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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S MOTHERING IN CANADA

FERZANA CHAZE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIAL WORK
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Abstract

This research examines the social organization of newcomer South Asian women's mothering work. It explicates the processes that contribute to South Asian women making changes to their mothering work after immigrating to Canada despite having reservations about the same. Data for this research was collected through interviews with 20 South Asian immigrant mothers who were raising school aged children in Canada and had been in the country for less than five years. Eight key informant interviews were conducted with persons who engaged with immigrant families in their work on an ongoing basis for insights into how their work connected to the work of the South Asian mothers. Government policies, websites and newspaper reports also form important data sources for this study. Using Institutional Ethnography, the research shows the disjuncture between the mothering work of the South Asian immigrant woman and institutionally backed neoliberal discourses in Canada around mothering, schooling and immigrant employment. The research shows the manner in which the settlement experiences for South Asian immigrant women became stressful and complicated by the changes they needed to make to their lives to coordinate with these institutional discourses. The study explicates how the work of immigrant mother in the settlement process ―in the home, in relation to the school, and in relation to her own employment ―changes over time as she participates in social relations that require her to raise her children as autonomous responsible persons/citizens who can participate in a neoliberal economy characterised by precarious work. The study throws light on the complexity of settlement work for South Asian immigrant women and on the manner in which South Asian immigrant mothers' values/priorities in relation to raising children become subordinate to more dominant set of values driven by global neoliberal influences that stress autonomy. The study has implications for the social work profession that is connected in many ways to the settlement experiences of immigrant women.

Dedication

For Sanaya and Sanath

Acknowledgments

I begin by thanking my research participants for sharing your experiences and insights with me. Thank you also to the key informants who took the time to talk to me about their work.

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Table of Contents

Abstract……..ii
Dedication……iii
Acknowledgements……...iv
Table of Contents……...v
List of Tables……...viii
List of Figures……...ix

Chapter 1: Introduction…….. 1

Institutional Ethnography and the Problematic of the Research……..3
"Visible Minority" Immigrants……6
Immigrant Settlement……...8
Settlement Needs and Challenges……9
Foreign Credential Recognition……...12
Language Barriers……14
Lack of Canadian Experience…….. 16
Impacts of Families……17
Social Work and Immigrant Settlement…….20

Chapter 2: South Asian Immigrant Women's Mothering: A Review of the Literature……23

South Asian……23
Mothering…….. 24
Mothering in South Asian Immigrant Families…….. 26
The Role of Religion and Culture……26
Socialisation of the Child…….30
Parental Involvement…….. 32
Impact of Immigration…… 33
Conclusion…….. 34

Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology…….. 36

Feminist Epistemologies……36
Institutional Ethnography…….. 38
Intersectionality…….. 42
Objectives…… 46
Data Collection…… 47
Profile of the Participants…….. 49
Transcription and Translation……....51

Data Analysis……51
Ethical Considerations…….. 53
Reflexivity……. 54
Power in the Research Process…….. 55
Conclusion……. 55

Chapter 4: The Standard North American Family and the Ideological Construction of South Asian Immigrant Families……. 56

The Standard North American Family as an Ideological Code……. 56
Mothering Discourses and the SNAF…… 60
Texts and the Objectification of Knowledge about South Asian…….. 66 Immigrants' Parenting
Text 1: *A Booklet for Service Providers Who Work with Immigrant Familie*s……. 67
Text 2: Newspaper Coverage of "Honour Killings" in South Asian Families…….. 70
"Honour Killings" as Different from Domestic Violence: A Crime. Steeped in Culture and Alien to Canadian Society…… 72
"Honour Killings" Seen as a Phenomenon Associated with Immigrants and One That Tests the Limits of Canadian Multicultural Tolerance…….. 74
Immigrant Families as Backward, Traditional and Oppressive to Women and Children…….. 75
Conclusion……..77

Chapter 5: Employment, Settlement and Impacts on Family…….. 79

Immigration……80
Settlement…….. 82
Job Search Workshops……...83
Credential Recognition…….. 84
Volunteering…….. 89
Networks……91
Language Training……93
Discrimination……95
The Trajectory into Precarious Employment…… 96
Effects on Family……100
Conclusion……105

Chapter 6: Mothering Work…….. 111

Mothering Work…….. 111
Cooking……. 111
Caring for Children…… 114
Housework……118
Teaching Children Cultural and Religious Values……120
Protecting Children…… 125

Case Study: Tejinder……127
Changes in Mothering Work……132
Conclusion……137

Chapter 7: Mothering Work and Schooling…….. 142

Mothers' Work in Relation to Schooling…… 142
Transportation……143
Helping Children Adjust to School in Canada: The Emotional Work of Mothering…….. 144
Need for Information…… 145
Physical Disciplining…… 148
Parental Involvement……..150
Interview with Elementary School Teacher…….. 154
Work Habits and the Importance of Autonomy/Independence……. 157
Changes in Mothering Work……. 164
English as a Second Language…… 166
Conclusion…….. 175

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications for Social Work……179

Contributions of the Study…….. 185
Implications for Social Work…….. 187
Conclusion…….. 193

References……. 194

Appendix A: Letter of Invitation…….. 230
Appendix B: Informed Consent…… 231
Appendix C: Interview Guide……233
Appendix D: Profile of the Participants…… 234
Appendix E: Canadian Family Magazine Covers……. 236
Appendix F: Ontario Report Card……. 237

List of Tables

Table 5.1: Employment Profile of the Participants' Families……. 96
Table 9.1 Participant Profiles…….234
Table 10.1: Learning Skills and Work Habits Assessed Through the Child's School Report Card in Elementary Public Schools in Ontario……. 237
Table 10.2: Learning Skills Assessed in the Ontario Report Card Prior to 2010…….. 239

List of Figures

Figure 7.1: Boss Texts, Subsidiary Documents and Multi-level Text Reader Conversations……151
Figure 7.2: Intertextual Relationships of the Discourse on Learning Skills……162
Figure 8.1: The Social Organization of South Asian Immigrant Women's Mothering Work…… 180

Chapter 1: Introduction

International migration is on the rise. In 2013 there were 232 million international migrants in the world, up 50% from the number of international migrants in 1990 (United Nations, 2013). International migration is closely associated with globalization (Castles, 2003) which in turn is associated with improved transportation, dissemination of information, and communications, all of which facilitate international migration (Wickramasekera, 2000). Globalization shapes international migration in specific ways, privileging certain kinds of migration while limiting others (Castles, 2003).

Canada has a long history of immigration, spanning over four centuries. This tradition, combined with the role of settlers in forming and creating Canada as we know it today, are reasons the country is often referred to as the "land of immigrants." In current times, immigrants continue to be a vital part of the Canadian fabric, their importance fuelled by the steady decline in Canada's fertility rate over the years combined with the continued demand for skilled labour in the country (Knowles, 2006; George, 2007). In recent times, immigration policy has been greatly impacted by globalization and neoliberalism (Arat-Koc, 1999; Dobrowsky, 2013; Root et al, 2014; Alboim & Cohl, 2012).[1] Dobrowsky (2013) informs us that neoliberalism's focus on short term economic benefits has shaped Canadian immigration policy in ways that

> (a) attract highly skilled immigrants; (b) expand low wage, temporary foreign worker programs; (c) diversify immigration "entry doors" and make some more flexible; (d) cut admission and settlement costs; (e) encourage settlement in less well-populated areas; (f) tighten border controls and crack down on undocumented migrants; (g) "change citizenship rules to reduce risks of undesired costs and unrealized benefits to the state"; and (h) "sell immigration to the Canadian public…through a policy rhetoric that emphasizes the hoped-for benefits of immigration while downplaying risks and disappointing outcomes." (Simmons, 2010, pp. 257–60) (p. 3)

[1] Neoliberalism is a political economic paradigm that emphasizes the ability of capitalism and free market economy to lead the social and economic well-being of populations.

Each year over 200,000 people migrate to Canada, a majority of whom are economic migrants (CIC, 2015) selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to Canada's economy. In recent decades, the profile of immigrants coming to Canada has been changing. Along with the rest of the world, Canada is witnessing the "feminization of migration," wherein an increasing number of migrants are women. During the past two decades female immigrants have outnumbered male immigrants entering Canada each year (CIC, 2015). Also, there has been an increase in the number of female immigrants entering the country each year as economic immigrants or as spouses or dependents of economic class immigrants. Female immigrants make up a fifth of the total female population in Canada (Chui, 2011). There is also a definite shift in the ethnic composition of persons migrating to Canada in recent years. While early settlers to Canada were predominantly from Britain and France, a majority of the immigrants in the last decade or so have come from Asia. In Canada their ethnicity (neither Aboriginal nor Caucasian) and their skin color (non-White) serve to label them as "visible minorities." According to the National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2013a), 6,264,800 people identified themselves as a member of the "visible minority" population in 2011, making up 19.1% of the total population of Canada.

For the past decade, India and Pakistan have been among the top five source countries for immigrants to Canada (CIC, 2015). These immigrants, like many others, seek to escape violence/crime, pollution, overcrowding, and unstable political climate in their countries of origin, and are attracted to Canada's international reputation for its high standard of living, tolerance for multiculturalism, low rates of crime and stable political climate (Klein et al, 2009). South Asians — persons who can trace their origins to India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh — are the largest racialized minority group in the country. The National Household Survey (2011) revealed that 1,567,400 persons reported being of South Asian origin, making up 4% of the total Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2011). The population of South Asians is expected to grow to anywhere between 3.2 to 4.1 million by the year 2031 (Statistics Canada, 2010a). The substantial presence and rapid growth of this minority group make it an important population to understand in terms of their settlement and integration-related experiences.

This study focuses on the mothering work of South Asian immigrant women as a way of understanding their settlement experiences and the manner in which these are socially organized.

Immigrant South Asian women experience multiple oppressions both from within the South Asian community as well as on account of being a racialized minority group in Canada (Ahmad et al, 2009; George, 1998; George & Ramkissoon, 1998; Ralston, 1999). This chapter introduces Institutional Ethnography, the method I use to explore the mothering work of South Asian women, and locates me as the researcher within the research. It introduces the concept of immigrant settlement and reviews the academic literature on the needs and challenges of immigrants in the settlement period,[2] particularly in relation to finding meaningful employment, and on the manner in which settlement impacts families and parenting. The chapter concludes with situating social work within this field of research.

Institutional Ethnography and the Problematic of the Research

The impetus for this research emerges from my own personal experience and those of other immigrant women I know who have noticed a change in their parenting practices after immigrating to Canada, changes not always in harmony with what we know/feel to be good ways to parent. I use Institutional Ethnography (IE), a sociology and method of inquiry created by Dorothy Smith (1990, 2002, 2005, 2006) to attempt to explore these changes in parenting. IE is ideally situated to describe and explain a field of action. Immersed in the actualities of everyday life, it begins with an ethnographic description of the work done by persons in a particular space and then follows the institutionally-coordinated trail connecting their work to the work done by others. It shows how individual experience "comes to become dominated and shaped by forces outside of them and their purpose" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 12). Institutional Ethnography has been found to be an effective methodology in exploring the way mothering work is shaped by interactions with various societal institutions (DeVault, 1991; Griffith & Smith, 2005; Griffith, 1984; Ingstrup, 2014) and so was considered an appropriate methodology to follow.

I interviewed South Asian immigrant women about their everyday experiences/work of mothering their children. Through these interviews, I gathered a detailed account of their activities. Data gleaned through these interviews provided not only an understanding of the

[2] The literature reviewed in this chapter does not focus particularly on the unique settlement issues faced by refugee newcomers though refugees are included in many of the studies reviewed in the literature on immigrant settlement.

participants' experiences, but helped me understand the institutional fields that these experiences are located in, which could be further explored (McCoy, 2006).

An Institutional Ethnographic research starts with identifying an experience that is "problematic" or the "discovery of a point of rupture" (Smith, 1987, p. 49). My interest in understanding the manner in which the mothering work of South Asian immigrants is shaped after migration emerges from the meeting point of my personal experiences of migration and my professional interest in issues related to vulnerable women, children and families. Like thousands of immigrants before us, my family immigrated to Canada attracted by its promises of equality and with dreams of better opportunities and lifestyle.[3] Like most other "economic immigrants" we met the requirements of a points system that rewarded us for our age, good health, proof of income, language ability, education and professional work experience. We left behind strong and stable roots—economic and social— with the willingness to establish new and equally strong roots in our new home. We understood that Canada welcomed immigrants like us and that the country and we had a lot to mutually offer each other.

Similar to other immigrants, my family had to learn and adjust to a place and culture that was very new. The process of re-starting our careers from scratch was time consuming, stressful and emotionally draining. Our child had to learn to cope with her loss of extended family while adjusting to a new environment, daycare and school. This was not an easy adjustment for a preschooler to make. My husband and I had to suddenly take full responsibility of parenting our child without the supports we had been accustomed to, in addition to all the other stressors we had. As is typical of most professional immigrants, my professional qualifications and years of work experience in India were considered irrelevant to the Canadian job market.

I enrolled in graduate school to re-qualify with a Canadian degree. While working as a research assistant in an agency that focused on child welfare in Canada, I learned that parenting practices in racialized minority and Aboriginal cultures often differed from what is considered "good parenting" in the majority population. I also learned that these differences (among other reasons) have historically resulted in intrusive child welfare intervention in Canada. At this time,

[3] Section 15(1) of the Constitution Act 1982 states "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability" (Government of Canada, 2015b, p. 3).

I started becoming aware of dissonance between some of the values surrounding raising children in Canada and the values of immigrant parents like myself. I learned of practices in Canada that appeared to be taken for granted but which most South Asian mothers I encountered found quite disturbing, such as making an infant sleep in a separate room at night or allowing a child to cry itself to sleep. Conversely, I came to understand that practices I used to take for granted or never thought to question (co-sleeping, or including children in all social activities of the parents, for example) were considered strange or undesirable by my non-immigrant colleagues. However, the marking of parenting differences did not occur on a level playing field. Mainstream discourses around mothering/parenting - stated or otherwise- permeate institutions and the larger community (Ochocka et al, 2001).

My own experiences and that of many others I know as immigrant parents have made me aware of the dissonance between our lived experiences and that of the wider discourse on parenting in Canadian society. Ochocka et al. (2001) report on a similar discrepancy faced by immigrant parents who participated in their research study:

> Most parents admitted that their methods, styles and attitudes towards parenting have undergone some major changes, to varying degrees, depending on their personal circumstances, individual experience, the age of their children and the duration of their stay in Canada. They admitted that they were consciously making changes without necessarily being in harmony with everything they knew and believed about the process of parenting. Some parents found it hard to reconcile their cultural ways of parenting with those of Canadians. Parents want their children to fit in, but they do not want them to act in the “Canadian” way. They also found it hard to raise kids traditionally, (according to their old culture), because all of the "Canadian" ways of parenting are supported by institutions and the community. (p. 36)

Like the participants of the study mentioned above, as immigrant parents we find ourselves making changes to our parenting in keeping with what is acceptable in Canadian society, subordinating our own belief systems. This research is about understanding this disjuncture that has appeared in our parenting practices, to understand “how things happen the way they do”

(Deveau, 2009, p. 6). It is about exploring the social relations South Asian mothers are engaged in and the social organization of these relations.[4]

The problematic is an inquiry into the organization of the everyday world of South Asian mothering work and the extra local relations this work is tied into (Smith, 2005). This framing of my research question as a problematic allows me to locate myself within it (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). I take up the inquiry into this problematic from the standpoint of South Asian mothers who are immersed in the actualities of parenting. Starting from such a standpoint "creates a point of entry into discovering the social that does not subordinate the knowing subject to objectified forms of knowledge of society or political economy" (Smith, 2005, p. 10). Thus, this research begins its exploration with the everyday parenting work of South Asian newcomer women in the settlement period, exploring the discourses they encounter in relation to parenting and the manner in which they participate or not in the same.[5] Such an exploration allows for an understanding of the manner in which the women's unique biographies as racialized, gendered, and classed newcomers to Canada shape their settlement experience.

"Visible Minority" Immigrants

The term "visible minorities" is defined within the Employment Equity Act as "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour" (Government of Canada, 1995, p.1), within the context of a proactive strategy for preventing employment discrimination. However, the term visible minority has received international censure for being racially discriminatory. The Canadian government has been criticized more than once by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on grounds that the term seems to indicate the primacy or standard of Whiteness in Canada in relation to which all others become termed visible (Derry, 2011). The term immigrant has different implications and understandings that accompany it depending on legal definitions and social understandings of the term (Maraj Grahame, 1999). The legal definition of immigrant situates the individual concerned in relation

[4] Social organization has been described as "the interplay of social relations, of people's ordinary activities being concerted and coordinated purposefully" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 27).

[5] Discourse is understood to be "relations coordinated by texts" (Smith, 2014, p. 227). Smith explains that discourses are "what we are part of and active in, including our local practices of thinking, writing and listening to what other participants have to say and reading texts, our own and others (p. 227).

to the state (Li, 2003). The Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2001 differentiates between two broad categories of immigrants - permanent and temporary residents. Permanent residents include those persons who have entered the country under either the economic class, the family class, or as refugees and who can apply for citizenship after a three year residency requirement is fulfilled; temporary residents include visitors and persons on work or student visas who do not have any claim to rights of a citizen. Further classifications exist within each of these broad categories.

Economic class immigrants include skilled workers, business immigrants, and provincial and territorial nominees. These are persons who have been selected into the country on the basis of the value that they bring to Canada through their educational or professional expertise or financial resources while family class immigrants are sponsored by their permanent resident or citizen family members. Li (2003) suggests that the terminology associated with the admission of different classes of immigrants into the country is indicative of the value and importance given to that class by the government. Economic immigrants are "selected" on the basis of education and skills they can contribute to Canada, and have access to social programs like pensions and Ontario Works similar to what Canadian citizens do (Graham, Swift & Delaney, 2008). Family class immigrants on the other hand are "admitted" based on their links to permanent residents and citizens of Canada. They have less access to social programs, and are dependent on their permanent resident/citizen sponsor for a stipulated time period after immigrating to Canada (Graham, Swift & Delaney, 2008). While the number of economic immigrants have long outweighed the number of immigrants selected under the family class, in the past few years the differences appear to be more marked, with an increasing priority given to economic immigrants. For example, while family class immigrants made up 43.9% of all immigrants entering the country in 1993, they made up 30.8% of the immigrants in 2013. The number of persons entering the country under the economic immigrant class increased from 41.2% in 1993 to 57.2% in 2013 (Government of Canada, 2015a). The recent changes in the regulations related to family class dependents in Canada has made it increasingly difficult for Canadian citizens and permanent residents to sponsor their parents or grandparents. The changes have also reduced the age of dependent children (CIC, 2013). The new regulations are seen as testimony to increasing

neoliberal thinking about immigrants that equate their worth to their immediate and direct economic contribution to Canada (Root et al, 2014; Alboim & Cohl, 2012).

The most commonplace understanding of the concept of immigrant is what Li calls the "folklore version" (Li, 2003, p. 44) of the term. Immigrant is a socially constructed phenomenon that seeks to mark the person bearing the label as different from others. Critical scholars problematize the term immigrant, not as a value neutral legal classification but a social construction of a category of persons as different from others (Griffith in Maraj Grahame, 1999; Ng, 1988; Bannerji, 2000; Das Gupta, 1999). Increasingly, in popular usage of the term, skin color seems to have become the basis for marking an immigrant (Li, 2003). The term immigrant brings to mind a very specific imagery: "a person who is of colour, has a non-dominant accent, wears a "different" dress or headgear, coupled with a working class occupation...even if they may be holding Canadian citizenship" while "White, English-speaking immigrants from the U.K or the U.S are immediately identified as "Canadians even though they may not hold Canadian citizenship" (Das Gupta, 1999, p. 190).

Ng (1988) points out that an "immigrant" comes into being through the individual's act of immigrating and entering certain market positions. She suggests, "...when we call someone an 'immigrant woman' we are in fact naming a process whereby this individual comes to be identified as an immigrant woman." (p. 15). These descriptions of the term bring to attention the conflation of the terms "immigrant" with "visible minority" and with ideas of "difference" (Das Gupta, 1999; Ng, 1988; Li, 2003; Bannerji, 2000). Anti-racist feminist scholars such as Thobani (2007) and Bannerji (2000) interrogate the terms "immigrant" and "visible minority" stating that this naming is a part of the differential citizenship accorded to people of colour in Canada. Such differential citizenship in turn can be seen as reasons why immigrants are blamed for many problems related to urban development such as overcrowding, a lack of jobs, and increased strain on social systems in urban areas (Li, 2003; Clark, 2013).

Immigrant Settlement

Immigrant settlement generally refers to the initial period of adjustment to Canada and includes tasks and processes that immigrants need to complete in the initial years in order to set down

roots, such as securing employment and housing, enrolling children in schools, and acclimatizing to local surroundings and ways of living. Immigrant settlement is seen as an important component of the trajectory towards long term integration wherein the immigrant ideally participates as a full member in Canadian society. Settlement is viewed as related to the "initial and short-term transitional issues faced by newcomers" while integration is viewed as "an ongoing process of mutual accommodation between an individual and society" (CIC, 2012a, pg. 23). Settlement has also been conceptualized on a continuum, with acclimatization at one end, adaptation in the middle and integration at the other (CCR, 1998). Immigrant acclimatization is generally perceived as short term and distinct from integration, which "is the longer term process through which newcomers become full and equal participants in all the various dimensions of society" (CCR, 1998, p. 7). As such, settlement could be viewed as the initial steps towards integration (George, 2007).

Settlement has been conceptualized as being comprised of stages such as the survival stage (need for language training, housing and employment), the learning stage (access to information and services and value clarification) and integration (accommodation) (DeCoito & Williams, 2000). It can be argued however, that these stages are non-linear and mutually dependent (CCR, 1998). For example, without access to information it is difficult for the immigrant to get access to employment or to secure housing. Research has also highlighted the need for information and orientation as a primary need of new immigrants (Sparks & Wolfson, 2001; George & Chaze, 2009a) that is required throughout the process of settlement and integration. A document highlighting best practices with immigrants and refugees (CCR, 1998) suggests indicators for immigrant settlement along four dimensions:

- Economic: The immigrant enters the job market and becomes financially independent;
- Social: The immigrant is able to establish diverse social networks;
- Cultural: There is adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle and
- Political: Indicated by active citizenship and voting.

Settlement Needs and Challenges

Before reviewing the literature on settlement needs and challenges, it is important to note the changing economic context within which immigrants are settling in Canada. Canada is known internationally for the safety it offers its citizens through its welfare policies. In recent times, this trend is changing and the past several decades have seen a steady increase in neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism is characterized by: a rejection of the principles of the welfare states (Arat Kot, 1999), a retrenchment of social protections by the government (Graham, Swift & Delaney, 2008; Navarro, 2007); deregulation of labour and financial markets (Navarro, 2007), and increased emphasis on efficiencies in government (Davis, 2007). As market competitiveness becomes the main goal, companies start developing new ways to increase flexibility which include cutting jobs and transferring the responsibility to find and keep work onto the workers (Standing, 2011; Ilcan, 2009). Coupled with deregulation of labour this leads to a climate of increased precariousness of work.

Since the 1990s, many Canadians have been involved in "non-standard work" (Vosko, Zukewich & Cranford, 2003). Non-standard work is defined as "employment situations that differ from the traditional model of a stable, full-time job" (Vosko, Zukewich & Cranford, 2003, p.1). A recent report on poverty and household well-being that draws on Statistics Canada data (PEPSO, 2013), informs us that precarious work has increased by 50% in the Greater Toronto Area in the past twenty years and that 20% of all those employed work in precarious forms of employment including contract work, temporary positions, and working irregular hours. In 2007-2008 Canada experienced a recession that impacted the employment of thousands of Canadians. While the unemployment rate in Canada has been steadily decreased since 2009, it is still 6.6% (Statistics Canada, 2014a).

Research with various immigrant groups informs us that the settlement needs of newcomers include the need for information and orientation to living in Canada, establishing community connections, securing affordable housing and employment, obtaining information on available services, and at times, language training (George, 2007). Newcomers need information related to: the educational system in Canada (Anisef et al, 2001); health and health care (Anisef & Murphy Kilbride, 2000); and Canadian culture, social systems and settlement services (George, Fong, Da and Chang, 2004). In a study on South Asian newcomer immigrant women

(George & Chaze, 2009a), information about almost all aspects of living in Canada was found to be the most important settlement need: "There were major differences between their home countries and Canada related to weather, culture, values, resources and access to them, and ways of doing things, and information was required on how to deal with these differences" (p. 270).

Employment has also been recognized as an urgent need for immigrants, providing not only economic security and stability but also a sense of contribution and connection to the host society (CCR, 1998; Hum & Simpson, 2003). Being employed or not also has implications for the health and mental health of the immigrant (Aycan, & Berry, 1996; Asanin-Dean & Wilson, 2009; Friedland & Price, 2003; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006) and for relationships with others (Fieldman, 1996; George et al., 2012a).

Immigrants to Canada have poorer economic outcomes than native-born persons. Immigrants tend to earn less than their native-born counterparts (Li, 2000); they tend to have higher rates of unemployment and underemployment than native born persons (HRSDC, 2013); and, the gaps in employment rates continue even after a number of years in the country (Galarneau & Morissette, 2008). The underemployment of immigrants is a recurring theme in the literature (Asanin Dean & Wilson, 2009; George et al, 2012a; Galarneau & Morissette, 2008).[6] Despite the high points awarded to economic immigrants for their education and work experience at the time of immigration, many immigrants are unable to secure jobs in their own fields and at a level commensurate to their skills and experience (Reitz, 2005; Sparks & Wolfson, 2001).

Research has demonstrated the association of underemployment with the deskilling of immigrants (Creese & Wiebe, 2012), poorer health and mental health (Aycan, & Berry, 1996; Asanin-Dean & Wilson, 2009; Friedland & Price, 2003; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006), lower sense of well-being and satisfaction with life (George et al, 2012a; Aycan & Berry; Friedland & Price), and the increased likelihood of immigrants leaving the country (Ho, 2010; George et al, 2012a). The barriers faced by immigrants in finding work often lead to them taking up low paid

[6] Underemployment can be seen as occurring when: the person works in a job that requires less formal education than the person has; the person works in a field outside of their field of formal training involuntarily; the person works in a job that requires lower level work skills than the person possesses; the person is engaged in precarious employment involuntarily and the persons earns 20% or less wages than s(he) earned in a previous job (Fieldman, 1996, p. 338).

and/or skilled jobs outside their field of expertise/profession (George, 2007; Galanreau & Morissette, 2008) and their downward economic mobility (Slade, 2009) or "povertization" (Danso, 2007). The barriers to economic integration contribute to new immigrants being one of the five main groups to experience poverty in Canada (Hatfield, 2004 in Fleury, 2007). Shields et al (2011) analyzed the 2006 census data and found that the average rate of poverty based on Low Income Cut Off for immigrants in 2006 was 22% compared to 13.8% for Canadian-born persons. However, there were important intra group differences for immigrants, with more recent cohorts facing far more economic penalties compared to immigrants who had been in the country for a longer period of time. The authors suggest that possible reasons for these differences include the changing Canadian labour market and increasing precariousness of employment, greater competition for jobs, continued credential and employment barriers faced by newcomers and ethno racial employment discrimination (Shields et al, 2011).

Race and gender have been known to exacerbate settlement challenges. Racialized minority immigrants face more obstacles in employment outcomes than European immigrants or Canadian-born persons (Pendakur & Pendakur 1998, 2002; Banerjee, 2009; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Analyzing data from the Survey of Labour and Dynamics, Banerjee (2009) found that while nearly all newcomers to the country face an earning disadvantage, lower rates of return to their education and work experience contribute to racialized minorities continuing to face earning disadvantages, while immigrants of European origin are able to "catch up" earlier on in their careers (Banerjee, 2009). Being female, a racialized minority and a recent immigrant appears to intensify the income disadvantage. Recent immigrant women to Canada are more likely to be involved in part-time work than either native-born women or recently immigrated men (Chui, 2011). Newcomer racialized minority women are most likely of all groups of women to be to be employed in casual work for their main job (Fuller & Vosko, 2008). The median yearly income for recent immigrant women for a full time job in 2005 was found to be $11,300 less than that of Canadian-born women (Chui, 2011). While poverty rates for all immigrant women tend to be high, poverty rates for recent immigrants, most of whom are racialized minorities are even higher (Townson, 2005).

The literature provides three key factors as related to the difficulties immigrants face in the labour market: Lack of recognition of foreign credentials, language barriers and the requirement for Canadian experience. Each of these key factors is further discussed.

Foreign Credential Recognition

While economic immigrants are selected into the country on the basis of points awarded to them for their professional qualifications and experiences, these same credentials are often seen as inadequate by employers as well as by professional licensing bodies. There are many barriers in the recognition of the immigrants' foreign credentials including: challenges of professional bodies in responding to applicants from educational systems and occupational standards different from Canada; the difficulties immigrants have in getting reliable and complete information about regulatory requirements prior to immigrating; inflexibility of assessment processes; lack of resources on part of regulatory bodies to address the complexity of immigrants' foreign credentials (HRSDC, 2009), and the professional bodies' protectionism of their market position (Girard & Bauder, 2007).

Credential recognition and licensing is often the domain of professional self-regulatory bodies. While self-regulation of the profession has advantages in terms of its accountability to the public and potential for more flexibility, it also has disadvantages such as the potential to create exclusive groups of practitioners whose vested interests might be best served by restricting entry into the profession (Roderick, 1990; Orme & Rennie, 2006). There may be differential outcomes of the credential assessment process based on whether the credentials were assessed by an educational institute or a professional body (George & Chaze, 2012). In some cases, the rules and processes around granting such recognition has been found to be ambiguous and dependent on the time, effort and skills of the evaluator (Esses et al, 2007).

Research suggests that the difficulties faced by immigrants getting their credentials recognized reflects the devaluation (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Bauder, 2003) or skill discounting (Esses et al, 2007; Alboim, Finnie & Meng, 2000) of immigrants' qualifications and experiences. Sweetman (2004) suggests that this might be a reflection of the lower professional standards that exist in some of these countries of origin. Esses et al (2007) challenge the continuing practice of

the Canadian government to award equal points to educational qualifications from different countries in the light of Sweetman's analysis and suggest instead that racial prejudice might have a role to play in skill discounting. They suggest that as country of origin is inextricably linked with racialized minority status, there is a need to recognize the role of race and racialization in the push for foreign credential recognition (Esses et al). Alboim, Finnie & Meng's (2005) analysis of the Statistics Canada's Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities (LSUDA) finds that immigrants skills are "heavily discounted in the Canadian labour market" (p. 11). They propose that while the role of prejudice towards foreign education cannot be ruled out, the problem is more likely to be one of Canadians being unable to judge the worth of foreign degrees.

Li (2003) points to the complexity introduced into the credential recognition process when gender, race, location of training and work experience "produce complicated interaction effects" (p. 33). It has been suggested that foreign training locations make it possible for employers to reject qualified racialized minority applicants without appearing to be prejudiced (Dietz et al, 2005 in Esses et al, 2007). In some studies, having a foreign credential has been found to have advantages to the immigrant, but only in cases where the immigrant is not a racialized minority or did not belong to a minority religion (Esses et al, 2007).

Institutional ethnographers who have studied immigrant skill devaluation (Shan, 2009, Ng & Shan, 2010) have focused on understanding processes behind such devaluation. Their research suggests that a "credential and certification recognition regime" (Shan, 2009) has created a market around the devaluation of the immigrant's foreign credential (Ng & Shan, 2010), and it serves the interest of patriarchal White society and the globalized capitalist system to continue to construct immigrants and their qualifications as deficient as it produces immigrants into workers for gendered and racialized sectors (Ng, 1988; Maraj Grahame, 1998).

Language Barriers

A good knowledge of English and/or French is crucial for successfully settlement and a lack of proficiency in either of the two official languages is repeatedly stated as a reason for the labour market penalty faced by racialized minority immigrants (Schellenberg & Maheux, 2007). The

immigrants' inability to communicate effectively in the official language has been associated with lower incomes (Boyd & Cao, 2009), poorer health outcomes (Ng, Pottie & Spitzer, 2011), limited access to services (Guruge et al, 2009), and in increased vulnerability to violence (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002).

Economic immigrants who enter the country are tested for language skills prior to entry. In 2013, for example, 66% of economic class immigrants knew English while an additional 19% knew both English and French (CIC, 2015). Persons who enter the country on family class or dependent visas do not have stringent language criteria as a determining factor for entry. The 2006 census showed just over 9% of newcomers to the country who reported that they spoke neither English nor French (Statistics Canada, 2009). Women immigrants tend to report lower language proficiency compared to men (Ng, Pottie & Spitzer, 2011) probably related to the fact that many more women enter under the family class than men (CIC, 2012a).

Though immigrants, and skilled immigrants in particular, are screened for language ability prior to entering the country, they are often seen as needing additional occupational specific language training before they can hope to be employed (Sparks & Wolfson, 2001). The Government of Canada has launched programs such as the Occupation-Specific Language Training and Enhanced Language Training (OCASI, 2013a) to help newcomers overcome these barriers.

A first language other than English and/or French has been known to increase the annual income of White, Canadian-born persons, but it has a detrimental effect on the annual income of racialized minority immigrants (Banerjee, 2009). Further, while both White and racialized minority newcomers who have a first language other than English suffer income penalties, the disadvantage is far greater for racialized minority immigrants (Banerjee).

Creese and Kambere (2003) posit that language proficiency also includes the notion of an "acceptable" accent. In their study with African immigrant women, they found that African women in Vancouver experienced language as a problem in their daily interactions despite having minimal/no difficulty with expression or comprehension. The researchers suggest this is because "An 'African English' accent signifies more than the content of verbal communication, it marks the speaker as immigrant, as African/Black, as female, in a landscape in which these are not privileged statuses." (p. 20). The researchers suggest that a foreign accent is a socially

defined phenomenon and that persons with some accents (British, for example) may be awarded differential rewards compared to a person with another accent (e.g.: Jamaican). Similarly Munro (2003) notes that emphasizing the lack of suitability of the accent is another way of racializing immigrant bodies. Immigrant accents have been found to be the cause of negative hiring decisions, for stereotyping the immigrant based on the accent, and for discrimination or harassment on the job (Munro, 2003). Though they reiterate that accent can be a basis for discrimination, Derwing and Munro (2009) suggest that there is a difference in language comprehension (the listener's perception of ease of understanding an accent) and intelligibility (the listeners' actual comprehension of the accent) and suggest that immigrants might need to work on intelligibility to better succeed in the workplace.

Lack of Canadian Experience

While immigrants' professional work experience is merited in the immigration process, it is not recognized in the Canadian labour market. The lack of "Canadian work experience" is a hurdle faced by many immigrants in their search for employment in Canada (Sparks & Wolfson, 2001; Buzdugan & Halli 2009; Aycan & Berry, 1996; Sakamoto, Chin & Young, 2010). This requirement is difficult to overcome as it is challenging to get a job without first demonstrating Canadian experience — "a retroactive condition placed on newcomers, impossible to fulfill without first being part of the workforce" (Public Policy Forum in Liu, 2007, p. 10).

Sakamoto, Chin and Young's (2010) research suggests that the requirement for "Canadian experience" is more for tactic work knowledge, what is also called "soft skills" rather than "hard skills" in the Canadian workplace. Similarly, Liu (2007) informs us that the requirement for Canadian work experience is often viewed as proof that the applicant has the language skills and is able to perform in a Canadian work environment. Lack of Canadian work experience then has the potential to suggest that to employers that immigrant might lack the skills or ability to perform in the Canadian context.

In 2013 the Ontario Human Rights Commission denounced the practice of requiring Canadian work experience as one that "raises human rights concern" and further named it as "prima facie discrimination" (OHRC, 2013, p. 1). Slade (2008) proposes that while the practice

of requiring Canadian experience is undeniably discriminatory, the ideological framing of the concept "Canadian experience" points to deficits on the part of the immigrant. Based on an analysis of the print media on Canadian experience, Sakamoto et al (2013) suggest that the requirement of Canadian experience could be a form of "democratic racism"[7] that prevents Canadians from recognizing the difference between "genuine work requirements" and "racialized elements." (p. 22).

The requirement for Canadian experience has resulted in institutional solutions, such as co-op placements, offering volunteer work experience. The kind of Canadian work experience gained through such volunteering often has little or nothing to do with the immigrant's past field of work or expertise (George & Chaze, 2009b). Slade (2008) suggests that when irrelevant volunteer work becomes institutionalized through co-op placements, they "not only fail to address the needs of the immigrants but reinscribe unequal power relations based on race, ethnicity, gender, class and perpetuate notions of Canadian experience as something new immigrants need, and lack" (p. 39). However, even irrelevant volunteer work can be useful for immigrants to build their own networks that can be useful in finding future work and to gain an understanding of Canadian workplace culture and the development of soft skills (George et al, 2012b; George & Chaze, 2009b; Schugurensky, Slade & Luo, n.d; Tastsoglou, & Miedema, 2000). Networks have been found useful to immigrants in giving immigrants information about unadvertised job vacancies or in seeing to it that the immigrants' resumes got noticed by the correct people in the employing agency (George & Chaze, 2009b).

Impacts on Families

The literature on immigrant families describes the changes immigration and settlement bring to family relationships and parenting and the potential negative consequences for the family as a result. Immigration is a stressful process (Tyyskä, 2007; Yakushko, 2009; Fong, 2004), impacting various aspects of the immigrant's life, including family relations (Anisef et al, 2001; Waters, 2009; Guruge et al, 2010a, 2010b.; Hynie, Guruge & Shakya, 2011) and parenting

[7] "Democratic racism" is a term suggested by Henry and Tator (2005) to describe an ideology that allows for two conflicting sets of values - democratic principles and racisms coexist with each other.

practices (Jain, 1999; Londhe, 2008; Tyyskä, 2007). The concept of acculturation (Krishnan & Berry, 1992) speaks to many of the changes immigrant families undergo on immigration. These include the changes related to adjusting to a new climate, biological changes associated with changes in diet, social changes associated with disruption of social networks, sudden changes to the political, economic and religious contexts of the immigrants, and psychological changes such as the need to change attitudes and values.

The acculturative stresses (Krishnan & Berry, 1992) associated with settlement have been known to have significant consequences for the mental health of immigrants (Ponzo et al., 2006; Kuo, Chong, & Joseph, 2008). The labour market experiences and economic hardship faced by immigrants have also been related to poor psychological health and lowered sense of wellbeing for some (Aycan, & Berry, 1996; Asanin-Dean & Wilson, 2009; Friedland & Price, 2003; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006; George et al, 2012a), which has implications for their parenting (Tyyskä, 2007). Men who are unable to fulfill their traditional roles as providers may feel a loss of identity and low self-esteem. The differential rates of acculturation of children and parents can exacerbate the tensions within the family (Tyyskä, 2007). Parents who have to rely on children for language translation on a day-to-day basis may find family roles are reversing, or that hierarchical relationships in the family become unbalanced (Anisef et al, 2001). While role reversal may not necessarily lead to negative outcomes in all immigrant families (Hynie et al, 2011), the realignment in parental authority, coupled with the stressors of balancing work and family responsibilities, have been known to add to increased tensions and stress in the family, impacting parenting (Tyyskä, 2007).

The stressors that accompany immigration and settlement have been known to increase the vulnerability of women and children in the family (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Vanderplaat, 2006; Tyyskä, 2007). Many immigrants leave behind the support of extended family members on whom they had traditionally relied (Tyyskä, 2007; Guruge et al, 2010b). At the same time, Canada is seeing diminishing public social support for all families (Graham, Swift and Delaney, 2008). The ideology of neoliberalism allows the state to intervene when it perceives that parents have failed to provide care and protection for their children, leading to a reframing of child poverty as child neglect (McGrath, 1997). Immigrants with resources might prefer to sponsor relatives to live with them, but the process of sponsorship is lengthy and expensive. In 2011, the

Government of Canada made changes to the family sponsorship program that included increasing the financial eligibility of persons sponsoring parents/grandparents to Canada and introducing the "supervisa" which allows parents/grandparents to visit their children/grandchildren in Canada for up to two years at a time (Government of Canada, n.d). The Ontario Council for Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI, 2013b) has criticized these changes as making parents/ grandparents' sponsorship more difficult and benefitting only rich immigrants. These changes prevent many of the informal/familial sources support arrangements that immigrants had relied on in the past. (OCASI, 2013b). Even if the family were able to sponsor family to help with parenting, these relatives may not be able to help much as they have to grapple with their own cultural conflicts (Tummala-Narra, 2004). As women are looked upon as carriers of culture and the chief agents of socialization, there can be added pressure on the woman to focus on the family after migration (Yakushko, 2009) including helping children retain their native language (Tummala-Narra, 2004) and culture.

Immigration- related stressors and the increased potential for interpersonal conflict within the family after migration can contribute to child welfare involvement (Stalker, Maiter & Alaggia, 2009; Alaggia & Maiter, 2009). Stalker, Maiter & Alaggia (2009) note that multiple stressors, like those faced by immigrant families, have a role to play in contributing to child maltreatment: "there is no one pathway to child maltreatment, rather, maltreatment occurs when stressors outweigh supports, and risks are greater than protective factors" (p. 30). Much of the child welfare literature stresses the relationship between poverty and child maltreatment (Gillham et al, 1998; Jaycox et al, 2002). In a study of South Asian immigrants involved with child welfare (Maiter et al, 2009), loneliness, financial and language struggles faced by newcomers were identified as contributing to situations that necessitated child welfare involvement. Immigrant families come to the attention of child welfare for reasons such as the use of corporal punishment (Bernhard, 2013) or domestic violence (Stalker, Maiter & Alaggia, 2009; Alaggia & Maiter, 2012). Child welfare involvement can also occur as a result of domestic violence, which in turn might be related to gendered cultural practices in immigrant families as well as acculturation related stresses (Alaggia and Maiter, 2012).

On immigration, women lose traditional sources of support that would have protected them against violence (Vanderplaat, 2006). Women may be unaware of their rights as sponsored

dependents due to language barriers (Medhekar & Vacarro, 2013) or may believe they have to pay off a "sponsorship debt" to their husbands (Merali, 2006, p. 39). Abused women may be reluctant to leave their abusive partners due to myriad of reasons such as cultural expectations, societal stigma, isolation, fear of living alone in a country without the required language ability, understanding or the ability to support themselves (Ahmad et al, 2004; Vanderplaat, 2006; Shirwadkar, 2004).

The phenomenon of "satellite families" (Tsang et al, 2003) or "astronaut families" (Waters, 2009) is testimony to the disruptive effects of economic uncertainty faced by racialized immigrants in Canada. Here, in order to maintain family incomes in the face of difficulties in finding suitable work after migration, the family splits geographically, with (in most cases) the mother remaining with the children in the host country to secure immigration status while the father returns to the country of origin to continue his career pursuits and maintain the family income. Apart from causing damage to and sometimes destroying the fabric of the family, such processes have been found to underline and re-inscribe gender inequalities as the woman gives up her own career for the "good of the family" (Waters, 2009, p. 64).

In summary, the literature on immigrants and their settlement paints a grim picture of the challenges and needs in the settlement process and the impacts this has on the family. Yet, there are gaps in the literature. While research with immigrant families notes changes in parenting practices, it does not trace how these come to be. Not much is known about the mothering work of South Asians in Canada or about processes involved in shaping the same after migration.

This research focuses on the mothering work of South Asian immigrant women to show how settlement is a complex and stressful process for immigrant families, with implications for their social, emotional and psychological well-being. Three main spheres of settlement experience form the focus of this study: employment, the school system and the home. Using Institutional Ethnography I show the disjuncture between the work of South Asian immigrant mothers, and the institutionally generated discourses in Canada around mothering, schooling and immigrant employment. The research will show how the settlement experiences for the women became stressful and complicated by the changes they needed to make to their lives and mothering work in order to coordinate with these institutional discourses, changes that may not be in harmony with what South Asian women believe to be good mothering.

Social Work and Immigrant Settlement

Social work practice has long been concerned with immigrants and their settlement. In the United States and Canada, community social work began with immigrants and relocated persons in Settlement Houses, and the first schools of social work in Canada were often started by settlement workers (Hick, 2006; George, 2015). Historically, the role of social workers has been to help newcomers adjust to their host societies and help them become good citizens (Balgopal, 2000). Social service workers (college diploma holders) are employed in the hundreds of government funded settlement service agencies across the country, and are largely involved in providing information and referral services to new immigrants (OCASI, 2005). Graduates trained in social work are connected in many ways with immigrant families, such as through social policy. As Graham, Swift and Delaney (2008) state, "every social work intervention - be it with an individual, a family, a group, or a community - is somehow referenced to a social policy" (p. 15). Policies related to immigration, settlement, child welfare, social assistance, health, schooling and housing among others, connect directly and indirectly, the lives of immigrants with social work practice. BSW and MSW graduates are employed in a variety of settings such as "family service agencies, children's aid agencies, general and psychiatric hospitals, school boards, correctional institutions, welfare administration agencies, federal and provincial departments [and] private practice" (CASW, n. d, p.1). In these settings social workers provide diverse interventions. Child welfare workers, for example, are tasked with investigating allegations of child maltreatment and take "protective action as needed" (CASW, p.1.); school social workers help families deal with adjustment-related problems in the school; and social workers in the health setting are involved in counselling and provision of needs. Social workers in a variety of settings are likely to encounter immigrant clients whose lives have been impacted by their settlement experiences. In a special issue of Canadian Social Work Journal, Lundy (2010) notes that

> although social workers have been working diligently towards culturally sensitive service, the predicaments and challenges that immigrants and refugees face are beyond cultural or racial discrimination. These newcomers enter Canada under various immigration and refugee policies that structurally impact their life chances in different

> ways and at different levels. The challenges of refugee and immigrant settlement require a comprehensive response, and social workers are well positioned to provide one. (p. 4)

This research aims to make a contribution to social work literature on immigrant settlement by describing ethnographically, the ways in which social policies and practices in Canadian society impact immigrants lives. The findings of the study have implications for the social work profession that is connected in many (though sometimes hidden) ways to the settlement experiences of these and other immigrant women; for example, through the work of settlement service workers, child welfare workers, and social workers working in social/immigration policy. It is anticipated that the research will help social workers gain a better understanding and sensitivity of the practices and value frameworks operating within diverse communities, in turn enabling more supportive responses.

