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DIALECTICS OF EXCLUSION/INCLUSION AND THE NATURALIZATION OF
BONDED LABOUR: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN
CANADIAN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

by

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BES, University of Waterloo, 1999

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Abstract

Dialectics of Exclusion/Inclusion and the Naturalization of bonded labour: Media Representations of Migrant Workers in Canadian Mainstream Media

Master of Arts, 2007

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This research examines the ways in which migrant workers are represented in mainstream Canadian news print press. In particular, representations of domestic workers and farm workers are the focus of analysis. This analysis is helpful in revealing the extent to which Canadian nation-state interests, including neo-liberalism and nationalist multicultural sentiment, are articulated within the discourses of the mainstream newsprint media. Emphasized is how neo-liberalism operates within a nation-state where the dominant discourse of multiculturalism is predominant. Overall this research demonstrates that the acceptance of migrant workers is conditional. This type of acceptance is characterized by their limited existence as economic participants in the Canadian economy, and their especially oppressed experiences as social and political participants. Overall this research demonstrates that within the mass media, as one component in the larger discourses of neo-liberal capitalism and multicultural tolerance, the subjectivity and agency of migrant workers goes hugely unrecognized.

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Introduction

This thesis will examine the ways in which migrant workers are represented in mainstream Canadian news print press. In particular, representations of domestic workers and farm workers will be the focus of analysis. Such an analysis is helpful in revealing the extent to which Canadian nation-state interests, including neo-liberalism and nationalist multicultural sentiment, are articulated by mainstream media. A critical investigation of the ways in which people who come to Canada as migrant workers are ideologically constructed, as well as how the material conditions of their lives are determined, reveals that the production and reproduction of the Canadian nation-state relies on these particularities. The construct of 'Canadianness' is constituted by racially gendered and racially classed processes that result in the exclusion of migrant workers from full participation and membership in the nation-state.

National or modern citizenship is a condition of belonging to the Canadian nation-state that is especially defined by raced, gendered and classed relations. The discourse of national or modern citizenship presents a certain façade that necessitates a critical understanding. Daiva Stasiulis and Abigail Bakan (2003) argue that 'the discourse of modern citizenship...has long been associated with values of freedom, democracy and equality of treatment' (p. 11). Underlying this discourse is the ordering of national citizenship, where the ranks of non-citizenship status are determined by specific markers, such as poverty, as well as racialized inferiority (p. 28). Migrant workers, in particular those who live and work under conditions of unfreedom, are made to occupy this category of non-citizenship.

The entrance, dismissal and exit of documented migrant workers are regulated under the federal government's Foreign Worker Program. Under this program there are various categories of workers. As Nandita Sharma (2001) points out, the program 'is heterogeneous in nature' (p. 423). One way that workers are differentiated within the program is whether they are placed in conditions of free or unfree labour. Those migrant workers who work under conditions of free labour are more likely to be recruited for professional and technical occupations (e.g. entrepreneurs, managers, technical or scientific workers and sports and recreational professionals) or are admitted under the

category of artistic, literary and performing arts and related professions (Bolaria, 1992: 214 and Sharma, 2001: 423). Nandita Sharma's (2006) research demonstrates that the majority of workers who are admitted under the Foreign Worker Program work in non-professional occupational categories. Non-professional categories include work in the service¹, farming, fabricating, assembly, and repair sectors. Two sector specific programs that fall under the foreign worker policy are the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), established in 1967, and the Live-In Caregivers program (LCP), established in 1992 (but initially implemented as the Foreign Domestic Movement in 1981)².

In considering how unfree migrant work relations constitute racially classed and gendered processes particular trends are significant. First, of those workers who come to work in professional categories of employment under the Foreign Worker Program the majority are from economically advanced countries³. In contrast, those who end up working in what are considered non-professionals categories of labour predominantly come from less economically advanced countries. The non-professional occupations are also amongst 'the lowest paying jobs with the poorest documented working conditions' in which women are predominantly hired (Sharma, 2006: 126).

Sharma (2006) demonstrates how gendered divisions of labour are reinforced through migrant work in Canada. In the service sector, which constitutes the sector into

¹ The service sector includes domestic live-in work.

² While the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM), and later the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP) were established in 1981 and 1992, respectively, temporary employment authorizations for domestic workers were in place since 1973. (Prior to that, however, the Domestic Worker Program, established in 1955, accepted women from the Caribbean under specific conditions as landed immigrants. One of the conditions included that these women had to remain employed as domestic workers for one year prior to being able to choose other types of work.) The FDM program was established when legislation changed, which allowed migrant domestic workers to apply for permanent resident status after two years of continuous work in Canada. However, as Sedef Arat-Koç (1992) articulates, the FDM continued to enforce the same restrictions and conditions during the two year period, which were in place from 1973 (p. 230). Similarly the establishment of the LCP, which replaced the FDM, was in reality only an apparent liberalization. In reality, while the upgrading requirements for obtaining landed status were removed, the eligibility criteria for entry of migrant domestic workers into Canada became more restrictive (Stasiulus and Bakan, 2003: 50).

³ Sharma (2006) provides statistics from 1973 and 1993 that demonstrate the portion of individuals in professional categories who came from economically advanced countries. She explains that in 1973, 89 percent of all professionals entering Canada as migrant workers were from economically advanced countries (p. 126). In 1993, 78 percent of all professionals were from economically advanced countries (p. 126). Sharma indicates that the calculation of such data was not possible for the years following 1994 (p. 126).

which most unfree migrant workers are recruited, women are overrepresented. Sharma notes that in 1991⁴, the statistics collected by the government on temporary employment authorizations (i.e. work permits for unfree migrant labour) indicate that women make up 89 percent of workers in the service sector (p. 125). Meanwhile men are extremely overrepresented professional categories of work for which temporary employment authorizations are provided. Sharma writes: ‘men are strongly overrepresented in the natural sciences, engineering, and mathematics (89 per cent), managerial (83 per cent), and fabricating and repair (93 per cent) sectors’ (p. 125, original reference not included). While the general trends in these statistics are not unique to migrant workers, and thus demonstrate how the unfree migrant labour is embedded within the existing gendered division of labour in Canada, they also suggest how migrant workers from less economically advanced countries are racially classed and gendered in particular ways.

Ghassan Hage (1998) offers an analysis of how racialized individuals from less economically advanced countries are perceived within white settler colonial states. Hage (1998) argues that these individuals are perceived as ‘Third World looking’. Such a perception is undoubtedly one that is racially classed. As Hage explains the term “Third World looking people...sums up best the way the dominant Whites classify those ‘ethnics’ with very low national capital and who are invariably constructed as a ‘problem’ of some worth within all White-dominated societies” (p. 59). In the case of migrant workers, their classed positioning is also materially determined by their low economic capital.

The placement of workers from less economically advanced countries in unfree migrant working conditions reinforces the ideology that the ‘Third World looking other’ originates from a pre-capitalist and pre-modern existence, and is hence inherently destined for ‘unskilled’, low-paying, non-professional and even unfree work (see Sharma, 2006: 65-66). Furthermore, embedded in this perception of the ‘Third World other’ are also gendered ideological constructs. For example, the ‘Third World woman’ is more likely imagined in particular fields of work, such as domestic, cleaning, or garment manufacturing work, while farm or construction work is more expected of ‘Third World

⁴ 1991 was the last year in which the government collected statistics for employment authorizations issued by broad occupational sectors and sex (Sharma, 2006: 125).

men'. These perceptions will be explored more in detail in the following chapters. Overall, the material realities and ideological constructs are dialectically connected, and result in racially gendered and classed relations of production.

In relations of unfree labour the worker is limited in the ways in which she/he may sell her/his labour-power (Miles, 1987: 32-33). In Canada the federal policy that regulates migrant work requires that people arrange work prior to arrival. Once in Canada workers cannot change the conditions of their employment authorization unless they receive prior written permission from an immigration officer, nor are they eligible to apply for permanent residency. If a worker disobeys the document they are subject to deportation (Sharma, 2006: 104). Therefore workers are 'unfree' since they do not have the ability to change employment or the conditions of their employment while in Canada, and risk deportation if they refuse their employer's demands for labour (Basok, 2002: 4).

