

Scripting the Right to be Canadian:  
Immigrant Experiences, Policies, and Practices in Southern Ontario

by

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### **Author's Declaration**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

## **Abstract**

The ways that categories of immigration are drawn and standards of successful citizenship are measured in Canadian society influence the ways that people script themselves to appear as worthy immigrant applicants and potential Canadian citizens. For immigrant hopefuls, scripting oneself using the language of immigration and positioning oneself as a deserving and desirable immigrant is crucial for gaining mobility and passage into Canadian society. In my thesis, I explore the literature surrounding processes and concepts like borders, mobility, good citizenship, the “white standard”, and racialization that serve as foundations and outcomes of scripting “good” immigrants and “successful” citizenship. I embed the experiences of my informants within an analysis of this literature as well as the processes of immigration outlined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). I find that scripting immigrant categories and citizenship can result in immigrants enacting only a limited Canadianness. Immigrant categories involve restrictive policies that can result in exploitation. I also offer that immigrants may live a double-consciousness through their transnationalism and constituting of “back home”. The larger hope for this project is to provide an understanding of the processes of scripting that work to make exclusive the right to be Canadian so that the vulnerability and suffering caused by the existence of hierarchies of citizenship can be tackled as a public issue and make for a more inclusive and equitable Canada.

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 DESCRIPTION OF THESIS**

The ways that categories of immigration are drawn and standards of successful citizenship are measured in Canadian society influence the ways that people script themselves to appear as worthy immigrant applicants and potential Canadian citizens. For immigrant hopefuls, scripting oneself using the language of immigration and positioning oneself as a deserving and desirable immigrant is crucial for gaining mobility and passage into Canadian society. In my thesis, I explore the literature surrounding processes and concepts like borders, mobility, good citizenship and the “white standard” that serve as foundations for imagining and defining successful citizenship. I embed the experiences of my informants within an analysis of this literature as well as the process of immigration outlined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). By doing so, I depict Canadian immigration experiences as situated within a politically constructed space and assert that this space is accessed by immigrant hopefuls in particular ways. Understanding the ways that access to this country is scripted, the ways that people must script themselves to belong, and the ways that they may fall victim to the contingencies of certain scripts are public issues for all who desire to and already call themselves a member of this polity.

The work that the term scripting does for my analysis is crucial. Categories of immigration and citizenship have been ascribed certain values by the policies used to script them. I see images of ideal immigrants as composed by the standards of eligibility and the restrictions that make up an immigrant category. Notions of active and engaged citizenship constitute standards for viewing “successful” citizenship. There are thus scripts for seeing and being a “good” immigrant and a “good” citizen.

Immigrants must make themselves appear to fit these images and standards in order to be allowed into the country. Thus I view the act of scripting oneself using political rhetoric and imaging as active. There are however, dangers that I associate with scripting oneself to belong to an immigrant category as each involves restrictive policies that can lead to the exploitation of people.

My attempt to unpack the process and consequences of scripting the right to be Canadian is a public issue for all who desire to become and those who already are, Canadian. I believe so, as my research shows that that the process and consequences of scripting membership in Canada also shapes human hopes, lives, suffering, and vulnerability. I believe that it is important for policy-makers and the Canadian public to understand how the right to being Canadian is scripted so that the vulnerability and suffering caused by the existence of hierarchies of citizenship and exclusivity of membership can be tackled. Protecting Canada's territorial sovereignty, existing polity, and its population is not enough. Scripting membership with tough exclusivity not only in terms of border crossing but also in regards to the ability to enact citizenship can push people into dangerous circumstances. For us to embrace Canada as a multicultural, equitable, and safe place to live, we need to consider the ways that people may be pushed into modes of exploitation and made vulnerable by the laws that we have in place.

There are a number of categories under which one can apply to Canada and each has specific requirements. Such categories include skilled workers (temporary and permanent), live-in caregivers, business people, students, family sponsorship, and refugees as shown in Figure 1, on the following page.



**Figure 1: Categories of Immigration (CIC 2013)**

These categories indicate the various ways one can gain entry to Canada to live and work, however, they are not necessarily statuses through which one can gain citizenship. For example, of the categories on this list, only “live-in caregivers” can apply for permanent residency (PR) immediately. People living under the other categories must first apply to be part of the Canadian Experience Class program (CEC). This is a perk of the live-in caregiver program that Alarcon (2012) argues is a small advantage compared to the strenuous working situations and possibility of exploitation that they face. This topic will be covered more extensively in chapter three.

The language used by the CIC on their website depicts clearly that there are specific kinds of people that the Canadian government tries to attract. The following quote of the previous Immigration Minister, Jason Kenney, posted in a news release on the CIC website in October of 2012, signifies the kind of immigrant Canada really wants: “Our Government’s number one priority remains economic and job growth,” said Minister Kenney. “Newcomers bring their skills and talents, contribute to our economy and help renew our workforce so that Canada remains competitive on the world stage” (CIC 2012).

This economic strategy towards immigration was emphasized by one of my informants as she stated, “immigrants are Canada’s global investment”. The immigrant categories Canada’s

government outlines on CIC's website are clear indicators for the kinds of people it wants to invest in Canadian society. Most of the categories are concerned with employing people in Canada to fulfill niches in employment such as live-in caregivers and skilled labourers. While CIC scripts who gains entry, people in turn script themselves according to the requirements and standards of categories of immigration to gain mobility and access Canada. They make themselves appear as "worthy" immigrants by adhering to these requirements, be it having the monetary requirement of business immigrants or appearing as a refugee with a reasonable fear of the endangerment of life in his/her home country.

In my thesis, I use the terms "immigrants" or "immigrant people" frequently. I want to make a clear distinction regarding what kinds of immigrants I refer to avoid essentializing claims. While much of my work on scripting and the potential dangers of belonging to different immigrant categories can be extrapolated, I believe, to many immigrant categories, in my thesis I mostly discuss only the categories of live-in caregivers, international students, and refugees. I do not, for example, discuss the scripting and the dangers of scripting involved with affluent business migrants or professionals. While scripting oneself as part of these categories can be considered an active process and while there may be processes of scripting in place, the scope of this thesis does not include the analysis of such categories. I have built my thesis using the experiences and opinions of my informants and they largely did not belong to such categories. My thesis instead focuses on two case studies: one of Filipina live-in caregivers and one of Tamil-Sri Lankans. I present these case studies in discussions of the feminization of transnational migrant labour and constituting "back home" as a lived experience of enacting a limited Canadianness, respectively.

## 1.2 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

My thesis takes readers through a journey of scripting the right to be Canadian. In this Introduction I lay the foundation for my thesis by discussing how I position myself in my research, the methods I used, and the fieldwork I conducted. I engage with the methods and literature guiding my project and supporting my arguments throughout my thesis.

In the second chapter, I discuss the ways that immigrant categories and citizenship are scripted and the ways that people script themselves to access these positions. I do so by first discussing the global processes of border-crossing and mobility that create inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries for nation-states and that underlie a country's restrictions on membership. I look at how these processes are historically bounded to racial discrimination and how being mobile was often a racialized position. This discussion informs the idea that immigrant people and immigrant categories may be scripted in racializing ways. I go on to discuss citizenship literature and the construction of "successful citizenship". The standards and images associated with ideal citizenship meant that immigrants were forced (perhaps without realizing) to enact definitions of "good" citizenship associated with assimilation. This might include adhering to a "white standard" of being active in the economy so that they could more readily "belong". Lastly in this chapter, I discuss masculine citizenship and the feminization of transnational labour migration using Filipina live-in caregivers as an example. The issues that arise in this group of people may be a result of the re-scripting of categories.

In the third chapter, I discuss the limited Canadianness immigrants are able to enact. There are two major parts to this topic. The first regards the dangers of scripting and looks specifically at the potential exploitation of the immigrant categories of international students, live-in caregivers, and refugees. In the latter part of this chapter, I discuss some of the literature

around double-consciousness and expand upon this notion to engage in a discussion of constituting “back home”. I take on this discussion through a case study of Canadian Tamil-Sri Lankans as first generation Tamil-Canadians from Sri Lanka mostly arrived in Canada as refugees.

The fourth chapter concludes my thesis by restating the various arguments I used to support my claim that the right to be Canadian is scripted in the policies and images surrounding immigrant categories and citizenship. Additionally I argue that the process of scripting is a public issue as it poses dangers for immigrants and limits their ability to enact Canadianness.

## **1.3 METHODS**

### **1.3.1 Positioning Myself as the Researcher**

I believe that my project is a native anthropology. I was born and brought up in Southern Ontario and much of my personal circle is composed of first and second generation Canadians. I have come to re-see my home through my work. What once seemed like a very multicultural but “normal” space, I now see as a space where pathways of immigration are lived out and stratifications of belonging are abound.

Through my frequent travels over the course of my master’s program between the cities of Toronto and Waterloo, and through my work on immigrant experiences, I have come to see how differently people of colour can be viewed. In Waterloo, I have had experiences in which I was made very aware of the colour of my skin by those around me. I believe that such experiences were magnified by my involvement in a project on immigration.

When speaking to my informants, I could see that their view of me shifted when they learned that I was born in Canada. They saw me as privileged in ways that they would have to

work very hard to attain an approximation of. I felt that they positioned me as a Canadian, but one who could empathize more easily with their experiences, as my parents were also immigrants to Canada. While I would experience this kind of positioning in my interviews, my travels to Waterloo and my experiences with strangers there made me see that in some peoples' perspectives, I am part of the category immigrant people. It seemed to me that they saw no difference between those who immigrated to Canada and their Canadian-born offspring. It felt as though complexion was all they needed to question my position in society and my right to be here.

My view of the world thus began to drastically shift over the course of this work as I realized the multiplicity of ways people position each other in society. I consequently believe that a hierarchy of citizenship is very much active in Canada both in policy and in the imagining of the larger public. By making the scripting of immigrant categories, citizenship, and the right to be Canadian a public issue, I believe that both spheres can be influenced to change, and that Canada can become a more equitable place to live. It can become a place where people do not have to live under the hierarchy of privilege that I believe continues to constitute our society today.

Mascia-Lees, Sharpe, and Cohen (1989) promote a position of the scholar that is "neither inside nor outside" (Mascia-Lees et al. 1989: 33). They argue that "it is this position that necessitates that we merge our scholarship with a clear politics to work against the forces of oppression" (33). I believe that I am "neither inside nor outside" of understanding immigrant experiences in Canada. While I was born to refugee parents, I was born in Canada and was thus automatically granted the citizenship status many immigrant people take years and much effort to gain, if they are able to at all. By "politics", these feminist scholars stress that anthropologists

should consider for whom they write or else allow for the consumption of “the other” by hidden power relations in a totalizing way (28). My informants rationalized my interest in their experiences from the knowledge that my parents were themselves immigrants to Canada. My “politics” was also evident in the ways that I participated in the interviews that I held. I gave my opinion, shared my own beliefs, and sympathized with their situations, letting them hear that I cared about their struggles and that I admired their journeys and sacrifices. By conducting myself in this way while maintaining a critical eye to analyze my informants’ stories alongside others and the greater political situation of Canada, I believe that I have kept my audience in mind. It is at once policy-makers, immigrant people, and Canadian citizens.

Donna Haraway’s (1988) “vision” relates the need for politics to “situated knowledges” and calls for projects to be “distinctively local” if the aims are to help subjugated people. While a study on migration implies a global scale, I argue that my focus on immigrant people who now reside in Southern Ontario has reduced this aspect. While the definition of locality can be debated at great lengths, especially in the context of global studies – I think that the scale of my study as geographically local yet imaginatively global, stretches the definition of situated knowledges. The ‘situatedness’ of it comes from the relatability of the topics and themes to people whose native countries vary widely.

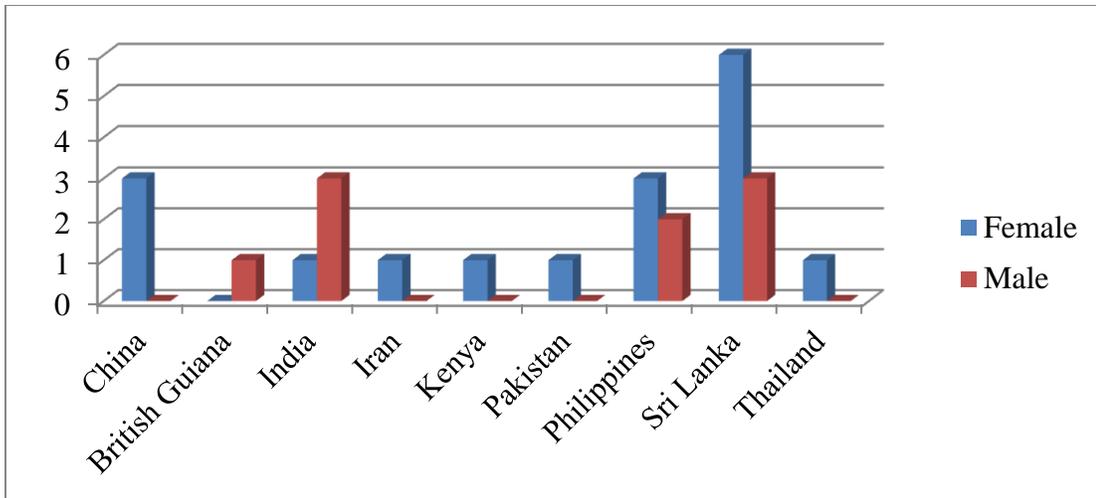
The opinions I have gathered are glimpses of the ways that my informants understand people in their communities and the world around them – the new world of Canada and its systems that they are trying to “successfully” access. Drawing from Haraway, these opinions do not make an objective totality but should be considered as partial truths. These partial truths come together in my analysis of immigration policy and literature to problematize the exclusivity of membership to Canada that is embedded in the ways that immigrant positions are scripted.