The findings of this research are also expected to be of interest to South Asian immigrants and to other diverse immigrants who are likely to have similar (though not identical) experiences as the participants of this study. An understanding of social relations that shape their experiences is empowering when affected groups "have more room to move and act, on the basis of more knowledge about them" (Campbell, 2006; p. 91).

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two reviews the academic literature on South Asian immigrant mothers. Chapter Three details the theoretical underpinnings of this research as well as describes the methodology of the study. In Chapter Four the Standard North American Family as an ideological code is discussed. Using two types of texts, I illustrate how knowledge about South Asian families and parenting as different is produced. Chapters 5-7 detail the findings of my research that emerge out of interviews with South Asian immigrant mothers. Chapter Five describes the immigrant mothers' settlement related work in relation to employment. Chapter Six describes the everyday work of South Asian immigrant women in relation to their children and carried out within the home. Chapter Seven focuses specifically on the mothers work in relation to children's schooling. Chapter Eight pulls together the key findings of the study and discusses the implications for practice, policy and research.

Chapter 2: South Asian Immigrant Women's Mothering: A Review of the Literature

This chapter clarifies the terms South Asian and Mothering respectively. The chapter then provides a review of the academic literature in relation to South Asian immigrant women's mothering work.

South Asian

While "South Asian" is routinely used in Canada to refer to persons from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh), this term is not so easily normalized for the new immigrant from any of these countries due to the sharp differences in the socio-political-religious make-up of the countries and long histories of political tension between some of them. South Asia is one of the most diverse ethno-cultural regions in the world. India is home to 14 main languages with numerous dialects, while Pakistan has one national language, and four provincial languages. While Islam is the majority religion in Pakistan and Bangladesh; in India and Nepal it is Hinduism, and in Sri Lanka it is Buddhism. However, there are many other minority religions to be found in each country.

It is not possible to group together groups of people who are so diverse and suggest they have commonalities in their mothering values, practices and norms that can be described without some amount of essentializing. In the context of India, past research repeatedly points to the diversity in child rearing practices based on the age of the child, socio-economic status, family size, religiosity and geography (Rao, McHale & Pearson, 2003; Sharma, 2003). The female immigrant South Asian population in Canada mirrors this diversity. It includes women who come as sponsored dependents of their husbands and who may not speak or understand much English, forcing a dependency on their English-speaking family members. It also includes highly educated professionals who migrate to Canada as economic immigrants, and once here are managing triple responsibilities of family, work outside the house and job training (Maraj Grahame, 2003). They are all "South Asian" women, but their situations, opportunities, choices and consequently, mothering, are likely to be very different.

Being a South Asian woman has also been seen as synonymous with the term 'third world women' which, in Western discourse, implies "a homogenous 'powerless' group often located as implicit victims of particular socio-economic systems" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 23). Such a one-dimensional view of racialized groups prevents us from seeing the diversity within the groups and focuses our attention on the oppression rather than on acts of resistance/agency. Though the tremendous ethnic, linguistic, social economic and political diversity within the South Asian populations cannot be stressed enough, there are also a few unifiers, such as the dominant role played by the two major religions of the region (Hinduism and Islam) and the shared social-cultural history of the Indian subcontinent as Pakistan was a part of India until 1947. As a result of these commonalities, everyday social practices within families from such populations share some similarities that set them apart from practices in other cultures, for example, North American.

Like other authors who have used the term South Asian with misgivings (George & Ramkissoon, 1998; Sangha & Gonsalves, 2013), for the purpose of this paper I overlook the differences within South Asians, and focus on the commonalities within these communities in relation to parenting, a strategy called "strategic essentialism" suggested by Hill Collins (in Razack, 1998). This is done while recognizing that the stories captured in this research reflect the reality of some, and not all women, who have migrated from the countries concerned.

Mothering

Parenting refers to the work in relation to raising a child that is related to its all-round development (Davies, 2000). Western feminist literature challenges the use of the word parent or parenting, as they opine that even when the generic term "parent" is being used it is nearly always the mother who is concerned with the issue at hand, or the parent being addressed (Swift, 1998; Strega et al, 2008; Sunderland, 2006). The focus on the mother and the disproportionate responsibility and blame placed on her by Western society makes feminists argue that the word "parenting" is a misnomer. Rae Peterson (1984) provides an exhaustive justification against the use of the term parenting: it is ahistorical, having no set social practices that form the basis of this work; it is misleading in that it suggests that women's conditions have improved; it denies

those who do “primary childcare” the credit that is due to them, and that the term parenting has the potential to disguise anti-feminist motives (Rae Peterson, 1984, p. 63). The term “mothering” is preferred to refer to the work of the woman in taking care of the child (Walzer, 2007). The “mothering movement” in North America can be traced to the writings of authors like Adrienne Rich (1986) who questioned the disjuncture mothers experienced between what they thought they should be feeling and experiencing as mothers and what they actually felt and perceived. She, along with other writers, started questioning the supposed “naturalness” of the mothering experience, and critiqued the intensive monitoring by patriarchal institutions that dictated the manner in which their mothering roles were to be carried out, while offering little or no support in the mothering process. Central to this understanding of motherhood is the struggle of the woman for individual autonomy in the face of such domination (Einstine in Hill Collins, 2007, p. 311). The Mothering literature has predominantly focused on the institution of motherhood and mothering. Rich (1986), the creator of these analytical distinctions, describes them in her ground-breaking book *Of Woman Born*.

> I try to distinguish between two meanings of motherhood, one superimposed on the other; the potential relationship of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the institution, which aims at ensuring that that potential—and all women— shall remain under male control. (p. 13)

Thus, Rich (1986), and the Mothering movement that followed, understand the institution of motherhood as “male-defined, and controlled and is deeply oppressive to women” while mothering is understood to be “experiences of mothering that are female-defined and centered and potentially empowering to women” (O’Reilly, 2004, p. 2).

I have struggled with the term “mothering” in capturing the work being done by South Asian families in raising children. That the term was uncomfortable to other South Asian immigrant women like myself was reflected during this research, when one of my participants questioned why I had used this term instead of the more commonly used term parenting. The term felt odd as it seemed to lay an undue importance on the individuality of the mother in relation to raising her children, and seemed to indicate a rupture from the dictates of the larger institutions (family, caste, community, religion) that governed her work.

In Hindi/Urdu there appears to be no direct equivalent for the term parenting or mothering. The words used to describe raising children include palna (raise) or palan poshan (raise and maintain), sangopan (nurture), parvarish (care). All refer to the acts involved in raising the child, and not to the person involved in doing this act. The mother is not acknowledged (nor considers herself) as the single individual responsible for this work. This is possibly because a South Asian mother does not traditionally have full responsibility for raising children, the care and teaching of the child are often shared by members of the extended family (Sharma, 2003). It is only in the context of the nuclear family — a relatively new and growing development in South Asia — that it is the mother who is tasked with the physical care and development of the child in the nuclear household, though involvement of the larger family in the development of the child is expected and encouraged. From this perspective the use of the term "mothering" becomes dubious in capturing the woman's reality. However, migration significantly alters this parenting/mothering dynamic, shifting child rearing from a collective responsibility to an individualized one. On migration, the family loses its traditional sources of support, and the responsibility of care and development of the child falls even more firmly on the woman. Thus, while talking about immigrant South Asian women, the term "mothering" seems to be appropriate, though it needs to be acknowledged that the work is shaped and carried out within larger institutions of family, community, religion and the institution of motherhood.

Mothering in South Asian Immigrant Families

The following section reviews academic literature around South Asian immigrant mothers and their mothering work. The review focuses primarily on ethnographic research with Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi immigrant mothers in Canada, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom. The review highlights the manner in which the work of the South Asian immigrant mother is rooted in the practices of her country of origin, but which is evolving and changing as she integrates into the host society. In discussing the role of culture and traditions, the review also draws on commentaries on religious texts, and on child development and anthropological literature focused on the Indian subcontinent. The key themes that emerge from a review of the academic literature on the South Asian immigrant mother and her work in

relation to children pertain to: the role of religion and culture; socialization of the child; parental involvement; and the impact of immigration.

The Role of Religion and Culture

Religion plays an important role in the South Asian family's daily activities, and dictates child rearing practices to a certain extent. Religion is often meshed with culture, influencing parenting in complex ways not attributable solely to religion or cultural practices. Hinduism and Islam are two of the most prominent religious groups among South Asians and their impact on mothering work is most visible in the literature. Very little is known about the practices within religious minority immigrant groups from South Asia (such as Buddhist, Jain, and Zoroastrian). In Hinduism, children are seen to be a "Gift from God" or innocent beings who are cast in God's image and supposed to be indulged and cherished in the early years (Kakar in Rao et al, 2003). Having children, particularly a male child to carry on the family name, is considered an obligation or debt to one's ancestors, and necessary to ensure the prosperity of the family (Bhattacharji, 2010). Rituals prescribed in Hindu religious scriptures at the time of marriage and during pregnancy highlight the importance of the male child to the Hindu family (Bhattacharji).

The survival and well-being of the child thus, is very important. The Smritis, (ancient Hindu texts that are concerned with the social conduct of persons) prescribe in great detail the diet, activities, and actions that should or should not be taken by the mother in particular to ensure the survival and well-being of the child during pregnancy and infancy. Even today, children in Hindu families are generally not woken suddenly from sleep and rough play is generally avoided (Sharma, 2003).

The preference for a male child among Hindus can be attributed to religion among other reasons. In Hindu society, the family name is carried forward only through the male lineage. The ending of this line is considered a sin (Pandey, 1993). It is only the male child who can light the funeral pyre of the parents on their death, adding to the desirability of a male offspring. Traditionally, sons also provide an economic advantage as their labour is valued more for agricultural work. Daughters, on the other hand are largely seen as an economic liability as they

leave the family home to go to their matrimonial home, taking with them a portion of the family wealth in the form of dowry.

Contradictions exist in relation to the value of daughters. The daughter of the Hindu household house is referred to as "Lakshmi" [the Goddess of Wealth] and her birth celebrated accordingly. "Giving her away" in marriage through the ceremony of Kanyadaan is considered a virtuous sacrifice on part of the father (Johri, 2013). Yet, abhorrent social practices such as female infanticide and dowry continue to prevail. Cultural practices such as dowry and son preference are not unique to Hinduism and continue in varying degrees in different religious South Asian communities even after the individuals convert from Hinduism to Islam or Christianity (Samuel, 2012; Waheed, 2009).

Son preference and other cultural practices such as dowry continue to prevail among the South Asian immigrant communities (Hussain, 2005; Grewal, Bottorff & Hilton, 2005; CBC News, August 2, 2007; Almond, Edlund & Milligan, 2009; Samuel, 2012). Yet there is evidence to show that beliefs in gender equality differ with education of the parents (Jain, 1999; Dasgupta, 1998). Parental beliefs in gender equality, however, need not be static as can be seen in Dasgupta's (1998) research on gender roles and cultural continuity with professional South Asians in the United States. She found that both South Asian mothers and fathers have a high correlation in their belief in gender equality with their second generation children. Yet the mothers in the sample showed a decline in their liberalism as their children grew older. The differences immigrant mothers show in terms of liberalism for their adolescent daughters can be seen tied to traditional notions around family honour and the manner in which the chastity of South Asian women's bodies is seen tied to the same (Mucina, 2013).

As daughters are considered to be "parayi" (belonging to another family) rather than "apni" (our own) amongst Hindus (and one can argue among many South Asian religious communities), mothers are expected to train daughters to be "successful wives and daughter- in-laws" (Johri, 2013, p. 23). This work involves, among other things, inculcating values and behaviours (adaptability, politeness and deferential behaviour for example) that will cause less friction with the future husband's family, and will ensure that the daughter does not bring "a bad name" to her parental family (Johri, p. 23).

The contradictions in the literature related to gender preference highlight not only the heterogeneity among South Asian women based on religion, education and class, but also the temporal nature of mothering/parenting practices. It also highlights the manner in which religion and culture become entwined. Though practices such as dowry, son-preference, and unequal gender relations in the family can be seen in Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian communities, it is certainly not reflective of the entirety of these communities.

The enmeshing of religion and culture can also be seen in the roles and expectations of women in South Asian societies. A Hindu woman's identity is based on her roles as daughter, wife and mother (Bhopal, 1998). As wives, women have a responsibility to reproduce, and children ensure their security within the marital home. Giving birth to a son "increases women's position within the female hierarchy" (Bhopal, p. 489) within the household. The strong sense of maternal obligation and emotional closeness between Indian mothers and their children has been attributed to the stigma faced by childless married women (Sinha, 1981).

Motherhood is idealized, glorified and revered in South Asian families (Krishnaraj, 2010; Riaz, 2013; Sangha & Gonsalves, 2013), yet this honoured position comes with little power or autonomy. Krishnaraj (2010) suggests that while Mothers are glorified in India, it is glorification without empowerment. The institution of patriarchy predominant in South Asian families prescribes terms and conditions that define, among other things, how women should mother (Sangha & Gonsalves, 2013). The term "Sacrificial motherhood" (Riaz, 2013, p. 165) captures the ideals in relation to women and their mothering, where the "good mother" is dedicated to her work with regards to her children and household; is willing to sacrifice her own needs and desires for that of her family; is devoted to her husband and children, and keeps the honour of the family/kinship group/larger community in mind at all times (Sangha & Gonsalves, 2013; Riaz, 2013; Maitra, 2013).

Research with immigrant South Asian women discusses the primacy of family in the lives of the women and notes the sense of obligation South Asian women feel towards the family and the fulfilment of family obligations in relation to their roles as wives, daughters and mothers (Grewal, Bottoroff & Hilton, 2005). These obligations are tied to expectations from the larger ethnic-religious community the family is part of, and includes the obligation to uphold the family name and honor through appropriate behavior as daughters (compliant, virtuous, and chaste),

wives (loyal, submissive, bearing children) and mothers (loving, sacrificing, transmitters of religion, culture, and tradition) (Riaz, 2013; Mucina, 2013; Sangha & Gonsalves, 2013).

Islam appears to play a similarly important role in the lives of South Asian Muslim immigrants. Ross-Sheriff and Husain (2004) maintain that despite the many differences between Indian and Pakistani Muslims, there is a commonality through the world-view that is prescribed by Islam. The religion integrates and harmonizes all differences within Muslims related to ethnicity, race, culture or language and is perceived to be a primary form of identity for Muslims. Islam has views similar to Hinduism on the innocence of children, and considers them entitled to the "fulfillment of physical and emotional needs including care, protection, socialization, education, love, attention and devotion" (Becher, 2008, p. 129). According to Ahsan (as quoted in Frosh, 2004), a third of the Quran's legal prescriptions relate to the domain of parenting.

Becher's research (2008) study with South Asian Muslim families in Great Britain provides insights into the centrality of Islam into the lives of these parents, and into the ways religion and culture have become enmeshed for this group. The Muslim parents she interviewed perceived that religious influences and religious leaders played an important role in raising children. An overwhelming majority of the Muslim parents felt their own religious views were important in bringing up their children, and described Islam as having "an answer for everything" or "one key thing they can base their lives on" (Becher, 2008, p. 32). Religion influenced many aspects of the Muslim families' lives from diet to leisure time activities. According to Becher, "for the South Asians in this study, "doing religion" was part of "doing family" (and vice versa)" (p. 79). In Becher's study, though the role of the mother as constructed by the immigrant Muslim families resembled the "intensive mothering" ideology of the West, it is interesting that these were "imbued with sacred significance"(Becher, 2008, p. 108). Thus the ideology that women should be caring mothers, present for their children, the first teachers, and moral educators was seen as prescribed by and resulting out of the teaching of Islam.

Socialization of the Child

Some socio-psychological literature on South Asian immigrant families focuses on the goals of the parenting work done in such families and relates it back to the collectivist society to which

South Asian families are seen to belong. The goals of socialization in such societies are seen as connecting people to each other and making them interdependent. While in individualistic societies the child is viewed as trained to become self-sufficient and self-directed with a view to becoming an autonomous and independent adult (Liu et al, 2005; Mahtani Stewart et al, 2003), collectivist societies are viewed as training children to be responsible to the group, and are helped to make decisions that help the group (Liu et al, 2005). For example, while educational achievement is encouraged for the betterment of the individual in individualistic societies, collectivist cultures stress educational achievement for the advancement of the group and to improve the status of the family (Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003). In India, the roots of collectivism can be traced to the pre-colonial Indian household which was based on clan organization (Poonacha, 2010) where "communitarian values were extolled and self-interested individualism was firmly checked" to maintain clan unity (pg. 282).

Social hierarchy and inter-dependence within the kinship group appear to be important features of collectivist cultures. The roles and obligations of each member of the family and society are laid out. In Indian society, for example, the hierarchy is determined by generational status, birth order and gender (Rao et al, 2003,). Traditional South Asian families tend to be patriarchal, with hierarchical relationships between men and women and between the generations in the family (George & Ramkisssoon, 1998; Rao et al, 2003). The welfare of the extended family and community are primary to which the preferences and ambitions of individual members are subordinated (Kakar, 1978, in Sinha, 1981, p. 21). Positive feelings of the individual are viewed as being connected with autonomy in individualistic cultures, and with the fulfilling of obligations in collectivist ones (Mahtani Stewart, Zaman & Dar, 2006). Tied to the obligation of each member of the family in collectivist cultures is the notion that girls and women are carriers of the "honour" or culture of the family and need special controls or protection against sexual relations outside the "sanctity" of marriage. The conduct of the female is seen to reflect both on the family and on the community as a whole (Tyyskä, 2007).

Research with Pakistani mothers indicates that though the mothers acknowledged autonomy as a basic need, it was considered second in importance to good relationships (Mahtani Stewart, Zaman & Dar, 2006). Past research suggests that the concept of autonomy, while important in the theorizing of parenting in the context of individualistic cultures that

socialize for independence, might not be as relevant to the understanding of child rearing in the context of collectivist cultures (Mahtani Stewart et al; 2003). The preferences and ambitions of individual members of Hindu families are subordinated to the welfare of the extended family and community (Kakar, 1978, in Sinha, 1981, p. 21). Co-operation and conformity of its members is required for the stability of the joint family system. The large family system discourages individuality and encourages collective living.

While the studies mentioned above have important insights into the values and practices of South Asians, it can be argued that categorizing societies as either individualistic or collectivist serves to generalize and stereotype communities, rather than allowing for an exploration of the complexities within the cultures (Schwartz, 1990; Killen, 1997, Fiske, 2002). As well, in the context of globalization and increasing market economy, it is difficult to accept blanket statements in relation to collectivist and individual societies. In many cities of South Asia, the form of family is changing, and the nuclear family is more common among the current generation than before. Individualistic lifestyles and goals are not uncommon as can be seen reflected in the competitive job market and education system.

Parental Involvement

Baumrind's (1967 in Jones et al, 2008) framework of Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Permissive Parenting continues to be the basis on which parenting is classified even today in North America. According to this classification, authoritative parents demonstrate high expectations from the child pertaining to behaviour and maturity accompanied by high levels of warmth; authoritarian parenting styles demonstrate high expectations with low levels of warmth toward their children, and permissive parents have low expectations from children, but demonstrate high warmth. Of these, authoritative parenting (high warmth, high expectations) is held to be the most desirable for children (Jones et al, 2008; Farver et al, 2007). Research with racialized minority immigrant families suggests that common classification of parenting categories might not be adequate to cover the specific types of parenting in these families (Maiter & George, 2003; Chao, 1994). In the context of Asian families, Chao (1994) suggests instead of the category "authoritarian", an alternate category "training" better characterizes the

style of parenting of these families. This suggested category is characterized by high involvement of the parent, particularly the mother, accompanied by care, physical closeness, concern and governance. While the parent is controlling in the “training” style of parenting, it is an "organization type of control" (Chao, 1994, p.1112) that focuses on maintaining the smooth functioning of the family unit.

South Asian mothers/parents are more likely to be actively involved in all aspects of their children’s lives (Jain, 1999; Londhe, 2008). The literature indicates that this high level of participation comes from a sense of obligation on part of the parent to fulfill what they see as their duty towards their children and families (Jain, 1999). Parental control could also be due to the extra caution in relation to the socialization of daughters, prompted in turn, by a desire to maintain family honour.

Londhe (2008) describes how, amongst Hindu parents she interviewed in the United States, daily parenting practices such as co-sleeping, hand feeding, and family care arrangements were viewed as catering to the twin goals of meeting the child’s needs for safety and security, along with fostering interdependence within the family. For example, she found that in a majority of the families she studied, children slept in the same room or the same bed as the parents. When asked to explain why this was a practice, the parents referred to the emotional attachment to the child, importance of touch for the child, and the comfort levels of the child. The mothers’ reasons for hand feeding the child or choosing to stay at home to look after children were similarly rooted in concerns around the safety and well-being of the child. Londhe uses the term “child-centered” parenting (p. 233) to describe these actions on part of Hindu parents.

Research on families in India highlights the role of the extended family or neighbours in caring for children (Sharma, 2003). Family members would hold children, entertain them, care for them, or even sleep with them at night once the child had to abandon the mother’s bed when s(he) grew older, or when a sibling was born (Sharma, 2003). In immigrant South Asian families this tradition of extended familial care and involvement often continues (Becher, 2008; Jain, 1999). Local extended kin have been known to provide child care for the immigrant family and parents look to them for advice and help (Becher, 2008). Family links are maintained through visits to the country of origin, and children are taught the parent’s mother tongue so that that they

can communicate with grandparents or relatives in India (Jain, 1999). The extended family play a prominent role in these families' lives, and children regularly visited and interacted with extended family members, who served as caregivers and informal teachers of language and religion. Interaction with these members allow children to learn about culturally appropriate ways of socializing with others in the Indian community (Jain, 1999).

Impact of Immigration

Immigration brings with it changes in the family practice either to accommodate their children's desires and wishes, or in reaction to the challenge to traditional practices by mainstream norms (for example, in relation to a child's decision making) (Jain, 1999; Londhe, 2008). South Asian immigrant families continue to stress the importance of family and family relationships after migration (Becher, 2008). Research with South Asian parents in the USA demonstrates how parents pick and choose from both South Asian and American child rearing practices, to select those that they felt responded best to the child's needs (such as co-sleeping and hand-feeding), were practical (such as toilet training at a later age and using diapers), or a mix of both (treating children as adults and providing opportunities to make choices along with scolding, yelling and spanking to discipline the child) (Londhe, 2008).

Corporal punishment is a parenting practice associated with 'visible minority' parenting in the popular media (Chaze, 2009) and in academic literature (Trocmé et al, 2013). Maiter, Alaggia and Trocmé's (2004) study challenges assumptions that South Asian parents are prone to physical disciplining of their children. Their study collected information from twenty-nine South Asian-Canadian immigrant parents to get insights into the parents' understanding of appropriate and inappropriate child rearing practices, and their help-seeking behaviour on witnessing inappropriate practices. Their research found that the South Asian parents in their study did not differ significantly from other groups of North American parents in their views on the appropriateness of physical disciplining of a child, and regarded continued and excessive physical punishment as inappropriate. Elsewhere, (Chaze, 2009) I have highlighted the role of systemic issues such as poverty and settlement related stressors that might contribute to physical abuse within immigrant families.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature on South Asian mothering, and unearthed the following key themes: the importance of religion and culture; the socialization of the child; and parental involvement in children's lives. The review has also highlighted the impact of immigration on the parenting practices of South Asian mothers/parents. As Dasgupta (1998) summarizes in her research findings with professional South Asian families in the United States "...the profile of the Asian Indian community is hardly one of fixed and mindless acceptance of tradition. Rather, lively negotiations and reconciliations mark the community's process of acculturation" (p. 968). The literature is silent however on what the processes involved in these negotiations and reconciliations are. How do the social relations the women participate in within the host society impact these reconciliations?

The literature review reveals that for the most part South Asian women function within deeply patriarchal discourses of motherhood that guide their work. However, a very small but emerging scholarship acknowledges the agency that South Asian immigrant women express in relation to raising their children, often within the confines of such patriarchal contexts (Kaur, 2013; Raval, 2009; Mucina, 2013; Johri, 2013). Such literature acknowledges the pervasiveness of patriarchal family dynamics after migration, and provides examples of the numerous small ways in which women challenge such systems in their everyday lives.

Many gaps exist in the current literature, particularly in the Canadian context. First, there is little ethnographic research with a focus on South Asian women and their mothering work in Canada. Research on many aspects of the mothering work remain under-explored: How do South Asian immigrant mothers negotiate the demands placed on them by their religion and culture as they manage the process of settlement? How do they balance the conflicting discourse of their countries of origin and their host countries? What are the ways in which the process of immigration either empowers or dis-empowers South Asian mothers? How does immigration change power relations within the family, and how does this impact the mother's work? This research seeks to shed light on some of these under-explored areas.

Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology

This study is a feminist research project. It centers women and women's experiences, and looks at the manner in which the experiences of immigrating and settling in Canada shape their work as mothers from their unique positions as racialized minority women. While there is an overabundance of literature on the employment-related settlement difficulties faced by new immigrants there is a paucity of research on the impact of settlement on the family and on the work of the mother. As a feminist project this research challenges the androcentric bias in the study of immigrants and their problems. The research also has other elements that mark it as a feminist project. It is based in an epistemology that focuses on the fluid, partial and situated nature of knowledge; it focuses on a topic that centres women and their experiences; the questions asked are rooted in issues of social justice and inequality; and, the goals of the research are aimed at social change (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

The first part of this chapter describes the epistemological and theoretical underpinnings of this study. It details Institutional Ethnography and the concept of intersectionality and the manner in which they shape my study. The second part of the chapter discusses issues related to methodology.

Feminist Epistemologies

A critical dimension in the understanding of any epistemology concerns the nature of reality. What is real, according to the researcher, determines what is sought as knowledge and how it is interpreted. Different epistemologies have differing conceptions of reality. This study follows in the tradition of Marxism in understanding reality as not only consisting of what one can see or what appears in front of the observer, but also hidden realities, i.e. processes/social relations that produce the reality (Swift & Callahan, 2009), and that people have an active role in the creation of their reality.

Longino and Lenon (1997) propose that feminist epistemologies are characterized by a set of values that differentiate it from the values of traditional epistemologies: such epistemologies make visible experiences that do not fit into existing theories so as to protect

against the perpetuation of theories that promote sexism or adrocentrism; they emphasize a preference for theories or methods that aim to incorporate differences in the domain of investigation; there is a preference for theories that represent interactions as complex and mutual or reciprocal relationships; the inquiry should address and alleviate the need of a subordinate population and the process of knowledge creation should be one that decentralizes power. Feminist epistemology arose as a protest against traditional or dominant epistemologies that alienated women from the process of knowledge creation.

> Feminist have argued that traditional epistemologies, whether intentionally or unintentionally, systematically exclude the possibility that women could be "knowers" or agents of knowledge; they claim that the voice of science is a masculine one; that history is written from only the point of view of men (of the dominant class and race); that the subject of a traditional sociological sentence is always assumed to be a man. They have proposed alternative theories of knowledge that legitimate women as knowers (Harding, 1987, p. 3).

The concept of the situated knower and situated knowledge that reflects the perspectives of the subject are central to feminist epistemologies. Feminist epistemologies view knowledge as relational, created in the dynamic between the researcher and the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Feminist standpoint epistemologists consider knowledge to be rooted in experience. They consider the knowledge gained from the standpoint of women— who stand at the outskirts of the dominant institutions of power— as more meaningful, due to the unique position of these women that allows them to navigate their own worlds and those expected of dominant society (Janack, 2004). Black feminist theorists see knowledge as crucial in the empowering of oppressed people. This is possible by placing black women's experiences at the center, and by incorporating the intersectionality of oppression of race, class and gender (Hill Collins, 2000). Smith (1990) speaks of the contradiction that exists between knowledge independent of particular knowers yet arising from the activities of particular subjects. Speaking from a standpoint of women, according to her, "calls for methods of knowing that encompass the disjuncture itself, including the social relations of objectified knowledge" (p. 202). Institutional Ethnography, her proposed method shows us ways in which such an encompassing is possible.

Institutional Ethnography

Institutional Ethnography (IE) is an alternate sociology, a form of social inquiry created by sociologist Dorothy Smith. IE proposes that an insider, feminist sociology is possible, beginning from the standpoint of the knowers who are located inside society and keeping their interest in mind. Smith follows in the tradition of Marx to suggest that it is possible to understand the social world as "arising in people's activities and through the ongoing and purposeful concerting and coordinating of those activities" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 27).

IE emerges directly out of the feminist epistemologies that centre on the manner in which gender influences "our conceptions of knowledge, the knowing subject, and practices of inquiry and justification" (Anderson, 2011). IE recognises that knowledge is created, and that the creation of "objectified knowledge" often serves the relations of ruling (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). In the context of my study, knowledge about immigrants and their parenting has been objectified in that immigrant parenting is described from outside of the everyday / every night experiences of immigrant parents.

This project is concerned with creating alternate knowledge, one that emerges from the perspective or standpoint of the immigrants themselves, yet going beyond it to understand how the experiences of immigrants are shaped by forces beyond them. In doing so it "redresses the exclusion of some knowers" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p.68) becoming an enabling and empowering process. IE views people as experts in what they do and the researcher as one who seeks to understand the work of these experts.

The notion of "standpoint" in IE is an important one and warrants some explanation. Standpoint does not refer to a socially determined position or epistemic privilege. It refers, instead, to a point of entry into the research. The research subject is caught up in social relations that extend far beyond what she can see and directly experience. The notion of standpoint suggests that the researcher begins exploration of this complex of social relationships from the starting point of the experience of this subject or her standpoint (Smith, 2006). To begin from the standpoint of the research subject is "to insist on the validity of an inquiry that is interested and that begins from a particular site in the world" (Smith, 1990, p. 33). Drawing on Marx and the critical social sciences, where reality is seen as both "apparent phenomenon and hidden realities" (Swift, 1995, p. 16), IE seeks to help us understand "How did the experience come to

happen as it does?" (Smith, 2006, p. 7). The focus of IE is not on the person or group and their experiences, but on the manner in which this experience is connected and coordinated by social relations that they participate in and which have generalizing effects (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Grahame & Maraj-Grahame, 2012). Social relations are understood to be the manner in which the work of an individual in one local setting is linked to the work of others in many other settings in society (Smith, 2002).

Institutional Ethnography allows for an explication of everyday worlds and the manner in which these worlds are organized by "ruling relations" in which people participate and which extend out beyond the moment of experience. Ruling relations are

> a complex of relations including the state, the managerial and administrative processes, the professions, the media etc., which organize and control contemporary capitalist societies. These form a loosely cohering, non-monolithic set of functions with a characteristic inter-penetration by laterally organized textual discourses (academic, cultural and professional) or hierarchical forms such as bureaucracies. The ruling apparatus is the organized expression of class domination, co-ordinating the social processes at large, in relation to the accumulation of capital. (Smith, 1981, p. 1 quoted in Griffith, 1984)

The ruling apparatus is comprised of various institutions in society (law, education, social work and located in local institutions such as schools, courts, child welfare institutions) through which society is managed.[8] The coordination between these institutions is possible through ideology, where ideology is seen as a "procedure for sorting out and arranging conceptually the living world of people so that it can be seen to be as we already know it ideologically" (Smith, 1990, p. 43). Ideology provides the conceptual framework that links the work of the local to the more abstract activities and the relevancies of ruling relations. Ideological thinking divorces concepts from the ground realities, rupturing "the internal relation in the observable between concept and the actualities of co-ordered activities" (Smith, 1990, p. 41). I propose that ideological concepts such as "immigrants" and "immigrant families" have a "grammar of

[8] In IE, the term Institution is not understood to be a distinct entity such as a school or a social work organization. "In contrast to such concepts as bureaucracy, "institutions" does not identify a determinate form of social organization, but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one relational mode of the ruling apparatus" (Smith, 1987, p. 160).

deviance" (Griffith, 1984, p. 5), suggesting that these persons and families are deviations from the norm. The norm, as will be elaborated upon in the next chapter is the ideological conception of a "Standard North American" (White, Christian, middle class, born and raised in Canada or USA) and that of a "Standard North American Family" (White, Middle class, born and raised in Canada and two parent family with a division of labour articulated to the requirements of the ruling relations). The ideology of "immigrants" and "immigrant families" makes it possible for ruling relations to normalize the regulation of these groups of people through practices at the local setting (Griffith, 1984). Texts play a central role in the social organization of our everyday world and an analysis of texts is essential in IE to make visible otherwise invisible ways people's work is connected to others (Smith, 2006). Texts can be any kind of documentation in words, images or sound that is relatively fixed or replicable. Texts are activated through people's reading/listening/viewing. It is the fixed and replicable qualities of the text that allow them to play a crucial role in creating objectified forms of consciousness (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 34). In IE, texts are viewed as "coordinators in sequences of action/work" (Smith, 2006). More than documents containing factual information, texts are seen as the concrete forms in which social relations are manifested, what Campbell & Gregor (2002) term as "crystallized social relations" (p.79). Texts influence relationships. These relationships may be between persons meeting face- to- face or between persons who have never met each other. The text has the power to "hold people to acting in particular ways", and are "nearly always implicated in ruling" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 32). Work processes get organized by texts in ways that give primacy to organizational priorities over the persons the texts are supposed to be representing.

Texts are central to the objectification of knowledge, i.e., the separation of knowledge from an embodied knower. The objectification of knowledge about a phenomenon involves the production of social facts, "removed from the lived experience of the original participants in the event" (Griffith, 1984, p. 29). Textual reality is socially organized through two stages: the production of the textual account, and its reading and interpretation. The social organization of the production of the account begins with a lived actuality, which is then produced as "the factual account" through socially organized practices of recording. The process of creating a factual account is embedded in work processes. It is also embedded in a definite institutional

context and reflects the same. Griffith (1984) explains the ideological process in the creation of a factual reality about "suicide":

> The factual accounts appear to reference an actuality; instead, they intend their own description of the event. Factual accounts are produced in a set of work processes- the police report, the medical report, the coroner's deliberations based on these reports, his consequent written report which forms the basis of media stories. These are work processes in which one textual account informs other written accounts within hierarchical divisions of labour and across institutional boundaries. The textual or discursive process is central to the construction of the shared meaning of suicide. (p. 29)

The social organization of reading/interpretation involves reading through the factual account or interpreting the account to understand "what actually happened/what is" as the account intended to shape action (Smith, 1990, p. 72).

> In textual time, the processes of working up the formulation becomes invisible. The account comes to stand in for the actuality it claims to represent. In the context of the social organization of its reading it becomes a virtual reality. The text is stabilized. It has no apparent history other than that incorporated in and does not acquire one as a product of the various occasions of its use. Fixed in an official form (for instance, by publication) it is the same on each occasion of its reading. (Smith, 1990, p. 75)

The reader of the text is a crucial actor of the texts' coordination work. Her reading of the text "activates the text" "inserting the texts' message into the local setting and sequence of actions into which it is read" (Smith, 2005, p. 105).

IE involves three procedures: an analysis of ideological procedures that articulate the work of the local to institutional functions; a description of the 'work' under study and the manner in which this work is shaped and sustained by the institutional process; and, the manner in which this 'work" is connected to the work of others in other places (Smith, 1987, p. 166). An IE study begins with a statement of the problematic, "a field of questions and issues to which it is oriented" (Grahame & Maraj Grahame, 2012, p. 1.). The problematic lays down—on the basis of the researcher's own experience and/or preliminary research—a direction for the exploration of social relations beginning from the standpoint of an affected group. It is useful to "direct attention to a possible set of questions that may not have been posed or set of puzzles that do not

yet exist in the form of puzzles but are 'latent' in the actualities of the experienced world" (Smith in Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p.47). For this research, the problematic is the disjuncture the South Asian immigrant mother faces in her day- to- day parenting as she negotiates what seem to be contradictory mothering discourses.

To understand this point of disjuncture, and why and how it exists, the process of IE suggests that one begins with the everyday experiences of persons as reflected in the "work" they do. Work is defined as "what people do that requires some effort that they mean to do, and that involves some acquired competence" (Smith, 1987, p. 165 in McCoy, 2006). The informants' experiences of work indicate points of entry into "trans-local relations, discourses and institutional work processes that are shaping the informants everyday work" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 21). These data are then analyzed to understand how these different macro-institutional mechanisms influence and organize the everyday experiences (DeVault & McCoy, 2006). One is able to see how activities in a local setting are connected to work in other settings, and the manner in which these processes are connected through textually mediated discourses. The goal of IE is to unearth macro-institutional policies and practices that organise the local experience and produce experiences of subordination (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 29). IE allows for an understanding of how things are put together which can be a powerful tool for social work practice (de Montigny, 2011). "We want to know because we want to act and in acting to rely on a knowledge beyond that is available to us directly" (Smith, 1990, p. 34).

Intersectionality

This study is also informed by Intersectional Perspectives that propose that individuals in society occupy positions of privilege and oppression based on their unique subject-locations, which in turn are determined by the intersecting or interlocking axis of race, class, gender and other determinants of identity (Hill Collins, 2000; Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996).

The notion of interlocking oppressions emerged in the late 1980's out of the theorizing of feminists of colour and multi-racial feminist/anti-racist theorists (Hill Collins, 2000; Calliste & Dei, 2000) who realised the limits of a purely race-based or gendered analysis in understanding the oppression of women of colour. Focussing on any one category of analysis overlooked the

multiple subordinate identities of individuals. An additive model of understanding these oppressions argued that persons experiencing multiple identities experienced oppressions associated with these identities in a cumulative fashion. Andersen and Hill Collins (1998) point out the limitations of such an approach. An additive approach misses the social structural connections between identities such as race and gender, and the manner in which "different configurations of race, class and gender affect group experience." (p. 2). Also, additive models lend to dichotomising into either/or categories (Andersen & Hill Collins). In contrast to this, the intersectional perspective believes that oppressions are experienced in a "synergestic way" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This "non-additive" way to understand oppression has also been termed "integrative' or "race-class-gender approach" (Choo & Marx Ferree, 2010). Intersectionality focuses on the simultaneity and multiplicity of oppressions (Murphy et al, 2009).

Different authors have used varying textual imagery or metaphors to convey the notion of intersectionality. Hill Collins (1990) suggests that "interlocking systems of race, class and gender" constitute a "matrix of domination" while Crenshaw defines intersectionality as "the multidimensionality of marginalized subjects lived experiences" (quoted in Nash, 2008, p.2).

> Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection may flow in one direction and it may flow in another. If an accident happens at an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of directions and sometimes from all of them. Similarly, if a black woman is harmed because she is at the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination. (Crenshaw quoted in Conaghan, 2009, p. 3)

The aim of the intersectionality perspective is to situate "women and men in multiple systems of domination" (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996, p. 324). Persons at the axis of multiple and intersecting identities are at risk of being left out of their constituent identity groups on account of being non-prototypical members. This creates "an experience of social invisibility" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 380) for these members. The social invisibility is seen in cases where the histories and experiences of persons is deemphasized or misrepresented; when cultural representations do not adequately do justice to the experiences of groups; when they are neglected by advocacy groups and when the existing frameworks of the legal system do not

adequately take into account the multiplicity of the subordinate identities concerned. An intersectional perspective is ideal to give voice to such underrepresented groups as well as groups who have typically been essentialized in feminist scholarship (Nash, 2008).

This intersectional perspective recognises concepts such as race/ethnicity and gender to be socially constructed categories (Murphy et al, 2009), the meaning and composition of which have changed historically and situationally, reflecting the changing dynamics of gender, race/ethnic, and class relations over time (Stasiulis, 1999; Ng, 1993). Additionally these constructions are constituted relationally (Stasiulis, 1999), where one can only understand one category in contrasting it with its opposite (for example: Black/White). Hill Collins (2000) reflects that these categories are produced and sustained though a range of "interlocking inequalities" that constitutes a "matrix of domination." Within this matrix, individuals can encounter both oppression and opportunity (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996) based on their subject locations. Thus, a racialized minority immigrant who has come into the country on an economic class may be disadvantaged in comparison to a White woman in Canada but may hold some privileges when compared to a woman who has immigrated under the family class. There is a rejection of an "added on" analytical framework, where race was added on to an analysis of gender relations or gender added on to a race based analysis. Intersectional theorists instead suggest that oppressions are "simultaneous and linked" (Browne & Misra, 2003), where one kind of oppression influences and affects another. The concept of a hierarchy of oppressions is similarly rejected. Oppressions are viewed as multiple, simultaneous and interrelated (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996). The systems of oppression are interlocked with each other and come to exist "in and through one another" (Fellows & Razack, 1998). For example a particular experience, such as sexual harassment, can be differently defined based on one's multiple and simultaneous identities (Welsh et al, 2006).

An intersectional analysis also points to the interrelatedness between persons in society. For example in the recently modified Live in Caregiver Program in Canada, the gains of one group of women happened at the cost of others (Bakan & Stasiulis; 1995). Dominant groups perpetuate their control over resources by promoting ideologies that make social inequalities appear normal or natural (Sidanius & Pratto in Browne & Misra, 2003). In the case of the live-in caregivers discussed by Bakan and Stasiulis, the household work is denigrated as "naturalized","

trivialized" and "unskilled" and "further devalued as it passes along class, race, ethnic or migration lines from women who choose not to do it to other women who perform it in employers' households" (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995, p. 331).

While much intersectionality thinking has focused on race, gender and class as the axes of oppression, there is an acknowledgment that there can be other oppressions expressed simultaneously and equally by different groups (George & Ramkissoon, 1998) such as age, ability, sexual orientation (Shields, 2008), ethnicity, colonialism, religion, language, culture, citizenship (Stasiulis, 1999) among others. Thus, while discussing the case of racialized minority immigrants, foreign credential and lack of Canadian experience can be viewed as other axes along which these immigrants are marginalized. Social location is of great importance in the intersectional perspective. One's racial identity, for example, can influence and impact beliefs and experiences of gender (Shields, 2008). An intersectional analysis complicates essentialist notions of what it means to be a "racialized minority immigrant." Country of origin, skin colour, language ability, professional qualifications (or lack of) all create axes within which different social locations for each individuals are positioned, affecting in turn their ability to negotiate their immigration and settlement experiences and eventual integration (or not) in Canadian society. Intersectionality urges us to define complex experiences in the fullest way possible and encourages us to pay attention to the voices at the margins, at standpoints most likely to be suppressed (Hill Collins, 1990).

As an epistemological tool, intersectionality points to the situated knower who occupies a particular subject location and can know from that position. Phoenix (2011) suggests that as an epistemological tool intersectionality constructs "ontological subjects as multiple, constructed through difference, complex and non-essentialist and so subject to change" (p. 139). Additionally, it points to the fluidity of this knowledge based on changing subject locations of the knower. Knowledge is seen as "always partial, dynamic and subject to the interplay of power relations" (Phoenix, 2011, p. 139).

Campbell (2015) cautions against the potential dangers of using an intersectional analysis with its emphasis on multiple categories, stating the "the over-arching problem is the objectification of research subjects that categorization introduces." She quotes Smith (2006) who suggests that starting research with such concepts are at odds with a study that purports to study

the lived actuality of a group of people. IE provides the tools to overcome this limitation of intersectionality, by allowing an exploration of class, gender, language ability and race as social relations enacted between actual people (Ng, 1993) in real time rather than rather than abstract categories of analysis. Far from trying to prove or disprove the existence of these analytical categories, I use the concept of intersectionality to guide my selection of participants and to alert me to the manner in which the unique social location of the participants might play out differently in the social organization of mothering work for these women. While many South Asian immigrant women are likely come from a broad spectrum of middle class backgrounds, language ability, educational levels and previous work experiences vary significantly among this group. These are important differences that are likely to place some women in more advantageous positions in the settlement process compared to their counterparts who might not have enjoyed such privileges. A challenge to the use of an intersectional analysis has been on relating how the disparities and relations of subordination are created. "We need a language to "relate and connect" diverse experiences of inequality with the structures, processes, practices and institutions in which they occur" (Conaghan, 2009, 41). Institutional Ethnography promises to provide these links. An intersectional analysis is compatible with IE in that it points to the inter-relatedness between persons in society. As a feminist researcher I am interested in creating "relational knowledge" that shows "how the varied circumstances of women and others are related through the web of social organization that connects us all" (DeVault & Gross, 2007, p. 191). Both IE and the inter-sectional perspective allow for viewing these interconnections.

