

11 Diaspora Dilemmas and Deadlocks

The Indian Immigration Flux and Struggled Survival in Canada

Sony Jalarajan Raj and Adith K. Suresh

Introduction

A variety of immigrants and refugees from different parts of the world find Canada as a safe destination, where they can find the possibility of survival and quality of life (Labonté et al., 2015). In the past few decades, the country has become one of the most popular destinations for Indian immigrants. As of 2016, approximately 1.6 million people of Indian origin found Canada a good option for living (Statistics Canada, 2017). In 2021, one in five recent immigrants is of Indian origin, which is 18.6% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Along with the US, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand, students who go abroad for higher studies choose Canada as a critical English-speaking world (Mani, 2011, p. 314). During the 1996–2001 period, the number of people of East Indian origin increased by 30% while the overall population rose by only 4% (Statistics Canada, 2007). The community of Indian immigrants in Canada is one of the largest non-European ethnic groups in the country and one of the fastest-growing immigrant communities in the world.

The Indian diaspora in Canada is characterized by diversity as its chief quality, with people from different regions and communities, speaking different languages and practicing different customs and religions. The differences in size, composition, regionality, linguistic uniqueness, and cultural expressions affect how immigration patterns are shaped over time. Since heterogeneity defines the Indian diaspora, multiple factors need to be considered for understanding the conditions and characteristics with which Indians establish their presence and existence in a foreign country. This chapter explores the experiences of Indians in Canada, especially focusing on the challenges they face while living the “Canadian life.” The recent dramatic increase in the rate of Indian immigration to Canada resulted in the emergence of problems such as discrimination, identity crisis, and religious conflicts to newer extremes.

To understand the status of Indians in Canada, it is required to comprehend how domains such as education, employment, family, religion, health-care, business, and mainstream politics treat immigrants. The nature of the recent Indian immigration influx presents a complicated picture of Indians

in Canada, where the struggle for survival is more intense and competitive. The reality of Indian life in Canada restructures the concept of transnational Indianness and diasporic existence, and the discourse of immigration plays a significant role in the construction of popular beliefs, which are often misconceptions based on falsehood.

New Dreams and Realities: Indian Immigration in the 21st Century

The preference for Canada as a destination differs for different people and such preferences are often outcomes of comparisons with other similar countries that offer more or likely the same opportunities and conditions to aspiring individuals. The very existence of Canada is the result of immigration from other lands (Canada. SOS. Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1947, p. 33). Canada's first official government document on citizenship, *How to Become a Canadian Citizen*, states that “[Canada’s] people, drawn from every racial group, are welded into a mighty democratic force through their love of freedom, hatred of oppression, and the steadfast determination that the powers of government shall be exercised by and through the people for the common benefit of all” (Canada. SOS. Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1947, p. 33). Immigration has been identified as an important contributor to the population growth in Canada, which is almost twice the rate of other G7 countries during 2016 to 2021 (Statistic Canada, 2022b). In 2021, the country welcomed 405,303 new immigrants, surpassing its target to allow 401,000 immigrants to boost Canada’s post-pandemic economic recovery (El-Assal & Thevenot, 2022). Canada’s immigration plans are based on the fact that immigrants contribute greatly to the country’s requirement to increase its population rate, labor force, and economic growth (Canadavisa, 2023). The country prefers immigrants who have an age structure younger than the general population to effectively solve problems of labor shortages in different sectors and regions (Statistic Canada, 2022c). The large workforce of immigrants helps to sustain Canada’s economic growth, support its aging population, and increase cultural diversity and social exchanges (Amarasingham et al., 2016; Choudry & Henaway, 2012; Salami & Nelson, 2014; Shan & Walter, 2015).

Canada’s immigration policies and programs attract aspiring workers and students to the country’s diversified and inclusive social structure. Statistics show that immigrants prefer Canada to be a destination because people can go to the country temporarily on work or study permits or as asylum claimants and then get admitted as permanent residents¹ (Statistic Canada, 2022c). Canada’s care economy² includes programs such as low-fee childcare, which has increased women’s employment, and such effects are the same for both immigrants and native-born Canadians, as well as low-income and high-income households (Gu, 2022).

