



Research and Theory

Racialized migrant women's narratives on child care and citizenship: an anti-racist, transnational feminist analysis

Veronica Pacini-Ketchabaw, School of Child & Youth Care, University of Victoria, Canada

Abstract

This article analyzes the narratives of racialized migrant women using anti-racist, transnational conceptual frameworks. It demonstrates the complexities and contradictions embedded within child care discourses in relation to migration and citizenship. Three themes are identified and discussed in the paper: (a) how cultural borders are negotiated through the child care landscape; (b) how discourses of national belonging and non-belonging are negotiated through child care; and (c) how child care is experienced as a regulatory space for enacting technologies of citizenship and anti-citizenship. Data emerged from interviews and focus groups with 24 racialized migrant women using some form of child care provision for their young children in British Columbia, Canada.

Introduction

Immigration has become a key issue for the 'advancement' of early childhood education in Canada, well-known as a multicultural, pluricultural society (OECD, 2003). Immigrants comprise two-thirds of Canada's population. The country accepts an average of 240,000 immigrants a year (Mahoney, 2007). One of the key challenges for the country has been the shift in the nature of its immigration. While early childhood policies were originally created to regulate the poor European immigrants in the early 1900s (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a, 2006b), the focus has changed to meeting the needs of racialized minorities (often referred to as 'visible minorities'¹) arriving from Asia, the Middle East and Latin America--representing approximately 58% of immigrants (OECD, 2003). Immigration is also seen as important for counteracting the declining birth rates experienced in Canada. The increase in the immigrant population has been more than three times the increase in the Canadian-born population (OECD, 2003). In fact, it is estimated that by 2030 immigration will become the only source of population growth for Canada (Mahoney, 2007). Approximately 16% of 'visible minorities' in Canada are children between the ages of 0-14 (Statistics Canada, 2005). Given these statistics, the OEDC (2003) report on the situation of early childhood education in Canada calls for appropriate services "to assist young immigrant children from different cultures adjust to Canada and learn English and French" (p.20).

¹ The Canadian use of the term 'visible minority' has recently been questioned in an UN report released by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (Term 'Visible Minorities', 2007).

While the inclusion of young immigrant children² draws public attention to their situation in Canada, the arguments presented have been narrowly framed. The emphasis is on the assimilation and change of 'different' populations to better fit the image of the desirable Canadian subject or citizen. Migrant families are seen as non-normative and therefore pathological and inadequate (Pacini-Ketchabaw, White, Armstrong de Almeida, 2006). Such constructions omit the complexities and contradictions of issues of migration and movement, gender, racialization and citizenship (Bacchetta et al., 2001). They construct migrant children and families as unitary subjects living within the boundaries of a nation and ignore the importance of enduring ties to the home country. They also assume the homogeneity of nation states (Vandenbroeck, 2004). The focus then becomes the settlement and assimilation of migrant families (Levitt & Schiller, 2004).

This article illuminates some of the complexities that underpin the situation of racialized minorities using early childhood education services. Such an endeavour requires the use of theoretical frameworks that recognize the limitations of the study of migration and citizenship from nationalist perspectives while recognizing the gendered and racialized effects of nationalism (Bacchetta et al., 2001). I therefore turn to anti-racist, transnational feminist frameworks to analyze the narratives of migrant women using some form of child care for their young children.

² Young immigrant children refers to children who migrated to Canada with members of their family, or children born in Canada whose families migrated to Canada.

My two main objectives are to explore ways in which anti-racist, transnational perspectives can be deployed to analyze racialized migrant women's narratives on child care, and to demonstrate how citizenship discourses are enacted in the contexts of child care and migration. In the remainder of the article, I first provide a brief background to scholarship work on young immigrant children and migrant women in Canada. Second, I outline the ways in which I conceptualize my work by identifying the main problematics of anti-racist, transnational conceptual frameworks. Third, the paper describes the research procedures followed to collect data reported here. Fourth, the findings are identified and discussed through three themes: (a) how cultural borders are negotiated through the child care landscape; (b) how discourses of national belonging/non-belonging are negotiated through child care; and (c) how child care is experienced as a regulatory space for enacting technologies of citizenship/non-citizenship. Finally, I conclude with a brief summary and reflections on future directions around early childhood scholarship, policy and practices that involve issues of migration.

Young immigrant children and migrant women in Canada

Little research has been conducted in the areas of racialization, migration, and early childhood education in Canada (e.g., Ali, 2005; Bernhard, Chud, Lefebvre, & Lange, 1996; Bernhard, Freire, Torres & Nirdosh, 1998; Kilbride, 1997; Pacini-Ketchabaw & McIvor, 2005; Pacini-Ketchabaw & Armstrong de Almeida, 2006; Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard & Freire, 2001). Some of this research, while important for raising awareness of social injustices, tends to be framed

within multicultural approaches that centre on 'cultural' differences or on the anti-bias approach developed in the US, and consequently fails to problematize structures of exclusion/inclusion and power relations (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000; Vandenbroeck, 2004). Few of these studies have accounted for the role of discourses and social constructs of 'race,' class, and immigration status (e.g., Pacini-Ketchabaw & Armstrong de Almeida, 2006). For example, the work I have done with colleagues reveals that the discourses guiding policies related to the provision of early childhood services in British Columbia, Canada, erase complexity and heterogeneity within, across, and among racialized minority groups, ignore differences in cultural contexts, create racialized minorities as 'others,' and pathologize racialized minorities through vulnerability discourses (Pacini-Ketchabaw, White, & Armstrong de Almeida, 2006). This article continues this research by examining the complexities and contradictions of migration that play out through discursive relations in the context of child care. Globalization and transnational movements have only recently begun to be taken into consideration within the Canadian landscape. Bernhard, Landolt and Goldring (2005) investigate the transnational nature of motherhood within the Latin American community in Toronto, Canada. Scholarship that shows the links between the transnational nature of care within migrant communities and genderized, racialized discourses of globalization are still needed. Most research on immigration has taken a non-gendered perspective, even though gender structures the migration process, particularly through the neoliberal ideological principles that frame immigration politics and policies (Boyd &

