THE IMPACT OF SOURCE-COUNTRY GENDER INEQUALITY ON THE ACCULTURATION, STRUCTURAL INTEGRATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

THE IMPACT OF SOURCE-COUNTRY GENDER INEQUALITY ON THE ACCULTURATION, STRUCTURAL INTEGRATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

By

MAX STICK, B.A.(Hons.), M.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology) McMaster University

McMaster University DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2022) Hamilton, Ontario (Sociology)

TITLE: Source-Country Gender Inequality and Immigrant Assimilation

AUTHOR: Max Stick, B.A (Hons.), M.A. (Dalhousie University)

CO-SUPERVISORS: Dr. Lisa Kaida and Dr. Tina Fetner

NUMBER OF PAGES: xv, 156

Abstract

Many immigrants arrive in Canada from countries with different degrees of gender inequality. While Canada has relatively high levels of gender equality, many immigrant-origin countries are characterized by high levels of inequality between men and women. Studies show that source-country gender inequality negatively impacts immigrant women's socioeconomic outcomes in the host society. However, little is known about how source-country gender inequality impacts social aspects of immigrant adjustment in Canada. This dissertation examines how source-country gender inequality impacts acculturation, structural integration and identification. My analyses of data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey and General Social Surveys find that source-country gender inequality can benefit identification when measured by sense of belonging to Canada. In other cases, it can be a barrier when acculturation is measured by financial decision-making. Further, source-country gender inequality can have little impact on the structural integration of immigrants when measured by sport participation. The results suggest that source-country gender inequality affects immigrant men and women in complex and multifaceted ways.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help, guidance and support from a number of people. Throughout my Ph.D., I received tremendous support from my supervisors. I am grateful to have amazing co-supervisors, Lisa Kaida and Tina Fetner, who were willing to invest their time into mentoring me. Their dedication motivated me to stay on track and keep moving forward.

Tina Fetner guided me through the early and, in many ways, the most challenging and confusing years. This included research and collaboration opportunities, helping me navigate conferences, and offering constant feedback and advice. Overall, she provided me with the necessary foundation to progress through the program.

With the onset of COVID-19, Lisa Kaida made the completion of a quantitative dissertation possible. She has been patient, kind, and caring, yet demanding. Without her, there is no doubt that I would be on a completely different trajectory. I owe my success and development to Lisa, preparing me for the rigours of quantitative research both within and outside academia. I would not have been able to find employment at Statistics Canada without her. She has set me up for a rewarding and enjoyable career in research.

I would like to thank my committee member, Melanie Heath, for her continued guidance throughout the years and Peter Kitchen at the McMaster Research Data Centre for his kindness and patience in vetting countless outputs. I also want to thank Howard Ramos, Fiona Martin, and Yoko Yoshida for starting me out on this academic journey. I especially owe Howard credit for his continued mentorship and friendship; you were always able to put it all in perspective.

I want to thank my manager Feng Hou for giving me the opportunity to work at Statistics Canada and Christoph Schimmele for being an amazing colleague. I could not ask to work with better people. I have so much to learn, and I hope to continue working with both of you for many years.

I have had the pleasure of meeting several amazing people at McMaster. I would like to thank my friends Drs. Casey Schiebling and Mark Norman for their advice and providing much-needed breaks over the years. I would also like to thank my friends back home, David Pace, Mitch Budden, Nick Jones, Tarou Scott, Sam Weir and Tom Sapp.

To my mom, dad and sister, there is no way that I would have been able to do this without you. Supportive does not begin to describe the sacrifices you made for me. Through the tough times, I could count on you to be there for me. I owe you all so much for making my life what it is today.

Lastly, to my wife, Allison Leanage, you are the most unexcepted and wonderful thing to have happened to me. I still can’t believe we found each other. We have gone through what most couples go through in 10 years over the last two. Thank you so much for putting up with me!

Impact of COVID restrictions on the research plan

The COVID-19 pandemic severely impacted my dissertation. The McMaster Ethics review board approved my original dissertation project on February 20th, 2020. I began recruitment the week of March 9th, 2020. Due to COVID-19, I could not recruit participants or conduct interviews for my original topic and switched to a quantitative dissertation using secondary data. To use Statistics Canada's confidential data, I applied to access McMaster Research Data Centre (RDC). It was not until the summer of 2020 that my application was processed. Furthermore, because of COVID-19, the RDC had capacity and time restrictions.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Acronyms

GEM – Gender Empowerment Measure
GDI – Global Gender Development Index
GGI – Global Gender Gap Index
GII – Gender Inequality Index
GSS – General Social Survey
HDI – Human Development Index
EDS – Ethnic diversity Survey

Preface

I completed all writing and analyses for this dissertation. I was the sole author of chapters 1, 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 2 was jointly authored by Drs. Lisa Kaida and Feng Hou. As the primary author, I completed all writing and analyses. Drs. Kaida and Hou provided input on analytical techniques, measurement of key concepts feedback on data interpretation and visualization.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Canada is a leading immigrant-receiving country, admitting several hundreds of thousands of immigrants each year for the past 30 years (Statistics Canada 2016). While most immigrants who arrived in Canada were historically from Europe, more recent arrivals were from Asia and other parts of the world (Statistics Canada 2016). Since 1980, about two-thirds of immigrants who arrived in Canada were from countries with notable gaps in human development between men and women (Bilodeau 2016).

In recent years, an increasing number of studies have investigated how the characteristics of immigrants' countries of origin impact their integration into the host country. One factor that has drawn significant scholarly attention is source-country gender inequality. Unlike Canada, which has relatively high levels of gender equality, high levels of gender inequality persist in many immigrant countries of origin, reflective of patriarchal gender norms (Guppy et al. 2019; Marshall 2009; Kaida 2015; also see Yeung, Desai, and Jones 2018). Studies indicate that gender norms can shape women's employment patterns, responsibility to shoulder domestic tasks and personal behaviours such as childbearing (Adserà and Ferrer 2016; Fortin 2005; Khoudja and Fleischmann 2018).

The discrepancy between relatively high gender equality in Canada and gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin has attracted interest from politicians who resist the admission of certain immigrants and prompted public debates over immigration (see Hartmann and Steinmann 2021; Zimonjic 2017). The populist right argues that newcomers' support for traditional gender roles is a barrier to social integration

(Hartmann and Steinmann 2021). Many groups defend anti-immigration policies by citing 'harmful cultural practices' such as forced marriage practices, polygamy and other behaviours or customs (de Lange and Mügge 2015). For example, wearing headscarves has been criticized as symbolizing a threat to liberal democratic values and gender equality, even when individuals choose to do so (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014). Although Canada prides itself on multiculturalism, successful integration is largely defined by conformity to Canadian sociocultural practices and norms and shedding cultural practices inconsistent with Canadian values (Li 2003).

While some studies have examined the relationship between source-country gender roles and labour force participation (Frank and Hou 2016), familial division of labour (Frank and Hou 2015), and educational attainment (Abada et al. 2018), immigrant integration is a diverse and multifaceted concept. It encompasses more than just occupational and education outcomes but subjective feelings of belonging, civic participation, and equality in interpersonal relationships (Wong and Tézli 2013). However, studies tend to overlook the impact of source-country gender inequality on non-economic indicators of integration and how it could affect immigrant men and women in different ways.

In this dissertation, I aim to examine how source-country gender inequality impacts immigrants' (1) sense of belonging to Canada, (2) familial decision-making, and (3) sport participation. Alba and Nee (2003) suggest that some groups "assimilate" to the host country quicker than others and retain certain characteristics while losing others. This dissertation examines the contention that it is more difficult for immigrants to adjust

to the host society when arriving from countries with greater cultural differences than the receiving society. Further, it examines whether gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin has differential effects on men and women. Overall, it bridges immigration, gender, family, and sociology of sport literature, identifying potential gendered dimensions of immigrant integration in Canada.

Theoretical Framework

My dissertation research builds on assimilation scholarship within the Sociology of Immigration. The term assimilation is increasingly avoided within the Canadian context. This can partly be attributed to Canada's unique circumstances and history. Canada has two distinct national cultures (see Bouchard 2015), is geographically isolated (Griffith 2017) and until the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002), had strict selection criteria for refugees based on self-sufficiency (Kaida, Stick and Hou 2021). Assimilation, however, remains foundational to the sociology of immigration. Early assimilation literature tended to focus on duration in the host country (Alba and Nee 2003) and segmented assimilation theory added emphasis on immigrants' individual traits as well as the contextual characteristics of their home and host country (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). This section provides an overview of these theories and discusses how an examination of country of origin, specifically source-country gender inequality, provides new insight into understanding immigrants' post-settlement life in Canada.

In 1921, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess ([1921]1924: 735) defined assimilation as,

> a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life

At its core, assimilation was theorized as a process where immigrants and their children become socially and culturally indistinguishable from the dominant societal group (Alba and Nee 2003). Assimilation has been equated with the concept of a "melting pot" with cultural norms and ethnic distinctiveness perceived as barriers to becoming part of mainstream society (Berry 2005; Entzinger and Biezeveld 2005).

Although assimilation as originally conceived was problematic, many immigration scholars contend that it is an influential concept for understanding contemporary immigration and should not be relinquished (Alba and Nee 1997; Brubaker 2001). "When read [Park and Burgess' (1921) definition of assimilation] closely, this definition does not appear to require what many critics assume assimilation must - namely, the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins. Instead, it equates assimilation with the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life (Alba and Nee 1997: 828)." Assimilation is not characterized by changes to the minority group but will depend on the specific group, era or component under investigation (Alba and Nee 1997).

Rather than the term assimilation, some prefer to use the term integration to discuss immigrants' adjustment to the host society. While integration is more associated with multiculturalism, it is subject to criticism similar to assimilation. For instance, the language of integration may promote cultural diversity, but certain cultural practices are still seen as not permissible or welcomed (Li 2003). Furthermore, Korteweg (2017)

contends that integration shifts the focus from the host society to immigrant populations. In other words, cultural differences that are problematic from a Western liberal perspective are seen as immigrant problems (Korteweg 2017). Overall, integration still champions conformity as the most desirable outcome (Li 2003).

This dissertation does not rely on assimilation as originally interpreted. As Drouhot and Nee (2019: 179) explain, assimilation is the "declining significance of context-specific markers of difference—like race, ethnicity, or religion— in the lives of immigrants and their children." It involves processes whereby differences between immigrants and the native-born are reduced through mutual convergence (Drouhot and Nee 2019). When viewed this way, assimilation is no different from terms such as integration or incorporation. Furthermore, assimilation is often used interchangeably with incorporation, adaptation and integration (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). All terms are used to refer to the reduction of differences between immigrants and native-born populations (Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). This dissertation applies the reformulated understanding of assimilation– sometimes referred to as neo-assimilation (Huynh 2022) – rooted in the canonical theories of classical and segmented assimilation theory.

Classical Assimilation Theory

Classical assimilation theory and contemporary variants largely dominated immigration research until the 1990s (Kazemipur 2014). Classical assimilation theory and its associated theories contend that with increasing years in the host country, immigrants become more like the mainstream population and less like their co-ethnic group –

acquiring one culture yet losing their own (Alba and Nee 2003; Haller et al. 2011). Immigrant origin country culture, language and other characteristics were conceived as barriers to adjustment in the host country (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). Although this process may extend across generations, it was believed that the distinction between immigrants and their children, and the established members of the host society would eventually fade (Entzinger and Biezeveld 2005).

Between the 1920s and 1950s, descendants of European immigrants in the U.S. generally followed this pattern, largely becoming indistinguishable from the mainstream (Zhou, 2005). The process was much easier for the non-visible minority second-generation immigrants, who could not be identified upon learning unaccented English and taking up American patterns of behaviour and dress (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Similarly, in Canada, Picot (2008) notes that the 1970s immigrant cohort was the last group to earn lower incomes shortly after arrival but quickly caught up to the Canadian-born. However, unlike waves of European immigrants, most recently arrived immigrants are non-white and do not blend in (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waters 1996).

Over time, classical assimilation theory became less applicable to explaining immigrants' adjustment to the host society. For example, classical assimilation theory contended that all immigrants, regardless of country of origin, would adjust uniformly to the mainstream (Haller, Portes and Lynch 2011). However, since the 1980s, immigrants have experienced difficulties with labour market integration, including high rates of unemployment, low wages and increased catch-up time to the Canadian-born population (Picot 2004). This occurred in tandem with the increasing admission of immigrants from

non-European countries (Stasiulis 1989; Troper and Abella 1982). Even after generations, cultural differences between the more recent immigrant waves and their children remained, prompting questions about the nature of assimilation (Entzinger and Biezeveld 2005). While classical assimilation theory emphasizes important influences on immigrants' adjustment to the host society, such as years since arrival and age at arrival, it had diminished applicability to the new cohorts of immigrant arrivals.

Segmented Assimilation

One criticism of classical assimilation theory is that it could not explain why some immigrants achieved success in the host country while others did not. Segmented assimilation theory attempted to fill this gap by proposing alternative explanations (Zhou 1997). Specifically, it posits that convergence with mainstream society is one of many outcomes for immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993). Instead, there are three possible scenarios. First, immigrants may achieve upward mobility into the middle class. Second, immigrants may undergo downward mobility and remain in the underclass. Third, immigrants may keep their home country's values and ethnic culture (Zhou 1997). These outcomes are influenced by the immigrants' personal and familial human and social capital, sociocultural environment, and sociodemographic characteristics (Bloemraad 2006; Haller al. 2011; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Segmented assimilation theory was historically used to understand the downward assimilation of select minority immigrants and their offspring in American society. In particular, it posited that African-Americans, dark-skinned Hispanics and Afro-

Caribbeans encounter discrimination and occupy a marginalized position in the U.S. racial hierarchy (Alba and Nee 2003). However, Boyd (2002) suggests that segmented assimilation into the urban underclass is less likely in Canada than in the United States due to historical differences in black-white race relations and the relatively smaller size of the black population.

A strength of segmented assimilation theory is that it stresses the role of characteristics beyond the individual-level in the integration patterns of the second generation (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). These include characteristics of the host country such as discriminatory behaviours of the host society groups, presence of co-ethnics, settlement services, economic opportunities and other contextual characteristics. It also considers the context of exit, including the cultural values and customary practices (Zhou and Gonzales 2019). This dissertation focuses on a specific immigrant context of exit - source-country gender inequality - on social outcomes rather than economic mobility.

Source-Country Gender Inequality

While many studies focus on the role of human capital in immigrants' adjustment to the host society, cultural norms are also an important contextual factor. Patriarchy is defined as the "hierarchical relation between men and women in which men are dominant and women are subordinate" (Hartmann 1976:38). Many immigrants arrive from countries with patriarchal gender norms that continue to impact immigrants after arrival in the host country (Kaida 2015). The socialization perspective suggests that gender attitudes learned during one's upbringing remain throughout one's life (Pessin and Arpino 2018).

Gender scholars use the concept of gender regime to describe gender relations within specific institutions, and at the national and regional levels (Bose 2015). According to Connell (2005), a gender regime has four dimensions: 1) gender division of labour; 2) gender division of power; 3) emotion and human relations, and 4) gender culture and symbolism. Gender regimes can conflict with each other (Ferree, 2012). The gender regime in immigrants' country of origin can be inconsistent with the gender regime in the host society.

Many measures have been developed to examine national-level gender inequality such as the Global Gender Development Index (GDI), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and the Global Gender Gap Index (GGI). While all measures have some pitfalls[1], they capture critical indicators of gender inequality such as fertility rate, labour force participation and female secondary school enrolment across countries. Other studies use raw measures of gender inequality to capture gender norms. For instance, Adserà and Ferrer (2016) found that the fertility rate in the geographic region of origin helps to explain differences in immigrant women's fertility rates. Frank and Hou (2015) show that the labour force activity and secondary education ratio between females and males are associated with household labour among immigrant families. Blau, Kahn and Papps (2011) found that immigrant women work more hours when coming from countries with

[1]The Gender Inequality Index is a comprehensive measure of gender inequality that is calculated using a variety of measures (discussed below). However, due to data constraints, it does not include women's political representation at the subnational level, or representation in other areas of community and public life. The measure used for labour market inequality does not consider income disparity or unpaid work. Lastly, it does not include a time-use component, asset ownership or gender-based violence.

higher female labour force participation rates (relative to men). As these studies show, characteristics of immigrant source-countries can influence behaviours after arrival.

First-generation immigrants also pass the cultural norms of their origin country to their children (Fernández and Fogli 2009). Feranandez and Fogli (2009) find that the female labour force participation rate and fertility rate in immigrants' country of origin impact the number of hours second-generation immigrant work and the number of children they have. Similarly, Portes and Zhou (2003) note that second-generation Punjabi boys were expected to focus on their careers, enrolling in science and engineering. For Punjabi girls, however, there was less importance placed on their career path and greater parental and cultural pressure to marry and start a family.

This dissertation uses the Gender Inequality Index formulated by the United National Development Programme–a combination of the GEM and CGI (Bose 2015)–to measure immigrants' source-country gender inequality in all three analytical chapters. The Gender Inequality Index measures disparities in achievement outcomes between men and women. GII is calculated using maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate (health), female and male population with at least secondary education, female and male shares of parliamentary seats (empowerment) and female and male labour force participation rates (labour market) (Human Development Report 2019).

While GII captures structural gender inequality rather than explicitly measuring cultural beliefs or gender ideologies, Pepin and Cohen (2021) note that GII provides a comprehensive measure of cultural context. Furthermore, gender scholars contend that structural gender inequality and beliefs are linked (Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

Patriarchal beliefs about the role of women as caregivers and men as breadwinners manifest in unequal access to resources, power and societal rewards, (re)producing structural gender inequality (Röder and Mühlau 2014). Likewise, Ferree's (2012) perspective on gender relies on her concept of relational realism. Relational realism denotes gender as a multilayered system and an ongoing process to align the conditions of the material world and human perceptions. In the absence of cross-national data on gendered attitudes, many studies use structural inequality measures such as female labour participation rate (He and Gerber 2020; Fernández and Fogli 2009), fertility rate (Fernández and Fogli 2006), and female-male secondary school enrolment rates (Frank and Hou 2013) to operationalize culture in immigrant's country of origin.

A central question posed by scholars seeking to bridge immigration and gender literature is whether migration reinforces gender ideologies or challenges existing gender relations (Mahler and Pessar 2006). In other words, as gender operates differently across countries, gender relations can transform with migration (Herrera 2013). Although Canada is known as a country with progressive gender norms and gender equality laws, there is still inequality between men and women. Women of working age in Canada are less likely to be in the labour force and earn less than men (Moyser 2017). However, compared to many immigrant-sending countries, Canada has higher levels of gender equality.

Research has examined whether migration can be empowering or disempowering for women, producing mixed results (Herrera 2013). While the movement to countries with greater levels of gender equality could provide immigrant women with some benefits

(Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005), there are also instances where immigrant men intensify control over women and are physically and emotionally abusive (Mahler and Pessar 2006). Migration can also have mixed effects on men. Studies typically suggest that men remain attached to their home country's gender norms and are reluctant to change (Hibbins 2005; 2006) or that gender values shift during the migratory process (Batnitzsky et al. 2009; Hondagenu-Sotelo 1992).

This dissertation expands on the core question posed by Mahler and Pessar (2006: 42) in their framework of gendered geographies of power "That is, do international migration and other cross-border activities that bring people into new gendered contexts change gender relations, and, if so, in what direction(s)?" Specifically, I seek to understand how migration to countries with different levels of gender inequality uniquely impact various aspects of immigrant men's and women's assimilation.

Acculturation, Structural Integration and Identification

Immigrants adjust to life in the host country in a variety of ways as there are many different components of incorporation (Fajth and Lessard-Phillips 2022). According to Gordon (1964), adjustment involves changes to cultural behaviour, group identity and social participation. This approach remains influential in many contemporary explanations of integration that use a multidimensional approach (Fajth and Lessard-Phillips 2022).

Rumbaut (2015) describes three interrelated yet distinct concepts of acculturation, structural integration, and identification. Acculturation emphasizes a process of cultural

change and diffusion whereby two or more cultures increase in similarity. Broadly, acculturation involves adopting cultural patterns, such as the host society's language, dress, and core values (Alba and Nee 2003).

Structural integration is conceptualized as participation in the host country's social groups, clubs, and institutions (Rumbaut 2015). While labour market outcomes and education are considered critical aspects of structural integration, this component also encompasses housing, political, and citizenship dimensions *(*Robnett and Fliciano 2011; Fokkema and Haas 2015*).* Overall, structural integration is concerned with immigrants' participation in the larger society in relation to the majority population at an institutional level (Elling 2001; Entzinger and Biezeveld 2005).

Identification is a psychological component, described as a process whereby ethnic identity loses importance, and one establishes a connection, a sense of belonging, and/or identifies, in some form, with the host society (Fajth and Lessard-Phillips 2022; Rumbaut 2015). The host country has a large role in the identification process. For instance, immigrant identity can be reinforced and become more pronounced in response to discrimination and hostility from the native population (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Given its multidimensionality, indicators of adjustment to the host society include socioeconomic (for example, resource distribution and mobility), relational (such as peer groups and marriage), and cultural (feelings of acceptance, attachment and belonging to the majority group) factors (Drouhot and Nee 2019; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Wimmer 2008). Success in one dimension does not necessarily indicate success in another. For

instance, in the United States, Asians are often seen as achieving high levels of economic assimilation yet are still perceived as cultural outsiders (Lee and Kye 2016).

Overview of the dissertation

This dissertation examines how source-country gender inequality impacts three principal components of assimilation/ integration (acculturation, structural integration and identification) and how the effect differs for men and women. While each chapter stands as an independent study, taken together, they contribute to the literature by offering a nuanced, complex understanding of how source-country gender inequality impacts immigrant men and women across various social spheres.

To examine the impact of source-country gender inequality on immigrant integration, this dissertation uses multiple cycles of Statistics Canada's General Social Survey (GSS) and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS). The 2002 EDS was administered after the 2001 census and aimed to explore how ethnic identity and cultural background impacts social, economic, and cultural life (Statistics Canada 2003). The GSS is a cross-sectional survey that is conducted annually. The topic changes each year and contains questions that cycle about every five years. In addition to specific questions related to a specific topic, all cycles contain general sociodemographic questions.

The second chapter examines the identification component of assimilation/ integration or feeling like one is part of society. I analyze the pooled 2002 EDS and 2013 GSS data to test whether immigrant men and women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report a stronger or weaker sense of belonging to Canada than

immigrants from countries with more gender equality. The theme of the 2013 GSS was social identity and included questions about attachment to Canada, feelings of belonging, and civic involvement (Statistics Canada 2014). The 2013 GSS was administered between June 3, 2013, and March 31, 2014, with a response rate of 48.1% (n=27,695). Respondents for the 2002 EDS were selected from those who completed the 2001 long-form census and collected between April and August 2002 (n=42,476).

The third chapter focuses on the acculturation or cultural aspect of assimilation/ integration. This chapter examines the extent to which immigrants from countries with higher levels of gender inequality are more likely to report sole-male financial decision-making patterns. This chapter uses Statistics Canada's 2011 and 2017 General Social Surveys – Family. The 2011 GSS was administered between February 1 and November 30, 2011 (n=22,435) with an overall response rate of 65.8%, and the 2017 GSS was conducted between February 1 and November 30, 2017 (n=20,602) with an overall response rate of 52.4%. Both cycles focus on changes in Canadian families, family characteristics and living arrangements (Statistics Canada 2019).

The fourth chapter analyzes immigrant structural integration or social participation. Specifically, I ask whether first- and second-generation men and women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality are more likely to participate in sports than their counterparts from countries with greater levels of gender parity. This chapter uses the 2016 General Social Survey—Canadians and Work and Home. Administered between August 2 and December 23, 2016, the 2016 GSS randomly split the sample into two subgroups (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Half of the sample responded

to questions from the cultural participation module (n=9,844), and half responded to questions from the sport participation module (n=9,765). The overall response rate was 51%.

Goals of the dissertation

This dissertation is guided by the overarching goal of contributing to the understanding of why certain immigrants exhibit divergent assimilation/integration outcomes. To meet this goal, this dissertation engages in immigration research in several ways. First, with immigrants arriving from many diverse countries, there is a greater need to understand how source-country characteristics impact their post-arrival experience. This dissertation contributes to this emerging research by focusing on how source-country gender inequality impacts immigrants' post-settlement experiences. Second, it examines three components of assimilation/integration (acculturation, structural integration and identification) using a unique non-economic indicator. As outlined above, adjustment to the host society is a diverse and complex process, and success in one area does not necessarily correspond to success in another. For instance, immigrants may secure employment and high earnings but live in ethnic enclaves and have few social contacts outside their ethnic group. By individually examining three dimensions, this dissertation aims to show the complexity and multifaceted nature of incorporation. Lastly, this dissertation considers gendered aspects of assimilation/integration by examining whether source-country gender inequality impacts men and women differently.

References

Abada, Teresa, Kristyn Frank, and Feng Hou. 2018. “Between Two Worlds: Source-Country Gender Roles and Gender Differences in Educational Attainment among Immigrant Children.” *Sociological Inquiry* 88(1):131–54.

Adserà, Alícia, and Ana Ferrer. 2016. “The Fertility of Married Immigrant Women to Canada.” *International Migration Review* 50(2):475–505.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 1997. “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration.” *International Migration Review* 31(4):826–74.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Berry, John W. 2005. “Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures.” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29:697–712.