At the same time unfreedom is characterized by the reality that migrant workers are not placed within the ranks of citizen-members of the nation. While migrant workers contribute economically to the nation-state, they do not have access to those legal and socio-political and greater economic rights afforded to citizen members of the nation-state. Unfree migrant workers are economically included within the nation-state (though marginally) and valued for the cheap labour they provide to the national economy, on a socio-political level, yet they remain excluded (Hage, 1998: 135). In Canada migrant workers, with the exception of domestic workers who must complete two years of continuous work before being eligible to apply for landed immigrant status, are not provided with the legal right of permanent settlement. Socio-political and further economic membership is also excluded by way of barring migrant workers from: participating in electoral processes; the right to family formation and family reunification; as well as the right to many social, educational and welfare services (Satzewich, 1991: 39). Even in cases where unfree migrant workers can access such services as provincial health care or worker's safety insurance the power relations between workers and their employers make entitlement to legal rights under any legislation difficult to obtain (Basok, 2002: 59-60). As Sharma (2001) argues, unfree migrant workers 'are placed in a highly vulnerable situation in regards to speaking out for their rights...due to the fact that if either the employer or the state finds the worker

unsuitable, s/he is subject to deportation' (p. 426, original reference not included). It is the very exclusion of migrant workers from full access to socio-political and economic membership that perpetuates their conditions of unfreedom. In other words, by providing migrant workers with access to permanent residence and welfare services, or alternatives to selling their labour under unfree conditions, 'they would no longer be *migrant workers*' (Sharma, 2001: 416, original emphasis).

There are particular power relations and subjectivities that are required for unfree migrant work to be maintained. There is the intervention of the nation-state on behalf of increasingly neo-liberal capitalist interests. In turn, there is the relation between the national citizen subject who employs the unfree migrant worker, which upholds the divide between the belonging free members and non-belonging unfree 'Others'. At the same time, there are those other citizen subjects who are complicit in upholding the divide between the free and unfree as a result of their acceptance of unfree migrant labour conditions. Journalists who write stories on migrant labour, for example, would be implicated in this last category if, in their news stories, they are not critical in how they present dominant power relations that exist between migrant workers, their citizen-employers and the nation-state. Perhaps the most significant source of these relations, however, is the nation-state, as it creates and relies upon regulations of unfreedom to fulfill particular aspects of the Canadian economy.

Sharma (2006) argues that the nation-state is an integral stakeholder in the regulation of labour relations, particularly in terms of how it controls the movement of people across and their mobility once within its borders (p. 49). Examining issues such as unfree migrant labour through an understanding of the nation in relation to the state, allows for a more critical analysis of how regulations are practiced in society. Sharma explains how regulations are embedded within a particular social organization of the nation, in which national subjects are socialized to uncritically accept processes that categorize racially classed and gendered individuals as unfree migrant workers who are marginally included and largely excluded (p. 54). National subjectivity thus constitutes entitlement to freedom without a critical understanding of the terms upon which this freedom is built.

Sharma (2001) provides an historical analysis of particular quantitative data that demonstrates the shift over the years between the proportion of those 'destined' to the labour market in Canada as permanent residents versus non-citizen migrant workers over the period between 1973 and 1993. Her analysis is useful in exploring the grounds for an increasing reliance on unfree migrant labour in Canada. Sharma reveals that in 1973, 57 percent of those categorized "as workers 'destined' to enter the 'Canadian' workforce" entered the country with permanent resident status (p. 424). By 1993, 30 percent of the total number of people who entered Canada destined for the workforce received permanent resident status while 70 entered as migrant workers on temporary employment authorizations (p. 424). Sharma concludes that these changes reflect the government's objective of strengthening Canada's market system by attracting capital investment through a particular organization of the national labour market. In other words this is part of a 'cheap labour strategy' that would not only provide citizen-employers with access to cheap labour, but also allow the government to admit workers without the cost of certain provisions provided to permanent residents and citizen-members (p. 427). Sharma writes that the operation of the Foreign Worker Program⁵:

Enables those in the Canadian government to produce a group of non-citizens who, because of their classification as 'non-immigrants,' can legally be exempted from laws on minimum employment standards, collective bargaining and the provision of social services and programs such as unemployment insurance, social assistance, old-age pensions, etc. (P. 427).

The thrust for an increasing reliance on unfree migrant workers is therefore demonstrated by neo-liberal capitalist tendencies. Notable is that this shift exists within the broader context of a globalized (re)structuring of markets which takes off from colonial relations through which the divide between economically advanced countries, the global North, and less economically advanced countries, the global South, developed. Conditions of

⁵ Sharma (2001 & 2006) uses the term 'Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program' (NIEAP) to describe the category of unfree migrant work under the Foreign Worker Program. This term was also used prior to the publication of Sharma's research by B. Singh Bolaria (1992). The term allows for a critical identification of the exclusion of migrant workers from access to immigrant status, as well as distinguishes the category of unfree migrant work from free forms of labour for which potential immigrants are recruited.

poverty and underdevelopment in less economically advanced countries are means for justification by the Canadian nation-state in the recruitment of unfree migrant workers.

Stasiulus and Bakan (2003) offer a critical analysis with a particular focus on conditions that have led to the recruitment of domestic migrant workers to Canada from the Caribbean and the Philippines. They write:

The conditions of underdevelopment within the English Caribbean and the Philippines are central to the historic role of these regions as the major Third World source areas for the recruitment of foreign domestics in Canada. How Canadian domestic worker policy has been constructed to take advantage of these conditions, and has adapted its regulations accordingly, is critical to situating Canada's foreign domestic policy in the context of global restructuring. (P. 53).

Stasiulis and Bakan's research illustrates how the Canadian nation-state is implicated in the creation of unfree conditions of labour through the importation of migrant domestic labour from less economically advanced countries. Underlying these conditions are neo-liberal policies, such as structural adjustment programs that contribute to the high rates of unemployment and reinforce increasing state debt in sending countries.

Similarly, the exportation of labour for on-farm work from Mexico is motivated by comparable neo-liberal policies in the sending country. As Tanya Basok (2002) points out, 'the debt crisis of 1982' put an end to policies which subsidized farmers in Mexico. Some of the structural adjustment policies that ensued included cutting spending on social services such as health care, housing and education, as well as devaluation of the Mexican currency to discourage imports and encourage exports. (P. 94).

Both the receiving and sending nation-states are thus implicated in the reinforcement of unfree relations of production through the implementation of neo-liberal policies. In the case of domestic workers, where the receiving state retracts spending on childcare, hospitals, as well as other short and longer term care facilities, citizens are increasingly faced with the possibility of employing labour for live-in childcare and/or elderly care. In the case of farmworkers, farm owners and/or managers must deal with 'the Canadian state's cheap food policy' (Satzewich, 1991: 67). John Shields (1988) provides a critical analysis of this policy. He argues that food prices in Canada are

relatively low (compared to those in other countries) as a result of low tariffs on imported agricultural products. As a result, this 'has made it very attractive' to import cheap important products that end up competing with domestic goods (p. 97). This means that Canadian growers must compete with farmers producing the same types of produce, but in climates that allow for longer growing seasons, and in some cases where labour, land and other input costs are lower (Satzewich, 1991: 67).

Neo-liberalism is often described as a '*laissez-faire* economic doctrine' (McBride and Shields, 1997: 23). The turn to neo-liberalism is marked by an end to the welfare state, and has thus resulted in permanent cuts to social service spending. Neo-liberal government intervention translate to pro-business policies, such as tax cuts for businesses, reducing regulations to support cost reductions in production, and providing more tax credits for business investments (p. 25). At the same time neo-liberalism is characterized by 'values of individualism and liberty' (p. 29). Overall neo-liberalism encourages a depoliticization of the economy (p. 30). The public sphere, and hence public interests are devalued, leading to a clear separation between the public and private sphere. Public policies geared towards supporting the private sphere are eliminated, leaving the maintenance of the home and other matters perceived to fall under the private sphere, including health, education and general welfare, up to the individual. Meanwhile, neo-conservative ideologies inform and reinforce neo-liberalism by placing the responsibility of social reproduction on women (p. 31). The responsibility of social reproduction becomes privatized, and the female individual is expected to fulfill such responsibility in the privacy of her home without any social support. The ways in which racially gendered and classed processes, under the system of modern citizenship, on social reproduction, contribute to further dimensions of neo-liberalism.

Neo-liberal policies and discourses have effectively justified processes that result in (re)organizations of citizenship on a global level, as well as within the nation-state. Stasiulus and Bakan (2003) point out that:

The international reorganization of productive and reproductive labour spurred by neo-liberal policies and globalization, has sharpened the 'global citizenship divide' between citizens in the North, or First World, and poor migrants from the South, or Third World. (P. 13).