The number of Indians immigrating to Canada has dramatically increased in the past decade. Stuart Anderson (2023) of *Forbes* observes that this immigration influx resembles that of a refugee situation rather than the result of

a gradual increase in the number of international students and skilled workers. He points out that the anti-immigration sentiments of the United States, especially during the Trump administration, played a significant role in this trend of more Indians choosing Canada for immigration:

Under Trump, the United States and Canada adopted opposite approaches to the immigration of foreign-born scientists and engineers. The team Trump brought into the White House and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) viewed highly skilled foreign-born individuals as an economic threat, a stand at odds with virtually every economist in America. H-1B denial rates soared, delays mounted and threats of further action escalated, culminating in a ban on the entry of high-skilled visa holders and employment-based immigrants in 2020.

(Anderson, 2023)

The anti-immigration policies painted a negative picture of the United States among students and workers, whose anxieties about the foreign land affected their selection process. In this situation, people from India who want to become permanent residents in the United States through employment may have to wait for years due to the limited number of employment-based immigrant visas available and the limitations on the number of individuals allowed from a country. Canada benefitted from this and attracted more students between 2016 and 2019 than the United States by a large margin (National Foundation for American Policy, 2022). Canada helps individuals to come to the country as students and allows them to transition to work after graduation. This is one of the best strategies for candidates to get permanent residence in the country. Canada's points system for immigration is effective, largely due to its adaptability to the demands of employers (Anderson, 2020). It is also significant to note that India's large and growing middle-class population has the skills and funds required for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) to sanction a visa through new economic-class immigration programs such as the Express Entry (introduced in 2015) (El-Assal, 2022).

Statistics show that Canada has become the new Gulf for Indians (The Times of India, 2019). Similar to the Gulf Boom in the 1970s where a large number of migrant workers from smaller Indian states like Kerala had migrated to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, the new trend of migrating to the Western world shows that Canada is a preferable option (Kamalakaran, 2023; The Indian Express, 2022). New expectations and changing conditions made Keralites lose interest in the Gulf region, and they started to consider other alternatives (Castelier, 2019). Canada has been targeted as a favorite destination for the emerging middle class in Kerala as they believe that the country can provide opportunities for younger generations to financially establish their careers with more stability than the Gulf countries. Since migration to richer countries has been identified as an effective way to escape poor economic conditions (Ratha & Plaza, 2014), many Malayali

parents in Kerala encourage their children to go abroad for higher studies with part-time jobs. They would sell their properties or apply for bank loans to create the funds needed for their children to get student visas. The student diaspora in Canada is an exclusive community whose existence is defined by the hard work and struggles required to pay the debts of immigration. The economic aspirations of the student immigrants depend on the part-time odd jobs they do to make the extra money needed for not only living in a first-world country but also supporting their struggling families in their home country. The student diaspora's struggle for survival in Canada reflects the struggles that describe India's image as a developing country.

India Is Not Good Enough: The Third-World Discourse of Immigration

Young people choose to go abroad for several reasons including better career opportunities, quality education, international exposure, and a higher standard of living. In a globalized world connected by the internet and media, immigration has become a relatively easy process as people can get real-life knowledge and information about the places they want to immigrate to. New trends in immigration are created by the influence of media-framed narratives that can present specific pictures of societies one lives in and one wants to live in. An important aspect of the Indian migration to Canada is the way young Indians are convinced of India's status as a poor and incompetent third-world country. The term "poverty porn" is often associated with India and its projected international image that reduces the country to a category of people who cannot escape the socio-economic conditions that define them.

