

Young, Wild*, and (somewhat) Free: A Narrative Exploration of Married Second- Generation
East Indian Canadian Women and Their Relationship with Leisure

by

Jasmine Nijjar

A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfillment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Recreation and Leisure Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2019

© Jasmine Nijjar 2019

Authors Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis including any required final revision, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Stemming from my personal experiences of a second-generation East Indian (SGEI) woman living in Canada, I explore the complexities of leisure within marriages. I employ postcolonial feminist theorization to contextualize the Other identity and how power relations function to change women's leisure behaviour. Deepening our understanding of these discourses, I employed narrative inquiry to bring married SGEI Canadian's women's counter-narratives to the fore. Using eight one-on-one interviews with married SGEI women ages 18-35 living in the Greater Toronto Area, I illustrate these women's counter-narratives in dialogue-based vignettes to demonstrate the multiplicities of their experiences. Highlighting the similarities, and variations in four areas: The Other and Marriage, The Other and Performance, The Other and Agency, and The Other and Judgment. Together, the findings detail the competing discourses working to Other the married SGEI Canadian women's identity. More specifically, East Indian marriages complicate gender role expectations through added pressures of the honour gaze and surveillance mechanisms that discipline our actions. Women use agency and negotiation to resist, challenge, and manipulate power structures through leisure activities. Given that the voices of married SGEI Canadian women have been ignored in leisure literature, this research contributes to the importance of understanding the reasons behind our leisure actions and, why we do what we *do*.

Acknowledgements

A special thank you to my thesis supervisor Corey Johnson. I am so glad I pitched this research idea in your office! Since then, you have given me constant support and patience as I worked through these (sometimes too big) ideas. I will never forget your mantra to confront my writing fears of, “words on a page,” I used it every time I was stuck, and out came this thesis. I am grateful for your brilliance and guidance in the many directions and paces this research project has taken me.

Thank you to my committee member Kim Lopez. I am appreciative for your vast knowledge and insight into this topic. You challenged my thinking and pushed me to achieve the project that stands today. Thank you to my independent reader, Zara Rafferty whose contribution strengthened this project and has provided me with incredible opportunities to share my work and passion for helping others throughout my degree.

To the Recreation and Leisure department, the place I have called home for my university career. A home I found when I was lost in natural sciences that nurtured my curiosity, creativity and ideas into what they are today. I haven’t looked back; best decision I ever made.

To my mother whose unsurmountable bravery and courage paved the way for me to write about this topic. Your story is my inspiration. To my father whose encouragement, grace, and philosophical discussions motivate me to never stop learning.

To Raja, my husband. Who stood by my side as this project transitioned into our married-life. Thank you for your unconditional attention and love.

To my friends and family, who continuously showed me their support in wonderful ways. Thank you for the lunch dates, dinners, messages, cards, fruit baskets, chats over wine, warm hugs, mini celebrations, and spending time whenever you could. I am so thankful for all of you.

To my beautiful participants, thank you for sharing your stories. You have made me think of marriage differently, and I often find myself thinking about your hardships, triumphs and advice. The once lonely-unshared-path doesn't seem so lonely anymore.

Thank you.

Dedication

To the young, wild and (somewhat) free.

Table of Contents

Authors Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	vi
PART I	1
Chapter One: Introduction	3
Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework	8
Feminism.....	9
Postcolonialism.....	10
Postcolonialism Feminism	13
Foucault, Postcolonial Feminism, and Situating the Study.....	15
Background	18
<i>Brief history of colonized India</i>	18
<i>Colonial influences on postcolonial India</i>	20
<i>The honour gaze</i>	23
<i>Leisure as postcolonial feminist knowledge</i>	26
<i>The institute of marriage</i>	29
<i>The gaps: Narratives of marriage, gender roles and leisure</i>	34
Chapter Three: Methodology	37
Narrative Inquiry	37
<i>Feminist inspired narrative inquiry</i>	39
<i>Postcolonial feminist narrative inquiry</i>	40
Setting Description	41
Subjectivity and Reflexivity.....	42
The Participants	44
Methods.....	45
<i>Reflexive dyadic interviews</i>	45
Data Analysis and Interpretation	46
<i>Working with the data</i>	47
Research Trustworthiness	48
Ethical Considerations	49
Data Representation.....	51
<i>Dialogue-based vignettes</i>	51

PART II.....	55
Chapter Four: The Other and Marriage	57
Chapter Five: The Other and Performance	69
Chapter Six: The Other and Agency.....	81
Chapter Seven: The Other and Judgment.....	95
Chapter Eight: Closing Considerations	108
Researcher Reflections.....	109
Future Research Considerations	112
Tensions	113
So, what?.....	114
Young, wild and (somewhat) free	115
References	117
Appendix A	147
Appendix B	151
Appendix C	154
Appendix D	155
Appendix E	156
Appendix F.....	157

PART I

RATIONALE, LITERARY FOUNDATIONS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Part I builds the foundation to understand the competing discourses of marriage for second-generation East Indian Women (SGEI) living in Canada. Motivated by my own experiences of a newly married SGEI Canadian woman, I seek to understand marriage for other women like me. In *Chapter One*, I introduce the topic and discuss my motivations to research married SGEI Canadian women and their relationship with leisure. Next, in *Chapter Two* I review relevant literature that contextualizes the theoretical framework, and further address gaps in knowledge. Finally, in *Chapter Three* I detail the methodological considerations of inquiry, data collection, interpretation and representation of data. Together, Part I demonstrates my understanding of the rationale, theoretical and methodological considerations important for this research study.

Chapter One: Introduction

“So, what we get drunk. So, what we smoke weed. We're just having fun, we don't care who sees. So, what we go out, that's how it's supposed to be. Living young and wild and free.” *Young, wild and free*. A hip-hop song popularized in 2012, Snoop Dogg, Wiz Khalifa and Bruno Mars created an anthem for audiences reflecting on a care-free, flexible and autonomous lifestyle. The song glorifies being *wild** by engaging in taboo activities such as drinking, smoking, and going out. This anthem celebrates being *free* from constraints that inhibits us from the activities that give us pleasure, happiness and enjoyment. But what determines our freedom to pursue the activities we enjoy? As a married second-generation East Indian (SGEI) Canadian woman, I explore these influences to understand what it means for women like me to be *free* to do activities we desire.

East Indians are the top ten most commonly reported ethnic groups in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016). Among this group, the second-generation, conceptualized as children of first-generation immigrants, are an average age of 26 years old, and reflects an age group considering marriage. According to Statistics Canada (2001), 61% of East Indian Canadians aged 15 years and older are married compared to 50% of all Canadian adults. Marriage being a significant milestone for East Indians is shifting from traditional arranged marriages to “love” marriages (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Donner, 2002; Samuel, 2010). Contrast to arranged marriages, love marriages reject traditional East Indian relationships that are decided by the family (Das & Kemp, 1997), and instead follow a common Western custom of dating and marrying a person of choice with no or little family intervention. However, within contemporary love marriages,

* The term wild is contested within postcolonial feminist scholarship as it Others (Said, 1978) women as “savage” and “uncivilized.” However, throughout this thesis I use the term wild to contextualize SGEI Canadian women’s unique Other identity in relation to marriage and their relationship with leisure.

restrictive traditional East Indian values place gender expectations on women that regulate their actions in marriage. While some research aims to explain what East Indian gender roles are, such as being the primary care taker, including taking care of her husband and his parents in a patrilocal arrangement (Billson, 1995; Handa, 2003; Joshi, 2000; Netting, 2006). Other scholarship explains women's gender roles as maintaining their family's reputation through their actions and behaviours in the community (Awwad, 2002; King 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead & Zaalberg, 2008). Rightfully termed the honour gaze, honour explains the feeling of being watched as women maintain their reputation in society (Krips, 2010). For married SGEI Canadian women, the honour gaze disciplines actions, behaviours and their leisure choices to align with gender roles expected from others.

Leisure is frequently described as pursuits or activities that provide happiness, pleasure, enjoyment (Diener & Chan, 2011; Robertson, 2016; Wang & Wong, 2014), is intrinsically motivated (Iwasaki & Mannell, 2010), provides opportunities to learn about the self (Layland, Hill & Nelson, 2016) and contributes to overall wellbeing (e.g. Chun, Lee, Kim & Heo, 2012; Hutchinson, Loy, Kleiber & Dattilo, 2003; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki, Coyle, Shank, Messina, Porter, Salzer, Koons, 2014; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kleiber, Brock, Dattilo, Lee & Caldwell, 1995; Ponde & Santana, 2000). However, when leisure is described as autonomous and intrinsically motivated, it aligns with Western thought (Chen & Pang, 2012). Growing up in Canada, SGEI women understand their differences from dominant Western culture, theorized as the Other identity (Said, 1978). It is through this Other identity, that married SGEI Canadian women conceptualize their unique experiences of leisure as a result of the honour gaze.

Although leisure literature establishes differences between Eastern and Western leisure choices (see Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Tirone & Shaw, 1997; Tirone, 1997b;

Tirone, 1999/2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2005; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011; Sweatman & Tirone, 2010; Watson & Scraton, 2011), leisure scholarship briefly considers societal influences that rationalize these differences (see Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Mowl & Towner). To address these gaps, I seek to understand leisure constraints through the East Indian honour gaze, and provide insight into contemporary expected gender roles. As well as, address the lack of married SGEI Canadian women's experiences and stories in leisure literature by placing their counter-narratives at the fore.

Guided by a postcolonial feminist narrative inquiry, I examine counter-narratives central to marriage, leisure and gender roles to reflect on four discourses illuminated through our talk. First, marriage drastically impacts expected gender roles. Second, married SGEI Canadian women navigate gender expectations after marriage through performances. Third, our Other identity contextualizes gender role expectations and leisure constraints. And fourth, other SGEI Canadian women act to surveil our actions that further inhibits our leisure and freedom. The research questions that examines these discourses are:

1. How does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian Women's expectations of gender roles, if at all?
2. How does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? What are the implications of leisure in these women's narratives as a result of this knowing?

To address these research questions, I use dialogue-based vignettes inspired by Barrett & Johnson (2013) and Mckeown (2015) to illustrate multiplicities of gender roles, leisure and marriage of eight participants. The representation of these counter-narratives showcase our

unique experiences with our gender roles through the spaces we navigate, negotiate, to manipulate our agency within the honour gaze.

The terms *wild* and *free* are problematic in both postcolonialism and feminism discussed in detail in the next chapter. However, I use these terms intentionally to structure this research topic on the Other identity of married SGEI Canadian women, and their leisure constraints within the honour gaze. Discussed further in the next chapter, postcolonial feminist framework situates understandings of the Other identity with leisure and women's gender roles after marriage. In *Chapter Three*, I discuss narrative inquiry methods that centre married SGEI Canadian women's counter-narratives. I also discuss my rationale to include myself as one of the eight participants interviewed for this research project. Being a participant provided me with new understandings of how we navigate gender role restrictions imposed on us and ways we can exercise autonomy. In *Chapters four through seven*, I explain four discourses that address the research questions and deepen our understandings of *wild* and *free* for married SGEI women living in Canada.

I reflect on my own experience of gender roles and honour gaze after my wedding. I began this research endeavour as a single woman, who married mid-way through the completion of this project. I contextualize my *wild* behaviour through the taboo activities I practice after marriage only to be reminded of the restrictive honour gaze that surveils and disciplines my leisure.

Three missed calls. Two from my grandfather, one from mom, one from my husband's mom. The phone call with his mom is short--a check in and asks about our upcoming weekend. Is it just me, or is everyone curious of what we're up to a week into marriage? In all honesty, we're not sure what we're doing this weekend. It wouldn't be easy saying that I want to get drunk and be with my husband. Can you imagine? Oh the thought of it just makes me chuckle. My phone rings again. It's my grandfather calling for the third time. This must be important. He speaks in Punjabi, but translated in English, he says, "you represent our family, be good and be on your best behaviour. Give your new family a good reputation and maintain ours. People should say how great your father and grandfather are." The few words my grandfather uttered on the telephone speak volumes for a second-generation East Indian Canadian woman and how I, and so many like me, navigate marriage, gender roles and what we are free to do.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework

This research project is grounded in a humanist social constructionist epistemology. Epistemology explains the condition of knowledge and poses the question of how we know what we know (Crotty, 1998). Knowledge within a social constructionist paradigm is made and not found in nature, that is, meaning and knowledge are made through interactions between people. This constructed collective knowledge, or truth(s), allows an understanding to critique and emancipate elements of culture and larger society. A social constructionist epistemology employs an examination of discourse, power structures, oppression, identity, agency and empowerment among others. Within the humanist perspective, critical theories serve to illuminate and critique discourses to understand culture.

This chapter begins with an outline of the theoretical framework of the research project. Starting with feminism and ideas of patriarchy, the section situates in understanding power and oppression. Continuing these ideas, colonization describes the Western influence on a nation and its culture. More specifically, a gendered experience of the colonial influence is discussed through a postcolonial feminism lens and adds ideas of the Other identity. The theoretical framework concludes with situating the study to understand power, knowledge, and agency through a Foucauldian philosophy. The remainder of this chapter will outline the literature related to the tenets of the study to understand the topic of marriage, gender expectations and leisure for SGEI women living in Canada. To begin, a brief history of India's colonialization will establish an understanding of Western influence that further shaped India's hierarchy of people through status and the caste system, and the overall influence of the West. Using a postcolonial feminist lens, the remainder of the literature review will examine Eastern cultural practices that

cast strict expectations of married SGEI Canadian women as they navigate their leisure within the honour gaze.

Feminism

A theoretical foundation situated in feminism is important to understand the premise of patriarchy through oppression and power. Feminists focus on gendered ideologies, where gender is seen as an,

Organizing principle that profoundly shapes/mediates the concrete conditions of our lives.... Through the questions that feminism poses and the absences it locates, feminism argues the centrality of gender in shaping our consciousness, skills, and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege. (Lather, 1998, p. 571)

With a focus on power and privilege, feminists share the disadvantages of the oppressive patriarchal society (Johnson & Parry, 2015). According to feminist theory, the patriarchy is a social construction and system that privileges men in society through social, political, and economic mechanisms that oppress women (Tickner, 2001). However, the patriarchy does not privilege marginalized men, such as men with physical and/or mental disabilities, gay men, and men of colour to name a few (Hibbins, 2013). In turn, the patriarchal system oppresses all genders. Therefore, feminism not only focuses on women, it serves as a platform to end all gendered injustice (Jaggar, 1988).

Feminism is both a theory and a practice. As a theory, feminism identifies, analyzes and opposes the patriarchy and sexism (Finlayson, 2016; hooks, 2000). As a practice, feminism is the application of theoretical insights towards practice. Dworkin (1974) describes it as “part of a planetary movement to restructure community forms and human consciousness so that people have power over their own lives, participate fully in community, live in dignity and freedom” (p.

17). Together, feminist theory combined with feminist practice provides people to adapt feminism into a way of living, struggling, or opposing hegemonic productions of the gender binary that privileges men in the larger social system. When feminism is employed in a research project, the practical implications reflect social justice and provides women and marginalized people to build the confidence to, “speak up, be heard, and create change” (Johnson & Parry, 2015, p. 29).

There are many feminisms that share a common understanding of the power relations within society. Feminists understand the patriarchal system operates differently across history and culture, that is, women have complex and unique intersectionalities. Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) describes the concept of intersectionality as,

Particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example, intersections of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation. Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice. (p.18)

Women have different involvements with race, social class, and history, that there is not a set of experiences which all women share (Spelman, 1988). Instead, access into multiple feminisms allows consideration of multiple intersectionalities and new venues of knowledge (Fixmer & Wood, 2005). To examine the differences between women across the world, close attention to historical and political power relationships must be considered.

Postcolonialism

Global colonization began in the 15th century led by the Portuguese and then the Spanish to the Americas, Middle East, Africa, East Asia and India (Arnold, 2002). The Portuguese and Spanish empires were the first to spread across the globe infiltrating various continents and

territories (Anderson, 2002; Arnold, 2002). In the 16th and 17th centuries England, France and the Dutch Republic began to establish their own empires and were in direct competition with each other. In the 18th and 19th century, the first decolonization in the Americas led to the European powers to gain independence from their metropolises (Hall, 2002). With the loss of the Americas, Spain's empire weakened and turned their attention to colonize South Africa, India and South East Asia to regain power. It was at this time, the Kingdom of Britain (Scotland, England and Wales), France, Portugal and Dutch already had a strong global presence. In the 19th century, the competition of control led a rapid acceleration of colonization where Belgium, Germany and Italy also became involved (Spielvogel, 2015). Following World War I the defeated colonies were distributed to the victors from one colony to another (McGowan, Cornelissen & Nel, 2006). It was after World War II that European controlled nations initiated independence and separated from Western colonization (Ferro, 1997; McGowan, Cornelissen & Nel, 2006).

Global colonization came with power that ruled over a nation and its people. For example, before the European colonization of Canada, indigenous women were revered as the head of the households (Anderson, 2010). These women were respected for their nurturing, teaching, wisdom, giving and supporting life (Grey, 2010). First Nations were matrilineal, meaning that inheritance was passed through the mother. However, with the British colonization of First Nations people and their land introduced patriarchy, the belief that men hold more power than women (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, 2005). In 1879, the Indian Act defined the rights of First Nations people in Canada, which dramatically transformed indigenous men's and women's roles (Grey, 2010). The colonization of Canada changed the revered roles women had as leaders of households and were assumed less than men. More specifically, patriarchy caused differences between the power men and women could exercise (Bourassa, et al., 2005). The

introduction of patriarchy, a system that privileges men and oppresses women in society, is the main reason feminists challenge global colonization (Anderson, 2010; Tickner, 2001).

Postcolonialism is the study of the effects of imperialism and colonization. European rule established superiority over the geographical and intellectual property of the conquered (Fanon, 1994; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1994). Edward Said's primary work of *Orientalism* speaks to the power relations that is used to analyze the postcolonial effect. Generally speaking, "orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'" (Said, 1978, p. 10). Orientalism is often described as a way of knowledge production conceptualized within theory, values, society, traditions and customs by comparing the East (the Orient) to the West (the Occident) (Said, 1978). Orientalism proposes an us-versus-them mentality and creates artificial boundaries. Where "them" characterizes the Other as uncivilised, backwards, deviant, opposite to the "us" and reinforces a superiority over the Other (Caton & Santos, 2009; Said, 1978). Homi Bhabha (1994) recognizes the distinction of the colonizer and colonized, and further explains the spaces in between as unique opportunities of hybridity between culture and history. Culture is both a social construct and system that produces knowledge of the world and organizes social relations (O'Farrell, 2005). Culture is a system that funnels into people's values, traditions and functions on a day-to-day basis,

Culture is first the expression of a nation, the expressions of its preferences, and its taboos and of its patterns are formed [...] in the colonial situation, culture which is doubly deprived of the support of the nation and of the state, falls away and dies. (Fanon, 1994, p. 50)

The term postcolonial does not mean after-colonisation, "as if the colonial period is something we have left behind" (Bignall, 2010, p. 2). Simone Bignall continues,

Rather, I see the postcolonial as usefully describing a qualitative difference, yet to come, in practices defining social construction, self-concept and attitudes of being, relating and belonging. While power most certainly takes new forms today, we also continue to act within, against and according to a lasting legacy of colonial sociality. (p. 2)

Postcolonialism understands power as it acts within and against colonial legacies. When added to a feminist theoretical lens, patriarchal oppression and postcolonialism is useful to understand social gender constructions of the Other identity, discussed further in the following section.

Postcolonialism Feminism

Meyers (1997) hints at the usefulness of both feminism and postcolonialism within a critical constructionist paradigm and suggests, “feminists must develop historically and culturally specific theories that pay attention to concrete material conditions and that acknowledge the complexity of social causation” (p. 21). While both global and postcolonial feminism are concerned with worldwide issues that focus on non-Western thought. Global feminism is concerned with women’s human rights primarily related to health-care and reproductive issues worldwide (Tong, 2014). Whereas, postcolonial feminists examine the political and economic oppression of women and closely analyzes Western colonial influence and effects (Mohanty, 1994; Spivak, 1994). It is not my intention to categorize feminists to specific areas of study, instead this comparison is to highlight the overlapping nature between multiple feminisms, its usefulness and areas of departure.

Postcolonial feminism is concerned with the conceptualization of Otherness. Adapted by feminists to understand the complexities of patriarchal oppression, Simone Beaviour (1949) explains the Other identity through the male-female binary that places “her” as the Other in relation to “him.” As she is, “defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with

reference to her; she is the inessential as opposed to the essential” (p. 26). Understanding multiple oppressive intersectionalities, feminists of colour began to critique Western thought that categorized all women under similar oppressions (Bulbeck, 1998). Chandra Talpade Mohanty, a postcolonial feminist scholar, advances the critique indicating that Western feminists often present coloured women as one category with experiences of the same oppressions. She proposes that the use of “Third World Women” does not recognize diverse histories and experiences between these women. In her critical essay, *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*, Mohanty challenges the binary of the West versus “them” (Third World Women). She explains the dichotomy impedes women’s causes around the world, and suggests a superiority of the West and inferiority of the Other. From this perspective, the female Other cannot speak (Spivak, 1988) as the Other experiences become filtered and conceptualized through dominant Western thought. The critique is aligned with colonialism and suggests that Western feminist discourse of Othering (Mohanty, 2003) creates two classes of women, “one that enables and sustains the other” (p. 215). In light of feminist solidarity, Mohanty encourages feminists to be mindful of Western scholarly establishment over such terms and connotations such as “Third World Women,” as it creates discursive colonization and impedes the cause of women.

Instead, postcolonial feminists encourage understandings of Otherness through women’s legacies of colonialism. The impact of Othering on the colonized person is described by Fanon (1967) as altered actions and behaviours to adopt practices of the colonizer to gain acceptance into the imposed society. However, within the “us-versus-them” boundary the Other cannot completely assimilate with the colonizer, which can place the Other in a position of control (Bhabha, 1994). The Other is in a potential position for possible resistances within power

structures. Further framed by a gendered lens, Simone Beauvoir (1974), explains the potential source of strength in being in an Other position. When women recognize themselves as the Other, it creates a unique way of knowledge production. In other words, when women recognize themselves as the Other within a patriarchal system, this standpoint allows them to examine the power system from both the inside and outside. Recognizing the unique standpoint encourages women to recognize power, and resist reproducing discourse by challenging it (Tong, 2014). Postcolonial feminism, offers “the conceptual tool box to see multiple sites of oppression” (Parashar, 2017, p. 371). It further provides a framework to understand how the Other identity acts within the power structures that determine their actions through more fluid understandings of negotiations, culture and hybridity (Rose, 1995). The following section outlines understandings of power, resistance and knowledge production through the Other identity.

Foucault, Postcolonial Feminism, and Situating the Study

Foucault’s intellectual assumptions are applied to many fields such as identity studies, postcolonialism, feminisms, education, business management, and social work to name a few (O’Farrell, 2005). However, his work is often debatable within feminism and postcolonialism disciplines as pushing a primarily male Eurocentric thought (Cain, 1993; Legg, 2007). Foucault replies back to his critics by stating that it is up to the experts within fields to modify and borrow ideas that best suits their interests. He writes, “I don’t write a book so that it will be the final word; I write a book so that other books are possible, not necessarily written by me” (1994, p.162). Although Foucault is contested in postcolonial feminism, his work on power, knowledge, and resistance, is useful to help contextualize negotiations of power for the Other identity.

This study will use Foucauldian philosophical tenets as outlined by O’Farrell (2005). First, according to Foucault, “it is possible to produce and describe humanly knowledge, and culture in

an orderly matter, but at the same time, human attempts to create order are always limited and crumbling at the edges” (p.54). These forms of order (i.e. knowledge, experience, culture) should be challenged to create new and interesting meanings of how these orders exist and if or why they should continue (Foucault, 1970). Second, Foucault is interested in analysing the impact and traces left behind of “systems” and “structures.” History is referred as a tool used to dismantle and understand human order. More specifically, “every human action, idea and arrangement exists in time: everything has a beginning and end. No aspect of human escapes from history” (p. 54). To connect this Foucauldian assumption to a postcolonial feminist lens, understanding the Other’s negotiations of colonial legacies provides a unique way of knowledge production. Third, the traces left behind from systems are known as discourses. To contrast the Marxist-derived term ideology, Foucault uses the term discourse to explain the notions of history and truth. Ideology assumes an unchanging universe and the subject’s access to truth is influenced by political and social institutions (O’Farrell, 2005). It also suggests that all thoughts and ideas reflect a social reality. Ideology also makes the claim that there are unchanging objects waiting to be discovered by the subject. Finally, ideology implies that history (time) is a continual progress towards the truth (O’Farrell, 2005). Although ideology focuses on power struggles between classes and gender, people and the state, discourse can provide more flexibility. Discourse is “a way of speaking, arranging, and presenting representations of the world in a logical order” (O’Farrell, 2005, p. 41). It does not only focus on power differences between people and their environment, instead implies that power is diffused, and can happen at many levels (Foucault, 1980). Also, discourse is complex and fluid in nature, and implies that it is always changing, reproduced and cyclical in society. Fourth, Foucault maintains the notion that knowledge is, “always shaped by political, social, and historical factors – by ‘power’- in human

societies” (O’Farrell, 2005, p. 54). To understand knowledge production, it is important to recognize how it is produced, reproduced and constrained. Power is an important concept in Foucauldian theories and to this study, where power is seen as, “*not* a ‘thing’ or a ‘capacity’ which can be owned either by State, social class or particular individuals. Instead it is a *relation* between different individuals and groups and only exists when it is being exercised” (O’Farrell, 2005, p. 99). Foucault (1977) also describes power as a constraint of freedom and an opportunity for resistance. More specifically, Foucault sees freedom as the opportunity to behave in different ways within power. Similar to freedom, resistance exists with power and explains changing struggles between space and time. When we consider power through freedom and resistance, we begin to look at it as, “as a mode of action upon the actions of others” (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). Adding to postcolonial scholarship, this understanding of resistance to freedom is further theorized as agency. Where agency is explained as being flexible to navigate relations, desires and functions within constraints that inhibit freedom (Bignall, 2010).

Foucauldian assumptions of power are central to understand the Other identity for this study. Homi Bhabha reflects how power can be productive in the *Location of Culture* (1994) as the colonized Other finds spaces to resist and speak back to power. These negotiations within power, can position the Other to potentially manipulate one’s own power from the colonizer. As power is not held with the colonizer but instead is exercised in relation to the Other (Foucault, 1982). Foucault reiterates that power is not solely oppressive, and instead constructive, as it can be manipulated for resistance and empower individuals (O’Farrell, 2005). As a result, providing spaces for the Other identity to exercise agency (Bignall, 2010).

Foucauldian assumptions of knowledge production, power and resistance are central to understand the tenets of the honour gaze and agency through their Other identity. The following

section will continue the discussion of the Othering experience of married second-generation East Indian (SGEI) women living in Canada and what that means for their leisure agency.