Objectives

As detailed in the problematic of the research in Chapter 1, I was interested in understanding how South Asian immigrant women came to mother their children in Canada in ways that were not always in harmony with what they believed to be good mothering. I conceptualized South Asian immigrant mothers as being caught between ongoing pressures from transnational linkages, as well as from sometimes opposing pressures from Canadian institutions, regarding their mothering work. My research objectives are:

- To understand the everyday work of South Asian immigrant women in performing their roles as mothers in Canada.
- To understand how this everyday mothering work is shaped by the various institutional arrangements in society.
- To understand the influences of the mothers' ongoing trans-national linkages on this kind of parenting work.

Data Collection

The research focuses on data collected primarily through in-depth, semi-structured interviews. As I undertook the research from the standpoint of South Asian women, interviewing them to learn about their experiences seemed the appropriate methodology. Interviewing allowed for my participants to talk about their lives and work over which they have some level of expertise in a manner that they choose, thereby sharing power over the research process.[9] This is in keeping with the feminist ethic (described later in the chapter) that guides this study. Interviews are also complementary to my ontological position that people have experiences they can speak to, and which research can explore.

Further, interviews allow for an exploration of complex phenomena, that might not have been conceptualized before by the participants or which might be difficult to respond to through other methods of data collection. Interviews have been used as a data collection method in many IE studies (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Griffith, 2006; DeVault, 1991; Khayatt, 1995), underlining the utility of this method in IE. However, I am conscious of the manner in which the context of the interview shapes the information that is shared. The interviews sought to understand the participants' experiences which serve as an entry point in identifying social relations that organize those experiences, while acknowledging that the recounting of the experience is a function of "what she remembers and the interviewer's interest and attention" (Smith, 2005, p. 128).

[9] Work is understood in a generous sense as not only the activities but also the thinking and feeling about the activities (Smith, 2002).

I conducted interviews with 20 South Asian immigrant women about their everyday experiences/work of mothering their children. Through these interviews I attempted to obtain a detailed account about the activities of the women. Focussing on activities or the work they did allowed for a focus on the particular experience instead of on ideological ways of talking about parenting. McCoy (2006) suggests that the interview questions focus on understanding the nature of the work the informant does and the relation of this work to a larger discourse:

> What is the work that these informants are describing or alluding to? What does it involve for them? How is their work connected with the worlds of other people? What particular skills or knowledge seems to be required? What does it feel like to do this work? What are the troubles or successes that arise for people doing this work? What evokes the work? How is the work articulated to institutional work processes and the institutional order? (p. 110)

Through the data gleaned from these interviews, I developed both an understanding of the participant's work experiences, as well began to identify institutional fields that these experiences were located in and which could be further explored (McCoy, 2006).

I interviewed South Asian women who are raising school aged children in Canada and have been in the country for less than five years. Having school aged children ensured some kind of interaction between the mothers and institutions in Canadian society. It was anticipated that participants who have been in Canada for less than five years will be in the process of settling into the country and will be able to articulate the challenges of their mothering work in this current context. While the settlement period is generally understood to cover the first three years the immigrant has been in the country, many newcomers require settlement help beyond that time (Sadiq, 2004). Also, the five year time period allowed for capturing of experiences of persons for whom transnational linkages were still strong, allowing them to articulate the manner in which these influence their parenting in ways that immigrants who have been in Canada for longer periods of time might find difficult to do.

In IE, the focus of the research is on explicating the social relations that organize the everyday work of people and not on describing, comparing or collating data on individual experiences. Thus, the concept of a "sample" as it exists in other research methodologies does not really hold true for IE. In IE the selection of respondents is an institutional process rather

than one of individuals (Smith, 2002). IE requires that data be collected from participants who can speak to varied circumstances (DeVault & McCoy, 2006).

I purposefully chose to invite participants for my research through two very different sources. First, I posted calls for participation (Appendix A) on internet groups that largely serve the South Asian or immigrant community. This method of recruitment was targeted at women with English language advantage who were comfortable on Social Media and were likely to be highly educated/professionally trained. Thirteen participants were either recruited directly through such methods or through referrals from others who were recruited through such methods. A second method involved posting fliers with a call for participants in settlement service agencies that had a large number of South Asian clients in a few regions in Ontario. Seven participants who took part in Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC) classes responded to such calls. As the women faced language barriers in Canada, their experiences promised to be diverse from those recruited through the other method.

A majority of the participants were interviewed in libraries, community centres, coffee shops, the premises of agencies or educational institutes, and, in one case, the participant's home. Two interviews were conducted over the phone; one due to time constraints on part of the participant and the other due to a significant geographic distance. Nine interviews were conducted in English as the women were very comfortable speaking in the language. When I felt that the interviewees were not as comfortable in English, I provided the option of speaking in Hindi or its sister tongue Urdu. Eleven participants chose to have their interviews in Hindi/ Urdu. An informed consent (see Appendix B) was collected from each participant prior to data collection. The participants were assured confidentiality of the information they shared with me through the changing of all identifying information in the research report, including the use of pseudonyms for each research participant. In IE, questions for the research are not rigidly determined at the beginning of the study but emerge out of the research process (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). However, to facilitate the interview, a semi-structured interview guide was used (See Appendix C).

Each interview was between 1-3 hours long and audio recorded after seeking permission for the same. Hand written notes were taken at each interview as backup in case of a failure of

the recorder. Each participant was offered a small honorarium (a $15 Tim Horton's coupon) as a token of appreciation for their time and sharing.

Profile of the Participants

As can be seen in Table 9.1 (Appendix D) the participants had been in the Canada from between 6 months to 5 years. India was the country of origin for a majority of the participants (n=16), followed by Pakistan (n=4). Seven participants had lived for a number of years in the middle-east before immigrating to Canada. While I did not ask the participants about their religious affiliation, the interviews revealed that a majority of the participants followed the Hindu religion (n=13), followed by Islam (n=5). One participant was Sikh and another Christian. Nine participants were married and lived with their husbands in Canada, three were married but lived geographically separated, four were divorced and one was widowed. All children were from current or past marriages. A majority of the participants (n=16) had two children. Two participants had only one child each and two participants had three children each. The children's ages ranged from 2-24 years. A majority of the participants (n=18) had a university education. Nine participants had professional qualifications, two had graduate degrees and seven possessed undergraduate degrees. Only two participants had a high school or lower educational qualification. Language ability of immigrants is an important factor determining their adjustment into the country. The proficiency in the English language ability of the participants could be gauged by whether or not they preferred to have their interviews in English. Nine of the participants were very comfortable with the English language and the interviews were conducted completely in English. Eleven of the participants preferred to have the interview in Hindi/Urdu. Of these, seven attended LINC classes.

Eight key informant interviews were conducted with persons who engaged with (South Asian) immigrant families in their work on an ongoing basis for insights into how their work connected to the work of the South Asian mothers. They included an elementary school teacher, an ESL teacher in a public school, a subject teacher in an ESL high school, and two staff from an NGO that focused on the South Asian immigrant community (a Child-Parenting Worker and Child-Parenting Program Manager); a Child Protection Worker, a family lawyer whose clientele

predominantly came from the South Asian community, and, a past English Language Assessor. I also consulted a food and nutrition expert and a community activist for insights into specific aspects of my data related to their field of expertise. The selection of key informants happened organically, based on what my participants were sharing. I met with key informants when I felt I needed further clarification from the point of view of an expert (nutrition expert or community activist) or to understand how the work of the participant links to the work of the work of professionals the participants' narratives eluded to (teachers, language assessors, child welfare workers, lawyers for example).

While interviewing participants for this study, I was conscious of the manner in which texts are referred to— what DeVault & McCoy (2006) refer to as "listening for texts" (p.34). Where possible I asked for copies of these texts and discussed with the participants concrete ways in which the texts shape their day to day work.

Transcription and Translation

The Hindi/Urdu interviews were translated and transcribed by a South Asian translator/transcriber who was familiar with the context of immigration and settlement in Canada. I ensured the validity and reliability of each transcription by going over each transcript carefully. Lapadat (2000) reminds us that visiting and re-visiting the transcript can also help the researcher to develop greater familiarity with the data and draw meaning from it.

Translation is not a value neutral process and neither is it objective (Wong & Poon, 2010). One word can have multiple meanings and the translator may unconsciously choose words to describe the translated text that might alter the meaning of the sentence. As I am familiar with Hindi myself and had conducted many of the interviews in the language, I was able to verify the translated version based on the context the participant was describing in the interviews. Literal translations can sometimes make for convoluted sentence structures. While presenting the text as quotes in the following chapters, I have, when necessary, smoothed out the translated text to enable easier reading while remaining true to the content of the narrative. The transcriptions from the English language interviews were not altered, as the participant's language (though at varying levels of fluency) did not interfere to the same extent with

understanding what they were trying to convey. When I have had to interject an explanation while quoting a narrative, I have done so using square brackets to clarify or provide context to a section of the quote.

Data Analysis

The analysis in IE is unlike other more traditional qualitative research methodologies where the emphasis may be on coding and creating themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994), presenting the essence of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 1998), or inductively creating theory that describes their experiences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In IE, the analysis is focused on understanding and explaining how the local experiences came into being so that the actors in this local experience come to understand and talk about their experiences the way they do every day (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). Analysis in IE does not stop at the ethnographic level; it continues to examine "how work in one institutional site connects with the work of others in other such sites" (Smith, 2002).

There is no one fixed method of approaching IE data analysis. Institutional Ethnographers have focused on identifying discursive practices that shape experiences (Griffith, 2006); understanding how the work of a group of people is shaped by social relations of class, gender and race (DeVault, 1991), or by policies and needs of institutions (Ueda, 1995; Diamond, 1992); on mapping complex sequences of work and texts into which different persons, in and across societal institutions, are made to participate (Turner, 1995); or, a combination of one or more of these strategies.

In analyzing data for this study, I started from the particulars of the interview data and identified from the participants' talk references to the institutions that organise their work and shape it in particular ways. Apart from focussing on "what" the participants describe as their experience, it was important to focus on "how" the participants came to speak about their experiences in this manner (McCoy, 2006). The next step was to explore and describe in some detail a portion of the institutional relations that have been identified through the interview data. This proved to be quite challenging as no one key institution appeared to shape the work of the

mothers (in its broadest sense), though a few institutions such as the school and child welfare did stand out as more influential in shaping the work.

The key informant interviews revealed that many newcomer South Asian families are vulnerable to child welfare intervention on account of a combination of settlement related stress, domestic violence, poverty, and alternate values in relation to parenting. Two participants of my study had histories that included involvement with family law and child welfare on account of being victims of domestic abuse. As single mothers with low language ability and dependent on social welfare, they cared for the children despite many challenges. Already judged by the courts to be suitable parents, their parenting was not closely monitored by the social workers concerned as long as they continued to care for their children in ways deemed fit by the courts/child welfare.

The interviews with the child welfare worker and the family lawyer threw light on the ways in South Asian immigrant parents come to the attention of the state institutions, and the processes involved in shaping their mothering in ways that are articulated to the ruling relations. The interviews described instances where child welfare and the state are called to investigate the parenting within a family, and of ways in which the everyday mothering/parenting of these families becomes questionable and actionable through practices involved in such scrutiny. However, following the institutional trails indicated by those interviews would have made this thesis unmanageable. As all my study participants had been involved with the school system, it is the interviews with the key informants within the school system and the manner in which their work is connected with that of the mothers which has been taken up and followed through in this study.

Ethical Considerations

Dominant codes of ethical social science research stress the importance of informed consent, the opposition to deception, the ensuring of privacy and confidentiality of the participants and research locations, and accuracy. While this research conforms to the code of ethics required of a study conducted within an academic institution, it is not limited by these codes. Rather, it strives to adhere to the codes of “Feminist ethics”, which highlight the need for the research

process to incorporate a notion of common good, inter-relationships and feelings of cooperation (Christians, 2003), and where the emphasis is on an ethics of care (Preissle, 2007). This radical position states that ethics cannot be measured "against a checklist of rights and wrongs" but is "processual," "mediated through self-reflexivity" of the researcher and the representations of the researched (Ferdinand et al, 2007, p. 520). A feminist ethic calls for sensitivity to the manner in which the researcher and researched are positioned with regards to privilege and oppression.

The manner in which the research data gleaned from women is represented is also an ethical consideration— a feminist research ethic requires that the participants be "acknowledged as active agents actively located in history- as makers of the worlds around them rather than mere victims of an overarching patriarchy" (DeVault & Gross, 2007, p. 187). In starting from the standpoint of South Asian immigrant women and explicating the manner in which they actively negotiate their parenting in the light of many challenges, this research recognises the agency of these women and shows them to be active participants in the social relations that they work within.

Reflexivity

Fook (2001) describes reflexivity as "the ability to recognise the influence of the researcher's whole self and context (social, cultural and structural) on every aspect of the research and the ability to use this awareness in the research act itself" (p, 127). The call for reflexivity in qualitative research arose in opposition to traditional positivistic traditions of value neutrality and distance between the researcher and researched. A researcher's identity has a powerful effect on the research process, and the call for reflexivity acknowledges the emotions, values and politics that the researcher brings to the table. Feminist research, in particular, calls for a high level of reflexivity in examining the manner in which the researcher is intertwined in the research process. As Charmaz (2007) notes, "The objective, disinterested, neutral observer resides in the past. We are part of the research project; we are intertwined in what we study and how we study it" (p. 447).

I am conscious of my subject location and the manner in which it makes me both an 'insider" and an "outsider" to the study and its subjects and the manner in which this might affect

access to the participants and the analytical process. As a South Asian woman, an immigrant and mother, I share some key similarities with my study participants. Indeed, the very problematic of the study emerged out of my own experiences of discomfort around how the parenting in South Asian immigrant families was being perceived in Canada, and the actions I felt we, as immigrant mothers, had to take to change in order to fit in. However, there were many differences between many of my participants and me. Not all the participants shared my comparative class advantage as reflected in a professional education from India and Canada and language ability in English, and correspondingly the social capital I can access/create for myself. Important, also, is my subject location as a social work professional and the ways in which this identification affected my research—including the consent form where I was obligated to state my "duty to report" any information shared with me that is likely to cause harm to any person or lead to his/her neglect. The literature is divided on whether having an insider status provides epistemic privilege. Griffith (1998) advises us that though having an insider status at the beginning of the research is invaluable in bringing authenticity to the research, it does not mean to warrant claims for epistemic privilege as "a theory of knowledge grounded inside social boundaries is simply not sufficient" (p. 375).

Power in the Research Process

Power relations are inherent in research, with the researcher traditionally placed in a position of power as compared to the researched. Halse and Honey (2005) caution us to be cognisant of the role of power and politics that are entwined in research ethics which forms an important part of the research process. They posit that researchers are subordinated to the expertise and authority of the ethics committees from whom they are legally required to receive approval. The process of ethics approval also creates a hierarchy between the researcher and the participant as the former is constructed as an objective and knowledgeable researcher, who can get to the truth about the research participants. The researched, in turn, become positioned as passive objects of the research who know less than the researcher (Halse & Honey, 2005).

The approach recommended by IE used in this study addresses issues of power. This research is taken up from the standpoint of South Asian immigrant women experiencing a

disjuncture in relation to their parenting. In IE, participants are viewed as experts on the work that they do. Furthermore, the goal is to understand the manner in which their experiences are structured by institutional relations beyond their immediate experience, redressing their exclusion from knowledge that affects them (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). The entire research endeavour is a process of emancipation, where knowledge and understanding is created for a section of society that experiences the research problematic.

Conclusion

This chapter has spelled out the theoretical underpinnings and methodology of this study. The next chapter introduces the concept of the Standard North American Family as an ideological code and traces, through textual analysis, practices that construct South Asian immigrant families as different.

Chapter 4: The Standard North American Family and the Ideological Construction of South Asian Immigrant Families

In this chapter I propose that "ideological codes" around the "Standard North American Family" (SNAF) (Smith, 1993), and associated mothering practices serve to mark the South Asian immigrant family and mothering practices therein, as different, or somehow "less than ideal". The first part of this chapter describes the SNAF as an ideological code and the manner in which this ideological code and associated Mothering discourses function to regulate the work of the mother in the interests of the ruling relations. The second part of the chapter focuses on how the texts operate in the ideological processes by creating objectified knowledge about immigrants and their parenting as different as and less ideal than that of SNAF. I use two sets of texts— a booklet for service providers working with immigrant families, and recent media reports of "honour killings"—to exemplify such objectification. This discussions in this chapter are illustrative of the context within which the findings of this research will be examined.

The Standard North American Family as an Ideological Code

An ideological code (Smith, 1993) is "a schema that replicates its organization in multiple and various settings" (p. 2). Just like a genetic code that transmits its genetic information to different parts of the human body reproducing its original organization, an ideological code consists of "procedures for selecting syntax, categories, and vocabularies of texts, and the production of talk and for interpreting sentences, written or spoken ordered by it" (Smith, 1993, p. 52). When we think of what it is to be 'Canadian' or of imagery associated with a 'Canadian family', we are often tapping into the ideological code around the Standard North American Family (SNAF). Smith (1993) identifies the SNAF as

> a conception of the family as a legally married couple sharing a household. The adult male is in paid employment; his earnings provide the economic basis of the family-household. The adult female may also earn an income, but her primary responsibility is to the care of the husband, household, and children. Adult male and female may be parents (in whatever legal sense) of children also resident in the household. (p. 52)

It is important to stress that the SNAF is not a reflection of reality, but is an ideological imagery of what Canadian families are. In reality, family formations have been changing in Canada over the years as has been captured by the ever-broadening understanding of what constitutes a family each census year (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Families today come in various shapes and forms, from lone parent to persons who lived outside of traditional family units and of increasing ethnic diversity. Data collected by the 2011 census reveals "today's census families are characterized by diversity" (Statistics Canada, 2013b, p. 3). Women's participation in the labour force is increasing, and in 2013 women made up 47% of the labour market participants (Statistics Canada, 2014b). Women participate in the labour force in large numbers despite having children. As an ideological code, the SNAF is not concerned with such realities. It is "not identifiable with any particular family" though "it applies to any" (p. 52). It is the reference point to which all other families are held up to and judged.

At the heart of the SNAF is the nuclear family that originated in the West along with industrialization and urbanization, and has become institutionalized through the 18th and 19th Centuries. The domestic division of labour within the nuclear family– father as bread earner, and mother as housekeeper and caregiver— emerged largely within the middle class and was facilitated by the establishment of the family wage (Hill, 2012). The living wage allowed women to stay home to look after children, simultaneously addressing concerns of the state regarding declining births when all members of the family worked outside the home (Smith, 1993) and keeping women out of the labour market (Fegan, 1994 in Swift, 2015). By the 1950s some sociologists like Talcott Parsons had started calling the nuclear family a higher form of evolution of the family: "Parsons opined that kinship dominated social structures in "primitive" societies, whereas non-kinship structures were dominant in "advanced" societies (Hill, 2012, p. 24).

In the current context, South Asian immigrants in Canada are predominantly nuclear families, where in a majority of cases, the man is the bread earner, while the woman remains at home to look after her children. Yet, the imagery associated with racialized minority immigrant families are not the ones associated with SNAF. It can be argued that this is because apart from being characterized by two parents and being middle class, the ideological SNAF is also undeniably White (Howe, 2012; Dua, 1999) and/or of British ancestry.

Historically, immigration to Canada has been tied to the wider context of state formation and capitalist expansion, and immigration policies have continued to hold on to the idea of Canada as a White settler society. Immigrants were selected to enter the country based on their "racial suitability" (Triadafilopoulos, 2006). In the late 19th century, settlers who were immigrants from the UK, Europe and the United States were attracted to Canada with offers of free land. This was to cater to the needs of the growing capitalist industry and commercial agriculture, and to ensure that Canada increased in size and prospered as a White settler society (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). When persons from China and India were admitted into Canada, it was done cautiously, balancing the need for cheap labor with the desire to maintain a White society (Dua, 2000, 2007; Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Historically, immigration policies prevented racialized minority immigrants from establishing families in Canada, restricting their status to that of temporary labour with a view to forming, maintaining and promoting a White nation state (Ng, 1998; Thobani, 2007).

Maintaining a fundamentally White Canadian citizenship continued to be a priority even in the 1900s. In 1947, Prime Minister McKenzie King assured the public that immigration policy would continue to select "desirable future citizens," and that the immigration policy is cognizant that Canadian public did not wish "large scale immigration from the Orient," as it was certain to result in "a fundamental alteration in the character of our population" (Multicultural Canada, 2014, p.2). By actively working to create and maintain a White citizenship on one hand, and through their efforts to "destroy, prevent, or disrupt the ability of people of colour to participate in family relations" (Dua, p. 243) on the other, the Canadian state has ensured that the dominant Canadian family formation has been not only nuclear but also White.

It was only in the 1960s that immigration regulations eliminating all forms of discrimination came to be (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). The reasons for this shift were a combination of market-driven forces that required more skilled labour than the traditional Western-European countries of immigration were able to provide (Li, 2003), as well as growing international pressure on Canada to change its discriminatory processes in relation to immigration (Triadafilopoulos, 2013). In 1867, John A. McDonald, the first prime minister of Canada, proclaimed that Canada was a "White man's country" (Dua, 2007), and though the demographic profile of Canadians has certainly shifted since the 19th century, Caucasians

continue to be the majority, and the dominant reference group to which all other groups (racialized minorities and Aboriginals) continue to become defined.

Traces of SNAF and the ideological construction of Canadian families as White/of British ancestry, middle class, and nuclear can be seen in parts/whole in many current societal institutions and practices. For instance, the short definition of a census family in Canada is "a married couple (with or without children), a common-law couple (with or without children) or a lone parent family." The long definition provides the various combinations within these broad parameters. Yet, these inclusions do not take into account different formations such as multi-generational families made up of two or more couples living under one roof or extended families made up of kin over and above the immediate nuclear family. Commenting on the changes the 2011 census reported on the Canadian family, a CBC news report (Sept, 9, 2012) states: "The mom-pop-and-three-kids-under-one-roof model that typified Canadian households of 50 years ago has morphed into a complex and diverse web of family ties involving living alone, remarriage, stepchildren, empty-nesters and multiple generations sharing a home."

Similarly, while immigration policy no longer discriminates based on ethnicity, it continues to construct families for the most part as nuclear. The boundaries of this construction have become increasingly narrowly defined as can be seen by changes in immigration policy that have reduced the age of the dependent child eligible for sponsorship under the family class visa from under 22 years to under 19 years. The nuclear family is also assumed to be the norm in Child Welfare legislation (Swift, 1995).

We also see traces of SNAF in the way the school day is set up. Though women make up almost half the labour force of the country, universal subsidized daycare is not available to most Canadians. Also, the school day schedule is not coordinated with that of the workforce and assumes that someone (presumably the mother) is available to drop off the child by 8.30 A.M and pick up the child by 3.30 P.M. with supervision provided in the home thereafter for children younger than 12 years of age.

SNAF is perhaps most visible in the depiction of Canadian families in Canadian parenting magazines. As Swift (1995) describes:

> Numerous glossy advertisements picture young, slender, White women cuddling healthy well-dressed youngsters. Few pictures of males beyond the age of four appear. Nearly all

> advice presupposes a two-parent, two-child family, with mother either at home full-time or organizing her paid work around what seemed to me an overwhelming number of child care concerns . . . these images and the advice proffered to parents propose expenditures of time, money, and energy commanded only theoretically even by those who fit the norm. Deeply embedded in these images are also images of 'ideal mothers.' Models who represent mothers in ads are usually white, young, well cared for, alert, attentive, attractive women. Often, nowadays they are also portrayed as professional women, juggling office responsibilities with home making and childcare. Of course, these 'mothers' represent not only ethnocentric ideals of motherhood, but ideals of womanhood as well. (p. 106)

A quick search of the cover pages of the 2013 issue of the popular magazine "Canadian Parenting" reveals that nothing much has changed since Swift's observations almost 20 years ago (See Appendix E).[10] A majority of the images on the cover pages of the magazine reflect the most commonplace understanding of what a "Standard North American Family" looks like - White, middle-class with a sharp gendered division of labour as noted by Swift.

Mothering Discourses and the SNAF

Swift (2015) summarizes the dominant discourse in relation to motherhood as: "motherhood is viewed as the main purpose of life of every woman and the most illustrious of states" (p. 882). Tracing the history of Motherhood discourses, Swift shows how in North America, historically the state has benefitted from controlling female fertility and using it for the purposes of the building of a White nation and to "contribute to the development of a large and prosperous White middle class needed to perpetuate and grow capitalism" (Swift, 2015, p. 882). Though mothering discourses as we know them today have been around for a long time, the "cult of motherhood" (Swift, 2015) intensified in the era of growing industrialization and the introduction of the "living wage" which contributed to clearly demarcated gendered division of labour within the nuclear family.

[10] The search was conducted within Google Images using the search parameters "Canadian family magazine" + 2013.

The mothering discourses were identified and named through the writings of feminist writers such as Friedan (1963) and Rich (1986), who questioned the disjuncture they experienced between what they thought they should be feeling and experiencing as mothers, and what they actually felt and perceived. The common ideas or myths that run through these dominant mothering discourses can be summarised as follows:

- Children can only be cared for properly by their mothers, and mothers must be the central/primary caregivers of their children;
- A mother must be willing to sacrifice her needs for her child, and must be all loving;
- The mother should spend large amounts of time/all of the time in nurturing, loving, caring and stimulating their child;
- Developing a bond with her child is crucial so as to prevent the child from future damage;
- Leaving children in care of others for long periods of time can lead to insecure attachment, and low self-esteem;
- The child is inherently good, and misbehaviour on part of the child is an indication of some need or that the mother is failing;
- For mothers attempting to juggle children and a career, the child must come first. Mothers must rely on experts for instructions on caring for their children. (Horwitz & Long, 2005; O'Reilley, 2004)

Feminist thinkers have disputed these conceptions. They have differentiated between the institution of motherhood which is "male-defined, and controlled and is deeply oppressive to women" and mothering which is understood to be "experiences of mothering that are female-defined and centered and potentially empowering to women" (O'Reilly, 2004, p.2). Research with first-time mothers (Miller, 2007) has contested myths around the naturalness of mothering. Others have challenged the notion that it is only the mother who can provide care to the child (Buskens, 2001; Hill Collins, 2007). Yet, others (Glen, Chang, & Forcey, 1994) deconstruct myths around the interdependence of mothers and children by historicising the moments when these myths started emerging, as with the emergence of psychoanalysis in the 1920s and 30s that theorized that being a "normal" woman involved a desire for children. The mothering discourses as summarized above have been shown to be rooted in theories of development such as

attachment theory and cognitive development theory (Horwitz & Long, 2005; O'Reilley, 2004). The literature describes the role of dominant theories on child development such as the Attachment Theory as promoted by Bowlby and Piaget's Theory of Development in emphasizing the primacy of the mother as the caregiver of the child (Horwitz & Long, 2005). Such theories continue to guide current thinking on parenting and leave many mothers unsure whether they have done a good enough job, adding to the pressure to be constantly engaged with the child. Such theories contribute to making the mother's work "child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays in Horwitz & Long, 2005, p. 100).

While mothering discourses assign women the sole responsibility of caring for their children, they are expected to rely on "experts" from various fields for instructions on the best ways to do so. Horwitz and Long (2005) note that "the voices in the mother discourse are those of experts – politicians, academics, physicians, media personalities and those in positions of power" (p. 100). Prior to the industrial economy, women mothered along with other members of society while also attending to work related to sustaining the household (Buskens, 2001). According to Buskens, the rise of "instrumental rationality" (p. 76) in the late 19th century, led to an increased interest and regulation of all aspects of societal life in the interest of efficiency. While mothers were vested with the responsibility of shaping the autonomous, self-reliant citizen required by modern society, they were to rely on the expert advice of professionals in order to do so. In keeping with this, the 1920s and 1930s saw literature that advised mothers against picking up the child each time it cried as it was in need of discipline and needed to learn the "important habit of living according to a strict and efficient schedule" (Eyer in Buskens, 2001, p. 99). In the post-World War II period, there was a spurt in the field of developmental psychology. This new research indicated that mothers were required to do much more than just see to the physical well-being of the child. The mother had an important role to play in the psychological and emotional well-being of her child (Wall, 2010). Children were seen to be in need of constant gratification (Buskens, 2001), and it was incumbent on the mother to anticipate and address the child's every need (Wall, 2010). Backed by psychoanalytical theories of attachment and bonding, experts advised an "immersion" style of mothering and decreed that a "good" or "natural" mother is one who is consistently available to the child at all times of the day or night (Buskens, 2000, p. 101).

Griffith and Smith (2005) trace the historical trajectory of the mothering discourse to identify it to be an outcome of the bureaucratization of the state machinery in the United States in the late 1900s, and its accompanying changes in economy and the manner in which business functioned. The new forms of corporations that emerged during the period required a separation of ownership and control. These developments facilitated the emergence of "a distinctive mode of organising society independent of particular individuals and particular local settings and relationships" (p. 18), which the authors name "relations of ruling." These relations of ruling required the creation of a new middle class comprised of individuals who could create and use standardized and interchangeable knowledge and skills in organizations. Unlike the old middle class that inherited their occupations from family relations, the new middle class is comprised of individuals who were dependent on their individual enterprise and the awarding of certification from standardized educational bodies. The discourse on mothering that emerged during this period can be viewed as an outcome of the changes within institutions, which in turn were responding to the changes in the ways in which the economy and the polity were being organized. The mothers' role was to prepare their children to participate in the type of education required, so as to transmit their middle class status to their children.

Mothering discourses have also been seen as related to the rise of neoliberalism and the "easing of social responsibility and the promotion of an individualistic society" (Horwitz & Long, 2005, p. 99). A neoliberal economy stresses the reduction of government in the management of the economy and gives primacy to markets (Gamble, 2007). Neoliberalism emphasizes efficiencies and productivity that can be maximized by "promoting people's free will and self-sufficiency" (Song in Vandenbeld Giles, 2014a). The relationship between neoliberalism and the nuclear family form is well described by Porter (2012 in Root et al., 2014):

> Neoliberalism pushes for the self-sufficient family while neo-conservatism pushes for traditional nuclear constructions of the family. These values combine to ideally situate the family to succeed in a neoliberal world where many social supports have become downloaded onto the family and privatized to the market place. (p. 7)

Griffith and Smith (2014) note that since the 1950s the Canadian government has been moving away from "service to citizens" towards what they call a "service relation to capital." Part of this shift has involved the creation of a labour force oriented to providing service to

employers. Vandenbeld Giles (2014b) has noted the role of mothers and the mothering discourse in the "reproduction of future neoliberal workers" (pg. 6). Expert advice to parents about how to interact with their children was based typically on observations of middle class, able-bodied, male children (Phoenix, Woollet & Lloyd, 1991). While the mothering discourses emerged from racially and economically privileged spaces, these discourses shape the manner in which many mothers across North America continue to take up or evaluate their mothering practices (Ranson, 2004; Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luken & Vaughan, 2006).

Individualistic philosophy, a legacy of the Enlightenment era in Europe and Liberal ideologies, underlines the nuclear family system and the mothering discourses described above. Such a philosophy stresses individual freedom and self-reliance.

> The notion of parents as the exclusive and usually only caregivers for their children is closely wedded to the individualistic philosophy that is so basic to our social and economic life. Individualism provides the logic and moral force supporting the delegation of caring responsibilities to individual parents regardless of the resources to carry them out. (Swift, 1995, p. 101)

The messages to mothers about the importance of raising self-reliant and independent children and the expertise of professionals to help parents raise children are recurring themes in modern-day parenting books. In these texts, emotional separation of adolescents from parents is considered natural psychological task for teens, and a phenomenon to be encouraged. Dr. Spock, has been a household name in parenting advice for over 60 years. Parenting books continue to be sold under his brand name and very latest of one such book that has sold over 50 million copies suggests:

> Adolescents have to separate themselves emotionally from their parents in order to find out who they are and what they want to be. Yet they are basically made from their parents- not only because they have inherited their genes from them but also because they have been patterning themselves after them all their lives. So they must now pry themselves apart. (Spock & Needleman, 2012, p. 23)

Parents are encouraged to allow children to think for themselves, take responsibility for themselves and even make mistakes as essential steps on this journey of separation: "Mistakes, as long as they are not too serious, are great teachers" (Spock & Needleman, 2012, p. 23). Expert

professionals like doctors and teachers are seen as helpful individuals who would be able to help the child and youth when parents cannot be trusted to do so. In the context of acceptance of same sex relationships for example, Dr. Spock suggests that when harsh societal taboo makes it difficult for teens to show affection or talk about feelings regarding homosexuality, "a sensitive doctor can provide information and reassurance. Allowing such conversations to take place is one reason teens should have a chance to talk confidentially with their doctors without a parent present, at each annual visit" (Spock & Needleman, 2012, pg. 36).

As adolescents move into adulthood, questioning and even rejecting parental suggestions and advice is seen as natural and normal, and part of the process of exercising their own individuality and attaining autonomy. Parents are advised to not only expect such behaviour, but also accept it as normal: "Certainly as they [adolescents] progress into adulthood, they must be prepared to reject advice on occasion [from their parents] and to take responsibility for their decisions" (Spock & Needleman, 2012, p. 55). A child's autonomy from his/her parents is seen as a right, and parents are advised to understand that and accept the same. "Most adolescents want more freedom than their parents give them. It's natural for children approaching adulthood to insist on their rights, and parents need to be reminded that their children are changing" (Spock & Needleman, 2012, p. 37).

In relation to disciplining children, Spock and Needleman (2012) advise parents that while spanking was considered necessary for disciplining in the "olden days", "in the twenty-first century, as parents and professionals have studied children here and in other countries, they have come to realize that children can be well behaved, cooperative, and polite without ever having being punished physically." (p. 21). They recommend, for younger children, disciplining techniques such as a "formal time-out procedure."

The themes of child autonomy and self-reliance are also prominent in the writings of international best-selling author Barbara Coloroso (2001) who distinguishes between three kinds of families— the brick wall family, the jelly fish and the backbone. The brick wall family is characterized by hierarchy of control, enforcement of strict rules, use of threats, bribes, humiliation, rituals, rote learning, reliance on competition, conditional love, parents teaching children what to think not how to think, and the refusal of the family to seek help from professionals (pg. 25-27). At the other extreme, jellyfish families are characterized by anarchy

and chaos, lack of recognizable structure, rules or guidelines, arbitrary and instant punishments or rewards, mini lectures and putdowns, threats and bribes, the obliviousness of parents to major family problems, and their failure to seek help. The ideal family is the backbone family wherein

> structure is present and firm and flexible and functional. The backbone family provides the support and structure necessary for children to realize fully their uniqueness and to come to know their true selves, which are suppressed in brick-wall families and ignored in jellyfish families. They are empowered by trust in themselves, they are capable of love and empathy for themselves and others. Backbone families help children develop inner discipline and even in the face of adversity and peer pressure, they retain faith in themselves and in their own potential. (Coloroso, 2001, pp. 21–22)

In her book "Raising a self-reliant child," Dr. Alanna Levine (2013) goes as far as to suggest that raising a child for independence to promote self-reliance is a universal parenting principle: "There is a single real world principle - the Independence Principle – that comes as close as it gets to a universal approach to child rearing: instill independence to promote self-reliance" (p. 2). Like Spock, she sees children learning from their own mistakes as essential to become self-sufficient and competent individuals:

> Parents can be present as guides but it's the children who should do the work, make the mistakes and learn from them. Isn't the very essence of growing up becoming increasingly self-sufficient and competent? Proficiency develops only if we grant children the space to achieve on their own. (Levine, 2013, p. 9)

The literature discussed above demonstrates that far from being natural, the SNAF and associated mothering discourses are a creation of the economy and its accompanying social and ideological arrangements (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Buskens, 2006; Dua; 1999), aimed at the creation of a self-reliant and independent future citizen that suits the purpose of a neoliberal society. Mothering discourses aimed at the creation of the autonomous individual thrive even today. When the SNAF and associated mothering discourses are the lens through which the family is viewed and assessed, particular features of South Asian immigrant families can come to be seen as lacking, or even threatening to the accomplishment of ruling as we will see in the next part of this chapter.

Texts and the Objectification of Knowledge about South Asian Immigrants' Parenting

I suggest that when the terms "visible minority", "immigrant," and "South Asian" are used in the academic or media discourses to describe a family, they become, in a sense, interchangeable. This is because even though they mean very different things in their actuality, they are all used to refer to the notion of being "different" from an idealized norm that constitutes the Standard North American Family. "Tradition" and "culture" are two words that frequently shadow any reference to South Asian families in the popular imagery, and by association to immigrants. Many media or academic accounts of South Asians and their families refer to these two concepts. While every society has tradition and a culture, in the context of South Asian families, I suggest these words bring to mind an imagery of religiosity, authoritarian parenting, and patriarchal relationships that are abusive to women and children. This is a function of the ideological process of creating objectified knowledge about immigrants.

Texts are central to the objectification of knowledge. The process of objectification of knowledge about a phenomenon involves the production of social facts by separating them from the lived experience from which the facts may have originally been based (Smith, 1990). In the analysis of the texts that follow, I will show how these ideological processes take place. The textual analysis will demonstrate how media and professional accounts of immigrants are dominated by ideas of difference from the norm, and the manner in which immigrant/South Asian/Muslim families become associated with notions of risk and culturally sanctioned domestic violence. The texts used for this analysis include: A booklet for service providers working with immigrant families and recent media reports of "honour killings." I argue that such texts create descriptions of South Asian/ immigrant families that highlight and amplify the negative role of culture and religion in the South Asian community. This particular telling makes invisible many positive aspects of family relationships and parenting in the family. It also serves to underline the perceived differences between "Canadians" and their values and "immigrants" and their perceived different values that become frames of reference through which all South Asian families can be viewed. The descriptions of South Asian immigrant families in the text construct ideological accounts of South Asian immigrant families that allow for institutional responses to control or regulate the differences.

Text 1: A Booklet for Service Providers Who Work with Immigrant Families

This booklet by Preston, subtitled *On Issues Relating to Child Discipline, Child Abuse and Child Neglect*, has been written for service providers who deal with "ethno-cultural communities." These communities are further described as "minority families, especially immigrant families" (2001, p. 1). Thus, though the title of the booklet uses the words "immigrant families," the term is used as a proxy for racialized families, and it is their parenting practices that are seen as requiring a special booklet for service providers.

The booklet claims to describe the "concerns and questions that minority families, especially immigrant families, are likely to have about issues relating to child discipline, child abuse and child neglect" (p. 1). It further claims that understanding these questions, and the reasons immigrant families might have these questions will help the service provider work more effectively with such families from "other cultures." These opening statements clearly outline the assumption that being a helping professional is not associated with either being a racialized person or an immigrant and conversely, that "immigrants" are associated with a culture and value system different from that of other Canadians. While the booklet does highlight the fact that "No ethnic group condones sexual abuse or physical abuse of children" (p. 2) it goes on to clarify that "but the understanding of what constitutes "physical abuse" varies from family to family and culture to culture."

The booklet identifies ways in which the concept of neglect might vary among these families compared to common understanding of the term among Canadians, for example "keeping a daughter home to look after a sick sibling." It also indicates that immigrant families might be wary of authority figures and may believe that "authorities have no right to interfere with their child-rearing or child discipline practices" (p.4). While many Canadian born families might also share such a sentiment, the booklet makes such a sentiment specific to immigrant groups.

Though the author encourages helping professionals to recognise the stressors immigrant families face (and lists the same), she cautions that this not be used as an excuse to tolerate abuse. The text highlights perceptions, attitudes and reasons why immigrant parents might condone corporal punishment, and fear or resist authority, or external intervention. Under the section titled "risk factors", the text elaborates on a list of risk factors that immigrant children

have in common to all other "at risk" families such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of social supports. A second set of problems are then listed that associate immigration and acculturation related stressors such as cultural clash between the generations as catalyst for family problems. A third list is then added that accounts for "other stressors" such families might face such as language barriers or fear of cultural loss. While risk assessment instruments might do so for all low-income families, the specific focus on immigrant families homogenizes differences across immigrant groups and focuses on cultural factors as cause of potential maltreatment.

The text highlights perceptions, attitudes and reasons why immigrant parents might condone corporal punishment, resist authority, or fear external intervention. The author advises us that though helping professionals need to understand the stresses on immigrant parents, these stresses should not be condoned:

> It is important to understand the stresses on immigrant parents, and to link those parents to appropriate services when possible. It is equally important not to accept such stresses as excuses for abuse, because most people who face such stresses do not become abusive. (Preston, 2001, p. 5)

Despite its good intentions to help professionals deal with immigrant families and to represent some perspectives on how immigrant families might view social service interventions, what the booklet actually ends up doing is marking clear boundaries around racialized immigrant families, marking them as different and "other." It clearly identifies (racialized minority) immigrant parents as a high-risk, potentially abusive population who might be resistant to intervention. Noticeably absent in the text is any mention of strengths that such families might have that can be used effectively in intervening in immigrant families, or the need for cultural appropriateness of service.

The booklet is a document produced for the Public Health Agency of Canada and distributed through the website. As such it could be seen as representing the "official" views or lens on immigrant parenting though the standard caveat "The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Health Canada" is mentioned. There is an absence of justification of any of the statements in the booklet. No research is referenced, nor appears to be necessary to be referenced. The statements flow as a series of well-established facts that hold true for all immigrant families that professionals may encounter,

contributing to the ideological circuit that produces immigrant families as different and potentially dangerous to their children.

Text 2: Newspaper Coverage of "Honour Killings" in South Asian Families

Two cases of familial homicide in South Asian families have shocked Canada like no other in recent years: the horrific killing of 16 year old Aqsa Parvez at the hands of her father and brother in 2007 (Rogan, 2008; O'Toole, 2010) and the cold blooded murders of three female children/teens and one adult relative of the Shafia household in 2009 (CBC News 2011, December 5; CBC News 2011, December 2; Dalton, 2012, Daly, 2012). In both cases the perpetrators claimed that they had killed the victims to maintain the "honour" of the family in light of the "shame" that the victims had allegedly brought to the family on account of behaviour such as wearing western clothes and dating. Sensationalized as "honour killings" these deaths have generated much debate on the place of immigrant families in Canadian society. I decided to focus on an analysis of "honour killings" reported in the media based on a search of English language media articles on South Asian immigrant parenting in Canada that revealed a disproportionate amount of coverage on the issue in the past ten years.[11] In this section I review 13 newspaper articles and editorials that focused on the Aqsa Parvez and Shafia family killings to explore how the depiction of South Asian/immigrant families as different, and the parenting within as violent, traditional, backward, oppressive, and abusive to women and children is reproduced when the media sensationalises gross domestic violence within a few dysfunctional families in cultural terms.

"Honour killings" are understood to be "extreme acts of violence perpetrated upon a woman when an honour code is believed to have been broken and perceived shame is brought upon the family" (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007, p. 188). According to a report by the United Nations Population Fund, as many as 5,000 women are killed each year by family members in "honour" killings (UNPF, 2000, p. 3). The "honour" of the family is seen as being tied to the chastity of

[11] The media reports included news/editorials from CBC News Group (3), The Toronto Star Group (4), The Globe and Mail (2), The National Post (2), and Canwest News Service (2). Some of the writers of these articles are known for their right wing ideologies and writing that many readers might not necessarily subscribe to. However, in this era of social media and the proliferation of news it is likely that such news items are freely available for consumption to a much larger audience than would have been previously possible.

its women. The report informs us that "honour killings" have been reported in many countries around the world (Bangladesh, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda and the United Kingdom) and "tend to be more prevalent in, but are not limited to, countries with a majority Muslim population" (UNPF, 2000, p. 30).

Some feminists (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Grewal, 2013) have critiqued the use of the word "honour" and have illustrated the political and cultural contexts in which domestic violence in families is named as "honour killing." The concept serves to further marginalize abused racialized women caught in the "collision of discourses" – the concept of "honour" of the family on one hand that shames women into not reporting abuse, and multicultural discourses that emphasize non-interference in minority lifestyles on the other (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007, p. 187). As many of the reports of "honour killings" are within Muslim families, it feeds into growing "Islamaphobia" in the Western world, and to concepts of terrorism and risk to society from such cultures (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007; Grewal, 2013), or from the presumed incompatibility between Islam and Western values (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009).

My purpose of reviewing these articles is not to focus on the debates around "honour killings," but it is to show how the objectified knowledge created by such reports become frameworks through which immigrant families and South Asian families in particular can be viewed by readers of these texts. My view on "honour killings" is that it is an act of gross domestic violence against women, (that emerges out of unequal gendered power equations within the family and within society) resulting in the killing of individuals, and should be treated as such by the state. A focus on "race" and "ethnicity" within the "honour killing" discourse draws attention away from the most important issues at play – those of gender differences and inequalities (Meetoo & Mirza, 2007). As the High Commissioner of Human Rights, Navi Pillay states:

> The reality for most victims, including victims of honour killings, is that State institutions fail them and that most perpetrators of domestic violence can rely on a culture of impunity for the acts they commit – acts which would often be considered as crimes, and be punished as such, if they were committed against strangers. (U.N. News Centre, 2010, p. 1)

The media articles reviewed revealed three distinct themes. First, "honour killings" were portrayed as crimes different from other familial homicides or domestic violence, a crime steeped in culture and alien to Canadian society. Second, "honour killings" are viewed as a phenomenon associated with immigrants, and one that tests the limits of Canadian multicultural tolerance. Last, narratives associated with these killings paint a picture of immigrant families as backward, traditional, and oppressive to women and children.