The genre of "poverty porn" explicitly narrates tragedies and miseries of marginalized groups from developing countries as a means to divert popular attention to the romanticized images of tragedy. It paints a generalized picture of geographical regions as less progressive to a global media audience. In this context, regions like India, which are still defined by the vestiges of a colonial past, become subjects of the Western gaze that operates as an ideological tool for the dissemination of poverty porn discourses to the mainstream. Here, media representation of poverty porn specifically includes the overfocusing on tragedies and miseries of marginalized groups in a manner that highlights India as a representation of the "Third World." The use of poverty porn images in media helps the privileged to distinguish the idea of progress by the strategic exclusion and exposition of certain problems. In India, the notion of poverty porn is part of the popular culture, and news agencies, social media, political parties, religious organizations, film, and television take part in a collective discourse of sensationalizing "weakness" using advertisements and public relations where information is manipulated through emotional rhetoric. The field of Diaspora studies has revealed that immigrants from Third World countries, who now reside in the First World such as the United States or Europe, often develop their cultural identities as citizens of their new home

country, but they are also compelled to maintain their culture of origin by their continuous association with stereotypical images (Bhabha, 1994).

The hegemony of Western media is reflected in representations of foreign issues. The ideology of the Western perspective is often characterized by an urge to stereotype and romanticize Eastern countries and spaces outside the West as the normalized “Other” (Said, 1978). The impact of cultural imperialism, global capitalism, and Western modernity has contributed to the new world-making of immigrants through certain archetypes that refuse to see things from the actual contexts in which an authentic view is possible. The many stereotypes that are sensationalized in news media reporting and broadcasting are reflected in other entertainment platforms as well, especially entertainment media forms such as popular films, reality television, comedy shows, and video games (Ross, 2019). Critically acclaimed films like *Gandhi* (Attenborough, 1982), *The Constant Gardener* (Meirelles, 2005), *Blood Diamond* (Zwick, 2006), and *Slumdog Millionaire* (Boyle, 2008) are examples of cinema using “Third World” struggles to create “an extensive repertoire of images about the South which has considerable bearing on how Northern audiences view the South and, arguably, on how Southern elites see their own subalterns” (Sengupta, 2010, p. 601). The portrayal of India in films produced in the West celebrates the idea of an uncivilized, pre-modern, socially backward, savage, and traditional land (Ramasubramanian, 2007). Poverty porn identifies “suffering” as a universal phenomenon that uniformly affects human populations of all cultures and social systems. It uses this commonality to find an opportunity in the most diversified cultures such as India to create an emotional mass market for profit. In other words, poverty porn achieves its goals through the cultural homogenization of suffering.

The feeling of worthlessness in one’s own country is a reason why the young Indian generation is fleeing the country. Economic disparity, lack of job opportunities, societal pressures, and political crises are some of the various factors that make India inhospitable for the new generation whose standards are always elevated by the capitalist ideology. Individuals who are caught up in a reality that does not offer great opportunities feel a sense of un-belonging in their own country where their talents are unrecognized and undervalued. Sanjay Baru (2020) notes that “there is now an emerging category of Indians migrating out and opting to stay out of India because they feel their motherland no longer wants them. This sense of alienation, especially among minorities, is a disturbing trend.” The “not-returning” Indians are contributing their talent and workforce to foreign countries because even the new schemes such as “Atmanirbhar Bharat”³ (Self-reliant India) are not attracting the young generation.

The Façade of the Plastic Smile: Diasporic Challenges of Integration

The Indian diaspora in Canada is a heterogeneous community with significant regional and linguistic diversity. People of Indian origin in Canada come

from different parts of India, including Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Karnataka. The majority of the Indian population identifies as Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims. Integration and harmony are crucial for the survival of diaspora populations as they help immigrants adapt to the cultural syncretism of a foreign country. This is one of the difficult challenges Indian immigrants face in Canada as their identity and existence are already in a state of exclusion which they tried to escape from their own country. They are viewed not only as outsiders in Canada but as people who chose to leave one country for another. At this point, a notion of betrayal is attributed to the identity of the immigrant as they are identified as someone privileged enough to compromise their original nationality for material good. Realities of language barriers, cultural differences, racist experiences, prejudices, and discrimination accentuate the notion that immigrants are people who exist in an in-between state. This state of existence is in a liminal space, which is defined by the immigrant's departure from the Indian cultural land and their arrival in the Indian diaspora in Canada. However, the point of departure and the point of arrival are incomplete in the case of the immigrants because they can never fully depart or fully arrive. This identity crisis puts Indian immigrants in a position where they are not encouraged to accept Canada as a second home.