Before discussing these partial truths and the relevant literature, I review the fieldwork I conducted in the next section.

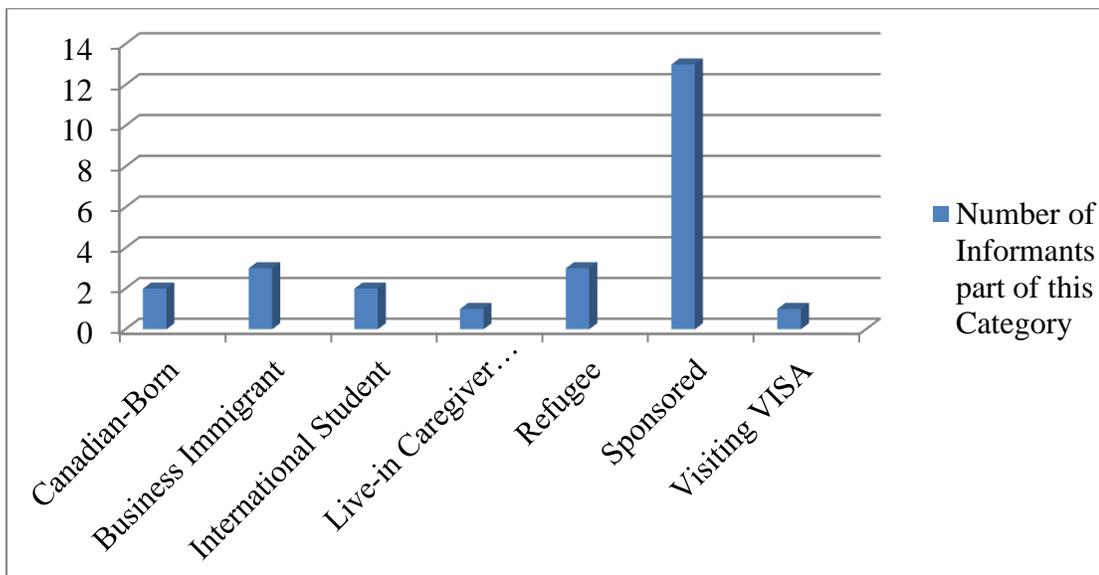
### **1.3.2 Interviews, Participant Observation, and Fieldwork: Citizenship Mentoring Circles**

For this project, I conducted twenty-six semi-structured interviews of immigrant people and second-generation Canadians. My immigrant informants emigrated from a range of nations and arrived in Canada using many different immigration categories. These can be seen in Figures 2 and 3 on page 10. During these interviews, I first asked participants to tell me their immigration stories. I built my subsequent questions upon their individual answers. For the large part, the interviews consisted of learning about the categories my informants took and their general opinions about immigration to Canada. I was able to build off of the individual stories of each person I interviewed. Some of my informants also shared stories of others they knew. Thus I was able to learn about some of the immigration experiences of people I would otherwise not meet. These stories were of immigration pathways gone awry, services that were misused or abused, and of people who have suffered due to the restrictions of policies. Such stories and hearsay shape and define understandings of immigration in Canada.

The years the participants of my project arrived in Canada span about three decades. This timeline gives longevity to my thesis project and it allows me to compare the experiences of people arriving in Canada at different times with people who faced different kinds of obstacles in terms of immigration rules and employment.



**Figure 2: Informants by Source Country**



**Figure 3: Informants by Immigration Category Used to Enter Canada**

The participants of my project were found in different ways, the main method being the snowball sampling method. I started by simultaneously approaching people in my personal circle who I thought would be interested in participating in my project and by contacting immigrant services organizations across the Greater Toronto Area.

I attained four interviews from a branch of Polycultural Immigration and Cultural Services. One of these interviews was held entirely in Tamil. A few of my other interviews with Tamil-Canadians were conducted in both English and Tamil. I also gained access to a citizenship mentoring circle jointly hosted by the government-funded organization CultureLink and the Toronto Public Library where I conducted participant observation. It was at one of the libraries that I conducted my main fieldwork and participant observation.

Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1994) draw on their previous work to say that “it has been argued that in a sense all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1994: 249). They go on to say that, “from this point of view participant observation is not a particular research technique but a mode of being-in-the-world characteristic of researchers” (249). I agree with this view of participant observation as being a “mode” of existing in the world while I also think it is useful to consider participant observation as a method of conducting research.

I sat in on the meetings that were held once a week at a Toronto Library for two hours. At these meetings, I was openly greeted by the volunteer mentors and coordinator as well as the participants. We worked through the “Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship” booklet and compared the teachings of Canadian history with the personal experiences of the participants as well as any memories they had of their native countries. The meetings were largely concerned with learning the history of Canada through the information presented in the Discover Canada study guide. Such a space was intriguing to participate in, especially since I blended in as another immigrant before I was pointed out by the volunteer mentors as a student conducting a project on immigration. I was able to conduct participant observation through making occasional comments while vigorously trying to write down

everything that I heard. The moment I would speak to contribute to the discussion however, I would break the illusion that I was another permanent resident trying to study for the citizenship test. I believe that this was due to my Canadian accent. As soon as I spoke, I would receive what seemed to be confused looks from the participants, and once there was a lull in the conversation, I would receive a whispered questioning of how long I had been living in Canada. The awareness of the participants that I was Canadian-born and not a fellow permanent resident studying for my citizenship test did not make any perceivable or significant changes to the ways that people acted in the group.

The atmosphere of the meetings was generally friendly and open, while the discussion was largely dominated by the two volunteer mentors conveying their understanding of Canada and the topics of the study guide. Small discussions of cultural difference would however, frequently come up, prompting interesting discussions. One such discussion occurred during the routine coffee break in the middle of the session. One of the participants, a middle-aged woman who regularly attended sessions and who would bring along her two well-behaved daughters, commented that the milk is different in Canada. She talked about “buffalo milk” - what they use in her country of origin – as more “tasty”. After some people agreed and others asked further questions, she explained the significance of this cultural difference. She told us that her father-in-law immigrated to Canada but only stayed for six months. He decided to leave one day shouting, “I can’t stay here with this milk!” Such a story of cultural difference, here the difference being the taste of milk, was used by this woman’s father-in-law as a good enough reason to leave the country.

As an upcoming citizenship test was the main push factor for people to attend the mentoring sessions, much of the sessions would be dominated by specific questions about the

test. Interestingly though, the two main volunteers had never written the test themselves and were teaching techniques that they had learned from participants over the course of the 1 ½ years they had been working with the program.

The relatively new program was frequently deemed a success by both participants and the mentors. Many previous participants would visit to share their success in passing their citizenship tests, praise the volunteers and the coordinator for the excellent program, and proceed to recall and share questions from the test. Such camaraderie in the citizenship experience was amazing to witness. Participants would clap for the new citizen upon their visit, most times without knowing them. The visitor in turn would be more than willing to share their insights into the experience of writing what seemed to be the most anticipated, if not important, test any of them would take, and give advice on how to prepare. In this way, the pathway towards attaining citizenship seemed to become a joint effort, as the mentors hoped for the participants' success and the participants seemed to feel the support of this group of Canadian citizen-hopefuls.

Since the majority of the regular participants attended the meetings because they had received notice of their upcoming citizenship tests, and as the main requirement to attend the program was to have "LINK level 4" - an English-speaking ability measure used for such programs - the participants on average had been living in Canada for a few years. According to the "How to Become a Canadian Citizen" pamphlet on the CIC website, "you must have lived in Canada for at least three years (1,095 days) in the four years immediately before you apply for citizenship" (Pamphlet: 2). I therefore had access to a group of people who had been living in Canada for at least three years, on the verge of becoming citizens. I recruited the participants of the citizenship mentoring circle through ethics approved posters and through verbal

announcements about my project at the end of sessions. I was able to secure about five interviews using these strategies.

For the most part, my research period has been concerned with qualitative data. It was through analyzing all of my interviews that I came to see the themes and important issues that I have organized into the structure of my thesis. Such data is also conveyed in the excerpts of interviews I have input in my chapters. Quantitative data is included in the form of figures and graphs. The figures are snapshots of the CIC website and the Discover Canada citizenship book. I have also included graphs from the “Canada Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview – Permanent and Temporary Residents” published in 2012.

### **1.3.3 Metacommunicative Frameworks**

“Fieldworkers rely heavily on metacommunicative information, supplementing their observations with native exegesis. In obtaining this material, fieldworkers utilize a metacommunicative skill which figures prominently in the speech economy of their society: interviews” (Briggs 1984: 1).

In his analysis of “Eliciting Repetitions from Young Children” as an example of acquiring metacommunicative competence in New Mexican Spanish, Briggs (1984) analyses a social interaction between family members of a group in rural New Mexico. From this example, Briggs discerns three important ideas: “(1) the reflection of important cultural premises in the discourse, (2) the range of the social roles which are played by the participants, and (3) the role of metacommunication” (Briggs 1984: 6). These three notions are important for ensuring that a researcher has adequate knowledge to interview and analyse the interviews of particular informants and subjects.

The first refers to the involvement of cultural assumptions in interpreting conversations (6). My experience with immigrant people in my personal community and of being raised by

with the conservative principles of Tamil culture, especially the importance of family, prestige, and sacrifice, give me adequate knowledge of the cultural assumptions of this group of people. Having friends in the Philippine community and especially having the friend who was my connection to some of my informants present during the interviews, helped bridge the gap in my knowledge of cultural assumptions. That is not to say that my knowledge and sensitivity to cultural assumptions was total, but that I tried to curb the consequences of misinterpreting cultural assumptions using these strategies.

The second notion presented by Briggs is the alternation of social roles. By this Briggs means that interpreting interactions “also presupposes the ability to discern the manner in which the participants are moving between a number of different social roles” (7). I try to account for this as I mention the numerous social roles of each of the informants I quote in my thesis. I do so by outlining facts like age, gender, immigrant category used to enter Canada, and current status to give the reader information about the person. I also incorporated these different aspects in my analysis of their opinions on subjects.

The third idea Brigg’s offers is “the role of metacommunication” (8). By this, Briggs refers to the “central contextualization cues” such as “pitch, quantity, rhythm and stress patterns, and the speed of utterance of their speech” (7). Such an aspect of an interview is very important. It is also difficult to relay. I attempt to relate the metacommunicative meaning behind the words of my informants through my interpretation of their feelings when expressing the opinion, such as the anger and frustration behind some of their words. I also include exclamation points where I interpret this frustration or excitement about certain opinions. This awareness of the metacommunicative aspects of interviews is important to this work as I rely heavily on interviews for my data. I do acknowledge of course that my work is not a total representation of

immigrant experiences in Southern Ontario, but a partial analysis of the ways that scripting immigrant categories and successful citizenship impacts people. This work is thus a compilation of various opinions and subjects into a discussion of scripting the right to be Canadian in an attempt to make the process and consequences of scripting immigrants a public issue for all of Canada.

## CHAPTER TWO: SCRIPTING IDEAL IMMIGRANT CATEGORIES AND CITIZENS

*Mrs. Singam: First when I tried, my cousin found the agent. He got the tickets and everything, and we went to Bombay. But in Bombay the flight was cancelled due to some kind of a storm here (in Canada). So we were stranded there. We didn't know what to do. The connecting flights were not connecting. So the four of us – no, three people, two other girls with me – so I didn't know what to do so we took the flight back and I went back to Madras because I didn't know how to do the connection. I was all alone and the other two didn't speak English and were dependent on me, and I didn't know anything too.*

*So afterwards, my sister found another agent here (in Canada). He was going to bring about 10 people. They gave us – it was in our own passport but we had like a VISA thing for something and we had to go through Singapore and then we stayed there for one day. The agent was with us so we were just following blindly whatever the agent - because we couldn't stay in India for forever because we were just renewing our visas and we had to go back and back home (SWITCHES BETWEEN TAMIL AND ENGLISH) it's scary! You can't stay there! So we came. Then from Singapore - in each place when we were going through the visa counter, it was scary because they can always say "go back", right? So in each place we were scared. Then we stayed in Fiji for 5 days in a hotel room. It was a beautiful place but we couldn't enjoy it. We didn't know anything. 5 days is OK. Some people, they go somewhere and then stay there for months. Someone I knew stayed somewhere else for months and months! It's really hard!*

*Then from there, we flew to Vancouver. All through that, the agent went with us but he didn't travel with us to Vancouver. He told us to destroy the passport midair. So we went through – we were in the plane. In the plane it was so scary too! We had to go to the washroom to destroy the passports – because they shouldn't know where we – like we didn't know anything – like just in case – I was so scared because after you destroy your passport and something happens - you land somewhere else - what're we going to do? We don't have our passports! The first time I did something so...not lawful!*

*Mithila: And you cant' go back too!*

*Mrs. Singam: Yes, and you can't go back too! Where are we going to go back to? Omg! I never did anything like that before or after. Then in the plane you have to cut your passport and flush it and if everyone is flushing, it can get clogged too!*