"Honour Killings" as Different from Domestic Violence: A Crime Steeped in Culture and Alien to Canadian Society

The discussions around "honour killings' tend to focus entirely on the alleged motive behind the killing. "Honour killings" are seen to be alien concepts, different from deaths at the hands of family members that Canadians are more familiar with. The phenomenon is viewed as being imported from the East, and particularly prevalent within South Asian Muslim families and: "More prevalent in the Muslim world, it's a phenomenon many parents here can't even begin to comprehend" (Cohen, n.d).

The texts are careful to highlight what was seen as distinctions between these "honour killings," and deaths due to domestic violence in Western society and religious groups. These "distinctions" include the involvement of family members other than the intimate partner, the social sanctions provided by the culture and religion of those involved, and the statistical frequency of these killings in immigrant communities.

> The problem is not Western-style domestic violence, which is a private affair between intimate partners, nor is it a problem of religious patriarchy – fundamentalist Christians and Jews do not kill their daughters who disappoint them; they may shun or abandon them, but they do not generally assault them –rather it is a problem in cultures, with more than one religion espousing the same codes, from very specific areas. Hiding behind "domestic violence" is counter-productive. (National Post, 2010)

Following the trial verdict of the Shafia murder case, the Minister for Justice was quoted saying that "honour killings" were "barbaric and unacceptable in Canada" while Justice Bruce Durno who presided over the Aqsa Parvez case said that the murders had an "abhorrent

motivation" that called for a significant penalty (O'Toole, 2010). These statements appear to imply that domestic violence other than "honour killings" are somehow less abhorrent. By tying the motivation of "honour killings" to culture these kinds of statements allow "non-cultural" domestic violence to be concealed as individual crimes or pathology. Media reports of parents killing their children in non-racialized minority families are reported as "filicide" and almost always attributed to mental illness as seen in this newspaper coverage of the murders of three young children by a White Canadian father in "an alleged parental suicide pact":

> Human misery. Driven to commit such acts. Devastation. Are these some of the trappings of one of the most shocking of crimes, that of the parent murdering the child? In psychiatric terms, it's called filicide, a rare type of homicide that tends to therefore garner a lot of public attention. In Canada, while a suicide pact between the parents is practically unheard of, on average 50 children are murdered each year, 80 per cent of them by their parents. There is one main difference between filicide and most other homicides: it is strongly correlated with mental illness. (Chung, 2009, p. 1)

Violence against women and gross domestic violence leading to homicide within the family is not unique to immigrants or South Asians. Women are disproportionately the victims of familial homicide. Statistics (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2013) reveal that, in Canada, one woman is killed by her current or former intimate partner every six days. The country has seen 1567 familial homicides between the years 2000 and 2009, of which 47% (n=738) were spousal homicides, and 21% (n=326) were homicides committed by a family member against a child or youth below 17 years of age. In a majority of the latter cases (84%), the perpetrators of the crime were the parents of the victims (Statistics Canada, 2011a). By emphasizing culture in "honour killings," the texts conceal connections between more rampant forms of family homicide within the non-immigrant population and violence perpetrated by immigrants (Reimers 2007).

The newspaper reports depict "honour killings" as an unchanging feature of traditional societies where domestic violence is part of the "culture." The two cases become examples for unchanging and backward South Asian customs in which the entire communities become complicit. For example, one article states "The Parvez males came from a backward rural town with strict Islamic values and a culture of domestic violence" (Wente, 2010). The newspaper

reports depict South Asians as "cultural communities" with unhealthy practices that sanction violence against women and children. By attributing the complacency and cooperation of the women in the "honour killings" to culture rather than gross inequalities of power relations within specific families, the authors reinforce notions of difference between South Asian families and other Canadians.

The Canadian media is not unique in underlining differences between racialized persons/immigrants and non-racialized persons. Similar "boundary constructing" (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009) between immigrants (Muslims/East) and the dominant group (Christian/West) has been noted in other host countries (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Ehrkamp, 2010; Reimers, 2007). Analyzing newspaper accounts of "honour killings" in the Netherlands and Germany, Korteweg and Yurdakul (2009) found that much of the reporting of these incidences was done in ways that "posited stark differences between immigrants and majority society" (p.234). Similar to the findings of my own review, they found that media accounts of "honour killings" situated this violence as typical of immigrants and rooted in religion/culture. A majority of the articles were involved in a process of creating or highlighting differences between the majority group and immigrants (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). Reimers (2007) reviews media reports of the killing of a Kurdish woman by her father, an act hailed by the Swedish papers as "honour killing." Similar to Canadian news reports, media coverage on "honour killing" depicted such killing as an escalating social problem, specific to immigrants, or those culturally different from "Swedes." Further, lack of immigrant integration was seen as a pathway to "honour killing." The reports described integration as a personal responsibility of the immigrant, which included overcoming language, value, education and work barriers, living among other Swedish people, affirming gender-equity norms and believing in love-marriages.

"Honour Killing" Seen as a Phenomenon Associated with Immigrants and One that Tests the Limits of Canadian Multicultural Tolerance

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 recognizes the diversity of Canadians as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society, promises all citizens equal status, and professes to preserve and enhance their multicultural heritage. The Act promises the citizens of Canada the

freedom of cultural choice (Li, 1999b). "Persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion or to use their own language" (Ministry of Justice, 2013. p.2).

As has been observed in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2010), public discourses around "honour killings" in the Canadian media often formed the basis to discuss and debate the limits of Canadian Multiculturalism. As a panel discussant on the topic of "honour killings" questions, "should we be doing more to impress on immigrants that barbaric customs from their home countries are not acceptable here?" (National Post, 2010). Another article (Rogan, 2008) questioned whether Canada had become too tolerant of cultural differences, and named Muslim immigrants as a threat to Canadian liberal values.

Critics of the Multiculturalism policy have noted that the policy emphasizes the "song and dance" aspects of diversity which is non-threatening to the dominant racial group in Canada. The text below highlights the disjuncture between the official stance on immigrant integration, and the more commonplace assimilationist expectations of immigrants.

> "Multiculturalism" may exist as a popular catch phrase in academic circles and some forms of government literature. But the reality of Canadian life, especially since the Tories came to power, is that newcomers to this country are expected to adapt to our values, not the other way around. All this helps explain why Canadians react with so much revulsion and shock when some unassimilated immigrants do violate our norms – by shrouding women in burkas, imposing female genital mutilation on infants, sending teenage girls abroad for forced marriages, or, most tragically, killing their daughters in the name of "honour." (Kay, 2011)

Another article suggests that claiming "honour" and "culture" as a basis for killing is an attempt to seek a more lenient judicial sentence in an environment that is officially tolerant of difference. Here the term is seen as "a defence for murder by people hoping to take advantage of Canada's cultural sensitivity in order to receive a more lenient sentence" (Cohen, n.d). The article "Multiculturalism muffles 'honour killing' criticism" (Papp, 2010) suggests that the Multiculturalism Policy allows for immigrant communities to carry on with their customs while it puts down voices that would resist such customs.

Immigrant Families as Backward, Traditional and Oppressive to Women and Children

Aqsa Parvez's family had been in Canada since 1999, approximately eight years prior to her death. Yet, almost every newspaper that covered the killing referred to her father as an immigrant. Often the words/ideas around being an immigrant were quickly followed by the words traditional. For example the "honour killing" was referred to as "a murder to erase the shame of the men in an immigrant, traditionalist family from Pakistan" (Globe and Mail, 2010) and the father in the Shafia family murders as "upset that his two eldest daughters wanted boyfriends, betraying his traditional Afghan values" (O'Toole, 2010). The repeated focus on the perpetrators of both the killings as immigrants underlines the "outsider" status they (and other racialized persons like them) occupy in Canadian society.

Researchers have suggested that two images of immigrant women are presented to the public in "honour killing" accounts – the first as the oppressed victim of the immigrant man and her culture, and the second as a woman who aspires to be like the mainstream, "who aspires to be like 'us', who cherishes 'our values' and 'our way of living' (Brune in Reimers, 2007). The culture clash between the traditional, oppressive patriarchal relatives (and fathers in particular) and their "western-style freedom" (Globe and Mail, 2010) seeking daughters was a recurring theme through the reviewed media reports. In contrast to their traditional oppressive fathers steeped in culture and religion (characterized by not allowing daughters to work outside the house, controlling the daughters' movements, and putting restrictions on the daughters dress and socialization) the victims of the killings were depicted as teenagers with "normal" desires and wishes. These desires included wanting to wear Western clothes, hold a part time job, wear her hair down, not cover her face / show off her beauty, hang out with non-Muslim friends, and have boyfriends. Here are some descriptions of Aqsa Parvez by the Canadian press:

- "[Aqsa Parvez] wanted to wear Western clothes and get a part-time job like her Canadian peers." (Cohen, n.d)
- "Aqsa Parvez had a choice: wear a hijab to please her devout family or take it off and be like her friends. She paid for her decision with her life." (Rogan, 2008)

"A daughter [who] sought Western-style freedoms, such as a part-time job." (Globe and Mail, 2010).

- "She wanted to be like any other teenage girl" who wanted to "show her beauty but her dad wouldn't let her" (the description of a friend in Mitchell, 2007).
- "She wanted to be 'free' and independent of her family's devout Muslim beliefs" (Mitchell, 2007).

Meetoo & Mirza (2007) note how these particular ways of reporting "honour killing" victims as "romantic heroines, struggling for the benefits of the 'West' against her cruel and inhuman father and family, or victim succumbing to her backward and traditional 'Eastern' culture" are similar to colonial efforts by the "enlightened" West to "civilize" the "barbaric" East (p. 195), what Spivak refers to as "White men saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak, 1988, p. 93). In the context of similar reporting in Sweden, Reimers (2007) observes how the media represents the victim of the "honour killing" as a "martyr for the Swedish way of living, which is signified by equality, modernity, freedom and enlightenment" (p. 252). The cases of "honour killings" become ways to demonstrate that immigrant women are subjected to far more severe forms of male oppression than non-immigrants are (Reimers, 2007). In her analysis of newspaper depictions of Muslim immigrant women in Germany, Ehrkamp notes that the articles she reviewed equate "liberation from non-Western oppression to unveiling and Western forms of dress and lifestyle." (p. 24). Similarly, the articles reported western dress to emphasize distance from traditional identities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed that objectified knowledge about South Asian immigrants and their families serves to construct these families as different/deviant from the "norm" of the SNAF. In discussing the social organization of textual reality, Smith (1990) describes how a lived actuality is produced into "the factual account" through socially organized practices. In the case of the "honour killing" reports, we saw how a lived actuality (the killing of the victims by their families) gets produced (through the police reports, the court proceedings, and the media reports) into a factual account (the cultural barbarism of immigrants that indulge in "honour killings"). The factual account is an objectified version of the lived reality - a production of knowledge that can then be used as justification to monitor, train and even control immigrants to

try to uphold the ideal of the SNAF and its related discourses on mothering/parenting as superior to other forms of family organization and functioning. As we saw earlier in this chapter, these ideals serve to uphold existing relations of class and gender in society, while creating the autonomous future citizen required by neoliberalism and Capitalism.

The booklet for service providers and media reports normalize immigrant parents as different from “Canadian” parents, and makes oppression of children and women and domestic violence seem a part of everyday reality for South Asian and immigrant families. Standing (2011) refers to the exercise of creating differences between immigrants and others as “demonizing” (p. 100) of immigrants. He suggests that such “demonizing” of immigrants for cultural reasons have economic roots where growing hostility towards migrants is displayed by demonizing immigrants and their culture as a “threat to ‘our jobs and way of life’ (Standing, 2011, p. 114). In this chapter we saw how the “honour killing” associated with immigrants became an issue that was seen threat to the Canadian Multicultural way of life.

The "culturalization of violence” (Jiwani, 2008, p. 90) associated with racialized women has real impacts on the lives of immigrant women and girls by way of coloring perceptions of immigrant families as well as increasing the vulnerability to violence (School Community Safety Advisory Panel, 2008) . The report of the School Community Safety Advisory Panel (2008) provides an example. A young racialized girl was sexually assaulted in a high school in Toronto. Though school administrators were informed about the sexual assault they did not report the same to the police or to the girl’s family as “there was a concern, due to the young woman’s ethnic background and religion that she would be the subject of abuse by her parents if they were to become aware of the incident.” (School Community Safety Advisory Panel, 2008, p. 2). As we will see in subsequent chapters, objectified knowledge about immigrant parents as controlling of their children can factor in the way school personnel interact with immigrant mothers in relation to their children’s schooling.

Chapter Five: Employment, Settlement and Impacts on Family

Employment was an important aspect of many of the participants' narratives, one they considered to be central to telling the story of their families' lives and parenting work in Canada. This chapter describes the settlement work of the South Asian immigrant mothers and their families in relation to finding employment in Canada. It begins by describing the work done by the participants even prior to entering the country, in relation to "reading" texts that structure immigration to Canada and acting on the same. It then discusses the active participation of the newcomers in textually mediated employment discourses in the settlement stage. The last part of this chapter discusses the impacts of employment challenges on the health and well-being of the family unit, and consequently the role these played in shaping the way parenting work was carried out.

This chapter will show how settlement is an institutionally coordinated process wherein immigrants and service providers are engaged in both the reading and acting on texts in relation to immigration and settlement, a process that Smith (2005) terms "text-reader conversation" and the manner in which these conversations coordinate their activities. The texts being discussed in this chapter are primarily the material available on the Government of Canada immigration website (http://www.cic.Government of Canada.ca/English/).[12] This website is an important channel through which the government shares its immigration and settlement policies which in turn fund and shape settlement programs. The website has information for prospective immigrants that direct them through the immigration application process and prepare them for life in Canada. The interviews that inform this chapter were conducted in 2012 and the participants had applied to immigrate much before that. The Government websites are updated regularly and the information used here is largely from the website material dated December 2014. However, when I place the participants' interviews next to the current web text, I see that the text still speak to the participants' experiences. Also, the messages are not unlike the ones I encountered at the time of my own immigration and settlement into the country in 2004.[13] These

[12] More than documents containing factual information, texts are seen as the concrete forms in which social relations are manifested**,** what Campbell & Gregor (2002) term as "crystallized social relations" (p. 79).
[13] Though compared to the texts I encountered the current text appear to be more focused on stressing the immigrants' responsibilities in finding work.

texts represent policy and discourses on immigrant settlement that are promoted by the government and reproduced by other actors through secondary texts in other places.

Immigration

A majority of the participants entered the country as Economic Class immigrants - either as Principal Applicants or as Spouses and Dependents of the Principal Applicant. Applying for immigration under the Economic class either as a Principal Applicant or the Spouse of the Principal applicant or under subcategories (for example: business class or skilled immigrant) is a process that required the participants to invest time, money and resources. The total costs related to applying for permanent residence and landing in Canada was more than some participants of this study could afford themselves. Gayatri met these expenses through loans from her family and from outside sources: "My mother gave me around Rs. 5 lac (Rs. 500,000) [approximately CAD 10,000] and I also took loan from India."

The current fees for applying to immigrate under the Federal Skilled Worker Program (a long-standing category of the Economic Class of Immigration) works out to CAD $1,400 for a family of two adults and two children under the age of 19 years (Government of Canada, 2014a).[14] Additionally, Principal Applicants and their spouses have to pay a "Right of Permanent Residence Fee" which amounts to CAD $490 per person.[15] The total cost of just the application and landing fees works out to $2,380 for a family of four. This is not taking into account the minimum financial resources that permanent residents are expected to have access to. For a family of four, the proof of funds as on December 2014 was $21,971 (Government of Canada, 2014b). The amounts mentioned so far do not include other costs the immigrant must undertake even before landing in Canada — such as those related to immigration lawyers/consultants, translation of documents, procuring transcripts, medical examinations or costs related to

[14] The participants in this study immigrated to Canada between 2006 and 2011. They are likely to have paid the same fee structure as detailed in the text above based on the information gathered from these websites:
http://www.canadavisa.com/canada-immigration-discussion-board/cancel-application-t10942.0.html
http://www.slsedmonton.com/civil/immigration-law/

[15] This fee has been in place since 2006 after a 50% reduction in fees recommended by the 2006 Federal Budget:
http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/information/fees/resid-fee/index.asp

accreditation of certificates, or the physical move to Canada (airfare, appropriate clothes for Canadian weather).

Applying to immigrate also required the participants to understand the various eligibility criteria under the points system of immigration and to navigate the same. Deciding which of the partners would apply to be the Principal Applicant required a detailed study of the criteria and weightage of points system and applying accordingly. “I came under teacher’s category. I was the Principal Applicant. I’m a Master’s (degree), my husband was a Bachelor’s and you know Masters enjoys extra credits and points” (Farida).

> We came on the point system. My husband was the Principal Applicant. He applied as a "self-employed". When we applied there were lot of categories. Now they are greatly reduced. This is different from both the entrepreneurial category and the Economic class category. You have to show that you are experienced for x number of years in a field. So we brought some money with us… whatever the minimum requirement was I think it was $20,000. It took us over 6 years for the immigration process to go through. (Rekha)

Since 2008, the criterion for selecting economic immigrants has undergone many changes with an increased emphasis on selecting immigrants “with the right skills to meet Canada’s labour market needs” (Government of Canada, 2012a, p.1). Shilpa’s family immigrated at a time when the Government of Canada was just beginning the route to fast track the selection of immigrants who had the skills required by Canadian employers and her narrative references the same: “My husband is a chartered accountant and on that basis he got selected. I think some fast track scheme was going which comes under skilled worker category. My husband applied under that scheme and he got a chance.”

The Government of Canada website cautions new applicants about the difficulties they might face in Canada in finding work. A webpage titled “Work in Canada” lists the barriers that immigrants might face in finding employment, including language skills being insufficient, lack of Canadian experience, and lack of credential recognition. Each section then provides solutions to overcome these barriers such as getting credentials recognized, improving language skills getting help from an immigrant serving agency or job bank, and volunteering to break into the job market.

> Getting Canadian work experience can be challenging. It may take time to find a job. But the more you know about job search skills, how to get a job, Canadian workplace culture and what Canadian employers want, the easier it will be. (Government of Canada, 2014c, p. 1)
>
> Ontario has a strong economy and many opportunities to offer newcomers. But finding a job takes hard work. It can also take time. It's a good idea to prepare for your job search before you leave for Ontario. Getting ready for interviews, improving your English or French language skills, and getting in touch with a possible mentor all may help in finding a job. (Ontario Canada, 2014, p. 1)

Some of the participants of this study had been aware of the difficulties immigrants face even before they immigrated. Participants such as Shilpa, Farida and Rekha and their spouses who immigrated under the Economic Class believed that the fact that they were the chosen few to enter Canada on the basis of a careful selection process, indicated that they have the right mix of credentials, skills and experience that Canada wants for its labour force, and that with hard work and effort their families will be able to succeed. It was only on arriving in Canada that they became aware of how severe these obstacles were. Archana, who had been exploring requalifying as a physician before coming to Canada shares that she had been prepared to face difficulties in requalifying as a medical practitioner but realized only after spending a few weeks in Canada that the process would be "almost impossible."

Settlement

The Government of Canada websites suggest that immigrants can hope to succeed in Canada if they get their credentials recognized, improve language proficiency and volunteer to expand networks. These employment discourses are reiterated by settlement service agencies funded by the government to help immigrants in the settlement process. Under the Modernized Approach to

Settlement Funding,[16] Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) funds settlement service agencies contracted to support newcomers by providing:

- •language training so they have the language/skills to function in Canada;
- •the information they need to better understand life in Canada and make informed decisions about their settlement experience;
- •the required assistance to find employment commensurate with their skills and education and
- •help to establish networks and contacts so they are engaged and feel welcomed in their communities. (CIC, 2009, p. 3)

The next section discusses the efforts and challenges of the participants in coordinating their job search activities in relation to these discourses.

Job Search Workshops

Some of the participants of this study attended job search workshops conducted by settlement service organizations where they were taught resume writing and the importance of networking. The participants who attended these workshops found them irrelevant, and/or having little added value in terms of finding suitable work. Hema shared that the settlement service agency she visited "didn't have anything" for her. "It was workshops and resume writing and how to apply for jobs. It really didn't help much" (Hema). Ananya did a co-op placement where, she says, "they just give you [a general] training. As a newcomer [how] to make your resume, how you prepare for the interview, what are the expectation from you and all those things." Hema was told by a settlement service agency worker "the more you keep updating yourself, it matters" and that "referral makes a big difference, try and increase your friends circle" (Hema). "The organization said volunteer and be good they might hire you. Being good was being nice to people, wherever you go try to talk to people. You never know people might appreciate or like you for something or the other. So we were just brand ambassadors of ourselves" (Farida).

[16] The Modernized Approach to Settlement Funding replaced the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program in 2009. While the new approach makes changes to the way settlement programs are structured and funded, the "mandate and scope of CIC remain unchanged" (OCASI, 2010, p. 4). The Modernization Approach is intended to increase settlement service efficiencies.

> I have [attended] a bridging programme for science professionals. So in one course called Canadian workplace culture and communications [I was] taught that Canadians have a public face and a private face. So at all times you have to have that public face pasted on your face. So we have to be artificial and superficial. The instructor essentially says yes it is what it required if you [want to find work in Canada]. (Archana)

Workplace cultures and valued employee characteristics are not the same the world over. "Being nice" is an idealized value in Canadian society (Hunt, 2006) and presumably in the Canadian workplace. "Being nice" incorporates some practices such as being polite, friendly, pleasant, considerate of others and respectful. It is tied to an employment system where one needs good references from colleagues and supervisors to meet ones career aspirations. Some of the participants in this study were familiar with other workplace cultures— ones that almost exclusively merited academic achievement, years of work experience and skill, while paying little attention to the evaluation of others. From this alternate worldview, the participants found the emphasis on "being nice" in the job process superficial and artificial.

Credential Recognition

The participants of this study shared that their past education, experience and training appeared to have little value to employers, professional bodies and to settlement workers/professionals whose work involved helping newcomers find work. Hema was told by a settlement service worker "Your commerce degree, and what you have done years back…they count as nil." In a Canadian college where she was undertaking an Enhanced Language Training program, guest speakers from the Human Resources field advised Swati to create a resume that dropped the name of a prestigious Indian arts educational institute from which she had graduated. For the guest speaker, the college was not familiar to the Canadian employer and so irrelevant to mention in the resume, while for Swati, having graduated from the prestigious institution was a matter of pride and accomplishment and not something she could erase so readily from her career history

Archana, a graduate from a renowned medical training institute in India faced a similar conundrum:

> [Name of medical institution in India] is a national medical college, but these people here [Canadian employers and licensing bodies] just have no idea about because we have 200 medical schools. They don't know who is from where and so I mean, there is no differentiation on your background, you are just an international medical graduate.

Kanchan was unable to apply to teach in Ontario as the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree she acquired through an online course in India was not recognized by the Ontario College of Teachers as valid, though she was able to secure documentation that said that the course offered online was identical to the one offered in class. Swati got contradictory information on whether or not she should underreport her work experience:

> Lots of people [settlement workers and related professionals] told us that if your resume says you have more than ten years of experience or you have more than ten years don't put the year, but the college [where she had undertaken the Enhanced Language Training course] told us not to do that but to put the year. The college said you put it because otherwise you are giving only half information on your resume. People know that you have 20 years' experience or whatever. Like I went to [name of] employment agency, and over there they told us that if it is anything more than 10 years of your qualification, don't put the year of your qualification.

Five participants had been trained in and worked in the education field and one in medicine prior to migration. These professions are regulated in Ontario, which meant that the immigrants need a licence by the relevant regulatory body in order to be eligible to practice the profession. While most professional bodies have their licensing requirements for internationally trained professionals clearly laid out on the website, the actual experiences of these immigrants show that these processes can be difficult to navigate. The requirements to acquire a license to work in a regulated profession vary across the professions. Kanchan, Rekha, Kiran and Sharon had trained and worked as teachers prior to immigrating. For them to even become eligible to work in a publicly funded school in Ontario the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) required the following:

- have completed a minimum three-year postsecondary degree from an acceptable postsecondary institution;
- have successfully completed a one-year acceptable teacher education program;

> •apply to the College for certification and pay the annual membership and registration fees. Application process includes providing proof of identity and a Canadian Criminal Record Check Report. (Ontario College of Teachers, 2014, p. 1)

The participants' narratives showed how these requirements can become quite complicated for immigrants. The Ontario College of Teachers has detailed guidelines for applicants from each country. As the participants of this study who had initiated process of applying to the OCT were from India, I will discuss the hurdles these participants faced in relation to the Indian guidelines. The first step for an internationally trained immigrant from India to apply for a license to teach in Ontario is the verification of academic records of all degrees completed by the applicant. These academic records include transcripts as well as verification of records by the institutions attended. These records need to be sent directly from the academic institute to the OCT. While this is a reasonable request in a country like Canada with well-established electronic systems of student records and equally well-established processes for requesting and sending transcripts, it becomes difficult, time consuming and costly in a country like India.

Most Indian university transcripts are not available online, and requests are entertained only in person and transcripts are to be collected in person too. This means that the person requesting the transcript requires having someone willing and able to go personally to all the Universities she had attended to get the required transcripts. When the universities were spread out geographically this became even more problematic.

> My [undergraduate] degree was in one University, my Masters [degree] was in [from] another University, after marriage my in-laws place was somewhere else. I had three universities to knock doors on. That was difficult, I gave my parents big trouble. sometimes the registrar was on leave.. nothing is online.. To meet a registrar my mother and father stayed in a hotel because there was a long weekend so 5-6 days. More than that, I felt like I should not have troubled my parents so much but I had no other choice. (Farida)

In lieu of the "Statement of Professional Standing" (which India does not issue), the OCT requires that the applicants submit a letter of reference from the last school taught in India, sent directly to the College. The letter needs to provide details of the last employment including dates

and provide a statement that the applicants conduct had been satisfactory while on the job. Kiran had worked for many years in a school in India that closed down. In Canada she applied to the OCT and was able to supply them with most of the required documentation to support her application, except the statement of professional standing. When she explained her situation to the OCT, she was told that a letter from the Government of India that documented that her school had closed down would suffice; a requirement that would be impossible to meet given the rigid bureaucracy and corruption at various levels of the Indian government. She was forced to forgo her application to the OCT as she could not meet this requirement.

Sharon worked as a school teacher prior to immigrating and the OCT refused to accept her UK-based degree for licensing purposes. The OCT required Sharon to prove that the degree would be recognized through the UK teachers licensing board before they would be willing to recognise it here.

Even after meeting the documentary requirements for registration to the College, applicants are required to go for additional courses in a Canadian education institute to meet OCT requirements:

> Many applicants who have completed a teacher education program in India and who apply to the College meet the professional registration requirement. However, since India's Bachelor of Education program prepares teachers to teach Grades 5 to 10 (equivalent to the Intermediate division) and the methodology is subject specific, most applicants have a condition on their certificate to complete an Additional Basic Qualification course for either Junior or Senior division. (Ontario College of Teachers, 2014, p. 5)

Having completed her registration requirements, Farida was awarded a preliminary acceptance by the OCT. To work as a teacher in Ontario, however she has to undertake additional courses at a Canadian institution. To get to this stage in the re-qualifying process had taken Farida two years. At the time of the interviews, Farida was undertaking courses at an Ontario teacher training University. Once Farida cleared all her requirements for licensure she would be required to become a member by paying an annual fee, without any guarantee of a job.

The time consuming licensing procedures, accompanied by high costs to get and maintain a license was a serious deterrent to the participants seeking to work in their fields of training.

This became even more problematic when the families were struggling to make ends meet through earnings in low paying, precarious jobs as the participants of this study and their spouses did. Studying to (re)qualify for a profession is an expensive choice in Canada, one that the participants' families had to consider carefully in light of their other financial burdens. In the initial period after immigrating when Farida began considering her re(qualification) options, her husband advised her against it: "Don't get into education now because we won't be able to afford it" (Farida).

To practice medicine in Ontario, either as family physicians or specialists, internationally trained doctors (called International Medical Graduates) need to hold an Independent Practice Certificate of Registration issued by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario (CPSO). Their website lists the core requirements for the Independent Practice Certificate of Registration:

- A degree in medicine from an acceptable medical school [the website further spells out what it means by this term];
- Part 1 and Part 2 of the Medical Council of Canada Qualifying Examination;
- Certification, by examination, by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada (RCPSC) or the College of Family Physicians of Canada (CFPC);
- Completion in Canada of one year of postgraduate training or active medical practice with pertinent clinical experience;
- Canadian citizenship or permanent resident status. (CPSO, n.d)

Archana shares her experience of navigating this process and the time and effort it requires to understand and meet the requirements of the same:

> After entering the country I've given 8 exams, and I am [still] not in the system, I plan to give two more [exams], but after all that, a large percentage of doctors would not be able to get in the system so it's not really [about] passing the exam, it's a whole lot of other criteria which we are trying to figure out and learn, as I stay here. That's why I am here [in Canada], otherwise I would just come to give my exams every 3 months [while living in India]. There is lots which is required to be understood and that is essentially what I am trying to do when I volunteer and go out in the healthcare system, understand whatever the differences are between Indian healthcare system and here.

Archana blamed the protectionism by professional bodies for the difficulties she was encountering in the credential recognition process: “the regulatory bodies, under the pretext of regulating the quality, have made rules which are very difficult to circumvent” (Archana).

The participants of this study who attempted to requalify in their professions experienced the process to be daunting and fraught with obstacles. It also involved investment of time and money that they often did not possess. Participants like Sharon and Kanchan who did not see themselves completing the process but still wanted to remain in an aligned field chose to select occupations that had less stringent or time consuming requirements and/or which appeared to have more certain job prospects. Government websites and settlement service workers also advise immigrants to opt for alternate work/careers as a solution to not finding work in their field. “Consider working in an alternative job, so that you can continue to learn about your profession or industry in Canada while you get your licence to work in a regulated occupation or trade” (Government of Canada, 2014c, p. 3). This advice is taken up by settlement service agency staff who guide newcomers accordingly.

> The guidance counsellor [associated with a settlement service agency] guided us about our training. For example they told us that our credentialing process is likely to take very long so to go in for a certificate course. (Rekha)

These alternate occupations/certifications also involved investment of time and money-costs that were not insignificant to these participants. Also, the alternate qualifications were almost always at a lower skill and knowledge level, and had lower economic returns compared to the ones the participants held prior to migration. Sharon decided to qualify to work as a daycare provider while Kanchan undertook a social service worker training at a community college. While Archana was working on requalifying as a medical practitioner, she held a pragmatic view of her future, in which she planned to explore an alternate but allied field of work (community health) if she did not manage to get a break in the medical profession.

Though the requalification process is framed as one of filling gaps in knowledge, for some participants the one advantage the process offered was an insight into the culture of the profession they wished to get into. Farida preferred to take courses in a classroom setting rather than online as she understood that the environment and the context of education and meeting others in the field were very important to integrate into Canadian society.

Volunteering

Volunteering, i.e., offering one's time and skills to a workplace for no monetary compensation, is often offered as a solution to the newcomers' need to gain Canadian work experience. The Government of Canada website offering advice to prospective immigrants to find work in Canada links volunteerism to improving job prospects:

> **Build your resume by working as a volunteer**
>
> Volunteering means performing a service willingly and without pay. Working as a volunteer can help you:
>
> •get Canadian work experience
>
> •practise your English or French
>
> •build your network of contacts
>
> •make friends and meet Canadians
>
> •find someone who will be a reference for you
>
> •show potential employers that you are willing to work hard. (Government of Canada, 2014c, pp. 3-4)

A guidebook on volunteering designed especially for newcomers to Canada (Volunteer Canada, 2012) encourages newcomers to volunteer, contributing their "time and talent" to their host country as "thousands of Canadians" do: "While you do not get paid, you can be part of building a better society and also benefit from the experience yourself" (p.4). The notion of benefitting from the volunteer experience is reiterated strongly through the document. Most of these benefits directly and indirectly reference the advantage the volunteer experience offers the newcomer in breaking into the employment market in Canada. Such text mediated discourses are routinely and regularly transmitted to new immigrants through informal and formal channels, including through the Job Search Programs that newcomers attend. They are taken up by participants like Archana, Swati, and Kiran, who provided organizations with many hours of unpaid service—time they could have used to earn an income to support the family—with the hope of gaining Canadian experience, an insider perspective on Canadian work culture, building networks and/or getting a job.

The volunteer work regime can be exploitative when it is designed to squeeze unpaid labour out of a population that is being pushed into a corner to acquire "Canadian work

experience." Daisy applied to a job in a private school where she was expected to work "voluntarily" for a year as a teacher. She calls this offer "a big scam." Volunteer work can also be exploitative when the experience is in an unrelated field; when the volunteer is expected to do work that does not enhance their skills or knowledge; or when the work does not result in some kind of networks/referral opportunities. Swati got one such unpaid internship placement. During the interview she was told "we are always looking for people and we can always hire you if we feel you can add something to us." The promise never came through and though Swati acknowledges that it could have been that she and her cohort were simply not good enough for the job, she also wonders if the high supply of interns to the company and the free labour they brought to the company did not factor in the lack of employment opportunity. What she got out of the internship experience was a letter of reference and she wonders whether the entire experience had been helpful in finding work at all.

Getting meaningful volunteer work ―work that had the potential to directly contribute as Canadian work experience in the broader field the immigrant was trained in― however, was not easy. Archana's experience provides an insight into the time and effort she invests in the process:

> I am volunteering in 5 health care organizations, including two downtown hospitals. I had to do all that one does to get a job, and then be allowed to work [voluntarily] with them, and slowly we get into the system. So in the beginning, I had to really try and get in touch with a lot of them, a lot of doctors, trying to write to them, they don't answer your e-mails of course. So out of about 100 letters I have written, one responded and then I met him and he felt that I was OK to be with him and so I did some [voluntary] clinical research.

The practice of getting qualified individuals to work free for "unpaid internships" has been acknowledged as a growing concern in Canada in relation to youth employment. A recent news report (CBC, 2014, March 02) informs us that "Unpaid internships are on the rise in Canada, with some organizations estimating there's as many as 300,000 people currently working for free at some of the country's biggest, and wealthiest, corporations." In the context of the Canadian-born, fresh graduates are being exploited. These corporations also find an ever increasing source of free experienced labour amongst professional immigrants who are channelled to such work through the advice on government websites and settlement service

agencies as seen in the narratives described in this chapter. Volunteer work, provided as a solution to immigrants seeking to break into the labour market, is the cornerstone of internships and co-op placements that capitalize on the immigrants' need for "Canadian work experience."

Networks

The Government of Canada acknowledges that much of the Canadian job market is hidden and encourages immigrants to use networking as a job search strategy:

> Finding a job is easier if you have an established network of contacts. Networking can help you search for jobs in Canada's hidden job market. It is also an effective way to tell many people that you are looking for work. (Government of Canada, 2014c, p. 3)

The importance of networks was reiterated by the settlement service workers that some of the participants interacted with. Hema was encouraged by an immigrant settlement worker to "increase her friends circle" as "referral makes a big difference" (Hema). Similar messages were continuously reiterated by Archana's instructor in a bridging program for international science graduates: "It's not what you know, it's whom you know." He tells us this every day. I've had seven lectures of this, three hours each" (Archana).

The settlement service organizations the immigrants encountered placed the onus of creating and developing these networks on the immigrants. This was not an easy task for some of the participants who had minimal social and professional connections in the country. While seeking/giving references is a taken-for-granted employment practice in Canada, it can be viewed very differently by immigrants who are not used to this cultural practice, or hold an alternate point of view regarding gaining employment based on a reference. Farida explains, "taking a referral for me was a shameful thing for me. When I am so qualified why should I have people to tell them on my behalf that I am?"

Informal networks of friends and family encouraged participants like Swati to take up any available work instead of waiting for work in her profession. "She [a friend] said ignore what you did in your past life, start from scratch, any job is ok, there is no such thing that this job is not for you, why should I do this? If it pays the bills, you take up the job." The literature discusses the way in which ethnic networks can shepherd immigrants into jobs in the informal

sector (Livingston, 2006; Bauder, 2005). The social capital immigrants can hope to derive from such networks is often limited to the resources at the disposal of the social networks from which they emerge (Li, 2004; George & Chaze, 2009b).

Two participants of this study found work through informal networks. These networks helped Swati know about an unadvertised job in graphic design though at a lower level of expertise than what she had been involved in prior to immigration. In Hema's case, the network served as her reference and this in turn allowed her to be considered for a job as a recruiter in a health research firm.

Language Training

Proficiency in English and/or French is a prerequisite for finding work in Canada. The Government of Canada website describes some of the many benefits of gaining strong language skills:

> Strong English or French language skills are important for many reasons, such as:
> •getting a job;
> •going to school;
> •accessing services;
> •helping your children with school work
> •meeting and interacting with people and
> •getting your Canadian citizenship. (Government of Canada, 2014d)

Some of the participants of this study that attended government funded LINC class viewed their lack of proficiency in English as a challenge that had to be overcome before applying for work in Canada. Sarita, for example, was adamant that she needed to improve her English before she could work in Canada. A few of the participants of this study did not speak English, not so much because they did not know the language, but due to their lack of confidence and practice in speaking English, which in turn was a result of their geographical isolation and limited social interaction with the larger community. Many of the participants resided in places where the prices of homes are cheaper to rent and/or in proximity to their ethnic networks. This however, often resulted in them living in residential neighbourhoods in sprawling communities

with limited public transportation, where most families necessarily owned two or more cars. The limited incomes of the participants and the cost of the car, driver training, testing and insurance ensured that the family almost always had only one car and this was taken by the husband to work, leaving the woman isolated or at the mercy of expensive public transportation. Shilpa did not have the opportunity to practice her English skills with others. Being isolated in her basement apartment looking after her pre-school child, she felt it was lack of practice that made her lack confidence in speaking English. She had given her English assessment test prior to immigrating and had scored "5th level" [out of a maximum score of level 6] in the same. Like Shilpa, Sameena too preferred to speak to me in Hindi though she used English on a daily level in her interactions with others: "Actually I know English but I was hesitant to talk. Now I can talk that as much English as is necessary in the bank or doing grocery."

Asma held a graduate degree in science and had worked with the Government of Pakistan in the early years of her marriage; indicating some level of proficiency with the English language. However, based on feedback from her husband she felt she needed to work on her English before applying for work in Canada: "According to my husband my English is weak so I thought I will first improve my English" (Simi).

> I think English is such a language if you keep speaking then only it will become fluent, and if you don't talk in English often then while speaking you will not find proper words. I thought if I join the classes I will become used to it. (Simi)

Beena had an undergraduate degree which she procured through an English language institution, yet was taking LINC classes. She explains why:

> The thing is that one doesn't speak English regularly. At home you [referring to women like her] speak Hindi. And staying at home continuously for 4 years I was zero in English. I was not reading any newspaper not listen to any news so my confidence level had gone down. I feel like I am living in some remote area in India. . . . I don't know how to drive and there is only one car so he [husband] takes it.

These interviews illustrate how language ability— a factor crucial to finding work in Canada— is also shaped by factors outside of the "knowledge" of English such as the opportunity to interact with others and practice language skills, which in turn shaped by issues such as transportation and geographic location. This particularly impacted participants who were

often isolated due to gendered responsibilities within the home, and/or lack of affordable daycare.

Professional immigrants seeking to break into the job market are also encouraged to go to "Enhanced Language Training" programs (ELT) offered through various organizations including universities, colleges, school boards, bridging programs, community organizations and settlement service agencies. Settlment.org, an immigrant information portal funded by the Federal and Ontario Government states, "The goal of ELT is to provide language training that helps you find and keep jobs that match your skills and qualifications. ELT programs are especially useful for internationally-trained professionals and tradespeople" (OCASI, 2013b, p. 1).

Farida experienced that the Enhanced Language Training (ELT) she attended was a "waste of time." She "used to find it very ridiculous" that the program involved providing the newcomers with etiquette training "focusing on everything except the job." Swati and her husband got to know about the ELT program through flyers distributed to newcomers at Pearson Airport. She describes her experience of the ELT program she took through a community college and of the placement with a Canadian company she got through the program:

> So we had to go to college full time, 9:00 [A.M] to 3:00 [P.M], 5 days a week, for about 2 months I think. It was a free course, they had an entrance exam, they asked me to do some English language tests also before you sign up with them, they have an interview after that and then they take you on. They placed us luckily. I was not exactly in our field, but there was this company in downtown Toronto that designed games for Facebook. So it looks like a big awesome place and all and loads of people. They agreed to pay us for transport because we needed that, they paid us for that at least. Otherwise they don't pay you for that remuneration, we didn't mind because we at least have something on the resume with Canadian experience.

Swati found that neither the two month ELT program nor the "Canadian experience" she was happy to have gained was sufficient to get her a job, which made her start applying to jobs outside of her field of training and experience.

> I wasn't getting it anywhere in my field as well, I sent my resume to all the recruitment agencies and those related to our field, graphic designing, but I did not even get a single

response, that “I have received your email or I have not received your email, you fit or you don’t fit.”

Discrimination

During the process of her job hunt, Kanchan became conscious that her long and ethnic sounding name was a barrier to securing job interviews. She overcame this by shortening it, the result of which she describes as “now I am getting interviews at least.” She encountered what she perceives to be subtle discrimination when she managed to pass many levels of interviews in two employment searches, only to be turned down at the very last stage involving a face- to- face interview. The previous stages of interviewing had been conducted over the phone and she had already been screened for her past experience, education and ability to communicate.

> I got my telephone interview all right. They (potential employers) are so happy with that. Very impressed at that stage. But you go there and face-to-face . . . you can see them [their reactions to her physical appearance as a racialized minority person]. . . . I had three interviews with the [prominent employment firm] and the fourth one with the Executive director and that’s it. “Sorry, we are sorry [that she does not get the job].” The same way with XX the company I told you about.

The Trajectory into Precarious Employment

Typically, it was the husbands who looked for work in the initial months after arrival, with little success due to lack of Canadian experience and their foreign qualifications not being accepted. Sarita’s case exemplifies the post migration trajectory of initial employment for many of the participants’ husbands. Sarita’s husband (a M.Phil. in English with experience teaching in India and the Maldives) found it difficult to find any work initially. After a couple of months he managed to get odd labour jobs once or twice a week such as packing, stapling, lifting. This lasted for a couple of months. He then got a job as a call centre worker. This job involved a 3 hour commute each way every day, and involved changing four buses and taking the subway each way.

Table 5.1 provides a snapshot view of the employment trajectories of the participants

Table 5.1: Employment Profile of the Participants' Families

Name	Level of Ed.*	Occupation Prior to Immigration	Current Work Status	Difference in work post immigration	Husband's Job
Gayatri	PQ	Company employee (India)	Employed full time in travel agency	Administrative job at similar level	n/a
Anjali	UGD	Business owners (India)	Employed full time	In different field at lower level.↓	n/a
Swati	PQ	Graphic Designer (India)	Employed full time in graphic design firm	In similar field at lower level.↓	Setting up his own business.↓
Hema	UGD	Stay at Home Mother (UAE)	Employed full time	Recruiter at health research firm	Unemployed↓
Kanchan	PQ	Teacher (Saudi Arabia)	Unemployed	Training for an alternate career. Looking for work.↓	Working at similar level in different field.
Rekha	PQ	Teacher (India)	Unemployed	Training for an alternate career.↓	Training for an alternate career. Part time employment.↓
Sharon	PQ	Teacher (Saudi Arabia)	Employed part time	Training for an alternate career. Daycare centre worker. ↓	Works outside Canada to support family.
Archana	PQ	Physician (India)	Unemployed	Credential recognition process & volunteers to get into profession↓	Works outside Canada to support family.
Kiran	UGD	Teacher (India)	Unemployed	Credential recognition process & volunteers to get into profession↓	Husband works for foreign company. Not dependent on Canadian job market.
Asma	GD	Stay at Home Mother (UAE)	Unemployed	SAHM (husband's income as engineer supports family) Attends LINC	Works in Alberta in oil company
Ananya	PQ	Stay at Home Mother (UAE)	Unemployed	SAHM (husband's income in the Middle East supports family)	Works outside Canada to support family.
Farida	PQ	Teacher (Saudi Arabia)	Employed part time	Credential recognition process. Works in immigration consultant firm.↓	Shift supervisor at FedEx.↓

Salma	UGD	Stay at Home Mother (Pakistan)	Unemployed	SAHM (husband's income supports family)	Husband is not a recent immigrant. Works as electronics engineer.
Bhakti	UGD	Stay at Home Mother (India)	Unemployed	SAHM (husband's income supports family). Attends LINC classes.	Cellphone company, operations division
Sarita	UGD	Seamstress (India)	Unemployed	SAHM to look after children & no market for her skills↓ (husband's income supports family)	Works in call centre.↓
Beena	UGD	Stay at Home Mother (India)	Unemployed	SAHM (husband's income supports family)	Works in test licensing centre.↓
Shilpa	UGD	Civil servant (India)	Unemployed	SAHM. ↓ (husband's income support family)	Security guard↓
Fatima	<HS	Stay at Home Mother (Pakistan)	Unemployed	On welfare/single mom. Attends LINC classes. Could not afford daycare if worked.	n/a
Sameena	PQ	Stay at Home Mother (Pakistan)	Unemployed	On welfare/single Mom. Attends LINC classes. Could not afford daycare if worked	n/a
Tejinder	GD	Student (India)	Unemployed	On welfare/single mom. Could not afford daycare if worked.	n/a

Notes:
*UGD: undergraduate Degree; GD: graduate Degree; PQ: professional qualifications; <HS: less than high school.
↓= Reduction in comparative income earned due to lower level job or loss of job.