The discrimination against Indian immigrants in Canada occurs on multiple levels, primarily based on their skin color, accent, religious affiliation, and cultural background. Recent attacks on immigrants involve premeditated violence and religion-based hatred (BBC, 2021; Muzaffar, 2023; News18, 2022). New immigrants and refugees in Canada show high vulnerability to intimate partner violence (IPV), which poses high risks to women, children, family dynamics, and social relationships (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2020). Other reports show that hate crimes against Indians have increased in the form of racial slurs, harassment, and vandalism where the perpetrators demanded that the victims should "go back to India" (Firstpost, 2022). Edith Samuel found that Indian immigrant women's post-migratory experiences are defined by acculturative stress reflected in the form of "intergenerational conflict, discrimination, depression, and coping" (2009, p. 16).

The prejudices and stereotypes with which the immigrant population is undermined in Canada's mainstream social structure are reflected in the form of discrimination in accessing employment, housing, and education. Social isolation and cultural alienation are explicit between neighboring communities whose societal participation, community engagement, and cultural harmony are minimal. Here, the process of acculturation does not occur as a natural result of migration but as a strategic tool to give preference to certain cultural minorities that happen to dominate the immigration flux. For example, even though the Indian diaspora in Canada is multicultural, it is mostly addressed as Sikh for the cultural significance of the Sikh community, which makes other Indian identities such as Bengali, Malayali, Tamil, and Gujarati to be socially and culturally invisible. The Sikhs' migration to Canada is

historically significant in the context of political persecution in India. In the 1980s, Sikhs were massacred in India after Indira Gandhi's assassination, and many escaped violence by seeking asylum in Canada (Jakobsh & Walton-Roberts, 2016). From 1981 to 1984, more than 2,800 Sikhs applied for asylum in Canada under the 1976 Immigration Act (Tatla, 1999, p. 60). Ever since the Sikh community became a part of Canada's status as a safe haven for refugees, they have fought for their inclusion in the Canadian society. Diasporic identities have different historical and cultural significance and therefore they compete with each other to assert their cultural presence in a multicultural system that operates on the basis of power hierarchies.

In order to adapt to the new cultural contexts, immigrants have to adopt certain acculturation strategies for survival. "Assimilation," "integration," "separation," and "marginalization" are identified as the four common strategies of acculturation (Bhatia, 2008). Berry and Sam explain each term by referring to how individuals deal with their "home" cultural identity and with the cultural identity of the dominant group in the foreign country (1997). "Assimilation" involves the strategy of not maintaining one's cultural identity while interacting with the dominant group. In "separation," individuals refuse to contact with the dominant group and continue to hold on to their original culture. "Marginalization" makes individuals lose cultural and psychological contact with both their ethnic cultural roots and the mainstream cultural system (Berry, 1998, p. 119). Those who use the "integration" strategy actively participate with the dominant group without losing their cultural ties with their homeland. Out of these, integration is the most ideal acculturation strategy for immigrants as it results in more positive outcomes than the other alternative strategies (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 318). Indian immigrants find ways to balance their traditional cultural values with Canadian societal norms, such as adapting to Canadian culture while still maintaining their cultural traditions. For example, they may celebrate traditional festivals and holidays while also participating in Canadian cultural events.

The Politics of Integration and the Diasporic Public Sphere

The integration approach in acculturation maintains universality as a sign of inclusivity. Even if there are "substantial variations in the life circumstances of the cultural groups that experience acculturation, the psychological processes that operate during acculturation are essentially same for all the groups; that is we adopt a *universalist perspective* on acculturation" (original emphasis, Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 296). Diaspora existence is negotiated around this universal solidarity that facilitates a shared connection between individuals of the diaspora. Sunil Bhatia observes that:

Diasporas distinctly attempt to maintain (real and/or imagined) connections and commitments to their homeland and recognise themselves and act as a collective community . . . [and] non-European/non-white diasporic

communities bring into sharp relief the sense of constantly negotiating between here and there, past and present, homeland and hostland, self and other.