*Mithila: Did you not use different bathrooms?*

*Mrs. Singam: How many bathrooms are in the plane? Only two or three!*

*Mithila: You brought scissors with you?*

*Mrs. Singam: Yeah at that time they allowed those things, right! Now you can't. And then we landed in Vancouver but it was 1986. They were so nice to us. We went to the counter and said that we are claiming refugee status and they took us to a room and they asked us who we came with. I said we came with an agent. So I had to describe the agent. Me and another girl – we were the only two who could speak English. They took me around the airport for me to identify the agent and I was praying there shouldn't be anybody fitting my description because I just made it up! The agent wasn't with us right? So I was looking and looking and looking and then there was nobody. But then it was midnight and somebody came and said "Oh, there is a place and you can all go there." We didn't have a contact place for us to go to from the airport. Then they needed somebody to interpret*

*and we got picked, so I was doing it for the others - about four or five of them, so I had to ask what happened to them.*

*Mithila: This wasn't the people in your party?*

*Mrs. Singam: Yeah the same people in our party. So there was 10. Out of the 10 I had 4 and the other girl had 4. So this girl was asked, "What happened?" And she said, "the army was there and they tried to hold my hand and I got scared." And the [immigration officer] lady was asking, "Why? So what?" So I had to embellish a little bit and say she thought she was going to get raped so she was scared, so she had to run and all that! And the other guy, he was so dumb! He said in Tamil, "I came here to get a better life." The agent told us specifically, "Never say that. You're coming here because you're scared for your life, not to better your life." (TAMIL) He was looking at the ground and saying something in Tamil. I was trying to look at him because I was so mad!*

*Mithila: But they wouldn't understand though.*

*Mrs. Singam: They wouldn't understand but im supposed to translate! I can't translate that! But before I could translate, the only good thing he did was he was saying it while bending his head so he looked scared. So the lady told me to tell him not to be scared, "He's in Canada, he'll be fine." It was so sweet of her! "Yes, tell him not to be scared, he's in Canada, nothing can happen to him, he'll be fine."*

Scripting oneself with the rhetoric and image of an immigrant category becomes a way to cross the border of a nation-state. Mrs. Singam, a Sri-Lankan Canadian now in her early fifties, came to Canada as a refugee. While the fact that her home nation was in a dangerous civil war gives firmness to her claim of being, she and the others in her group still had to "script" themselves as filling the image of refugee by looking nervous and acting so on top of destroying their passports in the airplane. Her story also highlights the fear and stress involved in crossing the border to Canada and in making their claim of refugee status to the officials in the airport.

In this chapter I discuss the ways that immigrant categories and ideal citizens are scripted and successful citizenship is understood. I do so by exploring literature on borders, mobility, racialization, and citizenship. I interpose results from my research in my analysis of the scripting of successful citizenship to demonstrate how some immigrant people work to configure their lives in alignment with such standards of successful citizenship. This public imagining of good citizenship enforces an ideal lifestyle where people are actively contributing to the economy and not using the welfare system. This kind of discourse and imagining of successful citizenship

works to create negative images of people who are in need of assistance and may push such people to not seek assistance. This is a public issue as it creates a platform for the racialization and blaming of others.

## **2.1 BORDERS, MOBILITY, AND RACIALIZATION**

In this chapter, I explore the processes of globalization that I think work to create a hierarchy of citizenship that is manifested in the racialized treatment of immigrant people in both policy and society. These processes include borders and mobility as they have inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies that work to racialize the positions and identities of immigrant people within the context of the greater Canadian population. My definition of racialization is in line with Aihwa Ong's (1996) work. She discusses racialization as the processes of normalization to which immigrants in the first world are subjected. I take this idea to be more of a racialization of "belonging", or the ways one is integrated into society and made to belong within the confines of the racialized identities that Ong's processes create. I also infer from Ong's view that it is in the movement of immigrants to the first world that they are racialized. That is not to say that others are not racialized elsewhere in the world, but that there is a "racial" aspect to the ways that people from the third world can come to belong or not belong in the first world. I think that there is therefore a link of the hierarchy of citizenship with geographical origin, and that this first occurs in border-crossing.

The borders of nation-states are not natural, they must be constantly reinstated (Pickering and Weber 2006). As Pickering and Weber discuss in the first chapter of their book, borders are spaces that require protection and defence. They are also "increasingly at the centre of state ideology and performance" (Pickering and Weber 2006: 1). At the same time that the border is

said to hold ideological power, Donnan and Wilson (1999) describe borders as “subject to competing definitions by the state and borderland populations” (Pickering and Weber 2006:3). While borders are “sites and symbols of power” as Donnan and Wilson conceptualise them, they are not fixed entities (Donnan and Wilson 1999; Pickering and Weber 2006: 12). Rather, they are spaces “created and recreated by states and other actors in a way that is fundamentally gendered, raced and classed” (12). An example of this is the borderland between Mexico and the United States. Pickering and Weber discuss this borderland as “contested” and that it “is best defined in terms of its ambiguity” (3). In this way, borders are not naturally legitimate spaces. Through this realization, it can be understood that borders “have both repressive and emancipatory potential” (12). However, as Pickering and Weber discuss, currently repression holds the upper hand in how most borders are being interpreted and used. The popular notion is that the immigrant as a locus of transnationalism has the potential for emancipation from the nation-state (12).

Borders are also symbolically and discursively important as governments seek to enforce the idea that borders are impenetrable barriers (Pickering and Weber 2006:10). The political rhetoric of terms like “illegal immigrants” which are accompanied by coercive measures such as forced deportations by the government is, I argue, both a symbolic and discursive enactment of the ideology of impenetrable barriers that work to include and exclude people within national borders and in civil society itself (10). While importantly, Pickering and Weber discuss these methods as forcing “would-be border crossers” into more dangerous modes of travel, which cyclically “heightens suspicions about their identity and intentions”, I argue that it also creates the maintenance of cultural borders and fuels civil society’s role of “border maintenance”(10). It also raises the question, who are these “would-be border crossers”? Such actors are also part of the hierarchy of citizenship and arguably near the most dangerous end. Borders are therefore not

only physical barriers that work to include and exclude, but they also work to symbolically include and exclude individuals on a daily basis, as they work to stratify people along definitions of what it means to be a citizen of a particular nation-state.

The ways that people are stratified on the “inside” of a nation-state can be thought of as “cultural borders” (Silverstein 2005:373). As Silverstein discusses, the closing of national borders to migration throughout most of western Europe in 1974 caused state concern to shift “from the regulation of external political economic borders to the regulation of internal cultural borders” (373). New migration studies work on the integration of new citizens into all aspects of society resulted in “the scholarly production of a new racial category in which migrants were slotted: the liminal hybrid” (373). This “in-betweenness” that, as Silverstein discusses, “has been generalized to all migrants and exiles”, is now celebrated in cultural and postmodern studies (373). This universalization and generalization of “the liminal hybrid” is problematic. I argue that it is this universalizing of the imagined emancipatory quality of immigration that drives the notion that migration and transnationalism have the potential to challenge the nation-state. The idea itself assumes that all “immigration” can challenge “any” nation-state. As Lowe comments, the immigrant has become a “‘screen,’ a phantasmatic site on which the nation projects a series of condensed, complicated anxieties regarding external and internal threats to the mutable coherence of the national body” (Lowe 1996:18). It is in this perceived anxiety around the meanings and potential of the immigrant as a locus of transnational power that I think scholars who wish for globalization to challenge the nation-state find their head horse. I do not argue against this way of thinking per se, but rather, I find this pressure of the migrant to be a key factor in how this position becomes racialized in society. The potential danger associated with them may contribute to the ways that immigrant categories become scripted with increased

restrictions. Racialization also may be occurring as potentially perceived threats to the nation-state from immigrants translates into perceived threats from people with particular geographical origins. Mobility is another mode of stratification used to vilify and subjugate migrant people by the nation-state in order to weaken the imagined challenge migration poses to it.

Mobility as the ability to move is, like borders, a global process that is at the foundation of the ways that immigrant categories are structured and scripted. At the base of immigration is the concept that some are allowed to move into the nation-state and some are not. The ways that this notion is translated into immigrant categories and scripted as requirements is the way that it works to impose rules of who Canada wants and who it does not. The idea of including some people and excluding others, as discussed in the introduction of this chapter, is also linked to the concept of racialization.

Silverstein discusses colonialism's influence on thinking that nomadism is connected to savagery or barbarism (Silverstein 2005:369). Through this light, we can understand how mobility was seen, in "European racialist thought", as an "intrinsic aspect of human life", but one that was hostile to civilizations' sedentary requirement (369). This understanding allows us to picture how racialist thoughts about mobility developed and came to be linked to disorder in its opposition to sedentary civilization. This led to the ill-treatment of many people including Jewish and Gypsy people as "perpetually rootless" as well as markers of disorder (370). The beginnings of France's migrant studies saw immigrants through this kind of "preeminent racial lens" that strongly linked migration to nomadism or vagrancy (370). Pre-Industrial Britain came to fear "uncontrolled mobility"; this connects to the contemporary anxiety of border crossing and the idea of "global vagrants" who represent disorder on a global scale (Pickering and Weber 2006: 5-6).

I think that this kind of fear still perpetuates today, as nation-states hold strict border-crossing policies and specific requirements for those who will be admitted into their countries as for example, live-in caregivers or business immigrants. The capacity to move has therefore become a dominant new form of social stratification especially in a globalizing world (Rogers 2005: 405). While the globalized world has allowed the movement of some, it has stratified and made clear the divides between who can freely move and who cannot (405). Bauman discusses two postmodern types of moving people: the tourist and the vagabond. The tourist pays for his/her mobility and freedom of movement while for the “vagabond”, “it will not be for him to decide when the stay will come to an end” (Bauman 1993:240-241). While I believe that tourists can face some restrictions, they comparatively have more freedom of movement than others, especially refugees. The contemporary anxiety over border crossing illustrated by Pickering and Weber (2006) is thus not fully grounded, as the nation-state still has the power to both physically and discursively impose a dynamic of inclusion and exclusion that works to stratify people based on their capacity to move. The next section explores the concept of the nation-state as a political community and questions the concept of birthright as a founding principle of nationhood that may also be working to stratify people in a hierarchy of citizenship in Canada.

### **2.1.1 The Nation-state as a Political Community: The Question of Birthright**

“The very idea of community always depends upon assumptions of consent and choice determining membership, but birthright unsettles these assumptions by revealing that membership in nations as political communities is neither consent nor choice but birth (Isin 2012: 451)”.

Although the concept of community has been problematized in the anthropological literature, I find Engin Isin’s (2012) use of the nation-state as a political community useful for my thesis project. I mainly use the term “nation-state” because it is used by Isin to discuss the

privilege of birthright citizenship while Anthony Marx's (2002) analysis of the term aptly highlights its usefulness in this discussion:

“The term "nation-state" implies some convergence of an institutionalized polity and collective allegiance to it, with "nationalism" defined here as such bounded solidarity and allegiance to a state. The nation is that group viewed as the legitimate owner of the state; the collective sentiment of such ownership (that is, nationalism) is what gives the state legitimacy. This connection can be established in more or less either direction: state first, building national loyalty, or a national community creating a state, though often these processes occur together. In whichever order, "the nation-state" implies, if not impels, convergence, though we know that in reality there has rarely been such neat convergence” (Marx 2002: 104).

This explanation of the nation-state by Marx (2002) is embedded within a “discussion of exclusive nationalism” (104). The term “nation-state” according to him is the convergence of the processes of (1) national loyalty building by the state and (2) the creating of the state by the national community. He notably emphasizes that this is not a neat convergence. I find such an understanding of the term “nation-state” important here as I discuss the ways that citizenship is scripted and hierarchies of citizenship are maintained. Citizenship can be seen as a dynamic product of the nation-state – one that is scripted by the convergence of the processes of state-making and nationhood-making.

In the previous sections, I discussed the global processes of border and mobility as both foundational concepts for scripting immigrant categories and citizenship. Within these analyses, underpinning racial tensions were also discussed to strengthen my argument that immigrant people are racialized by the scripting of immigrant categories and citizenship. The concepts of borders and mobility work to strengthen the processes of inclusion and exclusion that have scripted immigrant peoples as vagabonds and conflated an image of disruption and chaos with immigrant people, who are often seen in racial terms. This section brings into this discussion

Isin's analysis of the nation-state as political community that specifically centers membership on the concept of birthright.

There is a "current system of citizenship as inheritance" that privileges membership by birthright as opposed to choice (451). In his article, Isin quotes Shachar's (2009) viewpoint on this hierarchy of citizenship:

"...despite the foundational rhetoric of nations and states on contract, choice, and consent, membership is institutionalized as birth and not consent or choice. Shachar argues that membership institutionalized as birthright citizenship "provides a state-sponsored apparatus for handing down from generation to generation the invaluable security and opportunity that attach to membership in a stable, affluent, and rule-of-law society" (Isin 2012: 451; Shachar 2009:2 in Isin 2012: 451)".

As this excerpt shows, there is an institutionalized view of a privileged membership of inheritance. This kind of structure for the governing body of a nation makes the space of the nation-state that much more exclusive and impenetrable. Even upon crossing and attaining citizenship the subject will only be able to enact a limited membership in the nation-state as the process of racialization and the consequences of scripting oneself under immigrant categories continue to play on one's life. This idea will be taken up in more detail in chapter three.

Birthright citizen was also argued in the previous two excerpts from Isin's article as membership without the invoking of agency. Those born into the geographically territory of a nation-state are granted membership without choice. Isin demonstrates in his article that various authors dispute this hierarchy and privileging of birthright citizenship using this idea of choice and consent. As Shachar notes about naturalized citizens in Isin (2012), "If anything, their implied consent seems to be stronger than that of the natural-born citizen who has never made any life-transforming decisions about where to live and under what government" (Shachar 2009:126 in Isin 2012: 451). This logical thinking is no match however for the ingrained notion that birthright equals a stronger tie to the nation-state.

