Downwardly Global

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Introduction

1. At present, there are two broad categories under which one may immigrate to Canada: as a worker or as a sponsored family member or refugee. In the first case, one may apply as a skilled worker, a Québec-selected skilled worker, a provincial nominee, for a start-up visa, as self-employed, or as a caregiver. There are three categories of “skilled workers”: Federal Skilled Worker, Canadian Experience Class, and Federal Skilled Trades program. Of the 250,000 permanent residents arriving in Canada every year, approximately 60 percent enter in the “independent” economic class. Of that group, one-third (or 50,000) are the principal skilled immigrants the Canadian government strives to attract (Keung 2008).

2. Original data calculation by Dr. Murtaza Haider of Ryerson University using data from the 2006 census. Personal correspondence, May 20, 2012. According to Statistics Canada, the low income cut-off (LICO) is the income limit below which one uses more of their income on necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing.

3. The efficacy of the term “immigrant” has been debated in scholarly work on globalization and transnationalism, suggesting that it fails to accurately describe the mobile subject. While Roger Rouse (1995) suggests “im/migrant,” scholars of South Asian communities abroad largely engage with discourses of diaspora in order to describe the mobility of subjects. I shift between these terms through this book in order to emphasize different aspects of migration and mobility.

4. This book is based on ethnographic fieldwork I have been doing in both Pakistan and Canada since 2002. Specifically, I conducted 125 interviews with government officials, nonprofit workers, mullahs, and Pakistani Muslim women ranging in age from their twenties to their sixties. All of the women identify with Pakistan in some way, and the vast majority identify as Muslim.

5. The government of Canada conducted a study of fifty thousand cab drivers in Canada and found that one in three taxi drivers is born in India or Pakistan. Among them they found doctors, engineers, and architects. “Who Drives a Taxi in Canada?,” last modified on May 28, 2012, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/taxi/sec02.asp#s2-2. See also “Overqualified Immigrants Really Are Driving Taxis in

6. Toronto, as a global city, is a compelling site to explore transnational processes that have more often been studied in other urban centers such as New York, London, and Tokyo. See Brah 1996; Leonard 1992; Ong 2003; Prasad 2000; Raj 2003; Sassen 1991; Shukla 2003; Van Der Veer 1995.

7. In Pakistan, teachers are not considered professional in the same way as doctors, engineers, or lawyers; however, in the context of Toronto, teaching is also a regulated profession that requires a license to work.

8. A March 18, 2016 article in the *New York Times* titled, “As Women Take Over a Male-Dominated Field, the Pay Drops,” by Claire Cain Miller, argues that work that is done by women is not valued as highly as work done by men.

9. In contrast to Pakistani women, Indian women in Toronto have higher labor-force participation rates at 70 percent, and lower unemployment rates at 10 percent (Ornstein 2006). These statistics are from a report by Canadian sociologist Michael Ornstein and were the most current statistics at the time of my research. In 2011, the Canadian government conducted the voluntary National Household Survey instead of conducting the mandatory census. The sampling frame, questionnaire, and non-response rates differ significantly and make any comparison with the previous census years impossible. “European” is a census category used by the Institute for Social Research in its analysis of the racialization of poverty in Toronto (Ornstein 2006).


14. While 66 percent of immigrants with a university degree find some type of work within six months, very few find work in their professional fields within five years.

Omi and Winant (2014) have described racialization as a historically specific and ideological process whereby racial meanings are ascribed to a previously “racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group” (13). David Theo Goldberg (1993) has discussed the import of racial categories that serve to determine inclusion and exclusion.


The non-European population in Canada increased from 5 percent in 1971 to 40 percent in 2001 (Ornstein 2006: iii).


This book builds on critical studies of multiculturalism in both Canadian (e.g., Abu-Laban 2002; Amit-Talai 1996; Kymlicka 1995; Taylor 1994) and other multicultural contexts (Ahmed 2004; Asad 1993; Maira 2009; Moallem and Boal 1999; S. Shankar 2008; Zizek 1997).


Moallem and Boal (1999) write, “multicultural nationalism operates on the fault line between a universalism based on the notion of an abstract citizenship that at the same time systematically produces sexualized, gendered and racialized bodies, and particularistic claims for recognition and justice by minoritized groups” (245). These multicultural politics are informed by immigration policies targeted toward producing a certain kind of population.