(2008, p. 23)

Migrant communities of Indian descent have demonstrated remarkable resilience in integrating with their host societies while preserving important elements of their Indian cultural heritage (Jain, 2011, p. 50). Ravindra K. Jain cites some of the consequences of integration in the Indian diaspora:

- a) *further deterritorialization of some communities, particularly those prone to internal migration historically, for example, Marwari traders, and Parsi professionals and minorities following the Jain religion;*
- b) *the mitigation of communalism: thus Hindu/Muslim/Christian marriages across religious communities are common, for example, in Trinidad;*
- c) *increased scope of entrepreneurial activity among “successful” castes, for example, Chettiars from South India and Khatri traders from Punjab and Delhi;*
- d) *ethnopreneurship, for example, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Sikh businessmen forming exclusive networks both vertically with their South Asian base and horizontally with community cohorts transnationally; and*
- e) *utilization of a good command of the English language in enabling global entrepreneurship and communications.*

(2011, p. 54)

The notion of the public sphere in diaspora communities has become influenced by the internet and the new media (Parham, 2005). The mediated diasporic public spheres are characterized by transnational communicative strategies and discourses that restructure the socio-cultural fabric of the diaspora to negotiate elements of identity, race, power, and political narratives. German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1991) theorized the public sphere as a domain separate from the state and the economy, where members of the public can engage in discourses. The public sphere is “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state” (p. 176). For Habermas, the public sphere’s success depended on critical and rational discourse, where everyone could participate equally. The barriers based on race, religion, and gender were lowered in an ideal public sphere, however, new barriers such as payment for access, and the growth of private interest began to emerge.

In the Indian public sphere, which is defined by the caste system, there is a “structural disjuncture” between caste and non-caste worlds, which, in the diaspora, is characterized by political reconfigurations and the decline of the caste system (Jain, 2011, p. 54). Jennifer Elrick’s analysis shows that “individual-level assessments of traits like ‘merit’ were not designed to be ‘race free’ but emerged as a way of managing race, at the intersection of

class and status” (2022, p. 110). Habermas argues that in modern society, the public sphere has become “refeudalized,” which means it has become dominated by powerful interests and institutions that limit the free and open exchange of ideas in a rational manner. He suggests that this refeudalization is due to the increasing influence of mass media, which has turned the public sphere into a space where only certain voices and perspectives are heard. In Habermas’s view, the refeudalization of the public sphere is a threat to democracy, as it undermines the ability of citizens to engage in rational-critical debate and to make informed decisions about issues that affect their lives. He calls for a revitalization of the public sphere, one that is more inclusive, democratic, and participatory, and that allows for a greater diversity of voices and perspectives to be heard.

Similarly, the Indian diasporic public sphere in Canada is *refeudalized* in the sense that public and private discourses are affected by problems of immigration and their impact on the larger mainstream power politics of Canada. Adam Chapnick, studying the historical evolution of Canada’s citizenship guides, observed that the “relative narrowness of the Canada’s political spectrum” shows that there exist very little differences between the Liberals and the Conservatives (2011, p. 32). According to Alexandra Dobrowolsky, the illusory binary that emerged in the context of Canadian immigration and citizenship divides the country into a conservative “Bad Canada” and a liberal “Big Canada,” where “contrary to popular imaginaries, past and present, the Canadian state contributes to growing global inequalities and greater social, economic, and political precarity (2017, pp. 198–199). This includes class preferences, implicit racialization, and invisibilization of women (Dobrowolsky, 2007, 2008).