Blau, Francine, Lawrence M. Kahn, and Kerry L. Papps. 2011. “Gender, Source Country Characteristics, and Labor Market Assimilation among Immigrants.” *Gender, Inequality, and Wages* 93:43–58.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna. Korteweg, and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2008. “Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1), 153–179.

Bouchard, Gérard. 2015. *Interculturalism: a view from Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Boyd, Monica. 2002. “Educational Attainments of Immigrant Offspring: Success or Segmented Assimilation.” *International Migration Review* 36(4):1037–60.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2001. “The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(4):531–48.

De Lange, Sarah L., and Liza M. Mügge. 2015. “Gender and Right-Wing Populism in the Low Countries: Ideological Variations across Parties and Time.” *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1–2):61–80.

Connell, Raewyn. 2005. "Advancing Gender Reform in Large-scale Organisations: A New Approach for Practitioners and Researchers." *Policy and Society* 24(4): 5–24.

Entzinger, Han, and Renske Biezeveld. 2005. “Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration.” *Managing Integration. The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants*, (August), 123–136. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/documents/policies/legal-migration/pdf/general/benchmarking_final_en.pdf

Fajth, Veronika, and Laurence Lessard-Phillips. 2022. “Multidimensionality in the Integration of First- and Second-Generation Migrants in Europe: A Conceptual and Empirical Investigation.” *International Migration Review*. doi: 10.1177/01979183221089290

Fernandez, Raquel and Alessandra Fogli. 2006. “Fertility : The Role of Culture.” *Journal of the European Economic Association 4*(2):552–61.

Fernandez, Raquel and Alessandra Fogli. 2009. “Culture: An Empirical Investigation of Beliefs, Work, and Fertility.” *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 1(1):146–77.

Ferree, Myra. 2012. *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Fokkema, Tineke, and Hein de Haas. 2015. “Pre- and Post-Migration Determinants of Socio-Cultural Integration of African Immigrants in Italy and Spain.” *International Migration* 53(6):3–26.

Fortin, Nicole M. 2005. “Gender Role Attitudes and the Labour-Market Outcomes of Women across OECD Countries.” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 21(3):416–38.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2015. “Source-Country Gender Roles and the Division of Labor within Immigrant Families.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77(2):557–74.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2016. “Beyond Culture: Source Country Female Labour Force Participation and the Earnings of Immigrant Women.” *Work, Employment and Society* 30(3):410–35.

Gordon, Milton M. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Guppy, Neil, Larissa Sakumoto, and Rima Wilkes. 2019. “Social Change and the Gendered Division of Household Labor in Canada.” *Canadian Review of Sociology/ La Soci´et´e canadienne de sociologie* 56(2):178–203.

Haller, William, Alejandro Portes, and Scott M. Lynch. 2011. “Dreams Fulfilled, Dreams Shattered: Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in the Second Generation.” *Social Forces* 89(3):733–62.

Hartmann, Heidi. 1976. “Capitalism, patriarchy, and job segregation by sex.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 1*(3, Part 2): 137-169.

Hartmann, Jörg, and Jan Philip Steinmann. 2021. “Do Gender-Role Values Matter? Explaining New Refugee Women’s Social Contact in Germany.” *International Migration Review* 55(3) 1–30.Herrera, Gioconda. 2013. “Gender and International Migration: Contributions and Cross-Fertilizations.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 39:471–89.

Human Development Report. 2019. “Technical notes Calculating the human development indices—graphical presentation.” *United Nations Development Programme.* http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019_technical_notes.pdf.

Huynh, Jennifer A. 2022. “Assimilation through Transnationalism: Second-Generation Refugees and Vietnamese Transnational Organizing.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1–20.

Itzigsohn, José, and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo. 2005. “Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes.” *International Migration Review* 39(4):895–920.

Kaida, Lisa. 2015. “Ethnic Variations in Immigrant Poverty Exit and Female Employment: The Missing Link.” *Demography 52*(2):485–511.

Kaida, Lisa, Max Stick, and Feng Hou. 2021. “Changes in Selection Policy and Refugee Welfare Use in Canada.” *International Migration* (September):1–22.

Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad. 2014. *The Muslim Question in Canada: A Story of Segmented Integration*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Khoudja, Yassine, and Fenella Fleischmann. 2017. “Labor Force Participation of Immigrant Women in the Netherlands: Do Traditional Partners Hold Them Back?” *International Migration Review* 51(2):506–41.

Korteweg, Anna C. 2017. “The Failures of ‘Immigrant Integration’: The Gendered Racialized Production of Non-Belonging.” *Migration Studies* 5(3):428–44.

Korteweg, Anna C. 2017. “The Failures of ‘Immigrant Integration’: The Gendered Racialized Production of Non-Belonging.” Migration Studies 5(3):428–44.

Lee, Jennifer C., and Samuel Kye. 2016. “Racialized Assimilation of Asian Americans.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 42(1):253–73.

Li, Peter. 2003. “Deconstructing Canada Discourse on Multiculturalism.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l’integration et de La Migration Internationale* 4(3):315–33.

Mahler, Sarah J., and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. “Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies.” *International Migration Review* 40(1):27–63.

Marshall, Katherine. 2009. “The family work week.” Statistics Canada — Catalogue no. 75-001-X.

Moyser, Melissa. 2017. “Women and Paid Work.” Statistics Canada — Catalogue no. 89-503-X.

Park, Robert E., and Ernest W. Burgess. 1924[1921]. I*ntroduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pepin, Joanna R., and Phillip N. Cohen. 2021. “Nation-Level Gender Inequality and Couples' Income Arrangements.” *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 42(1): 13–28.

Pessin, Ĺea and Bruno Arpino. 2018. “Navigating between Two Cultures: Immigrants’ Gender Attitudes toward Working Women.” *Demographic Research* 38(1):967–1016.

Phythian, Kelli, David Walters, and Paul Anisef. 2011. “Predicting Earnings among Immigrants to Canada: The Role of Source Country.” *International Migration* 49(6):129–54.

Picot, Garnett. 2008. “Immigrant Economic and Social Outcomes in Canada: Research and Data Development at Statistics Canada.” Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series – Catalogue no. 11F0019M — No. 319.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. 1993. “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74–96.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. “Unpacking the Gender System: A

Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18(4):510–31.

Röder, Antje, and Peter Mühlau. 2014. "Are they acculturating? Europe's immigrants and gender egalitarianism." *Social Forces* 92(3): 899-928.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 2015. "Assimilation of immigrants." *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 2: 81-87.

Statistics Canada. 2003. "Ethnic Diversity Survey: portrait of a multicultural society." https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-593-x/89-593-x2003001-eng.pdf

Statistics Canada. 2012. "General Social Survey - Family (GSS)." https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=68196

Statistics Canada 2014. "General Social Survey - Social Identity (S.I.)." Retrieved from https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=139605

Statistics Canada. 2016a. "150 years of immigration in Canada." Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016006-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. 2017a. "General Social Survey: Canadians at Work and Home (GSS)." https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=5221

Statistics Canada. 2017b. "Study: A look at immigration, ethnocultural diversity and languages in Canada up to 2036, 2011 to 2036." Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/170125/dq170125b-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. 2019. "General Social Survey - Family (GSS)." Retrieved from https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=335816

United Nations. 2011. “Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) about the Gender Inequality Index (GII)” http://data.un.org/_Docs/FAQs_2011_GII.pdf.

Wong, Lloyd L., and Annette Tézli. 2013. “Measuring Social, Cultural, and Civic Integration in Canada: The Creation of an Index and Some Applications.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 45(3): 9-37.

Yeung, Wei-Jun Jean, Sonalde Desai, and Gavin W. Jones. 2018. “Families in Southeast and South Asia.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 44(1):469–95.

Zhou, Min. 1997. “Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation.” *International Migration Review* 31(4):975–1008.

Zhou, Min. 2005. “Ethnicity as Social Capital: Community-Based Institutions and Embedded Networks of Social Relations.” *Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy: Comparing the USA and UK* 131–59.

Zhou, Min, and Roberto G. Gonzales. 2019. “Divergent Destinies: Children of Immigrants Growing up in the United States.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 45(1):1–17.

Zimonjic, Peter. 2017, March 7. “Tory leadership candidate Kellie Leitch wants immigrants to be asked: ‘Are men and women equal?”. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/leitch-immigrants-canadian-values-1.4012764.

Chapter 2: Source-Country Gender Inequality and Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to Canada

Max Stick[a], Lisa Kaida[b] and Feng Hou[c]

[a]*Department of Sociology, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON., Canada;* [b]*Department of Sociology, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON., Canada;* [c]*Social Analysis and Modelling Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, ON., Canada*

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Max Stick, Department of Sociology, McMaster University, KTH-641, 1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, ON, Canada L8S 4M4 Email: stickm@mcmaster.ca Tel: 905-525-9140, ext. 26513

Max Stick is a Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology at McMaster University. His research interests include immigration, gender, and race and ethnicity, with a specific focus on the gendered dynamics of immigrant integration. His recent work has appeared in *Men and Masculinities*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* and *Population, Space and Place*.

Lisa Kaida is an Associate Professor in Sociology at McMaster University. Her research specialises in immigrant and refugee integration, including immigrant poverty dynamics, gender and migration, and new immigrant destinations. Her recent work has appeared in *Demography*, *Social Science Research*, and *Work, Employment and Society*.

Feng Hou is Principal Researcher with Social Analysis and Modelling Division, Statistics Canada. His research focuses on the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and the

second generation, dynamics of social diversity, and minority-majority social interaction. He has published over 100 journal articles and book chapters in these areas.

Abstract

Many immigrants move from countries with high levels of gender inequality to countries where there is more equality between men and women. A growing body of literature uses national indicators to examine the impact of immigrants' source country conditions on the home and work lives of male and female immigrants post arrival. However, little is known about the degree to which gender inequality affects their development of connection with the host country and whether the movement from high to low gender inequality countries impacts women and men differently. Bridging immigration and gender scholarship, this article examines the association between source-country gender inequality and immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada. Our regression analysis of data from the 2013 General Social Survey and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey suggests a higher level of source-country gender inequality is associated with a stronger sense of belonging to Canada for first generation (those arriving at age 15 and older) immigrant men and women. Despite concerns from some conservative critics that gender inequality in source countries hinders immigrant integration, the results show first generation men and women from diverse cultures develop a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Our findings suggest that cultural dissonance may benefit both immigrant men and women's self-perceived integration into their host country.

Keywords: sense of belonging, gender inequality, immigration

Introduction

With growing immigration from countries with high levels of gender inequality, conservative critics are raising concerns about immigrant integration into liberal Western host nations (See Budd 2019; de Lange and Mügge 2015; Hartmann and Steinmann 2021; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014; Morgan 2017). Immigrant source countries undoubtedly vary in their social, political, and economic inclusion of women. Yet, little is known about whether this is related to the sense of belonging men and women feel to a new country.

The state can have a powerful influence on gender relations and gender inequality through its policies, notably impacting individual labour market outcomes and family relationships (Haney 2000; Orloff 1993). Policies enacted by conservative governments can promote a traditional male breadwinning division of labour, whereas governments with family-friendly policies can promote dual-earning couples (Charles 2011). Previous research shows gender roles and inequality in immigrants' countries of origin have far-reaching consequences for their lives in the host country, including gendered gaps in paid employment and unpaid household labour (Abada, Frank, and Hou 2018; Blau et al. 2020; Frank and Hou 2015; 2016; He and Gerber 2020). Immigrant women from countries with traditional gender norms are less likely to be employed and more likely to do the lion's share of household labour than men (Frank and Hou 2015; Read 2004). They are also likely to report a concern for personal safety, a lack of familiarity with laws and customs of the host country, and an expectation of fulfilling child-caring roles (Choi et al. 2014; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, and Chinichian 2011).

Gender inequality in source countries may have implications for immigrants' ability to establish a sense of belonging to the host society as well. A strong sense of belonging to the host country is important in enhancing quality of life, fostering attachment, and establishing the desire to remain in the host country (Chow 2007; Geurts, David, and Spierings 2021). For this reason, many researchers have examined immigrants' sense of belonging to their host country and asked how it is affected by their pre- and post-migration experiences (Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry 2018; Reitz and Banerjee 2007; Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2011; Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2012). However, no comprehensive quantitative study using nationally-representative survey data has considered the role of source-country gender inequality.

To address this gap, we assess the impact of source-country gender inequality on the sense of belonging to Canada among immigrants arriving as adults (the first generation). We address two research questions. First, do immigrants arriving from countries with high degrees of gender inequality report a reduced sense of belonging to Canada? Second, does source-country gender inequality affect the sense of belonging for men and women differently? To answer these questions, we analyze pooled data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) and 2013 General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Identity.

This study contributes to the immigration literature in three ways. First, it engages in emerging research on the impact of immigrants' source-country context on integration. Past studies examine how source country characteristics such as women's labour market participation and gender role attitudes can impact immigrants in the host country.

However, most research focuses on immigrants' educational attainment, fertility, employment, earnings, and other behavioural facets of integration. This study moves beyond such external measures to consider the association of source country gender inequality with internalized perceptions of integration, using self-reported sense of belonging to the host country. Second, our study reveals that cultural differences between source and host countries may benefit immigrant integration, thus informing the debate on the integration of immigrants from diverse cultures. This contrasts with existing studies that find source-country gender inequality has negative impacts on immigrants upon arrival in a new country. Finally, this research bridges immigrant acculturation and gender literature by examining the role of source-country gender inequality on immigrant incorporation. Much gender literature considers the roles of law, policy and the state in fostering gender (in)equality, while immigration literature addresses newcomer integration. This study is of interest to both fields, as it considers whether different degrees of origin country-level gender inequality impacts the ability of immigrant men and women to establish a sense of belonging to their new country.

Literature Review

Sense of Belonging

Scholars often use sense of belonging as a general measure of social cohesion and integration (Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2011). A strong sense of belonging reflects feelings of welcome and acceptance (Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2011), integration into social networks and institutions (Schellenberg 2004), and commitment to the host nation

(Chow 2007). Painter (2013) further outlines the ligature between integration and sense of belonging in the Canadian context. She suggests that those with a stronger sense of belonging may provide greater contributions to the country and pursue citizenship. Moreover, the researcher contends that the ability of diverse groups to possess a sense of belonging is indicative of Canada's strong intercultural inclusion and equality of opportunity. Bloemraad et al. (2008) provide a comprehensive overview of the link between citizenship and belonging. Citizenship can be conceived as membership in a political or geographic community accompanied by a set legal status, rights and access to the political sphere. As the state controls access to citizenship, excluding some while accepting others, the state can influence newcomers' sense of belonging (Bloemraad et al. 2008).

While a strong sense of belonging is vital for immigrants' wellbeing and the social cohesion of the host society more generally, a weak sense of belonging indicates a marginalized connection to host country institutions, diminished social engagement, and reduced commitment to civic values (Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2011; Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2012).

A number of studies have found associations between demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants and their sense of belonging in the receiving country. In a study of Chinese adolescent immigrants in Canada, Chow (2007) shows arriving at an older age and the father's residence in Canada is associated with a stronger sense of belonging. Meanwhile, other studies find being unemployed, not owning a home, being a racial minority, having a low income, and not speaking host country languages at

home are negatively associated with immigrants' sense of belonging to the host country (Hou, Schellenberg, and Hou 2018; Kitchen, Williams, and Gallina 2015).

Contextual factors, including the wider community and national environment, may also shape sense of belonging (Huot, Dodson, and Rudman 2014; Ward et al. 2010). For example, researchers have considered how host societies' attitudes to national identity (Simonsen 2016), the racial composition of neighbourhoods (Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2011; Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2012), and access to nature impact immigrants' sense of belonging to the host country (Peters, Stodolska, and Horolets 2016). Interviews by Peters, Stodolska, and Horolets (2016) reveal engagement with the natural environment generates lasting memories and attachments to new places, strengthening immigrants' connection to the host country. Other studies consider the confluence of individual and contextual factors. Wu, Schimmele, and Hou (2012) examine how the racial compositions of their neighbourhood can impact immigrants' sense of belonging. Among the first generation, sense of belonging is stronger for those living in neighbourhoods with a greater concentration of co-ethnics (Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2012).

Studies have also explored whether pre-and post-migration characteristics impact immigrants' sense of belonging. Those arriving from countries with poor socioeconomic conditions may perceive a higher quality of life in Canada than immigrants from countries with comparable socioeconomic conditions. As a result, the former may be more committed to remaining in Canada, pursuing citizenship, and participating in Canadian society, and these, in turn, can contribute to a stronger feeling of belonging (Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry 2018; Picot and Hou 2011). Moreover, once immigrants

settle in the host country, their positive experiences of making friends, and negative encounters with discrimination impact their sense of belonging (Berry and Hou 2017; Chow 2007; Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry 2018; Reitz and Banerjee 2007). Cultural distance in particular can hinder sense of belonging and heighten acculturation barriers (Beiser, Puente-Duran, and Hou 2015). Much research considers immigrants' difficulties and conflict while navigating two cultures, highlighting how those from non-Western cultures encounter more adversity (Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones 2006; Schwartz et al. 2010; Stroink and Lalonde 2009; Trieu 2018). Most contemporary immigrants, however, move from countries with high levels of gender inequality to countries with greater gender parity (Röder and Mühlau 2014). Yet few studies evaluate the role of source-country gender inequality in facilitating or hindering immigrants' sense of belonging using standardized gender inequality measures. To address this gap, we examine whether gender inequality in the country of origin as a dimension of cultural distance impacts the sense of belonging of men and women in Canada—a country with relatively low levels of gender inequality.

Source-Country Gender Inequality

Gender scholars often consider the role of the state to understand gender relations across and within countries (Charrad 2011; Ferree 2012). Relevant to this literature is the concept of *gender regime*, defined as "a set of interrelated gendered social relations and gendered institutions that constitutes a system" (Walby 2009: 301)—used to explain culturally engrained gender inequality (Bein, Gauthier, and Mynarska 2021). Gender

inequality at the state level can impact familial arrangements and individuals' daily life (Connell 2005; Martin 2004; Risman 2004). For example, many Middle Eastern countries prescribe the rights and obligations of men and women in the family, community and larger society (Charrad 2011). Women from countries with high levels of gender inequality may be less likely to gain labour market skills or high levels of education in their country of origin and therefore be ill-prepared to enter the host country labour market. Indeed, Blau et al. (2020) find that women's employment and education in their country of origin are strong predictors of their division of household labour. Furthermore, Read (2004) contends that cultural values at the macro level, particularly those discouraging women's participation in public and political spheres, can help explain the lower labour force participation of Arab-American women compared to American-born women. Overall, the gendered structures that limited women's opportunities in their country of origin transcend the migration process (Lersch 2016). Larger differences in cultural norms regarding gender and sexuality impose barriers for integration into a host society that immigrants coming from more culturally similar countries of origin are less likely to encounter.

Relative to Western immigrant destination countries like Canada, high levels of gender inequality are pervasive in many source countries. In particular, countries in Southeast and South Asia have a high prevalence of gender inequality in labour force participation, health, and political involvement (Yeung, Desai, and Jones 2018). In contrast, Canada and other high-income immigrant-receiving countries are more egalitarian. About 40% of Canadian men either claim to support or are ambivalent about

feminist identity (Stick and Fetner 2021), and the Canadian Human Rights Act stipulates all Canadians should be free from sex-based discrimination.

Studies have explored the impact of source-country gender norms and inequality on various aspects of immigrant integration. By operationalizing source-country norms using the ratio of female-to-male labour force activity, the ratio of female-to-male enrollment in tertiary education, and gender role attitude questions from the World Values Survey, Abada, Frank, and Hou (2018) look at the impact of source-country gender norms on the educational attainment of immigrants in Canada and find that greater source-country gender inequality can be detrimental for first generation women's educational attainment. Frank and Hou (2016) use similar measures and find immigrant women in Canada from countries with lower levels of gender inequality earn more than those from higher levels of gender inequality, even when controlling for occupation and industry. Elucidating the impact of source-country gender inequality on the political incorporation of immigrant women in Canada, Bilodeau (2016) finds immigrant women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality have lower retention rates in post-election surveys and are more likely to skip political questions when they participate.

Dissonance in gender inequality levels between immigrants' source and host countries can also induce strain and may precipitate stress, confusion, and culture shock as women are expected to join the labour force in the host country. At the same time, women may continue to bear the brunt of the domestic burden, compounding rather than reducing strain. Frank and Hou (2015) find women from countries with traditional gender norms face a wider gendered division of household labour than those from countries with

more liberal norms. The gendered division of labour is likely to weaken with length of residence in Canada, but immigrant women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality may experience unease and face additional pressures.

Although educational, political, and income inequality may persist after immigration, traditional gender roles can decline through the adaptation process, with women gaining more political and legal freedom (Hyman, Guruge, and Mason 2008; Pyke and Johnson 2003; Shankar and Northcott 2009). Women gain increased economic and social independence in their new country, including greater freedom of expression and identity (See Shankar and Northcott 2003), and increased labour force participation can facilitate greater decision-making authority and autonomy (Pyke and Johnson 2003). Despite minimal gains in some areas, women seem to benefit when transitioning from high to low levels of gender inequality through greater access to opportunities and protective institutions (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). For instance, Mccoy et al. (2018) found that although experiences of discrimination hamper sense of belonging, Muslims report a strong sense of national belonging and pride.

Considering that both benefits and consequences may accompany the movement from high gender inequality countries to low gender inequality countries, we test two competing hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 1a: First generation immigrant women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality will report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with lower levels of gender inequality.

Hypothesis 1b: Women from countries with higher gender inequality will report a lower sense of belonging than those from liberal countries.

While international migration may liberate women from traditional cultures, it can lead to men's loss of status and precipitate gender identity issues (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). Men can lose a sense of their masculine self as the definitions of idealized manhood vary across cultures (Charsley and Wray 2015). A handful of studies of first-generation men show migration can facilitate changes in patriarchal arrangements (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994; Pease 2009). Looking at Iranian immigrant couples in Canada, for example, Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, and Chinichian (2011) report the more progressive Canadian gender ideologies and women's rights disrupt traditional Iranian cultural customs related to gender and male identity, with men losing their primacy in the family (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, and Chinichian et al. 2011).

In other cases, familial authority may remain unchanged after migration with patriarchal relations intact. In a study of Korean immigrants in Canada, Choi et al. (2014) find wives rarely challenge their husbands' authority and are expected to remain in domestic roles. However, if wives enter the labour force, men may benefit economically and socially by their spouse's contribution to the family income and broader engagement with others outside the home. Furthermore, due to the selective nature of immigration policies, immigrants may differ from those in their home country. Immigrant selectivity refers to disparity between immigrants and those who never migrated in terms of

education and skills but also ideological components such as perspectives about the role of men and women in society (Feliciano 2020). Overall, while some men lose privilege granted by gender inequality in their country of origin and encounter gender identity challenges, others may experience financial and social gains. Because of these opposing mechanisms and the issue of selectivity, it is unclear how source-country gender inequality might impact men's sense of belonging. Therefore, we suggest the following two competing hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 2a: First generation men from countries with greater levels of gender inequality will report a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with lower levels of gender inequality.

> Hypothesis 2b: Men from countries with higher gender inequality will report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada.

Data/Methods

Data

To test our hypotheses, we analyze Statistics Canada's 2013 General Social Survey (GSS) and 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) data. Conducted annually, the GSS is a cross-sectional national survey on Canadians' living conditions and well-being. In 2013, the GSS focused on Canadians' social identity, including attachment to Canada, feelings of belonging, and civic involvement (Statistics Canada 2014). Respondents were contacted

via Random Digit Dialing to obtain a random sample of Canadians aged 15 or older (Statistics Canada 2013). The 2002 EDS is a postcensal survey administered to better understand how ethnic identity and cultural background impact social, economic, and cultural life (Statistics Canada 2003; 2016). Respondents were selected to complete a computer-assisted telephone interview from those who completed the 2001 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada 2003). These datasets are ideal for this study as they ask similar questions on sense of belonging and include information on immigrant status, country of origin, generational status, and other demographic characteristics. As a result, we can pool each survey's data and obtain a larger sample size of first-generation immigrants (the foreign born arriving at age 15 or older), and reduce sampling, coverage, and measurement errors (Schenker and Raghunathan 2007). We limit our sample to first generation immigrants as those who arrived at younger ages are less likely to have been socialized in their country of origin. In other words, our sample targets respondents who spent their formative years in their country of origin.

Measures

Our dependent variable is an overall measure of self-perceived integration into Canada—sense of belonging. In the Ethnic Diversity Survey, it captures this with the question, "Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to Canada?" The 2013 General Social Survey similarly asks, "What about your sense of belonging to Canada?" with the following response options: "Very strong,"

"Somewhat strong," "Somewhat weak," "Very weak," and "No opinion". We recode the GSS responses to reflect the five-point scale used in the EDS, with "No opinion" coded as the middle response category (3).