At the same time, the predominant neo-liberal capitalist discourse conceals the relations that constitute racially classed and gendered divisions both globally and nationally. Instead, the discourse narrowly focuses on the ‘ideal type [of] subjectivity expected of citizens in liberal democratic states’ (Stasiulus and Bakan, 2003: 22). In turn, state discourse urges citizens to be diligent in acquiring a variety of skills, in being multifaceted, in practicing self-discipline, entrepreneurship, and resilient in ‘riding the roller coaster vagaries of business cycles, technological changes, and restructuring of national and local economies’ (Stasiulus and Bakan, 2003: 22). This discourse necessarily enforces a perceived detachment from systemic oppressions, so that when a citizen-subject hires a non-citizen migrant worker, for example, the history and context of that type of relationship remains concealed.

Sharma (2006) argues that migrant workers, particularly those who are placed in unfree conditions of labour, are classified as non-members, as *foreigners*, of Canadian society. She explains that the making of the ‘foreign’ worker in Canada enables the construction of the idealized national subject – both ideologically and materially. This subject is made to belong to Canadian society in a number of ways. Sharma’s analysis is a result of her investigation of Canadian parliamentary discourse, (based on transcripts from the Hansard) between the years 1969 and 1973. She writes:

The existence of foreigners, especially within, can even be said to be *necessary* for the reproduction of nationalized forms of consciousness and therefore of the existence of national state forms of ruling: as the foreigner is made, so too is the national subject. (P. 59, original emphasis).

The most pervasive and all-encompassing ideological strategy being the creation and maintenance of Whiteness, under which ‘certain ideas regarding skin color, history, language (English/French), and other cultural signifiers’ (Bannerji, 2000:64) are necessary.

Especially significant to both the ideological and material conditions of Whiteness is freedom – freedom of choice, movement and conditions of labour. *Unfreedom* is thus attributed to those who are made to ‘not-belong’. This freedom is especially accessible under citizenship status in the modern nation-state (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003: 11).

A critical examination of how migrant workers are represented in mainstream mass media, particularly in relation to their employers and the programs under which they migrate and work in Canada, enables for an in-depth evaluation of how relevant the making of the *foreign* worker is in more popular discourses. At the same time, such an analysis provides a case from which to assess the degree of autonomy of the mass media, the nation-state and capitalist, neo-liberal interests in relation to each other.

Stuart Hall (1977) argues that the mass media has come to occupy a central role in the determination of the 'cultural and ideological sphere' (p. 340). Applying Antonio Gramsci's theory on the state and hegemony to the mass media, Hall contends that the mass media does have a 'relative autonomy' from ruling-class interests and power. He explains this in two ways. First there is the tendency of the mass media to be "enshrined in the operational principles of ... 'objectivity', 'neutrality', 'impartiality' and 'balance'" (p. 345). Second, given that the ruling class is not a unified group and must contend with various internal contradictions, as well as contradictions of capitalism, there is a constant struggle for dominance over social thought and practice. More specifically, in democratically organized societies, the media are neither controlled and organized by the state, nor are they directly controlled by a "section of the 'ruling class' speaking in its own voice...no major interest of Capital can exercise its access to the channels of communication without some 'counter-veiling' voice" (pp. 342-3). Thus the struggle for dominance of the ruling class is fought not only through institutions such as the state, but also through the mass media.

Nicholas Garnham (1990), on the other hand, argues that there is a tendency of the mass media to reproduce ruling class ideologies in the production of media. He points out two tendencies. First he argues, 'there is a structural tendency' for people to 'reproduce ruling class ideology' (p. 33). Second, and very much related, he notes the material reality of cultural producers (journalists in this case) in maintaining employment. In other words there is a concrete pressure that journalists experience from their superiors to maintain a perspective that is aligned with ruling class ideologies, including commonsensical notions of Canadianness.

The analysis of this research will attempt to address these perspectives. At the same time, an attempt to provide some clarity to the positionings of particular groups in

relation to each other will also be made. The following questions point to this attempt: What role do reporters play in relation to the representation of migrant workers?; Whose interests are they most accurately communicating to the readership?; and How do these interests compare and contrast to the interests of both the state as well as the citizen-employers of these workers? These questions, which will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter, suggest the complexity of the positionings of reporters, employers and workers in relation to the Canadian nation-state, as well as the nation-state from which migrant workers migrate. Overall this thesis is organized to identify the extent to which the mass media represents the nationalist interests of the state as well as class interests of citizen-employers in relation to unfree migrant workers. Chapter One, entitled ‘The Canadian Media Landscape; Contextualizing conditions of representation and belonging’, outlines the theoretical framework for this research. Examined are frameworks that articulate how meanings are produced, negotiated and circulated within and amongst different stakeholders, namely the media and the nation-state. A particular focus is provided on how ‘racial possibilities’ are drawn upon by the nation-state, and in turn, the media, in representing migrant workers. The methodology applied in this research is also discussed here.

Chapter Two, entitled ‘Strategies of containment: nationalist practice and the representation of migrant workers in newsprint media’, examines how the representation of migrant domestic workers and farm workers in mainstream newsprint media constitutes nationalist practices of containment. Hage’s (1998) research, which investigates how the officially multicultural nationalist space is imagined by dominant citizen figures within it, plays an especially critical role in my analysis in this chapter.

Chapter Three, entitled “Conditional ‘love’: the emotionality of newsprint media in the coverage of migrant workers”, considers media texts as emotionally expressive. Broadly this chapter addresses how the emotionality of texts can be read in relation to the production and re-production of nationalist sentiment. Furthermore, the relation between emotion and the constructions of both the ‘member citizen’ of the Canadian multicultural nation-state and the ‘non-member’ is considered. More specifically, I seek to analyze the discursive production of the types of emotions migrant workers are allowed or not allowed to express publicly, particularly in relation to the emotional expressions of their

citizen-employers. This analysis is included because it offers a new perspective in the critical understanding of the cultural and political representations of migrant workers in the Canadian context. At the same time it reveals the extent to which emotions are a significant component in the construction of a national 'we', of a nationalist collective sentiment that brings the 'we' closer together through the exclusion of others.

The Conclusion seeks to raise questions on how the media can more effectively represent the subjectivities and social justice movements of migrant domestic workers and farm workers. In doing so, it also addresses ways in which this type of research may be used towards such a vision.

With this research I do not claim to address the issues faced by migrant domestic workers and farm workers as they themselves would. In this sense, while I take a critical perspective on the power relations that inform the conditions of migrant workers, I also recognize my access to citizenship status, as well as the other privileges that come with it. My positioning in relation to migrant workers is different. At the same time, as a racialized individual, I understand the precarious nature of this status, thinking in particular to my own family's history of internment during World War II, as well as to the more recent persecution and detainment of members of racialized communities who have been targeted under supposed 'anti-terrorist' measures. Thus, while being able to access certain entitlements not afforded to migrant workers I am also personally affected and sensitive to the ways in which my relation to these entitlements may change. At the same time, I do recognize the past and present efforts by migrant workers in mobilizing and resisting the oppressive conditions they experience. Thus I aim not to presume that my research acts as an authoritative voice for the movements led by migrant workers. That being said, in my research I did not consult with migrant workers. I do hope, however, that my analysis is in some way an act of solidarity with these workers. These factors considered, it is through this research that I aim to challenge notions that are part of a commonsensical understanding of a nation-state that in which the pervasiveness of White Supremacist, neo-liberal capitalist power violently exploits the lives of racially gendered and classed individuals.

As such the objective of this research is to reveal, through a critical analysis, some of the ways that migrant domestic workers and farm workers are represented in the

mainstream media, specifically within the Canadian context. Other research that demonstrates (see Bauder, 2005; Henry and Tator, 2002; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Jiwani, 2005; Mirchandani and Tastsoglou, 2000) how particular groups are racialized in the media, mainly within the dominant discourse of tolerance. This suggests that migrant workers may be tolerated, per se, that is perceived as acceptable within the nation-state, but only under specific conditions. This research will seek to examine whether this type of representation is predominant within the media texts analyzed.

