DOWNWARDLY GLOBAL

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Women, Work, and Citizenship in the Pakistani Diaspora

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Lalaie Ameeriar
Los Angeles, 2016

INTRODUCTION

The Sanitized Sensorium

The fluorescent bulb flickered as it always did, emitting an unrelenting, low, and persistent buzzing that filled the space. The windowless room and harsh institutional lighting made all the participants feel uneasy. Everyone shuddered and fidgeted—physical manifestations of the anxiety, panic, anger, fatigue, and desperation that filled them. As the class got under way, some participants taking notes and others seemingly distracted, a cascade of proscriptions filled the room: "Don't show up smelling like foods that are foreign to us," "Don't wear a shalwar cameeze," "Change your name if it's hard to pronounce," and "Don't wear a hijab if you want to get a job." This was the core curriculum (and moral imperative) delivered to a room full of professional Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi women seeking work in Toronto. I looked around at the fifteen participants in this government-funded workshop, trying to gauge their reactions. The instructions seemed astonishingly dissonant for a workshop aimed at foreign-trained professionals with advanced levels of education, skills, and experience.

The strangeness of it all was not lost on the participants. As one attendee, Saima, remarked to me later, "It's different back home. At home there's more importance stressed on qualifications." I met numerous Pakistani immigrant women like Saima in settlement-services agencies, many of whom were unemployed or underemployed. The majority of these women lived in relative poverty in government housing projects in peripheral parts of the city. Despite having migrated as "skilled workers,"[1] most of them will never enter their chosen fields again. In fact, 44 percent of the Pakistani population of Toronto lives below Canada's low income cut-off.[2] And yet, in this pedagogical effort to facilitate their entry into the workforce, immigrant

women were subjected to intimate instructions concerning their sartorial and hygiene practices.[3] Rather than the skills-focused conversation the participants had expected, they received a barrage of regulatory proscriptions aimed at the immigrant body.

This unemployment workshop took place in a government-funded, privately run settlement-services agency for new immigrants that specifically worked with South Asian women, and that I will call "the Center." It was located in a small building in the emerging Little India—or Little Pakistan, depending on whom you ask—in the West End of Toronto. The neighborhood was economically marginal and populated by a large immigrant community because of the availability of difficult-to-find low-cost housing there. The main street was filled with small Indian and Pakistani restaurants, grocery stores, dollar stores, and a storefront mosque. Many of the city's settlement services were located nearby, but the center of the social world for many Indian and Pakistani women was the Center. Women sat in the waiting room, much like a doctor's office, but one that opened up to the rest of the Center. The large storefront windows in the waiting area put the attendees on display for anyone passing by. Counselors had their offices in cubicles that dotted the space, which ended in a large fluorescent-lit back room where classes and workshops were held. As a first stop for many new immigrants, settlement agencies provide services ranging from help finding a home, to understanding healthcare, to unemployment workshops. Such agencies and organizations form part of the bureaucratic matrix put in place to settle new immigrants. More than one hundred of these settlement-services agencies in the greater Toronto area are aimed at "immigrant integration"—a catchphrase the federal government uses in its emerging agenda for managing immigrants. These centers are a critical site for examining the interface between immigrant bodies and bureaucratic structures.[4]

These South Asian nonprofit organizations also actively participate in numerous cultural festivals that take place throughout the city during South Asian Heritage Month, which happens every May in Ontario. I attended these festivals throughout my time in Toronto, sometimes participating as a volunteer with South Asian organizations and sometimes as a consumer, drinking mango lassi and eating chicken tikka masala and samosas under the blazing sun of a Toronto summer. South Asian cultural festivals are staged throughout the city and display a commodified form of culture, including dance performances, art, and *mehndi* parlors; cooking

demonstrations; and stalls selling clothing, jewelry, and food, all presenting a simulacrum of South Asia. The festivals attempt to engage the senses: the sight of beautiful sari fabric, the sounds of Bollywood music, and the smells of pan-Indian food fill the air. But in other contexts, like those discussed in the employment-training event, these same exotic markers of difference are a barrier to employability and even citizenship. How can this be reconciled with the fact that at the cultural festival, which is also situated squarely within the state's practice and logic of multiculturalism, these same people are encouraged to highlight their difference? Here, the smell of citizenship changes.

The classroom encounter, the cultural festival, and Pakistani women's downward mobility all provide a meaningful introduction to the issues this book explores. They help demonstrate how integration in Canada represents not the erasure of all differences, but the celebration of some alongside the eradication of others. Publicly and internationally, the Canadian nation-state has built a reputation of openly abdicating its right to impose a single culture on its citizens. However, in reality, culture is in fact a primary domain of action on the part of the state. The Canadian nation-state relinquishes cultural imperialism and celebrates multi-ness through cultural festivals or state-sanctioned forms of difference, yet uses semi-governmental agencies to impose a particular Canadian mode of bodily comportment on new immigrants. This dual mode of interpellation puts immigrants in an impossible situation in which they must sometimes suitably display their Otherness, but otherwise cannot be culturally different. In the Canadian multicultural state, an implicit process of moralizing is taking place through a politics of multiculturalism that simultaneously attempts to produce, celebrate, and erase differences. These performances have lasting effects, conditioning immigrants to understand themselves as Other.

This book theorizes what I call the "sanitized sensorium" as a means to understand the ways that foreign bodies become legible and recognizable through particular kinds of sensorial and affective registers. The sanitized sensorium signals the forms of embodiment (smell, appearance, and bodily comportment) necessary for inclusion in the public sphere of multicultural Toronto. The daily practices in agencies such as the one described above serve to construct a sanitized body, and sensory perception becomes a crucial means by which that body is judged. The imagined smelly, sweaty, unhygienic immigrant body is central here. In these contexts, many senses are engaged, but in this book I focus primarily on sight (appearance and dress)

and smell (bodily odors). These processes are located within intersensorial junctures and thus concern the kinds of affects that such bodily differences evoke for workshop leaders, potential employers, and the larger Canadian public. But rather than just smelling or seeing, this book is also concerned with the experience of being seen and smelled in a particular way. Immigrant women, too, have their own sensorial experience of difference and Otherness. While many of the ways the sanitized sensorium operates has to do with perception, this book also explores how these women perceive themselves in light of their racialization and interpellation as immigrant women. This work then makes central the affective encounter between immigrant women and the greater public to examine the spaces in which race and citizenship are made. The sanitized sensorium contains within it both the promise of citizenship and the damage done to it by the threat of alterity.