The focal independent variable is source-country gender inequality. We use the United Nations Gender Inequality Index (GII), a consolidated measure of gender inequality across three dimensions: 1) reproductive health; 2) empowerment; and 3) labour market (Human Development Report 2019). Inequality in reproductive health is assessed using maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rate. Empowerment is gauged by the proportion of parliamentary seats held by women and the proportion of women with secondary school education. Labour market inequality is measured by female and male labour force participation rates. The gender inequality index ranges from 0, indicating relative equality between men and women, to 1, indicating high levels of inequality (Human Development Report 2019). In our analysis, we average a country's 1995 and 2000 rates. If countries lacked valid data points in those years, we replaced their missing values with the mean of their geographic region according to Statistics Canada's Standard Classification of Countries and Areas of Interest developed from the International Standard for country codes (Frank and Hou 2015; Statistics Canada 2018). GII scores were stable over 1995 and 2000 (r=0.97). The index also had minimal fluctuation across a longer time period of 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 (r= >0.92*)*.

We control for the following social and demographic characteristics: education (less than high school; high school diploma; some college or university; a degree, diploma, or certificate from college or university); years since arrival; age at arrival; first

language (English or French; other language); racial minority status; marital status (married/common-law; divorced, separated, or widowed; single or never married); total personal annual income (under 20,000; $20,000-$39,999; $40,000-$59,999; $60,000-$79,999; $80,000-$99,999; over $100,000; income missing)[2]; and the respondent's main activity in the past 12 months before the survey (working; doing household work or caring for family members; going to school; other activities). In addition, we control for whether the respondent reported experiencing discrimination in the past five years, given that experiences of discrimination can influence immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada (Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry 2018).

We also consider the Human Development Index (HDI) of the respondent's source country. HDI measures human development in three areas: life expectancy, education, and standard of living (Human Development Report 2019). HDI ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating higher levels of development. Similar to the aforementioned gender inequality variable, we take the mean of a country's 1995 and 2000 values. We include this variable to ensure source-country gender inequality does not merely reflect general socioeconomic development. As a second source country control variable, we include the per capita GDP of an immigrant's country of origin (less than $10,000, $10,000-$19,999, $20,000-$29,999, $30,000-$39,999 and over $40,000) in constant 2011 international dollars—reflective of the purchasing power in a country and equivalent to what one U.S. dollar would buy in the United States—averaging of each

[2] As an alternative, we ran the models with multiple imputations for missing income data and found similar results.

country's 1995 and 2000 values. Finally, we include a control variable indicating whether respondents were surveyed in the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey or 2013 General Social Survey to consider the effect of the time periods in which the surveys were conducted.

Analytical Technique

We use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to assess the impact of source-country gender inequality on sense of belonging. We run separate models for first generation men (N=6,035) and first-generation women (N=6,760) to examine whether source country impacts men and women differently and consider the variation in the effects of all our control variables for men and women. Despite controlling for our covariates, respondents from the same country may report a similar sense of belonging, distinct from those from different countries. To address this possibility, we consider the clustering of data at immigrants' country of origin level for each model using cluster-robust standard errors. Similar to hierarchical linear modelling, cluster-robust standard errors address data clustering but differ in that it does not provide a random intercept estimate and is interpreted as a single-level model (McNeish, Stapleton, and Silverman 2016). For each subgroup, we examine the effect of source-country gender inequality first (Model 1) and then add demographic, socioeconomic, post-migration, and source-country control variables (Model 2). Although the dependent variable (sense of belonging to Canada) is measured on an ordinal scale (1 to 5), we treat it as a continuous variable and use OLS regression for ease of interpretation (See Berry and Hou 2019; Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2011; Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2012) for those taking a similar approach). To determine

whether this is an appropriate regression model, we ran ordered logistic regression models and found similar results (results are available upon request). [3] Finally, we employ regression decomposition to analyze our covariates' contributions to the change in effects of source-country gender inequality from Model 1 to Model 2.

Results

A First look

We begin our reporting of the results by presenting the gender inequality index scores across countries. Figure 2.1 shows the geographic distribution of gender inequality index scores, the focal independent variable. The darker shade indicates countries with higher levels of gender inequality, whereas the lighter shade indicates higher levels of gender equality. Although many East Asian countries have low levels of gender inequality, these countries are fairly strong in reproductive health. The high inequality scores for many countries in Africa and South Asia generally reflect poor reproductive health and many of the countries in the Middle East are weak in female empowerment (United Nations 2011).

[3] In addition to the OLS regression models presented in this paper, we ran other models as robustness checks. First, instead of GII (our independent variable), we used an alternative measure of source-country gender inequality using questions from the World Values Survey (See Abada, Frank, and Hou 2018; Fortin 2005; Frank and Hou 2016). We considered the following questions: 1) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women; 2) Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statement - A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl; 3) Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statement - On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do. Second, we replaced GII with each country's male to female labour force participation ratio and found similar results (See Frank and Hou 2015).

Table 2.1 presents the top 10 countries of origin for our sample of first-generation men and women. Additionally, for first generation men, 28 countries had a sample size over 50, 14 countries had a sample size between 30-50, and 13 countries had a sample size between 20-29. For first generation women, 31 countries had a sample size over 50, 11 countries had a sample size of 30-50, and 18 countries had between 20-29 respondents.

Figure 2.1

Table 2.1

Top Countries of Origin

First Generation Men		First Generation Women	
Country	Frequency	Country	Frequency
United Kingdom	506	Philippines	705
India	471	United Kingdom	584
China	413	China	489
Philippines	398	India	416
Hong Kong	239	Hong Kong	303
United States	237	United States	299
Poland	206	Poland	246
Italy	201	Germany	179
Germany	189	Italy	157
Pakistan	169	Jamaica	137

Next, we explore the distributions of the socioeconomic, demographic, source-country characteristics, and post-migration experiences of the sample. In Table 2.2, we look at the distribution of these characteristics for first generation men and women according to their Gender Inequality Index tercile—low, middle, and high. To better identify patterns, we do not present all categories used in our regression models.

Table 2.2

Descriptive Statistics of Source Country and Individual Characteristics

	Men			Women		
	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII
Source Country Characteristics						
HDI	0.78	0.63	0.49	0.78	0.63	0.49
GDP						
Less than $10,000	18.5%	69.0%	89.3%	16.8%	74.2%	88.7%
Over $10,000	81.5%	31.0%	10.8%	83.2%	25.8%	11.3%
Individual Level Characteristics						
Years since arrival	26.78	16.18	13.40	26.26	16.69	14.35
Age at arrival	28.68	30.04	30.71	28.79	29.49	29.14
Language						
English or French	32.3%	27.2%	15.8%	33.7%	27.3%	18.0%
Other language	67.8%	72.8%	84.2%	66.3%	72.7%	82.0%
Racial Minority						
Racial Minority	30.5%	76.1%	90.7%	31.5%	78.1%	89.3%
Not a racial minority	69.5%	23.9%	9.3%	68.5%	21.9%	10.7%
Marital Status						
Married/Common law	79.9%	79.5%	80.6%	69.1%	64.7%	78.7%
Other	20.1%	20.5%	19.4%	30.9%	35.3%	21.4%
Education						
Other	54.7%	53.3%	40.1%	62.2%	58.7%	48.4%
Degee, diploma or certificate	45.3%	46.7%	59.9%	37.8%	41.3%	51.6%
Discrimination						
Yes	21.4%	34.8%	35.2%	23.1%	37.4%	29.1%
No	78.6%	65.2%	64.9%	76.9%	62.6%	70.9%
Main Activity						
Working	54.4%	75.3%	72.0%	40.0%	56.8%	52.2%
Not working	45.7%	24.7%	28.1%	60.1%	43.2%	47.8%
Income						
Other	62.3%	64.6%	61.1%	83.1%	80.4%	81.7%
Over $40,000	37.7%	35.4%	38.9%	16.9%	19.6%	18.3%
N	2909	1719	1407	3379	2182	1199

We find several consistent patterns across all subgroups. Immigrants from countries in higher gender inequality index terciles are also from countries with lower Human Development Index scores and lower per capita GDP (less than $10,000). They also report fewer years in Canada, are less likely to speak English or French as their first language, and are more likely to hold a degree, diploma, or certificate. First generation

men and women from countries in the low Gender Inequality Index tercile are less likely to be working than those from the mid- and high-level GII terciles. Another stark difference is the increase in the percentage of racial minorities from low to mid-GII terciles as those from the lowest tercile report racial minority status at a far lower rate than those from the mid and high terciles.

Impact of Source-Country Gender Inequality on Sense of Belonging

Table 2.3 presents the results from the OLS regression models predicting first generation immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada. We want to know whether those in the first generation arriving from countries with higher levels of gender inequality have a stronger sense of belonging than those from countries with lower levels of inequality. Model 1 shows women from countries with higher Gender Inequality Index scores report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with lower GII scores ($b=0.415$, $p<.05$). When we control for these women's demographic, socioeconomic, post-migration, and other source-country characteristics in Model 2, the positive impact of the Gender Inequality Index on sense of belonging increases ($b=1.177$, $p< .01$).

Table 2.3

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Predicting Immigrant's Self-Reported Sense of Belonging to Canada

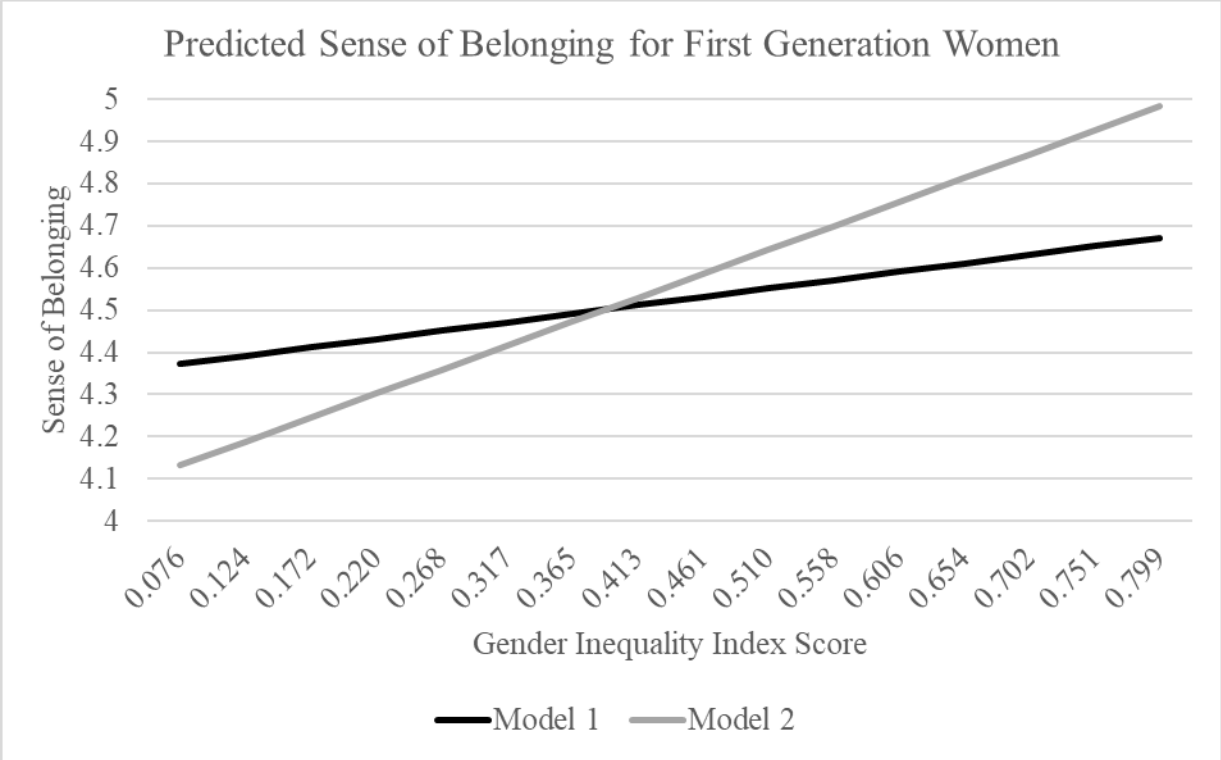
	First Generation Women				First Generation Men			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error
Gender Inequality Index	0.415 *	0.199	1.177 ***	0.242	0.586 **	0.172	1.102 ***	0.176
Language								
Other (Ref)								
English or French			-0.022	0.038			-0.090	0.053
Racial Minority								
Racial Minority (Ref)								
Not a racial minority			0.134 **	0.049			0.088	0.064
Marital Status								
Married/Common Law (Ref)								
Divorced, separated, widowed			-0.024	0.029			-0.003	0.040
Single, never married			0.008	0.062			-0.090	0.057
Education								
Degree, diploma, or college certificate (Ref)								
Some college or university			0.029	0.033			0.035	0.040
High school diploma			0.051	0.043			0.064	0.042
Less than high school diploma (includes no schooling)			-0.005	0.064			0.066	0.039
Discrimination								
Yes (Ref)								
No			0.144 ***	0.029			0.058	0.031
Main Activity								
Working (Ref)								
Household work or caring for family members			-0.081	0.053			-0.171	0.115
Going to school			-0.245 **	0.091			-0.081	0.062
Other main activity			-0.097 **	0.036			-0.070	0.044
Income								
Under 20k (Ref)								
$20,000-$39,999			-0.010	0.051			0.066	0.038
$40,000-$59,999			-0.052	0.060			0.125	0.047
$60,000-$79,999			0.033	0.065			0.122 **	0.051
$80,000-$99,999			-0.149	0.087			0.108 *	0.072
Over $100,000			-0.049	0.105			0.004	0.061
Income Missing			-0.049	0.056			0.047	0.062
Age at Arrival			0.003	0.002			0.005 **	0.002
EDS								
GSS respondent (Ref)								
EDS respondent			-0.030	0.035			-0.087 *	0.044
Years Since Arrival			0.016 ***	0.001			0.014 ***	0.002
Source Country HDI			-0.181	0.327			-0.306	0.253
Source Country per capita GDP								
Less than $10k (Ref)								
$10,000-$19,999			0.109	0.065			0.156 **	0.056
$20,000-$20,999			0.272 **	0.095			0.198 **	0.070
$30,000-$39,999			0.067	0.084			0.075	0.100
Over $40,000			-0.204	0.124			-0.105	0.143
Constant	4.340 ***	0.114	3.651 ***	0.315	4.283 ***	0.101	3.723 ***	0.232
Adjusted R-Squared	0.007		0.115		0.016		0.104	

p<0.05*,0.01**,0.001***

Figure 2.2 visually presents the first generation women's predicted sense of belonging according to the GII of their country of origin based on the results for Models 1 and 2. Comparing the results from Model 1 and Model 2 visually, we see two noteworthy findings. First, once we control for the covariates, women from more gender egalitarian

countries still report a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than women from countries with more inequality. We can interpret this from the perspective that women from countries with more equality between men and women may not be as affected by some of the positive gains in women's rights and autonomy in Canada as there is less variance compared to their culture of origin. For instance, women from Sweden, the country with the lowest GII score, may experience little gain in Canada. In contrast, women from Niger, the country with the most gender inequality, may experience large gains. Second, when we control for the covariates, the sense of belonging reported by women from countries with high gender inequality increases more rapidly than it does in the model without the covariates. In other words, the patterns observed in Figure 2.2 suggest the demographic characteristics, socioeconomic characteristics, source-country conditions, and post-migration experiences of female immigrants enhance the impact of gender inequality on sense of belonging. We also find not being a racial minority ($b=0.134$, $p<0.01$), not experiencing discrimination ($b=0.144$, $p<0.001$), and increased years since arrival ($b=0.016$, $p<0.001$) have statistically significant and positive impacts on sense of belonging. Looking at respondents' main activity, we find those who are in school ($b=-.0245$, $p<0.01$) or report 'other main activity' ($b= -0.097$, $p<0.01$) have a lower sense of belong compared to those who are working. Lastly, first-generation women from countries with a per capita GDP between $20,000 and $29,999 report a higher sense of belonging than those from countries with a per capita GDP of less than $10,000.

Figure 2.2

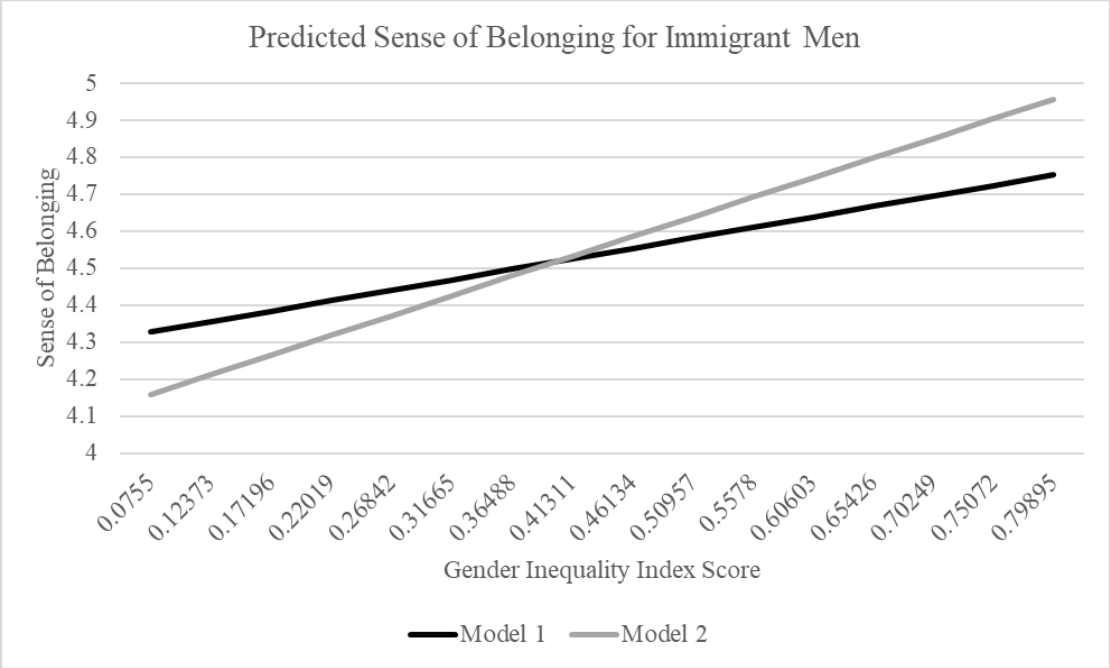


Results for first generation men are similar. Men from countries with greater gender inequality report a higher sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with greater male-female parity (b=0.586, p< .01; Model 1, Table 2.3). Once we introduce the covariates, the positive impact of source-country gender inequality on sense of belonging increases (b=1.102, p< .001).

To examine this relationship further, we present the first generation men's predicted sense of belonging according to the gender inequality index of their country of origin in Figure 2.3. Mirroring our results for first generation women, first generation men from more equitable countries report a lower sense of belonging, while those from

countries with more gender inequality report a higher sense of belonging. These findings suggest that although men may benefit socially and economically from gender inequality in their home countries and lose some of this privilege in countries like Canada, this is not a barrier to self-perceived integration. While it is difficult to say what accounts for this positive association, one explanation is that men from more gender equal countries may have to recoup financial losses suffered during migration. Men from countries with higher gender inequality may benefit more from an improved quality of life, increased security, and protection. Regardless, these findings show that in some cases, cultural difference can be a positive force in the acculturation process. We also find statistically significant associations between several covariates and sense of belonging. First, men who arrived at an older age ($b=0.005$, $p<0.01$) and have lived in Canada longer ($b=0.014$, $p<0.001$) have a higher sense of belonging to Canada, suggesting greater acculturation to the host country society. In terms of income, men earning $40,000-$59,999 ($b=0.122$, $p<0.01$) or $60,000-$79,999 ($b=0.108$, $p<0.01$) report a stronger sense of belonging than those who earn under $20,000. Additionally, those from countries with a per capita GDP of $10,000-$19,999 ($b=0.156$, $p<0.01$) or $20,000-$29,999 ($b=0.198$, $p<0.01$) report a higher sense of belonging when compared to those from countries with a per capita GDP of less than $10,000. Lastly, respondents of the 2002 EDS report a lower sense of belonging ($b=-0.087$, $p<0.05$) than those from the 2013 GSS.

Figure 2.3



The results for the first generation women support Hypothesis 1a. Female immigrants from countries with higher levels of gender inequality have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. The results do not support Hypothesis 1b that men from countries with greater levels of gender inequality will report a weaker sense of belonging to Canada. Instead, Hypothesis 2b is supported: men from these countries have a stronger sense of belonging. When we analyze the change in coefficients from Model 1 to Model 2, controlling for the covariates, we find the impact of the gender inequality index on sense of belonging increases for both groups. This suggests the impact of source-country gender inequality on sense of belonging is affected by immigrants' demographic, socioeconomic and post-migration characteristics, and source country-conditions.

Table 2.4

Decomposition of the effect of GII on Sense of Belonging

	Women	Men
Observed Effects of GII	0.085	0.128
Adjusted Effects of GII	0.240	0.241
'Explained' Portion	-0.156	-0.113
Contributing Components		
Years Since Arrival	70.92%	97.51%
Racial Minority	29.54%	28.66%
Discrimination	5.97%	4.49%
Education	0.20%	3.59%
Main Activity	-2.23%	-4.84%
Marital Status	-0.90%	2.69%
Income	-0.24%	0.41%
Survey Year	-1.73%	-6.53%
Language	-1.10%	-5.97%
Age at Arrival	-0.61%	-5.38%
Human Development Index	-16.25%	-40.31%
Source Country GDP	16.44%	25.68%

To assess the covariates' contributions to the change in the effect of source-country gender inequality from Model 1 to Model 2, we employ a generalized regression decomposition technique (Hou 2014). In Table 2.4, we present the results of the regression decomposition. The observed effects of GII denote the standardized regression coefficients for gender inequality index variable for first-generation women and men from the first models in Table 2.3. The adjusted effects of GII indicate the adjusted standardized regression coefficients for the gender inequality index variable from the second models in Table 2.3. In the third row, we calculate the difference between the observed and adjusted effect—the portion that can be accounted for by our covariates.

The remaining rows in Table 2.4 report the decomposition results, or the contribution of each covariate on the explained portion of GII. The results show that years since arrival accounts for the majority of the increase in the effect of gender inequality from Model 1 to Model 2. Immigrants from countries with higher gender inequality index scores have stayed fewer years in Canada than those from countries with lower GII scores, and the length of residence in Canada is a strong positive predictor of sense of belonging to Canada. Without accounting for years since arrival, we miss the integrative effect of duration in the host country. Thus, when holding the length of residence constant for immigrants from countries with various levels of gender inequality, the effect of the GII on the sense of belonging to Canada increases from Model 1 to Model 2.

Conclusions and Discussion

Researchers have examined the role of source-country gender inequality on immigrants' economic, and political integration (Abada, Frank, and Hou 2018; Bilodeau 2016, Frank and Hou 2015, 2016) but have not considered how it can impact certain aspects of acculturation, such as feelings of belonging, acceptance, and inclusion. We addressed this gap by examining the impact of source-country gender inequality on immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada. Our aim was to determine whether there is a differential impact for first generation men and women while accounting for their demographic, socioeconomic, and post-migration characteristics. To this end, we analyzed combined data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey and 2013 General Social Survey.

Our analysis shows first generation men and women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality, as measured by the United Nations Gender Inequality Index, have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. This supports Hypothesis 1a. As women tend to have a self-interest in equitable gender arrangements and empowerment, the transition from countries with higher levels of gender inequality to an environment with lower levels of gender inequality will likely have some benefits. Although studies show immigrant women from countries with high levels of gender inequality face integration barriers in educational attainment, employment earnings, and political participation (Abada, Frank, and Hou 2018; Bilodeau 2016; Frank and Hou 2016), we find these women develop a stronger self-perceived sense of belonging to Canada. This underscores the need for further research to consider how cultural difference can both impede and facilitate various aspects of immigrant integration. Unlike political or economic integration and educational attainment, sense of belonging hinges on internalized perception.

Our results do not support our hypothesis 2b that first generation men from more inequitable countries will report a weaker sense of belonging. In contrast, our results support hypothesis 2a as we find a positive association between source-country gender inequality and men's sense of belonging. Men may benefit socially and economically from gender inequality in their home countries and then lose some of this advantage, privilege, and empowerment in more gender equitable countries like Canada. Research shows migration can disrupt traditional gender arrangements, with challenges to patriarchal authority (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-

Saucedo 2005; Pease 2009; Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, and Chinichian 2011). However, our findings indicate this is not a barrier for self-perceived integration, as first-generation men from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than their counterparts from countries with lower levels of gender inequality. Contrary to concerns that immigrants arriving from a country with a culture distinctly different from that of the host country will have difficulty integrating, differences between the home country and Canada can be a positive force in the acculturation process (Budd 2019; also see Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014).

Some politicians and political groups contend that immigrants from countries with high levels of gender inequality will have difficulty integrating into liberal Western societies such as Canada. For instance, right-wing populist parties in Western Europe argue that gender equality is threatened by the admission of immigrants from countries that do not share liberal cultural values (de Lange and Mügge 2015; Morgan 2017). In Canada, former Member of Parliament Kellie Leitch argued that immigrants should be screened for their views on gender equality before admission due to incompatible cultural difference (Budd 2019). Both arguments are exacerbated by the recent influx of immigrants from non-Western nations. The findings from our study can inform the debate on the admission of immigrants from countries with starkly different cultures than the receiving nation. Our results show first generation men and women from cultures with high levels of gender inequality develop a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with greater gender equality. These findings support the idea that immigrant-receiving countries should not limit newcomers because of their culture and

country, as those from quite diverse cultures can establish a strong sense of belonging to the host country. Future research should seek to identify additional positive aspects of cultural dissonance for immigrant integration.