Chapter One – The Canadian Media Landscape; Contextualizing conditions of representation and belonging

This study involves thinking critically about the practices of cultural producers specifically in relation to the representation of migrant domestic workers and farm workers in mainstream news print media. These practices are also considered in their relation to citizen-employers of migrant workers, as well as other figures, including the nation-state, who are frequently represented, as well as having the ability to self-present themselves in the media. How are these practices configured and re-configured? What racially classed and gendered positionings are drawn upon and played out? At the same time, what are the predominant tendencies of those in power? What is required for particular representations of migrant workers? In order to address these questions, examined will be the ways in which news reporters and those who are most often sought for quotations (that is citizen-employers and government officials) are enabled to represent migrant workers, whose access to media production is limited. In other words, what needs to be addressed is how the ability to self-present affects the representation of others.

Modes of production

At this point a theoretical understanding of the broader context in which news is produced is necessary. Specifically worth discussing are frameworks that help to reveal the ways in which the news is simultaneously a cultural and economic product. Raymond Williams's (1973) conceptualization of base and superstructure begins to address this notion. A central contention of Williams's thesis is that the base and superstructure do not constitute 'a definite and fixed spatial relationship' whereby each component is clearly distinct from the other (p. 3). Instead he calls for a reevaluation of 'the base' and 'the superstructure' whereby the boundary becomes less certain. His analysis brings 'the base' closer to a more widely accepted notion of 'the superstructure' by appealing for an understanding of the former that integrates relations that are not only economic in character, but also those that are social, and in turn, cultural. He writes:

We have to revalue 'determination' towards the setting of limits and the exertion of pressure, and away from a predicted, prefigured and controlled content. We have to revalue 'superstructure' towards a related range of cultural practices, and away from a reflected, reproduced or specifically dependent content. And, critically, we have to revalue 'the base' away from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction, and towards the specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations, and therefore always in a state of dynamic process. (P. 6).

Williams is therefore primarily concerned with an understanding of the processes through which ruling class ideas, meanings and values are produced, circulated and re-articulated throughout economic and societal relations, rather than perceiving of a compartmentalized system in which relations of production are confined to 'the base', and the resulting ideas and practices are directly determined, conclusive and superstructural.

Williams' (1973) theoretical framework addresses how the practices of cultural producers, such as news reporters and editors, are embedded within economic and social relations. At the same time, these practices, as Williams asserts, are not informed by a singular hegemony, but a multiplicity of hegemonies exist that are 'continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token...they can be continually challenged in and in certain respects modified' (p. 8). Hall (1977) argues that the production of media, and in turn social knowledge, involves a process of selection between *preferred* and *excluded* meanings and interpretations. Similar to Williams's (1973) conceptualization of base and superstructure, Hall argues that the line between preferred and excluded meanings is "ceaselessly drawn and redrawn, defended and negotiated: indeed, the 'site and stake' of struggle" (p. 341). There are various ways that media production is implicated as a domain of struggle for social knowledge, between preferred and excluded meanings.

In terms of the broader structure of media production, different perspectives held by various newspapers, as well as editors and reporters present a struggle of various meanings across the sector. Certain newspapers, for example, may be more influenced

by the weight of an affiliated television network, which is increasingly the case with large Canadian media conglomerates. These newspapers are more likely biased by the commercial pole. Hence journalists are under more pressure of such economic constraints as 'audience ratings', profitability and high circulation (Bourdieu, 2005: 42-43). Conglomeration of media sources also presents the struggle between coverage on centralized versus more local issues. As newspaper chains are bought up by larger conglomerates, news coverage tends to become more centralized as a result of lay-offs and closure of more local press operations. At the same time, particular newspapers will generally take a certain political stance, whether more towards the interests of the conservative right (e.g. the *National Post*), center or right of center (e.g. *Globe and Mail*) or take more of a left of center perspective (e.g. the *Toronto Star*) (see Jiwani, 2005: 51; and Tator and Henry, 2002: 93, 111 & 239).

Pierre Bourdieu (2005) offers an important conceptual framework from which to analyze the struggle and negotiation of preferred and excluded meanings, both within and outside the mass media. He argues that there are various 'fields' that operate within the larger structures of society. A field for Bourdieu is an invisible structure within society that has a certain level autonomy from, but also interacts with, other fields. For example, Bourdieu discusses the interactions between the journalistic field and the political field. Fields are constituted by 'a field of forces' and agents who occupy particular positions within these forces (p. 30). The positions of agents within fields are to an extent pre-determined, as well as acted upon in ways that may conserve or transform the overall 'structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field' (p. 30). In other words, agents are 'partially preconstained' within a field, 'but with a margin of freedom' (p. 30). At the same time, however, the amount of freedom or autonomy an agent might have within a field is also determined by her position in relation to those in power within the field. There are different degrees of autonomy that agents have depending on her position within the assumed hierarchy. Bourdieu's conceptualization is also applicable to the autonomy, or degree thereof, of national subjects within the nation-state.

Negotiated meanings

In determining their positioning within a field, agents must negotiate between various meanings, between different preferred meanings, between preferred meanings and excluded meanings, and/or between different excluded meanings. In the journalistic field there is an increasing tendency for the expression of commercially popular perspectives that result in higher audience ratings than for those which are less popular, and hence less profitable. Within each field there are particular struggles for the legitimacy of certain meanings over others. As Bourdieu (2005) explains, ‘the struggles for the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence are struggles for symbolic royalty’ (p. 38). Bourdieu uses the example of a key struggle within a political field in France. He points out that the *Front national*, a right leaning political party in France, historically has imposed upon its agents a political struggle informed by the ideological opposition between ‘citizens’ and ‘foreigners’. Bourdieu argues that such an opposition has come to replace the once more dominant “opposition between ‘rich’ and ‘poor’” (p. 39). What happens when this struggle spills into other fields, such as that of media production or journalism? The interactions between different fields are another site of negotiation amongst preferred and excluded meanings. At the same time, the character of these interactions indicate the extent to which one field is autonomous from another.

Similar to the specific political field of the *Front national*, perhaps most relevant struggle in the representation of unfree migrant workers in Canada occur within the negotiation of meaning of nationalism and national membership within an officially multicultural and increasingly neo-liberal nation-state.

Sharma’s (2006) research includes a critical analysis of the ways in which migrant workers were constructed through parliamentary discourse between 1969 and 1973, the initial period of development of the federal government’s temporary employment authorization program. Sharma’s findings indicate that unfree migrant workers were constructed both legally and socially as ‘foreign’, in other words not belonging to Canadian society. Workers were also conceptualized as flexible, easily disposable and competitive. In other words, migrant workers were categorized in such a way that did not provide them with access to certain rights and entitlements (e.g. bargaining rights and social programs) afforded to Canadian workers, thus making them less expensive (p. 19).

These discourses were naturalized, and thus depoliticized, resulting in an unquestioned acceptance, and perhaps general ignorance and invisibility, of the conditions of these workers (pp. 76-7). They were discourses which were heavily implicated within Canada's involvement in the neo-liberal globalization of the national economy. A central tendency within the process of globalization was legitimized through nationalist ideological practices, which problematized 'foreign workers in other countries' (p. 79). 'Foreign' workers were increasingly made to be the cause of insecure working conditions in Canada, in the re-production of Canada as a White nation-state, effectively masking the actual social relations of capitalism (pp. 102-3). Such a construction ensured the organization of a subordinate workforce from which the nation-state could draw upon for precarious and bonded labour conditions.

Sharma's (2006) analysis reveals a particular struggle in the construct of migrant workers. This struggle has occurred amidst neo-liberal policies that have (re)organized labour markets so that they rely increasingly on precarious labour, which is less costly for both the employer and the nation-state. Sharma reveals that the categorization and organization of people as migrant workers has been legitimized within 'the nexus of the simultaneous production of Canada as a tolerant society *and* the representation of non-Whites as a *foreign* threat that legitimacy for categorizing people as migrant workers was organized' (p. 147, original emphases). The discourse of 'tolerance' effectively suggests an inclusive nation-state, but in reality does not challenge the power relations that sustain Whiteness and White supremacy. Thus the interests and concerns of White national subjects remain 'central and their supposed natural right to make decisions for the nation remain unquestioned' (p. 95). Hage (1998) argues that tolerance is commensurate with a conditional acceptance of the subordinated, stranger other (p. 89). The setting of particular criteria, which may shift back and forth over time, is an act to which the dominant subject is enabled. The construct of migrant workers is therefore constituted by a negotiation between particular terms of reference – predominantly tolerance and exclusion.