Pikkov, 2005; Caragata, 2003). For example, while men are often the principal applicants for the Business Class category, women are over-represented in the Live-in-Caregiver program. Women are most likely to enter Canada as dependents of men and “admission requirements that emphasize human capital penalize women who come from countries in which resources are highly concentrated in the male hands” (Boyd & Pikkov, p.7). Gender also structures the settlement process and citizenship, in particular access to public institutions (e.g., child care provision) (Man, 2004; Salaff & Greve, 2004). Feminist scholars agree that “research that treats gender as a central organizing principle in migration” is essential (Strategic Workshop on Immigrant Women Making Place in Canadian Cities, 2002, p. 1). This article addresses issues of migration from a gender perspective.

Conceptualization of racialized migrant women's narratives

The article uses anti-racist, transnational feminist perspectives to interpret the narratives of racialized migrant women in relation to the context of child care. Anti-racist, feminist perspectives depart from the assumption that racisms can be understood merely in relation to ‘race.’ Rather, ‘race’ is viewed as intersecting/interlocking with other systems of inequality such as gender, nationality, migration, class, sexuality, ability, language, and so on (Anthias & Lloyd, 2002; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, 2002; hooks, 1984; Razack, 2002). Transnational feminism, as an analytic tool, questions the often-assumed construction of racialized migrant, minority women as ‘vulnerable’ and ‘uncivilized’ when compared to the categories of the white civilized and

superior Euro-American citizen (Grewal & Kaplan, 2002). Racialized migrant women’s identities are understood as active, productive, ongoing and complex. Identity is seen as socially constructed, mobile, multiple, and always in a process of formation in relation to the social context and to others in the lived environment; emerging through discourse and representation (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1990, 1997). As such, racialized migrant women are viewed as crafting mixed identities within the cultural boundaries of their communities and nation (Rattansi, 2005; Cohen, 1997; Back, 1996; Mahtani, 2001).

A transnational approach questions the idea of interpreting migrants’ lives within the context of a nation-state. It proposes rethinking the idea of national boundaries, which are often taken for granted in migration scholarship (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). Levitt and Schiller (2004) state: “Our analytical lens must necessarily broaden and deepen because migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind. As a result, basic assumptions about social institutions such as the family, citizenship, and nation-states need to be revisited” (p. 1003). This article takes on the challenge of deconstructing national boundaries by using child care as its context. The approach of transnationality is used to analyze how “migrants’ identities and cultural production reflect their multiple connections” (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1006).

Transnational feminism approaches citizenship through culture—as opposed to philosophy, ethics, or law (e.g., Delanty, 2000; Gibbs, 1996; Isin & Wood, 1999;

Kymlicka, 1995; Stevenson, 2001). It engages with identity formation in racialized women's relationships to citizenship (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1991; Friedman, 1998; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Lee, 2002; Ong, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2000). Citizenship identities—understood as “flexible,” “in transition,” and “negotiated”—are a relational process and not a status (Ong, 1999). Citizen identities are forged in everyday interactions and lived environments that are hierarchically organized and mediated by dominant “white” and other ethnic minority cultural formations. Thus, identity formation is not seen only as a matter of gender, age and stage, but also in terms of women's community histories, dominant and resistant discourses and material practices, local community contexts and structures, and individual and groups' own social positionings and sense of self-making.

Transnational feminist frameworks also bring into perspective the ways in which gender, class, ‘race’, and nationality (among other social factors) articulate with globalization (Caragata, 2003; Parrenas, 2001; Sudbury, 2005; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). “A transnational approach pays attention to the inequalities and differences that arise from new forms of globalization as well as from older histories of colonialism and racism. [It] emphasizes the world of connections of all kinds that do not necessarily create similarities” (Ong, 2003, p. xix). The literature also shows how globalization tends to increase the already existing inequalities based on genderization, racialization and economic opportunities (Caragata, 2003). This article also uses the concept of governing emerging from the

governmentality literature (Rose, 1999; Dean, 1999) and, following Inda (2006); it uses governmentality to critique racial technologies of exclusion/inclusion. Rose (1999) defines governmentality as:

The invention and assembly of a whole array of technologies that connected up calculations and strategies developed in political centres to those thousands of spatially scattered points where the constitutional, fiscal, organizational and judicial powers of the state connect with endeavours to manage economic life, the health and habits of the population, the civility of the masses and so forth. This governmentalization has allowed the state to survive within contemporary power relations... (p. 18)

Rose (1999) further explains that to ‘do’ a governmentality analysis “is not to start from the apparently obvious historical or sociological question: what happened and why? It is to start by asking what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques” (p. 20). The analysis presented within this article is situated within this framework.