Immigrants strategically take advantage of the host nation’s policies and laws to organize in groups to propagate their ideologies and belief systems to the mainstream public sphere. The way countries sanction religious freedom and autonomy to immigrants resulted in the burgeoning of new conflicts related to the perception, practice, and creation of diasporic identities in their original form. Indian immigrants who build religious shrines, conduct cultural events, and organize programs in a host country open a new space for public engagement through discourses that are relevant to only the immigrant’s home culture and experiences. In the context of India in the Modi-era, where there is a revitalization of Hinduism, its power dynamic, and popular politics reaching a maximized cultural validity, the Hindu diaspora gained universal solidarity through the tactical integration of cultural nationalism and religious devotion (Mathew, 2022). The Canadian Hindu therefore not only is an identity within the larger category of the Indian diaspora but functions as an identity that can represent the Indian diaspora on global platforms. The popularity of digital public spheres allows individuals to express their “authentic self” (identity based on origin) in a way that undermines their “adapted self” (immigrated/settled identity). Diasporic identities find their host country as an opportunity to accentuate their cultural identity as a means to increase its appeal in a multicultural and globalized world.

Conclusion: Future Directions

The way immigration has become normalized as a natural process in the modern world indicates the permeability of borders that define nation-states and their inhabitants. Canada's attitude toward immigration emphasizes the significant role the immigrant workforce plays in sustaining the country's economic development and cultural diversity. However, the consequences of immigration, both short-term and long-term, suggest that it is not an innocent process. Multiple aspects of Indian immigration to Canada show that the problems of identity crisis, acculturation, public engagement, discrimination, and racism define the diasporic community and its existence within the host nation. The diasporic existence has a universality that helps to maintain a sense of shared cultural bonding between different cultural sub-groups with regional differences. This is realized through the universalized notion of "Indianness" culturally appropriated to invoke nationalist sentiments. Indians adopt integration as a strategy of acculturation to survive in Canada, which offers better economic conditions and quality of life than what one is offered in India.

The ongoing Indian immigration to Canada results in an increase in the diasporic population in which different identities compete for dominance and cultural validation. The historical significance of certain migrations such as that of Sikhs are examples of how not all diasporic communities are equal in their historic position and cultural recognition. This ultimately leads to the collapse of multiculturalism as an idea that fails due to the internal contradictions between diasporic identities leading to the marginalization of those identities that do not have political significance in the mainstream political discourses. Canada's pro-immigration policies are often created to support the populist strategies of the government. The Eurocentric and ethnocentric biases affect the way immigrants are treated and accepted in Canada. Therefore, to improve the immigration process, more affirmative actions that focus on a rational discourse of identity politics and cultural practices need to be implemented. This includes future interventions in the selection of immigrants based on professional qualifications and skills rather than ethnicity and minority status. New policies need to be developed to mitigate the refugee crisis and minority problem through collective action at an international level.

Notes

- 1 Since 2016, 36.6% of the recent immigrants came to Canada on a temporary visa before being admitted as permanent residents.
- 2 The care economy refers to paid or unpaid work associated with caring people who are in need of physical, psychological, and emotional assistance. It generally includes caring children under the age of 15 and care-dependent adults with long-term conditions and disabilities.
- 3 "Atmanirbhar Bharat," a term introduced by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, emphasizes the need to "make in India" to reach self-reliance as a primary goal. It encompasses policies and initiatives that are in support of local businesses and start-ups as a means to reduce the country's dependence on outsiders.