The examination of dominant discourses, as well as the negotiations between them, helps to understand the broader context in which news is produced. At this point I will provide a brief discussion of the socio-economic organization of the mass media in

Canada in order to provide a more relevant basis for the understanding of conditions in which journalists operate. In short, this will help clarify the field of journalism in this process.

The Canadian mass media environment

If we consider that the mainstream media is increasingly becoming concentrated amongst fewer conglomerates, and that the ownership of these conglomerates constitutes a particular set of the ruling class that is aligned with conservative (pro-capitalist) ideologies, we can presume certain tendencies in terms of the production of news. What are the material conditions within the Canadian context that underlie this presumption?

In North America and Western Europe a decisive shift in ownership of mass media has occurred over the past seventy years. There have been two main trends, first the concentration of corporations within a similar sector, that is a horizontal shift, and secondly the conglomeration through diversification, constituting a vertical shift.⁶ (Murdock and Golding, 1977).

Looking over just the past thirty or so years, it becomes evident that the consolidation process has been active in Canada. Dallas Smythe (1981) points out that in 1970 'only five Canadian communities had competitive daily newspapers' (this was down from 121 in 1900). Meanwhile two-thirds of the country's '116 daily newspapers were controlled or partially owned by 12 ownership groups', meaning that the three largest chains, which included Thompson, Southam and F.P., controlled 45 percent of total daily newspaper circulation in Canada, this is compared to 25 percent in 1958 (p. 108). By 1997 the three largest chains, including Southam-Hollinger, Thomson and the Toronto *Sun* controlled 66 percent of circulation, with Southam-Hollinger controlling 43 percent on its own (Winter, 1997: xii).

More recently the consolidation has occurred across different media sectors. In 2000 Canwest, which also consists of an international and Canadian television networks, radio stations, and other specialty and digital service companies, acquired Hollinger (previously Southam-Hollinger). Bell Canada (now Bell Globemedia), a

⁶ In the first case one corporation may own a chain of newspapers across a particular region or country. In the second case a conglomerate might own the means to the production and distribution of newspapers, magazines, television programming, films and music.

telecommunications company, launched internet (Sympatico) and television services (Express Vu) in 1994 and 1995, respectively, and in 2002 acquired television network CTV and the *Globe and Mail* newspaper. In December 2005, the Torstar newspaper chain, became a 20 percent shareholder of Bell Globemedia. Over the past several years Quebecor has expanded its operations, and now owns Videotron, a leading cable television and internet service provider in Canada, the Sun Media newspaper chain, television network TVA, Archambault book, music and video stores, book publishing companies, a magazine publishing company, VideoTelecom, a telecommunications company and a chain of DVD and VHS rental stores. In May 2007 it was announced that Quebecor would purchase Osprey Media through the conglomerations of Osprey Media's owner Osprey Media Income Fund (Quebecor, 2007). All of the newspapers reviewed in this study were affiliated with these major Canadian media conglomerates. A list of specific newspapers analyzed, as well as a discussion of how these newspapers were selected is provided below under 'Methodology'.

Some of the implications of an accelerated and conglomerated mass media sector have been the decrease in local news coverage, the laying off of workers and an increased use of freelance journalists. As Dwayne Winseck (2002) points out, Quebecor instituted major cuts in its television, newspaper, cable and internet operations as a result of its conglomeration activities. Between these operations 2,700 people were laid off in 2000 (pp. 708-9). He argues that this has resulted in the de-localization and de-democratization of news media content (p. 802). At the same time the laying off of workers results in both an increasing dependence on multinational news agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press (Wensick, 2002: 795), as well as a surplus labour population that become vulnerable to temporary, contractual employment as freelance reporting, which leads to a weak and divided labour force (Garnham, 1990: 37). As Winter (1997) indicates, freelance journalists are poorly paid, are not provided with benefits and are only paid if their story is published (p. 95-6). These conditions also contribute to a greater pressure for reporters to produce stories that will ensure a certain employment security, and in turn, reflect the ideologies of the owners of the media conglomerates for which they are writing.

Graham Murdock and Peter Golding (1977) point out that owners of mass media conglomerates not only exercise control over the resource allocation, but also ‘constitute an identifiable capitalist class’ having shared common interests (pp. 32-33). Aligned with the conglomeration of mass media corporations is the tendency amongst them to maximize audiences and profits, and in doing so, ‘avoid the unpopular and tendentious...because dissenting and oppositional views do not fit very easily into the prevailing frameworks of imagery and expression, they tend to be excluded’ (p. 38). Similarly Michael Schudson (2000) argues that given the conditions of ownership and concentration of the mass media, it is unrealistic to conceive of the press as a source of counter-capitalist, oppositional, radical ideas and experiences (p. 180). As James Winter (1997) points out, ownership of news media corporations in Canada remain concentrated in the hands of conservative ideologues. Winter argues that while owners would not openly admit that their news media does not reflect their personal views, ‘broadly speaking this is their ultimate goal and it is accomplished in a number of highly effective ways’ (p. xv).

Another condition that must be acknowledged is the hierarchy of positions within a mass media organization, and the practices that constitute these positions. For instance, there are managerial roles, whereby managers are not the owners of the means of production but whose role it is to oversee the work of subordinate workers, such as journalists. To what extent are managers tied to the principles of the owners, particularly in relation to the hiring and firing processes of editors and journalists? Winter (1997) provides empirical evidence of the influence of ownership over hiring practices in certain Canadian newspaper corporations. Accounts are provided from both journalists and owners who argue that people are hired who reflect the views of the ownership. One journalist who worked as an assistant editor for the *Windsor Star*, owned by Southam, stated ‘I think, realistically, people tend to hire or promote people who tend to remind them of themselves...I think publishers hire editors who are like themselves. And editors hire lower level editors who are like them, to some extent, and it’s a nice middle class place, like *The Windsor Star*. So you’re going to get middle class values’ (p. 86). How, are processes of racialization implicated within this field?

A study conducted by Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002) provides critical insight into the racialized, or rather non-racialized, make-up of news reporters in the Canadian media. Overall their research reveals that ‘Canadian journalism is dominated by White people’ (p. 55). Quantitatively, of the forty-one papers surveyed in Henry and Tator’s study, ‘2,620 newsroom professionals (supervisors, reporters, copy editors, and photographers/artists)’ were employed. Only sixty-seven of these employees were racialized or from First Nations communities. Meanwhile, ‘sixteen of the forty-one papers surveyed (39 percent)’ had all-White staffs’. Racialized and First Nations individuals ‘were more likely to be hired as reporters or photographers than as supervisors or copy editors’. Their study also reveals that just over a quarter of the newspapers had a ‘very strong’ commitment to affirmative action practice that would result in the hiring of racialized and First Nations individuals (pp. 56-57). Qualitatively Henry and Tator’s study indicates that racialized and First Nations journalists perceive the challenges they face as structural and organizational, indicating that ‘the colour of my skin’ was one of the main barriers. Respondents stated that they were not hired, given high profile assignment or promotions, as well as perceived as ‘biased’ in the (potential) coverage of stories ‘dealing with ethnoracial issues’. Tator and Henry’s survey also revealed that ‘in several media organizations, a preponderance of journalists of colour were on contracts’ rather than hired on as permanent staff (pp. 61-64). Some of the respondents in Tator and Henry’s study noted the ways in which racially gendered ideologies inform the employment of individuals in particular positions. Tator and Henry’s survey indicates that some respondents alleged,

that there are more Asian women on air – at least in Ontario – because Asian women conform to a sexual stereotype of passive conformity. Asian men, on the other hand, are stereotyped as shifty, unbelievable, authoritarian and aggressive. (P. 66).

Similarly, perceptions of Black men as barbaric were cited as reasons why they are not represented in newscasting positions.

Perhaps one example, though extreme, of how media ownership values are reflected in the content of newspapers is in relation to the *National Post*. Maude Barlow and James Winter (1997) reveal the blatantly racist beliefs of former media baron Conrad

Black and wife Barbara Amiel Black, an influential columnist within the Canadian media landscape. Barlow and Winter quote Black as follows:

Every regional, sexual physical, ethnic, demographic and circumstantial shortcoming has enjoyed an endowed martyrdom...According to my reckoning, about 400% of Canadians now qualify as officially recognized victims. (P. 163).