In 1961 visible minorities composed 3 percent of the population of Toronto (Siewiatycki and Isin 1997: 78). Before 1961, 90 percent of Canadian immigrants were from Europe (Abu-Laban 1998: 80). However, as Western Europe recovered from World War II in the late 1950s and 1960s, emigration from those regions effectively stopped, thus creating a need to re-envision Canada’s model of immigration (Troper 2003).
30. Toronto provides an interesting case study for immigration because of the speed at which it became so dramatically racially and ethnically diverse. From the founding of the city in the late eighteenth century, Toronto was dominated by a British, Protestant population. Jewish populations, being the largest ethnic group, experienced massive discrimination in the early part of the twentieth century (Lemon 1985; Siemiatycki and Isin 1997). International migration transformed the constitution of the city's population in an incredibly short period of time. The first significant influx of immigrants following colonization arrived between 1846 and 1849 as a result of the Irish potato famine, and by 1851 the Irish constituted Toronto’s largest ethnic population. In 1931, 81 percent of the population of Toronto self-identified as of British origin (Siemiatycki et al. 2003: 373).


33. In the context of South Asian American studies, there is a rich collection of ethnographic texts that deals with South Asian American experiences involving the politics of citizenship and belonging (Afzal 2014; Maira 2002; 2009; Rana 2011; Rudruppa 2004; Shankar 2008; Shukla 2003).

34. This section title is a reference to Behar, The Vulnerable Observer.

1. Bodies and Bureaucracies

1. These transformations in Canadian immigration policies are also intertwined with U.S. immigration histories. For instance, as Nayan Shah (2011) has demonstrated, American and Canadian immigration policies at the turn of the twentieth century “experimented with developing a ‘white’ political democracy and forging racial apartheid by subordinating, segregating, and exploiting nonwhite ‘races’” (3). Post 1965, U.S. immigration law promoted family reunification over granting immigration to skilled workers. For instance, in 1987, 75 percent of those entering as legal immigrants to the United States migrated under family reunification, in contrast to 4 percent as skilled workers. George J. Borjas, “The U.S. Takes the Wrong Immigrants,” Wall Street Journal, April 5, 1990, A18, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/gborjas/publications/popular/WSJ_040590.htm.

2. Nine factors were established for independent applicants, totaling a possible one hundred points; each applicant was required to achieve fifty. Three classes of immigrants were established: family, independent, and refugee. Five criteria qualified as “long term”: education, occupational demand, skills, age, and personal qualities (up to seventy points). Four criteria were considered “short term”: arranged employment, knowledge of English or French, a family member living in Canada, and the general atmosphere of employment opportunities in Canada (up to thirty points).

3. The investor stream of immigrants is for those with a net worth of at least $500,000 who are willing to commit to investing their money in Canada for a period of time.
4. The period between the 1950s and the early 1980s was defined by the rise of the welfare state in Canada and the implementation of Canadian multicultural policy, which initiated a different framework for integrating new immigrants in Toronto (Siemiatycki et al. 2003: 413). Trends in social policy until the mid-1970s moved toward expanding most forms of state social support to reduce economic risks to Canadians (Struthers and Montigny 1999). Federal funding was slowly withdrawn from social programs; the common state discourse was that reduced social spending was good for Canadians, even those living below the poverty line for whom dependency on social assistance over individual autonomy has supposedly resulted in the decline in “traditional family values.” The reduction of social assistance was part of a “wider campaign to ‘remoralize’ the family and to rehabilitate a work ethic perceived to be under siege through the enticements of an overly generous welfare state” (Struthers and Montigny 1999). Immigrants have paid the price of this economic restructuring and moralizing process.

5. Distinct from assimilation and segregation, integration is imagined to be, according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “a process of mutual adjustment by both newcomers and society. This approach sets us apart from many other countries. Newcomers are expected to understand and respect basic Canadian values, but society is also expected to understand and respect the cultural differences newcomers bring to Canada. Rather than expecting newcomers to abandon their own cultural heritage the emphasis is on finding ways to integrate differences within a pluralistic society” (as cited in Abu-Laban 2004: 136).

6. The immigration system in Canada has also been criticized for its inflexibility compared to the pre-screening processes of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, designed to meet short-term labor needs (Harding 2003).


8. While teachers are not considered professional in Pakistan in the same way that medical professionals are, in Canada teaching is a regulated profession and prospective teachers must go through regulatory boards in order to work.


11. In 2003, the PEO began offering provisional licenses that are valid for one year; however, engineers need four years of experience working as an engineer anywhere in the world in order to obtain a provisional license. Further, earnings are shaped by one’s country of origin and the origin of their credentials, rather than their ability to perform particular tasks (Boyd and Thomas 2001).

