *Women in Business: Perspectives on women entrepreneurs,* pp. 14-27. London: Routledge.

Essers, C., Benschop, Y., & Doorewaard, H. (2010). Female ethnicity: Understanding Muslim immigrant businesswomen in the Netherlands. *Gender, Work and Organization, 17*(3), 320-339.

Fairlie, R. W., & Meyer, B. D. (1996). Ethnic and racial self-employment differences and possible explanations. *Journal of Human Resources, 31*(4), 757-793.

Falicov, C. J. (2005). Emotional transnationalism and family identities. *Family Processes, 44*(4), 399-406.

Farmers' Markets of Nova Scotia. (2011). Halifax Seaport Farmers' Market. Retrieved from: http://farmersmarketsnovascotia.ca/find-a-market/halifax-farmers-market/

Fisher, E., & Reuber, R. (2010). The state of entrepreneurship in Canada. Retrieved from: http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/sbrp-rppe.nsf/vwapj/SEC-EEC_eng.pdf/$file/SEC-EEC_eng.pdf

Foner, N. (1997). The immigrant family: Cultural legacies and cultural changes. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 961-974.

Foner, N. (1997). What's new about transnationalism? New York immigrants today and at the turn of the century. Paper presented at the Transnational Communities and the Political Economy of New York in the 1990s conference, New School for Social Research.

Fouron, G., & Schiller, N. G. (2001). All in the family: Gender, transnational migration, and the nation-state. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *7*, 539-582.

Fregetto, E. (2004). Immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship: A U.S. perspective. In H. P. Welsch (Ed.), *Entrepreneurship: The way ahead,* pp. 253-268. New York: Routledge.

Freidus, A., & Romero-Daza, N. (2009). The space between: Globalization, liminal spaces and personal relations in rural Costa Rica. *Gender, Place and Culture, 16*(6), 683-702.

Garcea, J. (2003). The construction and constitutionalism of Canada's citizenship regime: Reconciliation of diversity and equality. *Canadian Diversity/Diversite Canadienne, 2*(1), 59-66.

Glenn, E. N. (1986). *Issei, Nisei, war bride: Three generations of Japanese American women in domestic service.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly, 68*(1), 48-62.

Glick Schiller, N., & Fouron, G. E. (2001). *Georges woke up laughing: Long-distance nationalism and the search for home.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Goldring, L. (2001). The gender and geography of citizenship in Mexico-U.S. transnational spaces. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 7*(4), 501-537.

Government of Nova Scotia. (2011). *Welcome home to Nova Scotia: A strategy for immigration.* Retrieved from: http://www.gov.ns.ca/jobshere/docs/ImmigrationStrategy-WelcomeHomeToNS.pdf

Government of Nova Scotia Department of Finance. (2012). Nova Scotia economic indicators: Information as of February 3rd, 2012. Retrieved from: http://www.novascotia.ca/finance/publish/ei/NSEI0212.pdf

Greene, P., & Owen, M. (2004) 'Race and ethnicity,' in W. B. Gartner, K. G. Shaver, N. M. Carter and P. D. Reynolds (Eds.), *Handbook of Entrepreneurial Dynamics: The Process of Business Creation*, pp. 26-38. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Guarnizo, L. E., Portes, A., & Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and transnationalism: Determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *The American Journal of Sociology, 108*(6), 1211-1248.

Guiso, L., Sapienza, P., & Zingales, L. (2006). Does culture affect economic outcomes? *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 20*(2), 23-48.

Gupta, V. K., Turban, D. B., Wasti, S. A., & Sikdar, A. (2009). The role of gender stereotypes in perceptions of entrepreneurs and intentions to become an entrepreneur. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 33*(2), 397-417.

Halkias, D., Arifeen, S., & Mourad, L. (2011). United Kingdom: The rise of South Asian female entrepreneurship. In D. Halkias, P. Thurman, N. Harkiolakis & S. Caracatsanis (Eds.), *Female immigrant entrepreneurs: The economic and social impact of a global phenomenon,* pp. 135-147. Surrey: Gower.