Also revealed is Amiel's consistent (uncritical) critiques of multiculturalism. She states:

Canada was founded by such West Europeans as the Anglo-Saxons, the French, and the Celts. Its majority institutions and language remained – at last count – English. Its general culture, inasmuch as it resembles anything, clearly resembles an Anglo-Saxon culture more than, say, a Hindu culture. People of other cultures come here to share in it, often because they found it preferable to their own. (Pp. 163-164).

Underlying this statement is Amiel's belief that white Canadians are 'endangered' of becoming extinct, and displaced by 'non-White' people (p. 169). While Conrad Black is no longer in the ownership ranks of a media conglomerate, it is telling that he and his wife held (and likely still hold) these perspectives while in positions of power within the news media sector. This is especially significant as 'the discourses and representations in many newspapers [are] founded on conservative ideologies' which 'reproduce the hegemonic perspectives of their owners' (Henry and Tator, 2002: 7).

Tator and Henry's (2002) analysis of articles from the *National Post* indicates how the views of Black and Amiel were reflected in the paper during the time of Black's ownership of Hollinger. Their study, which examines sixty-one articles (including editorials, columns and feature articles by guest writers) between December 1998 and the end of September 2000, reveals that 'the overwhelming majority of the articles, features, and editorials are opposed to' immigration policies and practices that admit refugees and immigrants into Canada, as well as are 'critical of the values and norms of immigrant and refugees' (p. 111). Tator and Henry, for example, demonstrate the predominant discourses used by the *Post's* Diane Francis, the 'featured columnist on immigration and refugee issues'. They reveal how she frames: most refugee claims as 'bogus'; "refugees as 'illegal' entrants to this country"; and 'good' refugees, such as those from Kosovo, or

‘presumably those from other White countries’ (p. 113).

The types of comments made by Black and Amiel are representative of what Hage (1998) identifies as examples of ‘evil white nationalist’ practice. Evil white nationalism, Hage argues, is the practice of exclusion. Hage’s framework suggests that instead of naming the statements made by Black and Amiel as *racist* expressions (or practices) we should identify them as nationalist as they invoke a sense of a ‘homely imaginary’ of who does and does not belong to the national space (pp. 38-39). This type of practice is more visibly violent and ‘racist’ than that of ‘good white nationalism’, which is aligned with dominant discourses of tolerance. Critical in Hage’s theoretical framework is that evil white nationalism and good white nationalism do not exist in separate realities, but co-exist, and both types of practice must be understood as similarly working towards managing the national space in ways that serve the interests of the ruling classes (p. 77).

What becomes clear is that the production of news by reporters and editors is therefore influenced by the dominant ideologies held by the ruling class of media conglomerate owners. At the same time, however, attention must also be given to the reality that reporters, while they face certain pressures to reproduce the conservative ideologies held by the owners of the corporations for which they work, do also hold a degree of autonomy in terms of the news they produce, and are therefore complicit. As Hall (1977) argues, the media are neither controlled and organized by the state, nor are they directly controlled by a “section of the ‘ruling class’ speaking in its own voice...no major interest of Capital can exercise its access to the channels of communication without some ‘counter-veiling’ voice” (pp. 342-3). While oppositional discourses and meanings are at times drawn upon in the production of mainstream media, this research is mainly concerned with the more dominant tendency of how dominant discourses are drawn upon and reinforced with respect to migrant workers.

Recognizing Whiteness in the Canadian landscape

Within the context of the Canadian nation-state, Whiteness has historically been the cultural, economic and socio-political term of reference for belonging. Its legacy is implicated within colonialist relations both inside and outside of the white settler colonial

context of 'Canada'. Himani Bannerji (2000) offers an analysis that helps to understand the political, ideological and cultural contexts within which Whiteness is constructed in the 'Canadian' context. She explains that those communities who embody both a cultural and political belonging to 'Canada' constitute particular cultural signifiers related to "skin color, history, language (English/French)...all of which may be subsumed under the ideological category 'white'" (p. 64). Hage (1998) argues that Whiteness is neither an essence, nor is it 'an either/or logic', instead it is something that 'can be accumulated (up to a certain point) and people can be said to be more or less White' (p. 20). For Hage, Whiteness constitutes acquisitions of cultural (and in turn national) capital.

In addition to cultural capital, the access to economic capital is another dimension in the ability to align oneself with Whiteness. As Goldberg (2002) suggests, Whiteness is 'deemed definitive and protective of the well-bred national stock, defended against the perceived internal threat of working-class mores, tastelessness, and lack of social standing as much as from foreign invasion' (p. 172). Whiteness thus differentiates along socio-economic *and* cultural lines, and is therefore not a domain accessible to all those considered 'white'. It is through these means of belonging that those who are most aligned with Whiteness hold positions of power over those 'others' who are made to be excluded from this domain.

Unfree migrant workers are especially made to be excluded from the category of Whiteness. Robert Miles (1982) argues that unfree migrant work constitutes relations of production that create particular racialized class positionings. Miles argues that capital has a specific interest in the use of 'race' when it comes to migrant labour. 'Race' becomes subsumed in the justification for the over-exploitation of unfree migrant workers. Racialization has become an integral process in the production of unfree labour relations. This has created particular dimension within the broader class struggle, an unfree 'racialised fraction within the working class' (p. 159). Unfree migrant workers therefore face unique class relations as a result of combined factors. Because these workers largely come from less economically advanced countries, and in turn are perceived as 'Third World looking' by dominant national subjects, within the context of a white settler colonial society, they are both racialized and classed along a global citizenship-type divide. Such a divide, expressed particularly in the international

organization of labour, has been sharpened by neo-liberal policies and globalization (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003: 13). Secondly, their legal exclusion from permanent membership within the receiving nation-state results in particular class relations as a result of barriers to accessing socio-economic services.

When considering these types of power relations how are particular racially gendered and classed representations, which are maintained and reinforced by the nation-state, drawn upon in the production of mainstream media? What are the connections between nation-state interests and the mainstream media?

In order to address these questions, a consideration of theoretical frameworks that examine the relationship between the nation-state and capital is helpful. Hal Draper (1977) provides a necessary theorization of the state in a capitalist society. He contends that the state is neither ruled by the direct interests of the capitalist class, or constituted by unified subjects. Instead, interests of the ruling classes generally subordinate other interests, in turn affecting decisions made by, and directions of, the state. He writes:

The class nature of the state is attested not by the fact that every act is necessarily, equally, and exclusively in the direct interest of the ruling class only, but by the fact that all other interests are regularly *subordinated* to the interests of the ruling class, that the acts of the state are decisively shaped by what the ruling class and its representatives conceive its interests to be, and take place only within the framework of those interests. (P. 262).

We can build on Draper's framework, and draw on analyses discussed earlier, to contend that within the capitalist class are divergent interests and that the state does not represent a homogenous body of interests either. So while the state may generally represent the interests of the ruling class, within the state structure are uneven fields of power relations, contradictions and within each a particular set of national circumstances. (Wayne, 2003: 88).

Yet, we must also be aware of, and sensitive to, the particular tendencies within white-dominated nation-states. David Goldberg (2002) provides the concept of the racial state, in which racially classed and gendered processes have been used to serve capitalist interests. In other words, capitalist states draw 'heavily on ... racial possibilities' (p.

101). Goldberg writes that racial states have regulated the: '(racially ordered and deeply gender-differentiated) labor supply and by policing the gates and terrain of bourgeois access and style, substance and aesthetics, the shapes and roles of families' (p. 101). As a result, access to economic stability and wellbeing is diffuse, as well full socio-political and legal membership.

Mike Wayne (2003) bridges the connections between nation-state interests, within a neo-liberal capitalist context, with mass media production. Wayne argues that we must 'move beyond the neo-liberal fantasy of markets and economic actors operating as if they were autonomous from politics and the state' (p. 94). Instead, in conceptualizing the operations of the state in relation to capital, its role in facilitating trade at a global level, by establishing 'the legal and regulatory framework for free market capitalism' must be recognized. Such mechanisms as the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade in Services are of particular interest to media conglomerates with telecommunications holdings, which include all of the major newspaper chains in Canada. At the same time the state plays a role in creating and implementing national media and cultural policy, as well as establishing regulatory bodies to oversee the daily operations of media industries (Wayne, 2003: 95). As Norman Fairclough (1995) argues, the state does have an interest in controlling media output (Fairclough, 1995: 45). We can understand how nation-state interests are drawn upon when looking at various critical discourse analyses that consider these factors in terms of Canadian mass media content.