The hierarchy of privileged citizenship that works to racialize immigrants is based on the strength of the connection of fraternity to the nation-state. Naturalized citizens, though they make the active choice to immigrate to Canada and take an oath of citizenship consenting to adhere to the laws of this nation, can only enact a limited Canadianness as they are othered based on the notion of birthright. I continue with this discussion of a hierarchy of citizenship and the racialization of immigrant people as I analyze the scripting of successful citizenship against which immigrants are measured in the next section.

## **2.2 GOOD CITIZENSHIP AND THE WHITE STANDARD**

Notions of good citizenship as products of political rhetoric are tied to ideas of assimilation, as in Americanization or Europeanization (Bloemraad et al. 2008:169). This is closely linked to a Judeo-Christian culture (169). Ideas of good citizenship, whether implicit or explicit in regard to “‘successful’ or ‘failed’ integration”, create “distinctions between ‘better’ and ‘problematic’ immigrant groups” (169). The challenge researchers face when analyzing the situations of, for example, Mexican immigrants in the United States, or Muslim immigrants in Europe, specifically France and the Netherlands, is to “not attach ‘good citizenship’ to a measure of ‘Europeanization’” (169). Bloemraad et al. (2008) recommend that researchers recognize the “diverse ethno-national and religious backgrounds” to prevent straying into a rhetoric or measurement of assimilation (169). The problem then may lie in what is used as a marker for successful integration. Language is commonly used as many immigrants “would agree that learning a host society’s dominant language facilitates economic advancement, political and civic participation and social interaction with fellow residents” (169). However, the increased demand on language requirements for citizenship status seems to ignore concerns over “retaining

the language of origin” (169). Bloemraad et al. (2008) discuss “Americanization” as historically promoting “the abandonment of immigrants’ native language”. Research suggests however that better cognitive skills are correlated to bi – or multilingual individuals (169).

It is important to note that Canada adopted a formal policy of multiculturalism in 1971. Multiculturalism is very different from integration in that difference is celebrated rather than disapproved. Despite this policy however, I argue Canadian immigrants continue to suffer from various forms of discrimination and marginalization. By understanding specific immigrant experiences and concerns, and by fostering an appropriate representation of immigrants in Canadian policy-making, I believe that we can enact a more equitable form of Canadian multiculturalism. I argue then that we should take a critical look at the markers being used to identify “good citizenship” or immigrant integration and whether or not they are considerate of various immigrant experiences.

Notions of good citizenship are also invoked in the whitening or blackening processes of individuals. They indicate the degree of closeness or distance an immigrant person has “from ideal white standards” (Ong 1996:742). This is a way that the nation-state, through the use of political rhetoric, as well as through the power of state controlled institutions that manage citizenship, creates a “white standard” onto which immigrant groups are hierarchically placed and subsequently racialized. Ong (1996) explains this in economic terms, “the racialization of class, as well as the differential othering of immigrants, constitutes immigrants as the racialized embodiments of different kinds of social capital” (742). This kind of “white standard” is linked closely with ideas of the entrepreneurial nature of “good citizenship” as discussed by both Bloemraad et al. (2008) and Ong (1996). Consequently, those who do not enact entrepreneurial images appropriately, and those who do not become “successful” in economic terms, by

participating actively in the economy and are instead supported by government assistance, are seen as “unsuccessful” citizens. These are processes that again create inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies, this time, within the nation-state’s boundaries.

Inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies also appear in regulations made to standardize norms in programs. For example, the University of California, in the mid-1990s, “banned affirmative action programs in admissions and hiring” (Ong 1996: 741). Ong (1996) argues that these attempts that appear to be colorblind in fact work to discriminate among immigrants as it separates “the desirable from the undesirable citizens according to some racial and cultural calculus” (741). In her examination of the political debate that the ensued, Ong (1996) discusses the “whitening” of Asian Americans (741). They were used “as a ‘racial wedge’ between whites and minority ‘tribals’” (741). This is an example of the “whitening” and “blackening” processes that cause racial difference to become infused with “the cultural values of a competitive society” (741). Ong (1996) argues that “the continuing influx of immigrants keeps ethnic formation unstable, merging and diverging in ways that break up racial components”, while elite discourses such as the one discussed above work to include and exclude different populations in various ways from mainstream society (741). This “whitening” and “blackening” of populations is a more apparent way that immigrants are racialized in societies, in this case, the United States.

Another example in this region would be the discursive “blackening” of Irish immigrants in U.S immigration history. This group successfully moved out of the “black” category and into the “white” category by taking on the “white” role of dominance over perceived lower races. In what circumstances do “whitening” or “blackening” occur? As stated before, perceived economic worth or entrepreneurial nature could be a measure against which people or groups

become included or excluded. They thus become measures of the degree of assimilation. The more assimilated the more successful.

This white standard of successful economic integration was apparent in the rhetoric of gratitude and pride used by some of my informants when I brought up the topic of adapting to life in Canada and the option of government assistance. Mrs. Connery mentioned welfare assistance on her own when I asked about how she was able to start her life in Canada. She told me, “I didn’t want to take - get any welfare from the government because the government is already accepting us and giving us a peaceful place. So, I don’t know if it’s my pride or me being more grateful”. She explained that even though attaining and travelling to work was difficult and that she opted to work in a factory earning \$4/hour (it cost her \$4 per minute to call her younger sister, Mrs. Singam, who was living in India at the time), she still refused to ask for help. Mrs. Connery’s mentality works against the common media narratives that position some immigrants as taking advantage of Canada’s social welfare programs. Perhaps this kind of mentality has to do with economic and societal status in one’s native country, as Mrs. Connery came from a middle-class family in Sri Lanka and was an international master’s student living in England at the time that she travelled to Canada as a refugee. Even such an assumption works to do the same thing her statement does however. It still positions her as a “successful” immigrant in the context of participating actively in the economy and of not relying on government assistance. The image of ideal citizenship that is at work here, through Mrs. Connery’s rhetoric of gratitude and pride, works to position immigrants who do attain government assistance as “ungrateful” to the Canadian government. This imagining is also apparent in the mindsets of new immigrants. Mr. Maniyam’s statement in our interview similarly works to position immigrants who have taken government assistance as a position of the weak and incapable: “I was so embarrassed to

get [welfare]. You know, strictly speaking, so embarrassed to apply, because all these years, we worked and get money. We never depended on other people. So that's the reason I didn't apply." Mr. Maniyam said that embarrassment was the main reason he didn't apply for welfare. He went on during the course of our interview to tell me that it was really difficult for him to get a job. The support of his relatives he stayed with upon arrival in Canada was the way he received food and shelter all those months without a job. He too came from England with a graduate degree and had to start working in a factory to earn enough money to pay agents to bring family members over to Canada from Sri Lanka. His mention of embarrassment as a motivating factor to resist applying for government assistance and instead to rely on family support while she worked to find a job is symptomatic, I believe, of this construction of successful citizenship. Why is it that seeking the help of family is a better alternative to seeking help from the government? Is it that help from the family can "stay in the family"? Does it relate back to Mrs. Connery's claim of pride? The concept of masculine citizenship as discussed in the next section is tied to this discussion as it also invokes feelings of pride and embarrassment as motivating factors for scripting oneself as a successful citizen.

### **2.3 MASCULINE CITIZENSHIP AND THE FEMINIZATION OF TRANSNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: FILIPINA LIVE-IN CAREGIVERS**

A masculinization of citizenship means that immigrants who do not participate in the formal economy or who live on the welfare state may be seen in Western host countries as inept citizens. They are "emasculated", and I argue, effectively racialized, as constituted by the neoliberal state and its entrepreneurial ideologies. Those who make welfare claims are pitted against those who can pull themselves up by their bootstraps, effectively distinguishing them from groups such as involuntary migrants, displaced persons, or refugees (739). These

individuals who successfully contribute to their host country's economy are expected to explain themselves in entrepreneurial terms, masculinizing "good citizenship".

By casting economic integration as a masculine role, a discourse of exclusivity is created which stigmatizes any male who does not participate actively, or legally, in the national economy, as less of a citizen. It therefore also stigmatizes women by omission. I consider a gendered imagining of citizenship as a useful tool for understanding the multiplicity of immigrant experiences. I think it is not enough though, to say that masculinity is granted to a subject through active participation alone. In fact, I think that the gendering of employment within the social imagining of the host society is an important factor. I argue that to consider this means that the gendering of citizenship should be understood in relation to the degree of the masculinity of an occupation as deemed by the host society.

In this chapter, I will specifically discuss gendered employment opportunities and main applicants as social issues along with some of the ripples and tensions they create within family dynamics and adaptability to life in Canada by looking specifically at a case study of Filipina live-in caregivers. Power imbalances and spousal tension are created by perceived unequal opportunities within employment as well as control over the immigration process through being a main applicant. I will explore these issues by analyzing the opinions and responses of a few of my informants and by focusing the discussion on labour immigrants from the Philippines. Filipina migrant workers have become a huge presence in the global market and have made the Philippines society one of the most major source countries for labour migrants in the world (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2005: 46).

Semyonov and Gorodzeisky (2005) argue that the gendered difference in the employment of Filipinos versus Filipinas are that women are more often "recruited as domestic helpers and in

some cases entertainers (or “performing artists”) and as nurses [whereas] most Filipinos are likely to find jobs in such manual-type occupations as production workers, transport equipment operators, and labourers” (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2005: 50). My thesis research fits into this discussion as the opinions of my informants bring more dimensions to this simplified explanation of gendered employment opportunities. While I think that Semyonov and Gorodzeisky (2005) provide great theoretical and historical analyses for the wide movements of Filipino and Filipina migrant labourers, I think that there are also social dimensions that can be added to this discussion. The generalizing statements of my informants about an economy that caters more to women than men, and the expressions of discontentment with the effects of such an unequal-opportunities economy are argued by my informants to be creating spousal and family tension upon adapting to life in Canada. Such stories and opinions illustrate the deeper issues of gender within immigration pathways and the ways that immigrant positions are scripted.

In this section, I will introduce the characters of Mrs. Rivera and Francis, who are two of my informants. Mrs. Rivera discusses the general frustration of Filipina women with the husbands they sponsor to Canada – thus, I do not claim to discuss the feminization of all Filipino men in the Canadian economy. Perhaps their feminization occurs as a product of the relative empowerment of their wives, as they are given the status of “main applicant” in the sponsorship process. I will consequently also discuss this gendering of power that occurs in the sponsoring process and the possible implications of this on family structure downstream.

***Mrs. Rivera***

During my interview with Mrs. Rivera, we both came to see that Filipino men may, upon arrival in Canada, feel like they are being pushed into feminine roles as the family demand for

income creates a stress for them to find ‘any’ job. According to her, the ‘easiest’ jobs to attain are those of caregiving and cleaning. According to Mrs. Rivera, some Filipino men’s egos trump their willingness to do these sorts of jobs. She stresses their unwillingness most of all, to release some of the financial burden from their hard-working wives who most often arrived in Canada as caregivers, and worked for years to save money to sponsor their families.

Mrs. Rivera: If you are not lazy, like my situation, I get the job, any job what is there. I do cleaning and then men cannot do that by himself, right, so I have to – I have to make it on my on my spare day, you know, that we are together so that I can come with him.

Mithila: So he can’t do it? Meaning that he doesn’t want to do it or he can’t?

Mrs. Rivera: He doesn’t want to do it if he do it by himself, cleaning to the house. Like, you know, cleaning to the other house.

Mithila: Does he feel like that is a woman’s job?

Mrs. Rivera: Yeah, I think that’s the way they feel – that’s a woman’s job... Like you know, when I said, uh, “you have to do that” and they said “because I’m not used to do it!” Something like that you know? “I don’t wanna do it because I’m not used to do it!” You know, their - their ego - sometimes their ego, always – always, comes first.

In this excerpt, Mrs. Rivera is stressing to me the unwillingness of her husband to clean the homes of his employers on his own. He is more willing to do the work if his wife, who had already worked a five-day week, goes with him on his weekend shift. His reasoning, according to her, is that he is not used to that type of work. He is frustrated in the shift of status upon arriving in Canada, and of being thrust into a field of work that is alien to him. Cleaning homes, it seems, is considered a female occupation.

Mrs. Rivera’s frustration was palpable. She confided in me the stress and heartache she went through when she first arrived in Canada as a pregnant, 31-year-old woman. She was sponsored by her sister, and came willing to work any job so that she could sponsor her husband to Canada in a few years. She described to me the lengthy struggle she went through, eventually taking her newborn baby to work with her.

Having heard all of this, I too was frustrated with the actions of her husband and of the potentially similar Filipino men she spoke of. So the question is why? Is it only that the male ego impedes them from taking jobs they identify as feminine as Mrs. Rivera says? Or is it that their roles have been undergoing a transformation long before they arrived in Canada? Of course it is not fair to make grand general assumptions about people, but as Mrs. Rivera is suggesting a culturally associated gendering of employment and the affects it may have on gender roles upon adapting to life in Canada, it may be fair to discuss the issue in larger terms like “Filipino men”.

***Francis***

Francis, is a 32-year-old man who arrived from the Philippines through the live-in caregiver program nine years ago. He was able to put his aunt as his employer on his live-caregiver contract. He was permitted to move to Canada to pursue this employment opportunity. He lived with his aunt and her family and cleaned their house for three years. This work permit restricts workers from being able to study in Canada. As his employer was a relative of his who helped him use the live-caregiver program as an access point to the Canadian economy and to life in Canada, he was “safe” so to speak, to work under-the-table jobs. He was not afraid like others might be that his employer would report him to CIC.