I also situate this analysis within an interrogation of liberal modernist discourses of multiculturalism, respect and acceptance (Goldberg, 1993; Lee & Lutz, 2005), by paying specific attention to the racial normalization that is part of society. “Racialized discourse does not consist simply in descriptive representations of other. It includes a set of hypothetical premises about human kinds...and about the differences between them (both mental and physical).

It involves a class of ethical choices... And it incorporates a set of institutional regulations, directions, and pedagogical models" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 47). I borrow the use of the terms 'racialization' and 'racialized' as a way of moving away from reinforcing problematic concepts such as 'race' and 'ethnicity.' The term racialization requires us to shift our attention from a simple acceptance of 'race' as an ontological category and to ask instead how it is the discourses of 'race' operate to produce an understanding of people, things, cultures and places (Ali, 2006, p. 473).

The study

The project took place in a mid-sized city in British Columbia, Canada. It involved a partnership between an academic institution and one of the two community organizations that work with migrants in the city. The project team from the university and community workers from the community organization worked collaboratively on all aspects of the project: participant recruitment, data collection and data analysis, and dissemination in the community (e.g., Pacini-Ketchabaw, Armstrong de Almeida, Okada & Thiara, 2005). We integrated a wide range of academic and community experiences through the formulation and implementation of a meaningful partnership in which stakeholders paid close attention to each other's strengths. The participation of the community organization in this project was key in directing our study toward the community and policy levels. The project extended a previously established partnership between the author and the community organization.

The narratives reported here emerged from in-depth individual interviews and

focus group sessions with 24 migrant women who have young children enrolled in some form of early childhood service (e.g., full-time child care, preschool). (See Table 1 for background information on the participants). We identified three broadly defined groups of migrant women (Chinese, Indo-Canadians, and Latin Americans) who shared different racial, cultural, and ethnic histories in Canada (Recalde, 2002; Siddiqui, 2004; Ye, 2005). These categorizations of migrant groups are in themselves problematic, however they appeared necessary for communicating with funders and settlement organizations (see Ong, 2006 for a discussion on the problematics of ethnic groups).

The interviews and focus groups were conducted in the participants' first languages. The quotes that follow are translations of the narratives provided by the women. Translations were done by community workers who shared the participants' first languages, and attempt to be verbatim. I do not claim that nuances of languages have not been lost in translation. In order to minimize this effect, I met with the interviewers (translators) following the interviews and focus groups to discuss the findings and my interpretations. Adjustments were made when necessary. I also did a second reading of the Spanish translations as I speak the language as my mother tongue.

The first reading of the data was conducted using standard qualitative data analysis techniques (looking for common themes, divergences from the norm, paying attention to what was said as well as to silences) (Kvale, 1996). Following this analysis, I used aspects of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to

reveal the ways in which social relations of power emerged through the narratives. Fairclough (2003) argues that critical discourse analysis acts as “oscillating between a focus on specific texts and a focus on... the ‘order of discourse’, the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices” (p. 3). The transcripts have also been read and interpreted using critical anti-racist, transnational feminist perspectives. The themes identified in this article have, in fact, emerged from my interpretation of the data based on anti-racist, transnational feminist perspectives.

Migrant racialized women’s narratives on child care

Negotiating Cultural Borders through the Child Care Landscape.

The ways in which the women participating in the study referred to Canadian child care were always in reference to their experiences with other systems of child care (primarily what they had experienced in their ‘home’ country) and the values and beliefs about children that they had acquired through cultural scripts available to them prior to migration. When they were asked what they thought about child care services in Canada, they answered by positioning the Canadian approach to child care in relation to the approach they experienced prior to being in Canada. They used practices from their country of origin as terms of reference to explain their views on child care. This is clear in the following quotes. A Chilean woman speaks about the focus of early childhood education in Canada by contrasting it to the Chilean system. She constructs the Canadian child care pedagogy as being focused on socialization and learning (in a

way as ‘progressive’ pedagogy), in relation to a more ‘formal’ Chilean pedagogy. Similarly, two Taiwanese women refer to the more ‘free’ approach to child care that early childhood services in Canada take.

Here in Canada, they take the children to daycare to socialize, to play, to learn to do things more freely. In Chile the difference is that when they are very little they demand them to learn to do this, to learn that.

In my country, the child care centers are very conservative. Measures were taken to ensure maximum safety. In other words, they were very overprotective. In Canada however, children are allowed to take part in activities more freely. For example, in Taiwan, children are taught how to hold scissors properly to prevent accidents. I haven’t heard of such education here. Child care workers in Taiwan really love the kids, but are very strict. Here in Canada, child care workers also love the kids, but are not as strict.

One thing I like about the child care system in Canada is the punishment. The punishment is very different than in my home country. In Canada, there is never physical/verbal abuse as a punishment. If a child misbehaves here, he/she would only sit aside for a while. Another thing I like is that there is no stress or pressure on the children. In Taiwan, parents would put a lot of pressure onto their children to learn as much as

they can at an early age. This high level of pressure could affect the children's mental and psychological development, giving them constant stress. The way of teaching here in Canada is very open-minded. For example here, children can explore in playing and experimenting with water, sand, dirt, even though it's messy; this way, they learn a lot as well. But in my home country there are no such things.