Discourses of national belonging – to whom do they belong?

Yasmin Jiwani (2005) analyzes how 'discourses of nationness' – post the events of September 11, 2001 – are drawn upon in the *Globe and Mail*. She argues that the news media are full participants in the production and reproduction of 'myths of the nation' which reinforce the belonging of a homogenous group of people, and the exclusion of racialized others (pp. 50-51, original references not included). Jiwani locates her analysis within the construct of the Canadian nation-state as a 'as a peaceful haven threatened by Others' (p. 51). Integral to this construct is also the notion of Canada as a tolerant nation. Jiwani's analysis focuses specifically on the ways in which

representations of Muslim men and women in Afghanistan are racially gendered. In her analysis she demonstrates how Muslim men are constructed as angry, terrorizing and violent in relation to the women who are seen mainly as passive. She writes: “Muslim men in Afghanistan are portrayed as ‘angry men from the desert,’ but also as being ruthless, devious, and opportunistic’ while the women are portrayed as ‘passive victims who can also be devious and callous’ (p. 63). These constructs are useful, Jiwani argues, for the justification of Canada’s so-called ‘peacekeeping’ efforts in Afghanistan, and in turn reinforce the Canadian nation-state as one that is liberal, tolerant and giving. Again, however, the generosity of the Canadian nation-state is contingent upon the expression and enactment of gratefulness on the part of those who need to be ‘rescued’ – those ‘barbaric’, ‘backwards’ and ‘pre-modern’ ‘Third World looking’ others.

Similarly, research conducted by Kiran Mirchandani and Evangelia Tastsoglou (2000) demonstrates the conditionality of tolerance. Their research, which focuses on the construct of tolerance in eleven Canadian newsprint media sources (including *The Calgary Herald*, *The Financial Post*, *The Financial Times*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Halifax Chronicle Herald*, *Macleans*, *The Montreal Gazette*, *Policy Options*, *The Toronto Star*, *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Winnipeg Free Press*), emphasizes the relations between the Canadian ‘self’ and ‘other’. In particular they argue that the Canadian subject is entitled to determine the limitations of tolerance, as well as the terms through which the ‘self’ and ‘other’ may interact. For example, in one article in the *Globe and Mail* entitled ‘Understanding does not always lead to tolerance’⁷, the author explains that while she is not opposed to the allowance of Sikh turbans in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police force, or to women wearing the hejab, she is opposed to full face veils, which according to her constitute a ‘devaluation of women’ (p. 61). Mirchandani and Tastsoglou’s analysis supports Hage’s (1998) theorization of the ways in which dominant subjects within a multicultural, white settler colonial context perceive themselves as managers of the imagined national space. Hage’s conceptualization of the national subject as manager will be discussed later in this chapter.

Sean Hier and Joshua Greenberg’s (2002) research demonstrates how the collective identity of the Canadian ‘we’ is constructed in relation to the migration of

⁷ Published on January 31 1995, p. A20.

people from China seeking permanent residency in Canada. This type of representation is a clear example of how the media directly participates in the construct of Canadian nationhood. Initially the mainstream media constructed this migration as problematic, and eventually characterized it as a 'crisis'. Their research interrogates how underlying the moral panic that was generated in the mass media in response to Chinese migration is the way in which "Canadians construct and reconstruct their collective national identity – in particular how they designate who is and who is not a true 'Canadian'" (p. 138). While the collective national identity informs the ways in which migrant workers are characterized in the mainstream media, because they are not necessarily seen as potential permanent residents (except in the case of domestic workers who must undergo two years of continuous live-in employment), their construction in the mass media constitutes both unique and similar tendencies from and to those who are admitted with the goal of permanent or more long-term settlement. These tendencies will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Harald Bauder's (2005) offers the most directly relevant findings to this research. Bauder's research is based on a content analysis of Ontario news articles featuring migrant farm workers. Articles examined were published between 1996 and 2002, mainly in local rural and urban Ontario newspapers. Bauder's analysis addresses how migrant farm workers are represented in terms of the cultural landscape of rural Ontario. According to Bauder landscape may be perceived as a cultural image. That is, examining the ways that 'people are situated and represented in [a particular] landscape can reveal ideologies of subordination and exclusion' (p. 43, original reference not included). Overall Bauder's analysis reveals that migrant farm workers are represented and described as foreign elements within a geographical landscape characterized 'by European-Canadians who have farmed the land for generations' (pp. 46-47). He uses the example of the prominent image of bicycle-riding migrant farm workers in relation to tractor and vehicle operating White farmers (p. 47).

Bauder (2005) also identifies three types of dualisms through which migrant workers are represented. He uses the concept of spatial scales to contextualize these dualisms. The dualisms include the distinctions between: workplace and living space; farm space and community space; and Canada and 'homeland' (that is countries from

which migrant farm workers migrate). In the dualism between workplace and living space Bauder argues that while the former is valued, the latter is devalued. That is, while the workplace is valued as a site of economic integrity and generation of wealth for the Ontario agricultural economy, the poor conditions of the living spaces where migrant workers reside during their stay in Canada are minimized. Similarly, in the second dualism, the farm space as a space of economic generation is valued, and represented as a space in which migrant farm workers' labour is desired and irreplaceable. Meanwhile, the community space is a space in which migrant farm workers are perceived as troublemakers, except in the cases where they are constructed as consumers and hence contributing to the local community economically. Finally, the third dualism exists on a larger geographic scale and involves the represented of Canada as a superior place to work, thus justifying the poor socio-economic conditions from which migrant workers migrate. At the same time, Mexico and the Caribbean, the 'homelands', are represented as the 'suitable place for migrant workers to live and raise their families' (p. 51). This is also a particularly neo-liberal discourse in that it effectively masks the relations of inequity between the economically advanced Canadian nation-state and the less economically advanced Mexican and Caribbean nation-states. What is telling is that Bauder's analysis reinforces the notion that discourses of tolerance are drawn upon in Canadian media. The dualisms that Bauder identifies point to the conditionality that is part and parcel of the tolerance discourse.

Jiwani (2003), Mirchandani and Tastsoglou (2000), Hier and Greenburg's (2002) and Bauder's (2005) research reinforce the research of Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002) who demonstrate the consistency of racialized representations in Canadian news media. Their research, which is based on analysis over twenty five years, monitors 'the Toronto print media on almost a daily basis' (p. 5). They demonstrate the racialization of particular individuals and communities is a consistent, every day practice of Canadian newspapers. The consistency signifies that such practice cannot be reduced to an exception, but indicates 'a set of core assumptions, hypotheses, and world views held by many of those who work in the mass media (p. 4). A key objective of Henry and Tator's work is to demonstrate how 'members of the Canadian press give voice to racism, and how the media marginalize, denigrate, and silence ethnoracial minorities' (p. 4).

Thus far the discussion has mainly focused on the ways in which the mass media shape the representations of migrant workers, and how the readership might interpret them. How reporters are subjected to the ideologies of the ownership class, as well as nation-state interests, has also been considered. Also necessary is a theorization on how the subjectivity of reporters, as well as citizen-employers of migrant workers, are implicated, especially in relation to migrant workers. How do the fields of these groups interact?

Citizen-employers, next to government officials, are frequently quoted in newspaper articles on migrant workers. Like nation-state interests, their perspectives are prioritized over migrant workers. The positioning of citizen-employers must be understood with respect to their: a) subordination to the neo-liberal capitalist regime; b) accessibility to entitlements of Whiteness; and, in turn, c) relation to the positioning of non-citizen migrant workers. The critical discourse analysis of articles suggests that citizen-employers are entitled to a *governmental belonging*, a national subjectivity, that empower them to manage those who *passively belong*, those objects within the nation-state who are made to be excluded or tolerated (Hage, 1998: 46). Therefore, as national subjects, citizen-employers are part of the collective ‘we’ of the nation-state, from which nationalist sentiment and ‘pride’ may be cultivated. Such nationalism is integral to the construction and organization of particular categories, such as unfree migrant workers. In turn, the perpetuation of the organization and classification of unfree migrant workers requires that the collective ‘we’ of the nation participates in the dialectic of (economic) inclusion and (socio-political) exclusion.

What must be reinforced here, however, is citizen-employers of migrant workers do not constitute a homogenous group. Instead, it may be dissected into various classed, gendered, and at times, racialized relations. The following chapters attempt to address these relations. At the same time, while not a particular focus of this research, the ways in which migrant workers resist is also constitutive of their agency as subjects in their own right. The issue of subjectivity in relation to migrant workers will be taken up in brief in the Conclusion.