Background

Postcolonial feminist theory that is further filtered through Foucauldian assumptions will be used as a lens into this study. What follow is a brief background of the topics covered in the study to understand marriage and leisure for SGEI women living in Canada. To begin, a brief history of India's colonialization will establish an understanding of Western influence that further shaped India's hierarchy of people through status and the caste system. A discussion of Western influence on India will begin to outline the colonial influences that motivated a shift into a Canadian context. The discourses of status and maintaining family honour will be used to understand that Western leisure practices for SGEI Canadian women can be taboo and dangerous but understood as a possible way of knowledge of Western culture. Then, a discussion of Western leisure as postcolonial feminist knowledge will introduce ideas of power, and agency through resistance. The remainder of the literature review will examine evolved East Indian cultural practices that cast strict gender expectations of SGEI Canadian women as they navigate their marriage and leisure.

Brief history of colonized India

In 1498, the Portuguese empire was the first of the European powers to sail into India (Anderson, 2000; Arnold, 2002). The strong competition between other European powers, Dutch, English, French among others, also entered India (Hall, 2002). In turn, India was gradually infiltrated by European powers and was under their control. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth I formed the East India Company to establish a trade between Britain, India and Eastern Asia (Roy, 2016). By the 19th century, Britain had direct control through British settlers and

companies in India, and indirect control of laws, trade, and government over most of India (Roy, 2016).

With the Western colonizing influence in India, what could be said about the culture of the people? The *Location of Culture* in postcolonial India is not as harmonious as hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) suggests, and instead it birthed a power-hungry government and unpredictable, discriminatory, postcolonial nation. India and Pakistan were one nation until their independence after 200 years of British rule. In 1947, freedom from the British initiated a partition between India and the Republic of Pakistan. North Indian's land was split between India and Pakistan and the religious war that initially separated these areas continued between these new borders (Hodson, 1969). Muslims, Hindus and Sikh's risked their lives travelling to their designated space of belonging. Confronted by war, the partition between India and Pakistan took about 1 million lives (Hodson, 1969). India's independence, and partition were the beginning of the gruesome power relations in India. To focus on one religion, these attacks spread and created terrifying uncertainty for Sikh Indians. In 1984, the Golden Temple, the holiest and safest space of Sikh prayer and peace, was viciously attacked by the government in power killing over 5000 men, women and children (Chima, 2008). In response to an assassination of the leader involved in the massacre, anti-Sikh riots targeted Sikh neighbourhoods and maliciously killed over 2800 (officially stated by the government) and over 8000 (unofficially) innocent men and women (Bedi, 2009; Nelson, 2014). These examples are not to highlight specific religious injustices within India, instead they are used to illustrate the power relations that followed the turn of independence from imperialism and motivated people to look elsewhere for a safe place to live. India and its people in control craved power that was once lost through its British imperialism,

Without exception [the colonial powers] left us nothing but our resentment...it was when they had gone we were faced with the stark realities ...that the destitution of the land after long years of colonial rule was brought home to us. (Nkrumah, 1963, p. xiii)

The colonial powers left an India full of resentment, confusion and change. One of the significant changes to India's culture was the importance of status and class among its people (Sangari & Vaid, 1990).

Colonial influences on postcolonial India

The imperial rule in India maintained a social system that categorized and further imposed the Other based on wealth, education, opportunities that determined rank in social status (Bayly, 1999). This hierarchy of social status is known as the caste system. The term caste is not an Indian term, but a borrowed Portuguese term meaning lineage, race and breed (Leonard, 2006). Caste is a complex system and a challenge to universally define. However, in relation to this research project, Ghurye (2005) defines the Indian caste system as six distinct characteristics of status and hierarchy. He explains that caste is a separation of society whose belonging is determined by birth into a hierarchical system. Castes that are higher in the hierarchy provide food/resources for lower castes. Dominant classes usually live together in the center of cities while lower castes reside on the periphery. Higher castes inherit occupations and better opportunities than lower castes. The separations between higher and lower castes perpetuate strict societal restrictions on marrying between castes (Ghurye, 2005).

Caste is a social process that extends through multiple religious groups in India. During imperialism, the British further maintained the caste system by creating more opportunities to higher castes (Bayly, 1999). Constructing higher castes to be associated with wealth, opportunities, respect and overall high societal status. Where high status and social respect

became desirable qualities that demanded superiority within society. However, the West was superior beyond the highest Indian caste (Said, 1978). Providing the Other to negotiate ways to redistribute power and control in society after imperial control. In 1950, India's government abolished the caste system on paper, however its powerful influence lingers within the nation and its' people (Keane, 2016). Today, East Indians negotiate these power structures and either accept or reject the caste system (D'Souza, 2015). However, the superiority of the West still impacts India through other means beyond the caste system and reinforces the Other colonized identity. To mimic Western superiority within an Indian society, women began adapting and practicing Westernised ideals such as skin whitening methods, dying hair to resemble lighter tones, speaking English, wearing Western clothes, among others (Gorke, 2015; Sen, 2017). Further conceptualized by Fanon (1967) who explains that the Other mimics attributes of the colonizer in order to gain acceptance within the imposed community. In this case, the Other integrated Western media into Indian pop culture. Indian movies began to display Western ideals, fashion, English language, and include taboo topics such as dating and sex (Chakraborty, 2016; Rao, 2007). The exposure of Western traditions and values placed the West as superior as East Indians continue to adapt and mimic Western mannerisms. The superiority of the West was further maintained by the Other as East Indians began moving from India into Canada, and placing the West as stable and prosperous. Further placing the West as strong and stable and the East as weak, unpredictable, dangerous (Said, 1978).

After independence, India was in a state of religious war and uncertainty, where people looked at the stability of the West to start a safe and prosperous future. The immigration patterns of India reflected these uncertain times and the need for escape. During this time the Liberal Government of Canada had a high immigration target of 1%, and thus welcomed an influx of

Indian immigrants into the nation (Preston & Cox, 1999; Simmons, 1998). Canadian statistics show that the greatest concentration of Indian immigrants came to Canada before 1991 (Statistics Canada, 2006). Although people were moving out of India to a variety of countries, they were attracted to places in Canada that had a strong East Indian community. Both Ontario and British Columbia are the places of high concentrations of Indian immigration (Statistics Canada, 2007). Thus, these high concentrations of East Indian communities began the maintenance of discourses surrounding traditions, values and status outside of India. For example, Canada has hundreds of religious settings that East Indians use to congregate with other Indians in the community. These religious institutes also offer language classes to further preserve spoken and written words for younger generations. In popular media, Canadian radio and television offer East Indian programming that further maintains South Asian languages (Marris, & Thornham, 2002). Canada provides goods from India that are sold in clothing shops, speciality Indian grocery stores, Western grocery stores and restaurants (German & Banerjee, 2011). The preservation of religious societies, language, food, music, and clothing are some of the ways East Indians maintain their roots and culture in a Western context and continue to provide an attractive immigration spot for new settlement.

Following South Asians to Canada is their value of status and hierarchy. Caste is one of the factors that affect status of a family in society. Birth into a higher caste deems for higher familial status, however, there is need to maintain respect within the community, which further indicates ways the Other acts and behaves within society (Fanon, 1967). Today, caste is contested by many within the East Indian community, and newer generations are resisting it (Chakravarti, 2003). However, tensions occur as older generations of East Indians value caste and social status. Contemporary discourses of status are determined by not only the caste system

for those who value it, but instead by the respect and reputation of a family within society. Where the maintenance of this reputation is a combined effort by everyone in the family. However, most of that responsibility is held by the women of the family through her honour and maintained gender roles (Cihrangir, 2012).

The honour gaze

In his book, *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973), Foucault uses the term “gaze” to refer to a look or glance. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault uses a panopticon as a metaphor to illustrate gaze having a 360-degree visibility that acts to surveil everyone within the structure at all times (Foucault, 1977). The honour gaze aligns with Foucauldian assumptions of gaze and further explains the Othering of East Indian women.

Honour means high respect, high esteem and is associated with various cultures. Cultural, anthropological, and social literature describes Mediterranean regions, the Middle East, Pakistan and India to value honour (Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000; Sev’er & Yurkdakul, 2001). Common to these societies is the collectivistic nature that share communal codes that determine an individual’s behaviour (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead & Fischer, 2002a; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). An individual’s personal worth in these cultures is important for his or her own honour, but it is in the gratification of social esteem and social recognition that legitimize individuals’ claims to honour (Cihangir, 2012; Miller, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Stewart, 1994). Social reputation separates the adaption and impact of honour between Eastern and Western societies. For example, Western cultures (USA, Canada, North and North-West Europe) are orientated toward individualism. Where, individual behaviour and actions seem to

have less effect on communal codes (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle & Schwarz, 1996; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi & Yoon, 1994).

Honour, in collectivist societies like India, is easily lost and difficult to regain. Therefore, men and women are both responsible to preserve their families honour and reputation in society. Men navigate discourses that holds them responsible for the overall well-being of their families, maintain authority within the family, to protect their family and father many children (King 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; 2002b). Whereas feminine honour code discourses proscribe sexual shame and a high regard of sexual purity. Where, “sexual purity includes the expression of restraint in sexual behaviour such as maintaining virginity before marriage, modesty, decorum in dress, and sexual purity in social relations – particularly with men” (Cihangir, 2012, p. 3). Although sexual purity is not the only aspect of honour, it is the most significant aspect that determines women’s behaviour in society (Awwad, 2002). The difference between men and women honour codes is that women are pressured to uphold her expected roles as it indicates her family’s respect and status in society (Awwad, 2002; King 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). These masculine and feminine honour roles are inscribed at a young age and begins with the way young boys and girls are raised by their parents. For example, at a young age, girls are given more household responsibilities than boys (Valenzuela, 1999), and face stricter parental control when compared to their brothers, and thus ensues a double standard in parental monitoring (Dasgupta, 1998; Naidoo, 1984; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). Although this can be argued as a form of parenting, the double standard of parental monitoring comes from parents that value gender honour codes and pass these gendered discourses down to their children through punishment and disapproval (Brouwer, 1998). To illustrate this, literature insists that women also value sexual purity in their future partners due to increased equality initiatives

in collectivist societies and through the influence of the West and women's rights movements (Cihangir, 2008). However, women who demand equal rights within their communities and close relationships are deemed spoiled by parents (Brouwer, 1998). Furthermore, daughters who indicate protest or resistance may be susceptible to honour related violence at the hands of parents, family and close relatives (Welchman & Hossain, 2005).

East Indian girls are at a disadvantage as the emphasis on preserving sexuality restricts their freedom. Disrespecting the family's name will further result in her family being ignored, deemed undesirable, and pushed on the margins of society (Welchman & Hossain, 2005). Some ways that can be disrespectful to a family is wearing unacceptable clothing, dating, engaging in reckless behaviour such as drinking or smoking, among others (King 2008; Mucina, 2015; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; 2002b). However, many of the multiple ways that are understood as disrespectful to an East Indian family are possible ways women engage in their leisure. Second Generation East Indian Canadian women have a complex relationship with leisure where they must navigate between their East Indian traditions and Western influences (Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). Women that disrespect their family to fulfill their leisure can suffer life threatening consequences that their male family members are able to avoid. For example, a 16-year old Pakistan-Canadian girl's life ended in murder from the hands of her own father and brother. She wanted to wear Western clothes to get a part-time job like her Canadian peers (Cohen, 2010). And just days before, a mother stabbed her 19-year old Afghan Canadian daughter for staying out all night (Cohen, 2010). Although these are extreme cases, they are not uncommon in Canada and illustrate a gruesome picture of the fatal consequence of adjusting to a Canadian lifestyle under an honour gaze. Leisure, when focused on SGEI Canadian women illustrates the pressure of maintaining honour through choices, actions and behaviour in society.

In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) describes gaze through understandings of surveillance and discipline. Similar to the panoptic metaphor used by Foucault to illustrate the effects of gaze on prisoners, the honour “gaze” acts to constantly surveil these women of their expected gender roles. The goal of this persistent gaze of surveillance is to turn women’s gaze inwards and discipline themselves to produce modified behaviour and actions (Purdy, 2015). This modification of behaviour then makes it difficult to practice forms of resistance to power (Purdy, 2015). Constant surveillance of the honour gaze further Others SGEI Canadian women as a mechanism to control their actions and behaviour.

Leisure as postcolonial feminist knowledge

Edward Said’s work on *Orientalism* (1978) is framed through Foucauldian assumptions of power and knowledge. Explained as the Orient, the Other understands their identity through their experiences in relation with the Occident. It is within these experiences of power and ways it can be resisted that the Other identity creates new avenues of knowledge (Foucault, 1970). A dominant Western discourse is leisure, a taken-for-granted individualistic discourse that is learned early and practiced throughout Western culture. What follows is a framework of leisure as dominant Western thought in relation to the Other identity.

In this study, leisure is conceptualized as time away from paid employment and routine, intrinsically motivated (Iwasaki & Mannell, 2010), provides pleasure and enjoyment (Robertson, 2016), to explore the self (Layland, Hill & Nelson, 2016), and is important to overall well-being. Specifically, leisure can be used to (1) cope with stress (Chun, Lee, Kim & Heo, 2012; Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003), (2) have positive affect on mental health (Iwasaki et al., 2014; Ponde & Santana, 2000), (3) cope with illness and disability (Hutchinson, Loy, Kleiber & Dattilo, 2003; Kleiber, Brock, Dattilo, Lee & Caldwell, 1995), and (4) promote overall

happiness (Diener & Chan, 2011; Wang & Wong, 2014). When leisure is described as an intrinsically motivated pursuit, it can be argued as a Westernized view of leisure (Chen & Pang, 2012).

There has been select research that explores South Asian Canadians' leisure pursuits (e.g. Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Tirone & Shaw, 1997; Tirone, 1997b; Tirone, 1999/2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2005; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011; Sweatman & Tirone, 2010; Watson & Scraton, 2011). The literature outlines a general South Asian lens, and provides a glimpse into the leisure differences for South Asians living in a Western context. The literature indicates that leisure is different for first generation South Asian Canadian women when compared to their Canadian peers. More specifically, married immigrant women prefer spending time with their families than spending time alone (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). South Asian women look at Western women as selfish and do not desire leisure for themselves (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Whereas, immigrant children made it clear they want to engage in their traditional roots through leisure as well as engage in Western leisure pursuits. Similar to their parents, immigrant children value their home, family and cultural community places (Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). Together they share leisure spaces through music, dance and food with family and their community. Interestingly, engaging in self-serving leisure caused the most friction between generations (Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). The biggest contrast between leisure pursuits for first-generation South Asian immigrants is that their leisure is not defined by freedom and autonomy in the way Western leisure is defined and adapted by their children (Arai & Pedlar 2003; Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). Unique to their parents, children of immigrants use leisure in schools and sport venues to enter dominant culture (Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). In turn,

they are using leisure as knowledge of both dominant Western culture and Eastern values and traditions.

As children of immigrants grow older, conceptualized in this research project as the second-generation, they have a different relationship with leisure than their parents. Although there is little scholarship that discusses societal leisure constraints for South Asian women, there has been some research that outlines race and leisure pursuits for this group (see Tirone, 1999/2000; Watson & Scraton, 2001). However, these studies and other contributions to the leisure literature are missing an important piece of these women's narratives. Employing a postcolonial feminist lens allows a deeper analysis of the power relations that can help explain SGEI Canadian women's understanding of leisure. Here, the Other identity adapts to the Western leisure pursuits while simultaneously surveilled by the honour gaze. With an understanding that power is a productive way of knowledge (Foucault, 1980), the honour gaze acts to surveil women's leisure choices. It is through instances of resisting the honour gaze that complicates women's understanding of leisure and what it means to them as the Other identity. For example, the concept of freely chosen activities becomes complicated as oppressive aspects of honour are added. For example, East Indian women found lying to parents about dating or engaging in taboo Westernised leisure pursuits was a way to maintain their honour and reputation of their family (Samuel, 2010). There is not a comprehensive list that outlines what is taboo leisure for these women, instead, there are familial guidelines put in place to avoid disapproval in the East Indian community. Some of these taboo topics include, but are not limited to, dating, going to nightclubs, drinking alcohol, smoking, having sex before marriage, travelling for pleasure, and practicing Western fashion among others (Mucina, 2015), which can all be described as typical Western leisure pursuits. Within the honour gaze women's actions and behaviour are surveilled

and disciplined adding to the complexities of their Other identity. Here, married SGEI Canadian women have potential creating new avenues of knowledge through navigating Western leisure within the honour gaze. Using a Foucauldian lens, leisure explains elements of freedom as a resistance to power (Foucault, 1977). Where there is freedom there is a resistance to power, that is, a space that calls for an examination of possible new ways of knowledge for SGEI Canadian women. These new ways of knowing about leisure, autonomy and freedom within the honour gaze is unique to the Other identity. Thus, creating the discourse of leisure to be a postcolonial feminist knowledge specific to the Other. Next, the sacred milestone of marriage for East Indian Canadians adds to the understanding of honour gaze and helps describe how gender roles are maintained and reproduced.

The institute of marriage

Marriage is a social or religious union between spouses and is an institution that outlines the obligations between each spouse. These marriage obligations between spouses varies around the world between different religions and cultures. As religions and cultures evolve over time, so does the institute of marriage. However, despite the religious and cultural differences, the institute of marriage when broadly defined can be universally recognised. The purpose of a marriage between spouses varies between cultures from increasing social status (Srinivas, 1984), financial gain (Bannerjee, 2002; Lindenbaum, 1981; Tenhunen 2007; Roa, 2012; Rozario, 2009), tax benefits (Ellwood, 2000), legal and social obligations of any offspring produced (Lundberg & Pollak, 2015; Rossin-Slater, 2015), among others. Historically, marriage was a strategic social move to unite families to share resources. For example, ancient royal families' marriages were unions to increase family wealth, power and property (Cox, 1998). Across cultures, women did not have equal rights with men in marriages. A woman was property of her husband, could not

own property, or legally represent themselves (see Perkin, 2003; Stretton & Kesselring, 2013). It was in the late 19th century, Europe, United States, and Canada began to evolve to include more women's rights in marriages. Some of these rights include giving women legal identities of their own, property rights, reproductive rights, liberalizing divorce laws, and requiring consent for sexual relations (Kronby, 2010). Marriage is defined as an institution because although there have been social changes of how people marry and what a marriage looks and functions like, it is a system of historical and cultural discourses that are being produced, reproduced and challenged. The following section begins to outline these historical and cultural discourses of East Indian marriage to further understand the Other identity for women.

Traditionally, Indian marriages are managed by the families and parents through an arranged marriage. An arranged marriage is where the parents of the bride and groom set up the relationship (Das & Kemp, 1997). Within this marriage, brides are expected to leave her parents to live with her husband's family (Agrawal & Unisa, 2007; Banerjee & Jain, 2001; Klasen & Wink, 2002). Married women face obstacles maintaining contact with their parents, such as, navigating large distances between houses, poor communication and transportation, and restrictions of visits to name a few. Women face the grief of separation and isolation from their childhood support networks after marriage (Jeffery, Jeffery, & Lyon, 1988; Jeffery & Jeffery, 1996; Palriwala, 1999). Historically, within arranged marriages families of the bride were expected to provide goods and money to the groom's family called a dowry. Caplan (1984) termed it the bridegroom-price to explain the high levels of payments involved that are integral to marriage negotiations. The requests of dowry payments symbolised modern masculinity of wealth, status and power. For example, new vehicles, motorbikes, large amounts of cash, and property were given from the bride's family to the groom and his family (Lindenbaum, 1981).

Dowries have become central for establishment for men who receive them such as providing capital for business, cash requirements for career advancements, and used through migration (Bannerjee, 2002; Roa, 2012; Rozario, 2009; Tenhunen 2007). However, families that had to give dowries, saw having a daughter as a financial burden (Jeffery & Jeffery, 1996; Kaur, 2007). Sometimes referring to the dowry payment as a cancer that causes turmoil and irreversible debt for families (Vatuk, 2007). Thus, placing women as the Other who is viewed as deviant against the stability of their families. Although the dowry was not practiced by every Indian family, the dowry system combined with the benefits of patrilocal arranged marriages illustrates a preference for a son in Indian families deeming their superiority over women. The process of dowry is understood to be a postcolonial phenomenon, beginning in the 1950s and 1960s and became prominent throughout India in the 1970s and 1980s (Caplan, 1984). However, the strong discrimination against having girls has increased the use of sex-selective abortions, and have changed the modern dowry landscape in parts of India (Arokiasamy, 2008; Dyson, Cassen & Visaria, 2004; Visaria, 2004). A preference to birth sons, further Others East Indian women to be controlled over her sexual freedom (Said, 1974). The shortages of brides in India has risen and marriages without dowries are beginning to take the foreground (see Das Gupta & Li, 1999; Blanchet, 2005; Kaur, 2004; 2008; Jeffery, Jeffery, & Lyon, 1989; Jeffery & Jeffery, 1996).

Today, with an increasing influence of modern Western culture (Netting, 2006) strictly-family-arranged Indian marriages are less practiced. Now, elements of arranged marriages have transformed to have both men and women choose their own partners with some familial interventions (Donner, 2002). More specifically, South Asian women are getting less forced arranged marriages and becoming more autonomous in choosing their own partners (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Samuel, 2010). The changing landscape of the dowry system and shift in

arranged marriages outline some of the social changes in India that have transformed the East Indian institute of marriage. Social movements in India have also outlined an older legal marriage age, liberal ideologies of spousal selection, caste, and women's sexuality (Allendorf, 2013; Andrist, Banerji & Desai, 2013; Desai & Andrist, 2010; Prakash & Singh, 2013).

Although these changes include more women's rights in marriages in India, the way a marriage functions between spouses is still highly influenced by cultural, postcolonial, and patriarchal discourses (Naidu, 2011).

Traditionally, the culturally appropriate marriage arrangements are virilocal and patrilineal (White, 2016). Where today, East Indian men have a strong connection to preserving old family traditions and values (Netting, 2006). Men are deemed the preservers of tradition whereas women are pressured around these restrictions to follow tradition (Billson, 1995; Handa, 2003; Joshi, 2000; Netting, 2006). An example of a tradition men preserve is the desire to marry a woman that will live with him and his parents, as it is his duty to provide care of his parents (Netting, 2006) in addition to his wife. This is a tradition that is embedded in reproducing gender roles,

Das Dasgupta (1998) reminds us that South Asian women's identities are always 'fused' with the identities of the men in their lives: father, husband and son. In this way a South Asian woman is defined by her familial roles of daughter, sister, daughter-in-law, wife, mother and grandmother. While these roles provide her with some protection, they also place limits and confine her in her daily life. These dynamics are particularly evident when discussing issues around marriage and mate selection. (Samuel, 2010, p. 98)

In most live-in cases, the daughter-in-law has a distant relationship with her father-in-law, where the mother-in-law and husband become inclined to monitor her honour (Naidu, 2011). It then

becomes a combined effort to preserve the family reputation and status through the daughter-in-law. In terms of life after marriage, men feel more love, commitment and overall satisfaction over their marriages (Regan, et al., 2012). In contrast, South Asian immigrant women experience societal causes that produce mental, emotional, and physical illnesses (Karasz, 2005; Naidu, 2011). In particular, women spoke about their lack of freedom from gender roles within marriages which causes them lowered health and wellbeing (Karasz, 2005; Mehrotra, 2016). The oppressive conditions of the honour gaze that structure women's behaviours and actions cause her to feel trapped within her marriage. Where the only way to escape is by breaking off the marriage or being let go from the husband's family (Chaudhuri, Morash & Yingling, 2014).

Today, some postcolonial feminists understand the cultural tensions of marriage discourse and want to change the dialogue of women being victims of their South Asian culture (Pande, 2015). In her article centered on agency within marriages, Raksha Pande (2015) describes that South Asian women understand what is wrong with dominant South Asian views on gender roles. She focused on three women and described the ways they practiced agency in their arranged marriages. Although Pande's study centers arranged marriages, it is useful to contextualize ways women negotiate, manipulate power structures within their marriages to practice agency for this research. Pande (2015) established that South Asian women do not have to actively oppose, challenge and resist these power structures, but instead describes how women can take on passive means to navigate their agency. Aligned with married SGEI Canadian women's Other identity, navigating the honour gaze within a Western context places woman to create new avenues of knowledge (Bhabha, 1994). In order to do so, women comply with existing rules, regulations, and gender relations but understand that these rules are to, "be contested, redefined, and renegotiated" (Pande, p.286). These ideas of negotiating and

manipulating gender expectations provides new understanding of the complexities of agency for South Asian women. However, it is not to be said that women are to be placed as agents of change. Doing so, places women as “saving” themselves from their marriage situations. Das (2010) argues that this is a skewed model of agency, “which borrows from a certain kind of heroic view of resistance and which does not give due recognition to the daily struggles, tactics, and strategies which are involved in enacting everyday life” (Pande, 2015, p.182). Instead, this project aims to understand the complex ways married SGEI Canadian women navigate these, “daily struggles, tactics, and strategies” to understand their experiences of agency.

The gaps: Narratives of marriage, gender roles and leisure

In 1997, Tirone and Shaw published an article on Indian-Canadian married women’s relationship with family and leisure. The article captures the narratives of East Indian immigrant women living in Canada. The authors created a circular model with multiple layers to represent the many factors that affect women’s life satisfaction. All the participants recognized family as central to their lives. The authors suggest that the model they created of the women’s lives is evolving as circumstances change around them through generations of living in Canada,

The dynamic nature of the model will be evident as the women age and as their children grow up in Canada. As they experience more customs and traditions, the women may choose to adopt them [...] their children may choose to adopt traditions of the dominant North American culture, especially in relation to friends, dating and marriage [...] It is possible that the aspects of life in the outer circle will take on greater importance as time progresses and may affect the stability of the factors in the inner circle. (p. 242)

The outer circle that Tirone and Shaw (1997) refer to are the traditions of both India and Canada. The authors are aware there will eventually be a gradual progression of cultural hybridity that

second-generation Indian-Canadian women have unique from their first-generation immigrant mothers. Tirone and Shaw (1997) provide the foundation of this study and also pose future questions to further examine the influence of Western and Eastern traditions as children of Indian immigrant women grow older. Therefore, this study will address the gap in literature by examining the leisure of married SGEI Canadian women. It will serve to provide an understanding of SGEI Canadian women's experience of leisure after marriage within the honour gaze. Finally, there will be an examination of married SGEI Canadian women's narratives surrounding contemporary ideas of gender and how it functions in their leisure.

Chapter summary: situating the wild and free

The conceptual framework of this chapter illustrates the *wild* and *free* realisations surrounding married SGEI Canadian women. First, a discussion of the Other identity within *Orientalism* (Said, 1974) frames the colonized person as deviant, and uncivilized in need of controlling by the superior colonizing West. Second, women are further Othered within patriarchal structures as, “defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her” (Beauvoir, 2011, p. 26). Thus, creating SGEI Canadian women to experience their Othering identity through their relation with men and within the complexities of living in a Western context. The honour gaze explains how both postcolonial and patriarchal power structures are placed onto women to surveil their actions and behaviour within society. However, adaption of Western leisure pursuits can complicate women's understandings of freedom within an honour gaze. Where resistance to the honour gaze and openly engaging in taboo leisure pursuits can place SGEI Canadian women as deviant, pushed to the margins of society and *wild* (Welchman & Hossain, 2005) and further complicates women's freedom.