He shared his opinions on gender in employment with me and the effects that such tensions may have between spouses. He is a rare case, he explained, as he was a male who used the live-in caregiver program to arrive in Canada. He recalled to me that during his Canadian immigration interview held in Hong Kong, the interviewer bluntly asked him, “Why did they sponsor you? You’re a guy.” He noted to me the dominance of the live-in caregiver program by women, especially Filipinas, as was reviewed at the beginning of this chapter. Does this gendered imagining of caregiving jobs translate into employment strategies in Canada by

immigrant Filipinos? I asked Francis about his thoughts on employment for Filipino immigrant people, men and women alike, in Canada.

Francis: Sometimes it's really hard for a guy to get a job right away than a girl, you know? A girl could like, do jobs like, I would say it's like 50% more than a guy, you know what I'm saying? Because she could be a nanny or she could be like, you know, it could be anything. But a guy, it's kind of like, hard for him to go somewhere else, you know?

Mithila: They don't want to do the nanny job because they think it's a woman's job?

Francis: Because they're not used to it, you know? It's just not their bill. They get offensive about it.

In this excerpt from our interview, Francis is making a claim that women have more freedom when choosing a job than men. He states the idea that there are 50% more jobs open to women than men and that men therefore have fewer options available to them. I think that Francis' statement that "a girl could do 50% more than a guy" and the statement of another of my informants, Mr. Hussain, that "ladies get jobs more easily", seem to mean more than they suggest at the surface. I see them as part of a reflexive rhetorical strategy to take the credit away from women, effectively blaming the job market as catering to women more than men. The onus of unemployment is effectively lifted off of immigrant men and placed on the job market itself. Here, bringing in the opinion of Mr. Hussain, as he is not Filipino, but Indian, is useful. It shows that these issues of spousal tension in relation to gendered employment opportunities are affecting people who come from various countries.

Statements depicting the job market as more accessible to female workers arguably detracts from the investment of time and energy they put into their work. However, I must also agree with the point that there has been an increasing demand for the employment of women in the service sector and that that is a factor causing the job market to be more accessible to women. A reason why this increase in demand may be occurring is stated by Semyonov and Gorodzeisky (2005), as they point out that "studies that focused on gender differences among Filipino labour

migrants suggest that Filipinas are more reliable than Filipinos because migrant women tend to exhibit more responsible behaviours and send more money to the family” (50). Their study ultimately shows that though Filipina women may remit more often, other socioeconomic factors inhibit them from sending as much as Filipinos are able to. It appears, as the literature and my own research suggests, that while more Filipinas are being employed overseas than Filipinos, Filipinas are subject to much exploitation and abuse in their jobs. Activist groups such as PINAY, a Filipino Women’s Organization in Quebec, has “for two decades...brought together domestic workers and their supporters together in the struggle for basic rights and welfare” (PINAY 2007). Many live-in caregivers fall into dangerous pathways of exploitation as they work overtime without pay and cannot complain for fear of being deported. This dangerous pathway along with others will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. For the rest of this chapter, I will describe the live-in caregiver program and the various ways that it has constituted a feminization of transnational migration.

Two of my informants and many Canadian citizens have found livelihoods in Canada by accessing the caregiver immigration program. The “Live-In Caregiver Program” (LCP) is a program offered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada as a formal route to become a permanent resident in Canada. The step-by-step outline on Citizenship and Immigration Canada, that can be seen in Figure 4 on the following page, provides an easy checklist for checking one’s eligibility to take this route to citizenship.



**Figure 4: Checklist for Becoming a Live-In Caregiver (CIC: 2013)**

This checklist visually simplifies the immigration pathway through the live-in caregiver program. While under the “work” category, the fact that “Extend your work permit” and “Become and permanent resident” are on the list, show that the Canadian government knows how much this route to citizenship is accessed. What is missing on this list, I argue, is “how to deal with abuse in the workplace”.

A *Vancouver Observer* article titled “Canada’s modern slaves”, written by Krystle Alarcon, cites Ontario labour lawyer Fay Faraday’s article, “Made In Canada: How the Law Constructs Migrant Worker’s Insecurity”. According to Alarcon, Faraday claims in her article that the LCP is “highly gendered and racialized”, as “up to 95 per cent of caregivers are women from the Philippines” (Faraday, in Alarcon 2012).

The premise is simple: some Canadians desire caregivers for their children and parents, and some elderly Canadians desire caregivers for themselves. The caregiver route is formal, meaning that it is deemed legal by the government of Canada and is even promoted by it. This branch of The Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) also includes “Agricultural Workers”, “Lower-skilled Occupations”, and “Higher-skilled Occupations”. As mentioned in the

Introduction, of these categories, Alarcon notes that “only live-in caregivers in the low-skilled category of TFWP have access to permanent residency in Canada, a perk that makes it seem like they’re better off” (Alarcon 2012). Why is it that so many Filipina women access the LCP? A look at the historical and economic context of the Philippines will give some foundational knowledge for the movement of this group of people.

A discussion of gendered imaginings of employment within the immigrant Filipino community in Canada requires some historical context. Moshe Semyonov and Anastasia Gorodzeisky’s (2005) article, “Labor Migration, Remittances and Household Income: A Comparison between Filipino and Filipina Overseas Workers”, published in the 2005 edition of the journal “International Migration Review”, best describes the economic setting of the Philippines that arguably invoked mass labour migration. The following is an excerpt from their article.

“The export of labor migrants from the Philippines was enacted in 1974 as an official policy of the government to combat domestic unemployment and to serve as a source of foreign currency. This policy is supported by several government agencies such as the Overseas Employment Administration, the Overseas Workers Welfare Authority, and numerous NGOs. Throughout the years, the number of overseas contract workers from the Philippines has been growing steadily and rapidly. According to Go (1998), between 1979 and 1985 the number of Filipino overseas workers was estimated to be 380,000 persons; by 1995, the number reached 3.8 million persons. Go (1998) further suggested that between the years 1975 and 1995, about 8 million Filipinos have found employment in more than 100 countries. Indeed, the Philippines has become a prototype for labor-exporting countries and a major source of labor migrants for many countries across the globe” (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2005: 49).

They go on to describe the current situation and state that “currently more than one half of the overseas workers from the Philippines are women... towards the end of the century, the overwhelming majority of newly hired overseas contract workers are Filipinas” (49-50). This gendered change in the “Filipino overseas workforce” is credited to both insufficient opportunities in the Philippines economy as well as an increasing demand for skilled labour

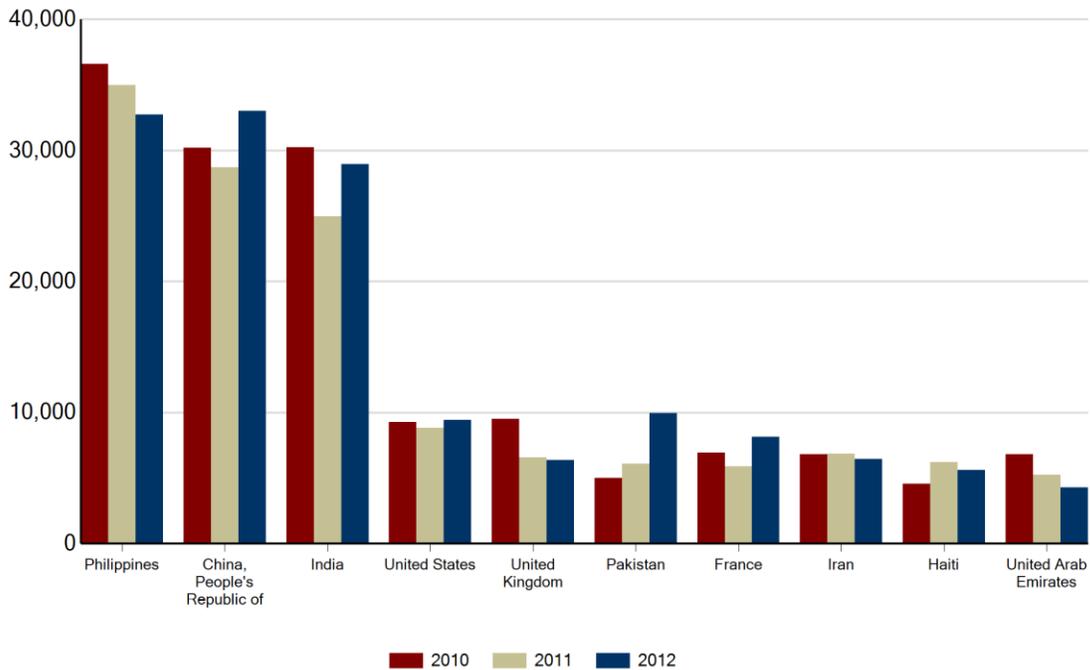
globally (50). At the same time that “the Filipino labour market is characterized by low wages and high rates of unemployment, especially among women...in the global market, demand for female workers (mostly in personal service jobs) has been steadily increasing, while demand for male workers (mostly in industrial jobs) has been declining” (50). Such a phenomenon can be explained theoretically by “household theory”.

Semyonov and Gorodzeisky (2005) discuss the household theory of labour migration in their article as explanative of the large number of labour migrants that come out of the Philippines. This theory states that individual actors rarely make decisions to migrate on their own without bearing in mind the needs of their families. Household theory contends that “labour migration is an economic strategy exercised by the household to allocate human resources rationally in order to increase the flows of income and to decrease the scope of economic risks” (47). Semyonov and Gorodzeisky argue that while there are “variations in household strategies and in migration patterns”, including relying on male migration, female migration, the most productive member of the family, or the least, “the household unit acts collectively to increase the pool of economic resources for the benefit of all members of the household” (47). They therefore argue that labour migrants leave their home countries in order to remit to their households and migrate “with no intention to stay permanently in the host country” (47).

I suggest that this is not true of all migrants; that while remittances are a goal of migration, some labour migrants also have the goal of attaining permanent residency. Figure 5 on the following page gives a visual of this. A permanent residency card can be attained through the mail immediately upon arrival to Canada as an immigrant. One can also apply for one if they are currently living in Canada (CIC 2012). As the CIC website dictates: “you must be a permanent resident for at least two years AND have lived in Canada for at least three of the last four years

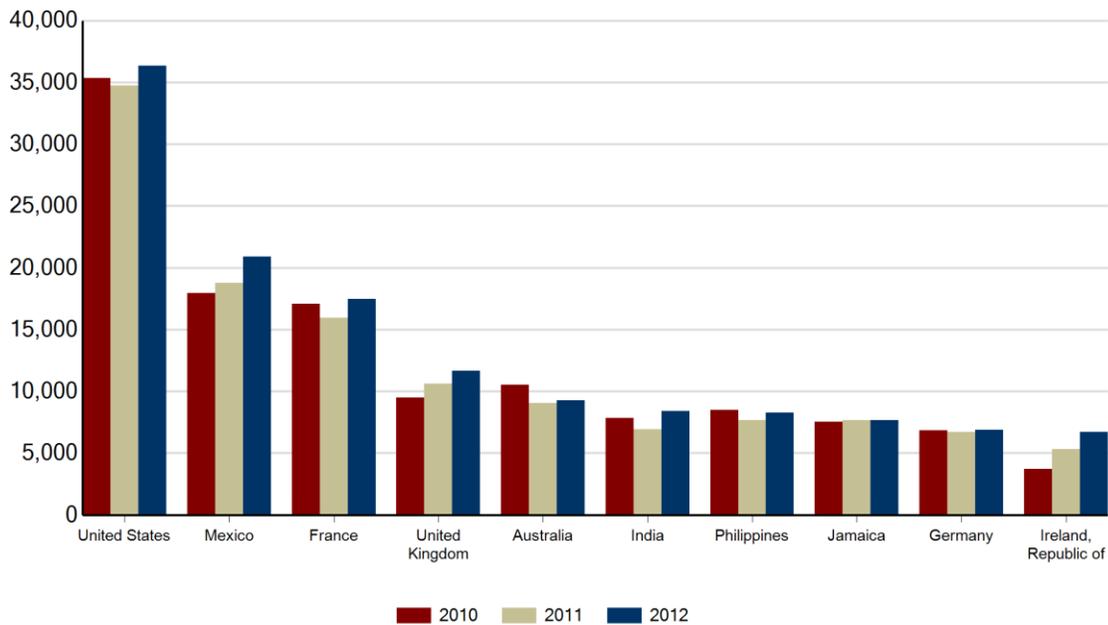
before applying to become a Canadian citizen” (CIC 2012). I will explain the idea that there are arguably more Filipino people using the global economy’s need for labour as an open door for the start of their pathways to citizenship with the help of some statistical graphs. The following two graphs were taken from CIC’s “Canada’s Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview – Permanent and Temporary Residents 2012” (Canada’s Facts and Figures 2012).

*Canada - Permanent residents by top source countries, 2010-2012*



**Figure 5: Total number of Admissions for Permanent Residency by Top Source Countries** (Canada’s Facts and Figures 2012: 26).

*Canada - Total entries of foreign workers by top source countries, 2010-2012*



**Figure 6: Total number of Foreign Workers Admitted to Canada by Top Source Countries** (Canada’s Facts and Figures 2012: 61).