Almost all the participants spoke of the difficulties faced by the family in procuring employment in Canada. For eleven of the participants, family income suffered as one or both partners were either unemployed or employed in low skill/low wage jobs after immigrating, resulting in lifestyle changes as well as mental distress. Only three of the twenty participants' husbands had found work that was commensurate with their skills and were able to earn a decent wage to support the family. In Salma's case, the husband was a long time immigrant and settled in his career even before he got married. Bhakti's husband worked in software, got a job similar to what he was doing in India, while Asma's husband found work in Alberta. Eight of the participants who had been employed in professions prior to immigration were unemployed in Canada. Of the four participants who were employed full time in Canada, three worked at levels

or in fields lower than, or different from, what they were engaged in prior to immigration. The fourth, Hema, took up work in Canada for the first time following her husband's inability to find work.

Three participants went onto welfare after the divorce (2) and death (1) of their spouse in Canada. Apart from having minimal English language skills that would restrict their job opportunities, they did not see the point of seeking full time employment as the minimum incomes they could hope to make would be completely absorbed by daycare expenses. Three other participants' husbands lived/worked overseas, and two others in jobs that did not depend on the Ontario labour market. The earnings of these husbands sustained the family and their living expenses in Canada/Ontario. Archana lives with her daughters and is volunteering and studying to re-qualify to work as a medical practitioner in Canada. Her expenses, including the older daughter's undergraduate education expenses are born by the husband who lives in India and retains his medical practice there to support the family in Canada. Archana shares "100% of our expenses are supported by my husband in India…Our expenses are $ 3000- 4000 every month. It's just been an ongoing struggle and I am hoping to see the end of it soon."

The participants of this study and their husbands were not able to secure employment despite many efforts on their part. "I sent my resume to all the recruitment agencies and those related to our field, graphic designing, but I did not even get a single response" (Swati). In the absence of work in the initial months, the families were forced to dip into savings in order to meet their daily living needs. "Yes, [our savings] got spent. I think it got over in the first 6 months" (Beena). Watching their life savings depleted on everyday living expenses was distressing and frustrating for the participants. For some families this saving had been in Indian Rupees and was not an insignificant amount in the Indian context.

Though both Daisy and her husband were employed, her family relied on pre-immigration life savings to support her children's university education, an expenditure she would have managed comfortably prior to immigration. When the participants did manage to get a job in the initial months, it was almost never in their fields of expertise or training, and almost always low skilled and/or labour intensive work, unrelated to their past experience or training. Some of the professionally trained participants, like Swati resisted this work, at least at the initial

phases as they felt that taking up a job in an unrelated field would take time and effort that would distract from searching for a job in their own field.

Shilpa found work in a cookie factory but left the same day as she found the work was physically difficult and tiring. “I didn’t even complete full eight hours work. It was very hard. It was a packing job. After working only for two hours I got tired. In the break I called my husband and I went back to home” (Shilpa).

For other participants like Hema, this kind of low skilled work may not have been physically tiring but it was demoralizing. Hema who works as a “cleaner” in a large store shared “though it [the job position] is called a cleaner, it does not mean cleaning any bathroom or anything, there is no mopping, but that is what the position is called”. Hema’s assertion that the work did not involve cleaning the bathroom links to the class and caste relations and related occupational hierarchy in India. Among Hindus there is a rigidly defined caste hierarchy where cleaning washrooms/public spaces has long been the occupation of the lowest castes (the Dalits) who were long considered “untouchable” in India. While religion no longer dictates occupation in India, social attitudes towards what constitutes acceptable work are still influenced by these long standing traditions. Viewed through this lens, Hema found the work demeaning and degrading. Though Hema stated that that there is no shame in doing such work in Canada, it became problematic for her to talk about her work with her family in India, as it would make her parents/family worry and stress over Hema and her family’s situation. They in turn would pressure Hema and/or her husband to return to India or find alternate work.

When the participants or their husbands did manage to find work that was related at least partly to their field of work, the job was either part time, temporary, and/or at a lower position and status than they had held prior to immigrating. In these cases participants like Swati and Sharon pragmatically accepted the work as it was the closest they could get to their vocation in Canada, or it allowed them to gain “another kind of experience” (Swati). Farida got a job in a private educational institute on the basis of her having applied for the Ontario College of Teachers certification to teach. However the work involved long hours and at a lower rate of pay than in other similar institutes. Additionally, as it was a year-long job, she did not receive pay for the two months that the educational institute was closed for the summer. However, she took up the job as at the time: “we felt like we badly need at least $1,500 to $2,000 as my contribution to

the family or else we won't be able to pay the bills" (Farida). Precarious work conditions were also experienced by Sharon in her work as a daycare worker. Yet, like Farida she continued to work in this job because of the income and also because it gave her Canadian work experience in a job that was marginally related to teaching.

Effects on Family

Immigrants coming to Canada typically enter the country with the amount of baggage that they are allowed to carry per person on the plane. This limited baggage is all they have in terms of possessions in the first few days in the country. Everything else has to be purchased from Canada, contingent on the immigrants past savings till s (he) finds a job. Beena shares the immediate shock of having to transition to a living with such few material possessions: "Frankly speaking, in the basement it was like "My God!" we didn't have anything. We didn't have a couch, we just had one mattress and it was hard."

The initial few months were perceived as particularly difficult by all the participants. Notwithstanding the financial concerns of the first few months, the participants and their families had to deal with a new and unknown environment and context, new cultural, educational and social system, loss of familiar networks and supports; a sudden and unpleasant consciousness of being different from the majority:

> My son is responding to school. He is really settled and is comfortable, but for my daughter it is difficult, because she has a different accent to begin with, so that makes her feel a little bit conscious. She is not conscious actually, but she realizes that it is different from others. (Swati)

Four of the families (Asma, Ananya, Archana, Sharon) had to make significant changes in familial living arrangements to accommodate their employment-related challenges. Not being able to find a suitable job that could support the family in Ontario, the families opted to live geographically separate in that the father lived and worked elsewhere in order to contribute to the upkeep of the family in Ontario. These were difficult transitions for the families and children who had never before lived apart from their fathers prior to immigration. It also included a shift

in parental authority, at least in day-to-day matters, from the now absent father to the only caregiver in the house - the mother.

While Sarita's husband lived with the family in Canada, the long hours he was outside the house and the shift work he does did not allow him to be around his children. For this family, the time the father was away from the family each day was a big change in their familial arrangements and had a negative effect on the children. "The children miss their father and would like to see their father around but are unable to because of his work hours" (Sarita).

The financial uncertainty faced by the participants and their families necessitated many lifestyle changes such as increased caution in spending, particularly on non-essentials (Sarita, Swati, Hema) and living in cheaper housing (Shilpa, Swati, Fatima). Curtailing children's extra-curricular activities was another mechanism to cope with the family's limited finances. The child development literature has established extra-curricular activities as associated with a range of positive outcomes for children and youth including better academic achievement and pro-social behaviour (Guèvremont, Findlay & Kohen, 2008) and immigrant parents are routinely advised to enroll their children in the same by teachers, social workers and other well-meaning individuals. While the mothers in this study spoke of their desire to follow these suggestions, limited finances made such participation difficult. For example, Rekha's son was frequently anxious and withdrawn. His teacher had suggested that enrolling him into extra-curricular activities might help him interact with other children better. Rekha lamented that they could no longer afford to send their child to swimming and skating as they did in India.

Taking children for even a single extra-curricular activity involved thinking through costs of the activity, and ancillary costs such as transportation and time.

> And the most important thing right now is that I don't have a car. So if I had to take her somewhere I would have to spend 2 hours taking her there, an hour of activity and 2 hours coming back and of course finances, any extra class she would go to it would be 25 dollars a month an hour. So that is another thing I haven't done so far…because of finances. We can buy the car, but the insurance is through the roof. (Swati)

Where typically the participants would have chosen to buffer their children from adult concerns it became difficult for some families to hide their financial concerns from their children, especially when the children were in their teenage years. The participants had different

reactions to this change in family dynamic. While Hema felt her teenage son was mature enough to understand the parent's concerns and cooperate with cost saving strategies, Gayatri was unwilling to share her financial concerns as a single wage earner with her teenage daughter:

> [Daughter] says all her friends have their own laptops and iPhone and she keeps demanding me to give her iPhone for her for last two / three months. When I started my job I started with $1,800 gross salary and after tax I got $1,600. Out of which I spend $750 on rent. Now after my request to landlord they reduced my rent to $700. From my salary I have to pay my phone bills, internet bills and electricity bills also I have to pay for my bus pass. There are other expenses also. When I came here I took loan from India. I have to repay that money. I am left with nothing. I can't tell these things to my children. I told [daughter] to be patient and wait for her things.

While Hema's strategy allowed her to involve her child in family practices to save costs and reduce the pressure of demands the parents felt they could not meet, Gayatri's approach aggravated the stress and pressure she felt to indulge her child within her limited means. Archana shared that her daughters— who she noted had a very sheltered and protected upbringing prior to immigration— had matured quickly in light of the challenges she was facing in finding suitable work.

Children who learned about their family's financial difficulties had different responses to the same. Rekha's daughter did her best to help her parents in ways she could such as looking after her younger sibling while her parents were in college or by helping her parents prepare Power-point presentations for their class presentations. Hema's son initially resisted and resented the lack of financial flexibility and wanted his parents to leave Canada and return to their comfortable lives in the Middle East. Observing the difficulties her highly qualified mother had in getting a job, Archana's older daughter was working towards a double major degree in university to have an alternate career option for herself in case her decision to pursue medicine did not work out. When Archana speaks about a mental timeline by which she will return to India if she doesn't find work, her younger daughter who is currently in middle school gets anxious as she is unsure if she can live in Canada without her parents. "So she ties up her future with mine. She said, 'Mama we have to see that you get in [into the medical profession], no, no you will get in, I am telling you, I am going to pray hard' (Archana).

Despite having high levels of education, good language ability and relevant professional experiences, and following all the prescriptions of the immigrant employment discourse such as credential recognition and networking, most of the participants were unable to secure jobs in their field. Having no apparent explanation for the challenges they faced, the mothers tried to ensure that their children at least did not face similar situations as them. Farida did this by emphasizing to her children the only way she knew towards success—aiming for high academic achievement. "We were jobless. We started pressurizing them to catch up soon, because with so many qualifications if we are jobless, you shouldn't lag behind" (Farida).

Some of the mothers perceived that they were helpless to guide their children on how to navigate society

> It's a different world here. . . . We couldn't do much [to help our children adjust] because we ourselves are new to that place. In the sense that if I knew how the society, how it functions very well…like in our native places we know the society very well. So when the child comes with a problem we know how to deal with it because I've already been through the same thing. But here itself the children are coming with the new problems in a new place and they are telling that the society is like this, give us a solution. (Farida)

Stress and worry underlined a majority of the participants' sharing. Participants (Shilpa, Beena, Archana, Farida) shared how their initial settlement experiences had impacted their mental well-being:

> I was in constant depression after coming here. I used to cry every time. I used to think I have come to a prison. . . . Now I have stopped crying otherwise there was not a single day when I didn't cry. (Shilpa)

Inability to find work commensurate with education and skills caused the participants anger, hurt, stress and frustration. Participants spoke of how difficult it was for them to see their professionally trained and previously well-established husbands reduced to doing low-skilled/manual labour. For Farida, the lack of recognition of her skills and credentials was more about the devaluation of her identity as a professional.

Research has shown that the negative experiences faced by immigrants in relation to the labour market and their subsequent underemployment to be associated with poorer health and mental health (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Asanin-Dean & Wilson, 2009; Friedland & Price, 2003;

Kennedy & McDonald, 2006), which in turn has implications for parenting. Participants spoke of the stress of re-qualifying with no end in sight. There was also a lot of stress as the success in finding work was depicted by the employment discourse and internalized by the participants to be based on individual meritocracy "I think finally the winner is one who is persistent who stays on though she is struggling." (Archana).

A few participants (Gayatri, Rekha, Swati) spoke of the behavioural challenges in relation to their children that had either manifested or worsened after migration. Gayatri's son used to wet his bed at night even prior to migration. After coming to Canada the problem continued and along with it the child also showed other behavioural problem such as hitting himself, hyperactivity and restlessness. Gayatri blames the depression she had been undergoing due to her separation at the time of pregnancy for the child's problems. Recently her teenage daughter has been acting out at home, screaming and shouting at Gayatri and the brother, creating an unpleasant environment in the house. Gayatri is at a loss of how to deal with her daughter as she feels that any efforts to reprimand her could lead to the teenager seeking solace in relationships with others. Rekha's son demonstrated great anxiety at being away from the parents and often stayed withdrawn from other children. Swati's daughter gets "upset very quickly", is "hypertensive" and speaks in a "really loud voice."

All three participants were unsure where and how to go about seeking help for their children. Though Rekha and her husband had used the services of the settlement service counsellor and the guidance counselor at a settlement agency for their employment related concerns, they did not take the help of the agency for concerns regarding their son: "because at that time we did not have these issues. We have them now" (Rekha).

In response to a specific question about who the participants would turn to for help in relation to matters regarding the family, most of the participants said they would turn to friends/family; three of the participants first replied they would talk to "no one" and then reconsidered to include family members or friends; and one participant said she would turn to sources on the internet. Gayatri mentioned considering a school counselor but was unclear about the role of the counsellor: "When I was looking for the house someone told me there is counsellor available at school and will help you but I don't know actually in which other matters counsellors give help."

Conclusion

The employment settlement of the participants and their families as described in this chapter need to be seen in the context of larger forces of globalization and the accompanying neoliberal model of development being followed by the Canadian government in recent decades. Neoliberalism emphasizes a reduction in government involvement and increased reliance on market forces to determine employment. The growing reliance on market forces and the thrust towards a flexible labour force which reduced full time jobs with employment security has resulted in the growth of a worldwide "precariat" (Standing, 2011) workforce of which immigrants form a significant group.

Government policies on immigration and settlement and discourses around immigrant employment success are detailed in the form of texts (instructions, policies, processes, forms, links to secondary texts) on government websites and on websites of various groups invested in some way in immigrants and their settlement. The participants of this study actively participated in these text-mediated discourses. Based on the messages they/their intermediaries were "reading" on immigrating and settlement in Canada, participants like Shilpa, Farida and Rekha who immigrated under the economic class believed that the fact that they were the chosen few to enter Canada on the basis of a careful selection process indicated that they have the right mix of credentials, skills and experience that Canada wants for its labour force, and that with hard work and effort their families will be able to succeed. Having successfully "read" and "acted upon" one such set of texts (immigrated through such a merit based system) made the participants feel confident that with effort on their part they would be able to carry out the various tasks and challenges identified in these and other similar texts to settle successfully. In Canada, the South Asian mothers and their spouses participated actively in text-mediated discourses on immigrant employment that are available to them through the government/non-governmental organization websites and through the programs of settlement service agencies which are structured by government policies that fund these programs. These text mediated discourses suggested that Economic immigrants who enter the country have been selected because they have the skills and experience that suggest they can contribute to Canada's economy.

The discourse also clearly put the onus of finding work on the immigrant. To become successful in finding work the immigrant needed to: understand the labour market and its

expectations; and work on themselves to improve their language, soft skills, networks, credentials, and to gain Canadian work experience. To help and support immigrants, the Government of Canada provides services that the immigrant is encouraged to participate in. The textually mediated discourses encountered by the immigrant in this study in relation to finding employment reflect a neoliberal approach to immigrant integration (Arat Koc, 1999) where integration is treated as responsibility of immigrants which they are supposed to achieve through "education, language, labour market skills and money they are expected to bring with them" (p. 51).

Past research has noted a "deficiency rhetoric" (Guo, 2009; Shan, 2009; Sakamoto et al, 2013) organizing such an immigrant employment discourse, wherein immigrants are seen as lacking in ways to compete effectively to get the employment they wished. The solution proposed by the employment discourse aims to help immigrants overcome those deficiencies. These solutions do not recognize: the strengths of immigrants; the toll that participating in such discourses takes on immigrants; the intersections of class/gender/ethnicity or factors outside the control of the immigrant in getting employment such as discrimination. The participants in this study actively took up these employment related discourse and participated in them —by attending job search workshops, volunteering, getting their credentials recognized, improving their language, and networking. They coordinated their work with others whose work connected to the economic settlement of newcomers (social workers/settlement service workers, jobs search workers, volunteer placements, organizations offering LINC/ELT services, professional bodies granting accreditation and organizations offering education and training). This coordination work was shaped, to a large extent, by funding available for immigrant settlement by the Government of Canada, and the demands of the employers and professional bodies.

Similar to the immigrants in Slade's (2009) study the participants of this study faced downward financial mobility in Canada as a result of the barriers they face in employment. Danso (2007) refers to this as "povertization" faced by racialized immigrants. In this chapter we saw examples of declassing where middle class professionals had started the downward trajectory towards precarious work. As precariat workers the immigrants experienced unemployment, underemployment, and/or temporary/part time or otherwise precarious employment. Neoliberalism not only holds the immigrant responsible for their inability to find

work but also expects of them (as of other precariat workers) an ongoing effort to improve their value to the employer. The governments' role becomes limited to helping the worker achieve these neoliberal objectives.

In the neoliberal framework, unemployment becomes a matter of individual responsibility, making it almost 'voluntary.' People came to be regarded as more or less 'employable' and the answer was to make them more employable, upgrading their 'skills' or reforming their 'habits' and 'attitudes' (Standing, 2011, p. 45). Such an approach is seen reflected in the Modernized Approach to Settlement Services funding which places the impetus to find work on the immigrant while the government is involved in providing services aimed at making immigrants more employable by training them in how to write resumes, understand the Canadian workforce, gain Canadian experience and credentials, improve their language and the like. Government texts as those on the website detail these policies. The institutions mentioned in this chapter such as settlement service agencies and language training institutes and credential recognition bodies carry out these neoliberal policies, providing embodied connections between larger discourses and the individuals in this study participating and contributing to the creation of a precarious workforce.

In this chapter we saw how dominant institutional discourses subsume and displace lived actuality. The employment discourse does not acknowledge the actualities of the labour market such as excess demand of labour in some professions (e.g. teaching), and the increase in precarious, contractual work for all categories of labour, including the highly skilled. The employment discourse and associated texts describe value free processes whereby immigrants can hope to get their credentials assessed by employers and professional bodies. These texts do not acknowledge the subjective value judgements by various players the immigrants encounter in the job search process. The employment discourse also does not recognize ethnic discrimination as a factor in the job search process, though past research has established that employment discrimination is prevalent in the hiring process and that racialized minority immigrants in particular are vulnerable to such discrimination (George & Chaze, 2014; Li, 2001). When participants in my study encountered such discrimination they struggled to make sense of these experiences. The participants were also encouraged to provide volunteer work to organizations and businesses. Some participants of this study spent much time and effort in such volunteer

work with little result. They did not find the volunteer work to be of much use in finding paid work and at times experienced the work to be exploitive. Such volunteer work provided the participants in this study with little or no benefit while providing free skilled labour to the organizations for which they volunteered. Canadian work experience becomes a rationale for such unpaid labour.

Despite participating actively in neoliberal employment discourses that stress success as directly related to work output (Roberts and Mahtani, 2010), most of the participants of this study and their families struggled to find work that was in any way compatible to their skills and education, and were forced to take up low- paying and precarious work or work to make ends meet. Roberts and Mahtani (2010) suggest that this is because of the ways in which race and racism are deeply embedded in neoliberalism:

> Constituting the immigrant as not-quite Canadian allows for the continued disconnect between their ability to play the neo-liberal game and the rewards they receive for their successful play. This can be seen through policies that continue to disregard foreign degrees or credentials that is at the heart of the deskilling process, for example. (p. 253)

Standing (2011) refers to similar phenomena when he discusses immigrants as denizens who face structural limitations on their economic and social rights through processes such as foreign credential recognition or licensing.

Like other precariat workers, the participants in this study experienced what Standing (2011) refers to as the "four A's- anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation" (p. 18).[17] The employment related challenges faced by the participants and their families impacted their health, well-being and functioning as a family unit. The participants often did not know where and how to seek help for these problems. Social workers and social service workers are potentially accessible to the participants through the school and through settlement service agencies that they attended for LINC/job search programs. Yet apart from Rekha none of the participants shared that they had considered approaching such workers for help. Past research has highlighted many reasons for immigrants' lack of utilization of services such as lack of information,

[17] According to Standing (2011) the precariat suffer from anger from blocked opportunities to have a meaningful life; anomie or a passivity born of despair of working within a career less job; anxiety due to chronic insecurity; and, alienation from one's work.

language barriers, lack of culturally appropriate services, and costs associated with transportation and with missing work to access such services (George, 2007; Guruge et al, 2009).

The chapter described the ways in which family relationships and living arrangements were impacted as a result of the employment related challenges faced by the participants. Other researchers have noted that "satellite families" (Tsang, Irving & Allagia, 2003) or "astronaut families" (Waters, 2009)[18] are testimony to the disruptive effects of economic uncertainty faced by racialized minority immigrants in Canada. In this study we also saw a version of this "satellite family"- where the mother and children lived in Canada/Ontario, supported by incomes earned by the husband who lived and worked elsewhere in Canada or in a third country. Familiar ways of being and relating as a family are disrupted by difficulties faced in relation to occupational settlement. We saw that participants were unsure of how to carry out their traditional roles of helping children navigate society/life when they were struggling to understand their new contexts themselves. When the father worked long hours, lived geographically separate from the family or was permanently removed from the family, it was the mother who had to take on the onus of parenting her children single-handedly. Sometimes she carried out this work with little language ability or social/familial support while coping with changes in her new environment.

[18] In order to maintain family incomes in the face of difficulties in finding suitable work after migration, these family splits geographically, with (in most cases) the mother remaining with the children in the Host country to secure immigration status while the father returns to the country of origin to continue his career pursuits and maintain the family income.

Chapter 6: Mothering Work

This chapter describes the work the South Asian immigrant women carried out in relation to their children within the home. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes the mothering work in relation to cooking, caring for children, household work, transmission of values, and protection of children that all the participants were involved in. In section two, I present a case study to highlight the particular challenges faced by a smaller subsection of immigrant mothers who are victims of domestic violence and the manner in which their particular experiences can impact their mothering. In Section three, I describe changes that some of the participants of this study had started making to their mothering work in the settlement process.

Mothering Work

Cooking

Cooking was central to many of the participants' work in relation to their children. Cooking and serving meals was distinctly gendered work. Whether the woman worked outside the house or not, cooking/feeding the family was primarily her work.

> In the morning I get up at 5.30. A.M. I prepare a hot breakfast for my family and then a hot meal for lunch. My husband carries his lunch from home to work. My kids also take lunch boxes, in which I normally make parathas. Yesterday for lunch I made subji [vegetables] and roti. For breakfast I made parathas. At 8 o'clock I drop my son to school and then attend LINC classes. My daughter walks to school with her friends. I take 8.30 A.M bus to reach to the class and while going back I take 12.30 P.M. bus. Normally I reach home by 1 o'clock. After that I eat my lunch. In the afternoon I do household chores like laundry, cleaning and dusting. My children come home around 3.30. P.M. After that they eat some snacks such as cereal and milk, something light. When my children finish their snacks I start preparing dinner. In the meantime I supervise my son's homework. I ask my daughter about her day. At seven we eat our

supper. Last night I prepared vegetables, roti and salad for dinner. My whole day spent like that [cooking, cleaning and overseeing children's activities]. (Bhakti)

Husbands were largely conspicuous by their absence in the narratives of women in relation to cooking. I asked Kiran whether her husband ever cooks she replied "Very rarely. If at all then once or twice a year, that too just tea."

The mother's work in relation to cooking made it possible for others in the family to go through their own days without having to give any thought to the cooking or serving/packing of meals at home, school or work.

I get up in the morning and prepare breakfast. I make eggs, bread/toast, I keep it on the table. They [teenage and adult sons and husband] just have their bath and come and have their food [breakfast] and then their dabbas [lunch boxes] are ready. (Kanchan)

"Cooking" for the mothers interviewed involved ensuring that they provided their children and spouses with food that was appealing to each family member and "fresh" (home cooked, made from scratch) meals with multiple items on the menu. Serving "fresh" food emerged as being fundamental to feeding the family, though some acknowledged that these practices might change in future. Cooking fresh food for every meal and/or every day was a time consuming process, taking anywhere between 1.5 to over 3 hours per day. The concept of cooking one dish or a single dish meal was alien for most of these participants. Except for a one dish meal cooked at breakfast such as upma [a semolina savory pudding] or poha [flattened rice preparation], each meal often consisted of at least a vegetable, salad, lentils and roti and/or rice.

Cooking fresh food also involved not eating readymade breads or rotis for the most part, or using quick-cooking foods (like tinned uncooked beans), or processed foods. If these were used it was seen as a compromise when there was shortage of time, or when the mother was away from home at mealtimes, or as a deviation from the norm. For the most the participants perceived food that was not cooked from scratch as inferior, due to the real/perceived addition of preservatives and presumed lack of nutrients associated with it not being "fresh."

Apart from feeding the family, and the children in particular, food that was freshly cooked, many of the mothers worried about their children not eating well/enough and went out of the way to feed the child what they would find appetizing. They catered to the children's unique

likes and dislikes, even if it meant more work for themselves. To ensure that the children ate "properly" Kiran prepared four meals for her family every day- breakfast, lunch, a meal for her children when they returned home from school and dinner. Rekha on the other hand routinely cooks different food for her child who would not eat what has been cooked for the rest of the family. She says "Yes [this double cooking] happens quite often."

For most stay-at-home moms, the cooking, serving, cleaning the home took up "the entire day" (Bhakti; Beena) leaving them little or no time for themselves, and limiting their options in relation to doing other work outside of the home. For Gayatri, a lone mom who worked full-time to support her family, the work around cooking/feeding and cleaning was done over and above her full-time job, and took up all her time, sometimes at the cost of her own needs.

Not all women subscribed to the value of cooking fresh food every day. Sameena, who had been living alone with her young children for a few years now did not feel the need to cook every day, though she did so when her in-laws were living with her. "As my children are small they don't eat much. So I cook every alternate day." (Sameena)

A part of the emphasis the participants placed on cooking "fresh" food probably arises from the climate in most of South Asia from where these immigrants come, and the traditional food habits that have evolved in response to this climate and lack of refrigeration facilities. Food is grown in abundance in most of South Asia all year round. Traditionally there has been little need to store or preserve food. Meals in Indian and Pakistani houses are traditionally cooked fresh and from scratch (Jethma et al, 2012). In developing nations like those of South Asia, having enough food or an abundance of food is often viewed as a sign of wealth and stature. An overweight person is often referred to as coming from a "khaate peete ghar" (a household that has enough to eat and drink). Parents strive to feed children to keep them "healthy", a concept that is oftentimes conflated with the child being chubby. These food habits are deeply rooted and have changed little with modern amenities such as refrigeration or awareness of the dangers of obesity in the past few decades.

The emphasis on food and cooking "fresh" food can also be seen as tied to religion, and associated dictates around most social customs, including food and eating. In the Hindu religion, food is closely associated with sanctity and God (Jethma et al, 2012). Freshly cooked food is offered daily to the deity of the family before the rest of the family eats the meal. As it is an

offering to God, food is prepared with great care with the motive of service and appeasement. The importance of cooking and serving fresh food is reiterated on websites associated with religions prevalent in South Asia such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Islam (The Hindu Society of Minnesota, n.d; Clove Garden, 2008; Hushtoday, 2010; Hindu Website, n. d).

Ayurveda, an ancient medicinal and holistic healing system that emerged from India over 5000 years ago and that has a strong following among many Indians, lays importance on a regulated diet and fresh food to maintain a healthy lifestyle. A website that promotes Ayurveda informs us:

> Ayurveda advocates eating fresh food as it provides the maximum amount of energy. It advises against eating leftovers and processed food as a daily habit. Not only do stale, processed, and long-preserved food lack vital energy, but they are also difficult to digest. Including a fresh vegetable or fruit juice in your daily diet is highly recommended for good health. It might seem highly impractical for people with a busy schedule to cook fresh daily and not re-heat leftovers, but the comparative long-term health advantages of eating freshly cooked food should be kept in mind. (Jiva Ayurveda, n.d)

In her study of social organization of feeding work, DeVault (1991) discusses the concept of a "proper meal and notes that the notion of a "proper meal" is always tied to a cultural standard. These standards make it possible to identify when the meal complies with the standard and when it deviates from the same. Unlike in DeVault's study, in this study participants' understandings of what constitute a good meal were not articulated to practices and standards set by scientists or professionals such as dietitians or recognized by the Canadian food guide. However, traditional South Asian meals based on ancient scientific principles of Ayurveda are often balanced in the nutritional groups and so can be seen as a variation of similar prescriptions to a mother about what constitutes a proper meal.

Caring for Children

All the participants were the primary caregivers of their children. As we saw in the last chapter, 14 of the participants were unemployed, either by choice or due to lack of opportunities. These 14 women had full responsibility of the care of the home and their children. The participants who

were employed part-time had children in their late teens/adulthood, and so the mothers' work with the children or around the house was not as intense. Of the participants employed full-time, two (Anjali and Gayatri) were lone mothers and were solely responsible for the care of their children and homes, as was Hema who had a teenage son. Swati, employed full-time, was the only participant whose husband shared in responsibilities around the house and care of the children.

Once children were born, a majority of the participants and particularly those with professional qualifications, gave up work for a while or indefinitely, or made other adjustments to their work life that allowed them to give primacy to their work as mothers over all other aspects of their lives. They made the decision whether to return and when to return to the workforce based on a number of factors such as financial security of the family, ability to balance high expectations on the home and work front, and availability of familial childcare. Common threads running through all these interviews were the gendered expectations around the division of labour between partners.

For participants like Fatima and Salma who had lower levels of formal education and low proficiency in the English language, being a stay-at-home mother (SAHM) made them more vulnerable to gendered cultural expectations around the mothers' work. These women perceived no choices apart from being full time mothers. Bhakti, on the other hand categorically states that the decision to be a SAHM was a matter of her choice "In my college days when our teacher asked us what do you 'want to do in the future'? I remembered saying that I will look after my house and my kids" (Bhakti).

Some of the participants had put aside their careers in the short-term period or indefinitely after marriage and particularly after their children were born. Ananya was a professional engineer by training who worked for a while in India after marriage. She gave up her job soon after marriage as she found the expectations around managing both aspects of her life (home and work) difficult. She had observed the manner in which families 'suffered' when both partners worked, and so subordinated her own training and career to the needs of her family. She did this against resistance from her family of birth, who could not understand why she would sacrifice her career to focus exclusively on the home front.

Ananya's husband and his desire of having a mother at home for his children was a key contributor to Ananya's decision to be a SAHM:

> My mother-in-law use to work and my husband said "we longed for our mother; I don't want my children to face that." I could understand because my mom was always there for me, so it was different for me. But for him it was a very big thing. And when children are growing up it is the main thing if the parent is around it makes a lot of a difference. So I completely dedicated my life to my family. I said ok I will have my time once they grow up. Till then I will develop myself on different aspects of life.

Now that her children were teenagers and did not need her much to take care of their needs, Ananya was willing to return to the labour force. Like Ananya, Sharon and Hema put aside their careers to look after her children when they were young. Financial stability was an important unstated factor in Ananya, Sharon and Hema's decisions to give up their careers and be SAHMs. Their husband's earned well, especially in the Middle East where all three of them lived for many years, and were able to maintain the family on the single income. Financial stability also allowed Beena to choose not to continue to work in Canada as the family could get by with the husband's earnings as a drive test center examiner. Such financial stability was missing for Gayatri, who returned to work after her divorce in India, shortly after she became pregnant with her second child.

Professional child care was not an option for many of the participants because of the cost involved. Some of the participants expressed that most if not all of the income earned in Canada would be needed to cover daycare expenses, and so did not feel it was worth the compromise of being away from the family for the time and energy required to seek employment. This was particularly the case for the three participants who were lone mothers, had low language skills, and were dependent on social welfare. Apart from the money that would go towards daycare expenditure of two children, the idea of managing work outside of the house along with the sole responsibility of looking after her children was daunting for these participants.

Most participants that continued working/volunteering despite the presence of young children made adjustments to their work lives that gave primacy to the child's needs such as choosing work that would be over by the time the children got back home from school. For

example, Kiran who wanted volunteer work experience to gain an understanding the working of a Canadian school system decided to get this experience only once her daughter attended full-time school. Some of the participants who tried to juggle between being the primary caregiver with work outside the home, chose to give up their jobs as they felt guilty about not being able to put in the required quality and quantity of work in their workplaces.

Workplaces were typically rigid, and did not accommodate flexible work conditions. The participants were caught between the conflicting demands of attending to full-time work outside the house and the demands on time and attention because of expectations around mothering work. Women's feelings of guilt related to "missing the kid's childhood" is a commonly occurring theme in the popular literature-both Canadian and South Asian.[19] These messages often leave many working mothers feeling anxious and unhappy. Asma, like many other working women had been plagued with guilt about working outside the house when expectations of her as a mother dictated that her young children required her time and attention despite having multiple caregivers living with them. This affected her ability to be a good employee and she chose to give up her employment rather than do an inadequate job.

Apart from the costs involved, an important reason for not opting for professional child-minding was because the participants perceived that such services were not the best care option for children, and that children are best looked after by the mother or by family or persons who treat children like family. Young children require a lot of care and attention, and it was the unstated assumption amongst almost all the participants that it was primarily the mother or alternate familial mother figure (most often the grandmother) who had to undertake this care.

Shilpa worked as an employee in a State Government department in India prior to immigration and her mother-in-law assumed the role of the "mother" in her home. The loss of this mother figure after immigration was instrumental in Shilpa not looking for work in Canada. Though Shilpa's husband worked as a security guard while studying to re-qualify for his professional degree, he suggested that Shilpa not work in the interest of the children and so that

[19] See these websites as examples of some such conversations:
http://community.babycenter.com/post/a33715120/are_you_missing_out_on_your_kids_childhood
http://www.thegrindstone.com/2012/08/21/work-life-balance/parents-number-one-regret-is-spending-too-much-time-at-work-when-their-children-are-little-834/
http://www.indiaparenting.com/raising-children/129_254/the-working-mother.html
https://in.lifestyle.yahoo.com/beat-working-mom-guilt-trip-033000388.html

the home not become “disturbed.” The disturbance Shilpa referred to is the potential changes in family dynamics and relationships, and the potential ways in which children would be brought up (different from what they would want in their family) if both Shilpa and her husband worked outside the home and had to rely on outsiders for childcare. Though Shilpa wished to get back into the workforce in Canada, she strongly believed that the lack of familial care would affect her children. “If my mother-in-law comes here and look after my kids and home I will study here and upgrade myself. But taking responsibility of everything is difficult”. However bringing such familial help was not going to be possible for Shilpa’s family given the recent restrictions on the entry of parents/grandparents into the country (OCASI, 2013a; Keung, 2011) which would make it very difficult to sponsor her mother-in-law. Similarly, Sarita a seamstress with over 15 years of experience in tailoring, refused a full-time job offer in Canada as she felt the need to take care of the children because of the expenses involved in daycare and because she was hesitant to leave her children in the care of strangers. For Swati and her husband (both graphic designers), it was a combination of factors — costs and being unsure of the quality of care in a professional daycare — that made them decide that one of them would look for a full-time employment while the other explored options to open a business venture.

Housework

The participants were also primarily responsible for the home and its care and did almost all the household chores. When men pitched in to help in these everyday household tasks it was sporadic, or when the woman concerned was unable to do the work single handed for a reason such as poor health: “My husband does the vacuuming, mopping and everything on weekends because I can’t do it by myself on account of a problem with my shoulder. He also cleans the washroom” (Beena). Men were largely responsible for work that was perceived as involving the use of heavier equipment or requiring more physical strength such as using the vacuum, shovelling the snow, and mowing the lawn. Many of the participants did not drive and so husbands drove the wives to do grocery shopping or did the shopping themselves.

A notable exception to the division of household chores was Swati’s family. Swati worked full-time outside the home while the husband was in the process of setting up a business

from his home office. In this particular case, the husband was involved in the household to a larger extent. In fact, in terms of distribution of housework it was the most evenly balanced of all the participants, yet this appeared to cause Swati some amount of guilt. Though her husband helped in the preparation of dinner in some ways (e.g. chopping vegetables), it was she who cooked the meals for the family. When Swati cooked dinner after coming home after a whole day of work outside the house, she cooked a bit extra so that her husband could eat the same for lunch the next day.

When asked if her husband cooked food, she replied that he could but she "insists he doesn't" because "I'll have no work to do if he does everything." She explains that her husband "does his share, more than his share, so I don't want to [let him cook food too]." Her husband made the children breakfast, dropped them to school and picked them up from school. His contribution to household chores included grocery shopping and "heavy stuff" around the house. The husband also helped with ironing, vacuuming, cleaning, and washing up after dinner. The importance of the man's job as an income earner and the ideology that household work was considered primarily women's work is underlined in Swati's narrative. Far from accepting that she was making an equal contribution to the home and that the couple had a fairly egalitarian work distribution in the home, Swati felt guilty that she would have "no work" if she did not do the cooking. This was different from the other participants' interviews where the man's employment outside the house was seen as his primary and sole responsibility towards the family.

A combination of inadequate English skills coupled with the perceived need for a mother figure to look after the home and children resulted in more gendered-based family work in the division of household chores after migration.

> If I get a job then I will tell my husband that I have to go on this time so you finish such and such work for our son before going [to work yourself]. Now in the morning my husband drinks tea and eats his breakfast and goes to the library for his studies. My husband knows that I will finish whatever [domestic] work that is pending. In India he used to help in bathing the children while I was preparing food. We used to work together. (Shilpa)

Prior to migration, most of the participants could afford domestic help and as such had never had to manage household related tasks the way they did after migration when they could no longer afford this help. While some women continued to carry out all such household related chores single-handedly, others tried to make their children responsible for at least a small part of their own work. Daisy is primarily responsible for housework in her home but ensures that her sons (13 and 22 years) help out, though this help is largely restricted to taking care of their own rooms and laundry. Hema also assigns her teenage son tasks primarily related to his own room and laundry in order to make him more self-sufficient. She uses her own childhood experiences of household work as a reference point for tasks she assigns her son. "We never had these luxuries of getting clothes laundered commercially till we went to college, we had to iron our own uniform, pack our own things. And all those things were done by us also, so why not him?" When I asked Hema about the division of work in the house immediately prior to migration, she referred to the paid domestic help she has had previously: "The house work was never done by (any of) us so it was never shared." Swati decided to let her children do a bit of work around the house to teach her children to be more self-sufficient. After migrating to Canada, the household tasks fell upon her and she does not want her children to be as unprepared as she had been. She also feels that helping around the house makes children feel good "because they feel that they are helping out" and also because there is a sense of accomplishment for the child. "She is helping us, taking one task from me and its helping her because she is becoming more independent" (Swati).

Daughters, particularly older daughters were involved in chores that went beyond simply cleaning up after themselves. They helped in cooking, cleaning, and looking after younger siblings. Rekha's 12 year old daughter picked her younger brother up from the after school program, gave him a snack on returning home, and babysat him till the parents returned. She also made the parents an occasional cup of tea, or sometimes prepared a salad for dinner. Similarly, Sameena's 11 year old daughter sometimes washed the dishes at night, while the eight year old daughter helped her mother in cleaning up. Describing her son's (4 years) chores however she said "When he is alone he sometime he put his things on proper place especially after coming home from school…but when his sisters are there then he wants his sisters to do everything" (Sameena).

Teaching Children Cultural and Religious Values

The mother's work also involved transmitting cultural values to their children. A few of the participants verbalized their concern about not having a larger familial/ societal support system to share this responsibility with. Beena shared that in India, the children would have learnt her cultural values through immersion in daily activities in the family and the interactions with others. The common cultural norms in Indian society and the involvement of the extended family in raising children would have ensured that she didn't "have to be worried about moral values" unlike in Canada, where she feels the "burden" to consciously teach her children the same. She feels that teaching through talking about values she considered important as she tries to do here is not as effective as immersion into a context where children can learn about these values through involvement and observation on a daily basis. Bhakti speaks of the daily effort the work of teaching values involves for her. She emphasizes her responsibility as a parent to teach her child about their culture and values: "Every day I purposely start a dialogue with her as a friend. You have to have an interaction with your teenager child. Casual talk regarding teacher or class work is not sufficient but you have to emphasize on our culture". Religious teachings and cultural values were seen as interrelated by some participants and mothers like Sameena relied on the religious leaders at the mosque to also teach children religious values.

Much of the work in relation to transmitting culture related to placing limits on/controlling children's potential sexual activities. Bhakti, for example consciously makes it a point to talk to her daughter about dating and sexuality and to teach her cultural expectations around the same. Bhakti shared that she felt it was important that her child learn about sex/sexuality from her rather than an "outsider" such as the school system and to set boundaries around the same. "I also mentioned to her that in our culture these things [sex and reproduction] happen only after marriage. So far she agrees with whatever I said to her. I don't know about the future" (Bhakti). Like Bhakti, Salma prefers that her children turn to their parents for information and even friendship. She doesn't like her children getting too close to other children at school. She explains to her daughter and son that they are welcome to make friends at school, but are encouraged to keep boundaries on such relationships. She wants the children to think of her and her husband as their friends, and confide in the parents instead of others. When I asked Salma

why, she said that she has heard of a lot of stories where the children develop close friendships and then "go along" with the friends, and then ask for sleepovers and playdates. Salma says she doesn't mind these activities, but feels that she would not want to send the children over to homes of children where she does not know anything about the family or the home environment. Salma says it is not the ethnic background that concerns her as much as the behaviour of the family and environment of the home which she can judge [as having the same values as her family] by the way the child/parents talk and behave. Salma is also worried about the potential for same sex relationships in Canada, something she perceives does not happen in Pakistan. However Salma's children do stay over and interact very frequently with their large network of relatives in Canada. Salma's narrative illustrates the level of taboo around speaking about sex and sexuality in South Asian families. Not only is there a denial of same sex relationships within Pakistan (because of the lack of open dialogue about the same), but also a naive belief that children are safe from sexual abuse within the family.

For some of the mothers, teaching children about culture and values necessitated walking the talk. Before marriage Salma wore niqab that completely covered her face apart from an opening for her eyes. She stopping wearing this on her husband's request after marriage, and even cut her hair short—changes she equated with becoming very "modern." However, after coming to Canada she "took permission" from her husband to start wearing the scarf again. According to her, this was to be a good role model to her daughter. She says her strategy worked. About six months ago her daughter has started wearing the head scarf. According to Salma they never forced her. She just bought the scarf and kept it, and the daughter said that she would like to wear it: "children will do as they see." Sarita, too, is very concerned that her children should not forget their culture. She makes it a point to celebrate each festival, and follow associated practices such as rising early, dressing up, praying and cooking special food. She is worried that if she did not do this, her children might lose knowledge of these customs and values such as respecting elders.

The participants said that they primarily learnt what "good mothering" was from their own mothers. Rekha says her mother taught her that "A mother should do everything for her children so that they know that they have a caring mother." Equating motherhood with sacrifice and assuming that women should put her child and his/her needs and wants before all else are

ideals upheld in South Asian scriptures and mythologies.[20] These discourses can be found embedded in religious texts and the teachings of contemporary spiritual/religious leaders. Shri Satya Sai Baba, who continues to be the spiritual leader to millions of South Asians of diverse religions even after his death, preached: "The mother herself should look after the children during the early years instead of placing the child in the custody and care of baby sitters and servants" (ShriSatyaSai.org, n.d).

> The mother must set the example in making the shrine the heart of the household. She must enforce discipline over the children in personal cleanliness, in humility and hospitality, in good manners and acts of service. She must persuade the children by example and precept to revere elders and to allot some time both in the morning and evening for prayer and silent meditation. (ShriSatyasai, n.d.)

Similarly, a website that promotes the teachings of the Islamic religion states:

> A good mother places the needs of the child, both physical and emotional needs, first. This is an important point to keep in mind, especially in these modern times. Women today are deluded by society into making their own careers and jobs more important than their homes. The home will always remain a woman's most valuable work and that may require all types of sacrifices. It is not really a sacrifice, but is an investment which will reap great dividends.
>
> Since the mother is the most important person in the life of a child, she is greatly revered. Her habits and behavior become a model for the child. Whatever the child observes from her, such as her housekeeping habits, her manners, her relationships with others, the way she spends money, and in general her lifestyle, will all undoubtedly affect the child's character. A mother is said to be better than a hundred teachers. Her emotional strengths and weaknesses are an example for the child, and will be followed for many years to come even though all of it may not be worthy. (Al-Islam.org, n.d)

Discourses around "good mothering" in the South Asian context are also passed on through folk tales, literature, as well as in popular South Asian media such as Bollywood films. Riaz (2013) analyzes the depiction of motherhood in Bollywood films. She discusses how the

[20] For example Yashoda's legendary maternal love for her foster son Lord Krishna as detailed in the Bhagvat Purana http://hinduonline.co/Scriptures/Puranas/SrimadBhagavataPurana.html

themes of sacrifice, motherly love and maintain of traditions are immortalized in the iconic 1957 Bollywood film "Mother India" which "attained canonical status for its representation of womanhood and motherhood" (Riaz, 2013). Riaz compares this iconic film to the more recent 2006 Bollywood film "Pyaar Mein Twist" that does incorporate ideas of independence and career for women. She suggests that although both films are very different in their historical contexts and their portrayals of motherhood, they share the highly valued ideal of the self-sacrificing mother (Riaz, 2013).