By bringing together anthropological debates concerning multiculturalism and the anthropology of the senses, this book examines the sanitized sensorium to understand how the *same* sensorial phenomena (smells, tastes, forms of dress, and embodiment) can be a means of both *exclusion* and *inclusion*, signifying both racialized Otherness and belonging. The way the liberal multicultural state manages these sensorial phenomena is an important part of its so-called project of immigrant integration. Taken together, the economic marginalization of Pakistani Muslim immigrant women and the state's presumed solution to that problem render a landscape of downward mobility built on a terrain of bureaucratic entanglements and multicultural ideologies. Since the 1970s, there has been a large-scale migration of professionals from Asia to North America, facilitated by the easing of immigration regulations and the implementation of a points system that favored professional skills when granting visas to incoming immigrants. Unfortunately, and somewhat paradoxically, these global processes have contributed to increasing social inequality. Skilled immigrant workers are drawn into the global economy with the promise of upward mobility, but most often end up downwardly mobile and unemployed or working in survival jobs. Put simply, while the Canadian government actively recruits professionals from abroad, and the economy relies on such immigration for growth, once in Toronto immigrants are often unable to find work in their fields.

For a city that prides itself on multicultural inclusion, the unemployment and underemployment of highly skilled foreign workers have become

an immense social problem, earning its own moniker in daily news accounts and government think tanks as "the foreign-trained-professionals problem." The government, public, and media have been immersed in the very vocal and ongoing debate around this unemployment, recognized most readily on the global stage through the gendered stereotype of the Indian taxicab driver who was a "doctor in his home country."[5] But the fact that this is also a crisis for highly skilled, professional women is often overlooked in Canadian public discourse on the problem. When I asked who is to blame for the foreign-trained-professionals problem, the most commonly stated answer was bureaucracy. As the narrative goes, the federal government regulates immigration, while the provincial government regulates labor, but there is little coordination between the two. Thus, skilled immigrant workers are admitted with little consideration of provincial labor-market needs; further, upon arrival they enter a local bureaucratic system that rejects their foreign credentials. This macro understanding of bureaucracy fails to take into account just how intimate and personally targeted this social problem can be.

The experiences, perceptions, and frustrations of Pakistani Muslim immigrant women in Toronto reveal these otherwise-occluded dimensions of multiculturalism and governance. Seemingly small sites like employment counseling centers and cultural festivals reverberate with larger issues, as the women in this study encounter a Canadian society rife with contradictions: It famously promises immigrants universal inclusion while it actually practices differentiated exclusion. It deploys racial projects yet disavows them. And it denies them meaningful state action against discrimination, yet uses the powers of state licensing to deskill them from professional careers and compel them to become service workers. These are not merely the personal problems of one aggrieved group. They are part of a pattern in metropolitan countries where the unfettered movement of capital across borders requires the denial of racial distinctions in order to assert the universality of the market and its subjects, while it also exploits racial differences to make surplus profits. At the same time, to maintain the political coherence of nations that were founded through settler colonialism, new racial identities and hierarchies must proliferate constantly. In the end, the race (or gender, or cultural difference) of aggrieved people is used to scapegoat them for the failures of neoliberal programs. Their unemployment is not understood as a failure of economic or immigration policy at the state level, but rather as a failure of the immigrant workers themselves.

This book brings together the political economy of labor regimes with intimate affective economies to examine how they have become mutually constitutive features of late capitalism. What I describe in this book is a global story, a story of immigration; but it is also a story of racialization and gendering in the context of state-making and national identity. In this context, the binding of smells, habits, and bodily gestures to skilled immigrant professionals is not exclusively about molding foreign bodies to the demands of late capitalist production; it is a state-based naturalization of immigration policy. The practices of agencies such as the one described at the beginning of this introduction ultimately contradict Canadian models of multiculturalism by teaching a Canadian mode of bodily comportment to new immigrants, thus reinscribing colonial notions of the uncivilized and wild Other in need of domestication. Though the specter of the state looms large, the responsibility for becoming settled, and becoming Canadian, now lies with the individual and her body. As I demonstrate, the practice of multiculturalism as it pertains to the integration of foreign labor and bodies is ultimately not about getting employers or the larger public not to discriminate; rather, it is about making oneself into someone who will not be discriminated against. This phenomenon contributes to the changing character of the Canadian multicultural state, which focuses on culture while ignoring the real material interests of minority groups. Paradoxically, then, liberal Canadian governance in the postcolonial, globalized world continues to attempt to colonize and discipline the immigrant brown body.

Cartographies of Downward Mobility

Asma was in her early thirties and had been living in Toronto for two years when we first met at the Center. Her brother, who was also in Toronto and formerly worked as a computer scientist, was working at Value Village, a used clothing store similar to Goodwill. She was a lawyer, but had not worked as one since she arrived. She often hung around the Center and was known as nervous but kind; every time I encountered her she expressed interest in helping me with my project. She had attended unemployment workshops for about eight or nine months, but was unable to find work. Eventually she gave up looking for something in her field and started taking various survival jobs, such as cashiering, as they arose.

Focusing on the intimate spaces in which this unemployment or underemployment occurs, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in various sites

throughout urban Toronto.[6] I spoke with immigrant women like Asma in a range of regulated professions (those in which a license is required to work) including medicine, engineering, law, and education.[7] Through this research I learned that it is highly unlikely that any professional would be able to work in her field without returning to school for extensive reeducation, but many do not have the resources to do so. Asma was heading down the typical track that skilled immigrant workers are often forced to travel: she entered the country under the skilled-worker class, her foreign credentials were then misrecognized or not recognized at all, and eventually she began taking survival jobs. The women's stories you will read here are typical not only of Pakistani women but also of immigrant professionals from other countries, although the ways the sanitized sensorium operates here is particular to Pakistani women.