Many interesting ideas emerge from these quotes (e.g., the women's own construction of early childhood pedagogies). What I want to emphasize though from these quotes is the constant reference that these women make to what takes place outside the borders of Canada within the child care context. Following transnational feminist approaches, I interpret this back and forth to 'inside' and 'outside' approaches to child care as part of these women's negotiations of cultural borders and demands in relation to child care. Given their multiple attachments to child care discourses from different nation states, I view these women as transnational subjects. Lee (in press) explains that transnational subjects negotiate processes that are "historically specific, emergent, contested, materialized in and across many registers and scales, and mediated by national and transnational state policies and discourses" (p. 13). The quotes show that these women understand and think about child care based on their position as transnational subjects with a multiplicity of local references.

Qureshi (2006) suggests that local experiences require an analysis of transnational nature "because of fairly

continuous negotiations of meanings, values and symbolic forms are likely to be conducted within them" (p. 210). In the quotations above, the women are constructing child care in relation to their own subject positions--as hybrid, diasporic subjects occupying plural identities that shift in relation to changing social contexts around them (Hall, 1990, 1997). Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995) refer to the idea of transmigrants--"immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48).

My interpretation is that these women are in constant negotiations between various local approaches to child care that challenges the role of 'culture' as the sole explanation to the 'differences' between approaches that the women speak about (see Vandebroek, 2004 for a critique of multicultural analyses of diversity). Explanations that highlight the sole role of culture are framed around the misunderstanding that different cultural groups have different cultural values (e.g., Chinese parents value academics, Latin American parents value family connections). Drawing on Lee (in press), I problematize essentialistic explanations which construct spaces of social exclusion for racialized minority groups within child care by viewing differences as 'cultural' problems. "Culturally essentialistic explanations draw upon and feed stereotypes about certain groups by simplifying complex issues into simple logics of one-dimensional cause and effect... In unquestioningly accepting essentialistic explanations..., individuals are in danger of reinscribing outdated

assimilationism as normative” (Lee, in press, p. 7).

Several dangers lie in the approach to using culture as the analytic tool of interpretation. If we interpret the constant reference that the women make in the above quotes to ‘other’ ways of doing and thinking about child care as simply a matter of cultural difference, then we might run the risk that these women would be seen as a threat to the ‘cohesion’ of Canada as a nation (Inda, 2000; Lee, in press; Worley, 2005). The risk lies in that these women might be seen as asserting ‘their’ views to shift normative ideas of child care in Canada. Then, practices and policies would concentrate on ‘adjusting’, ‘preparing’ children and families to become better aligned with normative ideas of child care (as exemplified in the approach taken in the OECD Canadian report). Cohesion and uniformity of views becomes what is desirable (Mac Naughton, 2005). However, what is left unquestioned are the normative discourses embedded in ideas of cohesion and uniformity.

Lee (in press) suggests that “social cohesion discourses have left the question of whose values and cultures should be the basis of normative judgments unexamined” (p. 11) and Inda (2000) explains that:

The problem comes when a territory, let us say a national territory, is inhabited by a multiplicity of cultures. In such a situation--...where different cultural groups interact with one another on a daily basis--this racist logic suggests that the only possible outcome can be cultural conflict as each culture struggles to maintain its integrity. Different cultures

simply cannot co-exist in the same spatial frames. A consequence of such thinking is that those people who are the bearers of non-national cultures--the alien, the foreigner, the stranger, and the immigrant--are often construed as threats to the integrity of the nation... And since these populations are construed as threats, they are customarily relegated to the margins of society, often blamed for the social and economic ills that befall the nation, and exposed to a host of efforts to neutralize their difference. (p. 48)

The approach towards social cohesion within Canadian child care comes, for example, through grand definitions of ‘quality’ (what quality means for Canadians--which ensure that cultural perspectives that are outside the Eurocentric normative ideals are excluded) (Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 1999). After grand-narratives on child care quality are locked down, migrants can be seen as failing to integrate, or as victims of, the ‘Canadian’ child care system; therefore masking the politics of race that are played out in what Inda (2000) refers to as the terrain of culture.

By understanding the reference that racialized migrant women make to their child care experiences to construct their views of Canadian child care within anti-racist, transnational feminist lenses, we can move away from a ‘cultural’ understanding that takes us to the discussion of what practices are best and essentialistic interpretations of what is ‘normal’ in different contexts to emphasize the negotiations and complexities of moving through cultural borders.

Using child care to negotiate national belonging/non- belonging.

Another theme that emerged in the narratives of the women participating in the study illuminates how they view themselves in relation to Canadian child care. They view Canadian child care as not belonging to themselves but to the majority of 'Canadians' and they see themselves as outsiders to the system, as not Canadians (see quote below). They felt that they experienced barriers that prevented them from 'fitting into' the system in part because of their social location as 'immigrants' to Canada. For example, they found it difficult to obtain information about how child care works in British Columbia. Not knowing the dominant language and the lack of information resources in other languages make them view themselves as different than 'normal' Canadians. It is in this way that racialized migrant women are governed to keep them outside of the boundaries of the nation (Inda, 2006).

Participant: The government should have a book that provides all the information regarding childcare services.

Participant: Yeah! The government should provide us with information on how to find this book.

Participant: Because Canadians can comprehend English with no problem, they would have no problem at all finding this sort of information. We, however, find it very difficult to find the information we need.