The “Forward” of this fact book explains that it includes “statistical information on admissions to Canada. It provides statistics on “the annual intake of permanent residents by category of immigration”. As my previous description of permanent residency states that people who are currently living in Canada may apply for it, a direct comparison of these two graphs may be unsound. However, I think that a loose comparison of the two graphs is reasonable as most of my informants described the attainment of a permanent residency card as something one does immediately upon beginning life in Canada. This is so that one can begin to accumulate the 1,095 days of living in Canada and the two years of holding the permanent residency status needed for applying for citizenship in Canada. Figure 5 illustrates that the Philippines has been first on the list of top source countries for permanent residency admissions in Canada for the years 2010 and 2011 (the average being about 35,000 people). Figure 6 however, shows that the total number of foreign workers from the Philippines has been between 5,000 and 10,000 over

the last three years. The numbers that are missing from these two graphs are those of sponsored family members and business immigrants. Such a comparison goes to show that there are a high number of people from the Philippines applying for permanent residency in Canada which is a clear indication that they intend to become citizens. We can also infer that a large number of permanent residency admissions are most probably done by sponsored family members. As my research indicates, Filipina caregivers who use the live-in caregiver position as a pathway to citizenship eventually sponsor their family members, which can include a husband, a child, and her parents, though the rules for sponsoring parents and grandparents have recently changed (CIC 2012). Canadian citizens or permanent residents of Canada of 18-years or older can sponsor their relatives (CIC 2012).

The main requirement is that the sponsor should be able to support those they sponsor financially. To become a sponsor, one must, according to CIC, “agree in writing to give financial support to your relative, if they need it” (CIC 2012). The length of time of financial support varies depending on if the sponsored person is a spouse or partner, or dependent child. For spouse or partner, the length of time to support them financially is “three years from the date they become a permanent resident”. For a dependent or child, the length of time is “10 years, or until the child turns 25, whichever comes first” (CIC 2012). While these lengths of time make sense on a monetary level for sponsors to prove that they can care for those they sponsor, it also manifests power in the sponsor relationship. Sponsors are simultaneously financially responsible for those they sponsor and they also have control over their immigrant status. As will be discussed in the next chapter, main applicants have the power to refute the permanent residency claims of those they have sponsorship responsibility over.

My analysis of Filipina live-in caregivers suggests that Filipina's may have become the main family member who is sent to work abroad as a transnational migrant labourers to support the household in the Philippines. The story of a Filipina live-in caregiver in Canada working to earn money to sponsor her family to Canada is a common one. This suggests that Filipino men may be experiencing an emasculation as their wives fulfill the requirements of masculine citizenship. The fact that this seems to work against the norm suggests that most female migration may be largely implied to be docile and passive. The case study of Filipina live-in caregivers, with the potential for exploitation and the difficult working situations they face is anything but docile or passive. Such potential for exploitation will be explored more in the next chapter as I attempt to discern the ways that processes of scripting may limit the ability for immigrants to enact their membership in Canada.

## **CHAPTER THREE: ENACTING A LIMITED CANADIANNES**

After scripting oneself to meet the standards of immigration and citizenship to gain entry and membership in Canada, immigrant people can only enact a limited Canadianness. By Canadianness, I mean the ability to live and enact their own meaning of being Canadian including the freedom to work and live as they desire. By limited, I mean that immigrant people face dangers due to the restrictive policies of their immigrant category that birthright citizens do not necessarily face. I analyze this by highlighting the restrictions of the categories of the live-in caregiver category and international students. I also highlight the refugee category and the ways that the use of forgery and bribery to gain status can fail, and the consequences that that entails. Lastly, I discuss the constitution of “back home” as a product of the double-consciousness lived by immigrant people in Canada. I argue that transnational citizens are never fully immersed in one country. They are at once imagining another home – that manifests itself in the use of the term “back home”.

### **3.1 DANGERS OF SCRIPTING**

#### **3.1.1 Filipina Live-in Caregivers**

Exploitation is a danger that is associated with taking on this immigrant category. As Alarcon notes in her article, “Filipina domestic workers suffer from economic violence in Canada with low wages and long working hours” (Alarcon 2012). They are required live with their employers thus making them available to work twenty-four hours a day. Alarcon reports that they do not often receive overtime compensation for extra work. Additionally, those in this category are not permitted to work for anyone outside of the employer indicated on their work contract. Thus, they are at the mercy of their employer in that – if they are maltreated or unjustly

paid, they have only two options: to tolerate their working conditions or to risk losing their work permit and be deported. Bakan and Stasilius (1997) discuss the same potential dangers for caregivers, or domestic workers, in Canada:

“Exploitation of live-in domestic workers may arise almost invisibly, as there is an inherent expectation of the offer of ‘sacrifices’ associated with ‘family ideology’ – sacrifices of time, privacy, energy, and so on. Privacy and ‘time off’ are frequently non-existent for domestic workers who live with their employers, and who may be on call twenty-four hours a day. Waged domestic workers are commonly expected to offer their time and services out of goodwill to their employing families in ways that would be unthinkable in most public employment situations in an advanced capitalist state. Domestic workers are reticent to attempt to escape such imposition, however, because of their requisite live-in status and the perpetual threat of deportation associated with workplace conflict or employer reprisals. Susceptibility to sexual, physical, and emotional abuse and racial harassment by employers and other household members, and by friends of the employing family, are also heightened by living in the employer’s household” (Chone 1987; Silvera 1983 in Bakan and Stasilius 1997: 37).

In this excerpt Bakan and Stasilius (1997) emphasize aspects of a program that they call “anomalous when viewed against the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy and general advances made by workers within the welfare state” (31). The compulsory live-in part of the program specifically sets immigrant women of colour – the group that Bakan and Stasilius refer to as dominating the pathway – up for exploitation. The live-in condition of their employment makes them susceptible to numerous dangers additional to long working hours including “sexual, physical, and emotional abuse and racial harassment by employers and other household members” (37). These dangers are not lost on the general public, as sitcoms and films frequently portray the stretched and more often foreign nanny working above and beyond what another job would entail at the request of their employers.

The dangers of scripting oneself as a caregiver by fulfilling all of the requirements and applying is that Canada, consisting of its governing body and public, will continue to script that

person as a caregiver. The position of a caregiver and the requirements of this employment category are unlike any other in the restrictions they impose of the freedom of those employed in this way:

“Entry under temporary employment visas placed domestics in an ambiguous ‘technically non-existent’ immigration category of ‘visiting immigrant’ bearing ‘the burden of both immigrants and visitors, yet [receiving] the benefits of neither’ (Macklin 1992, 697-8). In practice, migrant domestics have endured restrictions in freedoms generally considered unacceptable, and rejected by other workers, in liberal democracies. Because of the popular purchase of racist and sexist assumptions shaping dominant notions of who is and who is not legitimately a Canadian, however, which is consistent with the ‘nation-building’ ideology of earlier decades, what is unacceptable for most was rendered acceptable for designated ‘others,’ notably non-citizen women of colour. The Canadian government’s objective of bringing in domestic workers under temporary work permits was transparent: to create an indentured or captive labour force, at low cost to the Canadian government, who were unlikely to quit regardless of how exploited their work and living situations (Bakan and Stasilius 1997: 34)”.

Bakan and Stasilius in the above excerpt discuss the unfair position imposed on those accessing this category. They do not receive any benefits of either of the categories of immigrant and visitor. They are treated as “an indentured or captive labour force” as their sights on the goal of citizenship means that they are “unlikely to quit” and will endure their exploitative working conditions to meet such a goal.

CIC’s website does not warn those intending to access the LCP of the exploitative tactics that some employers use to get out of paying workers. Francis, who was introduced in the last chapter as a young male who emigrated from the Philippines nine years ago by accessing the live-in caregiver program, explained this issue to me.

Francis: I heard stories. On those contract, you need to have like, like a good relationship with your employer, or else, before your contract end, they would say something to the immigration office. They will pretend, “Would you like a part-time job? I have this friend looking for like a part-time cleaning lady.” Something like that, “once in every 2 weeks” – so she’s like “yeah”. It’s extra money for them right, because it’s under the table. Then this Filipina going to the place, and the employer – because they don’t have a really good

mood, right? - The employer call the immigration office, “Oh, my employee is doing part-time, under the table,” like this, blah blah blah. “This the address, you should go there and check it out.” When they found that out, she got kicked out. You know, something like that. You need to have good like vibes with your employer.

Mithila: Wow, do you think that happens a lot?

Francis: I heard such stories.

Francis explained what he inferred was a classic and tragic story of Filipina live-in caregivers being reported to the immigration office by their employers for breaking their employment contracts. According to Francis, the employer may play the role of instigating the connection between their employees and the part-time job. I do not have data supporting this, so I cannot assume that it is widely occurring, but the fact that Francis has heard stories like this is nonetheless informative. Thus it appears that a dangerous aspect of this pathway lies in the potential repercussions of under-the-table employment. I suggest that people employed in this way are pushed into taking under-table-jobs as their salaries do not compensate them for the overtime hours that come with “living-in” the home of one’s employer. Many of them, especially outside of Quebec, are required to pay rent to live in their employer’s homes (Alarcon 2012).

The existence of organizations like PINAY, and the use of phrases like “Canada’s modern slaves” as is the title of Alarcon’s article, emphasize this as an important public issue. How can we let people be maltreated under the guise of fair employment? I agree with Alarcon’s point that the fact that the live-in caregiver category is the only category of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) that “have access to permanent residency in Canada” is a perk that influences workers to remain in abusive employment situations. As Figure 5 in Chapter 3 illustrates, many Filipino people are given PR status every year. I think that this number is telling of the number of Filipina LCPs who use this category as the beginning of their pathways to

citizenship. Further studies that aim to find out if this is true would be useful for acknowledging the dangers of this pathway and the illusory perks that come along with it.

While such dangerous outcomes exist for the live-in caregiver program, I argue that the mass employment of Filipina women in Canada, as a pathway to citizenship and family sponsorship, is also a locus of power. This power is gendered as many main applicants within the Filipino community are female. Such a discussion is important for my focus on scripting and its consequences as the positioning some people as “sponsors” and others as “sponsored” creates ties of responsibility and power that make both parties vulnerable.

### 3.1.2 Scripting Main Applicants

- Mrs. Rivera: Sometimes the man make trouble. There’s a thing. I have a friend and they have two kids. The woman came over as a domestic helper. Then when she sponsored her family, the man gave her a hard time. You know what she did?
- Mithila: What?
- Mrs. Rivera: She get a ticket for the whole family, back and forth. She brought back her husband back home and the kids. And then, the husband didn’t know what’s the plan of the wife.
- Mithila: Wait, so she was in Canada. She went alone?
- Mrs. Rivera: She was alone. She came as a domestic helper. When she got her immigrant, she sponsored her family – a husband and two daughters. Then when the husband arrived, maybe she give him a month, a year, maybe more, I don’t know. And, the husband is very lazy and he didn’t help her. He just, I don’t know, he just gave her a hard time. Some people back home, like, they are good. When you just arrived and few months later, they fool around. They just want to be that they’re the leader, you have to listen him –
- Mithila: When they come here?
- Mrs. Rivera: When they come here. Some husband are like that. Then, um, so she doesn’t want any argument, you know? You know what she did? She just book a ticket maybe after a year or few years. She book a ticket, go back home, and she said to the parents of her husband, “I will return my husband to you, cuz I don’t like him anymore. He just giving me a headache and I’m not gonna bring him back.”
- Mithila: To Canada?
- Mrs. Rivera: To Canada. And she reported to immigration, “I don’t want this guy to come back in Canada.

Mithila: Wow!

Mrs. Rivera: So she report back to cnada, don't let him go back to Canada because he's not helping me. He's giving me a problem. And when she came back to Canada with the two daughters, the husband left in the Philippines.

Mithila: Omg!

Mrs. Rivera: Yeah. You know what happened? She's very tough!

Mithila: She took the children too! And then what did he do?

Mrs. Rivera: What did he do? He died.

Alice: Oh! What? Why?

Mrs. Rivera: Because he was depressed.

Mithila: What! Did he kill himself?

Mrs. Rivera: I don't know what he did. Maybe he just drink and drink and drink! And maybe if I don't think very good thing, maybe I gonna do that to my husband before!

In this story, Mrs. Rivera reveals the power that exists in the position of main applicant. Her friend was able to sponsor her family and decide the fate of her husband. She was able to call Immigration Canada and give a report that effectively stopped her husband from being able to re-enter the country. She was also able to take her children with her, therefore exerting control over his entire life, which sadly ended in his death. At the end of her story, Mrs. Rivera also revealed her own desire to have enacted some of that power on her husband, if she had had the same mindset.

In this case, the gendered role reversal between husband and wife as well as the years they spent apart while their roles transformed may also be factors that led to this outcome. I thus argue that we should hold Canadian policies somewhat accountable. A main applicant is “responsible” for those they sponsor for a decade, and I argue with this responsibility comes a lot of power – such as the ability to incite deportation.