The impact of this problem is troubling for men and women, but the state, the market, and even scholars have a blind spot when it comes to the experiences of women, which prevents us from fully understanding how this downward mobility operates. For instance, the kinds of work opportunities typically available to women earn them less money. Thus, if women are funneled into feminized jobs that pay less, despite the fact that they entered the country with the *same* professional credentials as men, then the liberal rhetoric of "equal pay for equal work" does not apply. In the United States context, a study using census data from 1950–2000 found that occupations began paying less once women entered them in large numbers (e.g., professions including housekeepers, designers, and biologists). This phenomenon works the other way as well, as evidenced by the field of computer programming. When more men entered the profession, it began paying more and became more prestigious.[8] Thus, this process of transnationalism not only de-skills professional Pakistani Muslim women but also serves to gender them as workers. Accounts of their experiences provide an intimate look at how global processes impact women's individual lives.

Pakistani women in Canada have very high rates of unemployment (20 percent) and part-time employment (36.3 percent), and very low rates of participation in the labor force (below 50 percent). By comparison, only 10 percent of those listing "European" as their race/ethnicity were living below the low income cut-off, and for some European groups the figure was only 5 percent (Ornstein 2006: 72).[9] Immigrant women aged twenty-five to fifty-four had much higher unemployment rates than both immigrant men and Canadian-born women (Chui 2011: 24). Immigrant women of

color only make 48.7 cents for each dollar that a white, male immigrant makes (Block and Galabuzi 2011: 12). In 2006, immigrants were more likely to have a university education than Canadian-born women and men; however, the unemployment rate for recent immigrants (2001–2006) was more than double for those born in Canada (Zietsma 2006). This unemployment is particularly pressing in Canada, which has the highest immigration rate in the world. It is projected that by 2020, 100 percent of the net growth of Canada's labor force will be due to immigration, and by 2030, 100 percent of Canada's net population growth will be due to immigration.[10]

In the context of multicultural Toronto, South Asian immigrants have been the largest minority group since 2006,[11] and thus are key players in the politics and practice of multiculturalism. In some ways they are an indicator of its successes and failures, and they are often invoked in government brochures as the success story of multicultural integration. But in contrast to the highly mobile South Asian high-tech workers that often underpin accounts of globalization and upward mobility, 44 percent of the Pakistani population of Toronto lives in housing projects on the city's periphery, meaning they fall below Canada's low income cut-off.[12] Different segments of the Pakistani community, including officials in the Pakistani embassy, members of the Canada-Pakistan Business Council, and local community workers and members, each (and independently of one another) reported to me rates of poverty at 80 percent. This varies dramatically from the state's official figure, which is significant on its own, but the community's perception that nearly twice as many live in poverty indicates an even more overwhelming sense of social decline. Regardless of the discrepancy, it is unquestionable that the economic and political conditions of Pakistani immigrants in Toronto contradict the state's rhetoric of equality within a model of difference.

These figures offer a glimpse into what has become a national concern. Foreign-educated immigrants earn over two billion dollars less than their Canadian-born counterparts do, mainly because they end up working below their educational and skill level.[13] Nonprofit agencies and government offices commonly acknowledge that it is very unlikely new Canadian immigrants will ever use their educational training again.[14] According to Statistics Canada, fewer than 25 percent of foreign-trained professionals in 2007 were working in their professions. Many authors have documented the ways foreign credentials and work experience become devalued, while others have considered the particular obstacles women encounter (Akbari

1999; Basran and Li 1998; Bauder 2003; Chakkalalkal and Harvey 2001; Ng 2006). However, what remains largely unacknowledged within this scholarship and within governmental agencies is the correlation between the nature and availability of jobs for highly trained immigrant workers, and the sustained perception that those workers are unsuited to such employment because of their foreignness.

Within Canadian vernacular practice, South Asians are called "visible minorities." According to Canadian sociologist Himani Bannerji (1993), the term visible minority emerged when Canadian immigration policy was reformed in the 1960s and 1970s. The concept developed from the federal Employment Equity Act, which defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color." According to Statistics Canada, "The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: Chinese South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and Korean" (Statistics Canada 2009b). Bannerji (1993) argues that unlike the sister term, people of color, used in the United States, visible minority translates color into visibility, stressing both being non-white and politically minor actors. While the categories of "immigrant women" and "third-world women" are part of Canadian political-cultural language, "visible minority" emerged as the most common descriptor.

The race politics of the term have not escaped international scrutiny. In 2013, the United Nations Council on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination asked Canada to "reflect upon its use of the term visible minority," because it was perceived to be outdated and discriminatory.[15] In Toronto, I found that local community activists and organizers work with the concept of "racialized persons" in an attempt to draw attention to the process by which visible minorities become understood as racially Other. This rhetorical shift is described as a form of resistance to the term "visible minority," which activists understand as a state-produced category of belonging that centers a white subject to the exclusion of nonwhite people. In this book I use the term racialized person rather than visible minority, in an effort to move away from the language of state institutions and to align my critique with the concerns raised by activists and nonprofit workers. It is an important move as well because the term "racialized person" draws attention to the class dimensions of the processes of racialization, particularly in the case of foreign-trained professionals, which reconfigures their socioeconomic status and makes them downwardly mobile.[16]

I encountered this process during my time in Toronto. While doing research, I traveled by subway to both ends of the city—Scarborough to the east and Mississauga to the west—where many Pakistanis lived in government housing projects. In 2002, the Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) merged with other public-housing providers to form the Toronto Community Housing Corporation. The MTHA was established in the 1950s to house the economically marginal in an effort to eliminate the development of slums. Now the largest social housing provider in Canada and the second largest in North America, Toronto Community Housing accommodates 164,000 low- and moderate-income tenants in 58,500 households in 360 high-rise and low-rise apartment buildings in the city.[17] However, there is still an intense shortage of affordable housing, evidenced by the fact that as of July 2014 there were 170,000 people on the waiting list for Toronto Community Housing. Increasingly, within government housing projects there is a hierarchy whereby nonwhite people live in the more secluded, less safe, peripheral projects.[18] In an interview with the *Toronto Star*, Abdul Sheikh, president of the Scarborough Muslim Association, said that poor immigrants have very few housing options because they cannot provide local references for employment or past rentals. He cited ten apartment complexes in Scarborough in which Pakistanis and Indians form the majority of the tenants. In one, elderly and disabled tenants were trapped when the elevator was out of order for a month.[19]

In Toronto as it is across the globe, poverty is highly racialized and spatialized. According to a study conducted by Michael Ornstein of the Institute for Social Research (ISR) at York University, all twenty of the most economically disadvantaged ethno-racial groups in the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) are non-European (Ornstein 2006). According to Ornstein's study, more than half of the Bangladeshi, Somali, Afghan, and Ethiopian populations live below Statistics Canada's low income cutoff. The gap between those of European and non-European descent has been increasing over the past thirty years,[20] and the racialization of poverty has simultaneously increased; fourteen of the top twenty most economically marginal population categories have poverty rates between 30 and 40 percent (Ornstein 2006: vi). Ornstein puts the numbers in perspective: "For groups with 20 or 25 percent of people below the poverty line, we have to think in structural terms: about kids not completing high school, the low level of the minimum wage, the expense of good daycare, the problems of finding a job that uses their skills and credentials, the very

high cost of housing and our governments' retreat from social housing over the last twenty years, and the effects of discrimination."[21] As of 2012, the poverty rate for racialized Canadians was three times that of other Canadians (19.8 percent versus 6.4 percent).[22] Despite all these facts including evidence of the racialization of poverty, the Canadian model of multiculturalism has been acclaimed as an international success story.