Conversely, although immigrants from high gender inequality countries may feel they belong, future research should examine whether these immigrants participate in different facets of social life such as involvement with community organizations, and whether they establish social networks beyond their own ethnic group. While Canada prides itself on multiculturalism, recent events have only renewed concerns that not all immigrants will establish a strong sense of belonging. Proposals in Quebec to ban certain religious clothing, the violent targeting of Muslims, and increased anti-Asian hate crimes with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic raise fears that some immigrants may experience enhanced barriers and difficulty establishing a connection to Canada (See Austen 2021; Azpiri 2021; Montpetit and Shingler 2021). Immigrants' sense of belonging will be increasingly important in the coming years.

Finally, a limitation of this study is that we cannot discern why both immigrant men and women from highly gender unequal countries express a stronger sense of belonging to Canada at similar levels. As suggested by our alternative hypotheses, we offer two possible explanations. First, enhanced expectations and responsibilities placed on women in Canada may temper the expected increase in women's sense of belonging, contributing to feelings of culture shock. Second, men from countries with higher gender inequality may benefit in Canada in ways that do not advantage men from countries with greater parity. The improved quality of life, security, and protection afforded by Canada

to men from highly gender unequal environments may improve their sense of belonging. An additional limitation is that the 2013 General Social Survey and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey did not capture individual attitudes toward gender inequality. This study is intended to investigate the impact of source-country level gender inequality— operationalized using women's reproductive health, empowerment, and labour force activity— on immigrant's sense of belonging to Canada. Future research is needed to examine the impact of individual-level support for oppressive gender norms on immigrant integration.

References

Abada, Teresa, Kristyn Frank, and Feng Hou. 2018. "Between Two Worlds: Source-Country Gender Roles and Gender Differences in Educational Attainment among Immigrant Children." *Sociological Inquiry* 88(1): 131–154.

Austen, Ian. 2021. "Truck Attack That Killed a Muslim Family in Canada Was Planned." *The New York Times*, June 11, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/world/canada/muslim-family-targeted-truck.html.

Azpiri, Jon. 2021. "Poll finds anti-Asian discrimination in Canada has gotten worse." *Global News*, June 8, 2021. https://globalnews.ca/news/7932426/anti-asian-discrimination-canada-poll/.

Bein, Christopher, Anne H. Gauthier, and Monika Mynarska. 2021. "Religiosity and Fertility Intentions: Can the Gender Regime Explain Cross-Country Differences?" *European Journal of Population 37*(2), 443-472.

Beiser, Morton, Sofia Puente-Duran, and Feng Hou. 2015. "Cultural distance and emotional problems among immigrant and refugee youth in Canada: Findings from the New Canadian Child and Youth Study (NCCYS)." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 49: 33-45.

Berry, John W., and Feng Hou. 2017. "Acculturation, discrimination and wellbeing among second generation of immigrants in Canada." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 61: 29–39.

Berry, John W. and Feng Hou. 2019. “Multiple belongings and psychological well-being among immigrants and the second generation in Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 51(3): 159–170.

Bilodeau, Antoine. 2016. “Migrating Gender Inequalities? Immigrant Women’s Participation in Political Survey Research.” *International Migration Review* 50(4): 951–976.

Blau, Francie D, Lawrence M. Kahn, Matthew Comey, Amanda Eng, Pamela Meyerhofer, and Alexander Willén. 2020. “Culture and gender allocation of tasks: Source country characteristics and the division of non-market work among US immigrants.” *Review of Economics of the Household* 18(4): 907-958.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna. Korteweg, and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2008. “Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1), 153–179.

Budd, Brian. 2019. “The Populist Radical Right Goes Canadian: An Analysis of Kellie Leitch’s Failed 2016–2017 Conservative Party of Canada Leadership Campaign.” Pp. 137-163 in *Populism and World Politics: Exploring Inter- and Transnational Dimensions*, edited by Frank A. Stengel, David B. MacDonald and Dirk Nabers. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Charles, Maria. 2011. “A world of difference: International trends in women’s economic status.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 355–371.

Charsley, Katharine, and Helena Wray. 2015. “Introduction: The Invisible (Migrant) Man.” *Men and Masculinities* 18(4): 403–423.

Choi, Jaeyoung, Kaysi E. Kushner, Judy Mill, and Daniel W.L. Lai. 2014. "The Experience of Korean Immigrant Women Adjusting to Canadian Society." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 29(3): 277–297.

Chow, Henry P. H. 2007. "Sense of belonging and life satisfaction among Hong Kong adolescent immigrants in Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(3): 511–520.

Connell, Raewyn. 2005. "Advancing Gender Reform in Large-scale Organisations: A New Approach for Practitioners and Researchers." *Policy and Society* 24(4): 5–24.

De Lange, Sarah L., and Liza M. Mügge. 2015. "Gender and right-wing populism in the Low Countries: ideological variations across parties and time." *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1-2): 61-80.

Feliciano, Cynthia. 2020. Immigrant Selectivity Effects on Health, Labor Market, and Educational Outcomes. *Annual Review of Sociology* 46: 315-334.

Fortin, Nicole M. 2005. "Gender role attitudes and the labour-market outcomes of women across OECD countries." *Oxford review of Economic Policy* 21(3): 416-438.

Frank, Kristyn and Frank Hou. 2015. "Source-Country gender roles and the division of labor within immigrant families." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77(2): 557–574.

Frank, Kristyn, and Frank Hou 2016. "Beyond culture: source country female labour force participation and the earnings of immigrant women." *Work, Employment and Society* 30(3): 410–435.

Geurts, Nella, Tine Davids, and Niels Spierings. 2021. "The lived experience of an integration paradox: why high-skilled migrants from Turkey experience little national belonging in the Netherlands." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(1): 69-87.

Haney, Lynne A. 2000. "Feminist State Theory: Applications to Jurisprudence, Criminology, and the Welfare State." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 641–666.

Hartmann, Jörg, and Jan Philip Steinmann. 2021. "Do Gender-Role Values Matter? Explaining New Refugee Women's Social Contact in Germany." *International Migration Review* 55(3) 1–30.

He, Qian, and Theodore P. Gerber. 2020. "Origin-Country Culture, Migration Sequencing, and Female Employment: Variations among Immigrant Women in the United States." *International Migration Review* 54(1): 233–261.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, and Michael Messner. 1994. "Gender displays and men's power: The 'new man' and the Mexican immigrant man." Pp. 201-218 in *Theorizing masculinities*, edited by H. Brod and M. Kaufman. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hou, Feng. 2014. "A General Approach to Effect Decomposition." *Social Science Quarterly* 95(3): 894–904.

Hou, Feng, Grant Schellenberg, and John. Berry. 2018. "Patterns and determinants of immigrants' sense of belonging to Canada and their source country." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41(9): 1612–1631.

Human Development Report. 2019. “Technical notes Calculating the human development indices—graphical presentation.” *United Nations Development Programme.* http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019_technical_notes.pdf.

Huot, Suzanne, Belinda Dodson, and Debbie L. Rudman. 2014. “Negotiating belonging following migration: Exploring the relationship between place and identity in Francophone minority communities.” *Canadian Geographer* 58(3): 329–340.

Hyman, Ilene, Sepali Guruge, and Robin Mason. 2008. “The impact of migration on marital relationships: A study of Ethiopian immigrants in Toronto.” *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 39(2): 149-163.

Itzigsohn, José, and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo. 2005. “Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes.” *International Migration Review* 39(4): 895–920.

Kitchen, Peter, Allison M. Williams, and Melissa Gallina. 2015. “Sense of belonging to local community in small-to-medium sized Canadian urban areas: A comparison of immigrant and Canadian-born residents.” *BMC Psychology* 3(1): 1–17.

Korteweg, Anna, and Gökce Yurdakul. 2014. *The Headscarf Debates. Conflicts of National Belonging*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lersch, Philipp M. 2016. “Family Migration and Subsequent Employment: The Effect of Gender Ideology.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 78(1):230–45.

Martin, Patricia Yancey. 2004. “Gender as Social Institution.” *Social Forces* 82(4): 1249–1273.

McCoy, John, Anna Kirova, and W. Andy Knight. 2016. “Gauging Social Integration among Canadian Muslims: A Sense of Belonging in an Age of Anxiety.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 48(2): 21–52.

McNeish, Daniel, Laura M. Stapleton, and Rebecca D. Silverman. 2017. “On the unnecessary ubiquity of hierarchical linear modeling.” *Psychological Methods* 22(1): 114–140.

Montpetit, Jonathan, and Benjamin Shingler. 2021 “Quebec Superior Court upholds most of religious symbols ban, but English-language schools exempt.” *CBC News*, April 20, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/bill-21-religious-symbols-ban-quebec-court-ruling-1.5993431.

Morgan, Kimberly J. 2017. “Gender, right-wing populism, and immigrant integration policies in France, 1989–2012.” *West European Politics* 40(4): 887-906.

Orloff, Ann S. 1993. “Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states.” *American Sociological Review* 58(3): 303-328.

Painter, Carla V. 2013. “Sense of belonging: literature review.” *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/research-stats/r48a-2012belonging-eng.pdf.

Pease, Bob. 2009. “Immigrant men and domestic life.” Pp. 79-95 in *Migrant men: Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, edited by M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson and B. Pease. New York: Routledge.

Peters, Karin, Monika Stodolska, and Anna Horolets. 2016. “The role of natural environments in developing a sense of belonging: A comparative study of immigrants in the US, Poland, the Netherlands and Germany.” *Urban forestry & urban greening* 17: 63-70.

Picot, Garnett, and Feng Hou. 2011. “Citizenship Acquisition in Canada and the United States: Determinants and Economic Benefit.” *Naturalisation: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?*: 154-181. Doi: 10.1787/9789264099104-9-en.

Pyke, Karen D., and Denise L. Johnson. 2003. “Asian American women and racialized femininities: “Doing” gender across cultural worlds.” *Gender and Society* 17(1): 33–53.

Read, Jen’nan Ghazal. 2004. “Cultural Influences on Immigrant Women’s Labor Force Participation: The Arab-American Case.” *International Migration Review* 38(1): 52–77.

Reitz, Jen’nan Ghazal, and Rupa Banerjee. 2007. “Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada.” Pp. 489-545 in *Belonging?: Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, edited by K. Banting, T. J. Courchene, and F. L. Seidle. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Risman, Barbara. J. 2004. “Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism.” *Gender & Society* 18(4): 429–450.

Röder, Antje, and Peter Mühlau. 2014. “Are they acculturating? Europe’s immigrants and gender egalitarianism.” *Social Forces* 92 (3): 899–928.

Schellenberg, Grant. 2004. “Perceptions of Canadians: A sense of belonging, confidence, and trust.” *Canadian Social Trends* (Winter Issue):16–21.

Schenker, Nathaniel, and Trivellore E. Raghunathan 2007. “Combining information from multiple surveys to enhance estimation of measures of health.” *Statistics in medicine* 26(8): 1802-1811.

Schwartz, Seth J., Marilyn J. Montgomery, and Ervin Briones. 2006. “The role of identity in acculturation among immigrant people: Theoretical propositions, empirical questions, and applied recommendations.” *Human Development* 49(1): 1-30.

Schwartz, Seth J., Jennifer B. Unger, Byron L. Zamboanga, and José Szapocznik. 2010. “Rethinking the concept of acculturation: implications for theory and research.” *American Psychologist* 65(4): 237-251.

Shankar, Irene, and Herbert Northcott. 2009. “Through my son: Immigrant women bargain with patriarchy.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 32(6): 424-434.

Shirpak, Khosro R., Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, and Maryam Chinichian. 2011. “Post migration changes in Iranian immigrants’ couple relationships in Canada.” *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42(6): 751–770.

Simonsen, Kristina B. 2016. “How the host nation’s boundary drawing affects immigrants’ belonging.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(7): 1153–1176.

Statistics Canada. 2003. “Ethnic Diversity Survey: portrait of a multicultural society.” https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-593-x/89-593-x2003001-eng.pdf.

Statistics Canada. 2013. “General Social Survey: An Overview, 2013.” https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/89f0115x/89f0115x2013001-eng.pdf?st=d788Gui4.

Statistics Canada. 2014. “General Social Survey – Social Identity (SI).” https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=139605.

Statistics Canada. 2016. “Ethnic Diversity Survey.” https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/92-135/surveys-enquetes/ethnicdiversity-diversiteethnique-eng.cfm.

Statistics Canada. 2018. “Standard Classification of Countries and Areas of Interest.” https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/subjects/standard/sccai/2018/introduction.

Stick, Max, and Tina Fetner. 2021. “Feminist Men and Sexual Behavior: Analyses of Men’s Sex with Women.” *Men and Masculinities* 24(5): 780-801.

Stroink, Mirella L, and Richard N. Lalonde. 2009. “Bicultural identity conflict in second-generation Asian Canadians.” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 149(1): 44-65.

Trieu, Monica M. 2018. “The ‘isolated ethnics’ and ‘everyday ethnics’: region, identity, and the second-generation Midwest Asian American experience.” *National Identities* 20(2): 175-195.

United Nations. 2011. “Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) about the Gender Inequality Index (GII)”. http://data.un.org/_Docs/FAQs_2011_GII.pdf.

Walby, Sylvia. 2009. *Globalization and inequalities.* London: Sage.

Ward, Colleen, Stephen Fox, Jessie Wilson, Jaimee Stuart, and Larissa Kus. 2010. "Contextual influences on acculturation processes: The roles of family, community and society." *Psychological Studies* 55(1): 26–34.

Wu, Zheng, Feng Hou, and Christoph. M. Schimmele. 2011. "Racial Diversity and Sense of Belonging in Urban Neighborhoods." *City & Community* 10: 373–392.

Wu, Zheng, Christoph M. Schimmele, and Feng Hou. 2012. "Self-perceived integration of immigrants and their children." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 37(4): 381-408.

Yeung, Wei-Jun, Sonalde Desai, and Gavin W. Jones. 2018. "Families in Southeast and South Asia." *Annual Review of Sociology* 44(1): 469–495.

Chapter 3: Gendered Perspectives of Financial Control: Source-Country Gender Inequality and Financial Decisions of Immigrant Couples

Abstract

The financial decision-making patterns of couples is common measure of household authority and relationship power dynamics. Are there differences in who controls financial decisions, the man or the woman, among opposite-sex immigrant couples? Do immigrants from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report more patriarchal decision-making practices than immigrants from countries with more gender equality? This study explores the impact of source-country gender inequality on the decision-making practices of immigrant couples. The findings show that men from countries with higher levels of gender inequality are less likely to report as primary decision-makers compared to men from countries with more gender equality. In contrast, women from higher gender inequality countries are more likely to report their male spouse or partner as the primary decision-maker. Despite divergent perspectives on who has financial authority, analyses of immigrants' responses show that a higher level of women's economic and human capital is associated with a lower likelihood of male-dominated decision-making arrangements. These findings contribute to the literature on the relationship between immigrants' source country and post-migration outcomes and men's and women's conflicting perspectives of familial arrangements.

Introduction

Decision-making power is a common indicator of household authority and relationship equality (See Bartley et al. 2005; Becker et al. 2006; Cheng 2019; Yusof 2015). Financial decision-making in particular signifies who controls the household income and autonomy in resource expenditure. Income arrangements are most unequal when one spouse is the sole manager of the finances (Yodanis and Lauer 2007a). Research shows that although women's economic and human capital is associated with more equitable decision-making patterns among opposite-sex couples (Bertocchi, Brunetti, and Torricelli 2014; Doss 2013; Eroğlu 2020; Yusof 2015), cultural norms regarding gender roles and gender inequality can impact couples' power relations (Treas 1993; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a, 2007b; Yusof and Duasa 2010). Moreover, studies find that men's and women's perspectives on financial authority dynamics do not always align. Men may think they share decision-making authority, household work, or other tasks with their partners, whereas women's views may differ (See Becker et al. 2006; Lee and Waite 2005; Mazzotta 2019; Treas and Tai 2012). Despite actual arrangements, men may frame themselves favourably by reporting less authoritative control and women may underreport their authority in deference to their husbands (Ghuman et al. 2004).

Many immigrants in high-income countries come from countries with high levels of gender inequality (International Organization for Migration 2019; Röder and Mühlau, 2014). Gender scholars widely agree that national-level gender inequality can trickle into familial relationships (Haney 2000; Orloff 1993). Government restrictions on paid parental leave and subsidized childcare can coerce wives to remain in domestic roles,

contributing to inequitable familial relations (Singley and Hynes 2005). Meanwhile, immigration literature shows that women from high gender-inequality countries are more likely to do most of the housework (Frank and Hou 2015), earn less income (Frank and Hou 2016), report lower political involvement (Bilodeau 2016), and have lower educational attainment (Abada et al. 2018) than women from countries with more gender equality.

In contrast, in Western liberal democracies, men and women are treated more equally, with policy initiatives addressing structural gender inequality. In Canada—a country known to have progressive gender equity policies, women are increasingly entering the workforce and men are taking more responsibility for household tasks (Guppy et al. 2019, Marshall 2009). Over the past three decades, women's average time spent on housework decreased from 3.8 to 1.5 hours per day, while men on average spent more time on housework from 1.5 to 1.9 hours (Moyser and Burlock 2018). Concurrently, the share of dual-earning couples in Canada rose from 4 in 10 to 7 in 10 in the late 1990s, stabilizing at about 68% in 2008 (Marshall 2009).

Studies suggest national-level gender inequality and norms are associated with inequitable decision-making and income management among couples (Pepin and Cohen 2021; Yodanis and Lauer 2007b). An increasing number of studies examine the impact of source-country gender inequality on immigrants' post-migration experiences (Abada et al. 2018; Frank and Hou 2015; 2016; He and Gerber 2020). However, research on the impact of source-country gender inequality on financial decision-making among immigrant families is limited. A handful of studies on immigrant financial arrangements focus only

on a single source country, do not consider impacts of source-country gender inequality, or are predominantly qualitative (Bertocchi, Brunetti, and Zaiceva 2022; Eroğlu 2020; Gu 2019, Sun 2010). To my knowledge, no quantitative study has examined how source-country gender inequality is associated with the daily financial-decision making of immigrant couples, and whether men's and women's perspectives of these arrangements differ. This is a disconcerting research gap, as financial dynamics are key indicators of gender inequality and power relations within couples.

This paper explores gender dynamics in the daily financial decision-making of immigrant couples. It examines whether and to what extent source-country gender inequality impacts their daily financial decision-making patterns. To this end, I analyze data from the 2011 and 2017 General Social Surveys to answer three research questions. First, does source-country gender inequality impact financial decision-making among male-female immigrant couples? Second, do men and women share the same perceptions about who makes daily financial decisions? And third, are men's and women's reports of financial decision-making affected by their human and economic capital?

While this study builds on previous research on gender inequality and the impact of source-country characteristics on immigrants' socioeconomic outcomes, it departs from it in three important ways. First, it considers that individuals from environments of normalized gendered inequality may not share financial decision-making responsibilities with their opposite-sex spouse or partner. Therefore, this research extends the impact of source-country characteristics to a gendered dimension of intrafamilial financial power dynamics. Second, it examines men and women separately, contributing to the literature

documenting divergent male-female accounts of gender equality. While research has found that male and female accounts of housework do not always align (Lee and Waite 2005), it builds from previous research by highlighting the role of source-country gender inequality in disparate gendered perspectives of financial authority. Third, it contributes to a greater understanding of the characteristics and mechanisms associated with women's household authority. Although men's and women's perspectives on financial authority may diverge, human and economic capital can enhance equality in couples' financial decision-making patterns.

Literature Review

What Explains Familial Financial Decision-Making?

A large body of literature explores how authority over familial decisions is negotiated among couples (Blood and Wolfe 1960). Within this literature, many consider male control of money management and financial decision decisions in opposite-sex couples as reflecting broader gender inequality and power dynamics in relationships (Eroğlu 2020; Vogler and Pahl 1994; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a, 2007b; Yusof 2015).

Resource theory contends that partners with more resources will have greater leverage over household decisions (Blood and Wolfe 1960; Treas and Tai 2012; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a; 2007b). Studies show that higher education and income, and older age are associated with enhanced decision-making power for women (Bertocchi, Brunetti, and Torricelli 2014; Doss 2013; Eroğlu 2020; Yusof 2015). However, equal resource distribution between partners does not always translate to equality in income

management. When partners have similar resources and capital, societal norms and customs help guide economic arrangements (Pepin and Cohen 2021; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a; 2007b). In a study of multigenerational households in China, Cheng (2019) finds that women's education is not associated with greater decision-making power between partners. Instead, commitment to traditional gender ideologies and patriarchal arrangements imposed by older generations supersedes education's empowering effect (also see Gu 2019).

Cultural norms, values, and national-level gender inequality provide a backdrop for familial financial arrangements (Treas 1993; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a; 2007b; Yusof and Duasa 2010). In other words, traditional patriarchal cultures versus egalitarian gender policies and attitudes impact resource allocation, including household finances (Nyman et al. 2013). Power imbalances between men and women can be legitimized and even portrayed as non-existent through cultural or ideological norms about the role of men and women in society (Kabeer 2005). Kagotho and Vaughn (2018) note that cultural norms, laws, and regulations in sub-Saharan African countries limit women's ability to control familial financial decisions despite gains in recent years. Likewise, Dema-Moreno (2009) discusses how the influx of women to public life, including access to education, political involvement, and the rise of dual-income families in Spain, plays a vital role in couples' negotiation of financial decision-making.

Quantitative research commonly uses country-level predictors to show that national characteristics are associated with unequal familial income arrangements. A cross-national study by Yodanis and Lauer (2007a) finds economic inequality at the

national level is associated with couples' unequal financial arrangements. The researchers argue that broader social inequality permeates familial income management decisions. Similarly, Yodanis and Lauer (2007b) found respondents are more likely to report shared financial management in countries supporting shared breadwinning. Moreover, Pepin and Cohen (2021) conducted a cross national comparison of couples' income arrangements. They found that couples living in countries with higher gender inequality, measured by the UN Gender Inequality Index in 2012, reported shared income management at lower rates than those living in countries with more gender parity. Pepin and Cohen (2021) show that although higher levels of gender inequality are associated with more male-dominated decision-making, these patterns could change upon migration to a country with relatively low levels of gender inequality.

Immigration and Financial Decision Making

A growing number of immigrants in Canada come from countries with high levels of gender inequality. Nearly two-thirds of immigrant women in Canada arrive from countries with notable human development gaps between men and women (Bilodeau 2016). In response to this trend, researchers increasingly study how discrepancies in gender equality and norms between Canada and immigrants' source countries are negotiated.

Scholars draw on resource theory and cultural beliefs about the role of men and women to explain immigrants' financial decision-making patterns (Eroğlu 2020). In countries with high levels of gender inequality, women are less likely to be employed,

have lower levels of education and overall fewer resources associated with decision-making power. However, increases in resources and living in more gender-egalitarian contexts through immigration can provide women with more power in financial decisions. Eroğlu (2020) compares Turkish immigrants' economic decision-making patterns in Europe to Turks who never migrated. The researcher finds that Turkish immigrants in Europe have higher rates of joint financial-decision making than Turks who never migrated. In support of resource theory and cultural explanations, the author suggests exposure to less patriarchal contexts in Western Europe (compared to Turkey) and women's resource accumulation (e.g., personal income and education) can facilitate changes in economic arrangements within couples.

Several qualitative studies examine the financial decision making of immigrants. These studies are often limited in scope and therefore cannot be generalized to a broader population. For instance, Sun (2010) finds that wives primarily make financial decisions about household expenditure among Chinese immigrant couples in Canada. The author, however, admits her claims are not generalizable given the small sample size of 8 couples. Likewise, Gu (2019) examines financial decision-making among educated middle-class Taiwanese immigrant women in the Midwestern United States. Her interviews revealed that while wives make family financial decisions, these tasks were perceived as domestic labour. However, there may be different financial decision-making patterns when samples are limited to economically secure immigrant couples compared to immigrants experiencing economic hardship.

Studying familial financial arrangements of immigrants is further complicated as men and women may have conflicting perspectives on who holds domestic authority. Treas and Tai (2012) suggest that in countries with more equitable gender beliefs, men may be less likely to report they are the sole decision-maker and wives' reports may be more reliable with men over-reporting shared responsibility. Overall, disparities in partners' reporting and perspectives can lead to a divergence between men's and women's accounts. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the perspectives of men and women separately.

This study expands on previous research by using nationally representative survey data to examine the role of source-country gender inequality on men's and women's perceptions of daily financial decision making among immigrant couples. Moreover, the analysis incorporates economic and human capital covariates outlined as influential in financial decision-making. Specifically, this study tests following hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 1: Men from higher gender inequality countries will report they are primarily responsible for household decisions compared to men from countries with more gender parity.

> Hypothesis 2: Women from higher gender inequality countries will report men make most of the household decisions compared to women from countries with more gender parity.

Hypothesis 3: Economic and human capital characteristics of immigrants and their partners or spouses will partly explain their household decision making behaviours.