The term *free* is contextualized through Foucauldian assumptions of resistance (Foucault, 1977). According to Bhabha (1994) the Other finds spaces to resist power structures. This resistance is further theorized as agency to navigate the various constraints to freedom (Bignall, 2010). Where the colonized Other is not ever “free” from constraints but is able to redistribute and manipulate power to contribute to their agency (Bignall, 2010). Some of which, include her leisure lifestyle, choices and autonomy. The following chapter outlines how postcolonial feminist narrative inquiry was used to examine these unique experiences of married SGEI Canadian women.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The purpose of this postcolonial feminist research project was to examine the competing discourses of marriage and its relationship to leisure for married second-generation East Indian (SGEI) women ages 18-35 living in Canada. The narratives, stories and experiences of married SGEI Canadian women were used to explore the postcolonial and patriarchal discourses that function in their marriages and influence their leisure choices. Situated in a narrative inquiry methodology, the research questions that guided this project were the following:

1. How does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian Women's expectations of gender roles, if at all?
2. How does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? What are the implications of leisure in these women's narratives as a result of this knowing?

Narrative Inquiry

A narrative can be oral, written or heard through conversation (Chase, 2005). Narratives are connected to a series of events through stories that can range from explaining a particular event, and/or extensive information about an aspect of one's life such as work, marriage, divorce, childhood or illness (e.g. Diaute & Lightfoot, 2004; Greenhalgh & Hurwitz, 1998; Plummer, 1995; Riessman, 1993). Human stories have long histories outside research institutional settings and can be explained as ways humans share their experiences of the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). These shared stories serve as knowledge about our social context,

What matters is that lives do not serve as models; only stories do that. [...] We can only retell and live by the stories we have read or heard. [...] They may be read, or chanted, or

experienced electronically, or come to us, like the murmurings of our mothers, telling us what conventions demand. Whatever their form of medium, these stories have formed us all; they are what we must use to make new fictions, new narratives. (Heilbrun, 1988, p. 37)

Researchers that use narrative inquiry take individual or collective voices to make meaning of the larger culture (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The use of narrative inquiry is, “to treat narrative- whether, oral, or written- as a distinct form of discourse,” (Chase, 2005, p. 656) where narratives are used in research to make meaning of actions, objects, truth(s), and events over time. In addition to describing what happened, narratives capture emotions, feelings, interpretations, thoughts and ideas. Narratives used in research also serve as verbal action and are ways to explain, highlight, confirm, critique and challenge the status quo (Chase, 2005). Narratives can be used to address an issue that is sensitive to critiquing the dominant culture, as few participants may be less willing to share their experiences. Sharing personal experiences and stories provides participants opportunities to be heard and share in a safe space. It is within these spaces, that narrative inquiry provides empowerment to its involved participants. Therefore, narrative inquiry is not limited to marginalized, or small communities, but it has shown to benefit the participants and the audience as their stories are retold (Johnson & Parry, 2015).

Furthermore, narratives provide a partial glimpse of the self and where the self is situated in reality reflecting the narrator’s community, culture, and social memberships. Researchers use these unique characteristics to highlight the similarities and differences across narratives and recognize patterns of the storied self within particular times and places (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001; Bruner, 2002). The types of narratives can be further categorized as meta-narratives, counter-narratives, co-constructions, and re-storying narratives. Meta-narratives are dominant

stories that explain the human process (Stephens & McCallum, 1998). The meta-narrative is constructed through multiple stories that help explain the process of acting, thinking and being within the culture. A critique of meta-narratives is that these narratives are based on hegemonic ideologies and dominant discourse (White, 1992). Furthermore, meta-narratives can ignore the voices from non-dominant groups such as people of colour, immigrants and women. Counter-narratives tell a different story and avoid repeating the same stories in dominant discourse by including the voices that have been silenced or ignored in meta-narratives. In that, a counter-narrative story encourages new ways of thinking and understanding new experiences (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004; Harrison, 2004). The inclusion of counter-narratives allows for more complex meta-narrative that reflects a wide range of human experience (Parry & Doan, 1994). In research, some ways to include counter-narratives can be through re-storying narratives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Re-storying narratives can take different forms such as organizing multiple narratives into a compiled story, or re-storying into creative forms such as art, poetry, song, or dialogue vignette (see *Data Representation*) to name a few. Through these creative means of representation, researchers are able to composite multiple narratives to illuminate similarities, differences, tensions, and challenge dominant discourse (see Barrett & Johnson, 2013; Berbarry, 2011; Mckeown, 2015).

Feminist inspired narrative inquiry

The liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s had a major role in the shift of focus in narrative inquiry methods (Reinharz, 1992). Women researchers studying other women began to prioritize the silenced voices from dominant research. Feminist researchers used narrative inquiry to challenge dominant ideologies of culture, society and history (see Franz & Stewart, 1994; Reinharz, 1992; Reinharz & Chase, 2002). Through these methods, women brought topics

of race, ethnicity, class, nationality, sexual orientation, and disability to the forefront of their lives (see Greiger, 1986; Olesen 2005). With a growing interest in personal narratives, feminist researchers began to challenge the ways that research was conducted and were critical in analyzing previous narrative research as it was distant from the person of study and created them as an object or Other (Mohanty, 2003). This critical lens provided feminist researchers to highlight the importance of women as their own social actors and further understand how they bring meaning to their stories (Chase, 2005). Feminist researchers began to understand their own roles in research and considered their personal subjectivity to address aspects that were once overlooked (see Bertaux, 1981; Denzin, 1970; Plummer, 1983). It was with this new feminist lens that research began to address differences in culture, society and history. Today, feminists are concerned with questions such as, how does power operate in a researcher participant relationship? What stories are the ones that need to be heard? In what ways do women's personal narratives speak for themselves, or don't? How should researchers represent the voices of women in written form? How are women's stories multiple, muted or counter-stories? In what ways do the social, cultural, historical conditions of women's lives shape their stories (Anderson & Jack, 1991; Chase, 2005; McCall & Wittner, 1990; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998). Deployment of these questions shape the landscape of feminist narrative inquiry used today.

Postcolonial feminist narrative inquiry

Postcolonial feminists view narratives of experience as a way to look at identity. When we narrate our experience, we are able to, "rethink, remember and utilize our lived relations as a basis of knowledge" (Mohanty, 1991, p. 34). Experience is explained as,

[...] Not only shaped by hegemonic discourse but also contains elements of resistance to such discourses: elements that, when strategically narrated, challenge the ideologies that naturalize social arrangements and identities. (Stone-Mediatore, 1998 p. 124)

However, postcolonial feminists that value women's narratives in their research discuss their concern of Western researchers "giving voice" to the women they study (see Grewal, 2006; Minha, 1989; Mohanty, 1991; 2003a, 2003b; Narayan, 1997; 2000; Patai, 1991; Spivak, 1985, 1990, 1996, 1999). These postcolonial feminist's critique assumptions of the Western feminist approach in speaking about and for, "'Third World Women' as an undifferentiated object/subject of Western academia" (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012, p. 574). Employing a postcolonial feminist lens to narrative inquiry signals an awareness of where women are situated and understand their unique, "identities and political positions are worked out within the postcolonial context" (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 20). Researchers that use a postcolonial feminist lens acknowledge their own differences in position, gender, ethnicity, class, among others that may impact their own research but also between other researchers (McCorkel & Meyers, 2003). These different positionalities of the researcher are fluid and constantly shift in the field, but also influence how and which narratives are brought to the foreground (England, 1994). With that, a researcher that employs a postcolonial feminist theory alongside narrative inquiry must explain reasons of illuminating certain narratives. Therefore, I focus on married SGEI Canadian women's counter-narratives to reflect on a complex range of human experience, and encourage new ways of understanding these knowledges through re-storying narratives.

Setting Description

The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) consists of the central city of Toronto and the four regional municipalities of Durham, Halton, Peel and York. Statistics Canada (2016) identifies

Toronto and its surrounding cities to have the highest population of South Asian Canadians in the country. According to the Census, the South Asian population identifies themselves as East Indians, Pakistani, Sri Lankan and Punjabi, where within this group East Indians are the only one among the top 10 most commonly reported ethnic origins in Canada. When comparing generations of immigrants, second-generation Canadians that had both parents born abroad were a median age of 26.2, making it the youngest generational age group between first generations and third generations, and further making South Asians the third youngest minority group in Canada. One reason, as suggested by Statistics Canada, is that South Asians migrated into Canada when they were younger and are more likely to be at the stage to have young children. Within the immigrant population, India is the highest birth place overall, and the second highest population of new immigrants between 2011-2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Subjectivity and Reflexivity

Foucault claims that authorship of other's narratives as a problem and argues we must, "locate the space left empty by the author's disappearance, follow the distribution of gaps and breaches, and watch for the opening this disappearance uncovers" (Foucault, 1998, p. 209). Foucault is highlighting the authors accountability in distinguishing certain discourses over others and what privileges them over some. It allows readers to be more skeptical of what they read, how it is interpreted, and the reasoning of the researcher. However, a complete disappearance of an author is not possible in documenting narratives of others. The formations of subjectivities are an important concept moving forward, as it implies that the narratives a researcher chooses to document do not constitute a unity of core selves, but rather a mix of subjective positions, such as co-narratives. Furthermore, Foucauldian assumptions on the technologies of the self and technologies of power indicate that subjectivities are created two-

fold. First, through large societal factors, where in this study is the effects of the East Indian patriarchy and postcolonialism that Others married SGEI Canadian women. Second, these power influences work to categorize, manipulate and distribute women creating them as the subject (Foucault, 1988). Likewise, women internalize the subject notion as they negotiate these influences and continues to function in their daily lives. Therefore, I recognize that my subjectivity is embedded within an Other identity reflecting patriarchal and postcolonial influences (Beauvoir, 1974; Said,1978). For this reason, my experiences of resistance, adaptations and negotiations within the East Indian patriarchy in a Western context is the driving force behind this research project.

At the time of this thesis, I am a newly married SGEI woman born and raised in Canada. I recognize I am a part of the SGEI Canadian women's community. I further understand that the narratives from my participants are filtered through my subjectivity and my own experiences about marriage, leisure and gender roles. My subjectivity on my thesis topic includes growing up in an East Indian family that has been in Canada for over 40 years. However, as long as my family has been in Canada, my childhood, teenage and young adult years were spent in a city that lacked a prominent East Indian community. I recognize that my understanding of marriage and its surrounding topics are shaped by the stories and narratives from the women in my life. Since the beginning of this research process, I have been reflexive of my experience to understand the subjectivity I bring to the topic through journaling (Dupuis, 1999).

Embedded in a social constructionist epistemology, subjectivity is understood as implicit and managed (Creswell, 2007). I managed my subjectivity by documenting check-ins about my research topic. Often times, I would journal my own relationship, and expectations of me from others that helped deepen my understanding of the complexities of marriage, gender and leisure.

My subjectivity considers that I am a part of my research at every facet. Consequently, I did not try to control my bias, instead I managed my subjectivity by being explicit about my position in the research and my relationship to it (Dupuis, 1999).

In a reflective moment, I chose to include myself as a research participant after two participants withdrew from the study. It was through this experience, that made me curious about the interview process and the possible risks of sharing personal stories and experiences, that motivated me to be interviewed as a participant. Insights of my topic developed as I participated in my study, and was positioned as a researcher. As a participant, I noticed my hesitation to share information about myself, family, marriage, and in-laws openly to avoid judgment. The participant who interviewed me was also a married SGEI Canadian women. Although I assumed this would provide mutual understanding of experiences, I felt the interviewer held power by asking the questions and determining the flow of the interview and I, the participant, was placed in a position to offer information to satisfy the goals of the interviewer. As a researcher, this unbalance in power helped explain the complexities of the Other identity. As a participant, I found that choosing the stories I shared, and censoring details to my comfort, gave me control of my own narratives. As both a researcher and participant, this helped me understand the discourse of agency and negotiating power relations in our lives, which later became a focal point in my research.

The Participants

The participants in the study were recruited through a purposeful snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Patton, 2002) that satisfied the following criteria: (1) East Indian women married to men, (2) parent(s) born in India, (3) born in Canada, (4) lives in the Greater Toronto Area, (5) 18-35 years old. The purposeful snowball sampling began with a participant I

chose, who then chose the next participant according to the recruitment criteria (indicated in the participant email Appendix D). Eight women voluntarily chose to participate in the study, two participants withdrew, and I joined as a participant. Overall, eight women were included in the research study. Some additional information about these participants include: eight participants have a bachelors university degree, eight are between middle-class to upper-middle-class, eight chose their husbands through a “love marriage.” Seven participants have full-time jobs, one is a full-time grad student, and three participants have children. It was a cautious decision to not include a detailed summary of the participants to protect their confidentiality from any identifying features.

Methods

Reflexive dyadic interviews

Reflexive dyadic interviews provide opportunities for conversations between the researcher and participant but maintains structure as decided by the researcher. By using reflexive dyadic interviews, it allowed flexibility where the participant was able to engage in conversations about the researchers’ thoughts, emotions, feelings, but also share stories and their personal experiences (Ellis, 2004). Ellis (2004) describes that even though the researcher is sharing their narratives and reflections throughout the interview process, their narratives do not supersede the participants’. Instead, reflexive dyadic interviews focused on combining participant’s experiences with the researcher’s narratives to provide a deeper understanding and insight of the topic. Together, these conversations deepened understanding and illuminated layers of experiences and stories shared by participants by also describing important cultural tenets that surround the participant and researcher (Ellis, 2004; Riessman & Speedy, 2007). An example of this in practice was when I shared stories of myself during the interview and involved

the participant to gain additional insight about the contents of the story. I would use prompts like: “tell me about a time that you felt judged;” “tell me a time when you felt like you had to stand up for yourself.” These prompts were not included in the interview protocol (Appendix A), and were added after sharing stories about myself to make connections with the participant. Together, the participant and I delved into the topic for rich detailed co-narratives. Using this tactic, the flexible nature of reflexive dyadic interviews, provided opportunities for the participant to ask me questions. Participants would follow my example and connect their experiences and stories to mine with prompts. Such as, “I don’t know if this was [the case] for you but...” (Nira); “you know how it is (referring being an older child)” (Tina); “it must have been the same for you...” (Priya). Together, the participant and I co-created ideas and knowledge of our experiences to provide a deeper understanding of narratives. Having participants ask prompts in their interviews also helped dissipate the power relation between researcher and participant by having them direct the conversation at various moments.

The reflexive dyadic interviews took place between a three-month span (February through April). Five interviews were conducted in-person, and three were conducted over Skype, an internet video call platform, to accommodate participant time and travel restrictions. Each interview was audio recorded and personally transcribed.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Foucault refers to discourse as a linguistic practice that is historically developed and constructed (Foucault, 1970; 1980). He explains our knowledge is related to power, where power creates knowledge, but then knowledge reinforces power (Foucault, 1980). Employing a Foucauldian discourse analysis allowed me to assess language in women’s narratives and understand the devices of power. I followed guidelines suggested by Kendall and Wickman

(1999) to employ a Foucauldian discourse analysis. When summarized, the steps are: 1) identify discourses, which means to view discourse as a “body of statements” that are systematically organized; 2) identify how these statements are produced; 3) identify how the space of new statements is generated; 4) determine what is allowed to be said/unsaid; and 5) illustrate how this social practice is both material and discursive simultaneously (as cited in Albertin Carbo, Vazquez Ahumada, Dorado Caballero, & Lezama Arguelles, 2016).

First, the goals of discourse analysis were to examine narratives and ways of, “signaling the socially constructive and productive aspects of language use” (Albertin et al., 2016, p.366). Where our language and words we choose are descriptions or representations of our world and reality. The identification of discourses provided an understanding of where power is present. Power can be seen as promoting or maintaining certain social relationships, and how these can resist or reproduce practices (Foucault, 1980).

The second goal of discourse analysis was to understand *what* is said and in what *ways* it is said (Albertin et al. 2016). Narratives and experiences are statements that have functions and objectives. It is through discourse analysis that allowed me to understand their function, effects and objectives. One of the objectives of these statements is to understand the constructions of identity. It is in this way that discourse helped understand how the Other identity was produced and reproduced by devices of power. The constructions of identity do not refer to just the speaker, but also who they are speaking about or not speaking about. Therefore, I was able to use discourse analysis to look at *what* and the *ways* discourse is said, but also looking at what is left to be said and the stories that are untold.

Working with the data

Phase one

First, I became immersed in each participant's transcription, and carefully read and reread, our interviews line-by-line (Berbary, 2015). I used analytic memos for each participant to track "body of statements" within our conversations. Between participants, I noted similarities, differences, contradictions on conversation topics. Across eight participants, I created ten "body of statements" and began to locate patterns and their functions. I explored areas of power, its effects, function and objectives. Doing so, further synthesized the "body of statements" into four main illuminated discourses of: "The Learned Gender Expectations of Married SGEI Canadian Women," "The Performances of Expected Gender in Marriages," "Relationship Between Leisure and the Construction of Expected Gender Roles," and "Cultural Expectations and Implications of Leisure."

Phase two

I assigned a colour to each discourse and highlighted these four areas across participant transcriptions. Due to the fluidity of discourse, many overlapped in colour and further illuminated the multiple layers and complexities of power relations for married SGEI Canadian women within their marriages (see Appendix E). I cut and grouped patterns, contradictions, and similarities across participant narratives. Where, these multidimensional groupings inspired me to use a creative means to represent our narratives (see Appendix F for detailed procedural memo).

Research Trustworthiness

To follow traditional qualitative research structure, I employ trustworthiness through adapting the four criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The following contains a brief overview of my adaption of these to increase trustworthiness according to (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). First, credibility

refers to the research process, interpretation and representation of the data and ensures it remains true to the participant. In order to remain credible, I shared the interview transcriptions and representation strategy with the participants. It is through this exchange, I ensured the data was well represented of the participant in that moment. I was also open and transparent with the research process through documentation of interview techniques as well my researcher role. This included and is not limited to, providing a subjectivity statement and documenting my reflexivity as it moves across the research process. Next, transferability refers to findings that can be applied to other settings and groups. While generalizability is not the outcome of studying marginalized groups, this criterion was met in my data representation strategy as it has the potential for significant meaning to audiences that can associate the results with their own experiences. By employing Creative Analytic Practice (CAP), I plan to have transferability for this research through accessible representation through dialogue-based vignettes. Third, dependability refers to the consistency of findings. The research process should be auditable (Guba, 1981), in that, it should be so clearly detailed that another researcher can follow all the decisions made by the researcher. In this research study, I ensured that all steps and procedures were recorded to ensure auditability through the procedural memo (Appendix F) which also sought to establish confirmability. Some other confirmability techniques include a transparent and detailed step-by-step understanding of data analysis, and data reconstruction (i.e. Appendix F) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations that go into narrative inquiry is about respecting the human relationship. The Consent Information Letter (Appendix B) was reviewed at the beginning of each interview, this included; an outline of the research, participant's consent, and my position as

a researcher. I clearly explained the study and what will happen in our time together including outlining their rights, and my role as a researcher such as audio-recording the conversation, making notes, and asking questions. The Consent Form (Appendix C) was a contract that outlined the involvement of the participants and their rights within the research process. The participant was known of their rights that included, but were not limited to, the right to decide what is to be done with the data, when participation ends during the study, their participation, safety, among others.

To confirm the authenticity of my participants' interview and transcriptions, I sent electronic interview transcriptions to corresponding participants to ensure that they were representative of our conversation together. However, after two women withdrew from the research study, I stopped sending participants their interview transcriptions and notified them that transcriptions will be sent with the representation strategy for their review. This way, participants avoided viewing their transcriptions in a direct interview format, and instead recognized that their narratives contribute to a larger representation strategy that includes other women (discussed in *Data Representation*). I informed each participant that they had all the rights to their information. When two participants chose to withdraw their data from the research, both digital archives (i.e. recorded interview on recording device and electronic transcription documents) were destroyed and not used in the study. I respected the two participants' decision to withdraw and did not require an explanation for their change in participation, and thanked them for their time.

Next, my role as a researcher was to protect the identity of the participants. Each participant had a pseudonym used instead of their real names. These pseudonyms were used in referencing their interview recordings, interview transcripts and procedural notes. The

pseudonyms were also used in the representation of data as outlined through the Consent Information Letter (Appendix B). A document labeled *Key* was kept in a password protected folder on my laptop that contained the real participants names matched to their pseudonym. However, purposeful snowball sampling provided women to refer their friends and family that complicated women's confidentiality. I recognize that there is not guaranteed confidentiality as women can recognize characteristics in women's stories and experiences.

Data Representation

Dialogue-based vignettes

Postcolonial feminists heavily critique hegemonic forms of knowledge and instead value an, “autonomous, geographically, historically, and culturally grounded feminist concerns and strategies” (Mohanty, 1991, p. 51). Subsequently, postcolonial feminist's need to be cognizant of the ways they represent women's narratives in academia to ensure that an objective researchers voice is not creating an Other in the study. To help me confront this critique, I turned to Creative Analytic Practice to address the crisis of representation for postcolonial feminist inspired narrative inquiry.

Shifting away from social science's traditional methods of representation, Richardson (2000) coined the term Creative Analytic Practice (CAP) and challenged new ways of contextualizing experiences. Inspired by the feminist works of Barrett & Johnson, (2013) and Mckeown (2015), I represented the data through dialogue-based vignettes. These vignettes display eight participants' narratives to simulate a dialogue between them. The vignette showcases the complexities of discourses by showcasing participants agreeing, disagreeing, and challenging ideas through a conversational piece to illustrate the discourses of marriage, gender and leisure within postcolonial and patriarchal power relations. Dialogue-based vignettes also

align with a postcolonial feminist lens, as the vignettes illuminate the many facets of women's experiences. Postcolonial feminist scholars such as Mohanty (2003) and Spivak (1988) argue that Western scholarship tends to combine experiences of the Other, which itself is a colonizing act as it imposes that oppressions are experienced by the group and neglects individual experience. This combined experience of the Other forces people to identify with the oppressed group, or has people assumes gender oppressions that they may not identify with (Chambers & Watkins, 2012). I avoid restating the dominant meta-narrative and focused on counter-narratives to show variations in women's experiences. It is through these conversational pieces that will further display the multi-dimensional discourses that these women challenge, reproduce, produce, adopt and negotiate (Pande, 2015).

To ensure good practice of CAP, Richardson (1997; 2000) outlines five criteria for creating and evaluating CAP as listed by Parry & Johnson (2007). First, the text should complement an understanding of the human perspective, where this perspective further gives insight of the ways the text is constructed. For example, creative ways such as art, songs, literature, poetry, dance, performance are all possible ways a person may use to understand their world, where these should be further reflected in the representative texts. Dialogue-based vignettes simulates a conversation and illustrates how people in the conversation can learn about their own reality and others through interaction. Second, CAP should challenge the reader to make their own interpretation of what is being presented and how that relates back to society. These representations should be enticing pieces and encourage audience engagement with the text. Dialogue based vignettes serve to *show* the reader the participants' view of society. By not explicitly explaining the conversation topics, it provides the reader to make their own interpretations based on the reactions and flow of dialogue within the vignette. Third, CAP texts

must be transparent of the researchers' role and influences throughout the research process. Researcher self-awareness and reflexivity, ensures they are held accountable for the information presented (see *Subjectivity and Reflexivity*). Fourth, CAP should engage audiences to take action through, experimenting with new research practices, ask new questions, and explore new avenues of meaning making to name a few. It is my hope to engage readers through these dialogue-based vignettes and explore new avenues of knowledge. Finally, CAP must highlight complexities and multidimensions in experiences. Due to the variation in married SGEI Canadian women's experiences, I was motivated to use dialogue-based vignettes to present intricacies of experiences.

To create these vignettes, each highlighted discourse was reviewed to understand any patterns, similarities, and variations. Each of the four discourse colour groupings included eight participants, and topics of conversations across them were grouped together. Then, the counter-narratives were organized to simulate a conversation between participants (see Appendix E). I was selective with the counter-narratives and chose topics that demanded to be at the forefront over others. This does not mean that other topics were less significant, instead these topics were either illuminated in the other vignettes or not useful to answer the research questions. To ensure conversational flow within each vignette, I added researcher interjections indicated by italicized letters. Some italics are directly from field notes, while others are included as literary maneuvers to add expressions to the vignette. Being cognizant of the length of each vignette, I intended for each one to be less than five pages long double-spaced to keep it short enough for the reader to remember and understand the flow of the conversation, and long enough so there was room for all crucial counter-narratives.

Chapter summary

This chapter outlined the methodological considerations for this research study. Deployment of postcolonial feminist narrative inquiry illuminated married SGEI Canadian women's counter-narratives. To do this, I used one-on-one reflexive dyadic interviews (Ellis, 2004) with eight participants. Employing a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis, I was motivated to examine power structures surrounding our Othered SGEI Canadian woman identity after marriage and our relationship with leisure. Where, the analysis of eight participant counter-narratives illuminated multiplicities in our experiences and presented similarities, contradictions, and variation. I was motivated to address these complexities, tensions and connections through dialogue-based vignettes that displays these variations against each other (Barrett & Johnson, 2013; Mckeown, 2015).

PART II

INTERPRETATION OF DATA: DIALOGUES, DISCOURSES AND DISCUSSIONS

Part II outlines the findings and discussion into four distinct chapters. Each chapter opens with a dialogue-based vignette between participants followed directly by a discussion connecting to literature and theory. Organizing the findings and discussion in distinct chapters avoids over-complicating ideas if all four vignettes were presented at once. Also, the dialogue-vignettes mimic a conversation where new ideas are added, contradictions are present, and follow patterns that are important to discuss separately when looking to examine the discourses of the Othered identity of married SGEI Canadian women.

Each vignette focuses on discourses of marriage, gender role expectations and leisure for SGEI women living in Canada. In the following chapter, I discuss how learned gender expectations further Other SGEI Canadian women through marriage. In *Chapter Five*, I discuss spaces of agency for the Othered identity by understanding the ways these women perform their expected gender roles in marriage. In *Chapter Six*, I challenge Western ideas of leisure with understandings of Othered identities through experiences of Eastern and Western traditions. In *Chapter Seven*, I discuss how judgment reproduces the honour gaze and furthers Others identities within the East Indian community and complicates leisure actions and behaviour. Finally, in *Chapter Eight*, I summarize major findings, discuss future research areas, tensions and motivations of dissemination.

Across eight participant interviews, similar topics were grouped together and combined to create fictional constructed conversations between them (Barnett & Johnson, 2013; Johnson & Parry, 2007; Mckeown, 2015). These vignettes do not aim to centre on individual participants' robust interview counter-narratives, but instead display patterns, similarities, and contrasts through multiple participants to include varying perspectives. The use of italics within the vignettes indicate researcher interjections to help navigate and animate the conversation.

Chapter Four: The Other and Marriage

It's a snowy February Saturday mid-afternoon, eight East Indian women lounge on 3 couches in a warm, cozy Toronto family room. The TV's on mute but imagery of the newest Amy Poehler movie catches some of their eyes. Their hands filled with some masala chai, one woman reaches for a chocolate chip cookie and dips it into her cup. The air smells of cardamom, multiple conversations linger, and excitement and laughter erupt. Smaller conversations begin to form into a larger group conversation. Something has sparked each women's interest, and everyone is listening intently. The topic of family, mothers, husbands, and mothers-in-law continues.