Hall, D. T. (2002). *Careers in and out of organization.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Harding, S., & Norberg, K. (2005). New feminist approaches to social science methodologies: An introduction. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 30*(4), 2009-2015.

Hewitson, G. J. (1999). *Feminist economics: Interrogating the masculinity of rational economic man.* Cheltenham, UL: Edward Elgar.

Hindess, B. (1993). Citizenship in the modern West. In B. Turner (Ed.), *Citizenship and social theory,* pp. 19-35. London: Sage.

Hinson Shope, J. (2006). 'You can't cross a river without getting wet': A feminist standpoint on the dilemmas of cross-cultural research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(1), 163-184.

Hochshield, A. R. (1989). *The second shift.* New York: Avon Books.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1992). Overcoming patriarchal constraints: The reconstruction of gender relations among Mexican immigrant women and men. *Gender & Society, 6*(3), 393-415.

Huang, S., Yeoh, B. S. A., & Lam, T. (2008). Asian transnational families in transition: The liminality of simultaneity. *International Migration, 46*(4), 3-13.

Hughes, C., & Cohen, R. L. (2010). Feminists really do count: the complexity of feminist methodologies. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 13*(3), 189-196.

Industry Canada. (2011). Key small business statistics. Retrieved from: http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/sbrp-rppe.nsf/vwapj/KSBS-PSRPE_July-Juillet2011_eng.pdf/$FILE/KSBS-PSRPE_July-Juillet2011_eng.pdf

Institute for Canadian Citizenship. (2007). *Identifying the six pillars of citizenship.* Toronto: Institute for Canadian Citizenship.

James, P. (1996). *Nation foundation.* London: Sage.

Jones, T., & Ram, M. (1998). *Ethnic minorities in business.* London: Small Business Research Trust.

Katila, S., & Wahlbeck, O. (2010). The role of (transnational) social capital in the start-up processes of immigrant businesses: The case of Chinese and Turkish restaurant businesses in Finland. *International Small Business Journal,* 1-16.

142

Kemp, M. C. (1955). An appraisal of loss leader selling. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 21*(2), 245-250.

Khosravi, S. (1999). Displacement and entrepreneurship: Iranian small businesses in Stockholm. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 25*(3), 493-508.

Kibria, N. (1990). Power, patriarchy, and gender conflict in the Vietnamese immigrant community. *Gender & Society, 4*(1), 9-24.

Kibria, N. (1993). *Family tightrope.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kirchhoff, B. A., & Kirchoff, J. J. (1987). Family contributions to productivity and profitability in small businesses. *Journal of Small Business Management, 25,* 25-31.

Kivisto, P. (2001). Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *24*(4), 549-577.

Kloosterman, R., van der Leun, J., & Rath, J. (1999). Mixed embeddedness: (In)formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 23*(2), 252-266.

Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (2001). Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies: Mixed embeddedness further explored. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27*(2), 189-201.

Kloosterman, R. C. (2010). Matching opportunities with resources: A framework for analyzing (migrant) entrepreneurship from a mixed embeddedness perspective. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, 22*(1), 25-45.

Kloosterman, R., & Rath, J. (2002). Working on the fringes: Immigrant businesses, economic integration and informal practices. Retrieved from: http://www.janrath.com/downloads/@rath%20NUTEK.pdf

Kofman, E. (2004). Gendered global migrations: Diversity and stratification. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 6*(4), 643-665.

Kontos, M. (2003). Considering the concept of entrepreneurial resources in ethnic business: Motivation as biographical resource? *International Review of Sociology, 13*(1), 183-204.