Methods

Data

This study uses data from Statistics Canada's 2011 and 2017 General Social Surveys (GSS). The GSS is an annual cross-sectional survey. It focuses on a specific theme each year, cycling about every five years. The 2011 (N=22,435) and 2017 (N=20,602) General Social Surveys focused on changes in Canadian families and included information on familial characteristics and living arrangements. The target population was those aged 15 and older who live in the ten provinces. Respondents were randomly selected using random digit dialling.

These datasets are ideal for this study as the 2011 and 2017 General Social Survey on families collected similar and detailed information on daily financial decision-making, allowing both datasets to be pooled. Both the 2011 and 2017 GSS ask respondents to select their marital status and whether they live with a married, common-law, or same-sex partner in the same household. As the target population for the GSS is individuals, not households or couples, I am unable to match respondents to partners because of data limitations. Due to these restrictions, the analysis focuses on married or common-law individuals who live with a member of the opposite sex. Furthermore, all couple-level and spousal characteristics are a one-sided account provided by the respondent. I used listwise

deletion for separate analyses of immigrant men (N=1,609) and women (N=1,549) by source-country gender inequality.

Measures

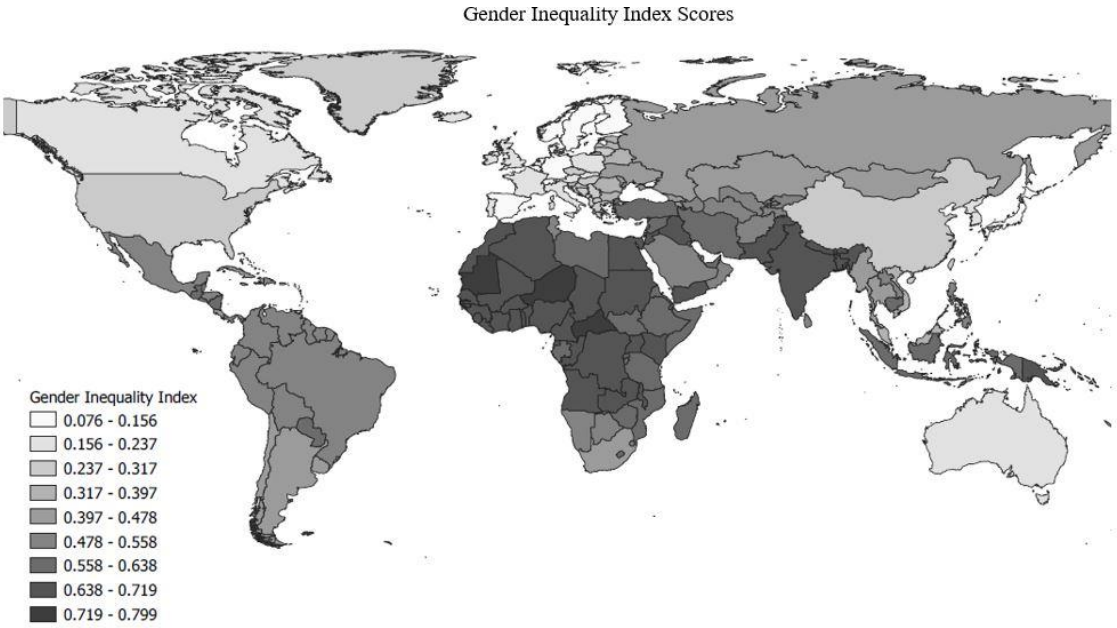
The dependent variable is respondents' self-reported daily financial decision making. The 2011 and 2017 GSS asked, "Who in your couple mainly makes decisions regarding: ...daily household purchases?" Respondents could choose from: 1) Mostly you; 2) Mostly your spouse/partner; 3) Shared equally; and 4) Neither. Based on respondents' answer and their sex (male or female)[4]. By collapsing these categories, I used a binary variable indicate whether: the male spouse/partner is primarily responsible for the financial decisions (coded 1) or otherwise (mostly female spouse, shared equally, or neither, coded 0).

The primary independent variable is source-country gender inequality. The 2011 and 2017 GSS ask, "Are you now, or have you ever been a landed immigrant in Canada?" Those who responded "Yes" are coded as being an immigrant. Source-country gender inequality is captured using the Gender Inequality Index (GII), a composite measure of gender inequality within a country recorded by The United Nations Development Programme. It ranges from 0 to 1, with higher scores representing higher levels of inequality. In the analysis, I took the mean of each country's 1995 and 2000 GII scores to capture the level of gender inequality respondents were exposed to in their country of

[4] The 2011 and 2017 cycles of the GSS do not differentiate between sex at birth and sex of the respondent and therefore could not identify trans people.

origin before migration. Due to data limitations, I cannot match respondents with the gender inequality of their country of origin at their year of arrival. I replaced missing values with the average scores of their geographic region according to Statistics Canada's Standard Classification of Countries and Areas of Interest (SCCAI) (Statistics Canada 2018). Figure 3.1 displays the gender inequality index scores used in the analysis. Countries with the darker shade have higher levels of gender inequality, and those with the lighter shade have higher levels of gender equality. Most countries in Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East have exceptionally high gender inequality according to the measure. Countries in Central and South America score in the mid-range, and Western Europe has high levels of gender equality.

Figure 3.1



I included several control variables used in previous research in the regression models of household financial decision-making. Demographic and household

characteristics include racial minority status (racial minority or not); age (continuous); mother tongue (English and/or French, neither English nor French); the presence of children in the household (yes, no); and presence of seniors in the household (yes, no) (Cheng 2019, Gu 2019). I also control for the survey year (2011 or 2017) to account for period effects. Human and economic capital covariates include the respondent's and their partner's education (less than high school, high school or equivalent, college, trade or certificate, bachelor's or higher) and the respondent's employment status (employed, unemployed). The 2011 and 2017 General Social Surveys do not directly capture the employment status of respondents' partners. Instead, it asks to specify the main activity of the spouse/partner during the past 12 months. Respondents could choose from: 1) Working at a paid job or business; 2) Looking for paid work; 3) Going to school; 4) Caring for children; 5) Household work; 6) Retired; 7); Maternity/paternity/parental leave; 8) Long term illness; 9) Volunteering or caregiving other than for children; or 10) Other. Based on these responses, a binary variable was created to indicate those "Working at paid job or business" as working for pay (coded as 1) and all others as "Not working for pay" (coded as 0).

The following income characteristics were included: personal income (Under $20,000; $20,000 to $39,999; $40,000 to $59,999; $60,000 to $79,999; $80,000 to $99,999; and over $100,000), and income disparity. As there is no information on the income of the respondent's spouse, income disparity was calculated using respondents' personal income and total family income (income earned by all household members). By subtracting personal income from family income, I determined whether the respondent

earns 1) most of the family income or 2) equal or less than half of the family income. Furthermore, I controlled for the extent to which couples share household expenses. In both the 2011 and 2017 General Social Surveys, respondents were asked "Overall, how would you describe the way you and your spouse/partner share household expenses? Are your contributions:" with the following responses 1) "... equal with each of you paying half of all bills?"; 2) "…equal with each of you covering specific expenses?" 3) "…determined according to your wages?" 4) "... determined based on who has the money when bills need to be paid?"; or 5) "…Other arrangement". I collapsed the first two responses and the latter three responses into a binary variable indicating whether or not respondents share household expenses equally.

Finally, I controlled for the migration-related characteristics: years since arrival (continuous) and source-country per capita GDP (less than $5,000; $5,000-$9,999; $10,000-$14,999; $15,000-$19,999; and $20,000 or more). Similar to source-country gender inequality, each country's 1995 and 2000 values were averaged. This variable was included to account for the possibility that source-country gender inequality reflects economic development in the respondent's country of origin.

Analytical Technique

I used probit regression to examine the association between daily household decision-making and source-country gender inequality. I ran two sets of models for men and women. It is important to investigate men's and women's responses separately as they may report decision-making differently (Becker et al. 2006; Mazzotta 2019). The first

analysis examines the association between source-country gender inequality and financial decision-making without controls (Model 1) and with controls (Model 2). Model 2 is supplemented with a visual representation of financial decision-making arrangements by source-country gender inequality, showing the predicted probability of reporting that mostly the male spouse/partner makes the daily financial decisions.

Given that respondents are clustered within their source country, I used cluster-robust standard errors to correct within cluster-correlation and unequal variances across source countries. Furthermore, standardized survey weights were used to account for sample size disparities in the 2011 and 2017 GSS.

Results

A First Look

Table 3.1 presents descriptive statistics for immigrant men and women by their source-country gender inequality tercile. Several notable demographic patterns emerge. With increasing gender inequality, immigrant men report lower rates of English or French as their mother tongue, fewer years in Canada and are less likely to earn $60,000 or more than those from countries with more gender equality. The former are also more likely to be a racial minority, living with children, come from countries with a lower per capita GDP and report higher levels of education for themselves and their partners. Regardless of source-country gender inequality, the majority of immigrant men report that they earn equal to or more than half of the total household income of their spouses and that they make an unequal contribution to household expenses at similar rates. Among immigrant

women, there are similar patterns for age, language, racial minority status, the presence of children in the household, source-country GDP, and years since arrival across source-country gender inequality terciles. While immigrant women from lower GII countries earn more than those from other countries, the difference is not as substantial as it is for immigrant men.

Table 3.1

Descriptive Statistics for Immigrant Men and Women by Source-Country GII (percent or mean)

	Men			Women		
	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII
Age	55.39	50.02	47.77	54.19	46.76	44.55
English or French	43.13%	30.14%	21.97%	42.22%	29.39%	19.30%
Racial Minority	33.15%	80.64%	91.12%	31.44%	83.38%	95.27%
Kids in household	51.37%	73.83%	78.65%	47.35%	72.67%	72.47%
Seniors in household	38.70%	24.89%	24.58%	39.61%	19.46%	29.53%
Respondent is Employed	69.71%	87.04%	86.64%	60.24%	78.71%	67.20%
Partner is Employed	48.73%	64.45%	51.31%	62.94%	83.69%	80.18%
Respondent has Degee, diploma or certificate	70.25%	76.50%	79.09%	66.18%	79.55%	76.27%
Partner has Degee, diploma or certificate	61.03%	75.09%	70.57%	63.67%	72.88%	79.56%
Personal Income ($60,000 or more)	50.27%	37.77%	35.40%	37.21%	29.65%	26.06%
Respondent earns equal or less than total hh inc	32.35%	38.88%	37.55%	59.55%	61.81%	61.62%
Unequal contribution to household expenses	45.70%	42.82%	52.22%	43.19%	48.42%	58.44%
Source Country GDP	26,290	6,772	4,870	26,587	7,048	4,403
Years since Arrival	16.92	16.80	13.11	16.74	15.49	12.48
N	909	374	326	852	416	281

Notes:Low, mid and high GII refers to the bottom, middle, and top terciles for gender inequality index scores.

Men's Reports of Financial Decision Making

The first objective of this paper is to determine whether immigrant men from countries with higher gender inequality report more sole-male decision-making than those from countries with more male-female parity.[5] Table 2.2 shows the probit regression results, where daily financial decision-making is regressed on source-country gender inequality. In Model 1, the results show no statistically significant association between source-country gender inequality and household decision-making without the inclusion of covariates. Put differently, men from countries with more inequality do not demonstrate a higher or lower predicted probability of reporting they are primarily responsible for making the daily household decisions.

In a supplementary analysis, I analyzed the association between immigrant status and financial-decision making. When I accounted for demographic, household, and income-related characteristics, I found immigrants decision-making patterns do not differ from the Canadian-born (see appendix A). Using a general approach to regression decomposition (Hou, 2014), I examined the contribution of each covariate in explaining the change in the immigrant status coefficient from evidencing a significant association with household decision-making in Model 1 to having no significant impact in Model 2 (see appendix B and C for results). The results show that visible minority status, language and education primarily accounted for the change in the focal coefficient for men. Similarly, visible minority status and language explained most the change in the immigrant status coefficient for women.

Table 2.2

Probit Regression Predicting Immigrant's Financial Decision Making

Variable	Men		Women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Source Country Gender Inequality Index	-0.412	-1.084 **	1.236 **	1.378 *
Source Country GDP Per Capita				
Less than $5,000 (Ref)				
$5,000-$9,999		0.135		-0.069
$10,000-$14,999		-0.223		-0.174
$15,000-$19,000		0.684 *		0.620
$20,000 or more		-0.049		0.329
Visible Minority				
Not a Visible Minority (Ref)				
Visible Minority		0.082		0.278
Language				
English or French (Ref)				
Other		0.090		0.323 *
Age		-0.001		-0.001
Kids in household				
No kids (Ref)				
Kids		0.140		-0.020
Seniors in household				
No Seniors (Ref)				
Seniors in household		-0.001		0.388 *
Respondent's Employment				
Working for pay (Ref)				
Unemployed		0.136		-0.137
Partner's Main Activity				
Working for pay (Ref)				
not working for pay		-0.132		0.148
Education				
Less than HS (Ref)				
HS or equivalent		0.367		-0.336 *
College, trade or certificate		0.123		-0.797 ***
Bachelor's or higher		0.343		-0.722 **
Partner's Education				
Less than HS (Ref)				
HS or equivalent		-0.355		0.163
College, trade or certificate		-0.605 **		0.258
Bachelor's or higher		-0.634 **		0.102
Personal Income				
Under $20,000 (Ref)				
$20,000 to $39,999		-0.322 *		-0.228
$40,000 to $59,999		-0.391 **		-0.327
$60,000 to $79,999		-0.611 **		-0.028
$80,000 to $99,999		-0.301		-0.184
Over $100,000		-0.531 *		-0.302
Income difference				
Respondent earns most of income (Ref)				
Respondent earns equal or less		-0.225 *		0.227
Contribution to household expenses				
Equal (Ref)				
not unequal		0.191		0.139
Survey Respondent				
2011 (Ref)				
2017		0.258		0.117
Years Since Arrival		-0.007		-0.003
Constant	-1.127 ***	-0.468	-2.067 ***	-2.166 ***
R-squared	0.003	0.063	0.028	0.118

Note: Dependent variable is the probability that mostly the male spouse mainly makes the everyday financial decisions

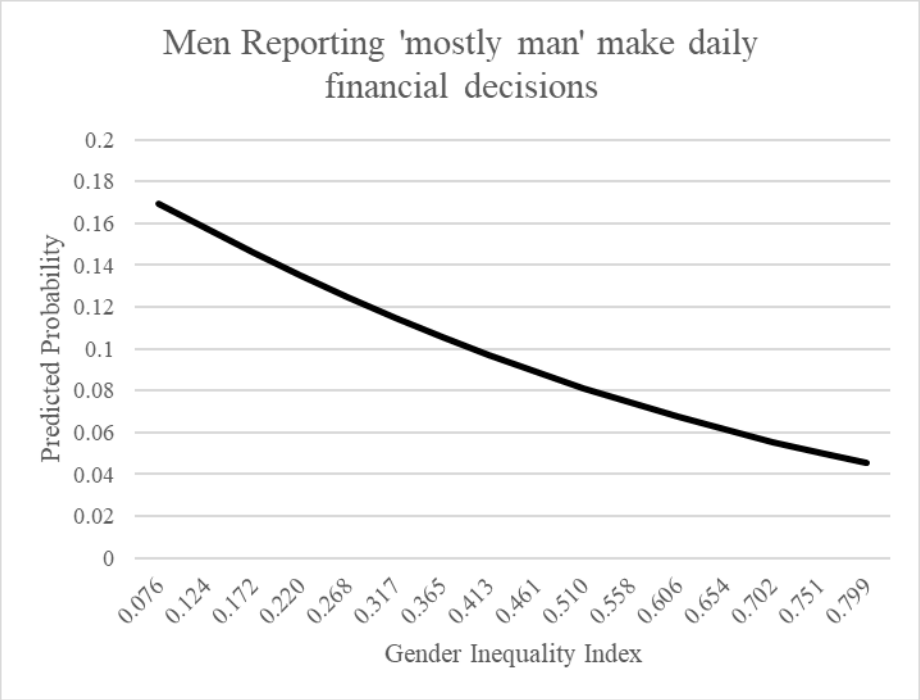
p*<.05,**<0.01,***<0.001

Model 2 includes demographic, income, immigration, and household characteristics. The results show that the association between source-country gender inequality and everyday financial decision-making becomes statistically significant (at $p < .01$ level). Men from countries with higher levels of gender inequality evidence a lower predicted probability of reporting that they (mostly the male spouse/partner) primarily make decisions regarding daily household purchases compared to those from countries with more gender equality (coef. = -1.084, $p < 0.01$). This suggests that the variation in respondents' personal and spousal characteristics, and importantly, partner's education, personal income and income difference between spouses suppresses the impact of source-country gender inequality on financial decision-making. However, once I control for this variation, the impact of source-country gender inequality is revealed.

The findings from Model 2 in Table 2.2 are supplemented visually in Figure 3.2. Figure 3.2 plots the predicted probability of men reporting that they primarily make everyday financial decisions by their source-country gender inequality. At one end of the index, men from countries with a 0.076 gender inequality index score (equivalent to Sweden) have a predicted probability of reporting that they (mostly male spouse/partner) make financial decisions of about 17%. At the other end of the index, men from countries with a gender inequality index score of .0799 (equivalent to Niger) have a predicted probability of reporting that mostly male spouse/partner makes the decisions of about 5%. These findings do not support the first hypothesis that men from higher gender inequality countries will report that they are primarily responsible for households' decisions compared to those men from countries with lower levels of gender inequality. Instead,

from the men's perspective, those from countries with more gender inequality are less likely to report that they make the financial decisions than men from countries with more gender parity.

Figure 3.2



Shifting focus to the covariates, there is evidence to support the hypothesis that lower economic and human capital than their partners is associated with reduced rates of sole decision-making for men. The results show that men with partners who have obtained a college, trade, or certificate (coef. = -0.605, $p < 0.01$) or a bachelor's or higher (coef. = -0.634, $p < 0.01$) evidence lower rates of reporting that mostly the male spouse/partner make the daily financial decisions when compared to men with partners with less than a high school diploma. Furthermore, when men earn equal or less than half

of their total household income, they have a lower likelihood of reporting control over daily financial decisions (coef. = -0.225, $p < 0.05$) than men who earn more than half of their total household income. Finally, men with high levels of personal income are less likely to report that they make the daily financial decisions than those who earn under $20,000, except those earning $80,000 to $99,999.

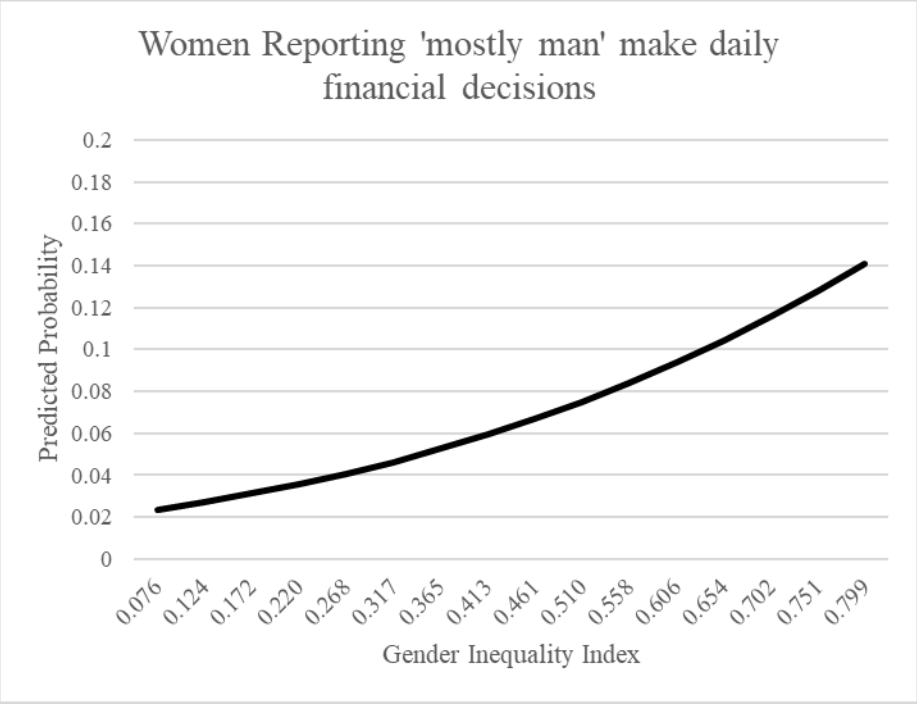
Women's Reports of Financial Decision Making

The next aim was to determine if immigrant women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report that the male spouse/partner mostly make daily financial decisions at higher rates than women from countries with greater gender parity. Table 2.2 presents the probit regression results for immigrant women, regressing day-to-day financial decision-making on source-country gender inequality. In contrast to the results for immigrant men, Model 1 shows that women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report that their male partners make financial decisions at higher rates than women from countries with more gender equality (coef. = 1.236, $p < 0.01$).

When control variables are added in Model 2, the magnitude of the association between source-country gender inequality and daily financial decision-making slightly increases (coef. = 1.378, $p < 0.05$) and remains statistically significant. The predicted probability of women reporting that men mostly make the financial decisions according to their source-country gender inequality index score was plotted in Figure 3.3. As shown in Figure 3.3, women from countries with a gender inequality index score of 0.076 report a predicted probability that 'mostly the male spouse/partner' makes household decisions of

about 3%. Women from countries with a score of 0.0799 report a predicted probability of about 14%. From the women's perspective, unlike he results for men, those from countries with more gender inequality have a higher predicted probability of reporting male-dominated decision making than those from countries with more gender parity. These findings support the second hypothesis that women from higher gender inequality countries will report men make most of the household decisions compared to women from countries with more gender equality.

Figure 3.3



Looking at the results for the covariates, the findings from Model 2 (women) support the hypothesis that increasing economic and human capital for women is associated with lower rates of sole-male decision making. With higher levels of

education, women are less likely to report that their male partner is primarily responsible for everyday financial decisions. Specifically, those with a high school diploma or equivalent (coef. = -0.336, $p < 0.05$), college, trade, or certificate (coef. = -0.797, $p < 0.001$), and bachelors' degree or higher (coef. = -0.722, $p < 0.01$) report less sole-male financial decision-making arrangements than those with less than a high school diploma. The findings also show that women who live with seniors (coef. = 0.388, $p < 0.05$) and whose mother tongue is neither English nor French (coef. =0.323, $p<0.05$) are more likely to report that their male partners make the financial decisions compared to those who do not live with seniors or whose mother tongue is English or French.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to assess whether the conditions of immigrants' home country, specifically source-country gender inequality, influences couples' daily financial decision-making patterns and whether men and women have different views regarding who controls these daily decisions. Further, it incorporated several covariates outlined in the literature as impactful in determining financial arrangements among couples to see if human or economic capital influence men's and women's perspectives of who makes the daily financial decisions.

In response to the first research question, I examined the effect of source-country gender inequality on men's reports of everyday financial decision making. Without considering the covariates, there was no significant association for men. Upon incorporating economic, human capital and other variables outlined in previous studies as

influential in couple's decision-making arrangements, I found a negative association between source-country gender inequality and the probability of reporting that 'mostly the male spouse/partner' makes the financial decisions. Put differently, men from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report lower levels of sole-male decision-making than men from countries with more gender parity. Conversely, the analysis of women's responses indicated the opposite. Women from countries with high levels of source-country gender inequality have a higher probability of reporting that 'mostly the male spouse/partner' makes the everyday financial decisions.

Regarding the second research question, the findings show that men and women have divergent perspectives regarding who controls daily financial decisions. At higher levels of gender inequality, men are less likely to report that they make decisions while women are more likely to report sole-male decision-making. These findings could suggest that men and women from higher gender inequality countries believe that they have less control over everyday financial decisions compared to their counterparts from countries with more equality.

These findings can be interpreted as indicative of feelings of disempowerment and economic disadvantage. With the movement from high to low gender inequality countries, men may lose privilege associated with gender inequality while women gain more power and autonomy (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Pease 2009; Shirpak et al. 2011). Likewise, women from gender unequal countries also feel disempowered as they report that 'mostly the male spouse/partner' makes the household decisions at a higher rate than those from more

gender-equitable countries. Taken together, these findings suggest that at higher levels of gender inequality, both men and women report that someone other than themselves is primarily responsible for the daily financial decisions is evidence of a power struggle. As men do not see themselves as controlling daily financial decisions, and women see it as male-controlled, both appear disempowered in their financial arrangements.

Separate analysis of men and women builds on previous research showing that men's and women's perspectives regarding intra-household arrangements do not always align (Becker et al. 2006; Mazzotta 2019). For instance, men may be more likely to report that they help with the housework, whereas women may report that they do most of the tasks with little help from their male partners. This study reveals that immigrants' source country is associated with a financial dimension of relationship equality. Although men from higher gender inequality countries may think they do not control daily financial decisions, this may not be the case, as suggested in the analysis of women's responses.

The third research question aimed to address the extent to which human and economic capital, demographic and migration characteristics are associated with increased decision-making authority. Despite contrasting findings of the effect of source-country gender inequality, results show some consistency in the impact of the covariates on men's and women's reports of financial decision-making. The analysis shows that men are less likely to report that they make most of the daily financial decisions when they earn equal or less than half of the total household income or when their partners report education above the high school or equivalent level (compared to less than high school). Similarly, women are less likely to report that mostly their male partner handles everyday

financial decisions with higher levels of education. These findings support resource theory, which suggests that economic and human capital portends to more equitable control of financial decision-making among couples (Blood and Wolfe 1960; Treas and Tai 2012; Yodanis and Lauer 2007a; 2007b). With women's increasing capital, both men and women have a lower likelihood of reporting sole-male control over everyday financial decisions.