Jasmine: *Where did you learn what was expected of you as a married woman?*

Sharon: *[hmm]... something happened between a dating couple in my family and they had a conversation about whether she's going to live with her in-laws. She was like, "no I'm not going to do that". [...] and he told her that was a deal-breaker. So, they broke up and that shook up our family [...] and the only reason I know this story and that I'm able to recite it, is because it's been tattooed in my mind. It's told to me as a cautionary tale of this is how this family runs...*

Priya: *Shifts her feet up on the couch. I think every Indian woman has [living with the in-laws] in the back of her mind that it is going to happen one way or another. Whether they do it right after marriage or when they are older and need support, it has crossed every women's mind. [...]. I don't know if anyone specifically told me that [I] have to live with [my] in-laws but I feel like I saw so much of it growing up and around me that I didn't seem to question it. It just seemed like that's what my mom expected my brother to do when he got married, so it just made sense that I would have to do it too [...]. My mom did [this] for our grandparents growing up, and took on this idea to think of them before yourself.*

Jasmine: *Do you have any examples?*

Priya: *Looks up in thought.* When you make food, make sure you serve them first before serving yourself. It's those little gestures that you don't think that you're doing, but it shows the other person respect and that you care. If I get up and get something, I always ask if my mother-in-law or father-in-law want something. But that's just common sense really, we are all kind of raised to respect anyone that is older than us, regardless of it being your in-law or not. And it's so weird thinking about this now, because I consider myself as a feminist and I feel that I am constantly challenging other people's thoughts and ideas of things. *Takes a sip of chai, looks over at the TV.* It's weird.

Jasmine: *Let's talk about that, your responsibility to take care of your in-laws, how does that work?*

Nira: There were some things we didn't see eye-to-eye-on. We would give [my mother-in-law] some suggestions like, "today you need to watch your sugar intake, butter intake, and stuff." And she wasn't having it, she felt like she was being told what to do. She was like, "I'm older and you shouldn't be telling me what to do." But we were just looking after her health. *Shakes her head.*

Tia: So... it's funny because my mother-in-law said "I've become your sous-chef!" I'll be in the kitchen because I buy cookbooks, and I'll be like, "this is what we're making" and she loves to cook so we have gourmet meals every single day!

Jasmine: *How about you Karen?*

Karen: Honestly, I am still trying to figure that out. My parents have always done things for themselves and didn't wait on anyone to do it. However, I feel my husband's parents would like a girl to do things around the house. I get little jists of it here and there, like almost like

commands to do things, “pick up their dishes, help your mom in the kitchen, we should be together when we go places, etc.” Which is very different from the way that I was raised, because everyone helped out together and it just wasn’t my mom doing everything. They showed me by example.

Tina: [*After marriage my mom’s expectations of me were a little different*] she said to me, “make sure that you’re happy, and make sure that he doesn’t expect certain things of you and that you’re not always cooking!” and it’s funny because, she’s like, “do you cook all the time?” I was like, “I do cook majority of the time, but it’s because my husband sucks at it!” *Takes a sip of her chai.* But it’s different because my dad cooks so often which is nice, and he was the one that would make the tea in the morning. He was always willing to help and do something. Sometimes it was weird because my friends would come over and he would be making tea and stuff and my friends would be like, “what your dad makes tea?” and I was like, “yeah! You want some? He makes bomb tea!” *Enthusiastically points to her mug.*

All the women laugh

Tia: But you start learning it overtime and just being exposed through habits. When you live with your own family your habits automatically mesh together because you all grew up like that. Whereas moving into someone else’s place, they do stuff so differently and you’re just kind of like, “okay do I adopt this, do I state my opinion, what do I do?” *Takes a sip of her chai, and shifts forward,* You’re just... lost. I feel like it’s just a fight within ourselves that shouldn’t have to happen and I still don’t know why it happens. No one can explain why it happens either.

Jasmine: *What about you Simran?*

Simran: Those type of Indian expectations, traditions don’t really exist in [my in-laws’] household anyway and it probably has to do with [my husband] having an older sister. [She] is

very vocal about equality especially between men and women, which I find is really easy to transition into a family. Whereas if he didn't have a sister maybe they're dynamic would be completely different. The fact that she's been through a divorce, and how difficult it is for a girl to even get married and live with her in-laws to begin with... I think with that they have a better realization of what girls nowadays go through.

Jot: *Smirks and puts her mug down [I was that sister to my brother growing up], if [my brother] helped me [in the kitchen] then it would be like, "that doesn't look nice." And I was like, "okay but what about when no one is fucking here, is it nice for the ghost?" Throws her hands up and shrugs.*

All the women laugh

Jot: Like why can't he help me? "oh he has to do the outside work." Like you know, *mimics her mom in Punjabi* [translated: boys do the outside work] and whatever, and then, I'm like, "okay...why the fuck am I helping him shovel the snow?" [...] *Rolls her eyes and crosses her arms.* So, I started causing a scene... *smirks.*

Tina: *Laughs.* I think it was important that he has a sister. And the reason why because his mom saw how it was for her daughter and what it means.

Sharon: Whereas for me, they have a certain expectation of what girls do in a household because they had the sister... so there's also that whole thing. She did everything in the house... and I'm thinking I'm more career-oriented, I'm doing a lot of school, I also work on the side, so I'm doing all of that!

Tia: I guess the good thing is... I got a clean slate in that, they can't compare me to anyone... *raises her mug as a toast and chuckles*

The vignette above addresses the first research question of, how does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian women's expectations of gender roles, if at all? What follows is a discussion on understanding the Othered SGEI Canadian women's identity and the changes imposed through marriage.

Postcolonial theorization understands the Other identity as being oppressed through the direct relationship between the colonizer (Said, 1978). Through a feminist lens, the Other identity is further influenced by resistive powers of patriarchy in relationship with men (Beavouir, 1949). Thus, creating the Other identity to be influenced by both colonial legacies and patriarchal relations. Sharon opens the vignette sharing a story of a couple who ended their relationship because the woman refused to live with her fiancé's family. Aligned with literature, a gender expectation that is valued by men is to marry a woman who will take care of him and his family by living with them (Agrawal & Unisa, 2007; Banerjee & Jain, 2001; Klasen & Wink, 2002). Confirmed by Sharon's story, the man broke up with the woman who resisted this traditional gender expectation and claims it, "was a deal-breaker," for their relationship to continue. Also, the man's decision to end the relationship due to her resistance to traditional gender roles, illustrates that she is Othered into a passive position that determines her relationship outcome. Placing her in the position to either reinforce these gender roles or breakup and risk damaging her family's reputation in the community. Sharon is reminded of this story not because of the spaces of bravery and resistance that the woman navigated, but instead as a cautionary tale of the implications of resisting gender roles. She states that the breakup was tough on her family's reputation as it, "shook up [her] family." Eastern cultural traditions value and maintain collectivism and social reputation (Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000; Sev'er & Yurkdakul, 2001), as

further indicated by Sharon as she reflects on the consequences felt by her whole family. Warning other women that resisting gender roles damages the family as a whole and not oriented towards the individual. Stories like Sharon's acts as ways to discipline women into following gender roles as they are reminded their actions are for the family and to avoid selfish behaviour when it comes to decisions around their marriages (Cihrangir, 2012).

Foucault describes discipline as being under a gaze of surveillance that can cause a person to manifest the gaze onto themselves by self-disciplining their actions and behaviour (Purdy, 2015). For the Other this means that actions, ideas and thoughts under surveillance discourage resistance. Priya confirms this by suggesting her mother modelled expected gender roles, which she then disciplined herself into adapting. Priya admits to not resist these roles as she, "saw so much of it growing up and around [her] that [she] didn't seem to question it." Subsequently, she discusses the gender roles that were modelled to her and feels pressured to adapt them. She says,

Think of them (in-laws) before yourself [...] when you make food, make sure you serve them first before serving yourself [...] If [you] get up and get something, [you] always ask if [your] mother-in-law or father-in-law want something.

Priya confirms the dominant South Asian gender expectation of placing elders in high respect (Choudhry, 2001). She connects respecting elders as a discourse that is, "common sense [...]we are all kind of raised to respect anyone that is older than us." Foucault discusses that taken-for-granted knowledge should be challenged to create new understandings (Foucault, 1970). Priya challenges her "common sense" knowledge of respecting elders as she admits to take on a feminist approach to her understanding. Where, challenging gender scripts and demanding questions of the status quo is aligned with feminist inquiries (i.e. Mohanty, 1994; Pande, 2015;

Rose, 1995). However, reflecting on her lack of resistance to the gender roles expected by her family and modelled by her mother she admits the disconnect is, “weird.” Priya identifies the Other identity being disciplined into roles and uses her feminist self-reflection to demand the spaces of agency to navigate possible resistance (Beauvoir, 1974). Aligned with Pande (2015) postcolonial feminist theorization, Priya reflects on the traditional gender expectation of respecting elders and a duty to family as problematic through, “an acknowledgement of what is wrong with current South-Asian views on family and the expectations of the role of women within it” (p. 19). She addresses the complexities to challenge “common-sense” knowledge of her expected gender roles. Confirmed by Nira, who describes adapting to the traditional gender role of taking care of elders does not promise family stability and explains that taking care of her mother-in-law caused tension as, “she felt like she was being told what to do.” The mother-in-law continues and says, “I’m older and you shouldn’t be telling me what to do.” Here, Nira fulfills her care role by addressing her mother-in-laws’ health concerns by offering alternative meals to improve her wellbeing. However, Nira’s mother-in-law, being an elder who is receiving care, is placed in an Other position while Nira establishes relative superiority as she makes decisions and establishes control (Said, 1978). The misalignments in power between Nira and her mother-in-law create tension in their relationship, where maintaining the gender role of taking care of elders for Nira is discouraged rather than maintained. Foucauldian assumptions of power tell us that power is not held by a person, as it is assumed with the elder through the focus of this gender role. Instead, power is exercised between members of the family and can occur at many levels (Foucault, 1980). For example, Tia discusses how she and her mother-in-law exercise power within their relationship through cooking. She uses cooking meals as a common interest between her mother-in-law to practice her agency within the dominant gender role of

respecting her elders. Tia's mother-in-law illustrates the fluidity of power by placing Tia in control and claiming that she has, "become [Tia's] sous-chef." Here, Tia's mother-in-law associates Tia in power and respects her contributions to take care of the family through cooking.

Married SGEI Canadian women's understandings of expected gender roles are learned as children but are complicated through relationships after marriage. Where, marriage exposes these women to new gender roles different from their understandings, and complicates their expectations. Karen explains watching her parents share responsibilities within her household as a child. An attribute of Tina's household as well, as she uses the example of her dad making tea for her and her friends. However, these modelled gender roles display stark contrasts to Karen's husband's household, that values traditional gender roles. She explains that her in-laws want her to add more household responsibilities as a daughter-in-law. Ordering her to, "pick up their dishes, help your mom in the kitchen, we should be together when we go places, etc." Karen's in-laws reflect traditional gender values of women being responsible for household chores (Dasgupta, 1998; Naidoo, 1984; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999). Parental control over married women's behaviour in her husband's household places her to be in an Othered position. The new standpoint places her in a position to be controlled by others who lived in the household before her moving in, thus placing Karen as the Other who is expected to adapt to gender roles imposed on her. However, Nira reflects on the spaces of resistance of these imposed roles through understanding others expectations of her. She does this by realizing her own disciplined gender roles through considering her brother's resistance. In her interview she stated,

When I was younger, I thought that this is what [my parents] wanted. And as I got older and saw my brother go through this phase in his life, he never asked when he needed to

be home, he just came when he felt it was okay [...] And now that I think of it, they didn't say you can't do this or that.

Through her brother's modelling, Nira learns about her disciplined gender roles to compliment what she thought her parents expected. It's through this resistance that she learns about the possibility of agency and spaces for resistance in her own life. Although this area of resistance can be from her brother being a man and having less strict gender roles (Brouwer, 1998), Nira is advocating that spaces of resistance are possible through asking questions and not just self-disciplining behaviours to satisfy expectations of what we think others demand. Postcolonial scholarship describes agency as, "both causal and purposefully directed, although never free from constraints" (Bignall, 2010 p. 12). It is flexible, shifts according to situations, relation, desires and functions within power structures. Where these forms of agency manifest themselves in situations of resistance and triumph (Aryal, 2011). Furthermore, Tina finds spaces of agency within her marriage as she informs her mother of her household responsibilities. Tina reflects on an exchange with her mother and says, "and it's funny because, she's like, 'do you cook all the time?' I was like, 'I do cook majority of the time, but it's because my husband sucks at it!'" The narrative suggests that Tina is not disciplined into a role to satisfy the traditional South Asian gender expectations of, "women do all the cooking," but instead, navigates her gender role on her own terms. Instead of resisting all the cooking and demanding a shared role with her husband, Tina is able to redefine traditional gender roles and practice them according to her own conditions (Bhabha, 1994). As a result, Tina is negotiating these gender roles to benefit her and work in her favour (Pande, 2015). To her mother, she builds a case for cooking, where this satisfies her mother's concern and places Tina in a position of agency and empowerment.

The Other identity is further explained through Tia's narrative as she explains moving into a patrilocal living situation can silence women (Spivak,1994). Similar to the colonized Other adapting within an imposed society, Tia describes that,

Moving into someone else's place, they do stuff so differently and you're just kind of like, 'okay do I adopt this, do I state my opinion, what do I do?' You're just... lost. I feel like it's just a fight within ourselves that shouldn't have to happen and I still don't know why it happens.

The "fight" explains women considering their agency and resistance after marriage. Creating women to consider their actions to address; who am I hurting? Who am I helping? Who am I doing this for? These are the considerations that Tia refers to when she mentions women being in a fight within themselves, as these questions are crucial to understand their rationale and motivations for agency. Tia reflects on why these discourses exists and are expected by women. She further notes that constraints and finding spaces of agency are not openly discussed within the community as she says, "no one can explain why it happens either," and displays that practicing agency is complex for women after marriage.

Furthermore, marriage can also expose SGEI Canadian women to gender expectations exemplified through sister-in-laws that redefined gender roles in husband's households. Some women in the vignette discuss the absence of traditional gender roles as modelled through their sister-in-laws, motivating them to exist in spaces of resistance and agency. Simran describes her sister-in-law as, "very vocal about equality especially between men and women, which I find is really easy to transition into a family." She admits that having a sister-in-law offers her the opportunity to redefine expected gender roles and continues, "whereas if he didn't have a sister maybe they're dynamic would be completely different." Similarly, Jot as an older sister to a

brother confirms Simran's notion of the importance of having an older sister-in-law as she redefined gender expectations in her household growing up. Although the literature suggests that women have strict parental control and more household responsibilities growing up (Dasgupta, 1998; Naidoo, 1984; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000), Jot challenges these discourses and redefines gender expectations. Jot's resistance to traditional gender roles expected of her and her brother shows that she redefined how gender roles were practiced within her household. Aligned with Simran's experience, Jot redefined gender expectations in her household and encourages the women marrying into her family to practice resistance and agency. Contrastingly, when sister-in-laws are Othered to discipline traditional gender roles, this can further reinforce gender roles for SGEI women marrying into the family. Sharon suggests that her sister-in-law, "did everything in the house," and suggests the gender expectations of her is to be embody her sister-in-law's responsibilities. Sharon mentions the disconnect within a Western context as someone who prioritizes a career and education (Ahmad, 2010), and finds it unrealistic to balance traditional expected gender roles of doing household responsibilities while adapting to a "modern" Western lifestyle. Although, at times sister-in-laws can motivate resistance and agency for married SGEI Canadian women, they can also pressure women to reproduce traditional gender expectations after marriage. Tia mentions she is fortunate to not have predetermined gender expectations of her through a sister-in-law and says, "I guess the good thing is I got a clean slate in that. They can't compare me to anyone..." However, as we have learned, comparing women to adapt gender roles is not the only determinant of what is expected of us, as with marriage comes various changes.

Chapter summary

This chapter addressed the first research question of how does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian Women's expectations of gender roles, if at all? Second Generation East Indian Canadian women faced multiple complexities to their gender roles after marriage. When marriage into an East Indian family introduced new power relations that challenged women's understanding of their gender role expectations. Exposure of competing gender role expectations with marriage within different families, provided women new avenues of resistance and agency to suit their needs. Although, resistance and agency provided women to negotiate the power relations that determine their gender roles, these spaces can be overwhelming and can work to silence women (Spivak, 1994). Creating second-generation women to be Othered by marriage and as a result, purposefully navigate their agency in gender role expectations. A way that women established power to navigate their agency is through the ways they performed their expected roles, as discussed in the next chapter, to further support the first research question.

Chapter Five: The Other and Performance

Three sips left of masala chai in a mug. She sits her mug down on the coffee table- a focal point for eight women lounged over three couches. A familiar phone ping sounds and eyes shift from the speaker to individual phones. For a moment this sound acts as a reminder of the reality outside of this warm cozy Toronto family room. A glimpse into their realities, an answered text, a quick update, a little time check. More and more eyes find their way back to the speaker and stories of life after marriage continues.

Jasmine: *What are we expected to do once we're married?*

Jot: A good married daughter-in-law, knows how to cook and clean first of all. If you don't know how to cook and clean your fucked, and your mother didn't teach you shit. *Raises her eyebrows.* So, hope you know how to cook and clean!

All the women laugh

Priya: *Begins counting on her fingers.* Keep in touch with the family, be family oriented. Be present at all family events. Help always, don't just sit there and watch, always be active and participating.

Simran: If you're going somewhere make sure you invite your mother-in-law with you [...] Or if you move out, make sure you call once a week or something and just talk to her, make sure you keep the connection, and keep the conversation going. And if I am there, go up and help them, don't sit on you're ass on the sofa while they're doing work, it [is] stuff like that.

Jasmine: *Do you find that someone is expecting these things from you?*

Tia: Yeah it's really really weird. It doesn't even have to be verbal, sometimes it could just be a look or you just feel like you're expected. Even though they may not expect it...but then again, you're in that battle within yourself again. *Shrugs her shoulders.*

Tina: Yeah sometimes I find that. Like even if we're at someplace on his side of the family, because I am the daughter-in-law and I married into his family, I need to make sure that I need to say hello to everyone and if I don't then they're going to be like, "oh she didn't say hi." And then it turns into a thing and then I rather it just not be a thing. I feel like there's a lot of things like that and I feel like there's expectations of... I don't know. *Adjusts her sitting position.* I personally don't have expectations of people, so it's really sucks that people have expectations of us.

Jasmine: *How about you Simran?*

Simran: No, my parents told my in-laws that our daughter can't cook [...] it was more like when they met my husband's parents for the first time, they said, *pointing with one finger*, "I don't know what she told you, but we are going to be very transparent and tell you that she doesn't cook, she can't make Indian food." They just laid it on the table. They did it in a joking way not in a mean malicious way, in a joking way where I just laughed.

Sharon: I think I'm still figuring that out. I had my "churra" (traditional wedding bangles) on [during her cousin's wedding] the whole week. [...] I felt like everything I did when I had that on exemplified a good daughter-in-law because I felt like I was being watched. So, when I dance I would dance very proper, *mimics dancing sitting down*, and not messy and have a good posture, *straightens up her back*. I just felt that eyes were always on me. I even noticed that while I was eating, I would hype up my role a little bit. And be like, *softens her voice*, "do you need anything, let me get this for you." It wasn't just at parties, I was also wearing it when I went to [the wedding] house. So, I was always in the kitchen always helping out, and even though my in-laws weren't there to watch all of this, my husband wasn't there, I still felt that

those moments represented the position I was in. And after I felt relieved when I took it off, *grabs her wrist*, and was back to myself.

Tia: If I start acting a certain way, and restricting [myself] from doing something I'm just kind of part of that stigma that society has already set, and if I don't change that then we're just in deep shit all the way. [...] Be yourself.

Jot: Yea because as soon as you start acting out of character, then people talk shit!

Nira: *Leans forward*, Yea, but when do you stop? [...] So, for me, to not all of a sudden not go to [family events] is hard for me. I feel like we still continue a lot of my side. But there have been some times where [my husband's] like, "there is this going on so I can't make it." And I would still go, and I would drag the kids. And sometimes my parents are like, "make sure the kids come!" But they expect me to be there as well, even if [my husband] can't make it because of work or something. I still feel the pressure of making it to places even with the kids and everything. I'm trying to work on that, because sometimes I feel like it's too much.

Karen: I don't want to be the be-all-end-all-good-girl that has to live up to that image all the time...*sighs*...that will be exhausting.

Simran: *Nods to agree with Karen*. The first thing I said to [husbands] parents when we got married, because his mom asked me to come somewhere, and he said that he's not going, and I told her point-blank that, "I don't have a problem showing up to family functions, but if he gets a pass don't expect me to come." Because I'm not going to be the, *gestures air quotations with fingers*, "yes wife" that shows up everywhere when quote on quote I'm "supposed" to. Where my husband just sits at home because he doesn't want to go... especially if it's on [his] side of the family.

Jasmine: *So let's talk about the wife role? What does that look like?*

Sharon: The other day I was showing [my husband] the top that I was going to wear to his birthday party. [...] I wanted to wear high-waisted jeans with [a top], and then he's like why don't you wear a mini skirt? Like as a joke, but then I responded with, *a louder and sharper voice*, "I'm a wife!" [...] but then I wondered why I said that. I feel like now that I'm married I have to be more conservative.

Nira: *Quickly adds, [For me]*...I think he feels that he married the good girl as well. So he [feels] like, "well you didn't do those things before you were married. I didn't know you as 'that' girl. Now, why would you want to do that?" It was in that moment that was a restriction because now I could only do things that my husband approves of and wouldn't cause problems between us. In the end that was more important to me than having a bad marriage.

Sharon: Because then you're not a reflection of you as a person, you're a reflection of your husband. I don't want to lose his respect as a good wife.

The vignette above serves to address the first research question of, how does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian women's expectations of gender roles, if at all? The following discussion outlines the ways married SGEI Canadian women perform their expected gender roles to establish agency within postcolonial and patriarchal influences.

Continuing from the previous chapter, the women begin their conversation describing the gender expectations of them after marriage. Jot emphasizes on gender roles that characterizes women as "good" and ways they display respect for families. She lists, "knows how to cook and clean first of all." Reconfirming that traditional South Asian gender roles situate around maintaining household chores (Dasgupta, 1998; Naidoo, 1984; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999). However, Jot positions the responsibility of learning this gender role with

mothers stating that, “if you don’t know how to cook and clean your fucked, and your mother didn’t teach you shit.” Suggesting that traditional East Indian gender roles are to be communicated by other women. Thus, placing women to be in the position to not only withhold and maintain gender roles, but to ensure that these traditional discourses are reproduced for the next generation. Priya continues listing gender expectations and says, “keep in touch with the family, be family oriented. Be present at all family events. Help always...be active and participating.” Simran adds, “if you’re going somewhere make sure you invite your mother-in-law [...] if you move out, make sure you call once a week or something and just talk to her.” Jot and Simran both mention “don’t sit” and watch but to always help. The counter-narratives suggest that gender roles of married SGEI Canadian women are maintained through the relationship with the mother and mother-in-laws. Aligned with literature, these women have a distant relationship with their father-in-laws as their discussions focus on their interactions with their mother-in-laws after marriage (Naidu, 2011). In fact, these women’s interviews all centered around their relationships with their mother-in-laws in proximity to their gender roles after marriage. Suggesting that mother-in-laws surveil their daughter-in-laws gender roles to uphold their characteristics of a “good” married women. Tia mentions surveillance as something that, “doesn’t even have to be verbal, sometimes it could just be a look or you just feel like you’re expected.” Aligned with Foucauldian assumptions of gaze (O’Farrell,1997), Tia describes how the “look” acts to passively surveil women into disciplining their behaviours and has them behave in ways expected of them (Foucault, 1973). She describes the surveillance placed onto her reintroduces, “that battle within yourself again.” Here, Tia describes surveillance as a threat to her agency and constrains her freedom that inhibits her to behave on her own terms. Tina provides an example of surveillance working to discipline her actions. She says,

Because I am the daughter-in-law and I married into his family, I need to make sure that I need to say hello to everyone and if I don't then they're going to be like, 'oh she didn't say hi'. And then it turns into a thing and then I rather it just not be a thing. I feel like there's a lot of things like that and I feel like there's expectations.

The gender role discourses imposed on married SGEI Canadian women reflect characteristics of a "good" married woman. The narrative also suggests, that the community acts to surveil women on these "good" gender roles. Tina admits she is expected by others in the community to show them respect by acknowledging them, if not, they will judge her character negatively. To avoid that, she ensures that she disciplines her behaviour to match the expectations imposed on her. Tina reflects on the added surveillance on her when she is out in the community and voices her contempt of the discourse as it, "really sucks that people have expectations of us." To navigate these expectations of her, Tina protects her "good" daughter-in-law character and disciplines her actions to avoid being viewed negatively by the community as deviant and resisting gender roles can, "turn into a thing and then [she] rather it just not be a thing." Aligned with *Orientalism* literature, opposing and having resistive behaviour situates the Other identity as untamed, unpredictable, deviant and *wild* (Said, 1978), a characteristic Tina avoids in the community.

Through Tina's narrative we understand that being under surveillance and disciplining one's actions is oppressive and presents constraints to agency. However, in her interview, Priya gives insight to why she chooses to perform these gender roles. Aligned with Fanon (1967) colonial theorization describes the Other identity can feel accepted when it gains recognition from the colonizer. Priya states,

Sometimes I do get a little proud that I live with my in-laws, it just has some kind of...I don't know... respect in the community. Like, 'wow what a nice girl to care for her

husband and her in-laws,' I don't know maybe I'm old school like that [...]. So maybe to others I'm the good daughter-in-law, I sometimes feel it.

In performing traditional gender roles, Priya feels proud providing for her married family and advancing her family's and her own reputation in the community. Two competing discourses are present within these women's counter-narratives. These are, married SGEI Canadian women feel oppressed by being constantly surveilled that discipline their actions. And, these women also feel pride through social gratification to maintain expected gender roles. These competing discourses complicate how SGEI Canadian women adapt to their expected gender roles after marriage. Where, these women resort to "performing" these gender roles and re-establish their agency from the surveillance constraint. Sharon illustrates this performance, as she shares her experience of acting her gender roles as a "good" daughter-in-law through her wedding bangles (churra). She reflects on being a new daughter-in-law and wearing a churra acted as a mechanism for the community to surveil her actions and says, "I felt like I was being watched [...] I felt that eyes were always on me." In turn, she disciplined her performance to reflect a "good" daughter-in-law to further satisfy her expected new role as a married woman. Reflecting on this performance as an act she says, "I would hype up my role a little bit." She admits her role as a "good" daughter-in-law was only in the presence of the community through parties and in front of other families. It is important to note that every East Indian woman that marries into an East Indian family wears the churra as a necessary piece to her wedding dress. The churra is then worn on her wedding and can be worn for weeks, months, years or on occasion. The duration the churra is worn by the daughter-in-law is determined by her familial traditions. Marriage for SGEI Canadian

women begins wearing the churra and being Othered within her community. Here, newly married SGEI Canadian women enter the surveillance of the community which monitor her gender script responsibilities and maintain her honour as well as her families through her actions. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) describes surveillance in the context of discipline on prisoners. Where shackles symbolized the prisoner identity and casts a surveillance gaze onto them. It is not my intention to represent the churra as shackles, but instead explain them as symbolism that casts an Other identity onto SGEI Canadian women from the rest of community after marriage. Sharon explains that taking off the churra was significant to her as she states, “I felt relieved when I took it off, and was back to myself.” Suggesting that she was performing a role to enact the gender expectations of her that were different from the way she chose to act.