Sensing Multiculturalism

This book offers an ethnographic analysis of a multicultural state in crisis.[23] Since September 11, 2001, and in response to the intensification of anti-Muslim sentiment and violence against Muslims throughout the Western world, political leaders of purported multicultural states have attempted to understand the position of Muslims in the imagined West. Heads of state and citizens alike in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Canada (to name a few) are currently struggling to place minority culture within the politics of multiculturalism, identity, and difference. In 2009, French President Nicholas Sarkozy declared that the Islamic burqa was "not welcome,"[24] while in October 2010, German Chancellor Angela Merkel said that the attempt to build a multicultural society in Germany "has utterly failed."[25] In February 2011, during a security conference in Munich, British Prime Minister David Cameron argued that the United Kingdom needed a stronger national identity to prevent extremism, saying, "Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and much more active, muscular liberalism,"[26] essentially calling for a return to a Westernized, patriarchal vision of citizenship.

Although multiculturalism is often touted as the foundation of Canadian society, it has never been an entirely coherent category, existing more as rhetoric and ideology than in policy and legislation. Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy, in promotion of Prime Minister Trudeau's "just society." Multiculturalism broadened the definition of Canadian citizenship by outlining a more inclusive model. However, when Trudeau first introduced it in 1971, multicultural policy did not have any enabling legislation. When it was eventually passed in 1988, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act outlined the tenets of multiculturalism, including to "promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance

and share their cultural heritage"[27] The Department of Canadian Heritage further asserts, "Multiculturalism is a central feature of Canadian citizenship, in which every Canadian has the freedom to choose to enjoy, enhance or share his or her heritage, and the federal government has the responsibility to promote multiculturalism throughout its departments and agencies" (2007). Rather than a feature of Canadian society, multiculturalism became central to it.

Multiculturalism is a process, rather than an already determined social fact. Therefore, I do not use the terms "multiculturalism," "difference," and "identity politics" interchangeably. Instead, multiculturalism is understood as a state policy that directs social practices and interactions between diverse actors including governmental workers, nonprofit workers, and immigrant workers. These issues are examined from four perspectives: global trends of transnational labor migrations in late capitalism, the national context of a politics of multiculturalism, the local context of Toronto immigration policy and the foreign-trained professionals problem, and the everyday life experiences of Pakistani immigrants living in Toronto. These areas allow for an exploration of the relationship between processes of globalization and transnationalism and processes of subject formation and belonging.[28]

Until the 1960s, Canadian immigration policy was designed to create a "white settler" population, admitting those mainly from Britain, Europe, and the United States (Stasiulis 1999).[29] In the 1960s, there was a shift from assimilationist strategies—known as the anglo-conformity model, in which some immigrant groups were denied entry because it was believed they could not assimilate—toward the model of integration that prioritized preserving culture, known locally through the metaphor of the "mosaic" and later the "salad bowl." In a single generation, the city of Toronto was transformed from the "Belfast of the North" to one of the most racially and ethnically diverse cities in the world.[30] In 1998 it adopted the motto "Diversity Our Strength."

Scholarly writing about multiculturalism in Canada (outside of Québec) can be divided into three broad categories: multiculturalism as serving assimilationist goals, multiculturalism as a tool that co-opts the real interests of Canada's minority groups, and multicultural policy as meeting the needs of minority groups (Abu-Laban and Stasiulis 1992). The second category is crucial for my analysis here in its suggestion that multicultural policy focuses on culture while ignoring real material interests. For instance, Kogila Moodley argues that the ideology of multiculturalism

focuses on the expressive parts of culture (such as food, clothing, and music), and therefore is not threatening because it "trivializes, neutralizes and absorbs social and economic inequalities" (1983: 326). The public discourse of multiculturalism acknowledges inclusion and creates a body politic that imagines itself to be accepting and tolerant of cultural difference, while in reality it ignores how immigrant bodies are being raced, gendered, sexualized, and then excluded on the basis of those differences. Within a structure of racial inequality, the inclusion of expressive parts of culture is contextually specific and occurs in tandem with economic marginalization (or exclusion).

This is clear in the operationalization of the sanitized sensorium. Cooking smells, for example, are acceptable in certain contexts and not others. A recent example in the province of Québec illustrates this. While in some ways Québec forms a kind of exception in the context of Canada, in that it is both inside and outside of the state project of multiculturalism, this rhetoric is not unfamiliar in national debates concerning immigration. In 2011, the city of Gatineau published a "statement of values" to try to help newcomers integrate. The councilor for cultural diversity, Mireille Apollon, a Haitian immigrant herself, said, "We receive immigrants from diverse horizons and cultures . . . behaviors aren't uniform around the globe. There can be irritants."[31] The document outlined a range of behaviors and expectations, including the importance of punctuality, that bribing officials is not okay, that violence is not justified even in "safeguarding honour," and that children should not be subjected to forced labor. Under "hygiene, cleanliness and quality of life," it suggests that it is important to curtail smells like "strong odors emanating from cooking."[32] Here, citizenship and legibility are encoded in bodily comportment ranging from a diverse series of factors including punctuality and smell, demonstrating the ways that the sanitized sensorium mediates belonging. Building on the work of scholars who have focused on the role of smell in excluding immigrant bodies (Manalansan 2006; Ong 2003; Walcott 2003), this example demonstrates the ways that food smells become signifiers of difference; they represent the uncontainable and unfamiliar, becoming indicative of an immigrant community's inability to assimilate.