According to my research, the majority of the Filipino community in Canada can trace themselves to female principle applicants. Chains of immigration often start from one Filipina

live-in caregiver. Mrs. Rivera's older sister is one such person. She sponsored her parents and siblings who in turn sponsored their immediate families. In fact, Mrs. Rivera's sister, along with her husband, worked to secure employers for her relatives so that they could complete their applications faster and make them stronger. This employment was in the caregiving sector. Mrs. Rivera's niece, Alice, the Canadian-born daughter of her older sister, explained the strategy to me in a separate interview:

- Alice: So some of – I think Anty Laura – she – they listed their sponsor as an old person, so that they could be their caregiver. So, like, two elderly people were their sponsors – technically they were the sponsors of Mona and Anty Laura.
- Mithila: Your parents found an old person?
- Alice: Yeah. So, like, they were the PSWs – the live-in caregivers for those elderly people.
- Mithila: How did they find those elderly people?
- Alice: Just, like, my mom – through the grapevine – my mom works at a nursing home so they know a lot of people and, my aunt – well a lot of them are either child caregivers or elderly caregivers but it's just like they had to ask that.
- Mithila: How did that work?
- Alice: I'm actually not sure but I think that they look – they're looking for – so they actually needed a caregiver, these elderly people.
- Mithila: OK.
- Alice: First they – I think they ask domestic but then if my mom say, knows someone who needs to come here, she'll be like "oh ok, I have this person, do you want to get them for, like, later on?" I guess.
- Mithila: And then –
- Alice: So, it's kind of like a local ad.

As Alice's mother had begun working as a personal support worker (PSW) in a nursing home so she was in direct contact with people who were looking for live-in caregivers and was able to offer her family members in the Philippines as an option, or "local ad" as Alice called it, and have the elderly people sign their immigration contracts as their Canadian employers. In this way, a chain of sponsorship was created that in turn created multiple main applicants. In the

Filipino community, the majority of main applicants are female, even though the national statistic in 2009 of “Principle applicants in the Economic Class” according to Statistics Canada is, “of all immigrants in this category, 39% were women and 61% were men” (Statistics Canada 2013). I think that this again has to do with the large numbers of Filipina migrant women who migrate to Canada as workers and as the first of their family. I believe that this way of accessing citizenship has become a common and perhaps even “normal” pathway to citizenship in the Filipino community. Another pathway of immigration and citizenship that holds much promise but also many restrictions and chances of falling into dangerous pathways due to scripting is that of international students.

### **3.1.3 International Students**

International students are only permitted by their student VISAs to work 20 hours/week if they successfully gain a work permit (CIC 2012). Mr. Alancheril stressed his opinion to me of the double standards of Canadian society in regards to employment opportunities for students. He is a middle-aged Indian man who was sponsored to Canada by his wife after they got married in India. While he therefore does not have personal experiences of being exploited as an international student in Canada, he has seen many people in his personal circle go through this kind of experience. He was even able to name a few local businesses run by immigrant people that have been known to exploit international students by not paying their wages and threatening to call “the immigration office”.

Mr. Alancheril talked about the unfairness of international students not being allowed to work as much as “Canadian kids”. International students facing the need to find employment, blocked by the restrictions on working hours as stated by their permits, find themselves

employed in under-the-table jobs. Such a situation is dangerous for the same reasons I outlined in the section on the live-in caregiver pathway.

Mr. Alancheril: You know who takes advantage? Some of the small-scale business people. They take advantage of these kids. Because I know, some of these kids, when they coming here, they cannot go and apply for a job, ok? So what do they do? They go for under-the-table job like the restaurants. And one guy, he's in [states local intersection], that business even closed down. And one Tamil, sorry. That was a Tamil store and he was a Malayali student, came from India, so he went to work in that restaurant. He worked about one month and he didn't get paid. The owner was cheating him.

Mithila: Because he could report him?

Mr. Alancheril: Yeah. So like that, people at restaurants - they only pay like a minimum and give them lots of hard work. So they are exploiting them. The government have to be aware of it. The government have to give them the opportunity. If they want to go and make some extra money when they have the free time, let them go in a legitimate way. Because why the government is giving them – I mean, they are here with their choice and if they have a little bit of free time, why can't they go and make some extra money working somewhere? The Canadian kids have that right. They can work in a McDonalds or anywhere they can apply for a job, so why they restricting the foreign students?

Mithila: That's a good point.

Mr. Alancheril: I would say that's very unfair. Unfair to the students. They are not here with anybody's favour. They're here like any other students. If they paid big money and they are here, why can't they have the same status like any other kids? You know, if they want to work, they can go work somewhere with a decent employer, legitimately hired. That's something I'd really like to implement from the government, to value the status of the immigrant.

Mr. Alancheril pointed out the fact that Canadian students are allowed to work as much as they want while unjustified restrictions are imposed on international students. Most importantly, he boldly makes the statement that the government should “value the status of the immigrant”. He feels that the disparity between international and domestic students involving the freedom to work, is devaluing the immigrant status of “international student”. Such a claim directly conflicts with statements issued by the government that outline the value of the contributions of international students to the Canadian economy and society. In the excerpt below, I draw again from the news release that was posted on the CIC website in February 2013:

“Canada’s universities are pleased to see increasing numbers of international students attracted by our reputation for excellence in education,” said Paul Davidson, President of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. “In addition to making a significant contribution to our economy, international students bring new perspectives and cultures to our campuses, enriching the learning experience of all students.” International students are also a future source of skilled labour, as they may be eligible upon graduation for permanent residency through immigration programs, such as the Canadian Experience Class which the Government introduced in 2008. International students are well-prepared to immigrate to Canada as they have obtained Canadian credentials, are proficient in at least one of our official languages and often have relevant Canadian work experience” (CIC 2013).

In this excerpt, it is made clear that international students make contributions to the Canadian economy, “bring new perspectives”, and are “a future source of skilled labour” if they apply through the CEC program to become permanent residents (CIC 2013). While the news release later claims that: “Recently proposed changes to the International Student Program would streamline work permit access to international students attending designated institutions, and provide certain study permit holders with the authority to work part-time off-campus,” according to Mr. Alancheril, such developments still place international students at a disadvantage in comparison with domestic students.

The previous excerpt from my interview with Mr. Alancheril also mentions the fact that many international students are pushed into under-the-table employment and find their employers withholding their salary with the threat of calling CIC and having their work permits revoked. “Canadian” students also participate in these gray areas of employment. They seem to not, however, face as severe consequences as international students if they are caught doing such work. Canadian students are almost encouraged to find part or fulltime employment while registered in post-secondary institutions to better their resumes. International students obeying their student VISA restrictions would thus not be able to have the extensive resumes and experiences as Canadian students can theoretically earn.

International students in co-op programs are allowed to work as part of their curriculum but they must also apply for work permits and meet certain conditions to be eligible. Such conditions are listed on CIC's website. Below is a screenshot of the CIC webpage listing the conditions.



**Figure 7: Conditions for Gaining a Work Permit and Study Permit for Co-Op Students (CIC 2012)**

These conditions include that applicants must hold a valid study permit, the “intended employment must be an essential part of [their] program”, their employment must be part of the curriculum, and they have to provide a certified letter from the institution, and their “co-op or internship employment cannot form more than 50% of the total program of study” (CIC 2013). Thus, co-op students are allowed to work but they must meet strict requirements that are approved not only by their institution but by CIC, whereas domestic students need not submit such documents to the government.

A third pathway that I find important in a discussion about the dangers of scripting oneself into this category is one in which the route itself is dangerous. The previously discussed categories of live-in caregivers and international students are not dangerous until the restrictions on the permits and other socioeconomic factors push them into taking dangerous options like under-the-table employment. The next section, on forgery and bribing is a method of arriving in Canada as a refugee, is one in which attempting to script oneself as part of the category itself is dangerous.

#### **3.1.4 Agents of Smuggling and Forgery: Refugees**

In this section, I focus on the use of forgery and bribing in arriving to Canada as a refugee or in impersonating a citizen of Canada. This section involves a case study of Tamil-Sri Lankan people as I more readily understand their movements to Canada. Canada's doors were more open than other countries in the 1980s when the Sri Lankan civil war riots started becoming more violent. The University of Ottawa Human Rights and Research Education Centre has comprehensive refugee statistics of the years 1989-2011. In this chart, it is apparent that of the acceptance rates of refugee claimants among the top ten source countries, Sri Lanka has remained the highest throughout.

The stories of arrival that I grew up with, as I am a child of refugee parents and part of the Tamil population of Canada, are wrought with forgery and bribery. While Canada was very accepting of Tamil people who landed claiming refugee status, there was no exit strategy for people faced with civil conflicts from their native countries. Though Canada admits refugees, or those who appropriately script themselves as refugees, they must somehow find their way to Canada before they will be granted asylum. I argue that the use of forgery and illegal paths to

arrive in Canada or another safe country is an enactment of agency. It is the beginning of a bold attempt to start a life in a safer though entirely new country.

Agents who assist potential refugee claimants to travel from Sri Lanka to Canada successfully must be paid. The amount of compensation can be quite high. Mrs. Connery, Mrs. Singam's sister, worked in Canada for \$4/hour in 1982 to save \$6000 to pay an agent to bring Mrs. Singam to Canada as a refugee. Her first attempt failed.

The agent is responsible for teaching the potential refugee how to enact the pathway and script themselves as refugees so that they will be believed and accepted into Canada using this status. Mrs. Singam's agent taught her and the others she travelled with that they must destroy their passports on the airplane. He instructed them on the way they would have to act and speak to the immigration officers when they finally arrived at the airport in Canada.

Mrs. Singam's particular actions, of being able to destroy her passport in the airplane and land in Canada as a refugee, are not ones that people can re-enact exactly today. The advent of more connected airport security systems that record passport information, and the restriction of items one can carry aboard, have changed the ways that airplanes can be used to smuggle people. This speaks to a multiplicity of pathways of immigration – people will always find a way to fight and survive.

The use of agents has been impacted by heightened bank security measures. According to Mrs. Subra, a 33-year-old Canadian-Tamil woman, who arrived in Canada at the age of 15 with her siblings and mother as they were sponsored by her father, such heightened surveillance of large money transfers within bank accounts has occurred as a responsive measure to 9/11. Canadian banks have followed the lead of American banks in anti-money laundering efforts. Mrs. Subra explained the use of agents to “smuggle” people into Canada. This kind of lucrative

business can be discovered and stopped by the work she does. She specifically discussed this business occurring in the Tamil-Sri Lankan community in Canada.

### *How it Works:*

- Mrs. Subra: So let's say one person wants to come to Canada and they hear from friends and family to come to me, and they come to me and say, "Hey I want to come to Canada" and I will say, "Sure, the fee for that is \$50,000. Wait til I get back to you."
- Mithila: Is it really \$50, 000?
- Mrs. Subra: Yeah, now it's \$50 000. \$50 000 to \$100 000, eh? It depends on how hard they -
- Mithila: Sorry, Canadian dollars?
- Mrs. Subra: Yeah, Canadian dollars. So they say \$50, 000. So this person says, "OK fine, let me know how it goes." So me, what I do is, I go to a person who is in Canada now, or even they can live in Sri Lanka. I go to another person and say, "There's three people who wants to go now." Because three different individuals might have come to me right? And that person says, "OK, you have to pay me, let's say \$40, 000 per person." So I'm already making \$10,000 from each person, right? And I say "Yeah, sure, \$40,000 is good. Go with it." And that person might have a person who is travelling to Canada and Sri Lanka, so that's the person who's going to bring these three people to thing. So what they do is they make fake passports; they make fake birth certificates. So they make all these documents that required to have the visa, and then what they do is, they come to Sri Lanka. So this one person in charge of this will come to Sri Lanka and what they will do – ok take these three for people and say, for example one person is 56-year-old and the other one is 46-year-old woman and the boy who wants to come is 20-years-old. So then what they say is that, let us pretend like you guys are family. You wanted to go to Canada and you're visiting somebody.
- Mithila: But they don't really know each other?
- Mrs. Subra: Yeah, they don't even know each other. So they prepare a false documentation and they bring all of them. So it depends on how well they all communicate from the Sri Lankan airport. So mostly you can pay the Sri Lankan airport, these officers, and you can get through, right? After you get through that, you get to Canada and it depends on the immigration officers. I don't think you can give them money, so it's totally different. They will put all three people in different rooms and ask questions and cross-reference each other and it have to match the story. So the agent who went to bring them here, they already gave them the story. You know what I mean?
- Mithila: He's teaching them?
- Mrs. Subra: Exactly. And he's teaching them how to put the fake signatures - from everything. So let's say your name is Mithila Ruthralingam and you born in – you don't even know the date of birth because I createdly already – so say your birthday is 1984, may 26. And not only do you ahev to memorize your dads and mother! Who also coming as your parents! So three people have to memorize all three stuff so then they come to immigration, they can pretend and then they can come through if they pass. Most days, nowadays, it's hard for them to come through because they don't accept people as much as before. In 90s

they were letting a lot of people to come through then they stopped. So luckily we came in the 90s so it's easier for us to get it in.

### ***Anti-Money Laundering Effort:***

Mithila: So you're helping to catch these cases?

Mrs. Subra: What I do, in my job now, is the person who's making the money out of this - when he comes to the bank in Canada, and he says, "I have \$30,000 to deposit," I'm like, you work in a factory, how can you make \$90,000 all of a sudden. Where's this money coming? They can cover their stories if we don't have the proof. They can say, "Oh, my mom gave me - I'm going to buy a house so my mom gave me this much, my mother gave me this much." So as a gift, anyone can give anything to anyone. But if it comes to a million, obviously that's not true and we have to investigate further. But if its \$50,000, \$90,000 we will say OK. You can get that money from somebody to put a down payment. Because my in-laws helped me when I bought the house - like that. So in that case, you don't have the proof and the black money is being transferred into good money and now he can use that money. But mostly I see these cases that people tend to buy properties because that's where you can deposit lots of money and you don't have to explain as much as for example if you buy a Ferrari, luxury items.

Mithila: So what happens if you realize they are laundering? How do you know?