Participant: I'm an immigrant. There are still so many things I can't resolve. I didn't know of the waitlists. So when my child was two years old, and I required these

services, it was already too late for me to apply without being on a waitlist. (Latin American Focus Group)

Yet, the women have figured out that child care is a regulatory space (Pacini-Ketchabaw, 2006a, 2006b) for entering 'true' Canadian citizenship and they use Canadian child care as an entry point of 'national belonging' for their children. They have learned what it means to belong and not belong to the nation in the social landscape of child care. They learned about the implicit norms that will give their children access to the rights of citizenship in Canada they see themselves as not having (e.g., learning 'good' English, acquiring developmental independence, performing well at school, accomplishing employment success), and attempt to provide these rights to their children by using child care. The following quotes show how women view child care as an entry point of citizenship for their children:

The reason I send my children to child care is to improve their language and learn new things, so that they can be ready for school. I know parents who are living here and take care of them [the children], but I would rather send my children to the group daycare, so that they can learn more... My oldest child only started to improve her English in grade one... But after my other children attended daycare, they learned a lot and adjusted well. (Chinese Group)

My child will learn lots more [in child care], than just being by himself at home. He'll have more social exposure. I believe that the greater the exposure, the smarter

the child is... They have lots of opportunities [in child care]. So I would like to use those opportunities rather than have my child at home... I myself don't know many things since I haven't been raised in Canada. I myself don't know what activities are around. When they do these things at least they get to know what's going on, simple things like Halloween. It is something that everybody celebrates, but do I know what it is? No and how do I make it more interesting for the child because they are going to see that everywhere. I'm from a different culture and I don't want him to be conservative and to learn only my culture. But I'm aware of the fact that in Canada, the majority culture is going to be Canadian. So I do not want him to feel different. (Indo-Canadian Group)

Here, my younger son can also have a head start in learning English. That will aid him in his future education. If I didn't send him to such [child care] services, he could have difficulties coping with school environments. (Chinese Group)

The women are not necessarily referring to legalistic understandings of citizenship, but rather to cultural citizenship, thought of in terms of the strategies that migrants use to navigate national spaces (Mirón, Inda, & Aguirre, 1998; Ong, 1999).

The cultural knowledge that these women have acquired can be explained as forms of contestation to technologies, calculations and strategies of government

(Foucault, 1991) that are in place to maintain racialized migrant women outside the boundaries of the nation (Inda, 2006; Ong, 2006). Judith Butler's (1995) notion of performativity helps us to clarify how racialized migrant women contest these ways of governing and re-write spaces for agency. Butler (1995) notes that "if the subject is constituted by power, that power does not cease at the moment the subject is constituted, for that subject is never fully constituted, but is subjected and produced time and again" (p. 223).

Experiencing child care as regulatory spaces for enacting technologies of citizenship/non-citizenship.

The transcripts reveal differences that exist between and among the often taken for granted homogeneity of 'immigrants' in Canada (Pacini-Ketchabaw et. al, 2006). Not all the women spoke of child care in the same way. Their likes and dislikes were at times dissimilar and at other times similar. Their understandings and experiences of child care are quite varied and often mediated by the intersection of social dimensions of race, ethnicity, economic status, gender, language ability, and status in Canada (Razack, 1998).

The ways in which child care experiences were mediated by race and ethnicity are reflected in the ways in which some of the Indo-Canadian women spoke about their experiences and worries within the context of child care. Their narratives spoke of their fears and insecurities when using child care. They felt that child care was regulating their lives and putting pressure on their everyday living:

One thing really scares me to hell is that if I am about five, ten

minutes late, my child will be taken away from me. That is the worst part... They have reasons as to why this is enforced. But, for some people... If for some reason I am unable to be there in the fifteen minutes, they will call the ministry of children and then my child is taken away by the government. That scares me so much, because basically they think that I'm not being a good parent. That is how it has been told to me and it's always there in the contracts that you sign... I think it's just humanity and responsibility on an individual's part... If something like this happens to me one day, it'd be a total disaster... You have to see the way you are positioned. First, you don't have any family support out here. So the child is only attached to the parents here... It's fear all the time, the government has their reasons why it is there, but then it just scares people, people like me...

One thing that I observed in the time that they were in daycare, is that they give information to them about parents. What they do is give bad information, instead of explaining to the children what abuse is, the wrong thing they do is to tell them if your mother or father yell at you, call 911. More importantly would be that they tell the children if they are misbehaving, your parents have the right to correct you. It is not a bad idea; the only thing is that they tell them the wrong way.... What I observed in our boy was that he was getting more powerful than we were, and that could happen to all

the others who received the information there, so instead of helping the children they are giving a way that is not according to the parent's wishes. Children think they can do whatever they want, whenever they want.

None of these women had their children apprehended by the British Columbia Ministry of Children and Family Development. Yet, the fears and insecurities they experience are real and reflect the cultural knowledge they have acquired about what it means to be an immigrant in Canada. They have learned that they must be on time to pick their children up from child care, and that they follow 'Western' approaches to parenting; otherwise they could be penalized. They are fearful of the consequences of not being a 'good' citizen. The idea of who is a 'good' citizen has become naturalized through child care discourses related to good parenting, and these women enact those discourses. They understand what it means to be a prudent mother and what the discourse of prudence does to their own lives. It is also clear in the above quotes that their position as racialized immigrant minorities in Canada puts them at higher risk of becoming a non-prudent citizen through their parenting practices (e.g., not having a wider social network due to migration).