My development of the concept of the sanitized sensorium follows the work of anthropologist Paul Stoller (1989), who has critiqued the overreliance on vision and text, advocating instead for embodied analyses that take the human sensorium into account. Building on this notion of engaging the

human sensorium, Constance Classen (1993) has argued that sensory perception itself is a social and cultural phenomenon; thus "sign, hearing, touch, taste and smell are not only means of apprehending physical phenomena, but also avenues for the transmission of cultural values" (401). It follows, then, that the meanings of different kinds of sensorial phenomena—particular colors, smells, or tastes—will vary contextually and connect people to their environment. As Charles Hirschkind (2006) writes, "an inquiry into the senses directs us beyond the faculties of a subject to the transfers, exchanges and attachments that hinge a body to its environment" (29). Thus, exploring the senses demonstrates that sensation is not only an individual but also a social experience, one that connects the individual not only to others but also to their larger surroundings.

As I conceptualize it, the sanitized sensorium also pays attention to place and environment, signaling a broader range of phenomena. I follow Seremetakis (1994), who argues, "The sensory is not only encapsulated within the body as an internal capacity or power, but is also dispersed out there on the surface of things as the latter's autonomous characteristics, which then can invade the body as perceptual experience. Here sensory interiors and exteriors constantly pass into each other in the creation of extra-personal significance" (6). In this way, being attuned to the sensorium means also paying attention to the relationship between bodies, spaces, and objects. Food, music recordings, and clothing alone are material artifacts of specific cultures and cultural practices, but in relation to particular bodies they become a marker of their difference. Rather than just focusing on the experience of smelling, for example, being attuned to the sensorium makes us think about the broader environment in which particular bodies are located.

How do we understand the feelings invoked in the encounter between immigrant women and the greater public, in the response to bodily smells, the sight of headscarves or shalwar cameeze suits, or the sound of a foreign name? I use the term affect here, or what Massumi (2002) has called intensity, to map a terrain of bodily difference and sensorial readings of and by those marked as Other. Rather than spending time here differentiating between affect, emotion, feeling, and sentiment, which other scholars have done very well (e.g., Lutz and White 1986; McElhinny 2010; Sedgwick 2003), I instead look at the social work that these affects do. I am interested in the *encounter* part of the affective encounter. How do sensory and affective experiences serve to racialize and gender immigrant workers as more

and less fit to be citizens? Studies of the South Asian diaspora often explicitly or implicitly contend with questions of affective sensibilities, as they bind people to their imagined homelands while simultaneously engendering new forms of belonging (e.g., Grewal 2005; Maira 2002; Mankekar 2014).[33] Building on those and other studies of the racialization of South Asian diasporic workers (Rana 2011), I explore the ways that sensory and affective encounters shape processes of racialization and, in turn, delineate the parameters of belonging.

This book explores the production of a South Asian global worker for whom culture is a site of contestation (e.g., Radhakrishnan 2011; Upadhya 2008). For instance, Upadhya (2008) explores the ways "culture" is mobilized to construct Indian IT professionals into competent global professionals, which is also a means to continue to mark them as different. Radhakrishnan (2011) looks at how Indian IT workers create a "global Indianness" by employing Indian cultural practices and transforming them into generic, mobile, Indian norms. Bringing together theories of multiculturalism, affect, and the senses, I contribute to these studies of transnationalism, bodies, and culture by theorizing how sensory-based perceptions of South Asian–ness become signifiers of both inclusion and exclusion. This is demonstrated by the different values certain things hold in distinct contexts; for example, what is exotic and fragrant in the cultural festival becomes repugnant on the job market. These kinds of embodied differences are critical in understanding the relationship between multiculturalism and colonial civilizing projects. By focusing on women in the South Asian diaspora, I examine the ways that perceptions of gender function as structuring devices and ideological constructs that delineate proper behavior for immigrant women and their bodies. These perceptions become further complicated when combined with other identity markers, including race and class, as I explore in the chapters that follow.

Cultural Logics of the Body and Work

In Toronto there are more than one hundred settlement-services agencies organized around ethnic identities (e.g., family services for South Asians, or the Portuguese community women's center). Many of the women I interviewed revealed that they were given a series of flyers about settlement services when they first arrived at the airport. During the course of fieldwork, I visited all of the agencies for South Asians and Muslims as well as

those specializing in labor. In general, I went to the most popular workshops for new immigrants and attended a total of fifty unemployment workshops over the course of eighteen months. I attended workshops that were profession-specific, such as those for nursing and engineering, as well as some that were organized around particular ethnic and religious identities (e.g., South Asian, Muslim). I found a serious discrepancy between the mandates of the centers, the expectations of participants, and what actually happens in the space of the workshops, as many participants had understood them to be placement centers. I also followed my interviewees as they navigated the politics and practice of multiculturalism in Toronto, which included numerous cultural festivals organized for what turned out to be the contested category of "South Asians," an issue I discuss in detail later in the book.

I spent a lot of my time in Toronto at the Center in the West End of the city on Bloor Street. From 1999 to 2000, they provided services to nearly five thousand women and children in the form of information, counseling, and advocacy; by 2011–2012, they provided services to 10,300 women. Founded in 1982, the Center caters to South Asian women immigrants at their first level of what nonprofits call integration; therefore, many of the clients are very new immigrants. Nonprofits use the term "newcomer" to denote an immigrant or refugee who has been in Canada for a short period of time (typically less than three to five years), and settlement services are often specifically geared toward newcomers. The Center held many types of educational workshops, from healthcare initiatives to social groups for senior women. I attended all the workshops for foreign-trained professionals. As time went by, settlement workers would ask me to sit in the front row to demonstrate to visiting instructors the seriousness of their pupils, as I was known for taking abundant notes. I sat in many lectures learning about pay equity and regulated professions, as well as how to fill out application forms for survival jobs such as cashiering.

These agencies occupy a critical place in relation to the state, for they are not state bodies—in that the workers are not considered governmental workers, and there is no government oversight concerning their practices—but they are state-funded and state-sanctioned, and thus are critical sites to witness the emergence of new forms of governance. The unemployment workshop leaders were overwhelmingly middle-class white women (all but one of the instructors I met were white women) who had followed a very similar trajectory of being stay-at-home moms just reentering the workforce

after their children left for college. In some ways the placement of these white women, as mediators of culture and belonging, mirrors colonial-era practices in which the wives of administrators were tasked with "civilizing" colonized women by teaching them how to be good spouses and mothers. That women perform this reeducation is not coincidental and aligns with gendered notions of care and the feminization of care labor itself. The decline of the welfare state has led to new forms of governance that depend on the underpaid and undervalued labor of women.