12. In order to be licensed, applicants must (a) be Canadian citizens or permanent residents; (b) have a bachelor’s degree in engineering from a Canadian university program, or, if they were trained outside of Canada, their credentials must be assessed by
the PEO through examinations and interviews; (c) have four years of work experience, with at least twelve months in Canada under the direction of a licensed professional engineer; (d) pass the Professional Practice Exam; (e) be proficient in English; and finally, (f) be “of good character and reputation” as determined by the PEO (Girard and Bauder 2007: 41–42).

13. All amounts refer to Canadian dollars unless specifically noted.

14. In 2006, the Government of Ontario premier, Dalton McGuinty, established Global Experience Ontario or GEO, which functions essentially as a referral service. The GEO is “a hub of resources and support for newcomers to navigate through the complex system of licensure and registration in Ontario” (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration 2006: para. 1). Ontario Citizenship and Immigration Minister Mike Colle was quoted as saying, “We’ve listened to newcomers who have said that one of the major barriers they face is getting accurate and accessible information about registration practices in regulated professions” (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration 2006: para. 1). The GEO is simply another referral tool that provides little practical assistance.

15. In 2001, the Chretien government began a “Strengthening Settlement Capacity Project” and committed $95 million to the Voluntary Sector initiative (Abu-Laban 2004: 137). The result is “an integration system in which the provincial governments will perform the key planning and administrative roles and the federal government will be limited to setting and enforcing principles and standards, and providing funding for settlement and integration programs” (Garcea, cited in Abu-Laban 2004: 138). Through this process, the settlement-services sector entered the domain of governance through collaboration with voluntary, private, and public actors in the “design and achievement of government objectives in a matter that shares policy formation, risk and operational planning, and that may replace program delivery by state employees with those of third parties” (Phillips, cited in Abu-Laban 2004: 137).

16. Intrinsic to this directive to be flexible was a range of affects including positivity and independence. Positivity in this context seemingly suggests there will be events that may cause one to react negatively, such as mistreatment in the workplace or workplace discrimination. In the face of systemic barriers, or cultural practices such as racial discrimination, the solution proposed in the workshop is to be positive. This question of affect is taken up in the next chapter on nursing.

17. The next chapter, on nursing, explores an exception to this model.

2. Pedagogies of Affect

1. While teaching is also a “feminized field,” the images of Asian women (e.g., docile, deferent) do not line up the same way in terms of expectations for nurses.

2. Legislation governing nursing in Ontario is set out in the Nursing Act of 1991 and the Regulated Health Professions Act of 1991. The Nursing Act established seven requirements for registration as an RN or RPN in Ontario, http://www.cno.org/Global/docs/prac/41064_fsNursingact.pdf. Lawyers similarly must have their credentials recognized by the National Committee on Accreditation (NCA) before they can enter
the licensing process. They must take tests, and often courses. The NCA may also refuse qualification altogether. The appeals process costs $280.

3. Sanitizing Citizenship


3. It is important to note that in this analysis I am primarily focusing on the federal policy of multiculturalism.


5. The Canadian nation-state is conceived as a “settler nation” in which the English and French are discursively constructed as the center in legislation, erasing the presence of Indigenous populations. All other racial and ethnic groups are peripheral in relation to English and French Canadians. However, French Canadians—not only in Québec but throughout Canada—have felt increasingly marginalized and have disputed their seeming equation with other “ethnic” groups. In 1995, a referendum among the Québec population decided in a vote of 51 to 49 percent against the separation of Québec from the rest of Canada—a decision that Québec premier Lucien Bouchard “blamed” on the “ethnic vote.” “Québec Rejects Separation,” Migration News 2 (12) (December 1995), http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=814_0_2_0.


8. It is important not to equate the social position of Indigenous populations with those of racial and ethnic minority groups. This comparison between the Indigenous population in Canada and the Black population in the United States is meant only to highlight how those in power in these two national contexts treat those deemed Other.


11. “Kenney Says Homegrown Terrorism a ‘Reality’ in Canada,” Mark Kennedy, Ottawa Citizen, March 8, 2015. In March 2015, Jason Kenney said, “Today, homegrown terrorism is not a remote concept, but sadly a Canadian reality,” arguing that in the past Canadians have been able to avoid such threats because of “our geographic remoteness, our prosperity and our peaceful pluralism, and the generous dispensation of the American security umbrella.”

12. The “Toronto 18” consisted of a group of immigrant and Canadian-born self-described Muslims who were planning a series of bombings in southern Ontario.