Drawing on Inda's ideas of citizenship, these quotes then show how child care discourses on 'good' parenting reproduce and naturalize what it means to be a good or bad citizen, a prudent or non-prudent citizen, an ethical or unethical citizen of Canada. Inda (2006) suggests that:

Post-social regimes of rule...have produced a division between active citizens and anti-prudential,

unethical subjects, between a majority who can and do secure their own well-being through judicious self-promoting and those who are judged incapable of managing their own risks... And this is very much a racialized division: the subjects most often deemed irresponsible--...--are those whose phenomenal/cultural characteristics serve to distinguish them from the dominant 'white' population. (p. 18)

These two women are speaking of their own experiences when viewed as non-citizens. Whether child care providers have explicitly discussed these issues with these women has not been determined, (this is not the focus of this article). What becomes important is that these women are constantly negotiating a non-citizenship discourse available to them through society, and in this case through the child care centres their children attend.

When this issue of 'trusting' (often racialized) becomes available in child care, they see themselves in relation to what Inda (2006) calls responsabilization. The policies that these two women refer to are a way of managing the racialized irresponsible, non-citizen subject--a subject that cannot be trusted with their own children. These policies can be referred to as being at the edges of two different technologies of government: technologies of citizenship and technologies of non-citizenship (Inda, 2006). Drawing on Barbara Cruikshank (1999), Inda (2006) explains that technologies of citizenship "endeavor to reinsert the excluded into circuits of responsible self-management, to reconstitute them through activating their capacity for autonomous citizenship" (p.

19). Technologies of anti-citizenship "deem the exclusion of anti-citizens to be unavoidable, and endeavor to regulate these individuals and sectors of society through operations that seek to contain the threats they and their actions pose" (Inda, 2006, p. 19-20).

Closure and openings

This article has explored the use of anti-racist, feminist perspectives to read narratives on child care and migration. By using these perspectives as lenses, the article highlighted the role of child care in shaping citizenship discourses that are bound to understandings of societies within close national boundaries. It also showed how discourses of belonging/non-belonging and citizenship/non-citizenship play out in the social landscape of child care that racialized migrant women navigate.

Anti-racist, transnational feminist perspectives also bring to light the power and discursive games embedded in analyses of child care and migration that follow multicultural, liberal ideological principles. Studies of migration within the context of child care need to expand their theoretical frameworks and discourses to include the examination of transnational identities produced and reproduced within gendered, racialized discourses. A similar call is for the creation of policies and practices that reflect the maneuvering that migrant families engage in the production of identities in transnational spaces.

The query that often remains in child care is how. How are early childhood education/child care practices and policies to 'approach' issues of migration? This article has shown that we cannot approach these issues through the lenses of multiculturalism and community

cohesion--which enable the de-racialization of subjects and promote "raceless states" as David Theo Goldberg (2002) poignantly suggests:

A state without *racism* would be one in and for which whiteness has retreated, has been fractured and fissured, has dissipated and dissolved. If...whiteness stands for the relative privilege, profit and power of those occupying the structural social positions of whites in a hierarchically ordered racial society, racist states are states of whiteness... The elimination of such states accordingly must mean the demise of the associated privilege, profit and power. But, it must be emphasized, a state without racism in the wake of the long and vicious racist histories of the present cannot simply be a raceless state (p.7).

The kind of deconstruction that Goldberg refers to has already begun in early childhood education (e.g., see Mac Naughton's, 2005 work on deconstructions of whiteness; Vandenbroeck's, 2004 essay on diversity and globalization). However, more needs to be done as we are still far from achieving a "post-racist" community in early childhood education. As Mac Naughton suggests, next steps need to be framed within critical reflective approaches that call for transformation as opposed to conformity.

References

Alexander, M. J., & Mohanty, C. T. (Eds.). (1997). *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures*. New York and London: Routledge.

Ali, M. (2005). Effects of Migration on Parenting Capacity of Newcomer Parents of Young Children. In V. Pacini-Ketchabaw & A. Pence (Eds.), *Canadian Early Childhood Education: Broadening and Deepening Discussions of Quality* (pp. 127-143). Ottawa, ON: Canadian Child Care Federation.

Ali, S. (2006). Racializing research: Managing power and politics? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(3), 471-486.

Anthias, F., & Lloyd, C. (Eds.). (2002). *Rethinking anti-racisms: From theory to practice*. London: Routledge.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (1991). Connecting race and gender. In F. Anthias & N. Yuval-Davis (Eds.), *Racialized boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour, and class and the anti-racist struggle* (pp. 96-131). London and New York: Routledge.

Bacchetta, P., Campt, T., Grewal, I., Kaplan, C., Moallem, M., & Terry, J. (2001). Transnational Feminist Practices Against War. Retrieved January 3, 2007, from <http://home.earthlink.net/~jenniferterry/transnationalstatement.htm>

Back, L. (1996). *New ethnicities and urban culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bernhard, J., Chud, G., Lefebvre, M. L., & Lange, R. (1996). Linguistic match between children and caregivers. *Canadian Journal of Research in Early Childhood Education*, 5(2), 5-18.