As I discovered, settlement services agencies unemployment workshops focus on the cultivation of a particular kind of self, and the production (or attempts at the production) of a specific kind of body or racial erasure. Thus, the body becomes central in debates surrounding the lived experience of immigration as well as in the process of constructing citizenship. Within contemporary debates surrounding multiculturalism, struggles of identity are waged on immigrant bodies. These struggles remake ideas of citizenship and the nation in an era of global migrations and demonstrate a social order in which citizenship itself is based on bodily performance. Rethinking immigrant bodies as central to the making of national identity, rather than as a challenge to it, contradicts the whiteness naturalized as the center and subject of liberal multicultural discourse. As Aihwa Ong (2003) argues, "Women's bodies become the site, and the female gender the form, in a biopolitics of citizenship" (13). In this context, the female, immigrant body becomes a site of discipline for cultivating ideals of normative citizenship and appropriate modern womanhood. The white subject becomes dominant by defining himself against the subjugated person of color. In this sense, there is continuity with racialized attempts to incorporate the Other through the colonial enterprise, as anthropologists such as Ann Stoler (2002) have documented. In earlier historical moments, the smell of the low-wage immigrant was a mark of one's Otherness. This mark of the Other has not fully dissipated today.

These indicators of Otherness, along with accompanying bodily performances, are signifiers of one's ability to participate in the modern project. Modernity is an enlightenment discourse of progress and civility, and in this case it is written onto the bodies of immigrant women. This book explores modernity in its sensory and affective terms as embodied practice. As Shah (2001) contends, "The entanglement of race in modern science, governance and morality reveals a paradox at the core of modernity itself. Modernity, on the one hand, promotes ideas of universality and, on the other hand,

obsessively objectifies difference. In nineteenth- and twentieth-century science, social science, law and political systems, this contradictory process employed race as a category to explain the bodies, behavior, and cultures that deviate from and defy presumably universal norms and standards" (5). Thus for Shah, and in my own research, this tension between the modern, rational state imposing seeming order on disorderly subjects is not an aberrant practice, but is in fact constitutive of modernity and the modern project itself.

In the contemporary moment, race, bodily difference, and hygiene are sites of governance in the management and regulation of immigrant women workers. Social theorists have long been concerned with questions of the body and culture, from Marcel Mauss (1934) and *les techniques du corps* to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) formulation of habitus. Historically, hygiene and bodily smell have been tied to the intimate and embodied aspects of modernity and the construction of the modern subject. As Timothy Burke (1996) has argued in the case of colonial Africa:

> Changes in sanitation, personal cleanliness, and collective hygiene . . . were also brokered by a much more pervasive and subtle field of ideologies and institutions. . . . The intimate materiality of these readings of race through images of hygiene and appearance were reflected in a number of particular obsessions of whites in colonial society. Odor, for example, was a regular feature of white representation of their interactions with Africans, not only in Zimbabwe but throughout southern Africa. One Southern African ethnographer commented, "No description of the outward appearance of the Kafirs would be complete if we failed to refer to the omnipresent odour which streams from these people." (18, 21)

Burke also shows how hygiene has been tied to the production of a particular kind of citizen-worker as well: "When the English working classes were hegemonically portrayed to be 'unwashed' or to have deformed bodies, these characterizations were always dialectically related to depictions of colonial subjects as also having dirty or undesirable bodies" (18). The sanitized sensorium has its historical legacies in such colonial civilizing missions that sought to discipline and cultivate a modern subject through the regulation of bodily and affective sensations.

Sensory perceptions of bodies and hygiene influence ideals of what constitutes a good and modern worker in multicultural contexts. These sites exist on a continuum of affective disaggregation that marks some bodies

as fit to be citizens and workers, while others are to be excluded from the national project. In the contemporary multicultural moment, the marking of immigrants' bodies as Other happens not only through a politics of erasure, but also through selective incorporation and the demand for a radical form of difference. Women are not, however, passive recipients of these sensorial regimes and embodied requirements for citizenship. While there are constraints on the possibilities for action (that is, women do need to work in order to survive), I found that they do find ways to exercise agency. For instance, as chapters 4 and 5 illustrate, Pakistani women resist state-produced categories of multicultural inclusion as "South Asian," while also positioning themselves as full citizens despite their current socioeconomic exclusion. Despite living in a state of precarity, they position themselves as Canadian subjects. Thus, the sanitized sensorium is not simply imposed onto immigrant subjects but is also a site of contest and protestation.

The Vulnerable Observer

This is a very personal story.[34] This work is animated by my own subject position as the daughter of a Pakistani Muslim, foreign-trained worker who spent her life in survival jobs and was eventually forced into retirement because of her inability to ever be fully integrated into the global market economy. I grew up in a housing project in Scarborough that was known colloquially as Ghetto-ridge, a cluster of three large, concrete buildings that had the dubious distinction of being one of the less dangerous government housing projects in the Greater Toronto area. Returning to those projects was difficult. I was confronted with the reminders of a childhood filled with the constant threat of home invasions, kidnapping, and rape that kept me largely confined to our small one-bedroom apartment and in the toxicity of the government-housing buildings themselves, which were filled with mold and cockroaches. As a child, I would stay up late—much later than my mother—partly for the quiet, since earlier evenings were often punctured by the neighbor's loud and bloody fights with her young child behind my bedroom wall. A nightly event, it never occurred to me to report them to the security guards permanently posted downstairs, since I had learned to keep my head down and not get involved.

Late into the night, I watched movies that promised some kind of escape from everyday life and what it meant to live in the projects. I would watch Audrey Hepburn and Cary Grant and dream of that kind of love

and adventure. I also developed a love of horror movies; I liked to be scared by something that, for once, was knowable or understandable. These escapes were often interrupted by the realities of everyday life. Hungry one night, and in a roller-skating phase, I glided into the kitchen of the small apartment my mother and I shared. When I turned on the light millions of cockroaches scattered; they covered the walls, invaded the stove, and crunched under my skates. I had found them on my body and even in my mouth before, but somehow being faced with this many all at once was something I will never forget. I also remember with great clarity the night I heard rustling in the hallway, responded to a knock, and was confronted with the Canadian equivalent of the SWAT team about to descend on my neighbor, a known drug dealer. "Stay away from the door," the kind officer urged. I went to bed.