Kontos, M. (2009). Greek migrant women in Germany: Strategies of autonomy in diaspora. In E. Tastsoglou (Ed.), *Women, gender, and diasporic lives: Labour, community, and identity in Greek migrations,* pp. 31-48. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Kupferberg, F. (2003). The established and the newcomers: What makes immigrant and women entrepreneurs so special? *International Review of Sociology, 13*(1), 89-104.

Kushnirovich, N., & Heilbrunn, S. (2008). Financial funding of immigrant business. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship, 13*(2), 167-184.

Kymlicka, W. (2001). *Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Landman, M. (2006). Getting quality in qualitative research: A short introduction to feminist methodology and methods. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society, 65,* 429-433.

Las Heras, M., & Hall, D. T. (2007). Integration of career and life. In D. Bilimoria and S. K. Piderit (Eds.), *Handbook on Women in Business and Management,* pp. 178-205. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Lazear, E. (2005). Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Labour Economics, 23*(4), p. 649-680.

Lenin, V. I. (1904). One step forward, two steps back (The crisis in our party). Lenin Internet Archive (2003). Retrieved from: http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1904/onestep/index.htm

Li, P. S. (2000). Earning disparities between immigrants and native-born Canadians. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 37*(3), 289-311.

Li, P. S. (2003). Deconstructing Canada's discourse of immigrant integration. (Working Paper No. WP04-03). Retrieved from the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration website: http://pcerii.metropolis.net/

Li, P. S. (2004). On immigrant integration: Reply to Stoffman. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 5*(4), 505-514.

Light, I., & Gold, S. (2000). *Ethnic economies.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Lim, I. (1997). Korean immigrant women's challenge to gender inequality at home: The interplay of economic resources, gender, and family. *Gender & Society, 11*(1), 31-51.

Lindsay, C., & Almey, M. (2005). *Immigrant women. Women in Canada. A gender-based statistical report.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Lister, R. (1997). Citizenship: Towards a feminist synthesis. *Feminist Review*, 57, 28-48.

Lister, R. (2003). *Citizenship: Feminist perspectives* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide*. North Carolina: Family Health International.

Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2001). Gendered geographies of power: Analyzing gender across transnational spaces. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 7*(4), 441-459.

Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2006). Gender natters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review, 40*(1), 27-63.

Mahtani, M. (2002). Interrogating the hyphen-nation: Canadian multicultural policy and 'mixed race' identities. (Working Paper No. 20). Retrieved from the CERIS Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement website: http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/

Malecki, E. J., & Veldhoen, M. E. (1993). Network activities, information and competitiveness in small firms. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography, 73*(3), 131-147.

Marger, M. N., & Hoffman, C. A. (1992). Ethnic enterprise in Ontario: Immigrant participation in the small business sector. *International Migration Review, 26*(3), 968-981.

Martinez, M. A., & Aldrich, H. E. (2011). Networking strategies for entrepreneurs: Balancing cohesion and diversity. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research, 17*(1), 7-38.

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class, and other essays.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. S. (1988). Economic development and international migration in comparative perspective. *Population and Development Review, 14,* 383-413.

Masurel, E., Nijkamp, P., Tastan, M., & Vindigni, G. (2001). Motivations and performance conditions for ethnic entrepreneurship. Amsterdam: Tinbergen Institute. Retrieved from: http://www.tinbergen.nl

Masurel, E., Nijkamp, P., Tastan, M., & Vindigni, G. (2002). Motivations and performance conditions for ethnic entrepreneurship. *Growth and Change, 33*(2), 238-260.

Mayoux, L. (2006). Quantitative, qualitative or participatory? Which method, for what and when? In V.Desai and R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing Development Research,* pp. 115-129. London: Sage Publications.

Menjivar, C. (2006). Liminal legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants' lives in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology, 111*(4), 999-1037.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* San Francisco, California: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Miedema, B., & Tastsoglou, E. (2000). 'But where are you from, originally?' Immigrant women and integration in the Maritimes. *Atlantis, 24*(2), 82-91.