The findings from this study provide insight on the role of immigrants' source country and differences in men's and women's perspectives of financial decision-making. Regardless of who truly controls the daily finances, the results show a divergence in the perspectives of intra-couple decision-making among immigrants. I found immigrant men from high levels of gender inequality are less likely to say they make the financial decisions, whereas women are more likely to report male-dominated decision-making. This reveals tension in intra-household authority arrangements. In contrast, men from more gender-equitable countries are more likely to report themselves as the primary decision-makers and women are less likely to report men as the primary decision-makers. This suggests men and women from countries with higher levels of gender equality perceive more control or authority over financial decisions despite the actual decision-making arrangements. As financial decision-making is often used as a measure of household authority, both male and female immigrants from gender-equitable countries feel more content in their intra-household authority structures than their counterparts from countries with high gender inequality.

A limitation of this study is that the 2011 and 2017 General Social Survey only captures individual-level data. For this reason, men and women respondents cannot be matched at the couple level to determine the extent to which male and female partners agree or disagree about their financial decision-making arrangements. Therefore, future research should examine whether source-country characteristics impact men's and women's reports of financial decision-making within couples. Likewise, as this study relies on self-reported accounts, there is no way of determining which perspective—men's or women's—is most the accurate portrayal of daily financial decision-making.

References

Abada, Teresa, Kristyn Frank, and Feng. Hou. 2018. "Between Two Worlds: Source-Country Gender Roles and Gender Differences in Educational Attainment among Immigrant Children." *Sociological Inquiry* 88 (1): 131–154.

Bartley, Sharon. J., Priscilla W. Blanton, and Jennifer L. Gilliard. 2005. “Husbands and wives in dual-earner marriages: Decision-making, gender role attitudes, division of household labor, and equity.” *Marriage and Family Review* 37(4): 69–94.

Becker, Stan, Fannie Fonseca-Becker, and Catherine Schenck-Yglesias. 2006. “Husbands' and wives' reports of women's decision-making power in Western Guatemala and their effects on preventive health behaviors.” *Social Science and Medicine* 62(9): 2313–2326.

Bertocchi, Graziella, Marianna Brunetti, and Costanza Torricelli. 2014. “Who holds the purse strings within the household? The determinants of intra-family decision making.” *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 101: 65-86.

Bertocchi, Grazilla, Marianna Brunetti and Anzelika Zaiceva. 2022. “The Financial Decisions of Immigrant and Native Households: Evidence from Italy.” *Italian Economic Journal*. doi: 10.1007/s40797-022-00186-3

Bilodeau, Antoine. 2016. “Migrating Gender Inequalities? Immigrant Women's Participation in Political Survey Research.” *International Migration Review* 50(4): 951–976.

Blood, Robert O., and Donald M. Wolfe. 1960. *Husbands & wives: The dynamics of married living*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Cheng, Cheng. 2019. "Women's Education, Intergenerational Coresidence, and Household Decision-Making in China." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 81(1), 115-132.

Dema-Moreno, Sandra. 2009. "Behind the negotiations: Financial decision-making processes in Spanish dual-income couples." *Feminist Economics* 15(1): 27–56.

Doss, Cheryl. 2013. "Intrahousehold bargaining and resource allocation in developing countries." *World Bank Research Observer* 28(1): 52–78.

Eroğlu, Şebnem. 2020. "Are Movers More Egalitarian than Stayers? An Intergenerational Perspective on Intra-Household Financial Decision-Making." *International Migration Review* 54(1): 120–146.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2015. "Source-Country gender roles and the division of labor within immigrant families." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77(2): 557–574.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2016. "Beyond culture: source country female labour force participation and the earnings of immigrant women." *Work, Employment and Society* 30(3): 410–435.

Ghuman, Sharon J., Helen J. Lee, and Herbert L. Smith. 2006. "Measurement of women's autonomy according to women and their husbands: Results from five Asian countries." *Social Science Research 35*(1): 1–28.

Gu, Chien-Juh. 2019. “Bargaining with Confucian Patriarchy: Money, Culture, and Gender Division of Labor in Taiwanese Immigrant Families” *Qualitative Sociology* 42(4): 687–709.

Guppy, Neil, Larissa Sakumoto, and Rima Wilkes. 2019. “Social change and the gendered division of household labor in Canada.” *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 56(2): 178-203.

Haney, Lynne A. 2000. “Feminist state theory: Applications to jurisprudence, criminology, and the welfare state.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1): 641-666.

He, Qian, and Theodore P. Gerber. 2020. “Origin-country culture, migration sequencing, and female employment: Variations among immigrant women in the United States.” *International migration review 54*(1): 233-261.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierette. 1992. “Overcoming patriarchal constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations Among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men.” *Gender & Society* 6(3): 393–415.

Hou, Feng. 2014. “A General Approach to Effect Decomposition.” *Social Science Quarterly* 95(3), 894–904.

International Organization for Migration. 2019. World Migration Report 2020. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/wmr_2020.pdf

Itzigsohn, José, and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo. 2005. “Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes.” *International Migration Review* 39 (4): 895–920.

Kabeer, Naila. 2005. “Gender equality and women’s empowerment: A critical analysis of the third millennium development goal”. *Gender & Development* 13(1): 13-24.

Kagotho, Njeri, and Michael G. Vaughn. 2018. “Women’s agency in household economic decision making in Kenya.” *International Social Work* 61(6): 767–780.

Lee, Yun-Suk, and Linda J. Waite. 2005. “Husbands’ and wives’ time spent on housework: A comparison of measures.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67(2): 328–336.

Marshall, Katherine. 2009. “The family work week”. Statistics Canada — Catalogue no. 75-001-X.

Mazzotta, Fernanda, Anna Papaccio, and Lavinia Parisi. 2019. “Household Management Systems and Women’s Decision Making Within the Family in Europe.” *Feminist Economics* 25(4): 126–158.

Moyser, Melissa, and Amanda Burlock. 2018. “Time use: Total work burden, unpaid work, and leisure.” *Women in Canada: A Gender-Based Statistical Report*, (Catalogue no. 89-503-X), 22. Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/54931-eng.pdf?st=6peHdlg0

Nyman, Charlott, Lasse Reinikainen, and Janet Stocks. 2013. “Reflections on a cross-national qualitative study of within-household finances.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 75(3): 640-650.

Orloff, Ann Shola. 1993. "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states." *American sociological review* 58(3): 303-328.

Pease, Bob. 2009. "Immigrant men and domestic life." Pp. 75-95 in *Migrant men: Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, edited by M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson and B. Pease. New York: Routledge

Pepin, Joanna R., and Phillip N. Cohen. 2021. "Nation-Level Gender Inequality and Couples' Income Arrangements." *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 42(1): 13–28.

Röder, Antje, and Peter Mühlau. 2014. "Are they acculturating? Europe's immigrants and gender egalitarianism." *Social Forces* 92(3): 899-928.

Treas, Judith. 1993. "Money in the bank: Transaction costs and the economic organization of marriage." *American Sociological Review* 58(5): 723-734.

Treas, Judith, and Tsui-o Tai. 2012. "How Couples Manage the Household: Work and Power in Cross-National Perspective." *Journal of Family Issues* 33(8): 1088–1116.

Shirpak, Khosro R., Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, and Maryam Chinichian. 2011. "Post migration changes in Iranian immigrants' couple relationships in Canada." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42 (6): 751–770.

Singley, Susan, and Kathryn Hynes. 2005. "Transitions to parenthood: Work-family policies, gender, and the couple context." *Gender & Society* 19(3): 376-397.

Sun, Shirley. 2010. “The Final Say Is Not the Last Word: Gendered patterns, perceptions, and processes in household decision making among Chinese immigrant couples in Canada.” *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 1(1): 91–105.

Vogler, Carolyn, and Jan Pahl. 1994. “Money, power and inequality within marriage.” *The Sociological Review* 42(2): 263–288.

Yodanis, Carrie, and Sean Lauer. 2007a. “Economic inequality in and outside of marriage: Individual resources and institutional context.” *European Sociological Review* 23(5): 573–583.

Yodanis, Carrie, and Sean Lauer. 2007b. “Managing money in marriage: Multilevel and cross-national effects of the breadwinner role.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69(5): 1307–1325.

Yusof, Selamah Abdullah, and Jartia Duasa. 2010. “Household decision-making and expenditure patterns of married men and women in Malaysia.” *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 31(3), 371–381.

Yusof, Selamah Abdullah. 2015. “Household Decision-Making in Malaysia: The Ethnic Dimension.” *Social Indicators Research* 124(1): 283–293.

Chapter 4: Source-Country Gender Inequality and Sport Participation among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants in Canada

Abstract

While sport can facilitate immigrant integration, participation rates may vary among immigrants from different countries. Specifically, gender norms in immigrants' countries of origin may deter some immigrant women from participating in sport in the host country. With fewer gender norm restraints in their country of origin, cultural norms may in turn have little impact on immigrant men's sport participation. This study examines whether immigrant men and women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report different sport participation rates than their counterparts from countries with greater gender equality. Analyzing the 2016 General Social Survey, I examine sport participation among first and second-generation men and women compared to those born in Canada with two Canadian-born parents (third-plus generation). Incorporating the United Nations Development Program's Gender Inequality Index, I further assess how source-country gender inequality is associated with first- and second-generation's regular sport participation in Canada. Regression results show that women from higher gender inequality countries are less likely to engage in sports regularly. These findings support the need for expanded programs and funding initiatives targeted toward increasing immigrant women's sport participation.

Introduction

Research shows sport participation provides many benefits for physical and psychological well-being as well as help with social integration (Hurly 2019; Ley et al. 2022; Spaaij et. 2019). For immigrants in particular, sport participation in the host country facilitates interaction with the native-born population and fosters a sense of community and understanding for cultural diversity. With increased contact with the native born, sport participation may help immigrants improve their language proficiency, expand their employment opportunities, and increase their host country social capital (Gibbs and Block 2017; Painter and Price 2019). The U.K. government, for instance, includes sport as an official measure of immigrant integration for its ability to provide opportunities to learn about host-country culture, make social connections, acquire language proficiency and improve health (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019).

While sport participation rates vary across sociodemographic groups, including disparities between immigrants and the native-born population (see Aizlewood, Bevelander and Pendakur 2006; Canadian Heritage 2013; Statistics Canada 2019), there may also be differences among immigrant subgroups. One emerging factor attracting scholarly interest is immigrant source-country characteristics. A growing number of studies consider the role of gender inequality in immigrant countries of origin. Researchers demonstrate that source country gender inequality can have a long-term impact on immigrants' lives in their settlement countries, such as employment (Frank and Hou 2016), division of domestic tasks (Frank and Hou 2015), and educational attainment (Abada et al. 2018).

Existing research shows traditional gender roles limit sport participation of immigrant women in particular. It identifies cultural norms regarding women's behaviour and attitudes, such as women's perceived responsibility in family and religious restrictions as barriers for sport participation (Guinto et al. 2021; Nanayakkara 2012). With cultural norms limiting sport participation in their country of origin, cultural norms may continue to impact women upon arrival in the host country. Comparable research focusing on immigrant men's sport participation is non-existent to date.

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, it compares sport participation rates of the first and second-generation immigrants to those born in Canada with two Canadian-born parents (third plus-generation). Second, it examines whether source-country gender inequality impacts first and second-generation men's and women's probabilities of participating in sport. Using Statistics Canada's 2016 General Social Survey (GSS), I answer the following research questions.

1) Do first and second-generation male and female immigrants report different sport participation rates than their native-born counterparts?
2) Does source-country gender inequality impact first and second-generation's sport participation rates?
3) Do first and second-generation women from higher gender inequality countries report lower levels of sport participation than their counterparts from countries with lower levels of gender inequality? Does source-country gender inequality impact men's sport participation rates differently than women's?

This study contributes to the burgeoning literature on the relationship between source-country characteristics and immigrant integration. As most research on source-country gender inequality focuses on socioeconomic outcomes, such as earnings, division of domestic labour, employment and education, this study explores an understudied area—immigrants' leisure activities.

Without studying how newcomers spend their free time, research overlooks an important aspect of immigrants' everyday lives in the host societies. Leisure activities can increase exposure to and knowledge of programs and services available in the host society, help relieve migration-related stress, and help cultivate social networks and relationships with the native-born population (Quirke, 2015). This study advances the understanding of the determinants of sport participation—an activity beneficial for one's health and integration. In particular, it examines whether immigrants' source-country culture can help provide explanations as to why certain immigrant groups may be less likely to participate in sports. Lastly, this study can inform policymakers and community leaders to promote inclusive immigrant sport participation.

Literature Review

Immigrant sport participation and integration

Immigrant integration is a broad and multifaceted concept encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions (Wong and Tezli 2013). While studies of immigrant integration preeminently focus on educational attainment, income, employment status and other socioeconomic outcomes, civic participation is also an

important component of integration. As an aspect of civic participation, sport has been identified by immigration scholars as having integrative benefits. Specifically, Gordon's assimilation theory contends that participation in host-country sports competitions and use of host-country recreational facilities is a form of civic assimilation (Checa et al. 2022). Boyd (2009) further outlines several reasons for continued interest in immigrant civic participation. Of note is that immigrant civic participation represents a form of integration, social cohesion, and the presence of social networks.

Research highlights several ways sports participation can positively impact immigrant integration. First, sport participation can increase immigrants' contact with the native-born population, expanding opportunities to learn the host country language and cultural norms (Abur 2016; Zacheus 2010). For example, Zacheus' (2010) interviews with employees of immigrant organizations in Finland find sport promotes language acquisition of new immigrants as it requires them to hear and speak the host country language through participating in sports.

Second, sport participation can increase social capital (Block and Gibbs 2017; Walseth 2008) and facilitate employment opportunities through new connections (Painter and Price 2019). In an analysis of adult soccer leagues in the Washington, D.C. area, Painter and Price (2019) found that sport participation led to a job or a job interview for nearly 10% of immigrant players.

Third, some research suggests sport helps establish one's positive relationships with the local community (Alemu, Nagel and Vehmas 2021), increase one's life satisfaction, quality of life, sense of belonging to the community (Aizlewood, Bevelander

and Pendakur 2006), and promote one's intercultural communication (Frisby 2011). In their interviews with immigrant youths, Burrmann et al. (2017) revealed how their membership in sports clubs and success in sports competitions can foster bonds to the host society. Using the multiple cycles of the Canadian Community Health Survey, Jedwab and Holley (2021) also showed that immigrants who participate in team sports, particularly hockey, reported a stronger sense of belonging to their local community than those who do not play team sports.

Despite these benefits for integration, many immigrants encounter barriers to sport participation. As one's sport participation generally increases with income (Canadian Heritage 2013; Ifedi 2005), newcomers may not have the resources to participate in sport. Furthermore, certain immigrants must overcome language barriers, time constraints, limited access to facilities, and inconvenient transportation that could hinder sports participation and physical activity in general (Lacoste 2020; Lundkvist et al. 2020; Tirone et al. 2010). Living in urban centers, where most immigrants settle these days, can reduce community-based interaction, whereas tight-knit social structures in smaller communities can promote local sport participation (Aizlewood et al., 2006; Balish et al. 2015). In a study of hockey participation, for example, Turnnidge et al. (2014) found that Canadians in larger cities were less likely to participate in hockey than those in smaller communities. Lastly, cultural or political feuds in immigrants' country of origin may persist upon arrival in the host country, serving as a barrier to sport participation (Gosai et al. 2018). Krouwel et al. (2006) found members of certain ethnic groups preferred to participate with ethnically similar players, and soccer matches between teams of different ethnic

backgrounds can be aggressive, hostile and magnify wider social tensions (also see Lee et al. 2011).

Gender and sport participation

Although immigrants often experience barriers to sport participation as reviewed above, immigrant women may experience heightened gender-specific challenges compared to their male counterparts. Gender differences in sport participation are well established in the literature and a target of policy initiatives in many developed countries (Bell 2007; Government of UK 2015; Spaaij et al. 2015; Norman et al. 2021). For instance, the 2010 and 2016 General Social Survey data show that in Canada, women report lower sport participation rates than men (Canadian Heritage 2013; Statistics Canada 2019).

In 2010, among all Canadians, about one-third of men regularly participated in sport, while only one-sixth of women did so (Canadian Heritage 2013). Looking specifically at foreign-born men, results from the 2016 GSS show that without controlling for sociodemographic characteristics only 28% of foreign-born women participate in sports regularly, whereas 72% of foreign-born men do (Statistics Canada 2019). The Canadian Government and various non-governmental organizations are attempting to address unequal sport participation rates between men and women. In 2018, the Canadian government announced a commitment to achieve gender equality in sport by 2035. The NGO Canadian Women and Sport has sought to address oppressive masculinity within sports for years (Norman, Donnelly, and Kidd 2021).

Many contend that masculinized and restrictive sport culture help explain women's lower sport participation rates than men. Researchers note sports can be a primary site for legitimization of heteronormativity and patriarchy, with many sports founded on sexism and gender inequality (see Connell 2005; Messner 1992). Scholars refer to the most mainstream, popular, and televised sports such as football, basketball, baseball, and hockey as at the center of masculine production (Messner 2002; Welch 1997). Founded on traditional gender norms, sports at the center of masculine production are primarily male dominated, and are historically designed to teach, institutionalize and normalize the traditional gender norms (Kidd 1987; Messner 2002; Welch 1997). Women are often excluded from sport participation or stereotyped as unfeminine if they participate (Engel 1994; Sobal and Milgrim 2017).

Sport is also a male-dominated activity in many immigrants' country of origin (Guinto et al. 2021; Stura 2019). Literature on immigrant women's sport participation highlights how family responsibilities and traditional gender norms in their origin countries restrict women's sport participation in general (Kang 2013). In India, women's sport participation is accepted for children but frowned upon if it detracts from domestic obligations (Sawrikar and Muir 2010). Interviews with Indian women in Australia revealed that traditional gender roles such as women's domestic responsibilities take precedence over sport participation in India (Sawrikar and Muir 2010). Similarly, Ethiopian and Eritrean women in Switzerland have commonly cited gender roles in their origin countries as a barrier to sport participation as many were expected to prioritize caregiving (Alemu, Nagel and Vehmas 2021). Both Alemu et al. (2021) and Sawrikar and

Muir (2010) found that immigrant women may resist sport participation in the host countries due to gendered sociocultural expectations. Moreover, Sawrikar and Muir (2010) found that Indian women even chose not to participate in sports as they perceived it as a means of assimilation and wished to retain their ethnic identity.

Gendered barriers to sports include ideologies that rigorous physical activity is inappropriate for women. In their discussions with women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in Australia, the focus group participants in Cortis et al.'s (2008) study explained how certain physical activities are inappropriate as women are expected to abide by religious and cultural standards of modesty (Cortis et al. 2008). Women noted how activities such as bike riding, swimming, and sports requiring participants to wear revealing clothing are inappropriate for women (also see Mohammadi 2019). Likewise, studies suggest that girls from South Asian backgrounds may be less likely to participate in sports due to religious gender norms, parents' disapproval, dress code violations and concerns about single-sex facilities (see Aizlewood, Bevelander and Pendakur 2006). Muslim women, in particular, tend to experience barriers to sport participation due to sociocultural and religious norms (Ahmad et al. 2020).

In contrast, women tend to report higher sport participation rates in countries with greater gender equality. In a cross-national study, van Tuyckom et al. (2010) analyzed sport participation across 25 EU countries. The authors found that women had higher sport participation rates in countries promoting egalitarianism, such as Finland and Sweden. While cultural gender roles and gender inequality are found to affect women's

sport participation, little is known as to whether gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin hinders women's sport participation upon arrival in the host country.

This study contributes to the literature on the impact of source-country culture on immigrants by focusing on an understudied dimension – sport participation. Many qualitative studies identify why cultural gender norms, roles and religious customs impede immigrant sport participation. However, to my knowledge, no quantitative study has assessed the impact of source-country gender inequality on immigrant men's and women's sport participation rates. This article begins by examining rates of sport participation over the past year for first and second-generation immigrants compared to the third-plus generation in separate analyses for men and women. Using the United Nations Development Program's Gender Inequality Index, I further assess the association between source-country gender inequality and sport participation among first and second-generation immigrants. Based on the literature reviewed above, I test the following hypotheses:

> Hypothesis 1: First and second-generation immigrants have lower rates of sport participation rates than the third-plus generation

> Hypothesis 2: Among those with an immigrant background, women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality have lower levels of sport participation than women from countries with lower levels of gender inequality.

Hypothesis 3: Source-country gender inequality has no impact on sports participation rates among men with an immigrant background.

Data and Methods

This study analyzes Statistics Canada's 2016 General Social Survey (GSS) data. The GSS is an annual cross-sectional survey targeting non-institutionalized persons 15 years or older and living in the 10 provinces. Statistics Canada administered the 2016 GSS between August 2 and December 23, 2016, using telephone interviews and electronic questionnaires. The overall response rate was 51%, with a total sample size of 19,609 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Unlike most cycles of the GSS, the 2016 GSS respondents were randomly split into approximately two equal subgroups. Half of the respondents were asked questions about cultural participation (n=9,844) and the other half were asked questions about sports participation (n=9,765). As this study was limited to those who completed the sport participation module, I examine those with an immigrant background (the first and second generations) to increase the analytical sample. In this study, the first generation refers to (landed) immigrants born abroad. I classify the second generation as the Canadian born with at least one foreign-born parent. To answer the first research question, I compare sport participation of first- and second-generation immigrants with the third-plus generation, the Canadian born with two Canadian-born parents. To answer the second and third research questions, I focus only on those born outside of Canada

(first-generation immigrants) or those with at least one foreign-born parent (the second generation).

Measures

The outcome variable is sport participation. The 2016 GSS included the question "Did you regularly participate in any sports during the past 12 months?" where respondents select "Yes" (coded 1) or "No" (coded 0). Although the GSS records participation in specific sports, the aggregate measure was used due to small sample sizes for individual sports. This approach is consistent with other studies that analyze sport participation using the GSS (see Berger et al. 2008; Larocca et al. 2018).

The focal independent variable for the first set of analysis is respondents' immigration status (the first- and second-generation versus the third-plus generation). The focal independent variables for the second set of analysis are source-country gender inequality and the respondent's gender. Unlike more recent cycles of the GSS (Cycles 33, 34 and 35), the 2016 cycle does not capture sex at birth and gender identity. As a result, the analysis does not distinguish between cisgender and transgender people. I measure source-country gender inequality using the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Gender Inequality Index (GII). The GII ranges from 0, representing higher levels of gender equality, to 1, indicating greater inequality. It measures gender inequalities in reproductive health, women's empowerment in terms of political representation and educational attainment, and economic status. I use each country's 1995 and 2000 average to capture a general level of gender inequality in immigrants' country of birth before

migration. Since the UNDP did not record the GII for all years of immigrants' arrival, I was unable to link source-country gender inequality scores with immigrants' year of arrival. I matched first-generation immigrants with the GII scores of their country of birth. I matched the second generation with the GII of their mother's country of birth. However, when this information was unavailable, I assigned their father's country of birth to the second generation respondents.

In my regression models, I include several control variables identified in previous studies as impacting sport participation. These include residence in a Census Metropolitan Area[6] (CMA) or outside CMA, family income (under $20,000; $20,000 to $39,999; $40,000 to $59,999; $60,000 to $79,999; $80,000 to $99,999; and over $100,000), age group (15 to 19; 20 to 34; 35 to 49; 50 to 64; and 65+), household composition (unattached individuals; living with spouse; living with spouse and children; single parents; and other), education (less than high school; high school or equivalent; college, trade, university certificate or diploma below the bachelor's level; and the bachelor's or above), employment status (working or otherwise); visible minority status (visible minority or non-visible minority), and religiosity (religious or non-religious). In analyses of first- and second-generation immigrants, I also control for respondents' source-country GDP. I use the same matching procedure for source-country GDP used for source-country GII—the GDP of the respondent's country of birth for first-generation immigrants, and the mother's country of birth for the second-generation. I use the father's country of birth

[6] CMAs are municipalities with at least 100,000 people with a minimum of 50,000 people living in the city core (Statistics Canada 2022).

if the mother was born in Canada, or if no information was available for the respondent's mother.

Analytical Technique

I use probit regression to estimate the association between the independent variables and sport participation. To answer the research questions, I ran two sets of models. The first set focuses on immigrant status to compare sport participation rates for first- and second-generations with the third-plus generation. The inclusion of the third-plus generation permitted a sufficiently large sample size to run separate models for men and women. The first model only considers the effect of immigrant background, and the second incorporates sociodemographic covariates.

In the second set of models, I test whether first and second-generation men and women from countries with a higher level of gender inequality report more pronounced levels of sport participation than those from gender egalitarian countries. The first model examines the main effects of gender and source-country gender inequality and their interaction term. The second model builds on the baseline model by adding sociodemographic characteristics and the source country GDP. I estimate these models using cluster-robust standard errors to account for unobserved similarities between respondents either born or with parents from the same country of birth. This approach is similar to hierarchical linear models as it addresses data clustering but is interpreted as a single-level model (McNeish et al. 2017).