- Bernhard, J. K., Freire, M., Torres, F., & Nirdosh, S. (1998). Latin Americans in a Canadian primary school: Perspectives of parents, teachers and children on cultural identity and academic achievement. *Journal of Regional Studies*, 19(3), 217-236.
- Bernhard, J., Landolt, P., & Goldring, L. (2005). *Transnational, multi-local motherhood: Experiences of separation and reunification among Latin American families in Canada*. (Working Paper Series No. 40). Toronto: CERIS.
- Boyd, M., & Pikkov, D. (2005). *Gendering migration, livelihood and entitlements: Migrant women in Canada and the United States*. (Occasional Paper No. 6). Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Butler, J. (1995). Contingent foundations: Feminism and the question of postmodernity. In C. Caruth and D. Esch (Eds.), *Critical encounters: Reference and responsibility in deconstructive writing* (pp. 213-232). New Brunswick, NB: Rutgers University Press.
- Caragata, L. (2003). Neoconservative realities: The social and economic marginalization of Canadian women. *International Sociology*, 18(3), 559-580.
- Cohen, P. (1997). *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The will to empower: Democratic citizens and other subjects*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dahlberg, G., Moss, P., & Pence, A. (1999). *Beyond quality in early childhood education and care*. London: Falmer.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and rule in society*. London: Sage.
- Delanty, G. (2000). *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (Eds.). (2002). *Global women: nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan/Owl.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Friedman, S. S. (1998). *Mappings: Feminism and the cultural geographies of encounter*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 87-104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gibbs, J. T. (1996). Triple marginality: The case of young African-Caribbean women in Toronto (Canada) and London (England). *Canadian Social Work Review*, 13(2), 143-157.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1993). *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2002). Post-Racial States. Retrieved July 20, 2006, from

<http://www.janushead.org/5-1/goldberg.cfm>

Grewal, I., & Kaplan, C. (Eds.). (1994). *Scattered hegemonies: Postmodernity and transnational feminist practices*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Grewal, I., & Kaplan, C. (Eds.). (2002). *An introduction to women's studies: Gender in a transnational world*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, culture, difference* (pp. 222-237). London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Hall, S. (1997). Introduction. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 1-12). London: Open University Press and Sage.

hooks, bell. (1984). *Feminist theory from margin to center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Inda, J. X. (2000). Foreign bodies: Migrants, parasites, and the pathological nation. *Discourse: Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, 22(3), 46-62.

Inda, J. X. (2006). *Targeting migrants: Government, technology, and ethics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Isin, E. F., & Wood, P. K. (1999). Cultural citizenship: Consuming identities. In E. F. Isin & P. K. Wood (Eds.), *Citizenship and identity* (pp. 123-152). London: Sage Publications.

Kilbride, K. M. (Ed.). (1997). *Include me too!: Human diversity in early childhood*. Toronto & London: Harcourt Brace Canada.

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal model of minority rights*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lee, J. (in press). Localities and cultural citizenship: Narratives of racialized girls living in, through, and against whiteness. In N. Angeles and P. Gurstein (Eds.), *Engaging civil societies in democratic planning and governance* (working title). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Lee, J. (2002, 24 May). *The intersectionality of race, class and gender in social cohesion: Canaries in a cage: Young racialised minority girls and women*. Canadian Women's Studies Association Annual Conference, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Toronto.

Lee, J., & Lutz, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Situating "race" and racisms in time, space, and theory: Critical essays for activists and scholars*. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002-1039.

Mac Naughton, G. (2005). *Doing Foucault in early childhood: Applying poststructural*

ideas to early childhood. London: Routledge Falmer.

Mahoney, J. (2007, March 14). All immigrants by 2030. *The Globe and Mail*, pp. A 1, A8.

Mahtani, M. (2001). 'I'm a blonde-haired, blue-eyed Black girl': Mapping mobile paradoxical spaces among multiethnic women in Toronto, Canada. In D. Parker & M. Song (Eds.), *Rethinking 'Mixed Race'* (pp. 173-190). London: Pluto Press.

Man, G. (2004). Gender, work and migration: Deskilling Chinese immigrant women in Canada. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27, 135-148.

Mirón, L. F., Inda, J. X., & Aguirre, J. A. K. (1998). Transnational migrants, cultural citizenship, and the politics of language in California. *Educational Policy*, 12(6), 659-681.

OECD. (2003). Early Childhood Education and Care Policy: Canada Country Note. OECD Directorate for Education. Retrieved June 22, 2006, from <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/42/34/33850725.pdf>

Ong, A. (1999). Introduction. Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality. In A. Ong (Ed.), *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality* (pp. 1-26). Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Ong, A. (2003). *Buddha is hiding: Refugees, citizenship, the new America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ong, A. (2006). *Neoliberalism as exception: Mutations in citizenship and*

sovereignty. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V. (2006a). Rethinking the history of Ontario day nurseries: Loci for intervention, regulation and administration. *Child and Youth Care Forum*, 35(2), 159-182.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V. (2006b). Continuing the rethinking the history of Ontario day nurseries: Loci for intervention, regulation and administration. *Child and Youth Care Forum*, 35(2), 183-204.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., Armstrong de Almeida, A. E., Okada, T., & Thiara, B. (2005, April). *Working with newcomer families and ESL children*. Hand in Hand, Building Connections within Early Childhood Development: A Conference of the Victoria Early Childhood Community Coalition, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., & Armstrong de Almeida, A. E. (2006). Language discourses and ideologies at the heart of early childhood education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9(3), 310-341.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., Bernhard, J. K., & Freire, M. (2001). Struggling to preserve home language: The experiences of Latin American families in the Canadian school system. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(1 & 2), 115-145.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., & McIvor, O. (2005). Negotiating bilingualism in early childhood: A study of migrant families and early childhood practitioners. In V. Pacini-Ketchabaw & A. Pence (Eds.), *Canadian Early Childhood Education: Broadening and Deepening Discussions of Quality*

(pp. 109-126). Ottawa, ON: Canadian Child Care Federation.