Miller, N. J., Besser, T., & Malshe, A. (2007). Strategic networking among small businesses in small US communities. *International Small Business Journal, 25*(6), 631-665.

Millward, H., & Winsor, L. (1997). Twentieth-century retail change in the Halifax Central Business District. *The Canadian Geographer, 41*(2), 194-201.

Min, P. G. (1987). Factors contributing to ethnic business: A comprehensive synthesis. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 28*(3-4), 173-193.

Min, P. G., & Bozorgmehr, M. (2000). Immigrant entrepreneurship and business patterns: A comparison of Koreans and Iranians in Los Angeles. *International Migration Review, 34,* 707-738.

Minh-ha, T. T. (1989). *Woman, native, other. Writing postcoloniality and feminism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mintz, S. W. (1998). The localization of anthropological practice: From area studies to transnationalism. *Critique of Anthropology, 18*(2), 117-133.

Mirchandani, K. (1999). Feminist insight on gendered work: New directions in research on women and entrepreneurship. *Gender, Work and Organization, 6*(4), 224-235.

Moghissi, H., Rahnema, S., & Goodman, M. J. (2009). *Diaspora by design: Muslim immigrants in Canada and beyond.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review*, *30*, 65-88.

Mohanty, C. T. (2002). 'Under Western eyes' revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 28*(2), 499-535.

Molyneux, M. (1984). Women in socialist societies: Problems of theory and practice. In K. Young, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullagh (Eds.), *Of marriage and the market: women's subordination internationally and its lessons* (2nd ed.), pp. 55-90. London: Routledge.

Mosse, J. (1992). *Half the world, half a chance: Introduction to gender and development.* Oxford: Oxfam.

Mulholland, K. (1997). The family enterprise and business strategies. *Work, Employment & Society, 11*(4), 685-711.

Nagel, C. R. (2002). Geopolitics by another name: immigration and the politics of assimilation. *Political Geography, 21*(8), 971.

Naples, N. A. (2003). *Feminism and method: Ethnography, discourse analysis, and activist research.* New York: Routledge.

Neilsen, K., & Ware, R. (1997). *Exploitation.* New Jersey: Humanities Press.

Nelson, J. (2003). Once more, with feeling: Feminist economics and the ontological question. *Feminist Economics, 9*(1), 109-118.

Ng, R. (1990). Immigrant women and institutionalized racism. In S. Burt, L. Code and L. Dorney (Eds.), *Changing Patterns,* pp. 184-203. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart.

Ng, R., & Estable, A. (1987). Immigrant women in the labour force: An overview of present knowledge and research gaps. *Resources for Feminist Research, 16*(1), 29-33.

Noussia, A., & Lyons, M. (2009). Inhabiting spaces of liminality: Migrants in Omonia, Athens. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35*(4), 601-624.

Ogden, J., Esim, S., & Grown, C. (2006). Expanding the care continuum for HIV/AIDS: Bringing carers into focus. *Health Policy and Planning, 21*(5), 333-342.

Okin, S. M. (1998). Feminism and multiculturalism: Some tensions. *Ethics, 108,* 661-684.

Omidvar, R. (2008). Think global, vote local. *Canadian Diversity/Diversite Canadienne, 6*(4), 161-163.

Ong, A. (1995). Women out of China: Travelling tales and travelling theories in postcolonial feminism. In R. Behar & D. A. Gordon (Eds.), *Women writing culture*, pp. 350-372. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Park, R. E. (1950). *Race and Culture.* New York: The Free Press.

Pessar, P. R. (1995). On the homefront and in the workplace: Integrating immigrant women into feminist discourse. *Anthropologica Quarterly, 68*(1), 37-47.

Polideras, K., Abadir, S., Robotis, P., & Halkias, D. (2011). Canada: The Greek female entrepreneurs of Montreal. In D. Halkias, P. Thurman, N. Harkiolakis & S. Caracatsanis (Eds.), *Female immigrant entrepreneurs: The economic and social impact of a global phenomenon,* pp. 197-206. Surrey: Gower.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(2), 217-237.

Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: the debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks, 1*(3), 181-193.

Pujol, M. A. (2003). Into the margin! In D. K. Barker and E. Kuiper (Eds.), *Toward a feminist philosophy of economics,* pp. 21-37. New York: Routledge.

Raghuram, P. (2007). Interrogating the language of integration: The case of internationally recruited nurses. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 16,* 2246-2251.

Rajiman, R., & Tienda, M. (2003). Ethnic foundations of economic transactions: Mexican and Korean immigrant entrepreneurs in Chicago. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 26*(5), 783-801.

Ramazanoglu, C., & Holland, J. (2002). *Feminist methodology: Challenges and choice.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Rath, J., & Kloosterman, R. (2000). Outsiders' business: A critical review of research on immigrant entrepreneurship. *International Migration Review, 34*(3), 657-681.

Reitz, J. G., & Banerjee, R. (2007). Racial inequality, social cohesion and policy issues in Canada. In K. Banting, T. J. Courchene and F. L. Seidle (Eds.), *The art of the state III: Belonging? Diversity, recognition and shared citizenship in Canada,* pp. 489-546. Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP).

Rose, G. (1993). *Feminism and geography: The limits of geographical knowledge.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Salaff, J. (1997). The gendered social organization of migration as work. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 6*(3-4), 295-306.

Sanders, J. M., & Nee, V. (1996). Immigrant self-employment: The family as social capital and the value of human capital. *American Sociological Review, 61,* 231-249.

Sharif, N. (2009). Immigrant entrepreneurs in Nova Scotia: Factors that contribute to and hinder success. (Working Paper No. 20). Retrieved from the Atlantic Metropolis Centre website: http://atlantic.metropolis.net

Sharpe, M. D. (2005). Maghrebi migrants and writers: Liminality, transgression and the transferral of identity. *Dialectical Anthropology, 29,* 397-421.

Sibley J. B., & Herring, C. (1991). Ethnicity and entrepreneurship in America: Toward an explanation of racial and ethnic group variations in self-employment. *Sociological Perspectives, 34*(1), 79-94.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Simmel, G. (1950). The stranger. In K. H. Wolff (Ed.), *The sociology of Georg Simmel*, pp. 402-208. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Simich, L., Maiter, S., & Ochocka, J. (2009). From social liminality to cultural negotiation: Transformative processes in immigrant mental wellbeing. *Anthropology & Medicine, 16*(3), 253-266.

Simpson, R., Sturges, J., & Weight, P. (2009). Transient, unsettling and creative space: Experiences of liminality through the accounts of Chinese students on a UK-based MBA. *Management Learning, 41*(1), 53-70.

Statistics Canada. (2006a). Census of Population, Statistics Canada. Catalogue no. 94-577-XCB2006004.

Statistics Canada (2006b). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (5th ed.). Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. (2007). *Halifax, Nova Scotia (Code1209034)* (table). *2006 Community Profiles*. 2006 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Ottawa. Released March 13, 2007. http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E (accessed March 13, 2011).

Taniguchi, H. (2002). Determinants of women's entry into self-employment. *Social Science Quarterly, 83*(3), 875-893.

Tastsoglou, E. (2006). Gender, migration and citizenship: Immigrant women and the politics of belonging in the Canadian Maritimes. In E. Tastsoglou and A. Dobrowolsky (Eds.), *Women, migration and citizenship: Making local, national, and transnational connections,* pp. 201-230. Hamphire and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Tastsoglou, E., & Miedema, B. (2003). Immigrant women and community development in the Canadian Maritimes: Outsiders within? *Canadian Journal of Sociology, 28*(2), 203-241.