Mrs. Subra: If their story is not matching with what they are telling us. For example, if they say "Oh I saved all this money and now I want to deposit". How could somebody save \$90,000? Only 5 years you came to Canada! It doesn't make sense.

Mithila: And when you catch them?

Mrs. Subra: We close their bank account, and also it's FIU - Financial Investigation Unit - we put the note there - it's kind of like a government site - so all the banks can see that. So if you for example did something in one bank, you can't open an account in another. Not many cases go that extreme.

Mithila: So then what do those people do later? They can't have bank account? They must keep their money at home?

Mrs. Subra: Exactly. Then it's not safe. So that's why most people try to hide the money in their safety deposit boxes because we cannot check how much money there, right? And it's safe there. No one gonna steal it from them.

Mrs. Subra explained the fact that some people pay around \$50, 000 to \$100, 000 to an "agent" who resides in Canada or their home country, to be smuggled into Canada. The agent or someone the agent works with travels to Sri Lanka to accompany the paid persons back to Canada. Mrs. Subra's story outlines the details of the process. This practice of fraud involves many factors, and causes many ripples within people's lives and also within the international market. Families put their money together to pay for one person to gain passage in this way. Mrs.

Subra's job includes identifying these sorts of lucrative deals and freezing the account, putting the account holder's name on the FIU causing them to lose the ability to bank in Canada again.

As this example shows, another strategy of scripting oneself to gain mobility and access to Canada is in scripting oneself as a citizen. People who are smuggled by agents using fake passports must, as Mrs. Subra explains, script themselves as the average citizen. By grouping separate clients together as a "family" and teaching them to script each other as these fake members of a family, people are able to successfully pose themselves in such a way as to cross the border.

The danger of scripting oneself in this way and of using this pathway is that the agent, if caught by anti-money laundering efforts, is jailed and the people in Sri Lanka who have paid for the agents' service lose that large sum of money and possibly any future chance of accruing the same sum again. Mrs. Subra's account of anti-money-laundering leaves something to be desired though. She claims that the efforts of banks to stop this kind of fraud from occurring are never really enough to stop it completely. As Mrs. Subra explained to me, "the smarter the system gets, the smarter criminals get".

Mrs. Subra explained her thoughts on the strategies of the families who utilize such a pathway: they most likely would send a young male member of the family to establish themselves in Canada with the long-term plan that he would one day sponsor the entire family. The lives of those who successfully arrive in Canada then become tied to the remittances they feel a drive to send to their families. For example, if John's family provided the finances for him to arrive in Canada to attain a better lifestyle, he would most likely end up working "any" job so that they could afford to send remittances to his family "back home". In the end, according to Mrs. Subra, "they work even harder than they would if they remained in Sri Lanka".

In this section, I looked at how categories of immigration, specifically the LCP, sponsoring, international students, and refugees have restrictive policies that help constitute them and that can work to negatively impact those are scripted within those categories. This is a limitation on their ability to enact Canadianness in that those with birthright citizenship are not subject to the same restrictions and vulnerability as immigrants. The biggest difference is that birthright Canadians do not need to fear someone calling CIC and reporting their behaviour and fearing deportation or losing their work permits. Another way that immigrants may be limited in enacting Canadianness is with the notion of double-consciousness and constituting “back home” as I discuss in the following section.

### **3.2 CONSTITUTING “BACK HOME”**

During the course of my research, participants frequently referred to a “back home”. While for many of us who have immigrant relatives or friends have heard the phrase used before, I think it would be useful to imbed it within anthropological literature and to see what aspects of social life as well as identity-making might be affected or contingent on the ways individuals and communities define and use the term “back home”. I think that all of my participants live with a double-consciousness - of a home ‘here’ and also ‘there’.

The first anthropological theory of double-consciousness was proposed by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai. This idea has been widely credited and discussed in the anthropological world and manifests itself on a day-to-day basis for many people. In the same breathe that refers to double-consciousness it is important to credit also Benedict Anderson with his contribution of “imagined communities”. He largely uses the term as a way to explain nationalism.

In this chapter, I expand on this idea of imagined communities and use the term to describe the perceived connection between Tamil people in Canada with an imagining of Sri Lanka that no longer exists but is manifested in the shared imagining of “back home”. While Canadian-Tamils see themselves as “different” from people currently living in Sri Lanka, and while they acknowledge that time, war, and mass emigration have all changed the face of the society of their childhoods, I believe that they continue to shape, reaffirm, and cement an imagining of “back home” that is more than a distant memory but a space that exists in the present as it is invoked on a daily basis in conversation.

### **3.2.1 Case Study: Sri Lanka as “Back Home”**

In this section, I use the term transnational rather than diaspora to describe the Tamil-Sri Lankan population in Canada. This is in line with Aihwa Ong’s (2003) definition as she argues against their conflation by modern migrants:

“The ease of travel today means that few migrants are truly exiles, or experiencing diaspora in its original sense of a lack of hope of return to one’s homeland. Diaspora sentiments may linger but it may be more analytically exact to use the term ‘transnationalism’ to describe the processes of disembedding from a set of localized relations in the homeland nation and re-embedding in new overlapping networks that cut across borders. It seems to me, therefore, that the old meaning of diaspora – of being scattered or in dispersion, with no hope of return – is too limiting an analytical concept to capture the multiplicity of vectors and agendas associated with the majority of contemporary border crossings” (Ong 2003: 87).

In this excerpt and in much of her article, “Cyberpublics and Diaspora Among Chinese”, Ong raises several important points that even though “diaspora sentiments may linger”, the increased ability for people to move has changed the ways that diaspora communities exist in the world (87). In reference to the community of Tamil-Sri Lankans in Canada who first arrived as refugees and thus made a diaspora as they were politically exiled persons, their ability to move

has now shifted – they can now be thought of as transnational people. The war in Sri Lanka is over for the time being, and thus they are more able to travel there.

Transnational people such as Tamil-Sri Lankans, who were forced to flee their native land, and who have perhaps not visited their country in over three decades, may not make frequent visits to Sri Lanka. This may be not only because of the lengthy civil war, but also due to the fact that they no longer have land, homes, or much family remaining there. I think it is thus a very different kind of double-consciousness and imagining that they hold of their native land. Their imagining is largely stuck in the past. In this way, they have a nostalgic memory and imagination of “back home”. When old friends become reacquainted in the multicultural population of east Toronto, imaginings of “back home” that are rooted in the same period of time (the years and decades before the 1983 riots) are reinforced and imaginings are coloured a little more brightly. This community imagines together a place they once called their only home. This imagining is only challenged upon visiting “back home” or hearing about the changed social landscape from someone who has recently visited. Mr. Martin recounted such a feeling to me in our interview.

Mr. Martin: “For a long time I felt, you know, Canada is home; Sri Lanka is home away from home. For so long, it is in my head. And now after, what is it? 33 years - I went back, and I realize I don’t have nothing there. My relationship, and everything – friends, my habits and everything, changed. So now I realize I am more disconnected. Even though I have a feeling I was born and brought up – I have my childhood memories there – but you know, there is a gap now. Canada is my home. The home away from home is gone.”

Mr. Martin has felt like Canada has been his home for a long time. At the same time, he has always felt that Sri Lanka was his “home away from home”. After living in Canada for thirty-three years, he went back to Sri Lanka for a visit and was shocked to see that everything he had there was gone. Though all of his childhood memories will always be placed in Sri Lanka, Canada is now his only home.

The frequent visits to “back home” of many immigrant Canadians to see family or to show their children their native land, help maintain what I would say is a more substantial vision of “back home” that is less imagined and more real. I think that refugees on the other hand, whose countries were racked with civil wars that left thousands of them fleeing to countries that opened their doors to them, have a whole different kind of double-consciousness. This double-consciousness is not of a “present” country that one left behind, but of a country locked in memory – of a distant time as well. Such a construction is concerned with nostalgic memories. The practice of discussing memories and reconfirming feelings of home can be considered a group practice of making a nostalgic collective imagining.

One can relate this idea of constituting a geographical place as static in one’s mind as any one does with somewhere they have visited. When someone speaks about their experience somewhere, it is normal for another to respond excitedly at the opportunity to reflect on the same city or country that they also fondly recall. At the same time, it is just as easy for someone to relate feelings of negativity with a geographical space that could be due to one bad experience. The difference then with the nostalgic imagining of Sri Lanka, is that there are so many people who desire to have such conversations, over and over again. It seems to me that I have heard a countless number of stories of “back home” and have had to listen to my parents explain the physical locations of our visitor’s home in Sri Lanka in exact relation to the childhood home of my father or mother. I have nodded my head and smiled countless times, always lost in the number of side streets and blocks between the homes, but that were always constituted as “pakkaththu veedu”, which loosely translates to “the beside house” or “the house next door”.

The way I understand it, the Tamil community in Canada, though very large, originates from a few Tamil villages, and so, it seems that almost everyone knows everyone. It is the next

generation, those of us who were born in Canada, who cannot know who everyone is and where they originate.

A piece of evidence I have, so to speak, on justifying my idea that most Tamil adults, those around the age of 40 and above, are very much “stuck” on a nostalgic memory of the Sri Lanka that was part of their childhood, is the fact that many of them call Sri Lanka, “Ceylon,” in daily conversation. It was not until I was a little older that I learned that Ceylon was the name the British gave to Sri Lanka and that I realized that Ceylon was not actually a synonym for “back home”! Reflecting on that discovery is important in the context of this discussion. I grew up thinking that “Ceylon” meant “back home” because, when Tamil speakers use it, they are not invoking thoughts of British colonialism, but of the home that they once had. I do not think that this is so much a refusal to say “Sri Lanka” than a habit of Tamil people. Further research might be more revealing than my personal speculations, however. Additionally, it is possible that many may connect the renaming of Ceylon as Sri Lanka with less liberation of the country and more with an affirmation of Sinhalese dominance in both government and society.

It is also possible that this obsession with the past is part of a communal strategy to think about the happy times they had in the native country than to reflect on the horrible experiences of the civil war and ethnic violence that has come to define Sri Lanka in the past few decades. I think that such happy memories and the constant co-creation of “back home” that occurs at many dinner tables every evening, is a good thing, while I also argue that while many immigrants will have fond memories of “back home”, for an exiled people, this kind of community work is critically important. Such imaginings change over time. They possibly become more romantic stories after repeating them frequently. Such happy memory-making may have some adaptive

benefits as more hideous memories of the civil war, and people they lost, are eased or momentarily forgotten.

In this section, I discussed the multitude of ways “back home” is challenged, reshaped and, importantly, rhetorically maintained in the transnational group of ethnic Tamil-Sri Lankan people. I lastly discuss the ways first generation Canadians - the offspring of immigrant people in Canada – may constitute the “back home” their parents speak so often and fondly of – a public issue concerned with identity and cultural politics.

### **3.2.2 The Next Generation and Constituting “Back Home”**

I think that children of immigrants also live with a kind of double-consciousness. We are raised by parents who have different practices and beliefs than those held by the “average Canadian”. It gets even more confusing when our parents change over the years to become “more Canadian” and slowly alter their attitudes. Nonetheless, we are bombarded and excited by stories of this land from which our parents came - the background of the country that adds to our own “dash” Canadian identities. We constitute our own imaginings of a place our parents frequently call “back home”. Such imaginings are challenged when a family trip “back home” takes place. Feeling a sensation of intrigue and fear of the “third world”, we travel there to find out for ourselves where our parents grew up, what the country people in Canada define me by when they ask, “but where are you really from?”, is really like. We see this place and yet we will never call it “back home”, because really, it never was. We will continue to live in a double-consciousness that is poorly constructed and yet forced upon us, dually maintaining the same “Canadian” opinions of a land that is all at once mysterious, exciting, and dangerous, while also harbouring feelings of love, curiosity, and of a longing for belonging fully to either - or for everyone else to understand how on earth we can belong to both.

## CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

The ways immigrant categories and standards of citizenship are scripted by policy speak to inclusionary and exclusionary processes of borders, mobility and racialization that work to “strengthen” the nation-state by keeping “good” immigrants in and “bad” ones out. People are however active agents and can script themselves to appear as adhering to the standards of inclusion outlined by the nation-state. By doing so, some immigrants are able to successfully gain entry into the country. As I have argued however, the processes of racialization that occur as a product of global processes and the effects of the restrictive policies of immigrant categories on those who script themselves as part of them, can create vulnerable and exploited groups.

In my thesis, I have discussed the ways that ideal immigrants and citizens have been scripted in policy and the ways that people can become vulnerable due to belonging to certain categories. Immigration policies should constantly be seen as a public issue. They should also be seen as part of an interrelationship with the people that they seek to govern. As Mrs. Connery noted to me in our interview, “the Canadian government has helped a lot of immigrants... No government is perfect. When it comes to policy, we have to look at the big picture.” I think she is right. No government is perfect, and that is why we must continue to take issue with the ways in which people can get hurt and fall victim to exploitation due to policies. We must take issue with the existence of hierarchies of citizenship and work to reshape these imaginings of ideal citizenship that privilege some over others.

Avenues for future research would include interviewing immigrant officials and looking at archival research to better understand the history and evolvment of immigration. What images represent immigrants in policy-making and are they inclusive of the multiplicity of immigrant experiences? I also suggest exploring how hierarchies of citizenship may be lived out.

Is there a sense of privilege of those with birthright citizenship in comparison with naturalized citizens? Do those who have been here for generations think that they have an even stronger tie to nationhood? It would also be interesting to bring the framework of this thesis to another part of Canada to see if the same processes of scripting are lived out in different ways in different places.

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