References

- Amarasingam, A., Naganathan, G., & Hyndman, J. (2016). Canadian multiculturalism as banal nationalism: Understanding everyday meanings among Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(2), 119–141.
- Anderson, S. (2020, February 3). Indians immigrating to Canada at an astonishing rate. *Forbes*. www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2020/02/03/indians-immigrating-to-canada-at-an-astonishing-rate/?sh=61361ff72b5f
- Anderson, S. (2023, May 6). Indian immigration to Canada has tripled since 2013. *Forbes*. www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2023/03/06/indian-immigration-to-canada-has-tripled-since-2013/?sh=32960bda5620
- Attenborough, R. (Director). (1982). *Gandhi* [Film]. Goldcrest Films.
- Baru, S. (2020, December 30). Overseas Indians cheer government's agenda for India's atmanirbharta, without investing in it. *The Indian Express*. <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/indians-abroad-atmanirbhar-bharat-modi-7125412/>
- BBC. (2021, June 8). *Muslim family in Canada killed in "premeditated" truck attack*. www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57390398
- Berry, J. W. (1998). Acculturative stress. In P. B. Organista, K. M. Cren, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Readings in Ethnic Psychology* (pp. 117–122). New York: Routledge.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Seagull, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Social behavior and applications* (Vol. 3, pp. 291–326). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bhatia, S. (2008). 9/11 and the Indian diaspora: Narratives of race, place and immigrant identity. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29(1), 21–39.
- Boyle, D. (Director). (2008). *Slumdog Millionaire* [Film]. Celador Films.
- Canada. SOS. Canadian Citizenship Branch. (1947). *How to become a Canadian citizen*. Ottawa: SOS.
- Canadavisa. (2023, March 14). *Canada's immigration levels plan 2023–2025*. www.canadavisa.com/canada-immigration-levels-plans.html
- Castelier, S. (2019, March 18). In Kerala, the glittering Gulf's appeal is losing shine. *Al Jazeera*. www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/3/18/in-kerala-the-glittering-gulfs-appeal-is-losing-shine
- Chapnick, A. (2011). A “conservative” national story? The evolution of citizenship and immigration Canada's discover Canada. *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 41(1), 20–36.
- Choudry, A., & Henaway, M. (2012). Agents of misfortune: Contextualizing migrant and immigrant workers' struggles against temporary labour recruitment agencies. *Labour, Capital and Society*, 45(1), 37–64.
- Dobrowolsky, A. (2007). (In)security and citizenship: Security, im/migration and shrinking citizenship regimes. *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, 8(2), 629–661.
- Dobrowolsky, A. (2008). Interrogating “invisibilization” and “instrumentalization”: Women and current citizenship trends in Canada. *Citizenship Studies*, 12, 465–479.
- Dobrowolsky, A. (2017). Bad versus big Canada: State imaginaries of immigration and citizenship. *Studies in Political Economy*, 98(2), 197–222.
- El-Assal, K. (2022, August 23). Why more Indians are moving to Canada. *CIC News*. www.cicnews.com/2022/08/why-more-indians-are-moving-to-canada-0830147.html
- El-Assal, K., & Thevenot, S. (2022, February 10). How Canada landed 405,000 new immigrants in 2021. *CIC News*. www.cicnews.com/2022/02/how-canada-landed-405000-new-immigrants-in-2021-0222072.html
- Elrick, J. (2022). Bureaucratic implementation practices and the making of Canada's merit-based immigration policy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(1), 110–128.