14. This area is still dominated by the canonical (and deeply problematic) work of political scientist Susan Okin, whose “Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?” (1997) insists that in modern liberal states, minority rights trump the rights of women—to the latter’s detriment. Okin thus reinscribes colonial notions about the savagery of “Other” men and evokes the colonial imperative that Gayatri Spivak (1988) articulates concisely as that of white men saving brown women from brown men.

15. I term the smells discussed here “South Asian” to highlight the ways that popular Canadian understandings of cultural difference, in this case, homogenize people from the subcontinent.

16. In 2002, the Canadian government named May Asian Heritage Month in Canada, but in Ontario it is South Asian Heritage Month.


18. It is important to note that Jason Kenney has only targeted particular South Asian communities, harnessing the deep Islamophobia in diasporic Hindu and Sikh communities to forge strategic political alliances and support. However, his comments are crucial in understanding the government’s construction of the South Asian diaspora and who counts as its members.

19. Masti is also a term used in India by men who have sex with men to refer to casual sexual encounters, although this definition never arose in my ethnographic fieldwork.

20. In 2012, the festival was taken on the road and hosted an event in Dubai, after years of being courted by countries such as Singapore, Britain, and the United Arab Emirates, all of which have fraught relationships with their Indian and Pakistani minority communities.


4. Racializing South Asia

1. For example, José Muñoz (1999) has theorized disidentification, in which people might strategically use a proscribed subject position, sometimes rejecting it outright, sometimes identifying with parts of the category, and sometimes using it to subvert that subject position, thus “disidentifying” with the category in response to the way it identifies them.

2. Coll (2013) writes, “Cultural citizenship as an analytic frame offers an important position from which to highlight the situation of certain groups of citizens who, though formally entitled to full legal political rights, are socially recognized neither as first-class citizens nor as contributors to the vernacular meanings of citizenship as it plays a role in day-to-day life in the United States” (5). See also Maira 2009; Shankar 2008; Siu 2005.

3. This research also builds on important anthropological analyses of diaspora that have grappled with understanding identity in an era of increased global migration (e.g., Axel 2001; Ewing 2008; Khan 2004; Maira 2002; Ong 1999; Siu 2005), as well as studies of the South Asian diaspora (e.g., Bhachu 1995; Brah 1996; Gopinath 2005; Khan 2004; Leonard 2007; Shah 2003; Van Der Veer 1995; Vertovec 2000; Werbner 1999), and the relationship between area studies and diaspora studies. Dipesh Chakrabarty (1998) published a seminal work in this conversation on the benefits of bringing together area studies and work on the South Asian diaspora. To his analysis I suggest another benefit to bringing these areas together. Studying “South Asians” in a new geopolitical territory allows for the examination of communalism outside of South Asia and questions of Partition and violence. Instead, in the context of the liberal settler multicultural state, an examination of communal tension reveals the role of the colonial state in not only perpetuating but also sustaining divisions within communities.


9. In August 1947, India gained independence from Britain and became two sovereign nation-states: India and Pakistan. Partition was a bloody event; approximately one million people died in riots all over northern India, and approximately ten to
twelve million people lost their homes. It was followed by the overwhelming silence of citizens not wanting to acknowledge the violence at the heart of the nation.


5. The Catastrophic Present


Conclusion


4. Patriquin and Gillis, “About Face.”

5. This has been explored by several theorists including Puar 2007; Rana 2011; Razack 2002. I have also explored post-9/11 discrimination elsewhere; see Ameeriar 2012.

6. Here I seek to build on materialist studies of women migrating for labor that have focused on sex work, factory work, or domestic labor from the Philippines or the Caribbean (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Lamphere et al. 1993; Parreñas 2001), to examine the experiences of professional working women in masculinist grand narratives of globalization (Freeman 2001).
7. For studies of gender and work, see Boris and Parreñas 2010; Ducey 2010; Hochschild 1983; McElhinny 2007. Many authors have also explored the relationship between gender and transnationalism (e.g., Anzaldúa 1999; Glick-Schiller et al. 1995; Gopinath 2005; Grewal 2005; Grewal and Kaplan 1997). Because of the ways the global assembly line operates, theories of gendered transnational labor migrations have tended to focus on a particular set of mobile subjects (e.g., working-class women laboring in factories or providing care in homes). These works also tend to focus on the United States and Europe, while few explore the politics of Canada and the global city of Toronto.

8. Immigrant women as professionals have been underrepresented in academic discourse and understandings of working women in global markets, and descriptions of high-tech workers have generally focused on the experience of men. Catherine Choy’s (2003) text on Filipino nurses in the United States is a notable exception, as is Carla Freeman’s (2000) ethnography of high-tech workers in Barbados.