Growing up Other in a multicultural city has also had some lasting effects. A few nights ago I realized I hadn't been wearing deodorant all day. In bed, as my head rested against my arm, I could smell my body. The real smell of my body. A smell that I had worked really hard to fight against and that had always been a preoccupation of mine. And when I say preoccupation, I mean all-encompassing obsession. Going to a public high school with a large South Asian population, I was hyper-aware of the ways the smell of my body would codify my belonging. I used to bring deodorant with me in my school backpack, just in case my morning application was not enough to last the day. The ESL kids, the English-as-a-second-language students, were largely South Asian, or at least that's the way I remember it: young men with struggling facial hair, pressed shirts, and nice pants, but who my high school classmates talked about as smelling like "a mix of body odor and South Asian food." I didn't know, and didn't want to know the ESL kids. I kept my distance. I didn't really want anything to do with them because in high school, one false move, even a kind move like talking to a new student, could ruin your reputation forever. My mother would generally cook once a week and freeze food for us to defrost and eat. Those weekend cooking sessions often resulted in long, protracted arguments between us; she couldn't understand why I might be upset that my hair would smell like garam masala on Monday morning. I learned then that smell could racialize me.

I ran fast and far from Ghetto-ridge as soon as I could, to California, where I went to graduate school and then stayed for my own promise of a better life. Coming from an elite institution was not a problem while doing

fieldwork in Toronto, since the women I interviewed were themselves well educated. Like my mother, the subjects of this book were professionals who had worked as doctors, engineers, or lawyers, and through their transnational migration were forced into poverty. Now I grapple with my own class status in the American academy, where the typical subject position of a South Asian living in the United States, and certainly in academia, is one of relative wealth and privilege. This means that I find myself constantly confronting the assumption that my parents are wealthy and that I grew up in a middle-class suburb. In Toronto, there was no shock that I myself had come from the projects; and in some ways, it is possible that to some of the women I met, my upward mobility represented what their own sacrifice could mean for their children.

It was hard to bear witness to another generation of immigrants living and growing up in these kinds of conditions when I returned. Faced again with the place that I had tried so hard to escape, I found myself over-identifying with some of my interviewees as I remembered my own experiences growing up. My childhood was not the same as that of my interviewees, and I am not the subject of my study; but it is important to acknowledge my own subject position. I bring this up in respect to those ethnographers writing during the reflexive turn in anthropology (e.g., Behar 1997; Rosaldo 1993) who asked scholars to question the objectivity of ethnographic methods, practices, and observations, and showed us that ethnography never happens outside the space of life experience or the lens of the ethnographer. As much as being an insider-ethnographer allowed me special access to the community, it also undoubtedly led me to take certain things for granted. The act of observing is not a neutral one; we are all vulnerable observers.

An Education

I begin this story of embodied downward mobility by addressing the question I received most in the field, "How does this happen?" To attempt an answer, chapter 1 examines the tension between two explanations for the sustained unemployment of foreign trained professionals: bureaucratic miscommunication versus bodily difference. In numerous conversations with a range of social actors in Toronto, the unemployment of foreign workers is universally understood as a problem of bureaucracy, while my fieldwork demonstrated that at the level of the everyday, unemployment is treated as a problem of the body. This chapter juxtaposes these two kinds

of explanations to explore the space of contact between an imagined immigrant Other and an equally imagined sanitized West, and what it means to be a flexible or adaptable worker in late capitalism. Regulatory regimes that can be traced historically to colonial modernist projects of empire and civilization are still relevant in the contemporary sanitized sensorium, where certain aspects of Otherness have become a personalized deficiency to be trained away. Even so, in the current reality of global capitalism, there are some aspects of Otherness that should not be unlearned—for instance, the fact that women are undervalued as workers and thus can be paid less, or that there are appropriate affects encoded onto certain kinds of labor that are understood as "women's work."

Taking up this question of affective labor and embodiment, chapter 2 examines the colonization of the intimate labor that women do, in particular the notion of "care work" in a global perspective. Here I trace the ways that intimacy and affect become a pedagogical focus in training foreign nurses, which uses an affective register to attempt to produce docile bodies. This chapter focuses on a government-funded pilot project designed to help foreign-trained nurses become licensed in Ontario. These classes for foreign-educated nurses employ what I call "pedagogies of affect," which reproduce a racialized notion of femininity predicated on Westernized ideas about docility and deference. While other accounts of affect and labor have considered the role of gender, I seek to bring these important studies into conversation with race and gender-making in global contexts. As the training of foreign nurses demonstrates, when performing intimate labor immigrant women are expected to present themselves as docile and deferential. However, these expectations change yet again when women perform a distinct type of gendered cultural labor as the exotic representatives of radical, acceptable difference.

In the multicultural state, performances of cultural Otherness (during circumscribed moments such as cultural festivals) are necessary in order to validate state claims to liberalism and inclusivity, while real economic and material claims to inclusion are marginalized. Chapter 3 explores this disjuncture between what is vilified in the public space of government-funded nonprofit classrooms and what is valued in public celebrations of multiculturalism. Bridging the two contexts, the classroom encounter and the multicultural festival, brings the Janus-faced sanitized sensorium into relief. This chapter examines the contradictory calls for embodiment, focusing on a politics of the senses to try to understand the erasure of difference

with regard to immigrant bodies, which must be cleansed and sanitized, and the simultaneous recognition of that very difference. I argue that these contexts say more about Western notions of both femininity and the Other than about the immigrant women themselves, who must negotiate this dual mode of interpellation.

How do women react to these sensorial regimes, to the multicultural state's requirements for citizenship? The last two chapters explore women's affective and sensorial experiences of racialization and precarity, and how they manage and move forward. Chapter 4 discusses the ways that multicultural state ideologies about citizenship exclude Pakistani women who refuse liberal constructions of "South Asia." This category is produced through a process of racialization that includes a range of actors and institutions at multiple scales, including the state, grassroots organizations, and even the practice of racism itself. The Pakistani women I spoke with often felt misidentified when culture is understood purely in terms of food, music, and clothing because it glosses them as Indian. The demand for recognizable difference, a radical alterity, rendered them invisible as Pakistani and hypervisible as South Asian. This chapter traces the discursive construction of "South Asia" in multicultural Toronto and how women distance themselves from a state-produced category that has done little to mitigate the precarious social and economic position they must deal with.