However, Tia is uncomfortable with the idea of performing these gender roles to satisfy others expectations as she explains how it can reproduce harmful discourses. She discusses that women who willingly perform these roles can provide constraints to their own agency by reproducing traditional gender expectations on all women, and thus making it difficult to resist. She continues, “if I start acting a certain way, and restricting [myself] from doing something I’m just kind of part of that stigma that society has already set.” She encourages women to resist performing roles as it reproduces unrealistic “good” gender roles and reminds women, “if [you] don’t change that then we’re just in deep shit all the way.” Tia encourages married SGEI women to find spaces of agency to speak back to power and resist gender roles that cast “good” women as superior over others. Similarly, Jot reminds women that a drastic change in character, from one that adapts to “good” daughter-in-law roles to actively resist them can be problematic, “as

soon as you start acting out of character, then people talk shit.” Where married SGEI Canadian women discipline their actions to avoid others judging their character and family negatively in the community and have people, “talk shit.” Confronted by the competing discourses, raising an important question Nira asks, “yea, but when do you stop?” Nira reflects on how changing her performance will affect her,

So, for me, to not all of a sudden not go to [family events] is hard for me [...] I still feel the pressure of making it to places even with the kids and everything. I’m trying to work on that, because sometimes I feel like it’s too much.

After marriage, women who maintain gender roles that have been imposed and expected by them feel overwhelmed as if it is, “too much.” As Nira tries to navigate possible spaces of resistance, she admits that she is, “trying to work on that” to best suit her circumstance. Karen reiterates Nira’s overwhelmed tone and describes the performance and maintenance of the “good” girl discourse is, “living up to [an] imagine,” and further suggests that “good” represents superiority while resistance and deviant behaviour confirms inferiority (Said, 1978). Both Nira and Karen agree that constant performance of expected gender roles is exhausting to uphold in order to avoid being viewed as resistive and *wild* in the community.

To illustrate possible ways married SGEI Canadian women navigate between the “good” and *wild* performances is through the way they choose to resist the constraints to their agency. Simran continues to explore these spaces after her marriage by challenging expected gender roles. She discusses with her mother-in-law that she is not going to be a “yes wife” that maintains her gender roles while her husband is able to avoid his responsibilities. She voices a gendered discrepancy and demands she be treated equal to

her husband. Simran's resistance to these expected roles establishes agency from the constraints that disciplines her actions to satisfy expectations that make her a, "yes wife." Contrast to South Asian women who passively resist gender scripts as reflected in Pande (2015) study, Simran takes an active approach and comforts her mother-in-law to establish agency. Where, in Pande (2015) it was made clear that some woman would not, "just simply [tell] her parents" (p.12). A possible explanation to Simran using an active approach to her resistance can be from her parents explaining her resistance of traditional gender roles to her in-laws. Simran parents tell her in-laws, "I don't know what she told you, but we are going to be very transparent and tell you that she doesn't cook, she can't make Indian food." Simran's parents warn her in-laws of qualities that are resistive to traditional gender roles, as understood here as not cooking Indian food. Thus, establishing Simran to have a resistive *wild* characteristic compared to being a "good" married SGEI women who can cook Indian food. Simran throughout her interview indicates that she identifies with both the *wild* and "good" characteristics within her marriage. Where she, uses performance as a means to switch between the two and act them to suit her circumstance. For example, she explains that she helps her mother-in-law with household chores, calls to maintain the connection, among others. And she is resistive to oppressive forces that surveil and discipline her actions by actively being vocal to establish change.

Sharon shifts the focus on husbands who can further surveil SGEI Canadian women and Other them after marriage. She describes an exchange with her husband reflecting on how marriage has disciplined her gender expectations to fit her own prospects of a wife. She states, "I feel like now that I'm married I have to be more conservative." Sharon displays that marriage

places her in a position to be “conservative” and perform the “good” girl position through her clothing choices rather than do the opposite and be *wild* (King 2008; Mucina, 2015; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; 2002b). Nira adds that constantly performing her expected gender roles before marriage made her husband feel as if, “he married the good girl.” According to Nira, resistance from her maintained “good” girl performance will raise concerns for her husband and ask, “well you didn’t do those things before you were married. I didn’t know you as ‘that’ girl. Now, why would you want to do that?” Indicating that a shift of performance is not only detrimental to the community as Jot mentioned above as people will “talk shit,” but also negatively viewed by their husband. Nira’s husband aligns with literature that South Asian men prefer to marry a “good” girl that maintains traditional gender expectations (Netting, 2006). He also refers to a dichotomy of Nira being the “good” girl as opposed to her resisting these performances as “that” girl. Suggesting a negative connotation and Othering “that” girl as deviant, unpredictable and *wild*. His concern for Nira resisting her expected gender roles presents as a constraint to her agency. She continues, “it was in that moment that was a restriction because now I could only do things that my husband approves of and wouldn’t cause problems between us.” Nira illuminates a constraint to her agency is through performing her gender roles in order to maintain her relationship with her husband. She further disciplines her actions to satisfy the restrictions placed on her by her husband, by performing the gender roles that he “approves of.” Suggesting that marriage has further Othered Nira’s identity into a position that places her inferior to her husband, as she seeks to gain approval of her choices and actions. Here the stability of her relationship is held with her as she disciplines her behaviour and performs her expected gender roles as it is, “important to [her] than having a bad marriage.” Indicating that having a “bad marriage” is determinant on her performance and maintenance of

her expected gender roles. Further, suggesting that any resistance of these gender roles performances will be detrimental to her relationship. Sharon continues and says, “because then you’re not a reflection of you as a person, you’re a reflect of your husband.” Indicating that SGEI Canadian women represent their husbands through their performances, actions and choices after marriage. Where these women continue to discipline their actions to maintain their own reputation, their families, and their husbands’. Sharon states that she does not, “want to lose his respect as a good wife.” Othering these women and motivating them to maintain their expected gender roles through their performances after marriage.

Chapter summary

This chapter aimed to address the first research of, how does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian women’s expectations of gender roles, if at all? With East Indian marriages, SGEI Canadian women are Othered through the ways they are surveilled by their married families and the East Indian community. To avoid being viewed negatively, women coped with constant surveillance by performing their expected gender roles to fit their circumstances. However, performances that maintained expected gender roles of the Other identity established a “good” and *wild* binary on SGEI Canadian women. Where, the “good” performances received social gratification, and resistance to these expectations deemed women *wild* and inferior (Said, 1978). Women admitted that performing expected gender roles was overwhelming in marriages and turn to alternative ways to express their agency. Discussed in the next chapter, I examine how married SGEI women practice their agency through leisure.

Chapter Six: The Other and Agency

A familiar Punjabi song plays abruptly, Tina answers her ringing phone and quickly exits the room leaving seven women. Speaking both Punjabi and English her voice disappears into the house. Seven women stare back at each other, grinning at the nostalgia of a familiar Punjabi MC song A conversation about music erupts, then movies, then shopping, and the weekend...

Jasmine: *Tia, what are some things you like to do?*

Tia: What do I like to do? Or what do I actually do?

All the women laugh

Tia: They are supposed to be similar in context but they're usually, not right? [...] I think I'm always scrambling to catch up. And it's weird because I don't know what I'm catching up on. Like it feels like you're consistently catching up. [...] So, it's always chasing this idea of doing things through perfection. And it just feels like you're always falling behind. And that you're always chasing and it's never ending. That's what really happens. *Shrugs.*

Simran: I think the older we get our priorities and responsibilities change. I would say it's almost like three-fold, there's a social life before you get married, there's a social life after you get married, and then there's this huge change when you have kids. The transition changes. Like for me, I was the first one to get married out of my group of friends, so when I was married it became balancing my husband's friends, my friends, my family and his family.

Karen: *[For me it's]* always with the family, doing things with the [husband], reading, staying active.

Jot: See, as a kid it doesn't seem like a lot. But when you actually start doing it [all], it takes the life out of you!

All the women laugh

Jot: *[It's fine now]*, but I already know that if I lived with my in-laws, I can't drink in front of them [...] So if we lived together, my wine would be in the house, but I would have to wait for them to leave the kitchen or go upstairs or downstairs, I wouldn't drink in front of them. That would never happen. [...] I wouldn't come down in basketball shorts. [...] no tank tops, nothing with cleavage. If I go out to eat dinner twice [a week], they would be like, "why are you eating out?" I know it would be the same rules, same comments that my parents would make. [...] oh, then we [would have to] asked them [out to dinner] too. Like I know that would be a whole thing. But, like we live separately so I don't have to think about those things. *Motions wiping sweat off of forehead.*

Tia: *Shifts forward on couch.* Personally, if I can't do it in front of them, then that's just kind of shitty because we're kind of living together, if I have to go out and drink somewhere else and that's even shittier [...] No, I like to be myself, and I feel like even when you're building a relationship, they are who they are, and I am who I am.

Jasmine: *So what are some ways you can do the things you want?*

Simran: *Begins to speak slowly to catch her train of thought* [...] it sucks in terms of that we haven't been with parents and now we have to move in with them it's going to be annoying... I know it is. But on the flip side the perks of things, we get so much freedom and time to enjoy together, because we don't have to cook, we don't have to clean, even if me and my husband want to go out on a date, we put [our child] to bed. [...] So those things will be nice and we'll have a break from "adulting" I guess.

Priya: I think it's selfish to sometimes want it to be just "us" when we are able to have that time within their home. We have the whole basement to ourselves. We're still able to watch TV and the shows that we want, and it's not something we have to do as a family. We all cook together

and make healthy meals together and I enjoy doing that with everyone. [...] But when we need our alone time we go places, it has made us active in that way, we're able to explore and travel to places to get out of the house.

Jot: *Sits back, arms crossed, with a confused expression,* Really? I think because I don't live with my in-laws I get so much freedom!

Nira: *Nods to agree with Jot.* I feel like it got easier when it was just us. I could do things that I wanted to do. I didn't feel that stress that I had to be home at a certain time or anything like that. But I did feel that I was accountable to (my husband) as well.

Jasmine: *How so?*

Nira: Like, even with the people that I meet. There are people at work who want to go out clubbing. There are times that, "oh, you know, I never did that when I was younger, maybe I can do it now." And even the talk of that would cause problems between us. *Increases her volume.* But sometimes, I don't know if you've ever felt it...but why do I have to choose? Right? Why can't I do what I feel like doing? Like, I'm not going to be less of a person if I do what I feel like doing? And you should respect that.

Women cheer and clap

Jasmine: *So, is this a change that comes with marriage?*

Simran: [*Let's just say*] if me and my husband weren't together as long as we were... I don't think I would have committed to get married at 26! Not that it's bad or anything, simply because there's so much more that I would have liked to do independently, before having that commitment, traveling and doing all of that stuff. [...]

Nira: I think that sometimes [husbands] forget how much we need it as well. I feel that as time is going on and that I have two kids, he's starting to see how much I do and that I don't really have

my time ever. He started to realize now after all of those years. Now he's encouraging me. Like last weekend I went to lunch with my sister and my cousin. I just needed a break and go out. Not be a wife and a mom and just have my time. He was really excited that I wanted to go. He was supporting me. He was so excited that I found something that I wanted to go to. It was so nice. I feel like I have been doing that for him for so long... *sighs* from the beginning.

Jasmine: Tell me about a person in your life that also supported you.

Simran: Quickly gets up from the couch and stands up. My grandmother would always say, "when you come here, you have to get on board or you get out. It's a very different culture. The way India is.... That's the way India is. You can bring some of that stuff here, but there's certain things here that you have to get on board with. [...] you can sit there and prevent your kids from doing everything and making sure that they don't break the rules. But you're going to bump heads, and you're going to have problems. Part of that is learning and growing... and that's life!"

Motions dropping a mic.

The vignette above addresses the second research question of, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? The following discussion brings leisure into the forefront and examines how it functions for married SGEI Canadian women. Continuing from the previous chapters, the term agency is used to describe as "never free from constraints" (Bignall, 2010, p.12). The term agency has been used to describe power influences such as, postcolonial and patriarchal structures that determine women's gender roles. When women exercise their agency within these power structures they are negotiating these gender expectations to suit their circumstances (Pande, 2015). Creating agency to be flexible, and shift according to situations and desires (Bignall, 2010). In this chapter, I discuss these forms

of agency as situations of resistance (Aryal, 2011) from gender roles through ways women choose to act and behave in their leisure. In leisure scholarship, terms such as autonomy and freedom are used synonymously. Suggesting that “freedom” and “autonomy” are without constraints, I continue to use agency to describe the spaces women find resistance and negotiate their power relations through leisure.

Knowledge is formed through interactions and not found in nature (O’Farrell, 2005). The previous chapters discuss the Other identity through interactions with people, while this chapter examines new avenues of knowledge between Western and Eastern cultures (Bhabha, 1994). Leisure is predominately theorized as a Westernized, individualistic, and an intrinsically motivated discourse (Chen & Pang, 2012). Understandings of the Othered identity helps challenge this dominant discourse of leisure, to inspire new understandings for married SGEI Canadian women’s cultural expectations. Leisure literature on South Asian women primarily focus on immigrant married women, conceptualized as the first generation in this thesis. Married South Asian immigrant women prefer spending time with their families than spending time alone in their leisure (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). They view Western women as selfish for engaging in solidarity leisure pursuits, and do not desire independent leisure for themselves (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). However, married first generation South Asian women’s children, known as the second-generation, have vastly different leisure attitudes than their parents. Second-generation South Asians understand their leisure through interactions with Western peers, attending Canadian schools, and is motivated by freedom and autonomy similar to their Western peers (Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). Unlike their parents, second-generation married South Asian women have shaped their understandings of leisure based on interactions with Western influences.

Beyond the vignette, the participants discuss leisure discourse that aligns closely with Western leisure literature. For example, participants describe elements of their leisure as intrinsically motivated (Iwaski & Mannell, 2010), as Sharon describes meaningful leisure pursuits are when she is free to, “do whatever [she] want[s], when [she] want[s], where ever [she] want[s].” Leisure also provides pleasure and enjoyment (Robertson, 2016), confirmed by Tina who explains being able to, “read [...] work out [...] spend time with the family,” makes her, “grateful, and happy to do those things in [her] spare time.” Leisure can also be conceptualized to explore the self (Layland, Hill & Nelson, 2016) as Tia describes that she enjoys reading and listening to podcasts to explore and educate herself to, “uncover things that are on [her] mind.” Although aligned with some Western leisure discourses, married SGEI Canadian women’s autonomy of leisure is challenged against their Eastern cultural expectations.

The vignette opens with Tia stating a discrepancy between what women prefer to do in their leisure compared to what they actually do, “what do I like to do? Or what do I actually do? They are supposed to be similar in context but they’re usually not.” Indicating that women are conflicted between what they desire to do to and what they actually do. Understanding married SGEI Canadian women’s Other identity helps explain this discrepancy in women’s leisure agency. Based on postcolonial theorization, Said (1978) distinguishes the Other identity from the Occident as opposites. Where the Occident represents the superiority of the West, indicating control and stability and placing the Other as passive and controlled. A feminist lens on the Other identity describes the gendered oppression place on women in relation to men (Beaviour, 1949). Exemplified through The Indian Act (Grey, 2010) that outlined the Western influence and impact on patriarchy that places women as subservient and passive to the dominant, superior man. When the complexities of these women’s Othered identity encounters a Western leisure

landscape that focuses on “freedom,” these women can create new understandings about their agency. As their leisure will not be “free” from constraints as an Othered identity, and helps explain their unique relationship with leisure when expected gender roles complicate their activity choices. Tia further states that her leisure deters from dominant Western discourses of being intrinsically motivated as she admits her choices of leisure are concerned with, “chasing this idea of doing things through perfection.” She explains her leisure as striving to represent perfection as she continues, “it just feels like you’re always falling behind. And that you’re always chasing and it’s never ending.” Tia places her Eastern cultural expectations to the fore and disciplines her leisure pursuits to satisfy a goal that achieves perfection. It is unknown what Tia refers to when she speaks of, “doing things through perfection,” but understanding her Othered identity theorizes activities that fit her expected gender roles. Similarly, Simran discusses the transition from autonomous leisure as a single-woman, relative to how cultural expectations determine leisure pursuits after marriage and having children. She explains,

The transition changes... I was the first one to get married out of my group of friends, so when I was married it became balancing my husband’s friends, my friends, my family and his family.

Here, Simran describes how cultural expectations position her to allocate time with multiple groups through her leisure choices. The idea of balance also represents maintaining a mixture between family and independent leisure pursuits such as, “doing things with the [husband], reading, staying active.” Although achieving balance seems to be ideal for maintaining both family and independent leisure pursuits, Jot discusses that being motivated to achieve balance can become stressful for women. She mentions observing her mother as she maintained her family, her dad’s family, a full-time job, and had time to herself, but finds striving for this

idealistic balance challenging in her own life. She mentions achieving balance as overwhelming as she says, “see as a kid it doesn’t seem like a lot. But when you actually start doing it [all], it takes the life out of you!”

Married SGEI Canadian women’s Other identity helps explain the pressures of achieving balance between independent and family leisure through their cultural expectations. For example, Jot prioritizes her Eastern cultural gender expectations of maintaining a “good” daughter-in-law image. She does this by foreshadowing her leisure sacrifices she anticipates if she were to live with her in-laws. She expects to not drink alcohol around them, avoid certain clothing in their presence such as basketball shorts or tank tops, and would respect her in-laws wishes and avoid over indulging at restaurants. Jot describes how moving in with her in-laws prioritizes her Eastern cultural gender expectations over her leisure activities that she enjoys. She foresees the lack of leisure autonomy when she inevitably moves with her in-laws, but admits she has freedom living away from her in-laws as she says, “I think because I don’t live with my in-laws I get so much freedom.” Jot implies that living in a patrilocal household arrangement will require her in-laws to surveil her leisure choices. Suggesting that moving into her husband’s parent’s house Others her to be surveilled and discipline her actions and choices. However, Bhabha (1994) theorizes that being in the Other position provides spaces of resistance to power. Where this resistance to oppressive conditions provides insight to ways married SGEI Canadian women negotiate their agency within power relations (Pande, 2015).

For example, Tia lives with her in-laws and discusses how disciplining her leisure can be problematic to not only married SGEI Canadian women, but for others within the household. Tia suggests it is problematic for all members of the household because it recommends hiding, lying and distrust to accomplish a leisure goal. Although leisure literature suggests that South Asian

immigrant children use lying as a coping mechanism to navigate within complex leisure spaces (Samuel, 2010). For married SGEI Canadian women, lying and hiding their activities further suggests that these women's leisure agency is not accepted within the household, and reproduces a problematic static life-after-marriage discourse. Instead, some women discuss ways they practice agency through their leisure in their patrilocal households. For example, when married SGEI Canadian women compare living with just their husbands to living with their in-laws, they claim a patrilocal household gave them more freedom for leisure. For example, Simran mentions that although moving in with the in-laws is complex as it will alter her position within the household, the anticipated living arrangement provides her a break from, "adulting." She continues by listing shared responsibilities that she can take advantage of, such as not always cooking and cleaning, and being able to go on dates with her husband since they will have someone watching their child. Priya also finds it helpful to live with her in-laws, since the living arrangement encourages her and husband to travel often and spend time together outside of the house. Priya further resists the idea of wanting to live on her own with her husband because it portrays a "selfish" image, and suggests she already has freedom in her patrilocal arrangement. Suggesting that these women navigate these oppressive spaces to find areas of negotiation to benefit them and their leisure agency. A contrast of opinions occurs as, some married SGEI Canadian women find living with their in-laws open more opportunities to exercise their leisure, while others refer to freedom as living with their husbands to avoid parental surveillance mechanisms.

Foucauldian assumptions describe power as a constraint of freedom, and alternatively freedom as the opportunity to behave in power in different ways (Foucault, 1977). Aligned with postcolonial feminist theorization, agency is flexible according to situations, relation, desires and

functions within power structures (Bignall, 2010; Pande, 2015). Where, agency is used to understand the ways married SGEI Canadian women negotiate within these power relations. Married SGEI Canadian women who live in patrilocal situations formulate new understandings (Bhabha, 1994) about leisure and their cultural expectations through negotiation tactics. These resistances to power, provides SGEI Canadian women to conceptualize their freedom differently. The spaces of resistances provide married SGEI Canadian women to look at leisure as not only a Westernized intrinsically motivated discourse, but rather an adapted and fluid discourse that is shaped by interacting with the Eastern culture.

Nira mentions that marriage changes her outlook on leisure since her actions and choices make her accountable to her husband. She discusses that avoiding living with her in-laws made it, “easier” for her to avoid being surveilled by his mom. However, she admits to select her leisure based on what her husband thinks are acceptable leisure choices that maintain her expected gender roles. Nira explains her desire to explore leisure activities that she avoided when she was younger and states, “I never did that when I was younger, maybe I can do it now.” But these leisure desires are disciplined as she states, “and even the talk of that would cause problems between (her and her husband).” She describes going to a night club with her work friends to engage in a leisure pursuit that includes dancing, socializing, and listening to music. However, having these choices surveilled and disciplined by her husband contributes to the oppressive forces that inhibit her to experience her leisure autonomously. Nira identifies the patriarchal oppressors as a constraint to her agency and openly challenges these discourses,

But sometimes, I don't know if you've ever felt it...but why do I have to choose? Right? Why can't I do what I feel like doing? Like, I'm not going to be less of a person if I do what I feel like doing? And [he] should respect that.

Nira discusses the complex space in negotiating and understanding her freedom within power relations (Tong, 2014). Where marriage Others women's identities that ultimately change their relationship with leisure. Simran admits that she would have avoided marrying young just so she could maintain a leisure lifestyle that was more open, autonomous and independent. She reiterates that marriage has not stopped her from practicing her desired activities, "not that it's bad or anything, simply because there's so much more that I would have liked to do independently, before having that commitment," and admits that since marriage her relationship with leisure is complex and different.

Married SGEI Canadian women also discuss the significance of having support from their husbands to practice leisure agency. Beyond the vignette, Simran discusses that with the support of her husband she is encouraged to travel on her own, with him, and take family trips. Nira adds that she is able to participate in leisure activities with the help and open support of her husband. She highlights that engaging in leisure was important for her to negotiate her mother and wife responsibilities and to have her own time. Suggesting that Nira feels empowered to indulge in self-care and self-fulfilling leisure pursuits without the guilt associated with negotiating her mom and wife roles. She states, "I just needed a break and go out. Not be a wife and a mom and just have my time." With positive support and encouragement from her husband, Nira feels confident in her leisure choices. However, it is problematic to consider that some married SGEI Canadian women feel a sense of empowerment by men granting them support in order to engage in leisure. Especially, since we understand that leisure agency can also be taken away by men, as seen in Nira's previous example of her husband restricting her to go clubbing with her work friends. Postcolonial feminists demand that South Asian women not be viewed as victims of their cultures (Pande, 2015). Instead, understand that even though they are navigating

complex influences of their Other identity they find areas within these complex oppressive areas to practice negotiation and empowerment that suit their individual goals (Pande, 2015).

Growing up in a Western context, SGEI Canadian women are exposed to individualistic leisure pursuits more than their mothers and grandmothers. However, marriage brings upon Eastern cultural expectations and shifts Westernized understandings of leisure. Now, leisure for these women is shaped to focus on balancing family, agency and self. Where this balance gets further complicated when women are surveilled by others to maintain their cultural expected gender roles. Married SGEI Canadian women's unique experience of leisure demonstrates the ways the Other identity creates new avenues of knowledge of leisure. Where, knowledge is presented as changing, fluid, and shaped by interactions between Eastern and Western cultures. Simran displays the changing nature of knowledge as she shares a story of her grandmother's shift in understanding after living in a Western context and says,

When you come here, you have to get on board or you get out. It's a very different culture. The way India is.... That's the way India is. You can bring some of that stuff here, but there's certain things here that you have to get on board with.

At first glance, Simran explains the colonized condition of East Indians. She suggests that as an Other identity we must adapt to Western ways since we are living in Canada (Fanon, 1967). However, she also hints at the spaces of resistance, and negotiation within these power relations as a family to redefine East Indian cultural expectations (Bhabha, 1994). She further explains that actively resisting Western influences will only cause South Asian generations, "to bump heads" and create constraints to agency. Aligned with leisure literature on South Asian women, the most friction between generations is their understanding of leisure (Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). However, similar to generations, South Asian women have been adapting, challenging, and

negotiating their leisure in ways that suit them based on their cultural circumstances (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Interestingly, postcolonial feminist knowledge on leisure has provided women to understand cultural influences on their Other identity. Simran quoting her grandmother continues, “you can sit there and prevent your kids from doing everything and mak[e] sure that they don’t break the rules.” Simran’s grandmother suggests that less constraints benefits the Other identity’s adaption of the Western culture. Thus, placing constraints to be viewed as only oppressive, negative, and impedes agency. Where through this chapter we understand that constraints can be productive and provide women spaces for resistance to disrupt oppressive repeating discourses.

Chapter summary

This chapter focused on the second research question of, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? As understandings of leisure are complicated by living in a Western context, married SGEI Canadian women gain new knowledge of leisure through their Othered identity. The ways that these women practice their agency in postcolonial and patriarchal power relations, redefined their leisure autonomy to suit their circumstances. While married SGEI Canadian women present different ideas of freedom, they used leisure as a means to negotiate their gender roles. Suggesting that constraints to leisure freedom are productive in providing resistance to traditional East Indian gender expectation discourses.

Next, in the last findings chapter, I continue to discuss the second research question of, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? It

will focus on the second part of the question that addresses the implications of leisure in these women's narratives as a result of this knowing. Concepts of the honour gaze further provides insights into women's societal perceptions of cultural gender roles that shape their leisure choices.

Chapter Seven: The Other and Judgment

The room suddenly fills with catchy music, flashy imagery, and then in a few seconds a new commercial begins. Eight women gather over couches, some with their feet up, some crossed legged, while some prefer sitting with their leg over the other. The television blanks, silence...and then the movie continues. The women turn away from the television, focused on each other in anticipation for the next topic of conversation.

Jasmine: *Did you ever feel like there was somethings you just couldn't do?*

Sharon: I wasn't able to dye my hair for the longest time, [...] I wasn't able to wear makeup... and now [after marriage] I feel like I'm able to wear makeup. But I feel like living in a Western culture, hair and makeup is changing and everyone's doing their hair and makeup now... and it's kind of a norm to see girls in full-beat makeup. Whereas back then, you would see a girl with eyeliner and all the aunties will be like *eyes widen* "oh my God she's of age already!"

Tina: I cut my hair and I donated it to cancer and stuff. My mom was so proud of me and so happy and whatever. But I remember my uncle making a comment like, "why did you make your hair so short? After you're married you could do whatever you want. Cut your hair as much as you want." And I was like why, I'm going to have more hair when I married? *Grabs and shakes her ponytail.*

All the women laugh

Tina: I feel like my cousin's heard a lot of, "wear whatever you want after you get married." I feel like I was lucky, to not have to hear that.

Jasmine: *What makes us think others can influence our actions and decisions on things like makeup and changing our hair?*

Sharon: I feel like in our community, they talk a lot, and with that a lot of stuff spreads like wild-fire.

Tia: Because a lot of people like to interfere with your relationship unnecessarily. [...] Like people you don't even know. [...] Random aunties and even young people. They're telling their parents like I saw so-and-so... but it's like not their business at all.