Results

How do the First- and Second-Generation's sport participation compare with that of the Third-plus Generation?

In the first analysis, I aimed to examine whether first and second-generation men and women reported lower sport participation rates than third-plus generation. To meet this objective, I ran a series of probit regression models for men and women separately. The results in Model 1 in Table 4.1 showed that the first- and second-generation women are less likely to participate in sports (b=0.2, p <0.05) than their third-plus generation counterparts. However, I found no statistically significant difference in sport participation between first- and second-generation women and their third-plus generation counterparts when I control for their sociodemographic characteristics (Model 2). This suggests that sociodemographic characteristics explain the difference between first- and second-generation, and third-plus generation women's sport participation rates. Similar to previous research (see Canadian Heritage 2013; Ifedi 2008), select sociodemographic variables significantly influence sport participation in the expected direction. Women with higher incomes and education levels reported higher sports participation rates. Conversely, sports participation rates decrease with old age. Additionally, visible minority women and those who indicated that they are religious were less likely to regularly participate in sports than those who are white and non-religious, respectively.

The third and fourth columns examine men's sport participation rates. Model 1 shows no significant difference in sport participation between first- and second-generation, and third-plus generation men. The immigrant status variable remained not

significantly different from 0 when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics in Model 2. In sum, first-and second-generation women reported lower sport participation rates than the third-plus generation, but this was largely explained by sociodemographic characteristics, notably religiosity, age, income, education and visible minority status. In contrast, first- and second-generation men do not have statistically different sport participation rates than the third-plus generation with the inclusion of sociodemographic characteristics. As there may be differences in sport participation rates within immigrants groups, the sample was limited to first and second-generation immigrants to examine the role of source-country gender inequality.

Table 4.1

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Predicting First, Second, and Third Plus Generation Immigrants Sport Participation

	Women		Men	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Immigrant Status				
Third plus Gen (Ref)				
1st/2nd Gen	-0.200 **	0.012	-0.001	-0.050
CMA				
Non-CMA (Ref)				
CMA		-0.009		-0.183 *
Family Income				
Under $20,000				
$20,000-$39,999		0.011		0.238
$40,000-$59,999		0.180		0.019
$60,000-$79,999		0.524 ***		0.255
$80,000-$99,999		0.299		0.350 *
Over $100,000		0.461 **		0.469 **
Age				
15-19 (Ref)				
20-34		-0.879 ***		-0.827 **
35-49		-1.088 ***		-1.000 **
50-64		-1.146 ***		-1.191 **
65+		-1.329 ***		-1.350 **
Household composition				
alone (Ref)				
spouse		-0.136		0.157 *
spouse and kids		-0.185		-0.057
single parent		-0.043		-0.067
other		-0.079		0.095
Education				
less than hs (Ref)				
hs or equivalent		0.195		0.286 **
trade or certificate		0.339 **		0.291 **
bachelor's or above		0.581 ***		0.610 **
Language				
English or French (Ref)				
Other		-0.164		-0.275 **
Employment Status				
Working (Ref)				
Other		-0.033		-0.046
Visible minority				
White (Ref)				
Visible minority		-0.459 ***		0.116
Religious				
Non religious (Ref)				
Religious		-0.152 *		0.064
Constant	-0.773 **	-0.182	-0.41 **	-0.095
R-Squared			0.000	0.081

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Source-Country Gender Inequality and Sport Participation: A first look

To examine the impact of source-country gender inequality on sport participation, I first analyzed the distribution of first and second-generation immigrants who reported that they regularly participated in sports in the past 12 months by their source-country gender inequality tercile and gender. Although I model gender inequality as a continuous variable, it is presented in the descriptive analysis as a categorical variable. Table 4.2 presents the countries of origin for each level of GII for first- and second-generation immigrants in the sample. Furthermore, I aggregated sociodemographic subgroups for ease of interpretation. Specifically, I collapsed family income (under $60,000 and $60,000 or over), education (high school or less, and more than high school), and source-country GDP (under $10,000 and $10,00 or more) into two categories, and I presented age as a numeric variable (mean). Table 4.3 shows that men from countries in the low GII tercile report regular sport participation at lower rates than those from countries in the middle and high tercile (30.7%, 37%, and 36.2%, respectively). In contrast, women are less likely to participate in sports when coming from countries with higher GII. Specifically, 18% of women from low GII countries regularly participate in sports, followed by 13.5% from the middle tercile and then 11.4% from the high tercile. In sum, the descriptive analysis suggests there is a positive association between GII and sports participation for men and a negative association for women.

Table 4.2

Countries of origin		
Low GII	Mid GII	High GII
Albania	Afghanistan	Algeria
Australia	American Samoa	Angola
Austria	Antigua and Barbuda	Bangladesh
Barbados	Argentina	Benin
Belarus	Armenia	Bhutan
Belgium	Aruba	Burkina Faso
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Azerbaijan	Burundi
Bulgaria	Belize	Cambodia
China	Bermuda	Cameroon
Croatia	Bolivia	Central African Republic
Cyprus	Botswana	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Czechia	Brazil	Côte d'Ivoire
Denmark	Brunei Darussalam	Egypt
Estonia	Burma (Myanmar)	Eritrea
Finland	Chile	Ethiopia
France	Colombia	Ghana
Germany	Cuba	India
Greece	Curaçao	Indonesia
Greenland	Dominica	Iran
Hong Kong	Dominican Republic	Iraq
Hungary	Ecuador	Jordan
Iceland	El Salvador	Kenya
Ireland	Fiji	Kuwait
Israel	Grenada	Libya
Italy	Guyana	Morocco
Japan	Haiti	Nepal
Korea, South	Honduras	Nicaragua
Latvia	Jamaica	Nigeria
Lithuania	Kazakhstan	Pakistan
Macao	Laos	Rwanda
Macedonia, Republic of	Lebanon	Senegal
Malaysia	Mauritius	Seychelles
Malta	Mexico	Sierra Leone
Netherlands	Moldova	Somalia
New Zealand	Namibia	Tanzania
Norway	New Caledonia	Togo
Poland	Norfolk Island	Turkey
Portugal	Oman	Uganda
Serbia	Paraguay	United Arab Emirates
Singapore	Peru	Yemen
Slovakia	Philippines	Zambia
Slovenia	Qatar	Zimbabwe
Spain	Romania	
Sweden	Russian Federation	
Switzerland	Saint Kitts and Nevis	
Taiwan	Saint Lucia	
United Kingdom	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	
United States	South Africa, Republic of	
	Sri Lanka	
	Syria	
	Thailand	
	Trinidad and Tobago	
	Tunisia	
	Ukraine	
	United States Minor Outlying Islands	
	Uzbekistan	
	Venezuela	
	Viet Nam	
	Virgin Islands, British	

Table 4.3

Individual and Source Country Characteristics by GII Tercile

	Men			Women		
	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII	Low GII	Mid GII	High GII
Sport Participation	30.7%	37.0%	36.2%	18.0%	13.5%	11.4%
Generation						
1st Gen	48.5%	65.0%	74.4%	47.7%	70.7%	64.4%
2nd Gen	51.5%	35.0%	25.6%	52.3%	29.3%	35.6%
Area						
CMA	92.3%	96.3%	98.9%	92.7%	95.9%	98.6%
Non-CMA	7.7%	3.8%	1.1%	7.3%	4.1%	1.4%
Family Income						
Under 60k	33.0%	39.7%	37.6%	37.9%	38.0%	39.9%
60k and over	67.0%	60.3%	62.4%	62.1%	62.0%	60.1%
Age (mean)	50.5	39.5	39.6	50.6	44.1	37.4
Household comp.						
Alone	12.7%	7.6%	7.8%	17.9%	11.4%	6.3%
Couples with or without children, Single Parents	58.2%	45.8%	45.7%	55.7%	51.1%	47.0%
Other	29.2%	46.7%	46.5%	26.5%	37.5%	46.7%
Education						
High school or less	34.3%	39.5%	30.1%	38.9%	29.0%	29.0%
More than high sch	65.8%	60.5%	69.9%	61.1%	71.0%	71.0%
Language						
English/French	62.2%	43.4%	38.9%	62.3%	49.2%	45.0%
Other	37.8%	56.6%	61.1%	37.7%	50.8%	55.1%
Employment status						
Working	62.0%	65.4%	60.9%	44.6%	55.6%	52.3%
Other	38.0%	34.6%	39.1%	55.4%	44.4%	47.7%
Visible Minority						
Non-Vm	72.9%	22.5%	6.5%	74.0%	21.1%	6.2%
Vm	27.2%	77.5%	93.5%	26.0%	78.9%	93.8%
Religion						
Non-religious	29.0%	9.9%	4.6%	25.7%	10.8%	2.2%
Religious	71.0%	90.1%	95.4%	74.4%	89.2%	97.8%
Source Country GDP						
less than 10k	15.9%	74.9%	94.9%	14.2%	70.9%	96.4%
10k or more	84.1%	25.1%	5.1%	85.8%	29.1%	3.6%

Table 4.3 also shows the distribution of all covariates by source-country gender inequality tercile and gender. Looking at the results for men, a few patterns stand out. With increasing GII terciles, there are higher percentages of first-generation immigrants, respondents who live in CMAs, and those born in or have a parent born in countries with less than $10,000 per capita GDP compared to second-generation immigrants, those who live in non-CMAs and those born or with a parent from countries with $10,000 or higher per capita GDP, respectively. The results also show that men are less likely to speak English or French as their mother tongue, be non-religious and identify as white with increasing source-country GII. The results for women follow the same general pattern as men. Women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality are less likely to live in a CMA, speak English or French as their mother tongue, be non-religious and identify as white. With increasing source-country GII, they are also more likely to be either born or have a family parent from countries that have a per capita GDP of less than $10,000.

The impact of source-Country Gender Inequality on Sport Participation

I further examine the impact of source-country gender inequality for first- and second-generation immigrants' sport participation in Table 4.4. Model 1 shows there is a statistically significant and positive association between source-country gender inequality and sport participation ($b=0.413$, $p<0.01$). While the results indicate no significant association for gender, the interaction term for women and source country gender inequality is significant and negative ($b=-1.108$, $p<0.01$). Taken together, these results suggest that men from countries with higher levels of gender inequality are more likely to

participate in sports than men from countries with greater gender equality. When considering the main effect and the interaction term (0.413 and -1.108), I find women from higher gender inequality countries are less likely to regularly participate in sports compared to their counterparts from countries with greater gender equality.

Table 4.4

Ordinary Least Sqaures Regression Predicting First and Second Generation Immigrants Sport Participation

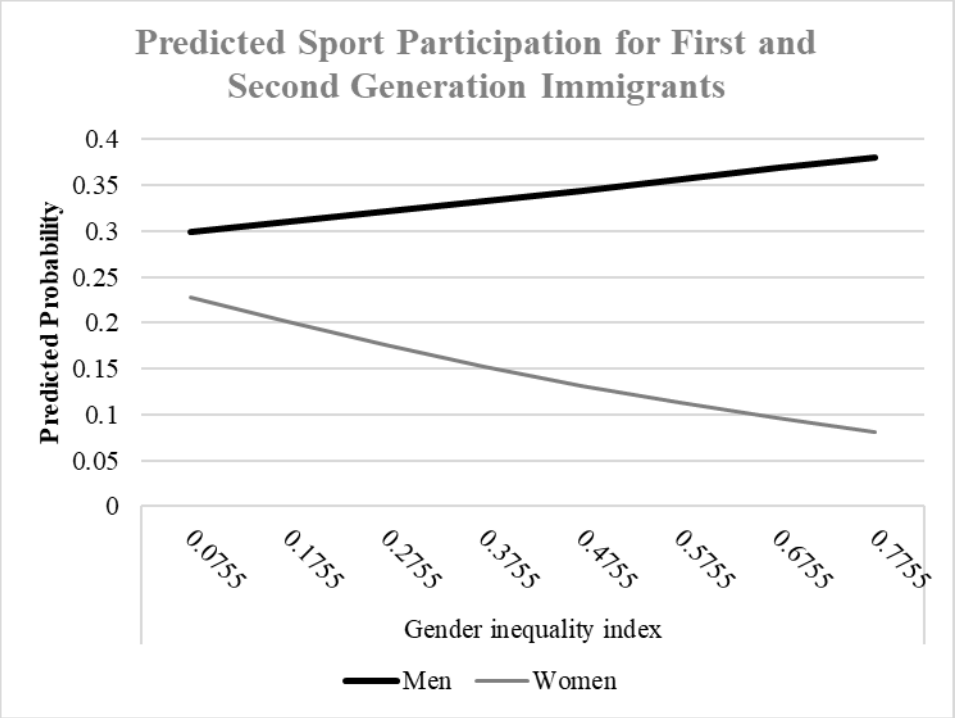
	Model 1	Model 2
Gender Inequality Index	0.413 **	0.347
Sex		
Male (Ref)		
Female	-0.178	-0.092
Interactions		
GII x Female	-1.108 **	-1.363 ***
Immigrant Generation		
1st gen (ref)		
2nd gen		0.119
CMA		
Non-CMA (Ref)		
CMA		-0.124
Family Income		
Under $20,000 (Ref)		
$20,000-$39,999		0.178
$40,000-$59,999		0.082
$60,000-$79,999		0.350 *
$80,000-$99,999		0.321
Over $100,000		0.411 **
Age		
15-19 (Ref)		
20-34		-0.781 ***
35-49		-0.866 ***
50-64		-1.062 ***
65+		-1.126 ***
Household composition		
alone (Ref)		
spouse		-0.010
spouse and kids		-0.113
single parent		0.060
other		0.083
Education		
less than hs (Ref)		
hs or equivalent		-0.005
trade or certificate		-0.021
bachelor's or above		0.216
Language		
English or French (Ref)		
Other		-0.171
Employment Status		
Working (Ref)		
Other		-0.210 *
Visible minority		
White (Ref)		
Visible minority		-0.060
Religious		
Non religious (Ref)		
Religious		-0.129
Source Country GDP		
Less than 5k (Ref)		0.048
5k-9,999		0.183
10k-14,999		0.021
15k-$19,999		-0.635 ***
20k-24,999+		0.007
25k+		
Constant	-0.586 ***	0.178
R-Squared	0.043	0.114

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

When I include covariates (Model 2), the association between source-country gender inequality and sport participation becomes non-significant. It appears that net of socio-demographic and other source-country characteristics, source-country gender inequality does not influence men's sport participation rates. However, the interaction term between women and source-country gender inequality increases in magnitude and remains significant (b=1.363, $p<0.001$). When considering the main effect and interaction term together (0.347 and -1.363), the results indicate that first- and second-generation women report lower levels of sport participation when coming from or have a parent from countries with higher levels of gender inequality compared to their counterparts from countries with greater gender equality.

The "test" command in STATA was used to confirm significant differences between the slope of source-country gender inequality with that of interaction between source-country gender inequality and being female ($p<0.001$). To aid interpretation, Figure 4.1 depicts the relationship with the Y-axis indicating the predicted probability of reporting regular sport participation in the past 12 months. The X-axis represents the source-country gender inequality in their country of origin or their parents' country of birth (mother's country if available). Women report regularly participating in sports at about 24% when they were born in or have a parent from countries with the highest level of gender equality, whereas this percentage drops to about 8% in countries with the highest level of gender inequality.

Figure 4.1



The results for the sociodemographic covariates corroborate findings from past research on group differences in sport participation (see Canadian Heritage 2013). Immigrants earning $60,000-$79,999 (b=0.350, p<0.05) and over $100,000 (b=0.411, p<0.01) report regular sport participation at higher rates than those earning under $20,000. Sports participation steadily declines with increasing age. Respondents aged 20-34 (b=-0.781, p<0.001), 35-49 (b=-0.866, p<0.001), 50-64 (b=-1.062, p<0.001), and 65+ (b=-1.126, p<0.001) report lower rates than those aged 15-19. Likewise, those who are not working report lower sport participation rates than those who work (b=-0.210, p<0.05), and those either born or with backgrounds from countries with a per capita GDP

of $20,000 to $24,999 (b=-0.635, p<0.001) report lower sport participation than those with a per capita GDP of less than $5,000.

Discussion and Conclusion

With Canada admitting immigrants from many countries, a growing number of studies examine the impact of source-country characteristics on immigrant integration. Analyzing the 2016 GSS and incorporating the UNDP gender inequality index, my study contributes to this literature by (1) examining men's and women's sport participation rates among the broader Canadian population (the first and second generation compared to the third-plus generation), (2) assessing the impact of source-country gender inequality on first and second-generation immigrants' sport participation, and (3) determining whether the impact of source-country gender inequality has differential impacts on men's versus women's sport participation.

The first research question aimed to determine whether first- and second-generation immigrant men and women have lower sport participation rates than the third-plus generation. The results partially support the hypothesis that first- and second-generation men and women will report lower sport participation rates than their third-plus generation counterparts. Without the inclusion of covariates, first- and second-generation women report lower sport participation rates than third-plus generation women. When controlling for sociodemographic characteristics, first- and second-generation women do not report statistically different rates of sport participation than third-plus generation women. Instead, religiosity, income, age, education and visible minority status have

statistically significant impacts on women's sport participation rates, explaining the difference between first- and second generation and third-plus generation women. For men, sports participation rates did not differ between the first- and second-generation when compared to the third-plus generation, with or without the inclusion of covariates.

To provide a more fine-grained analysis of sport participation, the second and third research questions addressed whether those born or with parents from countries with higher levels of gender inequality report lower rates of sport participation than those from countries with greater gender equality. The results support the second hypothesis that women from or with parents from countries with higher levels of gender inequality will report lower sport participation rates than their counterparts from countries where there is greater parity between men and women. The results also support the third hypothesis as source-country gender inequality does not impact first- and second-generation men's sport participation rates.

The findings from the first analysis generally support previous studies as it shows that sport participation rates increase with income and education but decrease with older age. One noteworthy finding is that among women, those who identify as religious are less likely to participate in sports than those who are non-religious. As religious norms may restrict women from participating in sports, this is an area that warrants further analysis (Ahmad et al. 2020; Qureshi and Ghouri 2011). Future studies could examine whether the negative impact of religiosity on sport participation interacts with generational status, years since arrival and other characteristics unique to immigrants.

The second analysis expands on the growing body of literature documenting the impact of immigrants' source country on post-migration settlement experiences. This research departs from more traditional integration measures such as education, occupation, and income to examine how source-country gender inequality impacts immigrants' leisure time. The findings suggest that source-country characteristics may have a greater influence on women's sport participation than men. Source-country gender inequality appears to maintain influence on first and second-generation women by steering them away from sport participation in Canada. As many studies show that sport can be beneficial for immigrant integration, these results indicate that immigrant women from countries with lower levels of gender equality are less likely to experience the positive impacts of sport participation.

From a policy perspective, further action is needed to increase immigrant women's sport participation rates. In Canada and worldwide, sport remains a male-dominated institution (Norman et al. 2021; Qureshi and Ghouri 2011). Women from high gender inequality countries may be less attracted to the masculine and patriarchal structure of sport. While municipal, provincial and federal governments invest significant funding into sport programs and research to understand the factors influencing sport participation (see Canadian Heritage 2013), that there should be funding, and initiatives targeted toward immigrant women from high gender inequality countries. Further accommodation to provide same-sex facilities, freedom to choose athletic attire and programs to expand women's sport participation is also warranted.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge several limitations. First, this study is limited to an examination of overall sport participation. Statistics Canada divided the 2016 GSS respondents into two groups, with half the sample responding to questions on cultural participation and half responding to questions from the sports activities module. By restricting the sample to those who responded to the sports participation module, I was unable to examine participation in specific sports due to the smaller sample size compared to standard cycles of the GSS. Women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality may be less likely to participate in popular Canadian sports such as hockey, basketball, baseball, rugby, and volleyball due to physical and uniform requirements. To address this data limitation, future research, with proper data, should examine whether immigrant women are less likely to participate in contact sports, team sports, and sports that have attire requirements. Second, further restricting the sample to first and second-generation immigrants limited the ability to conduct separate analyses of immigrant men and women. As a result, I opted to pool men and women and examine the interaction effect between gender and sport participation rates. Future research should directly differential factors impacting immigrant men's and women's sport participation in Canada.

References

Abada, Theresa, Kristyn Frank, and Feng Hou. 2018. “Between Two Worlds: Source-Country Gender Roles and Gender Differences in Educational Attainment among Immigrant Children.” *Sociological Inquiry* 88(1): 131–154.

Abur, William. 2016. “Benefits of participation in sport for people from refugee backgrounds: A study of the South Sudanese community in Melbourne, Australia.” *Issues in Scientific Research* 1(2): 10–26.

Ahmad, Nida, Holly Thorpe, Justin Richards, and Amy Marfell. 2020. “Building cultural diversity in sport: a critical dialogue with Muslim women and sports facilitators.” *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 12(4): 637–653.

Aizlewood, Amanda, Pieter Bevelander, and Ravi Pendakur. 2006. “Recreational Participation Among Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants in Canada and the Netherlands.” *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 4(4), 1–32.

Alemu, Betelihem B., Siegfried Nagel, and Hanna Vehmas. 2021. “Barriers to Sport Participation Faced by Ethiopian and Eritrean Migrant Women in Switzerland.” *Italian Sociological Review* 11(Special Issue 5): 673–690.

Balish, Shea M., Daniel Rainham, and Chris Blanchard. 2015. “Community size and sport participation across 22 countries.” *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports* 25(6): e576–e581.

Bell, Richard C. 2007. “A history of women in sport prior to Title IX.” *The Sport Journal* 10(2).

Berger, Ida E., Norman O'Reilly, Milena M. Parent, Beniot Séguin, and Tony Hernandez. 2008. "Determinants of Sport Participation Among Canadian Adolescents." *Sport Management Review* 11(3): 277–307.

Block, Karen, and Lisa Gibbs. 2017. "Promoting social inclusion through sport for refugee-background youth in Australia: Analysing different participation models." *Social Inclusion* 5(2): 91–100.

Boyd, Monica. 2009. "Official Language Proficiency and the Civic Participation of Immigrants." Paper presented at the *Metropolis Language Matters Symposium*. Ottawa, October 22, 2009.

Burrmann, Ulrike, Katrin Brandmann, Michael Mutz, and Ursula Zender. 2017. "Ethnic identities, sense of belonging and the significance of sport: stories from immigrant youths in Germany." *European Journal for Sport and Society* 14(3): 186–204.

Canadian Heritage. 2013. "Sport Participation 2010". Retrieved from https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/pc-ch/CH24-1-2014-eng.pdf

Checa, Juan Carlos, Ángeles Arjona, Montserrat Monserrat, and Darío Salguero. 2022. "Leisure Behavior of Young Immigrants in Andalusia (Spain): The Process of Acculturation through Physical Activities and Sport." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19(1): 580-595.

Connell, Raewyn. 2005. *Masculinities 2nd ed*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cortis, Natasha, Pooja Sawrikar, and Kristy Muir. 2007. "Participation in sport and recreation by culturally and linguistically diverse women." Sydney, Australia: Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales.

Engel, Anna. 1994. “Sex Roles and Gender Stereotyping in Young Women’s Participation in Sport.” *Feminism & Psychology* 4(3): 439-448.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2015. “Source-Country gender roles and the division of labor within immigrant families.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 77(2): 557–574.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2016. “Beyond culture: source country female labour force participation and the earnings of immigrant women”. *Work, Employment and Society* 30(3): 410–435.

Frisby, Wendy. 2011. “Promising physical activity inclusion practices for Chinese immigrant women in Vancouver, Canada.” *Quest* 63(1): 135–147.

Gosai, Kashyap, Jeff Carmicheal, Andrea Carey, and Emily Rand. 2018. “Sport for Life for All Newcomers To Canada Creating Inclusion of Newcomers in Sport and Physical Activity.” https://sportforlife.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Inclusion-for-New-Citizens.pdf

Government of UK. 2015. “Final Report of the Government’s Women and Sport Advisory Board.” Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/final-report-of-the-governments-women-and-sport-advisory-board.

Guinto, Maria Luisa M., Rosa López de D’Amico and Maryam Koushkie Jahromi (2021). “Conclusion.” Pp.253-256 in *Women and Sport in Asia (1st ed.)*, edited by R.L D’Amico, M.K. Jahromi, M.L., Guinto. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hurly, Jane. 2019. "'I feel something is still missing': leisure meanings of African refugee women in Canada." *Leisure Studies* 38(1): 1–14.

Ifedi, Fidelis. 2008. "Sport participation in Canada, 2005." *Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE — No. 060*. Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/81-595-m/81-595-m2008060-eng.pdf?st=qTdW6kGf

Jedwab, Jack, and Paul Holley.2021. "Who's the north? The challenge that immigration and diversity present to the dominance of hockey in 21st century Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 53(3): 163–181.

Kang, Jae Won. 2013. "Perceived Constraints on Sport Participation among Young Koreans in Australia*." International Journal of Sport and Health Sciences* 7(5): 596–602.

Kidd, Bruce. 1987. "Sports and Masculinity." Pp. 250-265 in *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by men on pleasure, power and changes*, edited by M. Kaufman. Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press.

Krouwel, André, Nanne Boonstra, Jan Williem Duyvendak, and Lex Veldboer. 2006. "A good sport?: Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 41(2): 165–180.