- Firstpost. (2022, October 3). *Shri Bhagavad Gita park “vandalised”: Is Canada seeing a rise in crimes against Indians?* www.firstpost.com/explainers/shri-bhagavad-gita-park-vandalised-is-canada-seeing-a-rise-in-crimes-against-indians-11378861.html
- Gu, W. (2022, July 27). The value of unpaid childcare and paid employment by gender: What are the impacts of the low-fee universal childcare program? *Statistics Canada*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2022007/article/00003-eng.htm?utm_source=statcan&utm_medium=dis&utm_campaign=statcan-careeconomy-economiedesoins-22-23#n1-refa
- Habermas, J. (1991). The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society. *MIT Press*. <https://library.macewan.ca/full-record/cat00565a/5243092>
- The Indian Express. (2022, June 17). *Gulf boom ebbs away as Keralites prefer Canada, Europe, Australia for migration*. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/thiruvananthapuram/kerala-migration-canda-europe-australia-7975274/>
- Jain, R. K. (2011). Anthropology and diaspora studies: An Indian perspective. *Asian Anthropology*, 10(1), 45–60.
- Jakobsh, D., & Walton-Roberts, M. (2016). A century of miri piri: Securing Sikh belonging in Canada. *South Asian Diaspora*, 8(2), 167–183.
- Kamalakaran, A. (2023, January 30). New wave of emigration could be a boon for Kerala. *OnManorama*. www.onmanorama.com/lifestyle/keralaspora/2023/01/30/new-wave-emigration-boon-for-kerala-column.html
- Labonté, R., Cobbett, E., Orsini, M., Spitzer, D., Schrecker, T., & Ruckert, A. (2015). Globalization and the health of Canadians: “Having a job is the most important thing”. *Globalization & Health*, 11(1), 1–16.
- Mani, S. (2011). High-skilled Migration from India: An analysis of its economic implications. In S. I. Rajan (Ed.), *Migration, identity and conflict India migration report 2011* (pp. 309–330). New Delhi: Routledge.
- Mathew, N. (2022). Bhakti nation: The return of the Hindu diaspora in Modi’s India. *History and Anthropology*, 33(3), 337–354.
- Meirelles, F. (Director). (2005). *The Constant Gardener* [Film]. Focus Features.
- Muzaffar, M. (2023, April 6). Canadian Hindu temple vandalised in latest incident of graffiti attack. *Independent*. www.independent.co.uk/asia/india/hindu-temple-canada-windsor-b2315365.html
- National Foundation for American Policy. (2022). *Analysis of U. S. and Canadian international student data*. <https://nfap.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Analysis-of-International-Student-Data.NFAP-Policy-Brief.March-2022-3.pdf>
- News18. (2022, October 3). *Bhagavad Gita Park Sign ‘Vandalised’: Recent Hate Crimes Against Indians in Canada*. www.news18.com/news/explainers/bhagavad-gita-park-sign-vandalised-recent-hate-crimes-against-indians-in-canada-a-refresher-6089239.html
- Okeke-Ihejirika, P., Yohan, S., Muste, J., Ndem, A., Chamber, T., & Pow, V. (2020). A scoping review on intimate partner violence in Canada’s immigrant communities. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 21(4), 788–810.
- Parham, A. A. (2005). Internet, place, and public sphere in diaspora communities. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 14(2–3), 349–380.
- Ramasubramanian, S. (2007). A content analysis of the portrayal of India in films produced in the West. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 16(4), 243–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170500326533>
- Ratha, D., & Plaza, S. (2014). Diaspora and development: Critical issues. In S. I. Rajan (Ed.), *India migration report 2014: Diaspora and development* (pp. 1–22). New Delhi: Routledge.
- Ross, T. (2019). Media and stereotypes. In R. Steven (Ed.), *The palgrave handbook of ethnicity* (pp. 397–413). Singapore: Springer Nature.

- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Salami, B., & Nelson, S. (2014). The downward occupational mobility of internationally educated nurses to domestic workers. *Nursing Inquiry*, 21(2), 153–161.
- Samuel, E. (2009). Acculturative stress: South Asian immigrant women's experiences in Canada's Atlantic provinces. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 7(1), 16–34.
- Sengupta, M. (2010). A million dollar exit from the anarchic slum-world: Slumdog millionaire's hollow idioms of social justice. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(4), 599–616. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436591003701117>
- Shan, H., & Walter, P. (2015). Growing everyday multiculturalism: Practice-based learning of Chinese immigrants through community gardens in Canada. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 65(1), 19–34.
- Statistics Canada. (2007). *The East Indian community in Canada*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007004-eng.htm#tphp>
- Statistics Canada. (2017). *Immigration and ethnocultural diversity highlight tables*. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/imm/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=31&Geo=01>
- Statistics Canada. (2022a). *Canada at a glance, 2022: Immigration*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/12-581-x/2022001/sec2-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2022b). *Canada tops G7 growth despite COVID*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220209/dq220209a-eng.htm?HPA=1>
- Statistics Canada. (2022c). *Immigrants make up the largest share of the population in over 150 years and continue to shape who we are as Canadians*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.htm>
- Tatla, D. S. (1999). *The Sikh diaspora. The search for statehood*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- The Times of India. (2019, March 29). *80% hike in Indians migrating to Canada*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/thiruvananthapuram/80-hike-in-indians-migrating-to-canada/articleshow/68621636.cms>
- Zwick, E. (Director). (2006). *Blood Diamond* [Film]. Virtual Studios.