Nira: And, social media was a big thing then, so again people were talking about it all the time. But definitely everyone that came after us are doing it. I have nieces, who are traveling... and traveling with their soon-to-be husbands that they're going to marry in a few years from now. They aren't afraid to share it. There was a time where we weren't able to do that.

Tia: Honestly, I find social media to be pretty stressful. I actually didn't realize until taking a slight break from it. When I was consistently on it, I didn't realize how much you really start comparing your life to others. Like, so-and-so has this and so-and-so is doing this, but when you limit your usage, it doesn't matter what so-and-so is doing.

Priya: *Nods to agree with Tia.* So, what if everyone's doing it?

Jasmine: *What does it look like when we openly do what people aren't doing?*

Tina: *[My dad told me],* "I feel like if you do something like this (refers to marrying outside of religion), society will talk so much smack about you. I can't and won't be able to bear it and hear it if someone says something like that. *Takes a break to catch her breath.* And I was like okay well, you need to know that you raised a strong, independent girl who does not care of what anyone has to say. [...] The "what would people say" is toxic. And more so rather than saying that, what does your inner voice say? Like I want to hear about more of those things than caring about what people have to say.

Simran: *Nods to agree with Tina.* I think the biggest thing for us was, and my mom agrees too, But so many people make decisions based on their parents' happiness. Imagine I made a decision, because my dad wanted it, and now he's not here anymore. But I have to live with it for the rest of my life and he's not even here to see me live the decision that he made for me.

Jasmine: *Tell me about a time that you felt like you judged someone in our culture for challenging the cultural norms?*

Jot: So [at an] anniversary party we went to, [...] we were sitting at [a] table with the couples' daughter and her friends. The daughter is 23 years old. Mind you, I was already engaged and planning a wedding at 23. And she was drinking a vodka cranberry and standing there with her glass, *mimics her holding a glass and flaunting it, taking pretends sips...* and I'm judging her! *Eye wide in shock* I was judging her! I'm like, "what a fucking child." [...] I'm just shaking my head, like a fucking aunty. Like what the fuck is she doing. She's a child.

Karen: *[My thing was with hair]* I wouldn't want to look back at pictures and think, "wow blonde hair wasn't in and looked so tacky," and for an Indian wedding it just looks so out of place. Like you're wearing the traditional things and have bleach blonde hair? [...] I don't think it looks good. But to each their own...*pauses...* I guess.

Tina: One of the key examples are from my cousin who is actually divorced. His wife literally said, "I am getting married just to get out of the house!" Because she had such a strict upbringing and her parents were so strict. And she felt like she wasn't able to do anything and all that so, I thought that was kind of weird. But then she just went crazy after! She just had too much freedom! [...] And I don't know what the heck she was doing. *Points to her head.* She was crazy!

Jasmine: *So did you practice your "freedom" differently from these examples?*

Simran: [I think so], when we used to go clubbing, we were never the girl that had to pack a bag and change outside of our house, what we wore to the club is what we left our house wearing.

[...] we may have drank, but my parents never had issues with us with a drug perspective.

Karen: But I mean everyone does it now, women are starting to be able to drink in front of the family and people get over it because their daughters are doing it too. It's the super-goody-goods that give all of us a bad reputation, like that can't be realistic. I live my life how I want to live it now, I used to care what other people [thought]of me, but I seriously don't care anymore.

Jasmine: *What does the East Indian Canadian culture mean to you?*

Tina: Our culture's all like... *pauses looks down at her phone*...well just think about what all the Indians are doing. Our culture is all about drinking, smoking up apparently. [...] It's in the music if that's what it's all about.

Karen: *Shifts in her seat and repositions her feet up on the couch.* Indians have this thing with keeping things aligned with tradition, their parents did it, and their grandparents did it...so that's the way it should be done. The world isn't the same as it was...I mean we live in Canada...there's got to be some kind of steady change as well. But every family has their rules and ways of doing things, and being women who are married into these families, we just gotta find our paths within them.

Tina: There's some great things about being Indian, but then there's some that are... delete, delete, delete, *motions pressing a button* [...] and you know who decides that... it's you! And it puts you in the place where it's you pleasing yourself.

The vignette above addresses the second research question of, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for

married SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? Focusing in on the second part of the question: what are the implications of leisure in these women's narratives as a result of this knowing? The following discussion focuses on the honour gaze and its implications of leisure in these women's experiences. Although, the honour gaze is challenged by these women, the honour discourse is reproduced as these women surveil other SGEI women of their expected gender roles. Here, understandings of the Other identity inform the complexities of these women's positions as the ones oppressed by honour, but also the one's that reproduce the gaze discourse through judgment of other women in the community. Where this judgment acts to further complicate leisure and how it functions in married SGEI Canadian women's agency as discussed below.

Honour represents high respect and high esteem, and is a valued concept for Eastern cultural traditions (Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000; Sev'er & Yurkdakul, 2001). In East Indian culture, honour is adapted to represent social recognition, respect and social esteem for individuals in the community (Cihangir, 2012; Miller, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Stewart, 1994). Where, individual actions and behaviour influence social recognition and social reputation held with members of the community (Cihangir, 2012; Miller, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Stewart, 1994). These predominately East Indian views of honour get complicated when individuals live in a Western context. Where, Western communities such as Canada, place less weight on individual action and social recognition (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle & Schwarz, 1996; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi & Yoon, 1994). It is through a postcolonial feminist theorization, that honour is viewed as an oppressive device that functions to surveil and discipline East Indian Canadian women's actions to maintain social

respect for themselves and their families. The concept of honour can be conceptualized by Foucauldian assumptions of gaze. In that, he refers to it as not just the object of knowledge which is constructed, but also the knower (O'Farrell, 2005). Illustrating that the honour gaze is oppressive for married SGEI Canadian women and acts to reinforce constructed knowledge of gender expectations.

The opening conversation in the vignette explains different ways SGEI Canadian women experience being under an honour gaze. Referring to gender honour codes and how it values sexual purity through modesty and decorum in dress (Cihangir, 2012), Sharon adds makeup and changing hair is an indication of sexual maturity, and further indicates women are ready for marriage. She says, “you would see a girl with eyeliner and all the aunties will be like, ‘oh my God she’s of age already!’” Suggesting that the community believes the use of makeup, changing or dyeing hair displays maturity and eagerness for marriage. Confirmed by Tina who’s uncle reminded her, “after you’re married you could do whatever you want. Cut your hair as much as you want.” Suggesting that cutting and colouring hair, using makeup, and wearing mature clothes are unacceptable for some families before marriage, and should be saved for after the wedding. However, experimenting with image through clothing, fashion, makeup, and hair can all be understood as ways women engage in their leisure (Mucina, 2015). The honour gaze disciplines East Indian Canadian women’s leisure pursuits to maintain respect of their families through expected cultural gender roles. For example, Sharon explains the function of honour and how it maintains a family’s social reputation and status, “I feel like in our community, they talk a lot, and with that a lot of stuff spreads like wild-fire.” Gossip infiltrates the East Indian Canadian community and functions as an additional way to discipline women’s actions and behaviours in society. For example, Tia notes that people in her community, can push narratives of women and

interfere with their relationships through spreading gossip. Beyond the vignette, all eight women discussed dating their husbands and keeping it a secret from their families. The duration of these secrets ranged from a few months to one being as long as eight years. Keeping secrets about their relationship status were important for these women to practice their leisure choices and agency within their expected gender roles (Samuel, 2010). However, when members of the community uncover these secrets, they can spread information and cause distrust among the community. This also gives the impression to women who navigate their leisure choices through lying and keeping secrets, that they are being watched and constantly surveilled. Further motivating these women to continue to lie and keep secrets to protect their honour. Where now, women are disciplined to act and behave to respect the honour of their families within the community at all times. However, these women discuss that social media provides women younger than them to resist the gaze in the community. Nira explains that her niece is able to go on trips with her fiancé and willingly posts pictures of them together on social media for the community to see. She states that her niece and women younger than her, “aren’t afraid to share it.” Nira suggests that having her niece post on social media on her own about taboo material such as traveling before marriage, offers her control over her narrative within the community. Suggesting, that posting on social media establishes women to gain control of their own narratives instead of information being spread through gossip and judgment. Contrarily, Tia discusses that sharing on social media can also perpetuate idealistic versions of people and be a problematic discourse for East Indian Canadian women. She states, “I didn’t realize how much you really start comparing your life to others. Like, so-and-so has this and so-and-so is doing this.” Social media has become an outlet for women to display their interests, ideas, and most predominately, what they are doing (Guta & Karolak, 2015). It is a platform to showcase various leisure pursuits, but as

Tia mentions, it can become problematic when women begin to compare themselves to what others are doing. Since East Indian Canadian women navigate their leisure differently based on their expected cultural gender roles, consuming social media that presents idealistic versions of leisure can be stressful for women. Priya reminds married SGEI Canadian women, “so what if everyone’s doing it,” and to challenge reproducing discourses that can further discipline their actions. It reminds women to challenge discourses and to navigate leisure, marriages and families in ways that function for them and not to be influenced by idealistic cultural societal expectations.

The honour discourse reproduces and gains influence when members of the community accept societal expectations without examining their usefulness in their lives. Tina observes the adaption of honour discourse in East Indian Canadian culture is to avoid societal implications through gossip and judgment. Tina shares her father’s hesitation to her marrying outside of her religion and says, “society will talk so much smack about you.” She challenges these ideas and places value into what she thinks is morally correct over anticipation of, “what people will say” about her character. The East Indian Canadian society illustrates how it reproduces the discourse of surveillance by insinuating unpredictability and the fear of judgment over, “what people will say.” This fear acts as a surveillance mechanism to discipline East Indian women to uphold societal expectations. However, Tina discusses how she challenged her father’s tolerance of this discourse,

The ‘what would people say’ is toxic. And more so rather than saying that, what does your inner voice say? Like I want to hear about more of those things than caring about what people have to say.

Aligned with conceptualizations of the Other identity, Tina addresses the importance of finding the spaces of negotiation in oppressive power relations. She understands the cyclical reproduction of these harmful discourses and challenges their function and purpose in her life. Similarly, Simran challenges these discourses and their function,

So many people make decisions based on their parents' happiness. Imagine I made a decision, because my dad wanted it, and now he's not here anymore. But I have to live with it for the rest of my life and he's not even here to see me live the decision that he made for me.

Simran highlights the impact of adapting to a harmful reproducing honour discourse and how it can influence her life. She advocates women to understand the purpose and function of these discourses in their lives, and urges for resistance when they do not support women's agency and goals. For example, beyond the vignette, Tina discussed the importance of her parents and their happiness, and ensured she was respectful to them in her decision to resist the societal marriage expectations of her. To do this, she led several long, detailed, discussions with her father to first understand this discourse and second, provide her rationale to challenge it. Here, Tina is using discussions with her father to actively challenge the discourse that disciplines her actions and life choices by questioning the usefulness of societal surveillance on her and her family.

Although, the honour gaze is placed on SGEI Canadian women to discipline their actions and behaviours in society, these women also share instances where they judged others. The married SGEI Canadian women discuss other East Indian women's leisure choices. Jot, who has described using alcohol in her own leisure, admits to have judged another SGEI Canadian woman who was drinking openly in front of the community. She comments, “ ‘what a fucking child.’ [...] I'm just shaking my head, like a fucking aunty. Like what the fuck is she doing.

She's a child." By calling her a child, she refers to her immaturity for drinking so obviously and openly in the community. Next, Karen places judgment on SGEI women who dye their hair bleach blonde, or other colours outside of accepted natural East Indian hair colours. She admits that SGEI Canadian women who mix Indian clothing with their overly Westernized hair, look forced and unnatural in a traditional East Indian setting. Both Jot and Karen overlook the areas these women practice their leisure agency and instead place judgment on woman drinking at a social gathering and the woman experimenting with fashion. Tina adds, that when married SGEI Canadian women have, "too much freedom" they are characterized as selfish, unpredictable, and "crazy." It pushes a narrative that these women are *wild*, untamed and uncivil, and that their behaviour leads to serious relationship implications and divorce. Tina continues, and shares a story of a women navigating her agency, but overlooks this women's strict, restrictive upbringing as she says,

Because she had such a strict upbringing and her parents were so strict. And she felt like she wasn't able to do anything and all that so, I thought that was kind of weird. But then she just went crazy after.

She further separates herself from this women's "crazy" actions by the lack of understanding and says, "I don't know what the heck she was doing." Simran also places judgment on women who navigate their leisure choices differently and ensures she was, "never the girl that had to pack a bag and change outside of [her] house." Simran refers to how some women navigate their strict familial rules by wearing conservative clothing in front of their families and then changing elsewhere. She continues to separate herself from these women as she mentions she drinks alcohol but was not the girl that used drugs growing up. Insinuating that women who use drugs can cause issues for parents and families and be deviant in comparison to women who drink. Jot,

Tina and Simran illustrate examples of, women judging other women on their leisure choices and further critiquing the ways they navigate their agency. In that, some women deem themselves as “good” and place judgment on others who are not. Contrarily, Karen places judgment on the women she names the “super-goody-goods” because they put unrealistic cultural expectations on all women within the East Indian Canadian culture. Judgment establishes these women’s Other identity as binaries of “good” vs *wild* and suggests an us-versus-them mentality (Said, 1978). However, depending on the position of judgment, either from “good” women judging the *wild* or the *wild* judging the “good,” it places each of these women in a position of power to surveil other women’s actions in society. Creating these women to create invisible boundaries between themselves and women who act and think differently from them. Although, married SGEI women are described as the Other identity throughout this research endeavour through understandings of their colonized and patriarchal oppression. We learn that the *relation* of judgment is important to understand the fluidity of power (O’Farrell, 2005). So, depending on who is holding the judgment, the married SGEI Canadian woman is both *wild* and “good” depending on her perception of her circumstance.

Mohanty (2003) warns that the Othering of women causes discursive colonization and hinders the cause of women. This Othering hinders women’s agency of leisure choices such as drinking, experimenting with fashion, visiting night clubs, among others. As these actions are not only disciplined by the older generations, but also by other married SGEI Canadian women, and thus reproducing a discourse that favours harmful expected cultural gender roles.

The married SGEI Canadian women’s Other identity is understood as interactions between both Eastern and Western traditions. Where these unique elements of the changing culture can be shared and expressed through popular leisure means such as music (Bennett,

2015). Tina mentions that popular East Indian Punjabi music pushes drinking and smoking as common leisure pursuits in the community. Indicating, that there is recognition of taboo leisure pursuits through mainstream outlets like music and is becoming acceptable and popular in the community. However, Karen reminds married SGEI Canadian women that there is a gradual change, and the spaces of change can differ between families. She encourages women to navigate their agency through negotiation and within power relations and to, “find our own paths within them.” Similarly, Tina also reminds married SGEI women to redefine cultural expectations to match their personal goals. As married SGEI Canadian women are in a position to customize their experience within these power structures (Pande, 2015). Tina reiterates that within the honour gaze that acts to surveil and discipline our actions, women find spaces to customize their experiences of being a married SGEI Canadian woman. She describes that this standpoint, places married SGEI Canadian women to decide what works for their circumstances and says, “you know who decides that...it’s you.”

Chapter summary

This chapter explored the second research question of, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectation? Focusing on the second question of, what are the implications of leisure in these women’s narratives as a result of this knowing? This chapter focused on leisure as actions, behaviour, and choices within the honour gaze. Here, women disciplined their actions to avoid community gossip and judgment that impacted their family’s reputation negatively. Interestingly, although these women avoided judgment to uphold their honour, they also placed judgment on other women. Showcasing that leisure for married SGEI Canadian women is either exercised within gender role expectations, or

practiced by resisting them. It's through this chapter we learn that married SGEI Canadian women's understanding of "good" versus *wild* is based on their perception and personal circumstance.

Chapter Eight: Closing Considerations

This thesis examined the discourses of marriage, gender roles, and leisure for married SGEI women living in Canada. Through a postcolonial feminist inspired narrative inquiry, eight participants were interviewed to closely examine discourses that function within their lives. Four discourses were illuminated through discourse analysis and represented in dialogue-based vignettes to reflect two research questions framing this study. The first research question was, how does marriage change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain SGEI Canadian Women's expectations of gender roles? The first discourse illuminated the changes to SGEI Canadian women's expected gender roles after marriage. Women learned and relearned their expected gender roles from their families before marriage and their husband's family after marriage. Often, these gender role expectations juxtaposed and placed women to negotiate and manipulate these roles to suit their needs and goals (Pande, 2015). The second discourse also addressed the first research question by explaining the ways marriage changes women's performance of their gender roles. Women discussed ways that helped them navigate their agency within gender roles by resisting, maintaining, and adapting them through performance. The second research question focused on leisure and asked, how does leisure change, challenge, resist, reproduce, reinforce and/or maintain the construction of gender roles for SGEI women within normative East Indian Canadian cultural expectations? The third discourse explained agency as leisure through actions and behaviours that were exercised to give women "freedom" from their expected gender roles. Married SGEI Canadian women had diverse conceptualizations of freedom. With that, their application and understandings of leisure differed depending on their familial arrangement and circumstances. Here, women defined their agency differently, but used leisure as a means to negotiate their gender roles. The fourth discourse addressed the second part

of the research question focusing on the implications of leisure within the honour gaze. For married SGEI Canadian women, leisure behaviour was heavily influenced by the honour gaze. In that, the South Asian community surveilled women's actions by using gossip and judgment as mechanisms to discipline leisure choices. Through judgment of other women, married SGEI Canadian women reproduce the honour gaze discourse that continues to influence their leisure choices to fit their gender expectation and personal circumstances.

Researcher Reflections

This thesis does not propose a definitive “truth” about constructed gender roles and its relationship to leisure for married SGEI Canadian women living in Canada. Instead, this research endeavour displays how women navigate multiple and partial “truths,” that co-create their understandings of how patriarchal and postcolonial influences function in their lives. To propose a “truth” would be detrimental for the cause of women and assume gender oppressions that all women identify with (Chambers & Watkins, 2012). Where, as displayed in this thesis, many women negotiate and manipulate these power structures differently to benefit their personal goals (Pande, 2015). Furthermore, it is not my intention to place women as agents of change in their marriages to achieve “freedom” from expected gender roles. Doing so, insinuates their lives demand change for the better, and places women responsible to change their lives. It was through speaking with other married SGEI Canadian women that deepened my understandings of freedom and how it differed from my preliminary research ideas. More specifically, my understandings of this topic developed as I moved along this research endeavour through four different occurrences. Together these occurrences helped shape my understanding of married SGEI women living in Canada, my position as a researcher and as a member of the South Asian community.

The first occurrence transpired during my proposal defense and presenting my preliminary ideas of this thesis. A grad student asked whether I would present the findings of this research in a guide aimed for married SGEI women to be “free.” It was then, I realize how my understandings of marriage created problematic interpretations of SGEI Canadian women in Western academic contexts. With these preliminary ideas of “freedom” shaping my understandings, I anticipated participant counter-narratives to reflect hardship and focus on resistance, triumph, and freedom (Aryal, 2011). I admit, that anticipating these counter-narratives, puts married SGEI Canadian women as a “hero” to “save” themselves from factors that oppress them in their marriages. Instead, women’s counter-narratives reflected negotiating, manipulating and bargaining with power structures to suit their needs (Pande, 2015). The ways women spoke about constraints to their agency was not negative, and further displayed how women rejected being “victims of their culture” (Pande, 2015). For example, I anticipated participants would share their leisure experiences as activities they couldn’t *do*. However, participants described what they enjoy, and did not concentrate on their *desire* to do more in their marriage. Instead, women framed their leisure choices to complement their unique lifestyles while considering their loved ones.

The second occurrence that deepened my understanding was through my experiences with the concept of freedom. My preliminary understandings of leisure in this research were ways women can exercise freedom and do activities that they were not able to do before their marriages. This notion was confirmed through my participants who were told they can, “do whatever you want after marriage,” and framed my understanding of freedom to be without constraints to agency after marriage. However, the idea that freedom of leisure is only available after marriage, insinuates that marriage *brings* freedom to women. Instead this research showed

that marriage only further complicates leisure choices for SGEI Canadian women. Freedom in a postcolonial and patriarchal structure is incredibly complex and beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, I learned that leisure is not synonymous with freedom, as complex power structures influence SGEI Canadian women's leisure actions and behaviour within their marriages.

The next occurrence that shaped my understanding of this research topic was after two participants withdrew from my study. As a married SGEI Canadian woman I assumed that being a part of the South Asian community provided a safe space for the participants and I to co-create knowledge of our experiences. However, having two women withdraw from the study showed the complexities of sharing personal stories and what that means for the South Asian community. Which further added context to the discourses of judgment, surveillance, and the South Asian honour gaze. This experience shows that being a part of the South Asian community acted as a constraint to women sharing their stories and experiences. Confirmed when I was being interviewed by someone from the community, I censored and altered my stories to avoid judgment from another South Asian woman. It was through this experience that I understood how married SGEI Canadian women can manipulate and negotiate the power structures in their lives (Pande, 2015).

Finally, this thesis illuminates the discourse of care for the Othered identity. I recognize the responsibility of care for married SGEI Canadian women adds to the complexities of their expected gender roles after marriage. As a participant, I reflect on my own experiences of care and that my actions are influenced on the expected responsibility of caring for others. Whether it be for my husband, his family, or my family, a significant aspect of my gender role is to maintain care through my actions. I reflect further and understand that taking care of others acts as taken-for-granted knowledge as I overlooked to analyze this discourse, and assumed it as a usual

adaptation after marriage. However, as a researcher, I reflect on this knowledge and (re)read my thesis to understand the ethic of care illuminated in the participants counter-narratives and how these discourses are also subtly manipulated and negotiated within expected gender roles to suit women's circumstances.

Future Research Considerations

This research topic opens opportunities for many possible areas of future research. First, the participants for this study were all highly educated with at least a bachelor's degree. Future research endeavours may examine how varying education levels influence women's agency within their marriages. Second, all participants in this study had "love" marriages. Where, future research may look to understand arranged marriage situations in a Western context, inter-religion marriages, marriages between LGBTQ2 individuals, and inter-race marriages and the implications of leisure within these different marriage landscapes. Third, the participants from this study were between middle-class to upper middle-class, which can provide them with more opportunities to leisure resources that may not be available for women from lower income families. Future research can be done to understand how socio-economic status can further influence leisure choices and agency within marriages. Next, all participants were from the Greater Toronto Area, which accounts for the highest East Indian population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016). Future research endeavours may look to include women from cities with few to no East Indian residents to further understand East Indian traditions in a dominantly Western Canadian context. Finally, central to the discussion of marriage, women spoke about experiences of dating within the honour gaze and the complexities being in the Other position from their Western peers (Said, 1978). These narratives were beyond the scope of this study, but

are important to further examine the leisure landscape to understand the Western culture and the complexities of growing up as an SGEI Canadian woman.

The decision to use postcolonial feminist theory to inform this study was to understand the postcolonial and patriarchal influences within married SGEI Canadian lives. The use of this theory examines the complexities of gaze, performances, surveillance, discipline as it relates to women's leisure lifestyles. First, future leisure scholarship must consider power structures to understand the choices, behaviour and involvement in activities. As displayed through this study, power works to surveil and discipline women into performing their expected gender roles that inform leisure choices and behaviour. Second, future research must continue to include counter-narratives. Apart from a few studies (see Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Tirone & Shaw, 1997; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000, 2005), Second-generation East Indian women's counter-narratives have not been in the forefront in leisure research. Future research is needed to include counter-narratives of marginalized groups to highlight the complexities of their experiences. Also, future researchers must continue to represent marginalized people's counter-narratives through creative methods to represent the complexities of experience (Parry & Johnson, 2007; Schwandt, 2001). In doing so, research such as this, contextualizes experiences and challenge readers to make their own interpretation of what is being presented and how that relates back to society (Parry & Johnson, 2007).

Tensions

This social constructionist critical study examined the competing discourses surrounding married SGEI Canadian women's lives. However, this thesis also highlighted the additional tensions that push a critical emancipatory study into areas of possible deconstruction. Simply defined, deconstruction is a process used by poststructuralism researchers to disrupt the meaning

of discourse within social structures (Schwandt, 2015). Deconstruction illuminates complex power dynamics and disrupts societal expectations. Where, understandings of the discourses of leisure, surveillance, discipline, and freedom cause confusion rather than definitive answers to the research questions. More specifically, leisure both *has* and *does not have* a place in the lives of married SGEI Canadian women. Similarly, *we are* surveilled and judged by others and at the same time *we are not* and we judge others. We also *do* and *do not* find resistance through disciplining our actions. At the same time, *we are* free and *we are not*. These tensions illuminate the frictions of *what is* and *what isn't* through deconstruction of available structures. I leave this thesis with more questions than answers and find that I have opened this topic for (re)examination and further consideration.

So, what?

The significance of this research is to illustrate that we are not victims of our East Indian marriages. In her essay, *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*, Chandra Mohanty explains Western women often depict writing of “Third World Women” as victims of their traditional culture and masculine control (1994, 2003). She writes that it is crucial for scholarship to continue to include historical and cultural contexts of these women so to not create harmful representations of “Third World Women.” Aligned with postcolonial feminist scholarship, this research illustrates that these women have agency within their marriages in a unique cultural positioning. In particular, using CAP as a representation strategy opens this research text to a broader audience and influences change (Parry & Johnson, 2007). Although I plan to share my research in academia through journal articles and conferences, I also plan to seek out other avenues beyond academia to share this work, such as, but not limited to, workshops, feminist blogs, and with organizations focused on gender relations in the Canadian

South Asian culture such as, Pink Ladoo Project and Laadliyan. My hope with disseminating this research is to continue the dialogue between women about their experiences. These women's stories and experiences has helped me to think about my marriage and leisure in different, new and layered ways, that I hope it can for others.

Young, wild and (somewhat) free

This research endeavour begins the conversation of married SGEI Canadian women and their relationship with leisure. By doing so, it outlines future research avenues that demands to include counter-narratives, experiences and understand influences of power in women's lives. I reflect on my own ideas and manifestations of the words *wild* and *free* and how it relates to this research and me as a married SGEI Canadian woman. As a participant of the study, the saying, *young, wild, and (somewhat) free* applies to my life, as at times I challenge, resist and act on experiences that the South Asian community deems *wild*. My *wild* behaviour includes drinking alcohol, dyeing my hair, travelling, going to bars and nightclubs, dating my husband in secrecy before marriage for years among many others. My understanding of *wild* is the taboo activities women shouldn't do to uphold gender expectations. However, my *wild* behaviour gives me joy, pleasure and enjoyment. As a researcher I am aware the term *wild* reads deviant, untamed, and unpredictable. I use the term *wild* intentionally for two reasons; to illustrate the Othering of SGEI Canadian women in a Western context (Said, 1978), and to demonstrate that *wild* can change connotation depending on the perceptions of women. Where, *wild* is not just synonymous with words such as crazy and deviant, but also explains women as *wild* for maintaining and adapting a "perfect" unattainable lifestyle. Consequently, shifting the understandings of *wild* to mean, unfamiliar and unusual, depending on women's positioning.