Precarity is not only an economic condition, but also a sensorial experience. This last chapter explores the sensorial and affective registers by which people come to understand their belonging (or not), how they respond to that sensation, and the incommensurability that marks them and attempts to interpellate them as second-class citizens. Like the uneven distribution of resources, precarity is also dealt unevenly, as the life histories I detail in this final chapter demonstrate. I explore women's understandings of citizenship, identity, place, and belonging, examining the ways women invoke discourses of a promising future in order to understand their liminal and marginal position. In so doing, they position themselves as good citizens deserving of full participation in the nation-state. Embedded in the narratives presented here are strains of hope and optimism, which illuminate important features of the affective dimension of precarity. Hope or promises of a better life provide a means out of the catastrophic present.

This is a story of what it means to live as a poor immigrant in Toronto—the hopelessness, the desperation, the lived experience of not being able to make ends meet. How does one maintain a sense of dignity when one's

house feels unsafe, or one's daughter is not able to eat well? This book presents cartographies of impoverishment with the conviction that careful attention to seemingly intractable life circumstances offers new insights for the anthropology of the state and neoliberalism, critical studies of multiculturalism, the anthropology of the senses, the South Asian diaspora, and the performance of a global body. At its heart, this book seeks to understand what it means to live in a state of precarity and liminality as a subject of globalization and late capitalism.

NOTES

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

Canada," *Globe and Mail*, May 10, 2012, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/editorials/overqualified-immigrants-really-are-driving-taxis-in-canada/article4106352/.

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

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

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

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

10. "Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration, 2011," last modified on October 27, 2011, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/annual-report-2011/section2.asp. Almost half of Toronto's population (49.97 percent) is foreign born, compared to 36 percent in New York and 39.7 percent in Los Angeles (U.S. Census Bureau, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2012," accessed November 15, 2013, http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0038.pdf).

11. "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada," *Statistics Canada*, Analytical products 2011, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm.

12. Original data calculation by Dr. Murtaza Haider of Ryerson University using data from the 2006 census. Personal correspondence, May 20, 2012.

13. See Reitz 2001. In 2006, immigrants' salaries in Canada were 21 percent below average; for recent immigrants, salaries were 56 percent below average. Further, the earnings gap between male immigrants and those born in Canada was $15,000 or 26 percent in Toronto. "Immigrants Get Fewer Jobs, Earn Less," *CBC News*, December 19, 2011, http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/immigrants-get-fewer-jobs-earn-less-1.1092938.

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

15. Frances Woolley, "'Visible Minority': A Misleading Concept That Ought to Be Retired," *Globe and Mail*, June 10, 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com

/globe-debate/visible-minority-a-misleading-concept-that-ought-to-be-retired/article12445364/.

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

17. Toronto Community Housing, "About Us," accessed November 27, 2013, http://www.torontohousing.ca/about.

18. Elaine Carey, "High-Rise Ghettos: In Toronto, Visible Minorities Are Pushed into 'Pockets of Poverty,'" *Toronto Star*, February 3, 2001, M1–M2.

19. Carey, "High-Rise Ghettos."

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

21. "York University study reveals the true face of poverty," *yFile, York University's Daily News*, October 3, 2006, http://www.yorku.ca/yfile/archive/index.asp?Article=6102.

22. "The persistance of racial inequality in Canada," *Toronto Star*, March 20, 2012, http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2012/03/20/the_persistence_of_racial_inequality_in_canada.html.

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

24. "Sarkozy Speaks Out against Burka," *BBC News*, June 22, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8112821.stm.

25. "Merkel Says German Multicultural Society Has Failed," *BBC News*, October 17, 2010, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11559451.

26. "State Multiculturalism Has Failed, Says David Cameron," *BBC News*, February 5, 2011, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994.

27. Government of Canada, "Canadian Multiculturalism Act," accessed November 17, 2013, http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-18.7/page-1.html.

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

29. In 1961 visible minorities composed 3 percent of the population of Toronto (Siemiatycki and Isin 1997: 78). Before 1961, 90 percent of Canadian immigrants were from Europe (Abu-Laban 1998: 80). However, as Western Europe recovered from World War II in the late 1950s and 1960s, emigration from those regions effectively stopped, thus creating a need to re-envision Canada's model of immigration (Troper 2003).

30. Toronto provides an interesting case study for immigration because of the speed at which it became so dramatically racially and ethnically diverse. From the founding of the city in the late eighteenth century, Toronto was dominated by a British, Protestant population. Jewish populations, being the largest ethnic group, experienced massive discrimination in the early part of the twentieth century (Lemon 1985; Siemiatycki and Isin 1997). International migration transformed the constitution of the city's population in an incredibly short period of time. The first significant influx of immigrants following colonization arrived between 1846 and 1849 as a result of the Irish potato famine, and by 1851 the Irish constituted Toronto's largest ethnic population. In 1931, 81 percent of the population of Toronto self-identified as of British origin (Siemiatycki et al. 2003: 373).

31. "Gatineau's Values Guide for Immigrants Stirs Controversy," Ingrid Peritz, *Globe and Mail*, December 4, 2011, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/gatineaus-values-guide-for-immigrants-stirs-controversy/article2259694/.

32. Peritz, "Gatineau's Values Guide."

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

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

1. Bodies and Bureaucracies

1. These transformations in Canadian immigration policies are also intertwined with U.S. immigration histories. For instance, as Nayan Shah (2011) has demonstrated, American and Canadian immigration policies at the turn of the twentieth century "experimented with developing a 'white' political democracy and forging racial apartheid by subordinating, segregating, and exploiting nonwhite 'races' " (3). Post 1965, U.S. immigration law promoted family reunification over granting immigration to skilled workers. For instance, in 1987, 75 percent of those entering as legal immigrants to the United States migrated under family reunification, in contrast to 4 percent as skilled workers. George J. Borjas, "The U.S. Takes the Wrong Immigrants," *Wall Street Journal*, April 5, 1990, A18, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/gborjas/publications/popular/WSJ040590.htm.

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

3. The investor stream of immigrants is for those with a net worth of at least $500,000 who are willing to commit to investing their money in Canada for a period of time.