Many participants spoke about the differences they perceived in cultural norms in Canadian society and their own. While a couple of participants expressed the differences they saw between the cultures of their countries of origin and in Canada, others referred to specific aspects where the culture differed. For example, a few participants mentioned that parents were not allowed to spank children in Canada and that children had the right to report any physical disciplining by the parent to the school authorities. Sameena said she worried about the "liberty" and "freedom" children have from parental involvement in Canada, especially after reaching the legal age of majority: "After 18 years of age you can't open your child's medical report. May be children will take advantage of this. They will say now you can't do anything. I am worried about these things" (Sameena).

Many Canadian laws provide institutional support for children's autonomy from parents in Canada. For instance, a child in Ontario over 12 years of age can see a councillor or therapist without a parents consent and can consent to have sex with a person less than two years older who is not in a position of authority over the child; a youth of 16 years can withdraw from parental control. These rights are enshrined in laws such as the Criminal Code of Canada, Child and Family Services Act, Children's Law Reform Act, and Family Law Act (Justice for Children and Youth, 2012).

Sameena's fears are probably better understood in the light of Sharon's description of her own childhood and the close involvement and dependency of her siblings and her on their parents until adulthood/marriage. Referring to the "different line of thinking" immigrants like her family have from mainstream Canadians, Sharon says:

> Like for us, till we can get married our parents supported us completely, for the girls… my whole wedding [expenses], from buying whatever I needed to be given [bridal

trousseau] . . . to the whole expenses for the marriage for all the three children.. my dad spent every penny, like we never spent anything. My dad never allowed us [to spend on the weddings]. And so that's the way we are brought up. My brother, till he didn't start working he was looked after. We lived with our parents till the time we got married.

Kanchan expressed that South Asian mothers do not leave children to their own devices to learn from their own mistakes as she perceived is encouraged in Canadian society. Beena feared the sexual freedom allowed to teenagers and young adults in Canada and the potential consequences of the same: "After 18 the kids move out, if they are pregnant they might have a baby. So these things worry me."

Protecting Children

Protecting children from harm goes hand in hand with parenting. Yet, understanding of what constitutes harm for the child, what needs to be done to protect the child from harm, and the length of time parents need to keep up this protective role differs between social contexts.

Children are an extremely vulnerable population in South Asian countries. There are no reliable estimates of the gross violations (sexual abuse, kidnapping, potential maiming and trafficking for commercial or sexual exploitation) that children are subjected to. India is globally acknowledged to be a source, receiving and transit country for human trafficking, internal and external (ECPAT, 2010). Protecting children, particularly girls, from such gross violations and more everyday forms of violations are part of the everyday reality of parenting in South Asian countries.[21] Though children from poor families are more vulnerable to such physical harm, all parents are aware of the risks to unaccompanied children. Closely monitoring the child, making sure that the child is always accompanied by a trusted adult, and restricting socialisation to known persons are some strategies the parents used while dealing with the fear for the child's safety. The participants of this study continued to fear for the safety of their children in relation to the potential dangers in the environment, even while acknowledging that Canada is a relatively safe country. Protective behaviour such as accompanying children to school were the

[21] For a descriptive, first person account of what such everyday forms of violation look like for girls in South Asia see http://sahajapatel.wordpress.com/2013/06/08/its-a-baby-girl/

ways in which these fears were manifested. As Bhakti said, “I feel bad when she goes walking to middle school by her own. Of course she goes with her friends. It’s safe here so I am not worried” (Bhakti).

The teenage years were seen as one where children were very vulnerable to outside threats such as drugs or sexual harm. Kanchan worried about her teenage son’s behaviour in the light of the high prevalence of drug use among teenagers that she had read about. Kanchan felt that as a parent it was her duty to protect her children “till they realise” the dangers in the environment. She was always on the lookout for symptoms or warning signs that might indicate that her child is taking drugs such as excessive fatigue, and has confronted her child demanding an explanation for the same.

Protection also involved controlling children’s sexual activities. Ananya and her husband perceived that their teenage daughters were vulnerable to sexual advances from boys/men. Ananya and her husband consciously used books and the relationships depicted on television shows such as “Friends” to educate their daughters. Ananya shares that her motivation to do so stemmed from her own ignorance on these issues until she got married which she said “did not help,” and that she did not want her children to be as sexually ignorant as she had been. Though Ananya and her husband were both highly educated they were concerned only about potential sexual advances from boys, indicative again of the prevalent heteronormativity in South Asian society as well as the value placed on girl’s chastity.

Protecting children from potential harm as they approached adolescence involved practices such as closely monitoring the children’s friends and social interactions. Archana, Asma, Bhakti and Rekha mentioned meeting their child’s friends and their parents to be sure that their children were socialising in safe company. Others like Kiran and Salma structured their child’s social life so that they were almost constantly occupied and so that most social interactions occurred largely within their own communities. Asma saw to it that her child was never left unsupervised. Asma noted “it is scary when you leave your children alone, because we never know what ideas will come in child’s mind.” She explained that in Pakistan one “never leaves children alone.” Rekha feels the need to control her daughter’s (12 years) activities and behaviour to ensure that there is “nothing to worry about.” She routinely checks her child’s bags, monitors her phone calls and her socialisation to ensure that the child does not get into bad

habits, which she refers to as “bigad jaana” [become spoilt/get ruined]. The conflation of picking up bad/negative habits with becoming “spoilt” can be tied back to traditional South Asian notions of family honour and the expectations for individuals, and particularly daughters to uphold the same through good behaviour.

Being new to the country can intensify the fears of keeping children safe from physical harm from their environment, and also from self-harm through risky behaviours. Farida explains how her own lack of knowledge about their immediate environment made her fearful of her teenage daughter’s (18 years) physical safety. Farida describes the feeling of loss of control she felt living in an alien environment, and the manner in which her daughter’s growing autonomy and independence contributed to this sense of loss of control. For Farida, trusting her daughter in this society was difficult as she did not know the new context enough to understand nuances around what behaviours were normal/acceptable and what were not. It was a learning curve for Farida before she was able to give up being overly suspicious of her daughter and learn to trust her and her ability to not “deviate” from values and behaviours that the family held dear such as respect for elders or focus of her educational goals.

This section described the everyday work of mothering for the participants of this study. The next section uses a case study to highlight the unique vulnerabilities of some immigrant mothers and the manner in which their mothering work is impacted by the same.

Case Study: Tejinder

Tejinder was eight months pregnant when she immigrated to Canada under the Family Class in December 2005 to join her husband and his family. Her travel in the late stage of pregnancy had caused her a lot of physical discomfort, but her in-laws did not take her to the doctor as she was not eligible for free health insurance. Within a week her problems became “more serious” and she was rushed to emergency by a friend. The doctors had to perform an emergency Caesarian section operation on her, and the baby was born prematurely. Her husband, his family and her family came to know of the birth only after the delivery. Tejinder’s hospital bill amounted to $13,000, and was a trigger for the ongoing abuse she faced at the hands of her in-laws. Her in-laws would blame her for the high medical expenses they had to incur and would keep her

locked in a room. She was not fed until her husband returned from his work. She did not go for any post-natal checkups due to the costs that would be involved, and because she was dependent on her in-laws for transportation.

Tejinder conceived her second child when her son was four months old. During her pregnancy she had to cook for her husband's family of 7 persons each day while taking care of her infant. Her brother in law and his wife had no children despite being married 12 years and Tejinder's parents-in-law wished Tejinder to hand over her son to the brother-in law and his wife to raise as their own. When Tejinder delivered a baby girl neither her husband nor her in-laws came to visit her at the hospital. She says they did not want her to return home. She took a taxi home, paying for it from the $20 odd dollars she had accumulated from the cash gifts her child had received. Her situation at home deteriorated after the birth of her daughter. Her husband moved between many precarious factory jobs and drank heavily, borrowing money from his mother. Tejinder's mother-in-law and sister-in-law used to "beat her sometimes." Someone in her ethnic network suggested that Tejinder apply for subsidized housing to YMCA. When Tejinder applied at YMCA she told them about the constant fighting in the house and about the physical and mental torture she had to endure. At the time she did not mention her husband's abusive behaviour as she was scared "I thought if I make a complaint against my husband, he will leave me then where will I go with my kids?" She was soon allotted a townhome and the family's primary source of income was the husband's erratic earnings and the "$260 to $270 for each" child that Tejinder received from the government.

While Tejinder was in the hospital, the doctors had alerted child welfare to her case as Tejinder had told him that she would be unable to afford milk powder for her newborn. The child welfare worker started meeting with Tejinder once or twice a month. However, Tejinder had been warned by her family not to disclose any of the harassment to her. On one such visit by the social worker to her new home, Tejinder's husband returned home drunk and started fighting with the social worker. When Tejinder tried to reason with her husband, he slapped her in front of the social worker two times. The social worker immediately called the police and the husband was removed from the home. At the social worker's suggestion, Tejinder agreed to go to a shelter with her children. At the shelter, Tejinder had to come to terms with the fact that she had to care for her children in a place she knew little about due to the forced isolation she had been

subjected to by her husband and his family. Though she says the staff at the shelter were "very good" and that she got to eat Indian food at the shelter, Tejinder had a tough time because of the racism she experienced.

At the shelter Tejinder had to rely on a translator called from the nearby YMCA to communicate with her shelter worker. She had to live at the shelter for six months to be allotted the three bedroom house that the social worker told her was needed as both her children were of different sexes. "They were saying if I had two sons then I can live in two bedroom house but as I have one daughter and one son I have to take three BHK [bedroom hall kitchen house]". After she left the shelter, her husband tried to kidnap her children and the police had to be called to intervene.

Tejinder had been living on her own with her children for two years at the time of the interview. She had received sole custody of her children from the courts a month ago. In the past two years, Tejinder's sources of support and help had been Canadian state institutions. Ontario Works along with the Child Tax Benefit paid for her living expenses. She lived frugally, never eating outside the house and never buying new clothes for herself or her children. The police told Tejinder to call them if her husband's family were to approach her again. The child welfare worker who visited Tejinder often suggested that Tejinder enroll her children in extra-curricular activities, taking advantage of the subsidies available for low income persons. Tejinder, who lived on the very limited income provided by Ontario works, found this suggestion impossible to follow: "It's not possible for me. At the end of the month in my account I have only $10. It's very hard for me to run the house in this limited income." Tejinder continued to care for her children while fighting depression that had its beginnings in her in-laws home and that escalated when she lived in the shelter. Tejinder lived from day to day, dreading the time when the Ontario Works support would be withdrawn and she is forced to start working full time.

Tejinder's story exemplified the ways in which women could be caught at the intersections of multiple oppressions as newcomers in Canada on account of language, gender, race, newcomer status and class. Tejinder's dependence on the husband and his family was a result of a combination of factors, personal and structural and included - low language proficiency, inadequate knowledge about Canada, lack of income to afford transportation, gendered power relations within the family that becomes exacerbated upon migration, loss of

traditional networks of support on account of migration and on inadequate knowledge about the country and her rights as a permanent resident.

Tejinder did not have free/affordable health care when she most needed it. In Ontario, new immigrants have to wait three months after arrival to be eligible for the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP). New immigrants are advised to purchase private health insurance to cover the three month gap. Tejinder's family either did not have the money to spend or did not consider it worthwhile to spend on Tejinder's health. In India, many women return to their families of birth for their delivery and post-partum recovery. Immigration did not allow Tejinder to access these traditional forms of social support and care. Tejinder suffered abuse not only at the hands of her husband but also by her in-laws. In her story, we see cultural preferences for boys and the ways in which the worth of women in some South Asian marital homes is based the gender of her child.

The gendered nature of Canadian immigration law stands out in treatment of dependent spouses brought into the country under the family class. In 2013, a majority of the women entering the country did so under the Family class or as spouse/dependents under the economic class (CIC, 2015). A seemingly gender neutral category, "spouse" has historically been seen as the female dependent in the marital relationship (Côté, Kérisit & Côté, 2001) and such an understanding has, until a few years ago, framed policies related to sponsored immigrant women`s eligibility to receive welfare. Recognising the vulnerability of sponsored immigrant women in relation to their husbands, the Government of Canada changed its policies to make it possible for abused immigrant women to leave their sponsors and apply for state help. However, there is little awareness of such changes among immigrants and as we saw in Tejinder`s case, abusers are able to use the threat of withdrawal of sponsorship support as a means to make women accept abuse. More recently, the government reacted to the alleged proliferation of 'marriage fraud' or 'marriages of convenience' by announcing changes to the regulations of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act applicable to spouses. According to this regulation, the sponsored spouse needs to "cohabit in a legitimate relationship with their sponsor for two years from the day on which they receive their permanent resident status in Canada. If they do not remain in the relationship, the sponsored spouse's status could be revoked" (CIC, 2012b, p. 1). The regulation was passed even while recognising that such a requirement could exacerbate

abusive situations for women: “the condition would cease to apply in instances where there is evidence of abuse (that is, physical, sexual, psychological or financial) or neglect (failure to provide the necessaries of life)” (CIC, 2012b, p. 1). The regulation has generated a strong reaction from immigration activists who decry such a regulation as being discriminatory against immigrants in general and oppressive towards women in abusive situations in particular. Calling the regulation “a major step backward in Canada’s fight against gender-based violence” Douglas, Go and Blackstock (2012, p. 1) go on to note that immigrant women are often hesitant to report abuse due to a variety of reasons – such as fear or shame ―and this regulation does nothing to acknowledge these and other such barriers.

Tejinder spent six months in a shelter waiting for a three bedroom house for herself and two young children when she would have likely settled for housing with much fewer rooms if given a choice. She had to pay a higher rent for this larger house that was prescribed by the social worker. The social worker’s insistence on a three bedroom house is linked to textual discourses around “suitable housing” as per the National Occupancy Standard (NOS) requirements. Under these housing standards, houses are expected to meet three criterion: adequacy (the house does not require major repairs), affordability (affordable housing costs less than 30% of before-tax household income) and suitability which is defined as:

> Suitable housing has enough bedrooms for the size and make-up of resident households, according to National Occupancy Standard (NOS) requirements. Enough bedrooms based on NOS requirements means one bedroom for:
>
> •each cohabiting adult couple;
>
> •each lone parent;
>
> •unattached household member 18 years of age and over;
>
> •same-sex pair of children under age 18;
>
> •and additional boy or girl in the family, unless there are two opposite sex children under 5 years of age, in which case they are expected to share a bedroom.
>
> A household of one individual can occupy a bachelor unit (i.e. a unit with no bedroom). (Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation, 2014, p. 27)

While it is not clear whether the social worker considered adequacy and affordability in her rationale for choice of house, the criterion she focused on related to ideas of “suitable

housing" which is heteronormative in its orientation and Eurocentric in its prescription of how individuals in the family are expected to sleep based on relationship status and age. The three bedroom housing structure provides a room for each child and ensures (to the extent possible) that the child does not have to sleep with the parent. Tejinder's involvement with child welfare ensured that she followed these prescriptions.

The advice Tejinder got from her social worker in providing extra-curricular activities for her children which in turn is tied into the child development discourse, did not take into account the actuality of Tejinder's limited financial resources. While the city of Toronto does have a "Welcome Policy" (City of Toronto, 1998-2014) to allow children of low income houses free access to recreational programs, not all municipalities offer this service, and/or immigrants might not know about the existence of such programs as was seen in the case of participants of this study. Availing even "free" services has associated costs of time and money spent in going to and returning from the program that immigrants have to carefully consider. The advice also did not take into account the depression that Tejinder lived with while caring for her children.

To be eligible for state support that she needed to survive and retain custody of her children, Tejinder had to break ties with her husband and his family and carry out the suggestions of the social worker, including living in state sponsored institutions where she experienced racism. Traditional forms of intervention – such as intervention by the birth family, larger kin or community groups—were not available to Tejinder due to her distance from such support after migration. Tejinder's interactions with the police, social workers, courts and shelter were dependent on the availability and effectiveness of the interpreters /translators who represented her and her life to these authorities.

Similar to Tejinder, two other participants, Fatima and Sameena, lived without spousal support. These women had low language ability, lower levels of education and had little or no family support in Canada. Yet they preferred to live in Canada as the limited help they got from the state was preferable to the prospect of living as single mothers dependent on the goodwill of family members in their countries of origin. In Canada, their children had opportunities that they would never be able to access in their countries of origin. Their examples highlight the vulnerability of their particular subject locations as women with low language/educational backgrounds in their families of origin/marital families and also in relation to the state.

Changes in Mothering Work

Some participants noted that since migration their food habits/cooking had adapted. Cooking became less complex/ traditional and more easily accessible foods were made by some of the women. This happened in some cases when the woman could not cope with the demands of cooking and cleaning. Sometimes the adaptation and change was initiated when the children refused to take traditional foods to school in order to fit in. South Asian foods were perceived by these children or their mothers as having a strong odour that made them feel self- conscious among their peers. Most of the women spoke of sending more Western foods like sandwiches or pasta to school with their children. In such cases the mother had to not only put aside her own apprehensions about the meal she was sending with her children to school, but she also had to learn to cook these different kinds of food. This need to change food habits was not necessary when there was greater ethnic diversity within the environment or when the children themselves suggested their comfort in taking South Asian foods to school. “My older one, now he is okay, because in university everybody brings all kinds of smelly food. So now he says ‘give me anything.’ He wants everything, from biryani to everything” (Kanchan).

Some of the participants had started realizing that what they considered norms around good mothering were not shared universally. Kiran was quite taken aback with the response she received from an Early Years Centre worker she was talking to. “That's what a teacher in the Early Years Center said, ‘Stop cooking so much! You're wasting lots of time in the kitchen. . . . You're spending so much time on cooking and you could do lots of work in that time." The workers statement is reflective of the devaluation of unpaid work of women within the home. The worker’s reaction is also the outcome of the messaging by an entire industry in contemporary Western society that has evolved and sustained around making cooking and housework in general easier, quicker and more time efficient so that time is there for other work that is considered more important.

Kiran said she learnt much about parenting through the Early Years Centre she attended, about discipline, teaching children through play, and about providing children choices. “They said, don't give too many choices of foods. If you are making one meal, make that meal. Even if they don't eat the first day, the child needs at least 15 times to see a food before they start at least tasting it seems”. (Kiran)

Some of the participants who attended LINC classes mentioned that they learnt about Canada and more particularly about parenting in Canada from these classes, either through the content of the LINC class lessons or through informal interactions with classmates.

> They give us handouts related to parenting and related to a positive attitude. We get a general idea about marriage divorce, happy family… raising kids, parenting. (Beena)

> Here [in the LINC class] I came to know that you can't keep your child alone in the house if he/she is below 12 years of age. Otherwise I had no idea. . . . Recently I came to know from my co student that if anything happens [death] either to a husband or a wife then the government takes charge of the child. . . . In that situation you have to make a will. I came to know about this recently. . . . I was shocked. Immediately I talked with my husband and then together we talked with our other friends regarding this. They all said it is true. . . . Now we are also thinking making a will. (Bhakti)

Attending LINC classes also helped some of the participants break their isolation and get engaged in activities outside housework. Kiran said that most of the things she learnt at the early years centre were useful but some of the advice "might not apply for us [South Asian mothers]." She gave the example of co-sleeping:

> While reading the story, they [Early Years Centre staff] say that kids sleep by themselves. But that doesn't apply to my daughter. She always sleeps with parents. My older daughter has only now starting to sleep by herself. I find that if the kids sleep with the parents, they'll have a bond. So it has a special bonding when the kids lie down with us. We get to talk a lot with them, and they tell stories and whatever they're thinking they talk. So, according to me, kids sleeping with us is not bad. . . . They [Early Years Centre staff] want the kids to be independent in everything. For me, kids should be independent in certain things but not everything. If they are independent in everything, then later we will find it difficult to control them in certain areas.

The merits and demerits of co-sleeping are debated quite frequently in many parenting magazines and blogs and the children being discussed are often infants.[22] The merits of co-

[22] See for example: http://www.babycareadvice.com/babycare/general_help/article.php?id=57
http://www.phdinparenting.com/blog/2009/1/9/benefits-of-co-sleeping.html
http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/co-sleeping-is-sharing-your-bed-good-for-the-baby-1.2555210
http://www.askdrsears.com/topics/health-concerns/sleep-problems/scientific-benefits-co-sleeping

sleeping according to these texts focus on better bonds between mother and child, faster response time to child's discomfort, more security for the child, better sleep for the mother and baby. The most widely reiterated argument against co-sleeping focus on the potential danger of accidental death by suffocation when it shares a bed with an adult. Among child deaths investigated by the Office of the Chief Coroner in Ontario between 2004-2008, bed- sharing was often a cause of deaths classified as "undetermined" among children 0-5 years of age.[23] There is no clear consensus in the academic literature on whether co-sleeping harmful or beneficial to the child/parent. Some research (McKenna & McDade; 2005; McKenna & Volpe, 2007) argues that there is a need to differentiate between types of safe and unsafe co-sleeping while discussing infant deaths as the presence of a vigilant adult in the room (if not on the same bed) has the potential to actually save infant lives. McKenna & Volpe (2007) inform us that co-sleeping has many advantages to the mother and child such as enhanced sleep, increased attachment, communication, and increased parental supervision and mutual affection.

Co-sleeping with children over 5 years is debated for reasons rather than those of physical safety. An article in Maclean's magazine (Gulli, 2013) that discusses older children co-sleeping with parents lists some of these:

> Discussing their family's sleep habits opens parents up to all kinds of uneasy questions—about their sex life, their ability to control their children and their children's ability to –control them. It raises larger social questions about whether nighttime has become a convenient substitute for diminished quality time during the day. (Gulli, 2013, p. 1)

The Public Health Agency of Canada (2014) and the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies (OACAS, 2010) identify co-sleeping to be unsafe for infants. Child welfare is called to respond to situations of child death as can be seen in this news coverage: "The deaths of two babies in New Brunswick as a result of co-sleeping with adults will see social workers review safe sleeping practices with parents, says the minister of Social Development" (CBC News, June 16, 2014). While it does not spell out what the workers are to look for in particular,

[23] Undetermined deaths include "Sudden unexpected death in infancy – evidence of external condition or risk factor exists (bed sharing with adults, sleeping face down on a soft pillow or adult mattress). Again the role of the external condition/risk in causing or contributing to the death is not truly known or difficult to evaluate, prove, or disprove." (Office of the Chief Coroner, 2010, p. 2).

the Standards for Child Welfare Practice in Ontario suggest that the child's sleeping area is an area that needs to be examined during a Child Protection Investigation:

> Direct observation of the child's living situation – if information is obtained that the child's living conditions are hazardous and/or that is suggestive of neglect, the entire home is seen and in particular the child's sleeping area. (Government of Ontario, 2007a, p. 13)

Apart from protection related issues, child welfare's interest in co-sleeping has been linked in the media to their disregard for Aboriginal parenting practices. "Practices by many aboriginal people — such as parent-child co-sleeping, shared housing and multi-generational responsibility for childrearing — are often seen in social work as signs of dysfunction" (Humphreys, 2014).

Cultural differences in relation to co-sleeping is a topic often discussed in the academic literature. Co-sleeping has been found to be a common phenomenon across many cultures of the world including some European cultures (Tomori, 2011). Shweder, Jensen & Goldstein (1995) inform us that "who sleeps with whom" (p. 23) in the family has largely been a White Middle Class concern in the United States and that "routine parent child co-sleeping appears more common in other U.S groups" (p. 23). Their research suggests that sleeping arrangements are a joint product of cultural preferences and morals around such arrangements and local resources such as space and economics.

James McKenna (2006), a leading researcher on the topic of co-sleeping writes about the "Cultural/Scientific bias against co-sleeping":

> In popular parenting books and childcare magazines, co-sleeping may be (1) described as if it were a homogenous concept, (2) ignored completely, or (3) presented in terms of the likely or inevitable "problems" that could arise, especially the danger of suffocation. Sometimes co-sleeping is explicitly discouraged; at other times the message is subtler. The most frequently cited reasons for recommending separate sleeping quarters for parents and children include preservation of the marriage; promotion of the child's individualism and autonomy; avoidance of incest and suffocation; promotion of the child's social competence; and strengthening of the child's gender and sexual identities. (p. 9)

Tomori (2011) reviews the literature on co-sleeping to state that in North America cultural prohibitions against co-sleeping have been associated with the goal of producing "a self-reliant, independent child" (Tomori, 2011, p. 12). The links between autonomy/independence and co-sleeping are prevalent in this quotation by an expert in a popular parenting magazine:

> There is nothing wrong with cuddling your eight-year-old in bed and, on occasion, sleeping with them for comfort when they're stressed or ill," says Janet Morrison, a psychological associate from Toronto who assesses children, adolescents and families. "I don't think there's any harm in sleeping with them at this stage, although you want them to begin developing some independence. (Eckler, 2011, p. 1)

The documents presented here suggest that the text- mediated discourses around co-sleeping are partly rooted in the opinion of "experts" and these "expert" conceptions of good child rearing practices, including the development of autonomy and independence in the child. These discourses, though debated, are widely available through the academic literature, popular media and even children's books as can be seen in Kiran's example. They are incorporated into child welfare policies and taken up by institutional actors like the Early Years Centre workers, and child welfare workers who then act on these texts, relaying them on to the families they work with.

Conclusion

The mothers' work in relation to the children revolved around cooking, caring for children, housework, transmitting culture and values and protecting children. Cooking food that appealed to family members appeared to be a manner in which the women expressed their care and affection for their families. Preparing food was time consuming and tedious work due to the norms around serving the family "fresh food," but was very important to many of these women and they strived to continue to do so despite lack of time, energy, interest or ability due to poor health. Over a period of time of living in Canada, preparations became less time consuming or food habits adapted. This happened in some cases when the woman could not cope with the demands of cooking and cleaning, or when the women or their children saw cooking/eating non-

South Asian food as ways of better fitting into Canadian society. This need to adapt to fit in was felt less when the women perceived the community to be more diverse.

Gendered division of labour exists in many Canadian households, particularly in relation to the care of children. A National Survey of Use of Time (Statistics Canada, 2011b) revealed that women spent almost twice as much time per day (4.03 hours) on household chores, including child care compared to men (2.24 hours). Comparing the time spent on childcare by men and women according to employment status, the study found that among parents who had children under 12 years of age, women who worked full time spent 2.04 hours on average per day on childcare related activities while men who worked full time spent 1.20 hours on the same. Like many Canadian born women, the South Asian immigrant mothers that took part in this study were primary caregivers of their children. Like many Canadian born women, the South Asian immigrant women internalized norms that dictate that mothers should be part of the formative years of the child. These norms appeared to be an influencer for women who gave up employment after their children's birth/early years.

As is also the case with Canadian-born families, income was a crucial factor in decisions relating to working or staying at home to care for the child. When the participants' families were financially secure, the women could afford to choose not to work, devoting themselves to the early years of their children's lives. The high cost of daycare in Ontario, most of the families precarious financial conditions, and beliefs about the importance of "motherly' care worked together to further push the woman within the domain of the household, increasing her dependence on the husband and exacerbating unequal gendered relations within the family.

Women were primarily responsible for the upkeep of the home irrespective of whether or not they were employed outside the home. The "double workloads" (George & Ramkissoon, 1998) or "triple day" (Maraj Grahame, 2003) work burden of south Asian immigrant women has been noted in previous research.

The mothers were responsible for protecting the child from dangers in the environment as they grew older. For some participants, this protection was related to preventing their children from engaging in pre-marital sex- practices tied into the cultural importance placed on chastity of girls. Some of the participants' narratives revealed heteronormative thinking around sexual relations and a naïve belief that sexual abuse cannot occur in families. Much of this thinking can

be attributed to the fact that discussions around sexuality and particularly familial sexual abuse have, for the longest time, been taboo in South Asian communities.

In the absence of an environment where the children could learn culture they considered important through immersion in the same, some of the participants felt the pressure to teach children values and traditions and felt it incumbent upon them to demonstrate these in their daily lives. In doing so, some mothers reverted to more traditional and gendered behaviour (for example in dress) to be role models their daughters can emulate. Whether or not it was intentional it seemed as though mothers were training the daughters to carry out future mothering work while boys in turn were being trained to be more self- reliant.

The mothering work described in this chapter is hooked into the ideals of good mothering in South Asia. Women are active participants in these mothering discourses as daughters, granddaughters, sisters, nieces and mothers. Such discourses are available for consumption through a variety of methods such as folk tales, mythology, religious scriptures, religious teachings, and popular cinema. Mothering discourses also get reinforced when mothers participate in rituals and religious celebrations that involve interaction with religious leaders, and when they avail of translated works (oral or written) of religious texts.

The South Asian mothering discourses appear similar to those in North America (as described in Chapter 4) in many ways. Like the North American discourses, the South Asian mothering discourses that we see emerging from this chapter stress the primacy of the mother in looking after the child; emphasize that the mother should be sacrificing and caring; and should put the needs of the children before her own. Different from the North American discourses is the replaceability of the mother with an alternate familial mother figure and the reliance on kinship groups instead of professional bodies for advice on child rearing. Migration and recent changes to immigration policy that deter family reunification, especially for less wealthy immigrants make it likely that most South Asian immigrant women would not have the support of these alternative familial mother figures, putting the onus for mothering solely on the immigrant woman as it is with most other Canadian women.

Dissimilar also are the goals and practices related to parenting. The North American discourses stress practices that encourage independence and autonomy of children while the South Asian discourses on mothering do not do so or in some instances discourages this. In

Canada, the participants experienced these text mediated discourses on autonomy and independence to have institutional backing.

Autonomy as embedded in North American parenting discourses includes ideas of independence in thought and actions, self-reliance and individualism. These values have roots in diverse social, economic, political, and historical processes. The European Protestant Reformation of the 16th century was based on challenging the long standing rule and dictates of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant Reformation thinking emphasized the value of work and of "personal responsibility, discipline and intense individualism" (Graham, Swift & Delaney, 2008, p. 28). These values were entrenched in Elizabethan Poor Laws that differentiated between the deserving and undeserving poor in providing social aid. Current Canadian social policy and institutions continue to be influenced by these historic roots (Graham, Swift and Delany, 2008). The Age of Enlightenment emphasized freedom from traditional authority and the primacy of individualism. The idea of an autonomous man who could choose moral laws rather than follow the dictates of religious/political leaders or others in society was the central to leading Enlightenment thinker Immanuel Kant's philosophy (Dryden, n.d; The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). Industrialization and urbanization saw the break-down of the extended family and also contributed to the growing divide between private and public means of production. The nuclear family, with its emphasis on the individualism and self-reliance grew in this process (Swift, 1998). Nuclear family units were also an important part of the creation of colonial Canada (Phillips, 2009).

The importance of autonomy grew in the 20th Century with the work of renowned humanist psychologists Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. "For Maslow and Rogers, the most developed person is the most autonomous, and autonomy is explicitly associated with not being dependent on others" (Dryden, n.d, p.2). As we saw in Chapter 4, psychology had a great impact on institutions in North America and on associated mothering discourses. In more current times, neoliberalism and its emphasis on individual responsibility and self-reliance reinforces the importance of autonomy in Canadian society and increasingly around the world.

The participants of this study came from countries with different trajectories of historical and social processes. The Indian subcontinent has had a long history of being subject to the dictates of religion/caste system and to those of Kings and British colonizers. Autonomy or self-

direction is not compatible with such a subject position. Research on modern child rearing practices among Pakistani mothers (Mahtani Stewart, Moazam Zaman & Dar, 2006) revealed that autonomy was considered secondary to good relationships within the family. In the present study, participants could not relate to the need for autonomy of the child and resisted it where possible within the home. For the most part the mothers in this study were able to ignore/resist dominant discourses around importance of autonomy for children as their mothering work was a private activity. However, as we saw in the case of Tejinder when the mothering work became connected with the work of others in an institutional complex, mothers had to coordinate their own actions in relation to more dominant discourses.

The work of the participants in relation to teaching their children culture, religion and values either through instruction or by example can be seen as a form of "training" their children for "social acceptability" (Ruddick, 2007). Maternal thinker Sara Ruddick informs us that maternal practice is geared towards achieving the goals of preservation, growth, and social acceptability. A mother's work is both personal and social at the same time—aimed at the creation of a child acceptable to the society she lives in. The central challenge is "training a child to be the kind of person whom others accept and whom the mothers themselves can appreciate" (p. 104). For the immigrant mothers who live in Canada but who had internalized societal values of another culture, this idea of "society" they are catering to becomes complicated. Social isolation, limited social networks within Canada and ongoing links with the home country (through communication media, language, food and ethnic media) made many of the women continue to raise their children as though they still lived in their home societies as they remembered them. The mothers' work in relation to cooking, cleaning and teaching children cultural values was not articulated, for the most part, to the mothering discourse in Canadian society. Participating in activities outside the home such as in LINC classes and Early Years Centres allowed the participants to learn more about parenting practices in Canada, while also provided them an escape from the isolation and drudgery of unpaid household work.

Chapter 7: Mothering Work and Schooling

This chapter discusses the work that the participants were involved in relation to their children's schooling. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of the chapter focuses on the everyday work of the mothers in relation to their children's schooling. The second part of the chapter focuses on the experience of some of the participants with the English as a Second Language (ESL) program. It will make visible the social relations that immigrant families engage in while participating in these programs.

The chapter explores "boss texts" and "secondary texts" in relation to educational discourses and will show the manner in which various actors activate the discourses through text-reader conversations. Boss texts are "a text or set of texts that supplies the context for what we can see, hear, and know" (Bisaillon, 2012, p. 610) while secondary texts are documents organized under boss texts.

> Dorothy Smith (2010) explains that boss texts are authorized through institutional procedures through which specific people are instructed to carry out specific practices. Boss texts coordinate organizational relations so "how people work is controlled in conformity with the selective requirements of the boss text . . . There are layers and layers of them" [D. Smith, 2010, not published, on file with author]. (Bisaillon, 2012, p. 610)

Mothers' Work in Relation to Schooling

The gendered work of the participants in the home as described in the previous chapter was also seen in relation to children's schooling. Most of the participants, particularly those with younger children reported being solely responsible for the day-to-day oversight of school-related activities and for ensuring conditions at home to see that school-related work was done. The work involved dropping their children off to school/bus stop, ensuring that they were at home when their children returned from school, supervising children after they came home, providing the children with a snack and ensuring that the homework was done each day. This work also included facilitating assignments/projects by making available the materials required for the

same, checking and signing the school agendas/planners and tests. Some of the mothers (and fathers) were closely involved and took the lead in the child's educational decisions. The mothers said that this was important to prevent the child from making educational choices that would be less than optimal for the child in the future. The participants considered optimal educational choices as those that would lead their children to a professional career. Allowing the child to choose courses that did not lead to a secure professional job was seen by some mothers as dangerous to their future success and parents encouraged children to take up courses accordingly.

Rekha who was juggling training at a community college and domestic work did not find the kind of time at hand to follow up on what she considered to be her work in relation to her younger children's school-related activities. She felt guilty at not being able to carry out her role. Rekha shared that she sometimes had no time to check whether her children had completed their homework nor did she have the time to sign agendas. She worried that her children were suffering on account of this, combined with the fact that the teacher paid less attention to individual children's daily activities such as signing agendas as they reached higher grades.

Transportation

For Bhakti, getting the children to school and back each day took up a large portion of her time. The public school Bhakti sent her child had cut back on bussing to children of all grade levels except kindergarten, despite efforts on the parent's part to advocate for the same with the school board.

> They [the school] used to provide bus service for elementary students for many years but suddenly they stopped it. . . . We [a group of parents] arranged a private taxi which used to drop the children to school. But one adult had to accompany the children. After few trials it didn't work. Then all of us arranged a private bus. But the private bus is very expensive. It charges $80 per month, but we don't have any option. How will you go daily to drop and pick your child? You can't walk as it is not very close. When we arranged a taxi, I was the only person available to go with the kids. Everyone else was

busy in their jobs. So I used to go with 6/7 other kids. Drop them, wait there. It was a headache. (Bhakti)

As the children were privately bussed, the school took no responsibility of supervising the children on the bus. For a month after starting the private bus service, Bhakti and a few other parents accompanied the children to and from school on the bus. They then initiated a mechanism to train older children on the bus to look after the younger ones. "We taught our kids to look out for the bus number, also trained the driver to follow a set route. Then also we trained 5th grade students to look after 1st and 2nd grade children and to help them" (Bhakti). Bhakti's narrative indicates the kinds of complex behind-the-scene work that mothers have to do in order for their children to attend school.

Helping Children Adjust to School in Canada: The Emotional Work of Mothering

Some of the children's stressors in relation to schooling arose directly as an outcome of immigrating to Canada and the mother had to find ways to help her children deal with the same. The participants had come to Canada directly from India, Pakistan or from the Middle East. All three regions had similar educational contexts where there was a strict social hierarchy and traditional ways of dealing with elders/authority figures. Some children found the lack of expectations around formality and distance between students and teachers/adults liberating, especially since they had not yet learned of any alternate expectations around the same. While Farida's daughter was initially upset by the lack of formal distance, she soon came to revel in the freedom it represented. Farida shared that for a while after she started schooling in Canada, her daughter felt she was in her right to behave as she wished with her parents and other elders without fearing any reprisals.

Part of being a new immigrant to Canada as a racialized minority is the ever-increasing awareness of difference from the majority. This awareness is most apparent and painful perhaps, for adolescents who have more opportunities to interact with others in the schooling system than do their parents, and are becoming aware of their own identities in relation to their environments. Inadvertently, messages of difference are communicated and reinforced in the school through programs like the English as a Second Language (ESL) program. Well-meaning teachers

sometimes reinforced messages that communicated that the immigrant child was different as is illustrated in an interaction between Swati's daughter and her school teacher: "You know [daughter's name], your accent is becoming more Canadian now." Swati does not think that the teacher meant this statement in a bad way, yet it underlined that the teacher perceived and communicated that the child's increasingly Canadian accent was an improvement or more desirable over her previous one.

The awareness of difference in language, dress, food and behaviour is noted by the children and in turn by the parents. Older children, in particular, became acutely aware of differences in race, ethnicity, accent, expectations and behaviour between their families and those that appeared to be the norm around them. Some of the participants' children perceived these differences as something negative/to be ashamed of. Kanchan's son reacted by keeping his parents away from his teachers and school, while Asma's daughter's response was to pressure her stay-at-home mom (and only parent living with her) to start working so that she too could accompany her parent to "Take our kids to work day" in Grade 9 as her friends would.[24]

Some mothers spoke of the work involved in helping their children adjust to the new school system. These mothers dealt with their children's anxieties, fears and stressors in relation to schooling. Some of this work involved advising children on ways to respond to challenges related to everyday interactions in the Canadian context.

Need for Information

Josephine and Anushka (key informants) work as program staff of a Child Parent program run by a settlement service agency that specializes in serving the South Asian community. The agency developed this program in response to an identified need of a bridge between South Asian immigrant parents and institutions like the school system. Anushka's work involves making presentations at schools to speak to parents and grandparents on various issues related to parenting. Her talk includes topics such as "911, CAS, supervised access centres, disciplining, the teacher's role in the school, how parents can get help from teachers, giving them resources

[24] "Take our Kids to work day" is an annual national program for high school children where students in Grade 9 children are introduced to the world of paid employment their parents/adults in their family are involved in. http://www.thelearningpartnership.ca/what-we-do/student-programs/take-our-kids-to-work

about the community, organizations, and communication skills with their kids." (Anushka, Child-Parenting Program Worker). Anushka also conducts parenting workshops for immigrant parents, particularly those who have been mandated to attend the same by Canadian courts. She creates these workshops based on her knowledge of parenting derived through her own university education and through courses she has attended at the Family Education Centre. As part of her participation in the Canadian mothering discourse, Anushka also routinely buys popular parenting books and watches shows on television and incorporates what she sees in these programs. The organization also routinely incorporates parenting-related topics into the LINC program curriculum that it offers to newcomers from different ethnic backgrounds. Josephine and Anushka often serve as "cultural translators" between their South Asian clients, child welfare and the school system. Josephine shared that many of their clients find systems like child welfare overwhelming and her work involves helping parents understand and navigate the same. As the educational system and expectations of students, teachers and parents are very different in South Asian countries, immigrant parents need to be made familiar with the specifics of the educational system, for example in relation to the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) tests that are administered to children in the 3rd and 6th grade in Ontario. South Asian parents also need time and support to understand and come to terms with sex education being part of the curriculum or about HPV vaccines administered to adolescent girls in schools. Josephine and Anushka provide parents with such and other counselling and supports.

The participants in this study did not mention knowing about, or using parenting-related services such as those described above even though some parents availed themselves of other settlement-related services offered by this and similar agencies such as job search workshops or language instruction. For the most part, participants in this study struggled to find information about the school system by themselves. The Canadian system of education is very different from the ones the participants were used to in their countries of origin and a part of the hidden work of the mother in relation to her child's schooling included learning about the school system and how to navigate the same. The participants shared the need for information to navigate the schooling system and to make informed decisions in relation to their children's schooling. This was particularly the case when parents heard from others that programs such as the International

Baccalaureate (IB) program or the French Immersion program were more intensive, and had better job prospects (and so were more attractive to the parents).

Archana was interested in enrolling her younger daughter in the IB program as her older daughter had graduated from such a program in India. She did much of her research in relation to the IB program in Canada prior to immigrating. Her younger daughter's school supported the idea of placing the daughter into an IB program as she was academically advanced compared to her peers in the classroom and her teacher provided the daughter with a recommendation for the same. Archana's sharing revealed the role of informal practices, such as the class teacher's recommendation, in the child being put into the IB program. In India, it is a small minority that can afford the IB system of education and few parents even know about it. Archana's past familiarity with the IB system made her seek out information in Canada. Other parents who did not have this prior familiarity did not know to do so. For instance, Rekha knew that there was "some specialized schools that children go to after middle school" only when they saw other children from their child's class leaving school to enroll in such programs, but was at a loss to understand the processes in relation to getting her child enrolled in the programs.

Tejinder's 4- year-old son was struggling with everyday communication at school and daycare because of a speech disorder as well as difficulties with spoken English. Yet she enrolled him into the French Immersion program which is typically recommended for children with high levels of verbal skills and comfort in the English language. Tejinder enrolled him into the program on the advice of a friend that French Immersion "would be better for him in the future." While Tejinder acknowledged that the "first year may be tough for him" she felt her child would adjust eventually. She felt that the child could learn two languages (English and French) simultaneously as it was comparatively easier to learn languages at a younger age. As a lone parent who is just learning English herself, Tejinder was unsure of her ability to help her child with his French studies. Neither the school nor the child welfare worker attached to the family (on account of Tejinder being a past victim of domestic violence) had suggested that the child go in for an assessment in relation to his speech and Tejinder attributed his speech challenges to having to cope with different languages at the same time. Nor did anyone talk to Tejinder about the pressures that the French immersion program could potentially put on a child who is already struggling to cope with everyday communication and learning at school. That the child was not

coping well was apparent as Tejinder described the child in relation to his school and class teacher:

> The teacher told me we give him class work and homework to finish but he doesn't understand. When we ask him something he just says yes or no by tilting his head. He doesn't speak in the class. I told his teacher he is little shy and he speaks by mixing two languages, Punjabi and English. Only I understand what he says. . . . As my son doesn't understand what teachers have been saying to him sometimes he gets scared.

Lack of timely and complete information was also instrumental in Farida's daughter not being able to apply to a university straight after high school. Farida's family had been in Canada for a year and half when her daughter was in Grade 12. As her child's education was in English and she had been in a Canadian educational institution for over a year, they did not know about the language testing requirement criterion for University admission. Farida says that information about who is required to take such a test is not clearly stated and they did not come to know of the requirement until it was too late. A reputable website providing much needed information to newcomers states "If you are planning to study at a college or university, or enter a licenced profession or trade, and your first language is not English, you might need to take a test to demonstrate your English ability" (OCASI, 2012). However details regarding how long after immigrating this criteria holds good is not clear. This information was not made available to Farida's child as part of preparation from her school.

Physical Disciplining

The one message parents received clearly and consistently across Ontario from the school system each year was around physical disciplining. Early in the year schools send out letters to parents reminding them of the school's duty to report any suspicion of child abuse.[25] Physical disciplining of the child is not an offence in India or Pakistan and the letters along with messages to children from the school about the need to report spanking made the mothers very aware that spanking was an offence in Ontario. Salma says that her children joke with her not to scold them

[25] See for example http://schools.peelschools.org/1481/documents/child%20in%20need%20of%20protection_june2013%5B1%5D.pdf

or that they will tell their teachers that they are being abused at home. Their school teachers have told her children and their classmates to come and tell her if anyone ever hits/spanks them (Salma). What Salma and other mothers are learning about rules and limits of disciplining in Canada is the result of a coordinated effort between the Children's Aid Societies and School Boards to ensure that parents are aware of Canadian law and to identify and protect children in need of protection.

Section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada does not consider spanking to be against the law as long as long as the force being used is "reasonable under the circumstances" (Barnett, 2008, p.4). The Ontario Child and Family Services Act (Government of Ontario, 1990) prohibits physical disciplining: "No service provider or foster parent shall inflict corporal punishment on a child or permit corporal punishment to be inflicted on a child in the course of the provision of a service to the child" (p. 11).