Pacini-Ketchabaw, V., White, J., & Armstrong de Almeida, A. E. (2006). Racialization in early childhood: A critical analysis of discourses in policies. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, & Practice: Reconceptualizing Childhood Studies*, 7, 95-113.

Parenas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Popkewitz, T., & Lindblad, S. (2000). Educational governance and social inclusion and exclusion: Some conceptual difficulties and problematics in policy and research. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 21(1), 5-44.

Qureshi, K. (2006). Trans-boundary spaces: Scottish Pakistanis and trans-local/national identities. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9(2), 207-226.

Rattansi, A. (2005). *The dream of the decade*. North Charleston, SC: BookSurge.

Razack, S. (1998). *Looking white people in the eye: Gender, race, and culture in courtrooms and classrooms*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Razack, S. (2002). *Race, space, and the law: Unmapping a white settler society*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Recalde, A. (2002). Recent Latin Americans in Vancouver: Unyielding Diverse Needs versus Insufficient Services. RIIM Working Paper Series, No.

02-19. Vancouver, BC: RIIM. Retrieved June 15, 2006, from http://www.riim.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Salaff, J., & Greve, A. (2004). Can women's social networks migrate? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27, 149-162.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., Blanc, C. S. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48-63.

Siddiqui, H. (2004). Lecture delivered for The Annual Asian Heritage Month Lecture presented in association with Innis College, University of Toronto the Centre for South Asian Studies and the Hong Kong University Alumni Association of Ontario. May 18, 2004. Retrieved June 22, 2006, from <http://ceris.metropolis.net/virtual%20library/community/siddiqui.htm>

Statistics Canada. (2005). Visible minority population, by age group (2001 Census). Retrieved June 21, 2006, from <http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo50a.htm>

Stevenson, E. (Ed.). (2001). *Culture and citizenship*. London: Sage.

Strategic Workshop on Immigrant Women Making Place in Canadian Cities (2002). Policy-Relevant Research on Immigration and Settlement - Relevant for Whom? A Working Document. Retrieved May 10, 2005, from <http://GenderImmigration.inrs-ucs.quebec.ca>. [Workshop members: D.

Rose (coordinator), J. Bernhard, C. Creese, I. Dyck, L. Goldring, A. McLaren, C. Nolin, V. Preston, B. Ray, E. Tastsoglou]

Sudbury, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Global lockdown: Race, gender, and the prison-industrial complex*. New York: Routledge.

Term 'visible minorities' may be discriminatory, UN body warns Canada. (2007, March 8). CBCNews. Retrieved March 19, 2007, from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2007/03/08/canada-minorities.html>

Vandenbroeck, M. (2004). Diverse aspects of diversity: A European perspective. *International Journal of Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood*, 1(2), 27-44.

Ye, J. (2005). Asian immigration to North America reconsidered with special reference to Chinese . Retrieved June 22, 2006, from http://www.riim.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html

Yuval-Davis, N. (2000). Citizenship, territoriality and the gendered construction of difference. In E. F. Isin (Ed.), *Democracy, citizenship and the global city* (pp. 172-188). London and New York: Routledge.

Worley, C. (2005). 'It's not about race. It's about the community': New Labour and 'community cohesion'. *Critical Social Policy*, 25 (4), 483-496.

Table 1
Background of Participants

Code	Level of Education	Birthplace	Time in Canada	Languages	Focal child(ren) age
1	Some university	Taiwan	5 yrs	Mandarin & Taiwanese	3 & 4
2	Some university	China	3 yrs	Mandarin	2 ½
3	Bachelor's degree	China	3 yrs	Mandarin	3 ½
4	Some college	Taiwan	3 yrs	Mandarin	2 ½
5	High School	China	5 yrs	Mandarin & Cantonese	2 & 4
6	Some college	China	9 yrs	Mandarin & Cantonese	5 & 3
7	Some college	China	3 yrs	Mandarin	1 ½
8	Diploma	China	1.5 yrs	Mandarin	4 ½
9	Bachelor's degree	Mexico	3 yrs	Spanish	4 & 1 ½
10	Bachelor's degree	Chile	3 yrs	Spanish	3 ½
11	Bachelor's degree	Mexico	4 yrs	Spanish	3
12	Graduate degree	Mexico	5 yrs	Spanish	2
13	Bachelor's degree	Mexico	10 yrs	Spanish	4 ½
14	Bachelor's degree	Mexico	14 yrs	Spanish	4
15	High School	Colombia	18 yrs	Spanish	7
16	Some college	Uruguay	3 yrs	Spanish	4
17	Grade 10	India	8 months	Punjabi & Hindi	21 mths
18	Graduate degree	India	9 weeks	Punjabi & Hindi	5
19	High School	India	8 yrs	Punjabi & Hindi	5 & 2
20	Diploma	India	8 yrs	Punjabi & Hindi	5 ½ & 4
21	Bachelor's degree	India	3 yrs	Hindi	5
22	Bachelor's degree	India	12 yrs	Punjabi & Hindi	5 ½ & 4 ½
23	Bachelor's degree	India	7-8 yrs	Punjabi & Hindi	3
24	Graduate degree	India	6 weeks	Punjabi & Hindi	2