Tastsoglou, E., & Preston, V. (2005). Gender, immigration and labour market integration: Where we are and what we still need to know. *Atlantis: A Women's Studies Journal, 30*(1).

Tastsoglou, E. (2009). (Ed.). *Women, gender, and diasporic lives: Labour, community, and identity in Greek migrations.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Thistle, S. (2006). *From marriage to the market: The transformation of women's lives and work.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Topen, A. (2008). How integrated are women from sub-Saharan Africa in the Canadian labour force? A Halifax case study. *Our Diverse Cities, 5,* 138-142.

Turner, B. S. (1997). Citizenship studies: A general theory. *Citizenship Studies, 1*(1), 5-18.

Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Turner, V. (1974). Dramas, fields, and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vertovec, S. (1996). Multiculturalism, culturalism and public incorporation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 19*(1), 49-69.

Vogel, U. (1989). 'Is citizenship gender specific?', paper presented at PSA Annual Conference, April.

Volery, T. (2007). Ethnic entrepreneurship: A theoretical framework. In L. P. Dana (Ed.), *Handbook of research on ethnic minority entrepreneurship: A co-evolutionary view on resource management,* pp. 30-41. Northampton: Edward Elgar.

Waldinger, R. (1989). Structural opportunity or ethnic advantage? Immigrant business development in New York. *International Migration Review, 23*(1), 48-72.

Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H., & Ward, R. (1990). Opportunities, group characteristics, and strategies. In R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich & R. Ward (Eds.), *Ethnic entrepreneurs: Immigrant business in industrial societies,* pp. 13-48. London: Sage.

Waldron, D. (n.d.). Victor Turner: Liminality, communitas, anti-structure. Retrieved from: http://velorum.ballarat.edu.au/~dwaldron/index.html

Watson, R., Keasey, K., & Baker, M. (2000). Small firm financial contracting and immigrant entrepreneurship. In J. Rath (Ed.), *Immigrant business: The economic, political and social Environment,* pp. 70-89. London: Macmillan Press.

Waring, M. (1988). *If women counted: A new feminist economics.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Weber, D. (1995). From limen to border: A meditation on the legacy of Victor Turner for American cultural studies. *American Quarterly, 47*(3), 525-536.

Weinstock, D. M. (2008). Introduction: The theory and practice of citizenship in the 21st century: A few international trends. *Canadian Diversity/Diversite Canadienne, 6*(4), 3-6.

Werbner, P. (2001). The limits of cultural hybridity: On ritual monsters, poetic licence and contested postcolonial purifications. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 7,* 133-152.

Whitehead, A. (1984). "'I'm hungry, mum': The politics of domestic budgeting.' In K. Young, C. Wolkowitz, & R. McCullagh (Eds.), *Of marriage and the market: Women's subordination internationally and its lessons*, pp. 88-111. London: Routledge.

Wilkinson, L., Peter, T., & Chaturvedi, R. (2006). The short-term, medium-term, and long-term economic performance of immigrant women in Canada and the United States. *Journal of International Migration & Integration, 7*(2), 195-217.

Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2003). Methodological nationalism, the social sciences, and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology. *International Migration Review, 37*(3), 576-610.

Wollebaek, D., & Selle, P. (2002). Does participation in voluntary associations contribute to social capital?: The impact of intensity and scope. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 31*(1), 32-61.

Wong, L., & Satzewich, V. (2006). Introduction: The meaning and significance of transnationalism. In L. Wong & V. Satzewich (Eds.), *Transnational identities and practices in Canada,* pp. 1-15. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Worswick, C. (1999). Credit constraints and the labour supply of immigrant families in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Economics, 32*(1), 152-170.

Yeung, H. W. (2000). Limits to the growth of family-owned business? The case of Chinese transnational corporations from Hong Kong. *Family Business Review, 13*(1), 55-70.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). Women, citizenship and difference. *Feminist Review, 57,* 4-27.

Yinger, M. J. (1985). Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology, 11,* 151-80.