The Ontario Child and Family Services Act (S72 1) (Government of Ontario, 1990) states that any person "including a person who performs professional or official duties with respect to children" who has reasonable grounds to suspect physical harm, lack of protection or neglect, needs to report the same to the Children's Aid Society. Such persons include, among others a "teacher, person appointed to a position designated by a board of education as requiring an early childhood educator, school principal, social worker, family counsellor, operator or employee of a day nursery and youth and recreation worker" (p. 71).

School boards across Ontario are required to create policies to facilitate such reporting. A policy memorandum issued by the Ministry of Education (Government of Ontario, 2001) requests Directors of education to ensure that:

> •all staff members are aware of, and understand, the relevant sections of the Child and Family Services Act, particularly the requirement to report suspected cases of children in need of protection;
>
> •school board policies and procedures on reporting suspected cases of children in need of protection conform with the provisions of the Child and Family Services Act.
>
> (Government of Ontario, 2001, p. 4)

School boards create policies for schools that the board feels best meets the directive. For example the largest school board in Canada- the Toronto District School Board's Policy PO45-

Dealing with Abuse and Neglect of Students outlines many initiatives for its schools to "provide a safe, nurturing, positive and respectful learning environment focused on preventing abuse and neglect for all students" (p. 1). The objectives of the policy include training employees about abuse and neglect, and informing volunteers about their legal duty to report (p. 1). The policy references related policies and procedures in place to facilitate reporting and holds employees accountable for any violation of the policy (p. 3).[26]

One of the key objectives of the policy is to educate students about abuse and neglect and to develop mechanisms within the school to encourage disclosure. Section 4.1 of the policy states: "The Toronto District School Board will educate all of its students about their right to live without being subjected to abuse and neglect and will take measures to encourage and support the disclosure of abuse and neglect" (TDSB, 1999, p. 2). The School board policies are in turn taken up by the school administration and staff and translated into an action plan. The action plan includes educating parents and children about the laws governing physical punishment though regular correspondence to the parents and though discussions with children. Parents are active in the reading of these messages and acting upon them. While none of the participants in this study mentioned using physical disciplining themselves, a few of the mothers spoke about the fact that one could not physically discipline the child in Canada and were aware that the school played a role in monitoring families in relation to physical disciplining. Figure 7.1 provides a summary of this process of creating documents stemming from a "Boss Text" (Smith & Turner, 2014) and the text-reader conversations embedded at each level. The process captured in the images below provides a good snapshot of the ways in which the texts coordinate and organize people's actions across time and place.

Parental Involvement

The Ontario Ministry of Education's parent engagement policy (Government of Ontario, 2010a) notes the vital role parental involvement can play in student success. "Study after study have

[26] Related policies mentioned are the TDSB Operational Procedure PR560, Dealing with the Abuse and Neglect of Students; TDSB Operational Procedure PR 608, Sexual Misconduct of Students; Protocol for Joint Investigations of Child Physical and Sexual Abuse, 2006 and Appendix E of Police School Board Protocol

shown that student learning and achievement improve when parents play an active role in their child's education and that good schools become even better when parents are involved" (Government of Ontario, 2010a, p. 5). The website links parental involvement to better schools, higher student achievement, higher student motivation, increased behavioural and social skills, among other benefits.

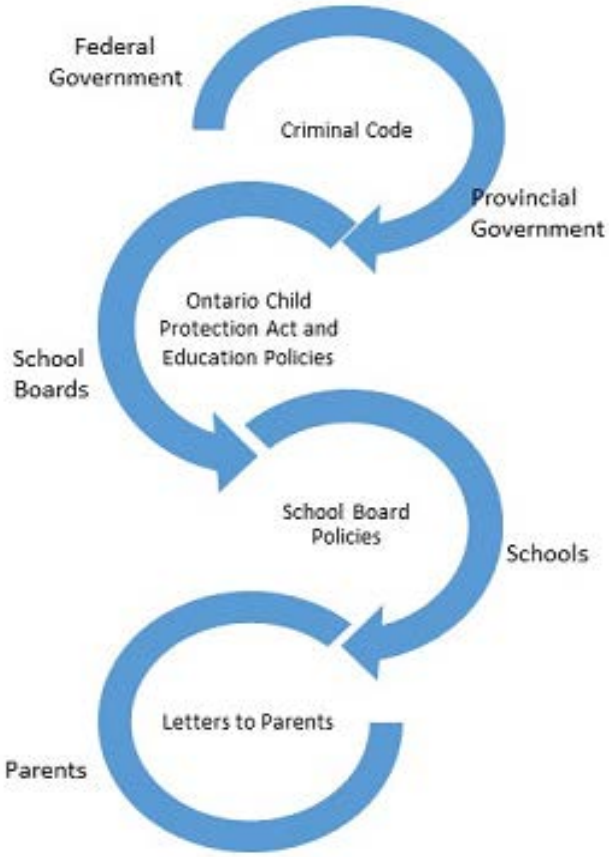


Figure 7.1: Boss Texts, Subsidiary Documents and Multi-level Text Reader Conversations

The policy document *Growing Success: Assessment, Reporting and Evaluation in Ontario Schools* (Government of Ontario, 2010b) specifies the parameters of this involvement: cooperating with the school and the teacher to stay informed about the child's progress as it

unfolds and playing a supportive role in the steps the teacher identifies for the student to improve:

> We know that parents have an important role to play in supporting student learning. Studies show that students perform better in school if their parents or guardians are involved in their education. This is the basis for the principle that students and parents should be kept fully informed about the student's progress. It is essential that schools have procedures in place to ensure that parents are aware of the expectations for their child in the various grades. Principals play a key role in developing these procedures, which should be designed to create the conditions for student success by ensuring that parents have the information they need to interpret their child's report card and to work with teachers to improve their child's learning. (Government of Ontario, 2010b, p. 14)

In keeping with the overriding Western reliance on professional expertise, the policy identifies teachers as professional experts who know best what is needed for the child to succeed academically. These experts are also seen as facilitators of the child's individual autonomy and choice. "Teachers create environments in which all students feel valued and confident and have the courage to take risks and make mistakes (Government of Ontario, 2010b, p. 14).

The notion of letting the child make his/her own mistakes and learn from them was alien to the participants in this study. Kanchan's high school-aged son had initially expressed an interest in biology and then decided that he wished to explore music in university. Kanchan and her husband explored the pros and cons of music as a career. They spoke to other students of music and found out eligibility requirements. They came to the conclusion that music was not a career that ensured financial stability and they tried to persuade their teenage son accordingly. They asked their son to consider taking music as a minor instead of a major credit. Kanchan's rationale for advising her teenager was that at his age he is unable to understand the importance of selecting a career that will provide him with a decent livelihood:

> You know the teachings he is getting from the school, the teachers tell them that they are matured enough to take their own decisions, and that they are separate individuals, they have to make their own decisions, they have been trained to do that. And, it creates a lot of tension for a South Asian mother. Because we don't leave the children like that [to make their own choices and face the repercussions]. Even for university we don't tell

them you pay your own fees. We are not like that. We pay the fees for the children. That is the way we are brought up and that is the way we will be, come what may.

Educational policy in Ontario views parental involvement as taking the following forms: serving on school councils/committees; volunteering for field trips/activities; ensuring that there is a quiet place set aside to do homework, helping with homework and meeting with teachers and talking to children about their day at school (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014). The mothers in this study did display involvement in keeping with most of these institutionally recognized modes when they talked to their children about their day, supervised and helped with homework, and attended parent-teacher meetings. The South Asian mothers did not feel equipped to involve themselves in other ways the schools envisage parental involvement because of financial, transportation and language barriers, feelings of inadequacy in terms of language or knowledge of the school system in Canada, and/or pressures on time due to paid employment. For example, in the Peel region of Ontario, to be a parent volunteer on a school trip, the parent is required to get a police clearance which involves related expenses of two trips to the regional police station. This police check needs to be completed every six months.[27] This involves spending money the families were short of and arranging for transportation to and from the police station given the poor or erratic public transportation system in the areas the women lived.

Kiran, made it a point to attend each school council meeting though she did not serve on the school council as she doubted her ability to contribute in the manner required. She felt attending these meetings gave her lots of information about the school and its functioning and also an opportunity to ask questions.

The school has set ways of communicating with the parents. In the normal course of the year, the communication, on an ongoing basis, especially at elementary school was through weekly/monthly newsletters, parents signed the agenda indicating they had reviewed the child's work, and signed tests to acknowledge being aware of the child's educational performance. The mechanisms were designed to inform the parents about the happenings at the school, solicit parent volunteer activity where needed, such as on school councils or on school outings, and to communicate information about the child's performance at fixed time intervals. Apart from a parent teacher meeting to discuss the initial report card, the school did not require a meeting of

[27] http://www.peelschools.org/jobs/crc/Pages/default.aspx

the parent and teacher if the child was performing according to grade level and if there were no behavioural concerns. The mechanisms in place to communicate between the school and the parents were not satisfying to many of the participants who desired more involvement through direct face-to-face interactions where they could ask the teacher about their own child's educational progress. Kiran expressed her dissatisfaction at being "left out because there is no communication between the teacher and you." She had experienced that any direct communication over and above the school's regular methods of communicating with the parent had to be initiated by the parent.

The mothers spoke about taking any and every opportunity to meet with the school teacher to discuss their children's performance. "We go for all the PT meetings. We don't miss a single one, even if the grades are good." (Rekha). The participants in this study could not understand why the teachers did not want to meet them even if the child was doing well academically. From her interactions with the school, Kanchan perceived that the teachers were not interested in discussing the child's performance with the parents unless there were some perceived challenges that did not allow the child to perform at grade level expectation. She compares this with the educational system she was familiar with in Riyadh where parents and teachers routinely met to discuss the child's achievements: "Even if they [the child studying in Riyadh] get 95% the parent goes to the teacher, she sits with her and the teacher is so enthusiastic with the parents. She tells them how he can improve more" (Kanchan).

Though a majority of the participants were happy with their children's achievements, there was an understanding that there was always room for improvement and that parents and teachers should work together to help the child excel. Children were seen as needing some sort of urging from a younger age to achieve their best academically so that they are able to cope in higher grades where the educational standards were seen as being much higher. "I think in Canada according to age there should be some pressure of studies on students. Otherwise in 9th grade it is hard to cope" (Gayatri). A few participants expressed that they were not in favour of the Canadian school system focussing primarily on the positives of the child with little critical feedback, particularly when the child was not performing optimally.

Interview with an Elementary School Teacher

An interview with an elementary school teacher revealed insights into the manner in which the work of the school teacher was connected to the work of the mother and the family in the settlement process. The interview will show how the teacher's work became intensified and complicated on account of: the settlement experiences of the families she encountered, the expectations the South Asian mothers/parents held around educational achievement, and the teacher's efforts to articulate these experiences and expectations to the Ontario educational requirements.

Monique, an elementary school teacher, worked in a school that served a diverse immigrant community. The school had students that spoke over 45 languages, and there were more Urdu speakers than English speakers in the student population. A part of this teacher's work included working with students demonstrating marked variations in the classroom in terms of language, math and other academic subject area knowledge, which in turn required many modifications in the teaching and assessment on part of the teacher. "There is a lot of accommodating activities happening" (Monique). Knowledge of the English language impacts other subjects, which complicated learning assessments. Monique assessed the children consciously keeping in mind these linkages. She also made use of innovative ways to assess the children such as filming their work rather than relying on ways that required them to communicate their thoughts and ideas in writing. Accommodations also took place in communications between the school/teacher and the parents. As many of the parents did not know English, the school used the services of translators, interpreters and even older siblings to communicate with the families.

Monique noted that South Asian parents tend to be very involved in their children's education and have expectations of high achievement. However, she noted there was a mismatch in an "understanding of what the expectations are of our educational system compared to what they have come from" (Monique). She explains that the educational system that the families were familiar with privileges the absorption of knowledge contained within textbooks and reproduced in large written exams that assess (for the most part) rote memory. In such a system, high academic achievement is guaranteed to those who have the resources to put in time and effort. The Canadian education system that requires students to learn and be assessed in more

flexible, reflexive and interpretive ways is confounding and very ambiguous to these families who feel they have no concrete way of ensuring their children can achieve academic success. South Asian parents have difficulty in understanding what it is exactly that they should be asking their children to study and what needs to be done to get the highest possible grade. Monique talks of the anxiety she perceives the parents feel in the face of a new system: "What they want is predictability. They want to know this is what's happening and this is what going to happen and if there is a test what should my child should be studying for so I try as much as possible to be sort of transparent."

The absence of a textbook for each subject, and the lack of fixed criteria for achieving an A grade or Level 4 grade for each subjects are recurring topics that Monique has to spend time clarifying with the parents. The South Asian parents commonly ask "What does my child have to do to get an 'A?' To ensure that the parents feel less anxious, Monique provides children with mock tests and sends home information regarding the criteria on which the test will be assessed so that there are "no surprises." "Yeah and then [I] give examples often so they can see like written examples of what [an] A [grade assignment] would look like or what level 4 [grade] would look like. So sometimes they go 'Oh! (Laughs....) Ok, now I get it. My daughter's writing is very good but not great to that level' so I think it helps, you know, just to see what level 4 looks like." Monique explains that as a parent who has high expectations of her own children, she appreciates that the questions are coming from "a good place" and that "they just want their children to excel". It also helps Monique that at her school there are many workshops held that provide information and orientation to parents to help them better understand the differences in the schooling systems.

Apart from meeting these familial expectations, the mother's involvement with the child's education also provided opportunities for some South Asian immigrant women to have links with the world outside of her family. Monique came across one such mother who used the parent-teacher conference as a much-needed opportunity for her to talk to someone outside of her family about her life. While Monique was understanding of the mother's need to talk to another adult, this meeting was one of the many parent-teacher meetings scheduled each of which were allotted a certain amount of time and ate into the time scheduled for these other meetings and her other commitments.

Changes in familial living arrangements that some newcomer families were forced to undergo due to inability to secure employment sometimes disrupted the child's schooling and in turn the teacher's work in the classroom. Monique had two children in her class who were separated from one or both parents on account of the parents' inability to find suitable work in Canada. One of these children missed school often in order to visit his mother who worked as a physician in the United States while the other lived with his aunt and though they have a positive relationship, there have been "struggles of having to try to make him adjust here [in Canada]."

At the time I was meeting with Monique, she had just come to know that one of her South Asian students was leaving the very next day to go to Pakistan, a month before the end of the school year. For Monique this was not an unusual situation as a few children from her class left suddenly to go to their countries of origin each year, either to visit extended family that were ailing or celebrating an important occasion or simply to take advantage of reduced air fares before the holidays began.

While the child who was leaving to visit his family was "quite bright" and would be able to make up the loss of a month's schooling, Monique would have to see that he got all his school material and then write the report card in a different way than what she had planned to. Also she felt the child was being impacted socially when he missed the last month of school. Monique shares another more "extreme" example of a previous year where a child left school before the end of the year when his sisters who were studying in high school got pulled out of school to get married in their country of origin. Monique's interview allowed for a glimpse of the various ways schoolteachers' work can become complicated when they accommodate newcomer students in their classrooms. When immigrant families are unable to provide the conditions required for the success of the child, the teacher's work is intensified as she works harder to bring the child's educational experience in line with expected learning.

Work Habits and the Importance of Autonomy/Independence

The participants typically considered certain traits to be markers of academic achievement and success: working hard, focussing on studies with little distractions, and respect for the advice/suggestions/guidance of elders. In their interactions with the school, the mothers

learned of an alternate set of traits that were deemed essential for student achievement, one where autonomy/independence and self-regulation were highly valued. In the previous chapter we explored SNAF as an ideological code and the manner in which this ideological code and associated mothering discourses that stress children's autonomy function to regulate the work of the mother in the interests of the ruling relations. This section will explore related text-mediated discourses around academic achievement that the mothers encountered through the schooling system and their role in ruling relations.

The OECD program *Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations* (DeSeCo) was initiated "through an interdisciplinary, international scientific approach in close collaboration with ongoing OECD assessment programs" (p.2) with objectives of developing such competencies that could eventually "provide feedback for education policy" (p.2). The document *Definition and Selection of Key Competencies: Executive Summary* (OECD, 2005) details the importance of "acting autonomously" as a key competency:

> Individuals must act autonomously in order to participate effectively in the development of society and to function well in different spheres of life including the workplace, family life and social life. This is because they need to develop independently an identity and to make choices, rather than just follow the crowd. In doing so, they need to reflect on their values and on their actions. Acting autonomously is particularly important in the modern world where each person's position is not as well-defined as was the case traditionally. Individuals need to create a personal identity in order to give their lives meaning, to define how they fit in. One illustration of this is with respect to work, where there are fewer stable, lifelong occupations working for a single employer. In general, autonomy requires an orientation towards the future and an awareness of one's environment, of social dynamics and of the roles one plays and wants to play. It assumes the possession of a sound self-concept and the ability to translate needs and wants into acts of will: decision, choice and action. (p. 14)

The text above indicates clearly that the need for an autonomous person who "does not follow the crowd" is directly linked to an economy wherein jobs are changing from more secure, lifelong occupations to employment in a globalized economy subject to global market forces. Such messages benefit capitalism and the rule of markets. These messages are promoted at

international fora for economic development and are taken up by governments that participate in the same.

The Government of Ontario references the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in its policy document *Growing success: Assessment, Reporting and Evaluation in Ontario Schools* (Government of Ontario, 2010b) and lists the three competencies of learners considered crucial for success by the institution: using tools interactively; interacting in heterogeneous groups; and, acting autonomously. The skills are seen as important to provide students with a competitive edge in the market. The OECD website (2015) describes the importance of these skills:

> From a purely economic viewpoint, competencies of individuals are seen as important because they contribute to: boosting productivity and market competitiveness; minimizing unemployment through developing an adaptive and qualified labor force; and creating an environment for innovation in a world dominated by global competition. (p. 1)

Knowledge, skills, and competencies, as defined by these documents are also seen as important for their potential social contributions such as "increasing individual participation in democratic institutions; social cohesion and justice; and strengthening human rights and autonomy as counterweights to increasing global inequality of opportunities and increasing individual marginalization" (OECD, 2015, p. 1).

International business interests are expressed through the OECD push for the need for education of students in schools to be aligned to the competencies required by the labour market participant of tomorrow. Educational attainment, in and by itself, is no longer relevant according to these interests. What becomes important is the ability to translate the knowledge learned through educational institutions into something that is useful to economic interests internationally. The output of educational institutions then becomes a point of scrutiny and educational institutes are encouraged to take up the notion of key competencies to create future citizens who can compete in a globalized economy.

The Government of Ontario in this case devised a set of policies that tie into these messages and suggests mechanisms to schools (such as report card formats) that turn these priorities of capital into priorities of the local education system. The values of autonomy and a

market orientation to education are taken up by schools as goals for their students. Report cards assess and mark students on their independence, initiative and self-regulation. Table 10.1 (in Appendix F) is a reproduction of a section of the Ontario elementary school report card that assesses students based on the following learning skills and work habits: Responsibility, Organization, Independent Work, Collaboration, Initiative, Self-regulation. Students are awarded a letter grade for each learning skill and work habit on which they are ranked *Excellent, Good, Satisfactory* or *Needs Improvement*. The current report card template in Table 10.1 was introduced in 2010 by the Government of Ontario and shows some interesting changes from its predecessor.[28] Unlike the previous version of this report card, the current version places much more importance on these learning skills demonstrated by the fact that it occupies most of the front page of the report card and precedes the subject skills assessments. The content of the learning skills section has also undergone some change. The current version is less focused on activities such as homework completion and class participation and places a much greater emphasis on habits and ongoing behaviours. The current version of the report card details what is to be expected in each of the six learning habits identified as compared to leaving this understanding to the teachers' judgement as did the previous version.

The Ontario government clearly details the importance of learning skills of the Ontario provincial report card as essential for the creation of a future work force suitable for Canada.

> The development of learning skills and work habits needed to succeed in school and in life begins early in a child's schooling. As students move through the grades, they develop and then consolidate their learning skills and work habits in preparation for postsecondary education and the world of work. (Government of Ontario, 2012b, p. 12)

The learning skills and work habits that form an important part of the Ontario school students' educational assessment are aligned keeping in mind the relevancies of the labour market. Naming these skills as "critically important to student success" the policy document *Growing Success: Assessment, Reporting and Evaluation in Ontario Schools* explains:

[28] As shown in Table 10.2 (see Appendix F) the previous version of the Ontario provincial school report card also contains a section that asked the teacher to assess students learning skills but placed far less importance on them. The learning skills table in previous version of the report card occupy half the amount of space the new version occupies on the report card and is placed at the end of the report card – after the subject skills assessments and before the page asking for student response to the report card.

> The Ontario Ministry of Education has drawn on its own research, as well as on findings from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and the Conference Board of Canada, to develop the Ontario Skills Passport (OSP), which is available at http://skills.edu.gov.on.ca/OSPWeb/jsp/en/login.jsp. The OSP identifies and describes the following important work habits: working safely, teamwork, reliability, organization, working independently, initiative, self-advocacy, customer service, and entrepreneurship. (Government of Ontario, 2010b, p. 12)

The Government of Ontario website (2014) on the Ontario Skills Passport details how the set of skills and work habits detailed on the website benefit learners, teachers and employers. In relation to teachers it advises:

> All teachers can use the OSP with learners to meet curriculum expectations and help learners understand and value their Essential Skills and work habits. Learners will be engaged and feel confident when they recognize that the Essential Skills and work habits they are developing and demonstrating at school are relevant and are transferable to further education, training, the workplace and everyday life. (p. 1)

As shown in Figure 7.2, OECD determined priorities become the "boss texts" based on which many subsidiary texts are developed which prescribe certain courses of action to be taken.

The importance of students becoming independent, self-regulating individuals become part of the conversations during parent teacher meetings. Addressing students directly instead of through parents are practices whereby the teacher demonstrates her belief that child is an autonomous human being who should be encouraged take more responsibility for self-regulation and encouraged to make his/her own decisions. "She talked directly with my son and said that you have to be more focused with your studies. If you don't become serious your future employer will not accept you. I was just listening" (Asma). South Asian mothers beliefs and desires to be involved in the educational process of their children are sidelined in the face of such practices. In fact, the beliefs and desires of parental involvement in the child's educational decisions become seen as unwanted and undesirable parental control of the child that hinders the child's growing independence/autonomy.

> One of them [the teachers] asked our daughter what she would like to be. She said "Graphic Designer." The teacher said "Very good, you know what you want to be

professionally" that is great. It's not necessary, she said, that you need to be a doctor, engineer.[29] Exploit your talent." (Rekha)

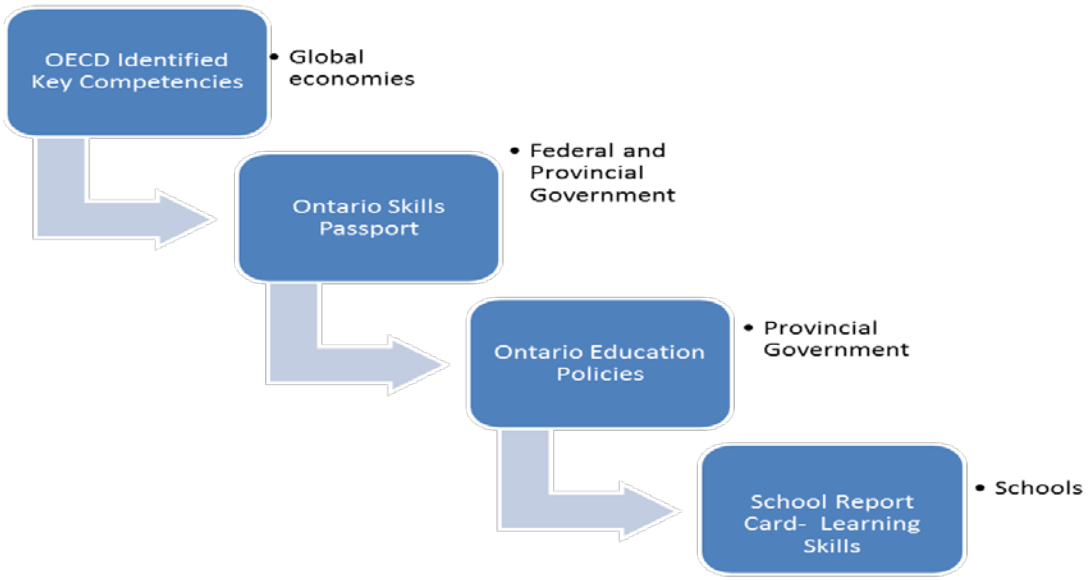


Figure 7.2: Intertextual Relationships of the Discourse on Learning Skills

Similarly, Kanchan's son was interested in biology and was aspiring to join the life sciences course at the university level for which he was required to take math courses and acquire a certain grade point average. When he did not get the required marks it concerned Kanchan enough to request a meeting with his teachers. Kanchan shared that the teacher's response was to immediately reprimand Kanchan for forcing her son to take math when she thought he was clearly not interested in the subject.

Then two teachers called me and one teacher told me "you don't force him to do what you want to do." I mean she just started off like this. So once he came home I asked him "why did she tell me that, did you say that I was forcing you to do something?" and he

[29] In India for many decades prior to the internet boom the most coveted professions were that of a "doctor, lawyer or engineer" and parents have been known to encourage their children to go into these professions in the past, irrespective of interest or acumen.

said “No, this is what the teacher she feels that most of the students are doing things that they are not supposed to do. That’s why she says that to every parent.”

Josephine (Child Youth Program Manager) who works primarily with South Asian families as a “cultural mediator/translator” between the school system and new immigrants, has come across many incidences in her work with South Asian parents where the ordinary actions of the South Asian parents are viewed as controlling and problematic by the schooling system. Her interview provides some examples:

> A 7-8th grade school trip to Ottawa/Quebec for a week typically costs $500. Children stay 4 to a hotel room. Subsidies are available but South Asian parents do not make use of the same due to issues related to “pride” and so typically do not send their children for such trips. This becomes a trigger for concern by the school. . . . When you get a parent who declines that [HPV vaccine for the daughter], red flags start to go up for school officials. They start wondering why. And when mothers go to school to pick up their children every single day also puts them under a certain level of scrutiny. Why do they feel the need to be that protective? Why do they feel the need to watch the child here and there? It’s not a matter of protecting your child anymore; it’s a matter of watching your child. Because what it translates into at higher grades is that okay we have this grade 8 or 9 student who wants to participate in extra-curricular activities but parents say no. So now is it a matter of a parent trying to protect the child or is it a matter of the parent controlling their child? So, it gets skewed once it gets to that point. . . . If the guidance counsellor tells parents that the child needs to relax and socialise, parents cannot wrap their heads around the concept of parties to socialise and relax. If the mother happened to be alone at meeting with the councillor or teacher and she says “I will talk to husband and decide” it gets converted into “the mother cannot take decision on her own.”

In Josephine’s experience when South Asian children act out, school personnel involved often automatically assume a problem in the family. Josephine has seen that in some cases students’ passing comments about parental restrictions on their activities are noted by the staff on the child’s Ontario Student Record, a document that starts in kindergarten and follows the child up to grade 12. The incentive for the school to record such comments stem from a concern about the child as well as the potential liability to the school should there be an incident that causes

harm to the child. The collaborative agreement between the school board and the CAS makes it the duty of teachers to report to child welfare any incident that makes her/him suspicious that "something is not right."

> Let's say a kid's been absent for five or six consecutive days. That would be enough to red flag. As soon as they are absent I believe it is 21 days per semester that would be an automatic red flag. That's the school board's protocol. This started in 2008 [in our school board]. It became mandatory across every school board across the province and it's what we [settlement service organizations informally] call the "Aqsa Parvez policy". And it exists to ensure that children aren't being pulled out of school against their will. (Josephine)

The "Aqsa Parvez Policy" as Josephine calls it refers to Bill 52- The Education Amendment Act, Learning till Age 18 (2006) which received Royal Assent in 2006. The amendment raises the age of compulsory education in Ontario from 16 to 18 years. Amongst other changes, the amendment makes it an offence for parents/guardians to refuse their child/ward to attend school. A Ministry of Education memorandum on the Bill notes the role of the school in investigating absences over 15 consecutive school days as detailed in the *Enrolment Register Instructions for Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Government of Ontario, 2013) document on the Ontario government website. Truancy from school is noted as a risk factor for child maltreatment in the *Ontario Child Protection Tools Manual* (Ministry of Children and Youth Services, 2007) another point at which the mandates of the school and of child welfare converge.

Changes in Mothering Work

Schools appreciated parental involvement with the child's education as long as it fell into institutionally prescribed forms of engagement. The participants paid attention to suggestions made by school teachers and tried to incorporate them where they could as can be seen in Sarita's case. Members of Sarita's family speak to each other in Telegu at home. The children speak English only at school and so do not get a chance to practice at home. The teacher pointed out to Sarita specific English language related skills that the daughter was lacking (identifying

the beginning, middle and end of the story) and Sarita tries to help her child with that at home through books the child brings home. Sarita says her children's English is improving with her efforts.

Some of the South Asian mothers in this study mentioned efforts to incorporate the suggestions given by the school to improve their child's behaviour or to help the child develop qualities considered more desirable by the school. For the most part, the mothers interviewed were willing to incorporate the suggestions given by the teachers if they perceived it would help the children in school even when they perceived the advice going against what they had learned/believed to be good ways to parent. Teachers emphasized the importance of making the child independent, and Rekha saw some value in this suggestion. Based on the teacher's feedback, Rekha tried to develop independence in her children.

> Now I tell them keep your clothes ready for the morning. I ask them if they have packed their bags, ask them to clean up their stuff. Small things like that. . . . Earlier if their dishes were lying here I would pick them up. Now I tell them both this is your dish you will pick it up. I think this is good so that they become independent. So that it is useful in life. If they start from now it will become a habit and it will stand them in good stead. I think she [the teacher] is right.

For some other mothers however, the suggestions provided by the school teachers were not so easy to accept or implement. Both Gayatri and the teacher were concerned about Gayatri's son's aggressive and distracted behaviour in school. Gayatri was appreciative of the communication from the school as well as the disciplining done by the teacher at school. When Gayatri shared with the teacher her frustration at being unable to deal with her son's behaviour and that she often lashes out verbally due to this frustration, the teacher suggested that Gayatri use positive reinforcement as a behaviour modification technique. Gayatri was appreciative of the suggestions but felt that she was not able to carry it out as it required a lot of effort and patience, both of which she felt she was unable to provide due to the enormous strain she experienced in raising two children with behavioural issues, single-handily, in a new environment while holding down a full time job.

Likewise, Asma was told by her daughter's teacher that her child would benefit by developing her leadership qualities. Asma did not find this suggestion to be very useful. She did

not really see the importance of leadership qualities in learning, or agreed that all children needed to demonstrate the same. Yet, Asma and her husband tried to do what they thought would help their daughter develop these qualities such as give their children more responsibilities while grocery shopping. “I tell them if they don’t find anything according to the list, ask someone over there.”(Asma)

English as a Second Language

The OECD recognizes the relationship of English language proficiency to economic success. An OECD document titled *Untapped Skills: Realising the Potential of Immigrant Students* (OECD, 2012) states:

> People who have a good mastery of the language of instruction and are able to read well in that language are better equipped to participate in the society and economy of the country. This is a benefit not only to the individual but to the society, as well (p.3).

An OECD published book titled *Languages in a Global World: Learning for Better Cultural Understanding* examines the role of languages in Canada’s economic success:

> Canada is well placed if the language component of human capital provides a competitive advantage in a globalized world. Its multicultural and bilingual policies have ensured that there is a large number of speakers of many of the world’s languages. It is difficult to measure and to quantify the economic and social benefits to the individual and to societies arising from multilanguage use. So far, the strongest evidence is for the economic benefits of English, especially by proficient users, regardless of other languages spoken. However, it can also be shown that allophones who work in the official languages earn a good living while retaining their heritage language. (Brink et al., 2012, p. 225)

The Government of Ontario reflect this international thinking linking students’ English language proficiency to global competitiveness, and labour market participation. The document *Supporting English Language Learners: A practical guide for Ontario educators Grades 1 to 8* states:

> Students who are able to communicate and are literate in more than one language are better prepared to participate in a global society. Though this has benefits for the individual, Canadian society also stands to gain from having a multilingual workforce. The children now entering Ontario schools are a valuable resource for Canada. (Government of Ontario, 2008, p. 9)

The Governments of Ontario's (2007b) *Policies and Procedures for English Language Learners and Related Programs from Kindergarten to Grade 12* (Government of Ontario, 2007b) (ESL K-12 hereafter) details procedures for the reception, welcome and orientation of English language learners and their families in Ontario schools and for the assessment of the English and Math skills of English language learners. English Language Learners are

> students in provincially funded English language schools whose first language is a language other than English, or is a variety of English that is significantly different from the variety used for instruction in Ontario's schools, and who may require focused educational supports to assist them in attaining proficiency in English. These students may be Canadian born or recently arrived from other countries. They come from diverse backgrounds and school experiences, and have a wide variety of strengths and needs. (p. 8)

The Government of Ontario funds English as a Second Language (ESL) and English Literacy Development programs (ELD) programs for English Language Learners. ESL programs which are programs "for students whose first language is other than English or is a variety of English significantly different from that used for instruction in Ontario schools" (Government of Ontario, 2007b, p. 22), while English Literacy Development (ELD) programs

> are for students whose first language is other than English or is a variety of English significantly different from that used for instruction in Ontario schools. Students in these programs are most often from countries in which their access to education has been limited, and they have had limited opportunities to develop language and literacy skills in any language. Schooling in their countries of origin has been inconsistent, disrupted, or even completely unavailable throughout the years that these children would otherwise have been in school. As a result, they arrive in Ontario schools with significant gaps in their education. (p. 22)

Section 2.2.1c of ESL K-12 policy requires school boards to make effective use of human resources including community resources in the reception and orientation of English language learners. Effective use of community resources to assist in the orientation process includes the involvement of settlement agencies and community organizations, resources provided by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, public libraries, and adult education programs in areas such as ESL, citizenship education, and parenting (p. 17). There are 18 such centres in Ontario (Ontario Canada, 2013), servicing the various district school boards. According to guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education, the children are assessed for their English language and Math skills at these centres.

The Welcome, or Reception Centres as they are known, emerged after the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement in 2005 where the Government of Canada agreed to provide Ontario with incremental funding beyond the annual settlement fund it provided of $109.6 million in 2004-05 over a five-year period to reach a cumulative total of $920 million in new investments by 2009-10 (Government of Canada, 2005). The additional funding is towards "settlement services and language training for prospective immigrants to, and immigrants residing in Ontario" (p. 15).

David (key Informant) who used to work as an assessor at a reception centre described his work. When the children come to the reception centre with their parents, David would welcome them and explain the Canadian schooling system to them. He would ascertain that they have the documents they would require to enter the school system such as their proof of prior studies or immigration papers. For the next few hours, using an adaptation of the *Canadian Language Benchmarks* tool, the students would be tested on their English and Math skills in increasingly complex assignments (for example from being able to reply to simple greetings to being able to differentiate between two points of view). Based on the child's performance David would assign the child/youth a grade between 1-8 where a score of 1 indicates very limited English language proficiency and a score of 8 would indicate a good grasp of English, including comfort with nuances of the language. During the test the child would also be asked 'background questions' that would help the assessor make an accurate assessment. These could include questions related to years of schooling or questions that probe the child's familiarity with the

English language. The assessor then makes a recommendation based on the findings of the assessment which is emailed to the school the child is planning on enrolling into.

David said that he often encouraged students who were aiming to enroll in Grade 12 and who might be proficient in English and Math at that academic level to enrol into a lower grade, i.e. Grade 11 instead. According to him newcomer students at this grade sometimes try "to get right in there and try to get good marks." However, doing so does not give them the time they need to get used to the Canadian 'school culture.' For David, the solution that was institutionally available at his disposal to help the child cope with settlement was to place the child at a lower level in terms of assessment. South Asian parents and children, however, can view being placed at a lower level as an indication of a negative appraisal of the child's abilities and accomplishments. For instance, Ananya's daughter was angry and frustrated that she was placed in grade 7 even though she had completed this grade level in the Middle East and Ananya was often tasked with trying to get her daughter to accept her situation.

Assessment processes like the ones described above allow language assessors like David to make a written recommendation to the school about the need (or not) for the child to be enrolled into either ESL or ELD programs.

Amrita, works in an "all ESL school" (the entire student body of the high school Amrita worked in was made up of English language learners). Students are referred to her school after an assessment at the reception centre which might show that they have very poor literacy and numeracy skills or limited prior schooling experience. Some of these students come from war torn countries and had little or no context of formal educational systems. Others had been to school but have very limited English language ability. The students in Amrita's school followed a modified version of the Ontario educational curriculum.

Gurwinder worked as an ESL teacher providing support to elementary school children who attended regular public school at their age appropriate grades. She describes the ESL program and her work in terms of the requirements of the Ministry of Education: "This is the support programme which Ministry of Education provides. So I help them supporting and bringing up to the level of ministry requirement." Like Amrita's work, Gurwinder's begins where David's work as an assessor ends. While the reception centres provide a recommendation as to the grade level the child should be placed at and the English level competencies, Gurwinder

feels the one-time assessment at the welcome centre is not enough to judge the child's true competencies. She gives children new to the Canadian school system a month to get comfortable with their environment before she assesses them using assessment tools devised by the ESL/ELD Resource Group of Ontario (ERGO). ERGO provides tools for assessment of elementary and secondary school children, tools that are now in the process of being phased out and replaced by the STEP assessment tools of the Government of Ontario (Government of Ontario, 2012). Gurwinder uses the reception centre's assessment as a recommendation but prefers to follow her own assessments prior to placement of the child in a certain ESL level.

The students Gurwinder helps are either immigrants or Canadian born but "but they use another language at home." She shared that of the 80-90 children in stage 1 and 2 of the ESL program in her school, 50% were born in Canada. Stage 1 includes children "who are not able to use sentences." At Stage 2 the children are "communicative, but they have problems with vocabulary, structures and grammar, spelling etc." Stage 3 is "pretty independent, they need accommodation maybe they need more time, they need support to clarify once in a while but they do not have major problems like newcomers" and Stage 4 is "almost exiting stage…we do not support them, they are on their own, if they need any support they would invite us." (Gurwinder). That the child is in an ESL program is recorded in the report card and goes into the child's Ontario Student Record.

Gurwinder faces many difficulties in convincing South Asian parents that their child needs additional English language supports or should opt for applied courses instead of academic courses at the secondary school level. Parents she encounters have high academic aspirations for their children and want their children to choose academic courses which require a high level of English proficiency: "They are not being realistic in imposing their expectations on the children." Gurwinder's statement reveals the frustration she faces at navigating the differential expectations on the child's potential by parents compared to those established by the ESL program. Her use of the word "imposition" also references objectified knowledge of South Asian parents that constructs them as controlling.

The criterion for being placed at a certain stage of the ESL program is listed in some detail on the Ministry of Education website. Less transparent are the criteria by which a student is moved from one level of ESL to another. Gurwinder shared that once the child has completed

Stage 2 “that is the longest stage and can take up to 7 years,” the child’s eligibility to graduate to Stage 3 is assessed through a reading, writing and numeracy test. However the process for progressing from Stage 3 to Stage 4 (where the child is performing at optimal levels) is not so well defined. When asked if Stage 3 also involved testing she said:

> Usually we don’t do it, Stage 3 is pretty independent. You see if they are scoring [well] without much support [if they are securing grades of] 75%, 70% they are doing fairly well like other kids [non-ESL]. So usually I don’t assess them for stage 3 but the teachers are the ones who have every day some kind of observations made and then they have quizzes tests and assignments lined up. They give me feedback that this child is ready or not. (Gurwinder)

ESL continues to be noted in the Ontario Student Record (OSR) irrespective of child’s performance and stage: “the report is always there in OSR and secondly when we send the report cards home there is a column where we checked the box for ESL.” The policy document *Growing success: Assessment, Reporting and Evaluation in Ontario Schools* (Government of Ontario, 2010b) recommends that teachers use practices and procedures in relation to assessment, evaluation, and reporting “that are communicated clearly to students and parents at the beginning of the school year or course and at other appropriate points throughout the school year or course” (p. 6). Gurwinder talks about the steps she takes to communicate with parents:

> At the beginning of the year somewhere in October I call for an information night and I explain everything to the parent—How are the stages made, how your child is placed and what do you mean by ESL and how we are helping them— it’s not a stigma because this way your child is getting some support and you can see success. If the child is not getting any support definitely child might pass 50-55% that is just stretching too much and giving the pass marks but child will not be able to survive in high school . . . if a child is born here we do not arrange support. Our support is only available for 7 to 8 years up to middle school after that there is no ESL support if they are already in Canada for 7 years.

The information that ESL support is not available to high school students who have been in Canada for seven years is not readily available on the Government of Ontario websites. Neither Gurwinder nor the Government of Ontario website is specific about the criteria for leaving the ESL program. Section 2.1.10 of the K-12 ESL policy states that “English language

learners should receive ESL/ELD program support until they have acquired the level of proficiency required to learn effectively in English with no ESL/ELD support" (Government of Ontario, 2007b, p. 29). It further clarifies that "the decision to discontinue ESL/ELD support is made by the principal in consultation with the student, the parents, and ESL/ELD and classroom teachers" (p. 29).

Some of the participants' children were asked to attend English as a Second Language (ESL) classes in the regular school system. The participants of this study received different information about the ESL program from the schools, government websites and other parents. They did not have a clear or consistent understanding of the criteria based on which their children were placed in ESL. Kiran's older child was placed into ESL when she indicated on the school registration forms that the child's first language was not English. However Kiran's younger child was not placed in ESL. The school office informed her that this was because the second daughter was born in Canada and was likely to have been exposed to a lot of English even if they did not speak the language at home.

Swati was also told by the school teacher that her son was placed in ESL as English was not his first language. However, she was sceptical of this reasoning as her daughter (12 years) was not required to take ESL while her son (7 years) was. Swati understood that her son was placed in ESL as he was unable to demonstrate proficiency in English to his grade-level expectations. Hema's son was put into ESL for factors that were unrelated to language. Hema's teenage son had spoken English all his life and was educated in an English medium school throughout his elementary school.

> She [the teacher] told me "it's not the language, it is the history or the social studies or the culture they have here. What they are teaching, the kids here are learning from Grade 1, if he goes with them directly probably he will lag behind, he will not understand what we are teaching and only for that reason we put him, the moment we think that he is grasping well and he can cope with that."

Apart from being unclear about the admission criterion for ESL, the participants were unclear about the schools' reasons for keeping children in the program and the exit routes from the program. Hema had agreed to place her child in the ESL program to bring him up to par on

subjects he might have missed out due to his late entry. However, once the report cards started coming in and she found that his performance was good she wondered why her child continued to be kept on in the ESL program. Similarly, Swati was unable to understand why her son who was doing fairly well in school —as reflected in the number of 'Goods' and 'Excellents' in his report card—was unable to leave the ESL program. Swati spoke with the teacher and she understood from her discussions that the son had to complete all 4 stages of ESL before he could leave.

As long as the child benefitted from the ESL program, the mothers did not mind keeping the child in the program. However, they wanted definite timelines about the end of the program and also wanted to know ways in which the child's movement through the program could be fast-tracked. Hema and Swati had heard from friends that having an ESL background jeopardizes the child's chances of getting into university. This was contrary to the messages they were getting about ESL from the school. Swati worried that her child would be made to continue in ESL into high school. She wanted him to "get out of it as quickly as possible and be treated as a normal child with no special consideration for ESL". She felt this was because being in ESL just did not make sense for her child who was "100% fluent in English" and whose "vocabulary is really good for his age." She was not convinced by the teachers' assurances that university grades were not going to be affected by ESL. "I have not found that information online, this is what I am saying, I would like to have this officially written down somewhere that it doesn't matter what stage your ESL is and you can be there forever" (Swati). While Swati's narrative is focused on the lack of understanding about criterion related to ESL, her use of the word "normal" indicates the stigma she associates with the ESL program. The perception among these families that ESL was stigmatizing and for children who were "lacking" can also be seen in the case of Anjali's daughter. The daughter who had been educated in English until she migrated was very upset when she found herself being placed in an ESL class. "She (daughter) was upset, she said "What was wrong with my English, why did they say I need ESL?" (Anjali).

Swati and Hema were both wary of the schools' purpose of keeping their children in ESL when they perceived the child did not need it. "I was told that the school gets special funding for ESL and that's why they pool that group so that they get the funding" (Hema).

Hema's speculation that schools can secure special funding from ESL programs that they would not be eligible for otherwise is not completely unfounded. A CBC news report (April 16, 2007) stated that the Government of Ontario handed over $225 million in ESL funding to school boards across the province each year and that often the funds were utilized at the school boards discretion. This kind of discretionary utilization resulted in the Ontario government putting more stringent policies in place in relation to ESL funding in 2007.