The term *free* reads emancipated, independent, and liberated. As a participant, I felt most *free* in choosing the stories that reflected my experiences of marriage, leisure and gender roles. Reflecting on my *wild* behaviour, I feel most *free* challenging expectations of others and doing activities, going to places, and being with people that bring me happiness. As a researcher, I intentionally use the term *free*, even though the idea of freedom is complicated through postcolonial and patriarchy power structures, as one is never *free* from these influences. Instead, I use *free* to reflect on spaces married SGEI Canadian women find to negotiate, manipulate, and navigate agency to function within these power structures. As married SGEI Canadian women navigate these competing discourses, they learn more about their unique circumstances, and perform their gender roles in complex ways. *We are young, wild and (somewhat) free.*

References

- Agrawal, S. & Unisa, S. (2007). "Discrimination from conception to childhood: A study of girl children in rural Haryana, India." In Attane I., & Guilmoto, C.Z. (Eds.) *Watering the Neighbour's Garden: The Growing Demographic Female Deficit in Asia*, 247-266. Paris: Committee for International Cooperation in National Research in Demography (CICRED).
- Albertin Carbo, P., Vazquez Ahumada, M.A., Dorado Caballero, A., & Lezama Arguelles, G.A. (2016). "How do I do discourse analysis?" Teaching discourse analysis to novice researcher through a study of intimate partner gender violence among migrant women. *Qualitative Social Work*, 15(3), 363-379.
- Alcoff, L. M. (2009). The problem of speaking for others. In A.Y. Jackson, & L.A. Mazzei (Eds.), *Voice in qualitative inquiry: Challenging conventional, interpretive and critical conceptions in qualitative research* (pp. 117-136). New York: Routledge.
- Allendorf, K. (2013). Schemas of marital change: From arranged marriages to eloping for love. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 75 (2): 453-469.
- Allendorf, K., & Pandian, R.K., (2016). The decline of arranged marriage? Marital change and continuity in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42(3). 435-464.
- Anderson, J.M. (2000). *The History of Portugal*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Anderson, K. (2010). Affirmations of an indigenous feminist. In Suzack, C. et al. (Eds) *Indigenous Women and Feminism – Politics, Activism, Culture*, pp. 81-91. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Anderson, K., & Jack, D. C. (1991). Learning to listen: Interview techniques and analyses. In S. B. Gluck & D. Patai (Eds.). *Women's words: The feminist practice of oral history* (pp. 11-26). New York: Routledge.

- Andrist, L., Banerji, M. & Desai, S. (2013). Marital negotiations: Examining the gap between marriage and cohabitation in India. In R. Kaur and R. Palriwala (Eds.), *Marrying in South Asia: Shifting Concepts, Changing Practices in a Globalizing World*. (pp. 116-140). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Ahmad, F. (2010). Modern traditions? British Muslim women and academic achievement. *Gender and Education, 13*(2). 137-152.
- Arai, S. & Pedlar, A. (2003). Moving beyond individualism in leisure theory: A critical analysis of concepts of community and social engagement. *Leisure Studies, 22*. 185-202.
- Arnold, D. (2002). *The Age of Discovery, 1400-1600*. Lancaster pamphlets. Psychology Press.
- Arokiasamy, P. & Gautam, A. (2008). Neonatal mortality in the empowered action group states of India: Trends and determinants. *Journal of Biosocial Science, 40*(2), 183-201.
- Aryal, Y. (2011). Interventions: Postcolonial, agency and resistance. *Journal of Philosophy: A Cross Disciplinary Inquiry, 7* (16). 65.
- Atkinson, R. (2002). The life story interview. In J.E. Gubrium & J. A. Holstien (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp.121-140). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Awwad, A.M. (2002). Gossip, scandal, shame, and honor killing: A case for social constructionism and hegemonic discourse. *Social Thought and Research, 24*, 39-52.
- Bamberg, M. and Andrews, M.(2004). *Considering Counter-Narratives* .Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bannerjee, N. (2002). Between the devil and the deep sea: Shrinking options for women in contemporary India. In Kapadia, K. (Ed.) *The Violence of Identity, Gender and Social Inequalities in India*, pp. 43-68. London: Zed Books.

- Bannerjee, N. & Jain, D. (2001). "Indian sex ratios through time and space: Development from women's perspective." In Mazumdar, V. & Krishnaji, N. (Eds.) *Enduring Conundrum: India's Sex Ratio (Essays in honour of Asok Mitra)*, 73-119. Delhi: Rainbow Publishers (for Centre for Women's Development Studies).
- Barnett, J.T. & Johnson, C. W. (2013) We are all royalty narrative: Comparison of a drag queen and king. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 45 (5).
- Barone, T., & Eisner, E. (2012). *Arts based research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bartky, S.L. (1990). *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. New York and London.
- Bayly, S. (1999). *Caste, society and politics in India: From the eighteenth century to the modern age*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bennett, A. (2015). Editorial: Popular Music and Leisure. *Leisure Sciences*, 24(4), 333-342.
- Berbary, L. (2015). Creative analytic practices: Onto-episto-theoretical attachments, uses, and constructions within humanist qualitative leisure research. *International Leisure Review*, 2, 27-54.
- Berbary, L.A. & Jessika, B. C. (2014). Eight point for reflection: Revisiting scaffolding for improvisational humanist qualitative inquiry. *Leisure Sciences*, 36 (5), 401-419.
- Berbary, L. A. (2011). Poststructural writerly representation: Screenplay as creative analytic practice. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17, 186-196.
- Beauvoir, S. (1974). *The second sex*. Trans. And ed. Parshley, H.M. New York: Vintage Books.
- Bedi, R. (2009, November 1). Indira Gandhi's death remembered. *BBC Archived*. Retrieved Oct. 17, 2017, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8306420.stm.

- Bertaux, D. (Ed.). (1981). *Biography and society: The life history approach in the social sciences*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Beverley, J. (2000). Testimonio, subalternity, and narrative authority. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed. Pp. 555-565). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bhabha, H.K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 10(2), 141-163.
- Bignall, S. (2010). *Postcolonial Agency: Critique and Constructivism*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Billson, J.M. (1995). *Keepers of the Culture: The Power of Traditions in Women's Lives*. New York: Lexington.
- Bourassa, C., McKay-McNabb, K. & Hampton, M. (2005). Racism, Sexism and Colonialism: The impact on the health of Aboriginal women in Canada. *Canadian Women's Studies*, 24(1), 23-29.
- Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D. (2001). *Narrative and identity: Studies in autobiography, self, and culture*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Brouwer, L. (1998). Good girls, bad girls: Moroccan and Turkish runaway girls in the Netherlands. In S. Vertovec, & A. Rogers (Eds.), *Muslim European youth. Reproducing ethnicity, religion, culture* (pp. 145-167). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bruner, J. (2002). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. New York Farrar, Staus & Giroux.
- Bryman, A., Bell, E., & Teevan, J.J. (2012). *Social Research Methods: Third Canadian Edition*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

- Bulbeck, C. (1998). *Re-orienting Western feminisms: Women's diversity in a post-colonial world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, J. (1988) Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40 (4), 519-531.
- Cain, M. (1993). Foucault, feminism and feeling: What Foucault can and cannot contribute to feminist epistemology. In C. Ramazanoglu (Ed.) *Up Against Foucault: Explorations of Some Tensions Between Foucault and Feminism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Caplan, L. (1984). Bridegroom price in urban India: Class, caste and 'dowry evil' among Christians in Madras. *Man N.S.* 19, 216-233.
- Carby, H.V. (1982). White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood. *The empire strikes back: Race and racism in 70s Britain*. London: Hutchinson.
- Caton, K. & Santos, C. (2009). Images of the Other. *Journal of Travel Research*, 48(2), p. 191-204.
- Chakraborty, K. (2016). *Young Muslim women in India: Bollywood, identity and changing youth culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Chakravarti, U. (2003). *Gendering caste: Through a feminist lens*. Calcutta: STREE.
- Chambers, C. & Watkins, S. (2012). Postcolonial feminism? *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 47(3), 297-301
- Chase, S.E. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research*, 3rd ed. (pp.651-675). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Chase, S. E. (2011). Narrative inquiry: Still a field in the making.” In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 421-434). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chaudhuri, S., Morash M., & Yingling, J. (2014). Marriage migration, patriarchal bargains, and wife abuse: A study of south Asian women. *Violence Against Women, 20* (2). 141-161.
- Choudry, U.K. (2001). Uprooting and resettlement experiences of South Asian immigrant women. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 23*(4). 376-393.
- Chen, M., & Pang, X. Leisure motivation: An integrative review. *Social Behavior and Personality, 40*(7). 1075-1082.
- Chima, J. S. (2008). *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethnonationalist Movements*. SAGE Publications.
- Chun, S., Lee, Y., Kim, B., & H., J. (2012). The contribution of leisure participation and leisure satisfaction to stress-related growth. *Leisure Sciences, 34* (5), 436-449.
- Cihangir, S. (2012). Gender specific honor codes and cultural change. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 16*(3). 319-333.
- Clandinin, D.J. & Connelly F.M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: experience and story in qualitative research*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.
- Coates, J. (1996). *Women Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cohen, D. (1996). Law, social policy, and violence: The impact of regional cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 961-978.
- Cohen, T. (16 June 2010). ‘Honour Killings’ on the rise in Canada: Expert. CanWest News. Don Mills, Ont.

- Cohen, D. & Nisbett, R. E. (1994). Self-protection and the culture of honor. Explaining southern violence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 551-567.
- Cohen, D., Nisbett, R. E., Bowdle, B. F., & Schwarz, N. (1996). Insult, aggression, and the southern culture of honor: An “experimental ethnography”. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 945-960.
- Collins, P.H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment 2nd ed.* New York and London: Routledge.
- Connelly, F.M., Clandinin, D.J. (1990) Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 19(5), 2-14.
- Cox, C.A. (1998). *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process.* London, England: Sage.
- Daiute, C. and Lightfoot, C. (2004) *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Das A.K., & Kemp, S. F. (1997). Between two worlds: Counselling South Asian Americans. *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*, 25(1), 23-33.
- Das, V. (2010). Listening to voices: An interview with Veena Das by Kim Turcot DiFruscia. *Alterities*, 7(1), 136-145.

- Dasgupta, S.D. ed. *A Patchwork Shawl: Chronicles of South Asian Women in America*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Dasgupta S.D. (1998). Gender roles and cultural continuity in the Asian Indian immigrant community in the U.S. *Sex Roles* 38(11-12). 953-974.
- Das Gupta, M. (1995). What is Indian about you? A gendered, transitional approach to ethnicity. *Gender and Society*, 11(5). 572-596.
- Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed, pp. 1-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011). *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Desai, S. & Andrist, L. (2010). Gender scripts and age at marriage in India. *Demography*, 47 (3), 667-687.
- Diener, E & Chan, M. (2011). Happy people live longer: Subjective well-being contributes to health and longevity. *Applied Psychology: Health and Wellbeing*, 3, 1-43.
- Dommaraju, P. (2016). Divorce and separation in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42 (2), 195-223.
- Domestic Violence Death Review Committee (2016). *Domestic Violence Death Review Committee Annual Report 2012*. Office of the Chief Coroner. Retrieved Oct 19, 2018, from <http://www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/sites/default/files/content/mcscs/docs/ec165340.pdf>.

- Donner, H. (2002). One's own marriage: Love marriages in a Calcutta neighbourhood. *South Asia Research*, 22 (1), 79-94.
- D'Souza, J. (2015, May 28). Indian caste system in Canada called 'a disease' worse than racism. CBC News. Retrieved Oct 16, 2017, from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/125tanfo/british-columbia/125tanfo-caste-system-in-canada-called-a-disease-worse-than-racism-1.3090441>.
- Dupuis, S. (1999). Naked truths: Towards a reflexive methodology in leisure research. *Leisure Sciences*, 21, 43-64.
- Dyson, T., Cassen, R. & Visaria, L. (Eds.) (2004). Twenty-first century India: Population, economy, human development, and the environment. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ellwood, D.T. (2000). The impact of the earned income tax credit and social policy reforms on work, marriage, and living arrangements. *National Tax Journal*, 53, (4), 1063-1105.
- England, K.V.L. (1994), Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality and feminist research, *Professional Geographer*, 46(1), pp. 80-9.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press
- Fanon, F. (1994). On national culture. In P. Williams & L. Chisman (Eds), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*, (pp. 36-52). New York: Columbia University Press.
- FemNorthNet. (2016). How colonization affects women. Resource Development in Northern Communities: Local Women Matter #4 Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.
- Ferro, M. (1997). *Colonization: A Global History*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Finlayson, L. (2016). *An introduction to feminism*. United Kingdom, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fixmer, N., & Wood, J.T. (2005). The personal is *still* political: Embodied politics in third wave politics. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 28 (2), 237-257.
- Foucault, M. (1973). *The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception*. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1986). Nietzsche, genealogy, history. In Rabinow, P. (Ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth: Peregrine.
- Foucault, M. (1988). Technologies of the self. In Martin, L., Gutman, H., & Hutton, P. (Eds.) *Technologies of the Self*. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (Alan Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1975).
- Foucault, M. (1998). What is an author? In Rabinow, P. (Ed.) *Michel Foucault, Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology, the Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984, Vol II*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (1994). Entretien avec Michel Foucault. In *Dits et Ecrits vol II*. Paris: Gallmard. (Original work published in 1971).
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. London and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1966).
- Foucault, M. (1977). Power and strategies. In Gordan (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

- Foucault, M. (1980). Prison Talk, In C. Gordan (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books
- Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (4). 777-795.
- Frank, G. (2000). *Venues on wheels: Two decades of dialogue on disability, biography, and being female in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Franz, C. E., & Stewart, A. J. (Eds.). (1994). *Women creating lives: Identities, resilience, and resistance*. Boulder, CO: Westview
- Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial theory*. New York, NJ: Columbia University Press.
- German, M & Banerjee, P. (2011). *Migration, Technology, and Transculturation: A Global Perspective*. St. Charles: Lindenwood University Press.
- Ghurye, G. S. (2005). *Caste and race in India* (6th edition). Mumbai: Popular Prakashan Ltd. (Original work published 1932).
- Gill, A. (2009). Honour killing and the quest for justice in black and minority ethnic communities in the UK. Retrieved Oct 19, 2018, from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2009/Expert%20Paper%20EGMGPL%20_Aisha%20Gill%20revised_.pdf.
- Gilmore, L. (1994). *Autobiographies: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-representation*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Glover, T. D. (2003). Taking the narrative turn: The value of stories in leisure research. *Leisure/Loisir*, 26(1), 145-167.
- Godbey, G. (2008). *Leisure in your life: New perspectives*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing Inc.

- Gordon, C. (Ed). (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 Michel Foucault*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gorke, C. (2015). *The role of advertising in Indian women's desire to be fair*. Hamburg: Anchor Academic Publishing.
- Green, E. (1998). Women doing friendship: An analysis of women's leisure as a site of identity construction, empowerment, and resistance. *Leisure Studies*, 17(3), 171-185.
- Greenhalgh, T. and Hurwitz, B. (1998) *Narrative Based Medicine*. London: BMJ Books.
- Greiger, S. N. G. (1986). Women's life histories: Method and content. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 11, 334-351.
- Grewal, I. (2006), Gender, culture and empire: postcolonial US feminist scholarship, *Feminist Studies*, 32(2), pp. 380-94.
- Grey, M. (2010). From the tundra to the boardroom and everywhere in between: Politics and the changing roles of Inuit women in the Arctic. In Susack, C. et al. (Eds.) *Indigenous Women and Feminism- Politics, Activism, Culture* pp. 21-28. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquires. *Education Resources Information Center Annual Review Paper*, 29, 75-91.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigm in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guba, H. & Karolak, M. (2015). Veiling and blogging: Social media as sites of identity negotiation and expression among Saudi women. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 16(2), 115-127.

- Hall, C. *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in English Immigration 1830-1867*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M Wetherell, M., S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Ed.), *Discourse Theory and Practice: A reader*. London and Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Handa, A. (2003). *Of Silk Saris and Mini-skirts: South Asian Girls Walk the Tightrope of Culture*. Toronto: Women's Press.
- Harrison, B. (2004). Photographic visions and narrative inquiry. In M. Bamberg & M. Andrews (Eds.) *Considering Counter-Narratives inquiry*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hemmingway J.L. (1996). Emancipating leisure: The recovery of freedom in leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28 (1). 27-43.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2007). The practice of feminist in-depth interviewing. In S.N. Hesse-Beber & P.L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A primer*, (pp. 1-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hey, V. (1997). *The company she keeps: An ethnography of girls' friendships*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hibbins, R. (2013). Reconstructing masculinities, migration, and transnational leisure spaces. In V. Freysinger, S. Shaw, K. Henderson, & D. Bialeschki (Eds.). *Leisure, Women and Gender* (pp.451-463). State College, PA: Venture.
- Hodson, H.V. (1969). *The Great Divide: British, India, Pakistan*. London: Hutchinson.
- Holst, P. K. & Rutherford, A. (1986). *A double colonization colonial and post-colonial women's writing*. Dangaroo Press.
- Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Boston: South End Press.

- Hutchinson, S.L., Loy, D. P., Kleiber, D. A. & Dattilo, J. (2003). Leisure as a coping resource: Variations in coping with traumatic injury and illness. *Leisure Sciences*, 25 (2-3), 143-161.
- Iwasaki, Y. & Mannell, R. C. (2010). Situational and personality influences on intrinsically motivated leisure behavior: Interaction effects and cognitive processes. *Leisure Sciences*, 21(4). 287-306.
- Iwasaki, Y., & Mannell, R. C. (2000). Hierarchical dimensions of leisure stress coping. *Leisure Sciences*, 22(3), 163-181.
- Iwasaki, Y. & Schneider, I. (2003). Leisure, stress and coping: An evolving area of inquiry. *Leisure Sciences*, 25, 107-113.
- Iwasaki, Y., Coyle, C., Shank, J., Messina, E., Porter, H., Salzer, M.,...Koons, G. (2014) Role of leisure in recover from mental illness. *American Journal of Psychiatric Rehabilitation*, 17(2), 147-165.
- Jaggar, A. M. (1988). *Feminist politics and human nature*. Totowa, NJ: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Jeffery, P., Jeffery. R. & Lyon, A. (1988). "When did you last see your mother? Aspects of female autonomy in rural North India." In Caldwell, J., Hill, A., & Hull, V. (Eds.) *Micro-approaches to Demographic Research*. London: Kogan Page International.
- Jeffery, R., & Jeffery, P. (1997). *Population, Gender and Politics: Demographic Change in Rural North India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffery, P. (2014). Supply-and-demand demographics: Dowry, daughter aversion and marriage markets in contemporary north India. *Contemporary South Asia*, 22 (2), 171-188.
- John M. E. (1998). Feminism in India and the west: Recasting a relationship. *Cultural Dynamics*, 10(2). 197-209.

- Johnson, C. & Parry, D. (2015). *Fostering social justice through qualitative inquiry: A methodological guide*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Joshi, V. (2000). *Indian Daughters Abroad: Growing Up in Australia*. New Delhi: Sterling.
- Karasz, A. (2005). Marriage, depression and illness: Sociosomatic models in a south immigrant community. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 17*(2). 161-180.
- Kaur, R. (2007). Declining juvenile sex ratios: Economy, society and technology explanations from field evidence. *Margins- The Journal of Applied Economic Research, 1* (1): 231-245.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender and Society, 2*(3), 274-290.
- Keane, D. (2016). *Caste-based discrimination in international human right law*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kendall, G. & Wickham, G. (1999). 'my head is spinning; doesn't history have to be more orderly than this?' (1999). In Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. *Introducing Qualitative Methods: Using Foucault's methods* (pp. 21-56). London: Sage.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S. C., & Yoon, G. (Eds.) (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: Theory method and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- King, D. (2008). The personal is patrilineal: Namus as sovereignty. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 15*, 317-342.
- Klasen, S. & Wink, C. (2002). A turning point in gender bias in mortality? An update on the number of missing women. *Population and Development Review, 28* (2), 285-312.
- Kleiber, D. A., Brock, S.C., Dattilo, J., Lee, Y. & Caldwell, L. (1995). The relevance of leisure in an illness experience: Realities of spinal cord injury. *Journal of Leisure Research, 27*, 283-299.

- Kronby, M. C. (2010). *Canadian Family Law*. Mississauga, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd.
- Krips, H. (2010). The politics of the gaze: Foucault, Lacan and Zizek, *Culture Unbound*, 2, 91-102.
- Laadliyan (2013). Celebrating & empowering daughters. <http://laadliyan.com>
- Lalonde, R.N., & Giguere, B. (2009). When might the two cultural worlds of second generation biculturals collide? *The Bridge*, 2(2). 58-62.
- Langness, L. L. (1965). *The life history in anthropological science*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Langness, L. L., & Frank, G. (1981). *Lives: An anthropological approach to biography*. Novato, CA: Chandler & Sharp.
- Lather, P. (1998). Feminist perspectives on empowering research methodologies. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(6), 569-581.
- Lather, P., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2013). Introduction: Post-qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(6), 629–633.
- Layland, E.K., Hill, B.J. & Nelson, L. J. (2016). Freedom to explore the self: How emerging adults use leisure to develop identity. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 1-14.
- Leavy, P. (2012). Fiction and the feminist academic novel. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18(6), 516-522.
- Legg, S. (2007). Beyond the European province: Foucault and postcolonialism. In J.W. Crampton & S. Elden (Eds.) *Space Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Leonard, T.M. ed. (2006). Caste Systems. In *Encyclopedia of the Developing World Volume 1 A-E Index*, p. 252-6. London and New York: Routledge.

- Lewis, R. & Mills, S. (2003). *Feminist postcolonial theory: A reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. A. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lindenbaum, S. (1981). Implications for women of changing marriage transactions in Bangladesh. *Studies in Family Planning*, 12, 394-401.
- Lourenco, I., & Cachado, R. (2012). Hindu transnational families: Transformation and continuity in diaspora families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 43(1). 53-X.
- Lundberg, S. & Pollak, R. A. (2015). The evolving role of marriage: 1950-2010. *The Future of Children*, 25, (2), 29-50.
- Maira, S. (2002). *Desis in the house: Indian American youth culture in New York City*. USA: Temple University Press.
- Malhotra, A. (2006). The body as a metaphor for the nation: Caste, masculinity, and femininity in the satyarth 133tanfor of swami dayananda 133tanford133. In A. A. Powell & S. Lambert-Hurley (Eds.), *Rhetoric and Reality: Gender and the Colonial Experience in South Asia*. New York and New Dehli: Oxford.
- Mann, S. (1998). *East meets west: Perceptions of Sikh women living in Canada* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
- Marris, P. & Thornham, S. (Eds.) (2002) *Media Studies: A Reader*. Washington Square, New York: New York University Press.
- McAdams, D. P., Josselson, R., & Lieblich (Eds.). (2001). *Turns in the road: Narrative studies of lives of transition*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- McCall, M. M., & Wittner, J. (1990). The good news about life history. In H. S. Becker & M. M. McCall (Eds.), *Symbolic interaction and cultural studies* (pp. 46-89). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- McCorkel, J.A. and Myers, K. (2003), What difference does difference make? Position and privilege in the field, *Qualitative Sociology* 26(2), pp. 199-231.
- McKeown, J. (2015). *Single and ready to mingle? A feminist exploration of singlehood, dating and leisure*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada.
- McGowan, J., Cornelissen, S., & Nel, P. (2006). *Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa*. Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- Mehrotra, G.R. (2016). South Asian women and marriage: Experiences of a cultural script. *Gender Issues*, 33. 350-371.
- Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell E. J. (2015). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Meyers, D. T. (1997). *Feminist social thought: A reader*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Miller, W. I. (1993). *Humiliation and other essays on honor, social discomfort, and violence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Min-ha, T. (1989), *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN.
- Mohanty, C. (1994). *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*. In P. Williams & L. Chisman (Eds), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*, (pp.196-220). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). "Under Western eyes." In *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Mohanty, C.T. (1991), "Under Western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses", in Mohanty, C.T., Russo, A. and Torres, L. (Eds), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, pp. 51-80.
- Mohanty, C.T. (2003a), "'Under Western eyes' revisited: feminist solidarity through anticapitalistic struggles", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28 No. 2, pp. 499-535.
- Mohanty, C.T. (2003b), *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Mowl, G., & Towner, J. (1995). Women, gender, leisure and place: Towards a more "humanistic" geography of women's leisure. *Leisure Studies*, 14 (2). 102-116.
- Moyano, M. E. (2000). *The autobiography of Maria Elena Moyano: The life and death of a Peruvian activist* (D.M. Tupac, Ed. And Annot.) Gainesville: University Press at Florida.
- Mucina, M.K. (2015). *Transgressing boundaries of izzat: Voices of second-generation Punjabi women surviving and transgressing "honour" related violence in Canada* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Toronto.
- Muldoon, M. (2018). *Gazing back: A feminist postcolonial lens of tourism in the townships of South Africa* (Doctorial dissertation). UW Space.
- Naidoo, J.C. (1984). "South Asian Women in Canada: Self-Perceptions, Socializations, Achievement Aspirations." In *South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic*. Ed. R. N. Kanungo. Montreal QC: Kala Bharati. 123-142.
- Naidu, M. (2011). Indian women in marriage: When the sacred marriage thread becomes a noose. *Agenda*, 25(1). 84-92.

- Narayan, K. (1997), "How native is a 'native' anthropologist?", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 95 No. 3, pp. 671-86.
- Narayan, U. (2000), "Essence of culture and a sense of history: a feminist critique of cultural essentialisms", in Narayan, U. and Harding, S. (Eds), *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, pp. 7-16.
- Nelson, D. (2014 January, 30). Delhi to reopen inquiry in to massacre of Sikhs in 1984 riots. *The Telegraph Media Group Limited*. Retrieved Oct, 17, 2017, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/10607451/Delhi-to-reopen-inquiry-in-to-massacre-of-Sikhs-in-1984-riots.html>.
- Netting, N.S. (2006). Two-lives, one partner: Indo-Canadian youth between love and arranged marriages. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 37(1). 129-146.
- Nisbett, R. E. & Cohen, D. (1996). *Culture of honor: The Psychology of Violence in the South*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Nkrumah, K. (1963). *Africa must unite*. London.
- O'Farrell, C. (2005). *Michel Foucault*. London: Sage.
- O'Farrell (1997). *Foucault: The legacy*. Queensland University of Technology.
- Olesen, V. (2005). Early millennial feminist qualitative research: Challenges and contours. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research*, 3rd ed. (pp.235-278). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2008), International management meets the 'rest of the world', *Academy of Management Review*, 34 (3), pp. 964-74.

- Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2012). Postcolonial feminist research: challenges and complexities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 31 (5/6), 573-591.
- Palriwala, R. (1999). "Traditiorary residents, invisible workers: Rethinking locality and incorporation in a Rajasthan village." In Sangari, K. & Chakravarti, U. (Eds.) *From Myths to Markets: Essays on Gender*, 237-273. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Pande, R. (2015). 'I arranged my own marriage': Arranged marriages and post-colonial feminism. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 22 (2). 172-187.
- Parry, A. & Doan, R. E. (1994). *Story re-visions: Narrative therapy in the Postmodern world*. The Guilford Press, New York.
- Parry D. C., & Johnson, C. W. (2007). Contextualizing leisure research to encompass complexity in lived leisure experience: The need for creative analytic practice. *Leisure Sciences*, 29 (2), 119-130.
- Parashar, S. (2016). Feminism and postcolonialism: (En)gendering encounters. *Postcolonial Studies*, 19 (4), 371-377.
- Patai, D. (1991), US academics and Third World women: is ethical research possible? in Gluck, S.B. and Patai, D. (Eds), *Women's Words: Feminist Practice of Oral History*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 137-53.
- Patel, A. (2014, May 31). Breaking taboos: When South Asian women choose divorce. HuffPost Living Canada. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2014/05/31/south-asians-divorce-taboo_n_4178424.html.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Perkin, J. (2003). *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Peterson, K.H. & Rutherford, A. (1988). *A Double Colonization: Colonial and Post-Colonial Women's Writing*. Dangaroo Press.
- Pink Ladoo Project. (2015). The mission. <https://www.pinkladoo.org>.
- Plummer, K.(1995) *Telling Sexual Stories*. London: Routledge.
- Plummer K. (1983). *Documents of life: An introduction to the problems and literature of a humanistic method*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Ponde, M.P. & Santana, V.S. (2000). Participation in leisure activities: Is it a protective factor for women's mental health? *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32 (4), 457-472.
- Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Powell, A.A., Lambert-Hurley, S. (2006). *Rhetoric and reality: Gender and colonial experience in South Asia*. New York and New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Prakash, R. & Singh, A. (2013). Who marries whom? Changing mate selection preferences in urban India and emerging implications on social institutions. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 33(2), 205-227.
- Preston, V., & Cox., J. (1999). Immigrants and employment: A comparison of Montreal and Toronto between 1981and 1996. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 22, 87-112.
- Purdy, S. (2015). Surveillance, knowledge and inequality: Understanding power through Foucault and beyond. *The Hilltop Review*, 8 (1), 3-13.
- Randall, M. (2003). *When I look into the mirror and see you: Women, terror, and resistance*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Rao, N. (2012). Breadwinners and homemakers: Migration and changing conjugal expectations in rural Bangladesh. *Journal of Development Studies*, 48 (1), 26-40.
- Rao, S. (2007). The globalization of Bollywood: An ethnography of non-elite audience in India. *The Communication Review*, 10(1). 57-76.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reinharz, S., & Chase, S. E. (2002). Interviewing women. In J. E. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 221-238). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Regan, P.C., Lakhanpal, S. & Anguiano, C. (2012). Relationship outcomes in Indian-American love-based and arranged marriages. *Psychological Reports*, 110 (3). 915-924.
- Reid, C. (2004). Advancing women's social justice agenda: A feminist action research framework. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(3), 1-15.
- Ribbens, J., & Edwards, R. (Eds.). (1998). *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public knowledge and private lives*. London: Sage.
- Richardson, L. (1997). *Fields of play: Constructing an academic life*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Richardson, L. (2000). Evaluating Ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6, 253-255.
- Riessman, C. (1993). *Qualitative Studies in Social Work Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Riessman, C. K. (2002). Analysis of personal narratives. In J. E. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 695-710). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Riessman, C. K. (2005). Narrative analysis. In: *Narrative, Memory, & Everyday Life*. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, pp.17.

- Riessman, K.C. & Speedy J. (2007). Narrative inquiry in the psychotherapy profession In *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry; Mapping the Methodology*. Sage publications.
- Robertson, R. W. The relationship between leisure and happiness. *World Leisure Journal*, 58(4). 242-244.
- Rodriguez, Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A.S. R., & Fischer, A. H. (2000). The role of honor-related values in the elicitation, experience, and communication of pride, shame and anger: Spain and the Netherlands compared. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 833-844.
- Rodriguez, Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A.S. R., & Fischer, A. H. (2002a). The role of honor concerns in emotional reactions to offences. *Cognition and Emotion*, 16, 143-163.
- Rodriguez, Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A.S. R., & Fischer, A. H. (2002b). Honor in the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. *Journal of Cross- Cultural Psychology*, 33, 16-36.
- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Fischer, A. H., Manstead, A.S.R., & Zaalberg, R. (2008). Attack, disapproval, or withdrawal? The role of honor in anger and shame responses to being insulted. *Cognition and Emotion*, 22, 1471-1498.
- Rossin-Slater, M. (2015). *Signing up new fathers: Do paternity establishment initiatives increase marriage, parental investment, and child well-being?* University of California, Santa Barbara. https://web.stanford.edu/~mrossin/RossinSlater_paternity.pdf.
- Rose, G. (1995). The interstitial perspective: A review essay on Homi Bhabha's, location of culture. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13, 365-373.
- Roseneil, S. (2012). Using biographical narrative and life story methods to research women's movements: FEMCIT. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 35 (3), 129-131.

- Roy, T. (2016). *The East India Company: The World's Most Powerful Corporation*. Penguin Books.
- Rozario, S. (2009). Dowry in rural Bangladesh: An intractable problem? In Bradley, T., Tomalin E., & Subramaniam, M. (Eds.) *Dowry: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice*. London; Zed Books.
- Rupp, L. J. & Taylor, V. (1999). Forging feminist identity in an international movement: A collective identity approach to Twentieth Century Feminism. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 24(2), 363-386.
- Said, E.W. (1978). *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Saldana, J. (2008). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Samuel, L. (2010). Mating, dating and marriage: Intergenerational cultural retention and the construction of diasporic identities among south Asian immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31(1). 95-110.
- Sangari, K. & Vaid, S. (1990). *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*. New Jersey, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Schwandt, T. (2001). *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2015). *The Sage dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. (1991). The evidence of experience. *Critical Inquiry*, 17, 773-97.
- Sen, S. (2017). *Anglo-Indian women in transition: Pride, prejudice and predicament*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sev'er, A., & Yurdakul, G. (2001). Culture of honor, culture of change: A feminist analysis of honor killings in rural Turkey. *Violence Against Women*, 7, 964-998.

- Shariff, F. (2008). The liminality of culture: Second generation South Asian Canadian identity and the potential for postcolonial texts. *Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 5 (2), 67-80.
- Simmons, A. (1998). Racism and immigration policy. In V. Satzewich (Ed.), *Racism and social inequality in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational.
- Singh, M. D. & Bhayana, R.M. (2014). Straddling three worlds: Stress, culture and adaptation in South Asian couples. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 37 (1). 45-57.
- Spelman, E. (1988). *Inessential woman*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Spielvogel, J.J. (2015). *Western Civilization: A Brief History Volume II Since 1500*. Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Spivak, G.C. (1994). Can the subaltern speak? In P. Williams & L. Chisman (Eds), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*, (pp.66-111). New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1988).
- Spivak, G.C. (1985), "Subaltern studies: deconstructing historiography", in Guha, R. (Ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 330-63.
- Spivak, G.C. (1990) in Harasym, S. (Ed.), *The Post-colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Spivak, G.C. (1996) in Landry, D. and Maclean, G. (Eds), *The Spivak Reader*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Spivak, G.C. (1999), *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Suarez-Orozco, C., & Qin, D.B. (2006). Gendered perspectives in psychology: Immigrant origin youth. *International Migration Review*, 40 (1). 165-198.

- Sweatman, M., & Tirone, S. (2010). Leisure, privilege and young Canadians' international community experiences: A narrative study. *Loisir et Societe/ Society and Leisure*, 33(1). 113-135.
- St. Pierre, E. A. (2013). The posts continue: Becoming. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(6), 646–657.
- Statistics Canada. (2017). Focus on geography series, 2016 census. *Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-404-X2016001*. Ottawa, Ontario. Data products, 2016 Census.
- Statistics Canada. (2011). Immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada. *Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011001*. Version Updated September 2016. Ottawa.
- Statistics Canada (n.d.). Immigration population by place of birth and period of immigration (2006 census). *Statics Canada*. Retrieved Oct. 16, 2017, from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo24a-eng.htm>.
- Statistics Canada (2007, July 16). The East Indian community in Canada. Statistics Canada. Retrieved Oct. 16, 2017, from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007004-eng.htm>.
- Stephens, J. & McCallum, R. (1998). *Retelling stories, framing cultures: traditional story and metanarratives in children's literature*. Garland Publishing, NY.
- Stewart, F. H. (1994). Honor. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Stretton, T. & Kesselring, K. (2010). *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World*. Mc-Gill-Queen's University Press.
- Stone-Mediatore, S. (1998). Chandra Mohanty and the revaluing of "experience". *Hypatia*, 13(2).

- Talbani, A. & Hasanali, P. (2000). Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23(5). 615-627.
- Tamboukou, M. (2003a). *Women, Education and the Self: A Foucauldian Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Tamboukou, M. (2003b). Genealogy and ethnography: finding the rhythm. In Tamboukou, M. & Ball, S. J. (Eds.) *Dangerous Encounters: Genealogy and Ethnography*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Tenhunen, S. (2007). The gift of money: Rearticulating tradition and market economy in rural west Bengal. *Modern Asian Studies*, 42 (5), 1035-1055.
- Thomas, W. L. & Znaniecki, R. (1927). *The Polish peasant in Europe and America* (Vol. 2). New York: Alfred A. Knopf. (Original work published in 1918).
- Thompson, P. (2000). *The voice of the past: Oral history* (3rd ed.) New York: Oxford University Press. (Original Work published in 1978).
- Tickner, A. J. (2001). Patriarchy. *Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.
- Tirone, S.C., & Shaw, S.M. (1997). At the center of their lives: Indo Canadian women, their families and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 29(2), 225-244.
- Tirone, S. (1997b). Leisure, ethnic diversity and disability: The lives of South Asian Canadians. *Journal of Leisurability*, 24(3). 23-37.
- Tirone, S. (1999/2000). Racism, indifference, and the leisure experiences of South Asian Canadian teens. *Leisure/Loisir: The journal of the Canadian Association of Leisure Studies*, 24(1). 89-114.

- Tirone, S., & Pedlar, A. (2000). Understanding the leisure experience of a minority ethnic group: South-Asian teens and young adults in Canada. *Loisir et Societe/Society and Leisure*, 23 (1). 145-169.
- Tirone, S., & Pedlar, A. (2005). Leisure, place and diversity: The experiences of ethnic minority young adults. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 34 (2), 32-48.
- Tirone, S. & Goodberry, A. (2011). Leisure, biculturalism, and second-generation Canadians. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 43 (3). 427-444.
- Tyagi, R. (2014). Understanding postcolonial feminism in relation with postcolonial and feminist theories. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 1 (2). 45-50.
- United Nations (2010, Mar 4). Impunity for domestic violence, ‘honour killings’ cannot continue- UN official. Retrieved Oct 19, 2018, from <https://news.un.org/en/story/2010/03/331422>.
- Van Manen, M. (1997). *Researching lived experience: Human Science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. London, ON: Althouse Press.
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42 (4). 720-742.
- Vatuk, S. (2007). “The ‘cancer of dowry’ in Indian Muslim marriages: Themes in popular rhetoric from the south Indian Muslim press.” In Hasan, M (Ed) *Living with Secularism: The Destiny of India’s Muslims*, 155-175. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Visaria, L. (2004). “Mortality Trends and the Health Transition”. In Dyson, T., Cassen, R., & Visaria, L. (Eds.) *Twenty-First Century India: Population, Economy, Human Development and the Environment*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Wang, M. & Wong, S. (2014). Happiness and leisure across countries: Evidence from international survey data. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 15(1), 85-118.
- Watson, B., & Scraton, S. (2001). Confronting whiteness? Researching the leisure lives of south Asian mothers. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 10 (3). 265-277.
- Watson, L. C. & Watson-Franke, M. B. (1985). *Interpreting life histories: An anthropological inquiry*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Welchman, L. & Hossain, S. (2005) *Honour: Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence Against Women*. London, New York: Zed Books Ltd.
- White, M. (1992). Deconstruction and therapy, In D. Epston & M. White (Eds), *Experience, contradiction, Narrative and imagination: selected papers of David Epston & Michael White, 1989-1991*. Dulwich Centre Publications, Adelaide.
- White, S. C. (2016). Patriarchal investments: Marriage, dowry and the political economy of development in Bangladesh. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47 (2), 247-272.

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Research Question 1: What do the married SGEI Canadian women's narratives tell us about leisure for SGEI married women in Canada?

Leading Question 1A: Tell me what your leisure means to you

Follow-up questions:

- A. Tell me a story about a time you were engaged in leisure?
 - a. What about this made it leisure?
 - b. Where were you?
 - c. Who were you with?
 - d. What feelings were you feeling?
- B. Tell me a story of a time you were motivated to be engaged in activity?
 - a. Explain how this was leisure to you
- C. Tell me a story of when you felt your leisure was inhibited?
 - a. Why did you feel inhibited/restricted?

LQ1B : Tell me a story of your leisure growing up.

Follow-up questions:

- A. Who did you participant with?
 - a. Who were your friends growing up?
 - b. Explain your friend group composition (boys, girls, East Indians, etc.)
- B. Who influenced your leisure?
- C. Where were you?
- D. How old were you?

LQ1C: Tell me a story about your family's leisure

Follow- up questions:

- A. Tell me a story about your mothers leisure?
- B. Tell me a story about your father's leisure?
- C. Tell me a story about your siblings leisure?
- D. Tell me a story about your cousin's leisure?

RQ2: How does being single or married make a difference in the leisure lives of SGEI

Canadian Women?

LQ2A: Tell me about your leisure pursuits before marriage.

Follow-up questions:

- A. Tell me a story about a time you were engaged in leisure that your family would consider “taboo”
- a. What makes it taboo?
 - b. Who did you learn that the activity was “taboo” from?
 - c. How old were you?
 - d. Have you done this again or just once? Why?
 - i. If you did it again, what did you do to make sure your family did not find out?

LQ2B: Tell me about a time you understood what leisure pursuits were you not “allowed” to do.

Follow-up questions:

- A. Tell me a story of a time you knew a activity was not accepted well by your family.
- a. Where you told the consequences?
 - b. How old were you?
 - c. Tell me about your peers at this age, did they participant in this activity?
 - d. What ways did you ensure your family wouldn't find out?
 - i. What were you avoiding by doing this?
- B. Tell me a story of when you were told/discovered the norms and rules of your family.
- a. Who were the people that set these norms and rules?
 - b. What were the consequences?
 - c. In what ways did you resist/adapt to these expectations?

LQ2C: Tell me about your perceptions of marriage as a single women

- A. Take me back to what you used to picture your life after marriage when you were young.
- d. Youngest you can remember?
 - e. 5 years before you married?
 - f. A year before marriage?
 - g. What did you see? Who was around you? Where were you?
 - h. What were you doing?

LQ2D: What leisure pursuits (if any) helped you and your husband to meet?

Follow-up questions:

- A. Tell me the story of how you met your husband.
- a. What leisure pursuits did you do together to get to know each other?
 - b. How were these significant for your relationship? Why?
 - c. What leisure activities (if any) do you and your husband maintain from before marriage to now?

LQ2E: Tell me what your expectations of leisure were after being married.

Follow-up questions:

- A. Tell me a story of when you knew your life would be different after marriage.
 - a. What happened?
 - b. Do you picture yourself doing something you were not “allowed” to do before marriage?
 - c. What can you do now that you were restricted to do before marriage?
- B. Tell me a story about your leisure after marriage.
 - a. What is the same? What’s changed?
 - b. Who is involved?
 - c. What does your friend group look like?
 - d. What is your friend composition (age, boys, girls, East Indians, etc.)
- C. Compare your thoughts as a single woman to now:
 - a. Has your perceptions of how you spend your time changed?
 - b. What is exactly how you pictured it?

RQ3: What are the married SGEI Canadian women’s narratives around gender roles and leisure?

LQ3A: Tell me a story of when you were the model “good married girl”

Follow-up questions:

- A. What does a “good married girl” *do* in her leisure?
- B. What shouldn’t she *do* for leisure?

LQ3B: Tell me what a “good married girl” means to your family and community.

Follow-up questions:

- A. What does a “good married girl” *do* in her leisure?
- B. What shouldn’t she *do* for leisure?

LQ3C: Tell me a story of a married woman in your life that to you is the model “good married girl”

Follow-up questions:

- A. Who is she?
- B. Explain what makes her the “good married girl”?

LQ3D: Tell me a story of a time you choose against doing a leisure activity?

Follow-up questions:

- A. Who did you do this for?
- B. What did you gain (if anything) from rejecting participation?

LQ3E: Tell me a story of where a man in your life was able to engage in “taboo” leisure without consequence.

Follow-up questions:

- A. What consequences were they avoiding?
- B. What ways (if any) are women under scrutiny for doing the same activity?

LQ3F: Tell me a story of a time that you spent time doing something that could be “taboo” to family or the community after marriage.

Follow-up questions:

- A. In what ways (if any) do you maintain/resist/adapt/challenge the these norms?
- B. What does the East Indian community think about women who freely engage in leisure?

Appendix B

Consent Information Letter

Title of the study: Young, Wild* and (somewhat) Free: A Narrative Exploration of Married Second-generation East Indian Canadian Women and Their Relationship with Leisure

Faculty Supervisor: Corey Johnson, PhD, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. Phone: 519-888-4567, ext. 32716, Email: corey.johnson@uwaterloo.ca

Student Investigator: Jasmine Nijjar, BA, Departments of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. Phone: 1-519-546-7074, Email: [jniijjar@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:jnijjar@uwaterloo.ca)

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the study is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask the researcher prior to consenting to the study. You will be provided with a copy of the information and consent form if you choose to participate in the study.

What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a research study about examining the narratives of married second-generation Canadian East Indian women's relationship with leisure. The purpose of the study is to understand the second-generation Canadian East Indian women's narratives about leisure, whether being single or married makes a difference in their leisure lives, and how societal gender expectations impact leisure experiences. Past research suggests that second-generation Canadian East Indian women are more autonomous in marriage choices than previous generations. However, despite more autonomy, women are pressured to uphold traditional East Indian gender roles within a modern Western context that could influence their leisure lifestyle.

This study is being undertaken as part of my (Jasmine Nijjar) MA research. I plan to examine women's narratives, create composite characters and feature them in a dialogue based vignettes to feature similarities, tensions and contrasts in experiences.

I. Your responsibilities as a participant

What does participation involve?

Participation in the study will consist of attending an single or series of interviews with the investigator that is expected to last at least 60-90 minutes. The interview will be held in a mutually agreed upon public location between the participant and researcher. The interview will consist of a discussion of topics of leisure, family, marriage, and gender roles. The types of questions that I will ask include: What does leisure mean to you? What are you family's leisure pursuits? What leisure pursuits did you participant in before marriage? What were your expectations of leisure after marriage? What are the gender expectations around being a good

Indian women? What societal gender expectations inhibits/motivates your engagement in leisure?

The session will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate transcript of the interview. With your permission, anonymous quotations may be used in publications and/or presentations. Given the potential of participants knowing each other, I will ask you to keep in confidence information that identifies or could potentially identify a participant and/or their comments.

Who may participant in the study?

In order to participate in the study you must be (1) a married women, who identity as East Indian, (2) parent(s) born in India, (3) born in Canada, (4) lives in the Toronto Greater Area, (5) 18-35 years old.

II. Your rights as a participant

Is participation in the study voluntary?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide to leave the study at any time by communicating this to the researcher. Any information you provided up to that point will not be used. You may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer. You can request your data be removed from the study up until May 2019 as it is not possible to withdraw your data once my thesis has been submitted. Please note that due to the creation of composite characters it may be difficult to remove all of your data.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

Participation in this study may provide an outlet to discuss personal experiences of less-talked about topics of gender roles, family and living in a Western context. This discussion can lead to conversations focused on triumph, appreciation, resistance, and challenges of personal experiences.

What are the risks associated with the study?

There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participation in this study. If a question, or the discussion, makes you uncomfortable, you can choose not to answer. See above for more details on voluntary participation.

Will my identity be known to others?

Since participants will refer others to the study, there is a chance of knowing more than one person in the study. However, pseudonyms will be used to ensure that identities and stories are kept confidential.

Will my information be kept confidential?

The information you share will be kept confidential. Identifying information will be removed from the transcription and replaced with pseudonyms. Also, the audio recordings will be deleted

after I defend my thesis (expected to be summer 2019). The transcripts and other electronic data will be retained for a minimum of 7 years, after which they will be destroyed. Data will be stored in a folder on my password protected laptop. Only I will have access to the study data. No identifying information will be used in my thesis or any presentations or publications based on this research. Although I will ask all participants to maintain confidentiality, I cannot guarantee that they will do so.

III. Questions, comments, or concerns

Who is sponsoring/funding this study?

This study is not sponsored or funded.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40485). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Jasmine Nijjar at 1-519-546-7074 or by email at jnijjar@uwaterloo.ca.

Jasmine Nijjar, BA
Department of Recreation and Leisure
University of Waterloo
519-546-7074
jnijjar@uwaterloo.ca

Corey Johnson, PhD
Department of Recreation and Leisure
University of Waterloo
519-888-4567, ext. 32716
corey.johnson@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix C

Consent Form

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the researcher or involved institution from their legal and professional responsibilities.

Title of the study: Young, wild* and (somewhat) free: A Narrative Exploration of Married Second-Generation East Indian Canadian Women and Their Relationship with Leisure

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study conducted by Jasmine Nijjar, under the supervision of Dr. Corey Johnson, Department of Recreation and Leisure, University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask questions related to the study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details.

I was informed that participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw this consent by informing the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40485). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Jasmine Nijjar at jnijjar@uwaterloo.ca

- I am aware the interview will be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis.
- I give permission for the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

I agree of my own free will to participate in the study.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date:

Researcher's/ Witness' signature _____

Date:

Appendix D

Participant Email

Hello (name of participant),

My name is *Jasmine Nijjar* and I am a MA student working under the supervisions of *Corey Johnson* in the *Recreation and Leisure* Department at the University of Waterloo. I am contacting you because a participant recently provided your name and contact details indicated you would be a good fit for my research study. In my research study, I examine the narratives surrounding second-generation married East Indian Canadian women's experiences of gender roles, marriage and leisure, living in a contemporary Western context.

Participation in this study involves a minimum of one 60-90 minute one-on-one audio recorded interview with me (researcher). The interviews will be conducted at a mutually agreed meeting spot. You will also be ask to refer a participant who satisfies the following recruitment details: 1) a married women, who identity as East Indian, (2) parent(s) born in India, (3) born in Canada, (4) lives in the Toronto Greater Area, (5) 18-35 years old.

I would like to assure you that the study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours.

If you are interested in participating, please reply back to me at this email, [jniijar@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:jnijjar@uwaterloo.ca). I will then work with you in deciding on a location for an interview and send you consent information form for your review.

Sincerely,

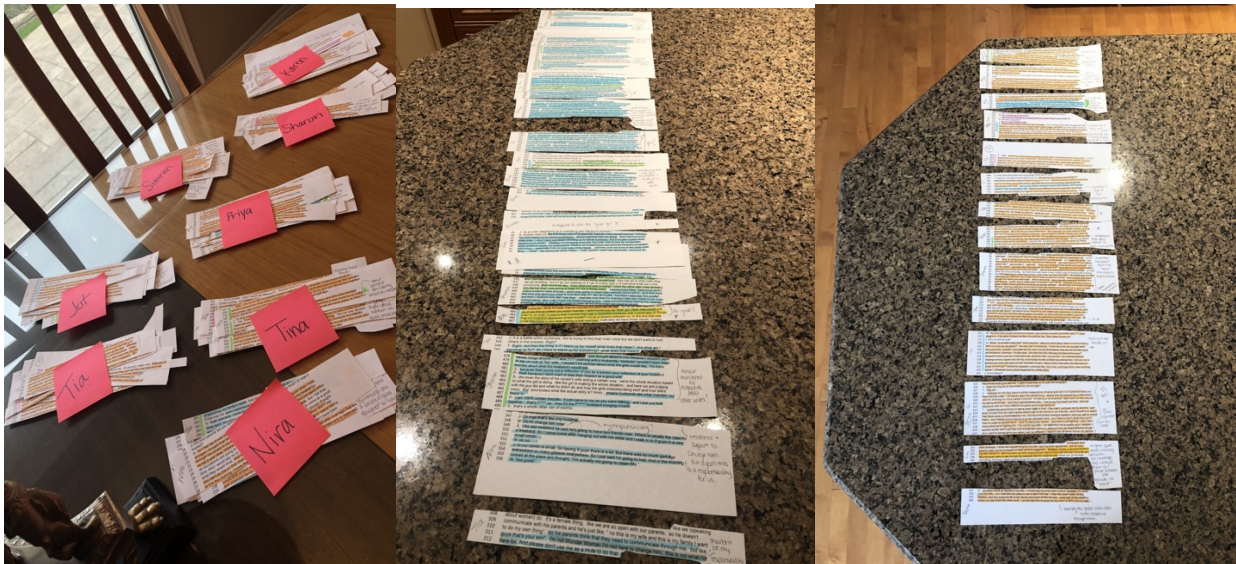
Jasmine Nijjar

Appendix E

Images of Data Analysis and Representation Processes



Four discourses (indicated by green, blue, pink and orange) are organized across eight participants.



Each discourse was then reviewed across eight participants (left) and organized into a dialogue between participants (two completed vignettes shown in the middle and right).

Appendix F

Procedural Memo

- 1) First, I carefully and intensively read, and reread each participants electronic transcription line-by-line (Berbary, 2015).
- 2) I created an electronic analytic memo for each participant and tracked “body of statements” within our conversation (e.g. clothes, travel, education etc.). Here I would note the similarities between participants and what was said. As I transcribed more interviews, I began to notice similar “body of statements” with different opinions and experiences (e.g. clothes- not allowed to wear shorts, clothes- no restrictions, etc.). I also added what/who said these. Doing this began to highlight the discourses present in narratives.
- 3) I then, compared each participant’s analytic memo for patterns and variability within narratives and documented them on a separate analytic memo.
- 4) There were 35 “body of statements” across eight participants transcriptions. To make the data more manageable, these 35 “body of statements” were synthesized, and reduced to 10 distinct “body of statements” across the transcriptions (e.g. “freedom”, “escape”, “judgment”). Next within these 10 “body of statements” I began to a) locate the pattern and its function, and ask where is power, what is its effects, function and objectives? This helped with locating discourse and asked some questions of the data.
- 5) I Organized the 10 “body of statements” to understand “who is speaking.” This illuminated the Other identity used to answer the research questions.
- 6) Next, I looked for, “where is the speaker speaking from?” Doing this provided me to understand the positions available to the narrator in the discourse and further deepening my understandings of power, navigation and negotiation.

7) I combined these ideas together and recognized 4 discourses of: “The Learned Gender Expectations of Married SGEI Canadian Women,” “The Performances of Expected Gender in Marriages,” “Relationship Between Leisure and the Construction of Expected Gender Roles,” and “Cultural Expectations and Implications of Leisure.”

Phase Two

8) Next, I assigned a colour to each of the four discourses and printed each participant transcription. Focusing on one discourse at a time, I highlighted these areas across the participant transcriptions. Due to the fluidity of discourse, many discourses overlapped in colours and further illuminated the multiple layers and complexities of power relations for married SGEI Canadian women within their marriages.

9) Next, I took each participant’s transcript, labeled the pages with their pseudonyms, cut and grouped all four colours. Each of the eight participants had four coloured groups that represented four discourses (see Appendix E)

10) I combined the same colours across participants and began individually looking for “body of statements” within each discourse “colour.” I noticed patterns, similarities across participants narratives and grouped them together. These groups reflected a variation of the previous “body of statements” however the highlighted discourse colour arrangement gave them additional meaning to women’s lives and their function. These groupings allowed me to *see* the complexities in patterns, differences and variations in participants narratives that inspired me to use a creative means to represent their narratives.