Lacoste, Yannick, Kelsey Needham Dancause, Justine Gosselin-Gagne, and Tegwen Gadais. 2020. "Physical activity among immigrant children: A systematic review." *Journal of Physical Activity and Health* 17(10): 1047–1058.

Lagaert, Susan, and Henk Roose. 2018. “The gender gap in sport event attendance in Europe: The impact of macro-level gender equality.” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 53(5): 533–549.

Larocca, Victoria, Stuart Wilson, and Andrea Cavaliere. 2018. “Examining the Association between Parent and Child Sport Participation in Canada: A General Social Survey Study.” *Canadian Journal of Family and Youth / Le Journal Canadien de Famille et de La Jeunesse* 10(1): 171–190.

Lee, Kangjae, Rudy Dunlap, and David Scott. 2011. “Korean American males’ serious leisure experiences and their perceptions of different play styles.” *Leisure Sciences* 33(4): 290–308.

Ley, Clemens, Felix Karus, Lisa Wiesbauer, María Rato Barrio, and Ramon Spaaij. 2022. “Health, Integration and Agency: Sport Participation Experiences of Asylum” Seekers. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34(4): 4140–4160.

Lundkvist, E., Wagnsson, S., Davis, L., & Ivarsson, A. (2020). Integration of immigrant youth in Sweden: does sport participation really have an impact? *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 25(1): 891–906.

McNeish, Daniel, Laura M. Stapleton, and Rebecca D. Silverman. 2017. “On the unnecessary ubiquity of hierarchical linear modeling.” *Psychological Methods* 22(1): 114–140.

Messner, Michael A. 1992. *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Messner, Michael A. 2002. *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mohammadi, S. (2019). Social inclusion of newly arrived female asylum seekers and refugees through a community sport initiative: the case of Bike Bridge. *Sport in Society* 22(6), 1082–1099.

Nanayakkara, Shahrzad. 2012. "Crossing boundaries and changing identities: Empowering South Asian women through sport and physical activities." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29(13): 1885–1906.

Ndofor-Tah, Carolyne, Alison Strang, Jenny Phillimore, Linda Morrice, Lucy Michael, Patrick Wood, and Jon Simmons. 2019. "Home Office Indicators of Integration framework 2019.". Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/home-office-indicators-of-integration-framework-2019

Norman, Mark, Peter Donnelly, and Bruce Kidd. 2021. "Gender inequality in Canadian interuniversity sport: participation opportunities and leadership positions from 2010-11 to 2016-17." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 13(2): 207–223.

Painter, Edward, and Marie Price. 2021. "Creating social capital on soccer fields: immigrant opportunities and gendered barriers in adult soccer leagues." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(7): 1631–1648.

Quirke, Lisa. 2015. "Searching for Joy: The Importance of Leisure in Newcomer Settlement." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16(2): 237–248.

Qureshi, Yasmeen I., and Soniha Aslam Ghouri. 2011. “Muslim female athletes in sports and dress code: major obstacle in international competitions.” *Journal of Experimental Sciences* 2(11): 9–13.

Sawrikar, Pooja, and Kristy Muir. 2010. “The myth of a "fair go": Barriers to sport and recreational participation among Indian and other ethnic minority women in Australia.” *Sport Management Review* 13(4): 355–367.

Sobal, Jeffery, and Michelle Milgrim. 2017. “Gender typing sports: social representations of masculine, feminine, and neither-gendered sports among US university students.” *Journal of Gender Studies* 28(1): 1–16.

Spaaij, Ramón, Karen Farquharson, and Timothy Marjoribanks. 2015. “Sport and Social Inequalities.” *Sociology Compass* 9(5): 400–411.

Spaaij, Ramón, Jora Broerse, Sarah Oxford, Carla Luguetti, Fiona McLachlan, Brent McDonald, … Aurélie Pankowiak. 2019. “Sport, Refugees, and Forced Migration: A Critical Review of the Literature.” *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living* 11, 1–18.

Statistics Canada. 2017. “General Social Survey: Canadians at Work and Home (GSS).” https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=5221

Statistics Canada. 2019. “Sports for fun and fitness.” Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-627-m/11-627-m2019039-eng.pdf?st=R_wSZQrT

Statistics Canada. 2022. “Census metropolitan area (CMA) and census agglomeration (CA).” Retrieved https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/92-195-x/2021001/geo/cma-rmr/cma-rmr-eng.htm

Stura, Claudia. 2019. "What makes us strong"–the role of sports clubs in facilitating integration of refugees. *European Journal for Sport and Society* 16(2): 128–145.

Tirone, Susan, Lori A. Livingston, A. Jordan Miller, and Emma L. Smith. 2010. “Including immigrants in elite and recreational sports: The experiences of athletes, sport providers and immigrants.” *Leisure/ Loisir* 34(4): 403–420.

Turnnidge, Jennifer, David J. Hancock, and Jean Côté. 2014. “The influence of birth date and place of development on youth sport participation.” *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports* 24(2): 461–468.

van Tuyckom, Charlotte, Jeroen Scheerder, and Piet Bracke. 2010. “Gender and age inequalities in regular sports participation: A cross-national study of 25 European countries.” *Journal of Sports Sciences* 28(10): 1077–1084.

Walseth, Kristin. 2008. “Bridging and bonding social capital in sport - Experiences of young women with an immigrant background.” *Sport, Education and Society* 13(1): 1–17.

Welch, Michael. 1997. “Violence Against Women by Professional Football Players: A Gender Analysis of Hypermasculinity, Positional Status, Narcissism, and Entitlement.” *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 21(4): 392-411.

Wong, Lloyd L., and Annette Tézli. 2013. “Measuring Social, Cultural, and Civic Integration in Canada: The Creation of an Index and Some Applications.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 45(3): 9-37.

Zacheus, Tuomas. 2010. “The significance of sport and physical activity during the acculturation and integration process of immigrants in Finland–the experts’ view.” *European Journal for Sport and Society* 7(2): 155–166.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada announced plans to admit about 500,000 newcomers each year for the next three years (2023-2025). These newcomers will help bolster Canada's population growth, address ongoing labour market demands, and provide refuge for displaced people (Canada 2022). However, many immigrant source countries have higher levels of gender inequality than Canada in terms of maternal mortality ratio, adolescent birth rate, women's labour force participation, the proportion of women with a postsecondary education and the share of women who hold parliamentary seats. Immigrant women from countries with higher levels of gender inequality may experience substantial and unique hardship adjusting to life in their new country, which may not be the case for men (Bilodeau 2016).

Can immigrants from countries with greater degrees of gender inequality integrate into a country with relativity greater levels of gender equality, such as Canada? An emerging body of literature focuses on the role of immigrants' national context on immigrant integration. While most studies examine labour force participation rates, income, and other economic indicators, fewer studies examine the association between gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin and social outcomes. Furthermore, as source-country gender inequality may impact men and women differently, it is important to conduct separate analyses for immigrant men and women.

This dissertation examines how gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin impacts various aspects of immigrant assimilation in Canada.[7] Assimilation encompasses many components, including identification, structural integration and acculturation (Rumbaut 2015). Assimilation in one area does not necessarily correspond with assimilation in another. For this reason, each chapter is dedicated to understanding the impact of source-country gender inequality on a unique aspect of assimilation. Furthermore, this dissertation aims to determine whether and to what extent source-country gender inequality has differential effects on immigrant men and women. Overall, this dissertation broadly analyzes the association between source-country gender inequality and non-economic assimilation.

Summary

In each empirical chapter (Chapters 2-4), I conduct separate analyses of a specific component of assimilation. Although each chapter stands as a distinct article, they share a collective goal of documenting how source-country gender inequality impacts the experiences of immigrant men and women in their resettlement countries in complex ways. As shown across each chapter, gender inequality does not necessarily equate to assimilation difficulties. Successful assimilation can depend on the specific component under study and vary by gender.

[7] Similar to other studies, I use source-country gender inequality as a proxy for cultural norms (see Blau, Kahn and Papps 2011; Gevrek, Gevrek and Gupta 2013; Fernández and Fogli 2006, 2009).

Sense of belonging is a broad indicator of social integration. For immigrants, a strong sense of belonging can indicate well-being, social and civic participation, and commitment to Canada (Wu, Schimmele, and Hou 2012). In Chapter 2, I find that immigrant men and women from countries with greater gender inequality report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with greater levels of gender parity. There are concerns that immigrants, especially women, from diverse cultures with different levels of gender inequality may experience heightened difficulty acclimating upon arrival (see Abada, Frank, and Hou 2018; Bilodeau 2016, Frank and Hou 2016). However, the findings from this chapter suggest that immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender inequality report a stronger sense of self-perceived integration than immigrants from countries with greater gender parity.

Using a generalized approach to regression decomposition (Hou 2014), the results show that once controlling for years since arrival, immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender inequality report a much stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from countries with more equality between men and women. New immigrants experience many difficulties, including inability to make community connections, find employment, and participate in activities that could make one feel welcomed in Canada. Once I hold years since arrival constant, it helps explain the relationship between source country gender inequality and sense of belonging. This suggests that with similar years since landing, immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender inequality develop a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than those from other countries.

Chapter 3 focuses on the financial decision-making of male-female immigrant couples. Decision-making is considered one of the more critical indicators of household authority and relationship equality (Klesment and Van Bavel 2022). The results show that men from countries with greater levels of gender inequality are more likely to report lower propensities of sole-male decision-making. In contrast, I find women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality are more likely to report that their male partners control the financial decisions. These findings suggest that at higher levels of gender inequality, men and women are more likely to report that someone other than themselves primarily makes the financial decisions. Furthermore, as partners' perspectives do not align, this could indicate greater intra-household tension among immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender inequality. Conducting separate analyses for men and women builds on previous research showing differences in partners' accounts of household arrangements, including housework and decision-making power (see Becker et al. 2006; Lee and Waite 2005). Overall, this chapter reveals that gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin can influence perspectives of financial control. However, with increasing human capital, immigrant men and women are less likely to report male-dominated decision-making practices.

Chapter 4 examines the association between source-country gender inequality and sport participation. Sport participation can help facilitate integration into the host society, including benefits for language acquisition, social capital and increased community contact (Alemu et al. 2021; Painter and Price 2021; Zacheus 2010). However, certain cultural norms and traditions limit women's participation in sports (Ahmad et al. 2020;

Alemu et al. 2021). The analysis of the 2016 General Social Survey data reveals that women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality are less likely to participate in sport. However, source-country gender inequality does not impact immigrant men's sport participation. This chapter provides an example where source-country gender inequality may be impactful for women but has little influence on men. Expanded programs, initiatives and opportunities for immigrant women's sports participation may help women from high gender inequality countries increase their participation in sport.

Overall Contributions

This dissertation makes several contributions to the literature on gender and migration and immigrant integration overall. While previous research tends to focus on the roles of individual sociodemographic characteristics and post-migration experiences in immigrant integration, my research demonstrates that integration is also influenced by the premigration context surrounding immigrants. Immigrants arrive with pre-migration experiences and customs of their country of origin (Bilodeau 2015) and these customs can have differential impacts for men and women.

The findings from this dissertation show that gender inequality in immigrants' country of origin impacts immigrants' assimilation to Canada. Using data from four cycles of the General Social Survey (GSS) and the Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), this dissertation examines three components of assimilation identified by Rumbaut (2015): acculturation, integration, and identification. The results show that

source-country gender inequality can positively or negatively impact assimilation, depending upon the component of assimilation under investigation.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) requires Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada to conduct Gender-Based Analysis Plus assessments to further understand how diversity characteristics such as gender, race and sexual orientation impact health, social and economic outcomes (IRCC 2021). Similarly, gender and immigration scholars have long been concerned with intersectional approaches to immigrant integration. Coinciding with this mandate and the need for more scholarship that disaggregates respondents by gender, this dissertation focused on the gendered dynamics of assimilation outcomes of immigrants from diverse countries. As men are more likely to benefit from gender inequality in their country of origin and lose their privileges upon migration to Canada, source-country gender inequality may have differential impacts on men and women. By considering the impact of source-country gender inequality on men and women separately, this dissertation contributes to the literature on gendered assimilation outcomes (Abada et al. 2018; Ajrouch 2004; Kaushik and Walsh 2018; Korteweg 2017; Hudon 2005; Portes and Zhou 1993; Warikoo 2005). The differential assimilation outcomes for immigrant men and women highlight the ongoing need for data disaggregation and scholarship that link multiple datasets to provide more nuanced understanding of immigrant assimilation in Canada.

This dissertation also contributes to the sociology of gender. Scholars contend that gender constrains and facilitates action at the individual and societal levels (Martin 2004; Risman 2004). Gender inequality at the state-level impacts familial relationships and

individual behaviours (Hartmann 1976; Singley and Hines 2005). The findings from this dissertation build on this by providing evidence of the lingering impact of state-level gender inequality on immigrants after arrival in Canada.

Policy implications

The findings from Chapters 2-4 have policy implications for Canadian immigration. The findings from the second chapter suggest that Canada should not limit the admission of immigrants from countries with high levels of gender equality. As part of Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada's departmental result indicators outlined in their 2022-2023 departmental plan, the goal is to have an 85% or higher proportion of immigrants and refugees reporting a strong sense of belonging (IRCC 2022). Although men may lose privileges associated with gender inequality in their country of origin and women may have increased responsibilities, both report a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender equality.

In the third chapter, the results for both men and women showed that women's increasing human capital, specifically education and higher income (in the analysis of men's responses) and education (in the analysis of women's responses) was associated with lower rates of male decision making. This finding highlights the need for policy initiatives that promote immigrant women's education, employment and higher wages. The results suggest that immigrant women can gain more financial decision-making power with greater capital.

The fourth chapter reveals that immigrant women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality are less likely to participate in sports than their counterparts from countries with greater equality between men and women. This finding underscores the need for sport participation programs and initiatives designed specifically for immigrant women. As source-country gender inequality does not impact immigrant men's sport participation, this also highlights an area where men are not affected by their source-country culture.

Limitations

While my dissertation contributes to the research on gender and migration and immigrant integration as discussed above, I also acknowledge that it has both conceptual and empirical limitations. Conceptually, except for sense of belonging, chapter 2 and chapter 3 assumes that greater levels of shared decision-making and sport participation represent greater levels of assimilation. However, as Peter Li (2003:330) argues

> Integration is about giving newcomers the right of contestation, the legitimacy of dissent, and the entitlement to be different just as old-timers enjoy such legitimacy, rights, and entitlements.

Susan Moller Okin (1999) notes that feminism and multiculturalism are often at odds. For instance, certain cultures may emphasize women's role in the household tasks and men's role in the economic sphere. While this is inegalitarian from the perspective of Western liberal cultures, this may be normal, accepted and preferred in other countries. Similarly, women from countries with greater levels of gender inequality may choose not to

participate in sport. In other words, the findings from chapter 3 do not reveal whether women feel unwelcome in sporting environments or if they decide not to participate due to personal preference. Narrowly defining assimilation in terms of the Canadian-born or those from Western cultural backgrounds risks further stigmatizing minority cultures and communities.

Moreover, an empirical limitation is that I used a single indicator to measure all the three outcome variables of this dissertation research: sense of belonging, financial-decision making and sport participation. Although I selected each measure as the best representation of the concept under study, additional indicators would be of benefit. Specifically, sense of belonging could also be measured at the provincial or local level, daily financial decision-making could be compared against infrequent large-scale purchases and studies of sports participation could be disaggregated sport by type.

Selectivity is another noteworthy limitation. Immigrants may have different characteristics than non-immigrants in their country of origin (Feliciano 2020). Immigrants from countries with greater levels of gender inequality may hold more gender-egalitarian views than non-immigrants and align with Canada's gender norms. As a result, source-country gender inequality does not reflect individual perspectives and may impact the association between gender inequality and assimilation outcomes. While many immigration studies identify the potential impacts of selectivity, most research cannot address it due to data limitations (Adserà and Ferrer 2016).

Future research

Immigrant integration will be of pressing concern in Canada for the foreseeable future. Research should continue to investigate how diverse groups of immigrants participate in, feel welcomed, and acculturate to mainstream Canadian society and norms. Furthermore, future research should examine how Canadians respond to increased immigrant admission from diverse cultures. In other words, it is equally important to investigate whether Canadian-born people are welcoming to immigrants from diverse cultures and their willingness to accept non-western cultural norms. Without social cohesion among the Canadian born and immigrants, there are increased risks of discrimination and social isolation.

Future research should consider the impacts of race, class, age, region and other differences in addition to gender. Although data limitations often constrain this, Statistics Canada's recently released Data Disaggregation plan aims to collect and disseminate findings based on the highest level of detail (see Statistics Canada 2021). This mandate is promising for academic research, specifically, intersectional approaches to immigrant integration.

References

Abada, Teresa, Kristyn Frank, and Feng Hou. 2018. “Between Two Worlds: Source-Country Gender Roles and Gender Differences in Educational Attainment among Immigrant Children.” *Sociological Inquiry* 88(1):131–54.

Adserà, Alícia, and Ana Ferrer. 2016. “The Fertility of Married Immigrant Women to Canada.” *International Migration Review* 50(2):475–505.

Ahmad, Nida, Holly Thorpe, Justin Richards, and Amy Marfell. 2020. “Building cultural diversity in sport: a critical dialogue with Muslim women and sports facilitators.” *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 12(4): 637–653.

Ajrouch, Kristine J. 2004. “Gender, race, and symbolic boundaries: Contested spaces of identity among Arab American adolescents.” *Sociological Perspectives* 47(4): 371–391.

Alemu, Betelihem B., Siegfried Nagel, and Hanna Vehmas. 2021. “Barriers to Sport Participation Faced by Ethiopian and Eritrean Migrant Women in Switzerland.” *Italian Sociological Review* 11(Special Issue 5): 673–690.

Becker, Stan, Fannie Fonseca-Becker, and Catherine Schenck-Yglesias. 2006. “Husbands' and wives' reports of women's decision-making power in Western Guatemala and their effects on preventive health behaviors.” *Social Science and Medicine* 62(9): 2313–2326.

Bilodeau, Antoine. 2016. “Migrating Gender Inequalities? Immigrant Women's Participation in Political Survey Research.” *International Migration Review* 50(4): 951–976.

Blau, Francine, Lawrence M. Kahn, and Kerry L. Papps. 2011. "Gender, Source Country Characteristics, and Labor Market Assimilation among Immigrants." *Gender, Inequality, and Wages* 93:43–58.

Canada. 2022. "An Immigration Plan to Grow the Economy." Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2022/11/an-immigration-plan-to-grow-the-economy.html

Feliciano, Cynthia. 2020. Immigrant Selectivity Effects on Health, Labor Market, and Educational Outcomes. *Annual Review of Sociology* 46: 315-334.

Fernandez, Raquel and Alessandra Fogli. 2006. "Fertility : The Role of Culture." *Journal of the European Economic Association 4*(2):552–61.

Fernandez, Raquel and Alessandra Fogli. 2009. "Culture: An Empirical Investigation of Beliefs, Work, and Fertility." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 1(1):146–77.

Frank, Kristyn, and Feng Hou. 2016. "Beyond Culture: Source Country Female Labour Force Participation and the Earnings of Immigrant Women." *Work, Employment and Society* 30(3):410–35.

Gevrek, Z. Eylem, Deniz Gevrek, and Sonam Gupta. 2013. "Culture, Intermarriage, and Immigrant Women's Labor Supply." *International Migration 51*(6): 146–67.

Griffith, Andrew. 2017. "Building a Mosaic: The Evolution of Canada's Approach to Immigrant Integration." Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/building-mosaic-evolution-canadas-approach-immigrant-integration.

Hartmann, Heidi. 1976. “Capitalism, patriarchy, and job segregation by sex.” *Signs: Journal of women in Culture and Society* 1(3): 137-169.

Hou, Feng. 2014. “A General Approach to Effect Decomposition.” *Social Science Quarterly* 95(3): 894–904.

Hudon, Tamara. 2015. “Immigrant Women - Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report” Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-503-X.

IRCC. 2021. “2021 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration.” Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-2021-en.pdf

IRCC. 2022. “2022-2023 Departmental Plan.” Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/departmental-plan-2022-2023/departmental-plan.html

Kaushik, Vibha, and Christine A. Walsh. 2018. “A Critical Analysis of the Use of Intersectionality Theory to Understand the Settlement and Integration Needs of Skilled Immigrants to Canada.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50(3): 27–47.

Klesment, Martin, and Jan Van Bavel. 2022. “Women’s Relative Resources and Couples’ Gender Balance in Financial Decision-Making.” *European Sociological Review*. doi: 10.1093/esr/jcac019

Korteweg, Anna C. 2017. “The failures of “immigrant integration”: The gendered racialized production of non-belonging.” *Migration Studies* 5(3): 428–444.

Lee, Yun-Suk, and Linda J. Waite. 2005. “Husbands’ and wives’ time spent on housework: A comparison of measures.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67(2): 328–336.

Martin, Patricia Yancey. 2004. “Gender as Social Institution.” *Social Forces* 82(4): 1249–1273.

Okin, Susan Moller. 1999. *Is multiculturalism bad for women?.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Painter, Edward, and Marie Price. 2021. “Creating social capital on soccer fields: immigrant opportunities and gendered barriers in adult soccer leagues.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(7): 1631–1648.

Portes, Alejandro, and Zhou M. 1993. “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74–96.

Risman, Barbara. J. 2004. “Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism.” *Gender & Society* 18(4): 429–450.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 2015. “Assimilation of immigrants.” *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 2: 81-87.

Singley, Susan, and Kathryn Hynes. 2005. “Transitions to parenthood: Work-family policies, gender, and the couple context.” *Gender & Society* 19(3): 376-397.

Statistics Canada. 2021. “Disaggregated Data Action Plan: Why it matters to you” Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-627-m/11-627-m2021092-eng.htm

Warikoo, Natasha. 2005. “Gender and ethnic identity among second-generation Indo-Caribbeans.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(5): 803–831.

Wu, Zheng, Christoph M. Schimmele, and Feng Hou. 2012. “Self-perceived integration of immigrants and their children.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 37(4): 381-408.

Zacheus, Tuomas. 2010. “The significance of sport and physical activity during the acculturation and integration process of immigrants in Finland–the experts' view.” *European Journal for Sport and Society* 7(2): 155–166.

Appendix A

Probit Regression for Immigrant's and Canadian Born Financial Decision Making

Variable	Men		Women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Immigrant status				
Non-immigrant (Ref)				
Immigrant	0.235 ***	0.141	0.346 ***	-0.010
Visible Minority				
Not a Visible Minority (Ref)				
Visible Minority		0.095		0.358 ***
Language				
English or French (Ref)				
Other		0.037		0.172 *
Age		-0.005 *		-0.002
Kids in household				
No kids (Ref)				
Kids		0.006		0.097
Respondent's Employment				
Working for pay (Ref)				
Unemployed		0.200 ***		-0.056
Partner's Main Activity				
Working for pay (Ref)				
not working for pay		-0.015		0.156 **
Education				
Less than HS (Ref)				
HS or equivalent		0.166		-0.172
College, trade or certificate		0.139		-0.403 ***
Bachelor's or higher		0.205 *		-0.305 *
Partner's Education				
Less than HS (Ref)				
HS or equivalent		-0.116		0.088
College, trade or certificate		-0.180 *		0.101
Bachelor's or higher		-0.256 *		0.076
Personal Income				
Under $20,000 (Ref)				
$20,000 to $39,999		-0.280 **		-0.249 ***
$40,000 to $59,999		-0.211 *		-0.215 **
$60,000 to $79,999		-0.228 *		-0.199 *
$80,000 to $99,999		-0.240 *		-0.030
Over $100,000		-0.325 **		-0.033
Income difference				
Respondent earns most of income (Ref)				
Respondent earns equal or less		-0.109 **		0.009
Contribution to household expenses				
Equal (Ref)				
not unequal		0.229 ***		0.091 *
Survey Respondent				
2011 (Ref)				
2017		-0.053		0.092 *
Constant	-1.499 ***	-1.122 ***	-1.848 ***	-1.630 ***
R-squared	0.006	0.025	0.014	0.044

Note: Dependent variable is the probability that mostly the male spouse mainly makes the everyday financial decisions

p*<.05,**<0.01,***<0.001

Appendix B

Decomposition of the effect of Immigrant Status on Financial Decision-Making	
	Men
Observed Effects of Immigrant Status	0.235
Adjusted Effects of Immigrant Status	0.141
'Explained' Portion	0.094
Contributing Components	
Visible minority status	60.44%
Language	25.16%
Age	-0.01%
Kids in Household	0.59%
Employment	2.25%
Partner's Activity	-0.59%
Education	19.50%
Partner's Education	-18.09%
Personal income	12.47%
Income difference	-3.71%
Contributions to household expenses	2.33%
GSS Year	-0.33%

Appendix C

Decomposition of the Effect of Immigrant Status on Financial Decision-Making	
	Women
Observed Effects of Immigrant Status	0.346
Adjusted Effects of Immigrant Status	-0.010
'Explained' Portion	0.356
Contributing Components	
Visible minority status	63.65%
Language	32.05%
Age	0.00%
Kids in Household	2.42%
Employment	-0.54%
Partner's Activity	-0.34%
Education	-2.36%
Partner's Education	1.09%
Personal income	3.22%
Income difference	-0.07%
Contributions to household expenses	0.23%
GSS Year	0.65%