Zhou, M. (2004). Revisiting ethnic entrepreneurship: Convergencies, controversies, and conceptual advancements. *International Migration Review, 38*(3), 1040-1074.

Zinn, M. B. (1987). Structural transformations and minority families. In L. Beneria and C. Stimpson (Eds.), *Women, households, and the economy*, pp. 155-172. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

APPENDIX A

FIELDWORK INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is your date of birth?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your ethno-cultural background?
4. What is your highest level of education? Where did you acquire your education?
5. What languages do you speak at home? In public?
6. How long have you been living in Canada?
7. How long have you been living in Halifax?
8. Why did you decide to come to Canada? To Halifax?
9. What is your citizenship status?
10. Are you married? For how long have you been married?
11. Where does your spouse/partner come from?
12. What is your partner's ethno-cultural background?
13. How many people live in your house?
14. How are you related?
15. How would you describe your family's financial resources? (Low? Medium? High?)

Objective 1: Determine why female immigrants enter the business realm, and why they chose to focus their efforts on the food sector.

1. Tell me about your decision to open a business.

2. Did you have any previous business experience?

3. Why did you decide to sell food and not something else?

Objective 2: Understand the strategies female immigrant entrepreneurs use in starting and maintaining a business. Chart how these immigrants mobilized human and material resources in Canada and transnationally in order to start and maintain their businesses.

1. How did you go about starting your business?

2. Where/how did you get the money and equipment to operate a business?

3. How did you learn what you needed to operate a business?

4. Did any friends or relatives in your previous country help you start your business?

5. What do you do at work in a typical day?

6. How many hours a day do you work? Hour a week?

7. Tell me what you think makes your business work.

8. Can you describe your customer base to me?

9. How do you interact with your customers?

10. How do you try to attract and keep your customers?

11. Can you tell me how much money your business makes in a year?

12. How many employees do you have?

13. Do you ever take a vacation or time off?

14. In general, are you satisfied with your business experience? Why?

15. What sort of things would you like to improve about your work experience and business?

Objective 3: Describe and analyze how the participants emotionally and physically negotiate their transnational lives.

1. In general, what do you think about living in Halifax?

2. What sort of personal connections or friendships have you made in the community?

3. How do you interact with other business owners in the area?

4. Can you tell me what you like to do in your spare time?

    o Are you a member of any clubs, groups, or organizations?

5. How do you think running a business has influenced the way you think about life in Halifax?

6. What connections have you maintained with people in your country of origins? Can you describe these relationships?

7. How does the fact that your family is split over more than on country affect your family members' roles? How do you feel about these changes?

8. Do you ever send money or gifts back home?

    o How often and how much? Why?

9. Do you ever visit or want to visit?

10. Where do you call "home"? Why?

Objective 4: Describe and analyze the relationship between entrepreneurship and kinship ties.

1. How many people (other than your partner) live in your home?

153

a. Why do they live with you?

b. Do you share money or other resources with them?

2. Do you have any other family in Halifax or the surrounding area?

    a. When did they come to Halifax?

    b. How often do you see them?

    c. Do you share money or other resources with them?

3. How do you think owning a business has influenced your relationship with your family in Halifax? What about your family in your country of origin?

4. How do you feel about these changes?

Objective 5: Understand how entrepreneurship impacts gendered power relations.

1. Is there a "head" of your household? What makes this person the head of the household?

2. How do you and your partner divide household chores? Business chores? Childcare?

3. How have these arrangements changed since you moved to Canada? Since you started your business?

4. How do you and your partner manage your money?

    a. Do you have shared bank accounts?

5. Has this arrangement changed since you moved to Canada? Since you started your business?

6. Can you think of other ways living in Canada and owning a business have changed your relationship with your partner?

Concluding thoughts

o   Is there anything else that we have not talked about that you would like to discuss?

o   Can you suggest any other women I should speak with for this study?