The oversight of the Ontario government in school ESL programs has been gradually increasing through the years. Through the 1960s and 70s, it was largely the responsibility of the school boards to take care of the language needs of immigrant children in their jurisdictions with both levels of governments supporting from a distance. The 1970's saw increased involvement of the Ontario Government through initiatives such as the ESL teacher training, publishing of ESL guidelines for high school courses and extra funding for school boards with high immigrant populations (Burnaby, James & Regier, 2000). In 1997, in an effort to make more equitable the funding of schools across the province, the Ontario Government took over complete funding of education from the school boards (People for Education, 2007). The current funding formula is based on the number of students as well as supplementary grants based on specific needs of the school boards such as special education, ESL, and transportation. However most of the supplementary funding, including the ESL funds are "unsweatered" (unprotected) and can be used for expenses other than what they were granted (Social Planning Toronto, 2013). The school boards allocate a budget for each school while it is the principal of the school who allocates the school budget to its different activities, including ESL (People for Education, 2007). Until 2005, there was little accountability in terms of the money spent on ESL and results obtained. A report by the Office of the Auditor General (2005) on Ontario ESL programs noted that though the Ministry provided school boards with grants worth approximately $225 million for ESL and ELD, it did not have information about the effectiveness of the program for students or about how much schools were actually spending on the programs. The report also indicated that there was proof that one board had spent more than half its ESL/ELD funding on other areas. (Office of the Auditor General of Ontario, 2005).

The Auditor General's report made many concrete recommendations to the Ontario Government in relation to ESL programing geared towards increasing the Ministry's oversight of

the ESL/ELD program. The ESL K-12 took steps to address the recommendation of the Auditor General's report. These included, but were not limited to, clarifying the Ministry's expectations and requirements of school boards with respect to the delivery of programs and services to support English language learners, and providing criteria for identifying English language learners. The Ministry initiated a program reporting structure that required school boards to report on the use of ESL funds. While information is not available on the effectiveness of this initiative across all the boards in Ontario, a report by Social Planning Toronto (2013) states that, "deep rooted problems in the Province's funding formula" leave the Toronto District School Board "struggling to stretch the total Ministry allocated funds to cover all of its costs" and that in the 2013-2014 budget cycle the Board diverted a quarter of its ESL grants towards general expenditure (Social Planning Toronto, 2013, p. 3).

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the variety of work that South Asian newcomer mothers engaged in relation to their children's schooling. Ensuring that their children achieved academically to safeguard the child's future career success was very important to these families. As is the case in many families in Canada, it was the mother who was responsible for the day-to-day management of the work related to schooling, or the family's economic status. However unlike women who had gone through Canadian or similar systems of education, the participants of this study carried out this work with minimal understanding of the system of education followed in Canadian schools, and sometimes with low English language proficiency.

In Canada, children's compulsory schooling is enforced by organizations mandated to intervene in families. Compulsory daily schooling of the child places many demands on parents-(providing the children with appropriate clothing, reaching school on time, provision of school lunches, at home supervision after school). Where parents cannot provide this kind of service, they become institutionally actionable in terms of child welfare intervention (Griffith and Smith, 1990). In this chapter, we saw that the South Asian immigrant mothers ensured that there was structure, support and encouragement for the child in relation to schooling.

In their study on mothering for schooling, Griffith and Smith (1990, 2005) demonstrated how the mother's unpaid work in relation to her child's schooling determined the school-preparedness of the child on which the educational system depended. Their research reveals how the day-to-day work of the mother coordinates the schedules of the family in relation to the inflexible organization of the schooling day as well as by the inflexible organizations of the labour market. Like the economically advantaged mothers in Griffith and Smith's study, the mothers in my study undertake this complementary education work driven by their aspirations for their children's future despite being economically disadvantaged. The school system has expectations of the parents in relation to schooling that takes for granted features of the family-two parents, with the father earning a family wage (Griffith and Smith, 2005). Like the mothers in their study, the South Asian immigrant mothers coordinated their everyday work to meet these expectations even when the conditions for the same were missing, i.e., when the families had a single parent and/or earned wages that were precarious. The South Asian immigrant mothers that participated in this study carried out this work with limited understanding of the Canadian educational system and sometimes limited ability to navigate the same, further complicated by language barriers and at times their own limited education. The work was also complicated by the value systems and practices endorsed by the school in relation to the child's autonomy and independence on the one hand, and alternate norms held by South Asian families in relation to parental engagement in the child's education. The South Asian mothers in this study required much information to navigate the school system and mostly did not know of services such as that provided by Josephine's agency in helping parents navigate schooling in Canada. They also did not mention knowing about school-based services for newcomer families (such as that provided by school social workers).

Discourses of individual autonomy underpin education policies and the mothering discourse requires mothers to ensure that they raise children that meet these ideals. The Ontario government education policy that bases its development of education policies on international documents as seen in this chapter, is participating in the creation of a flexible, non-traditional learner who can adapt and change to suit the needs of the employer in a market based, neoliberal economy. The requirement of an autonomous citizen is articulated to the interests of a neoliberal managerial state in which good public policy is viewed as one that assists individuals to take

responsibility for their success in it (Darville, 2014, p. 55). As seen in this chapter, these discourses are tied to national and international economic interests such as those expressed by the OECD. Other institutional ethnographers (Darville, 2014; Kerr, 2014) have noted the role of the OECD policy formulation, especially in relation to education in Canada and in other countries.

Teachers and principals participate in these educational discourses, and recruit parents to participate in this larger agenda of creating an autonomous learner. Forms of parental involvement in the child's education that complement this goal of creating an autonomous citizen are encouraged through education policy, and by the schools. Other forms of parental involvement ―such as parents wanting to be highly involved in the child's educational decisions ― come to be seen as undesirable as they did not encourage independence/autonomy in the child. When viewed through the ideological lens of the SNAF, some teachers, like Gurwinder, and the ones Josephine and Kanchan has come across, view the parents desire to be involved in the child's decision making as controlling behaviour. The school then becomes a site where immigrant mothers' parenting work can become institutionally actionable.

For the most part, the mothers interviewed accepted values around autonomy of the child in relation to education as it had institutional backing. Some of the South Asian immigrant mothers in this study started making changes to their parenting work to make their children more autonomous despite any misgiving they might have about the same.

The interview with the elementary school teacher in this chapter illustrates the many ways in which the teacher's work is impacted when she has to accommodate the immigrant family in the context of their settlement. Griffith and Smith (1990, 2005) illustrate how the school takes for granted the existence of a family wage which allows the mother to devote her time and energy in the house and to her children's schooling. When this condition is not met in working class families, the schools' educational activities suffer, which the authors see as linked to the ongoing reproduction of inequalities of class. The interview with the teacher revealed that the teacher's work was impacted by the specific challenges of the family in light of their settlement experiences, lack of familiarity of the parents with the schooling system, and at times the disruption of the child's schooling to meet South Asian immigrants' family obligations. These challenges necessitated adaptations in the teacher's work day which no doubt had an

impact on educational activities in relation to schooling and to the educational achievements of the school.

In the second part of this chapter we focused on the experiences of some of the participants with the ESL program. The Government of Ontario's support of ESL programs can be seen as an investment in the future and in Canada's global competiveness. Criteria of who is an English Language Learner and how they are selected into the program, are determined by ethnicity. The education discourse on ESL is one of supports to children whose first language is not English or is an English that is very different from that used in Ontario schools. The 2011 National Household Study found that 93% of persons born outside of Canada were able converse in either English or French while only 6.5% were unable to converse in either language (Statistics Canada, 2013a). There is no doubt that programs like the ELD program in particular have a very important role to play in helping children who do not know English to learn the language required to function in Canadian society. Some of the participants of this study however, did not necessarily experience ESL as a supportive program. They found ambiguity around placement into, and exit out of, the ESL program and the lack of clarity around the repercussions of being in such a program troubling. Interviews with the mothers and the assessors revealed that placing children in these programs, on some occasions, had little to do with language ability and was a way of the teacher to express support for the child within the parameters of the school system. Some of the mothers, particularly those who were proficient in the English language themselves, perceived the ESL programs as stigmatizing and worried about the implications of being in such a program would place on the child's future admission into university.

The past few decades have seen an increasing neo-liberal political climate in the country, marked by "New Public Management," (Griffith and Smith, 2014) that is characterized by an orientation of the government towards the market; increasingly intensified accountability routines; cutbacks in government spending on welfare services; and, the decline of professional autonomy (p. 15). This chapter has shown how the Ontario Government, while cutting back on spending on the school systems in general has become more involved in the boards' regulation as seen in the increasing accountability requirements for ESL funding. These changes in turn have necessitated school boards to use alternate strategies to survive, including using the funds

available for ESL programs for other programs. Changes in the ESL program reporting structure that now require school boards to report to the government on the use of ESL funds exemplify increased accountability practices under neoliberalism. When students are kept in ESL programs indefinitely, irrespective of the real need to be in the program, the school can continue to draw on these additional resources without having to spend much on the program itself.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications for Social Work Research, Policy and Practice

The impetus for this research study came about from the question posed in Chapter 1- What is it about the post-migration settlement process that makes many South Asian women carry out their mothering work in ways that were not in harmony with what they believed to be good mothering? Mothering is a very important aspect of many South Asian immigrant women's lives and the intersections of mothering work and settlement experience was identified as an important and unique standpoint through which to enter this study. This study used Institutional Ethnography to explore the everyday work of South Asian immigrant mothers in relation to caring for their children and the manner in which this everyday mothering work is shaped by the various institutional arrangements in society.

Figure 8.1 provides an overview of the findings of this study. Three main spheres of the settlement experience of South Asian immigrant mothers form the focus of this study: the mothers work in relation to employment, household and care of children, and children's schooling. The research revealed the dominance of a global neoliberal agenda on each of these spheres, impacting the day to day lives of South Asian immigrant women and consequently, their mothering work. The research showed how the mother's unique intersectional identity influences her ability to navigate the settlement process.

On immigrating to Canada, many immigrants lost their previous class advantage to become part of the burgeoning precariat class. The immigrant mother's work changes over time to accommodate this changed class status and to prepare her children to participate as autonomous responsible persons/citizens in a precarious workforce. In doing so she participated in processes that maintain existing relations of race, class and gender in society.

The immigrant mother's subject location and consequently her mothering work is shaped by the Canadian immigration policy which selects immigrants into the country based on their ability to contribute to the labour market and to improve Canada's global competitiveness. The South Asian immigrant mother's work is also shaped by settlement policy which, under neoliberalism, has become articulated to helping immigrants improve their competiveness in the market economy. The work of the mothers together with the immigration and settlement policies are shaped by larger forces of neoliberalism, mass migration, history (of colonialism) and larger

relations of race, class and gender. This chapter further details these findings and discusses implications of the findings for the social work profession.

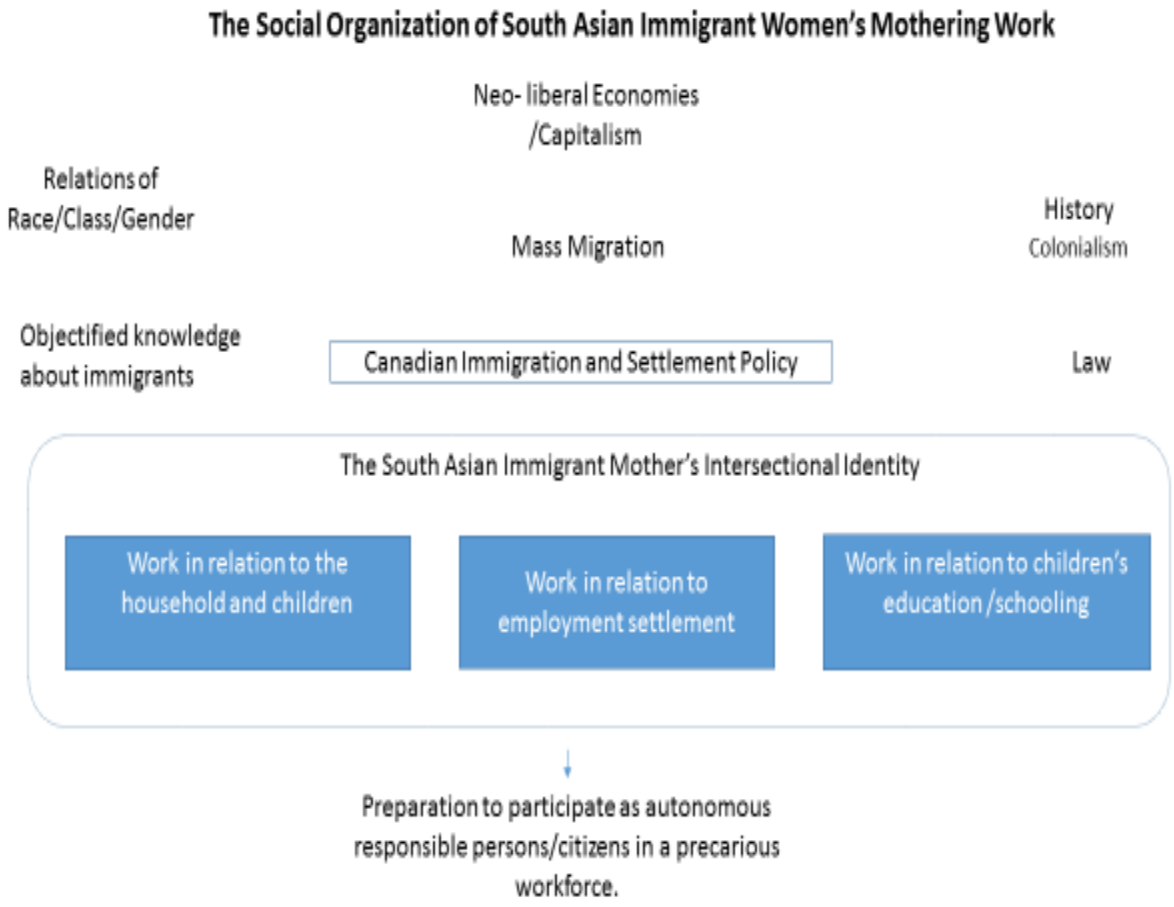


Figure 8.1: The Social Organization of South Asian Immigrant Women's Mothering Work

I began this research by interviewing 20 South Asian immigrant mothers, talking to them about their work in relation to children. During their interviews it became clear that employment or financial related challenges shaped many of the participants work in relation to their families in the settlement context. Most of the participants of the study had immigrated to Canada under the Economic Class, selected for their (and their spouses') ability to contribute to Canada's economy. In Canada, the South Asian mothers and their spouses participated actively in text-mediated neoliberal discourses on immigrant employment that clearly place the onus of finding

work on the immigrant. Most of the participants in this study participated in these discourses by involving themselves in language training (LINC, ESL and Enhanced Language Training), and/or volunteer work, credential assessment job search workshops, and coop placements to overcome barriers (such as lack of Canadian experience, language or recognized credentials) that might be preventing them from finding suitable work. Many of these programs were offered through settlement service agencies, funded by the Government of Canada and Ontario. The work of the settlement industry and the work of all its participants was articulated towards helping immigrants become more able to compete in an increasingly neoliberal economy characterised by a retrenchment of social protections by the government (Graham, Swift & Delaney, 2008; Navarro, 2007), deregulation of labour and financial markets (Navarro, 2007), and, precarious employment (Standing, 2011). The role of the government and its functionaries was to assist individuals to take responsibility for their success in it (Darville, 2014; Clarke, 2004). Clarke (2004) informs us that the neoliberal state aims to produce 'responsible subjects' (p. 33) in a wide variety of fields. In this study we see an example of such practices in the Canadian Welfare State of the past downloading responsibility on the immigrant to become 'employable' and find work. Ilcan (2009) refers to such neoliberal practices as "privatizing responsibility" (p. 209) and notes that such discourses emphasize individual self-reliance instead of dependence on public resources.

Meritocracy and competitiveness in employment success is a part of capitalism. Neoliberalism intensifies these characteristics of our social organization, where the success of the individual is related to the individual's work output (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010). Such discourse does not acknowledge the increasing precariousness of the labour market or the role of systemic barriers—such as ethnic discrimination in hiring —that might complicate this idealised level playing field for everyone in our society, immigrants or otherwise. Economic immigrants are selected on the basis of their high levels of education and experience. Despite having strong credentials and engaging in activities to improve their competitiveness in the labour market as prescribed by the employment discourse, a majority of the immigrants in this study worked in precarious conditions and continued facing downward economic mobility. The racialization embedded in the neoliberal discourse (Roberts & Mahtani, 2011) allows for structural barriers to continue operating blocking immigrants from their occupations (Standing, 2011). When

objectified forms of knowledge "demonize" (Standing, 2011) immigrants as different or "deficient" (Shan, 2009; Guo, 2009; Sakamoto et al, 2013) it allows for a justification of immigrants' lack of success in finding employment and for institutional practices such as language training, soft skills training, volunteering and the like that aim at reducing these differences. South Asian immigrant mothers actively participated in these racialized neo-liberal discourses in relation to employment settlement preparing themselves to become responsible/autonomous citizens able to work within a precarious labour market. In carrying out such work the immigrant women participate in maintaining existing race, gender and class relations in society.

In Chapter four, we saw how one such kind of objectified knowledge of South Asian immigrants comes to be produced in relation to immigrant parenting. Through the analysis of two set of texts (a booklet for service providers working with immigrants, and media coverage of "honour killings"), I illustrated how some of this objectification of South Asian immigrant families is accomplished. Objectified knowledge about immigrant families serves to "demonize" them as backward, traditional, controlling and oppressive to women and children, allowing justification for the need to monitor and control such "different" families. The ideological conception of the Standard North American Family (White, middle class, nuclear and two parents), and woman's work within such families as prescribed by North American mothering discourses have historically worked towards perpetuating class and gender relations in society. According to these discourses mothers are vested with the primary responsibility of shaping an autonomous, self-reliant child, who would in turn become the kind of future citizen modern societies rely on. When the SNAF and accompanying mothering discourse are the lenses through which all families are viewed and assessed, particular features of the South Asian immigrant families come to be seen as potentially threatening to ruling relations.

The downward economic mobility experienced by the participants in this study affected their mental health/ sense of well-being and relationships with family members. It also necessitated lifestyle changes on part of the family, which in turn impacted parenting. When parents were struggling to understand their new contexts they found it difficult to carry out their traditional roles of helping children navigate society. When families split up geographically or when the father worked long hours to make ends meet, the mother often became the sole

caregiver of the children and her gendered role as homemaker/caregiver was exacerbated. On immigrating, women lost the social support of paid and familial domestic help that allowed for traditional ways of carrying out mothering work. The difficulties faced in finding suitable paid employment made many mothers feel anxious, depressed and stressed which had implications for their work as mothers. Most participants had very little pre-existing social support in Canada, and there was very little awareness or use of formal sources of support for the family. Immigrating under the Family Class increased vulnerability for some participants within the family.

It was within the turbulent context of precarious employment and downward financial trajectory or "declassing" that the participants carried out their mothering work. Mothering work for participants in this study involved spending large amounts of their time cooking, cleaning the household, teaching children traditions and values, and work in relation to schooling. When participants were socially isolated, had poor English language proficiency and lacked support networks, or when they stayed at home either due to the inability to find work in Canada or due to ideals around the need for a "mother figure" to care for the child, gendered relations in the family were reinforced. In the absence of a larger cultural milieu where children could learn about South Asian culture and religion through immersion, some women took up more traditional roles and behaviours in the settlement context so that they could teach their children about culture by example. The pressure to do the kind of mothering work described by the participants seemed to come from South Asian discourses around good mothering, internalized by years of observing their own mothers and other mother figures, as well as reinforced through messages in cultural and religious texts. There appeared to be very little influence of the ongoing transnational connections with family on the day-to-day mothering work.

The mothers' work made possible conditions that allowed for other members of the family to coordinate their actions with wider institutions. When mothers ensured that food was cooked, and children were picked up from school and dropped off on time she participated in "coordinating the uncoordinated" (Griffith & Smith, 1999) schedules of the school with the labour market.

The South Asian mothering discourses that guided the participants' work were similar to the North American mothering discourses in stressing the primacy of the mother/mother figure in

looking after the child; and in expectations of the mother to be sacrificing and caring in putting the needs of the children before her own. Yet, important differences existed. The North American mothering discourses emphasize raising an autonomous and independent child while the South Asian discourses on mothering discourage this. In Canada, the participants experienced discourses on autonomy and independence to have institutional backing. Both sets of mothering discourses – North American and South Asian - were rooted in very different social, economic, political, and historical processes. In current times, the emphasis on autonomy and independence can be seen as linked to the neoliberal imperative for responsible and autonomous citizens.

Mothers were responsible for ensuring their children's academic success through the day-to-day management of the work related to schooling. Mothers took on this responsibility irrespective of their understanding of the system of education followed in Canadian schools or their own English language proficiency. Discourses of individual autonomy underpin schooling. As seen in Chapter seven, these discourses are tied to national and international economic interests steeped in neoliberal conceptions of the ideal student and worker in an increasingly flexible market economy. Objectified knowledge about South Asian immigrant parenting contributed to the school viewing immigrant mothers' actions to involve themselves in their child's schooling decisions as controlling the child, and inhibiting the child's decision making process. Such parental involvement was discouraged through processes within the school system such as parent teacher interactions and through a report card that merits child's independence and decision making. Moreover, the school is a space where immigrants' language is viewed as something that need to be remedied through institutional processes such as ESL to increase the students' competiveness in a globalized economy.

Through their interactions with institutions such as Early Childhood Centres or LINC classes and with the school in particular, the participants were becoming aware of the importance of "autonomy" and "independence" that Canadian society placed in relation to children. For the most part the participants could choose to ignore these discourses within the privacy of their homes. However, some mothers had gradually started coordinating their actions with these discourses, despite having misgivings about them. These adaptations often happened: when women were unable to cope with the high demands on their time and energy in carrying out work in relation to their children as prescribed by South Asian discourses without support; in

response to the larger institutional arrangements that encouraged the child's autonomy and independence (laws, policies, etc.); and/or when the mothers felt it would help the child to succeed academically. Tejinder's case study suggests that when the role of institutions is more intrusive (example: child welfare or shelters) the changes expected of the mother in relation to her parenting are more direct and severe.

All the participants of the study were women and racialized. However their level of education, knowledge of the English language, professional qualifications, immigration class (Family Class or Economic Immigrant) and family income created important differences in their settlement experiences. For example, when the family had economic resources they could tap into, the participants were able to participate fully in volunteering and requalifying processes compared to those who did not have this privilege. As we saw in the case of Tejinder, when the participant had low language ability, lacked supportive networks or was sponsored by her husband in the immigration process it increased her vulnerability to domestic violence in the marriage and to possible subsequent intervention by the government in relation to her children. The manner in which participants' multiple, simultaneous and interrelated oppressions (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996) impacted the settlement experiences and mothering work is particularly visible in the case of the participants who were lone mothers. Gayatri and Anjali both raised their children without spousal support. Both had a university education and as working women, with English language proficiency, were able to support themselves and their children. This allowed them a greater degree of freedom in raising their children compared to Tejinder, Samina and Fatima who had low language ability (despite a higher education in Tejinder's case), were unemployed and who were dependent on the state for their day to day living. As we saw in the case of Tejinder this dependence made their mothering more open to scrutiny and to professional intervention.

Contributions of the Study

The strength of an Institutional Ethnography study is that it allows for an understanding of how things come to be as they are. In the case of this study it allowed for an understanding of the complex factors that impact the settlement process that make immigrant mothers change their

mothering practices despite having misgivings about the same. This study allowed for an explication of the various invisible processes at work impacting the everyday lives of South Asian immigrant women, and shaping their mothering in the settlement process. It helps us see how marginalization is socially organized (Slade, 2010) for this group. Such understanding is crucial for beginning to think about active acts of resistance to the same.

This study connects with other studies that use an institutional ethnography lens to focus on the mother's work (DeVault, 1994; Griffith, 1984; Griffith & Smith, 2005; Ingstrup, 2014), and to explore the oppression and marginalization faced by immigrants in the labour market (Maraj Grahame, 1999; Slade, 2008; Ng, 1988; Shan, 2009). This study describes processes through which migration exacerbates gendered relationships. It joins others (Menjivar & Salcido, 2002; Guruge, et al, 2010a, 2010b) in highlighting the increased vulnerability of women in the family in the post-immigration context.

The study makes an important contribution to the scarce literature on mothering in racialized communities and to literature that explores the intersections of mothering and immigrant issues. It is one of the few, if not only study, to combine an ethnographic lens on immigrant women's mothering work within the settlement context with an exploration of the role of larger discourses within which such work takes place. Unique to this study is the manner in which the work of the mother in the home and outside the home is traced to larger discourses on individual autonomy and self-reliance that serve the interest of the neoliberal economy in which we all participate. The study highlights the resilience and strength of South Asian immigrant women in carrying out their work as immigrants and mothers and the agency the women employ as they adapt to their environment. These are important facets of immigrant settlement that often get sidelined by stories of hardship, stress and despair.

Though we got a glimpse of it in Tejinder's narrative a trail that was not picked up and followed through closely in this study was the manner in which the mothering work is shaped through involvement in child welfare. Tejinder's narrative indicates that the mothering work is impacted more severely when institutions such as child welfare and related institutions (police, legal systems, shelters) are involved. Future research can explore specific impacts of surveillance institutions on the mothering experiences of South Asian mothers. Longitudinal research can also compare the mothering practices of immigrant women who have been in the country for

varied periods of time to understand the impact of long term integration (if any) on the mothering work of immigrant women.

Implications for Social Work

The newcomers in this study had interactions with a few prominent settlement service agencies. These agencies likely had staff who were either trained social workers or social service workers. Seven participants of this study attended LINC classes run through such services. Through these classes the participants learned about Canada and the laws and expectations related to parenting. Many other participants attended job search workshops, or bridging programs run by settlement service agencies. Here they learned about the importance of networking, resume writing and volunteering. The settlement service programs the participants engaged were prescribed to a large extent by funding from the Governments of Canada and Ontario. As we have seen in this research, these government funded programs were articulated to the interests of creating the ideal worker for a neoliberal economy and in maintaining the power dynamics of existing relations of race/gender/class relations in society. Social work (in the broadest sense of the word) is complicit in this.

The participants who had child welfare involvement and/or were on Ontario Works described their interactions with social workers in ways that highlighted the social worker's role in enforcing policies and policing the activities of the participants concerned rather than being supportive. Social workers were actively involved in implementing the neoliberal agenda of decreasing dependency on the government. As Sameena shared about her Ontario Works worker: "Nowadays my social worker is suggesting to me that I should stand on my feet, I should become independent."

The newcomers' needs as articulated by them—to find meaningful work, to find help in navigating schools for example— are sidelined in the face of the needs that are identified by ruling relations as important to address for immigrant settlement. Starting from the standpoint of newcomer women allowed for the identification of many of their overlooked needs in the settlement period- areas where social work intervention could have been very meaningful for the newcomers in this study. These potential interventions include helping newcomers to: find non-

precarious employment commensurate with their education and training; cope with feelings of stress, anxiety and insecurity; reduce their social isolation; understand and navigate the school system and ESL programs; and provide them with linguistically and culturally relevant/sensitive parenting programs.

A critical/anti-oppressive social work perspective (Sakamoto, 2007; Danso, 2009; Clarke & Wan, 2011) can help social workers striving for social justice to think critically about the issues faced by immigrants and to see these issues as linked inextricably to larger social issues. Such a critical stance acknowledges the role of power in oppression and is committed to transforming society rather than simply critiquing it (Campbell & Baikie, 2010; Danso, 2007). Ager and Strang's (2008) integration framework helps us identify specific areas where such critical social work intervention might be targeted. According to their model of refugee integration, important dimensions of integration are achievement and access to health, education, employment and housing; a clear articulation of the concept of citizenship and of the migrants' rights within; social connections between immigrants and the host society; and, facilitators of integration such as language and cultural competence and safety and stability of communities where immigrants lived (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Economic insecurity is a growing problem impacting all Canadians, including immigrants. Social workers need to advocate for policies and programs that increase employment security for all. Forming alliances among between various groups experiencing and concerned about precarious labour could be one avenue for mobilizing change (Standing, 2011; Hanley & Shragge, 2010). The newcomers in this study faced many difficulties in finding employment, largely due to the lack of acceptance of their foreign credentials. *Beyond Canadian Experience* is a project spearheaded by social work academic Izumi Sakamoto that challenges the requirement for "Canadian experience" by shifting the focus from the immigrant to the employers to develop non-discriminatory hiring processes.[30] Another program, *hireimmigrants.ca* seeks to change the outlook of employers towards hiring immigrants. These programs provide useful models for social workers to emulate to advocate for societal level changes to remove such barriers, and facilitate immigrant employment.

[30] http://www.beyondcanadianexperience.com/

In this study we saw that the immigrant women's mothering work is dictated, by a large extent, by ideals outside of the host society suggesting that these women might be raising their children to be "acceptable" (Ruddick, 2007) to their countries of origin rather than societies they actually live in. This indicates that much more work remains to be done to make newcomers feel a part of Canadian society in meaningful ways. In the past government programs that allowed for social connections between newcomers and other Canadians such as the Host program served such important functions but these initiatives have become sidelined in the face of the Modernized Approach to Settlement Service aimed at increasing organizational and funding efficiencies.

Following examples such as the successful *Mentoring Partnership* program[31] set up by TRIEC and social mentorship programs run by some immigrant serving organizations,[32] social workers can help immigrants build social networks that will facilitate their professional and social integration into Canadian society.

Though participants in this study spoke of mental stressors related to employment and about their worries in relation to raising children in Canada they did not use services in the community for the same. Past research has shown that immigrants typically underutilise services due to lack of knowledge about the same or due to the lack of culturally or linguistically relevant services (George, 2007; Guruge et al, 2009). The document *Best Settlement Practices* (CCR, 1998) developed through consultation with various stakeholders from all over Canada can serve as a useful resource to social workers that want to work with migrants. The document details core values in settlement delivery and also best practices and their indicators for practitioners working with immigrants and refugees. The best practices listed highlight the importance of accountability to the service user and for the need for sensitive and inclusive practice.

By providing linguistically and culturally relevant services, and by providing information to immigrants on how to access them, social workers can help immigrants cope with settlement-related stressors. Social workers have an important role to play in providing informational and emotional support to newcomer families and in helping newcomer families deal with the changes they face in the settlement process. While working with such families, social workers should be

[31] http://www.thementoringpartnership.com/
[32] See for example the programs run by Culture Link http://www.culturelink.ca/programs/community-connections/mentorship-program/

cognisant of the power relations within helping relationships (Clarke & Wan, 2011), Social workers also need to be cognizant of the manner in which their work with immigrants is influenced by their roles as workers of the state or employed within programs heavily dependent on government funding for their survival in an increasingly neoliberal climate.

This study has shown how institutions such as schools can become spaces where immigrants' differences are constructed as deficiencies that need to be remedied through institutional processes such as ESL. There is a need for social workers to interrogate and challenge such institutional practices and to advocate for solutions that are more respectful of differences and more equitable in outcomes. In the case of ESL, for example, this can be done by challenging the premise that all ethnic groups that speak a language other than English at home potentially require ESL supports. Social workers can also advocate for clear indicators for exit from the ESL program, and for increased funding for all schools so that schools do not have to rely on additional funding through programs such as ESL for their day to day functioning.

The challenge faced by the participants in this study, such as the recognition of foreign credentials or the creation of objectified knowledge that constitutes them as "different," has structural and ideological roots. Social work practitioners and researchers have an important role in deconstructing such objectified knowledge and in advocating at the individual, group and community level for the removal of structural barriers to immigrant settlement. The social work profession has historically used advocacy effectively for social change at the individual, neighbourhood, community and state levels (Dunlop & Fawcett, 2008). Advocacy involves the identification and naming of unfair practices, promoting new and fairer programs and policies, working in collaboration with other organisations and lobbying for changes (Tator in George, 2000).

The past few years have seen drastic changes to Canadian immigration policy that take a short term view on migration prioritizing market needs instead of focussing on long term citizenships (Alboim & Cohl, 2012) and create a two tier citizenship between immigrants and native-born Canadians (Dicks, 2015). Social workers at an individual and collective level need to join other advocacy groups in voicing concerns about such policy changes. Advocacy is also needed to target policy level change that benefits wider society; for example, by lobbying for full day affordable daycare, or speaking out against policies that increase precariousness in society.

Some large universities in Ontario such as York University, Wilfred Laurier University and Ryerson University have research centres focused on immigrant issues and social work researchers are significant contributors to these initiatives. Social work academics like Susan McGrath have taken the lead on collaborative projects that are involved in research to benefit immigrant groups (McGrath et al, 2005). Social work has lent its own unique lens to the literature on immigrant issues by highlighting issues impacting immigrants such as child welfare involvement and domestic violence (for example Alaggia, Regehr, & Rishchynski, 2009; Maiter, S., Alaggia, & Trocmé, 2004; Maiter & George 2003); mental health and wellbeing (for example George et al, 2012a); social capital and networks (for example Anucha et al, 2006; George & Chaze, 2009b); employment needs and barriers (for example George et al, 2012a, 2012b; Sakamoto, 2007; Sakamoto, Chin & Young, 2010; Guo, 2009); and impacts on family (for example Tsang et al, 2003) among many others. While some social work researchers have highlighted the importance of a critical/ anti-oppressive perspective for social workers working with immigrants (George, 2002; Danso, 2007; Sakamoto, 2007; Chatterjee, 2013; George & Rashidi, 2014), there has been little research that provides examples of what such an approach might look like in practice. Research is also needed to understand the experiences of settlement social workers in the context of growing accountability regimes and their strategies of resistance.

There is an increasing call to social work education to respond to the needs of immigrants in more meaningful ways. In their exploratory study of members of the British Columbia Association of Social Workers, Yan and Chan (2010) found that for a majority of participants, serving newcomers was not a specific mandate of their employing organization or program. The social workers who participated in the study felt that their knowledge of newcomers and immigration policies was limited. The researchers attribute this lacuna partly to the lack of inclusion of courses related to immigrant and refugee issues in most social work education programs. While many schools of social work in Ontario do have undergraduate degree courses in immigrant issues, these are usually electives. This precludes many student social workers from getting an understanding of the dynamics of the immigration and settlement process and the way it impacts immigrant service users they encounter in various settings.

The Canadian Association of Social Work Education recently released standards for accreditation of BSW and MSW programs (CASWE, 2014). Principles 9 and 10 of the

accreditation standards recognize the need for the social work training to equip social workers to support Canada's increasing diversity (including diversity related to immigration status) and for social work programs to "acknowledge the importance and complexity of Canadian society, including the dynamics affecting Anglophone, Francophone, Indigenous peoples, and newcomer populations" (p. 4). Social workers need to be aware of structural issues impacting the settlement and integration of immigrants. Their training needs to help them recognize the intersectional nature of oppressions faced by immigrants; provide an understanding of the historical experiences of different ethnic groups in Canada in relation to citizenship and equality of status; and provide an understanding of the role of the state in the privileging or marginalising of certain groups (George, 2000).

Social work has historically had connections to the settlement of immigrants, starting from the early settlement houses in England (Hick, 2006; George, 2015). The social exclusion, marginalization and resultant impacts on the health and well-being of immigrants are all important social work concerns. The training received by social workers make them ideal professionals to intervene and help immigrant families to deal with their complex settlement related issues, and to take a lead in interdisciplinary teams and groups working on immigrant issues. In Toronto itself, three community colleges offer a specialised social service certification in working with immigrants and refugees. An elective course in immigrant issues is offered by most leading schools of social work in the Greater Toronto Area. Settlement work is considered a branch of social work practice (George, 2007; Balgopal, 2000). In the recent decades, however, settlement work has not only become highly prescribed and shaped by government funding, it is also becoming an interdisciplinary field. Turegun (2013), notes that settlement work as it exists in Canada includes three broad forms of practice: a) A loose occupation characterised by ethno-religious volunteerism; b) a speciality of social work; and c) an emerging autonomous professional project. In this changing milieu it is important for social work as a professional body to examine, strengthen and (re)claim the parameters of its involvement in immigrant settlement. Some questions the profession might consider in such a reflection:

- In what ways is social work with immigrants compromised when it is shaped by highly prescriptive government funding for settlement work? What are ways in which social work can resist these prescriptions?

- What would social work with immigrants outside the government prescribed settlement model look like? How can such a vision be realised?
- Do social workers have unique contributions to make within the settlement service sector? What might these be? What is the role of social workers within larger interdisciplinary teams in settlement service agencies?

Conclusion

This study throws light on the complexity of settlement work for South Asian immigrant women and on the manner in which South Asian immigrant mothers' values/priorities in relation to raising children become subordinate to values around raising children that are articulated to interests of ruling relations. Using Institutional Ethnography this study reveals the disjuncture between the mothering work of the South Asian immigrant woman and institutionally backed discourses in Canada around mothering, schooling and immigrant employment. The study explicates how the work of immigrant mothers in the settlement process changes over time as they participate in social relation that require them to raise their children as autonomous responsible persons/citizens who can participate in a neoliberal economy characterised by precarious work. This study has demonstrated how the mothering work of South Asian immigrant women is connected and coordinated to the work of many others in society in ways that serve the interest of ruling relations and maintain existing relations of race, class and gender in society. While the study is specific to the experiences of a few South Asian immigrant women, it is anticipated that the study findings will have resonance with many other racialized immigrant mothers. The findings of the study also challenge social workers to consider the ways in which we become implicated in the relevancies of the relations of ruling rather than pursuing goals of social justice.

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Appendix A: Letter of Invitation

Are you a South Asian Mother who has been in Canada five years or less? If yes, I would like to invite you to participate in a project on South Asian mothers' raising children in Canada.

I am a PhD Candidate at the School of Social Work, York University. I am researching the mothering work of South Asian immigrant women and the manner in which this work is affected by various factors in Canada.

The results of this research will help to throw light on the challenges faced by South Asian immigrants in their roles as mothers in Canada and will be able to suggest interventions at the policy and practice level to better help such newcomers.

If you agree to participate in the study, I would like to interview you. The interview will last for approximately one and a half hours. We can arrange the time and place of the interview to suit you and your commitments by e-mail or over the telephone. I can interview you either face to face at a convenient place close to your home or over the telephone. Participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from further participation at any time without having to give a reason, and with no adverse consequence. All information you supply during the interview will be held in confidence and your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research.

If you would like to know more about this study or would like to participate please contact me.

This research has been reviewed by the Human Participants in Research Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Sincerely,
Ferzana Chaze (PhD Candidate)

Appendix B: Informed Consent

Date: March 01, 2012
Study Name: The Shaping of South Asian Women's Mothering Work in Canada

Focus and Purpose of the Research: I am researching the mothering work of South Asian immigrant women and the manner in which this work is affected by various factors in Canada and through the transnational linkages of these women.

Study Design: I am using a research methodology known as Institutional Ethnography. I will be using interviews to understand the work done by these women while caring for their children.

What You Will Be Asked to do in the Research: I would like to talk to you about your day- to-day work of looking after and raising your children in Canada. Our interview will last for approximately one and a half hours. We can arrange the time and place of the interview to suit you by e-mail or over the telephone. We can have the interview either face to face at a convenient place close to your home or over the telephone. During the interview I would be asking you questions such as "What guides you in making decisions related to your day to day caring for your children?" and "do the links you maintain with your family and friends in your country of origin influence your day to day parenting?" and "How has your parenting changed after immigrating? Why do you think this has happened?"

Risks and Discomforts: I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: The results of this project will help to throw light on the challenges faced by South Asian immigrants like you in their roles as mothers in Canada and will be able to suggest interventions at the policy and practice level to better help such newcomers. I will be paying you a minor honorarium of $15 by way of a Tim Hortons coupon for your time.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence any relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers or York University. Should you decide to stop participating in the research you will still receive the promised honorarium.

Confidentiality: With your permission, I will use a digital recorder and handwritten notes to record your interview. I would like to record your interview so that I do not miss any crucial details of your sharing. If at any time during the interview you wish me to stop recording I will do so. All information you supply during the interview will be held in confidence and your name

will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored in a locked facility and only the research staff will have access to this information. The data will be stored for three years after the research is complete after which it will be destroyed. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. Please note that as per my professional code of conduct I am required to report any information you provide me that indicates that you or any other individual in your family is at physical harm.

Questions about the research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my thesis supervisor. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Subcommittee (HPRC) of York University and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Graduate Program Office at the School of Social Work, or the Manager, Office of Research Ethics, York University.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in the study "The Shaping of South Asian Women's' Mothering Work in Canada" conducted by Ferzana Chaze. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ Date_____
Participant

Signature_____ Date_____
Principal Investigator

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Information about the family
Probes: Composition, Country of origin, Children's ages and gender, education and employment status)
Can you describe your day's work related to taking care of your children?

Probes: cooking, feeding, sleeping routines, dressing, school/daycare, extra-curricular activities, teaching behaviours and values including disciplining, socializing with family. (Include timings and frequency)

What guides you in making decisions related to your day to day caring for your children?
Probes: Upbringing, literature, family, school/daycare. Ask for concrete examples

Do you maintain links with your country of origin (family, friends, media)? Do those links affect the way you raise your children here in any way?

If you had a child before immigrating, in what ways was the work of raising your children different prior to coming to Canada?

How has your parenting changed after immigrating? Why do you think this has happened?

If you need help with a situation in your family who do you turn to? (concrete example)
Probes: Friends, Family, Virtual Communities, Agencies

Documents to ask for: Any documents that they might refer to in their talk (correspondence from school/ daycare, report cards, policies, manuals, pamphlets)

References: people to contact for further interviews or key informant interviews

Appendix D: Profile of the Participants

Table 9.1 Participant Profiles

Participant	Country of Origin (COO)	Country of Residence prior to Immigration other than COO	Marital Status	Number of Children and Ages	Languages of Interview	Year of Immi-gration
Kanchan	India	Saudi Arabia	Married	Sons (17 & 24)	English	2008
Kiran	India	n/a	Married	Daughters (4 & 12)	English	2006
Sarita	India	n/a	Married	Daughter (7) Son (10)	Hindi	2011
Salma	Pakistan	n/a	Married	Sons (2 & 8) Daughter (9)	Hindi/Urdu	2008
Rekha	India	n/a	Married	Son (8) Daughter (12)	Hindi	2010
Daisy	India	Saudi Arabia	Married	Sons (13 & 22) Daughter (24)	English	2008
Fatima	Pakistan	n/a	Divorced	Sons (7 & 8)	Hindi/Urdu	2006
Gayatri	India	n/a	Divorced	Son (8) Daughter (12)	Hindi	2011
Archana	India	n/a	Married; living separate	Daughters (15 & 19)	English	2009
Anjali	India	n/a	Divorced	Daughter (16)	English	2008
Swati	India	Bahrain	Married	Son (7) Daughter (12)	English	2010
Sameena	Pakistan	n/a	Widowed	Son (4) Daughters (8 & 11)	Hindi	2007
Bhakti	India	n/a	Married	Son (8) Daughter (13)	Hindi	2008
Tejinder	India	n/a	Divorced	Daughter (3) Son (4)	Hindi	2007
Shilpa	India	n/a	Married	Sons (2 & 8)	Hindi	2010
Asma	Pakistan	UAE	Married; living separate	Son (12) Daughter (13.5)	Hindi/Urdu	2010
Farida	India	Saudi Arabia	Married	Son (13) Daughter (18)	English	2009
Beena	India	n/a	Married	Daughters (3 & 11)	Hindi	2006
Ananya	India	UAE	Married; living separate	Daughters (13 & 15)	English	2011

Hema	India	UAE	Married	Son (14)	English	2011

Appendix E: Canadian Family Magazine Covers



Appendix F: Ontario Report Card

Table 10.1: Learning Skills and Work Habits Assessed Through the Child's School Report Card in Elementary Public Schools in Ontario

Learning Skills and Work Habits	Strengths/Next Steps for Improvement
E – Excellent; G – Good; S – Satisfactory; N – Needs Improvement	
Responsibility ☐ •Fulfils responsibilities and commitments within the learning environment. •Takes responsibility for and manages own behaviour.	
Organization ☐ •Devises and follows a plan and process for completing work and tasks. •Establishes priorities and manages time to complete tasks and achieve goals. •Identifies, gathers, evaluates, and uses information, technology, and resources to complete tasks.	
Independent Work ☐ •Independently monitors, assesses, and revises plans to complete tasks and meet goals. •Uses class time appropriately to complete tasks. •Follows instructions with minimal supervision.	
Collaboration ☐ •Accepts various roles and an equitable share of work in a group. •Responds positively to the ideas, opinions, values, and traditions of others. •Builds healthy peer-to-peer relationships in person and through personal and media-assisted interactions. •Works with others to resolve conflicts and build consensus to achieve group goals. •Shares information, resources, and expertise, and promotes critical thinking to solve problems and make decisions.	
Initiative ☐ •Looks for and acts on new ideas and opportunities for learning. •Demonstrates the capacity for innovation and a willingness to take risks. •Demonstrates curiosity and interest in	

learning. •Approaches new tasks with a positive attitude. •Recognizes and advocates appropriately for the rights of self and others.	
Self-Regulation ☐ •Sets own individual goals and monitors progress towards achieving them. •Seeks clarification or assistance when needed. •Assesses and reflects critically on own strengths, needs, and interests. •Identifies learning opportunities, choices, and strategies to meet personal needs and achieve goals. •Perseveres and makes an effort when responding to challenges.	

(source: http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/forms/report/1998/report98.html)

Table 10.2: Learning Skills Assessed in the Ontario Report Card Prior to 2010 (Government of Ontario, 1998).

Learning Skills: E – Excellent; G – Good; S – Satisfactory; N – Needs Improvement												
Independent Work				Use of Information				Class participation				
Initiative				Cooperation with others				Problem solving				
Homework Completion				Conflict resolution				Goal setting to improve work				
Strengths/Weaknesses/Next Steps:												