At this point I will enter into a brief discussion of audience reception of news media. Important, however, is that in my analysis I do not extensively evaluate audience

interpretations of print news media on migrant workers, as this would go beyond the scope of this research. The main source of analysis on readership interpretation in this research involves the investigation of a small number of letters to the editor. The work of Henry and Tator (2002) does address how we might perceive the audience. They argue that while media consumers are not ‘a homogeneous, passive, and uncritical mass...we cannot ignore the media’s crucial role in influencing and reinforcing attitudes and opinions’ (p. 7). Suggested is that readers usually subscribe to the ideological positions of the newspapers they choose to read, and therefore a certain degree of alignment may be assumed between ‘the value and belief systems of the media owners and their audiences’ (p. 7). In turn, the relationship between mass media producers and consumers is perhaps most accurately understood as dialectical.

A similar analysis is provided by Nicholas Garnham (1990) whose conceptual framework considers the production, transference and reproduction of symbolic forms. He identifies three levels: 1) ‘the level at which symbolic form is produced and circulated such that a set of potential appropriations is made available are produced’; 2) ‘the level of appropriation at which the form is interpreted as meaning by an individual within a social setting; and 3) ‘the level at which this meaning is or is not translated into social action, an action which is, at the same time and always, itself a symbolic form’. Garnham argues that his framework is not economically deterministic, but offers a way to understand the ‘hierarchy of determination within a mode of production such that the possibilities at each succeeding level are limited by the resources made available by the logically preceding level’ (p. 10). Thus similar to Bourdieu (2005), Garnham’s framework suggests that there is a degree of freedom and autonomy within the field of the media audience, however, this degree is limited by the relations of power that determine the social organization of agents within this field.

Thus the work of Henry and Tator (2002) and Garnham (1990) suggest that audiences only have a certain degree of autonomy from the dominant ideologies and discourses in the mass media that are largely influenced by the values and beliefs of the ownership class. In turn, we can presume that the analysis provided in this study of the news articles on migrant domestic workers and farm workers is not a commonly practiced or accepted interpretation. At the same time, however, we must not ignore

those readers who have the ability to critically analyze news media based on certain experiences and knowledge.

Methodology

One way to assess the tendencies of the production of mass media is through a critical discourse analysis of content. Norman Fairclough (1995) provides especially cogent methodological tools for examining such a proposal. Fairclough's intertextual approach helps to investigate how various discourses are drawn upon to create a text. In analyzing news print articles in relation to the representation of migrant workers, locating dominant discourses of neo-liberalism and nationalism will be of particular significance. Fairclough's approach also emphasizes the importance of examining how various discourses are ordered within texts. Fairclough draws here from Hall's (1980) notion of preferred and excluded meanings. Preferred readings are those interpretations that are dominant within society, and informed by those 'common-sense constructs' and knowledge that is 'taken-for-granted' (p. 134). Hall writes: "we say 'dominant' because there exists a pattern of 'preferred readings'; and these have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalized" (p. 134). Those excluded meanings and interpretations are thus in opposition to those that are preferred, and fall outside of commonsensical ideas. As suggested above, such a negotiation between preferred and excluded meanings is also determined by the tension between various domains. Fairclough identifies the tension, for example, between information and entertainment, as well as between public and private. For Fairclough, there is a shift increasingly towards greater capitalist accumulation, and in turn a more commercialized form of media production and consumption (pp. 10-12). The interests of capital are therefore predominantly ordered above those in opposition, and are reflected in the production of media content.

Fairclough (1995) is mainly concerned with how power relations within the broader social system are reproduced and reinforced within the media. How do these power relations affect one's access to media institutions? In turn, how does this affect the ability of a subordinated individual or community to self-present versus being represented by a dominant group or individual? What Fairclough proposes is that media

discourses must be analyzed in relation to sociocultural practices, that the two are intertwined. Discourse for Fairclough is constitutive of social actions and interactions as well as systems and forms of knowledge and belief (pp. 18, 55). Similarly van Dijk (1991) argues that the social organization of power, particularly that which exists in a white dominated society, is inseparable from media production and consumption (p. 48). He argues that the media plays a significant role in the reproduction of racism, and that its role 'as a corporate, social, and cultural institutions needs to be analysed in relation to other institutions, such as those of the polity or the economy' (p. 48).

The frameworks offered by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1992) are perhaps best understood in practice through what Fairclough refers to as the intertextual analysis approach. Intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text. Intertextual analysis aims to unravel the various genres and discourses – often in creative discourse practice, a highly complex mixture – which are articulated together in the text. The question one is asking is, what genres and discourses were drawn upon in producing the text, and what traces of them are there in the text (p. 61)? This research will examine how discourses of neo-liberalism and nationalism are drawn upon in relation to the representation of migrant workers.

In analyzing media discourse Fairclough (1995) argues that it should not be perceived as a simple reflection of a constant ruling ideology. Instead, media discourse itself 'should be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes' (pp. 47-48). As media content is neither simple or constant, the same can be said for dominant ideologies, which are constantly shifting and not always predictable. In turn, analysts need to be aware of, prepared to understand and ask questions about these shifts in their research of media texts (pp 47-48). Overall, the act of critically analyzing any type of text is to practice revealing the causes and effects of events and issues 'which we may not be all aware of under normal conditions' (p. 54).

Both Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991) provide methods through which to identify broader discourses, as well as more specific semantic strategies in media texts, therefore both being applicable to the broader and closer readings that will be conducted.

A more thorough critical discourse analysis would involve the application of Ruth Wodak's (in Wodak and Meyer, 2001) discourse-historical approach, which seeks to examine the dominant discourses drawn upon in a variety of current and historical texts (p. 67). This methodology therefore incorporates the intertextual approach with a historical component, thus providing for an extensive overview of the production and reproductions of particular ideologies and discourses over time. This type of investigation, which in the case of the topic of my research, would allow for a comparison and contrast amongst state policy discourse, media discourse as well as the discourse of citizen-employers over time. Such a study goes beyond the scope of the resources available for my research, yet allows for an insight on ways upon which this thesis work can be expanded.

For my analysis, I reviewed 355 articles published between January 1987 and February 2007 in newspapers based in Ontario (meaning those published in Ontario). Articles on migrant farm workers ranged between 1998 and 2007, a period of time when media coverage on migrant farm labour has been heightened. Articles on migrant domestic workers spanned the period between 1987 and 2007, which capture more recent and earlier heightened media coverage on this category of workers. Articles include editorials, columns, letters to the editor, news as well as features. (Event listings were not included). This spectrum of genres enables for a broad analysis, which enabled for a perspective on representations in opinion pieces, more 'objectively' perceived news articles, and audience perceptions (through letters to the editor). Images that accompanied the news articles collected, however, were not analyzed.

Articles were mostly found on the Canadian Business & Current Affairs, Canadian Newsstand database, using specific search criteria⁸. For articles on migrant domestic workers, the following search terms were used: migrant; migrate; migration; immigrate; immigrant; immigration; foreign; live-in caregiver; live-in domestic; nanny; nannies. For articles on migrant farm workers, the following search terms were used: migrant; migrate; migration; immigrant; immigrate; immigration; foreign; transient;

⁸ A small number of articles were found by doing specific searches on the same database, as well as Lexis Nexis. These articles were used to strengthen some of the close readings included in Chapters Two and Three. I have indicated in these chapters which articles were found in this way. One of the articles that was part of this more specific search approach was from a non-Ontario newspaper, while the others were Ontario-based.

seasonal; offshore; farm; pick; fruit; agriculture; agricultural; work; employ; labour; program. For both categories of workers only the news article abstracts were searched using the terms above. Those articles that resulted from these search criteria that had significant or relevant coverage of migrant domestic workers and migrant farm workers were selected for review. The search for these articles was carried out over a period of three weeks in February 2007. Noteworthy is that on particular days, depending on availability, certain articles that would fall under the search criteria used, were not accessible, and therefore not included for review in this study.

The newspapers used in this study were selected by including the search criteria which screened for 'Ont' (for Ontario) in the publication title field. This criteria resulted in a collection of articles from both national newspapers printed in Ontario. In total, 31 newspapers were included for review. National papers included the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail*. The *Toronto Star*, also included in this research, may be considered a national newspaper, as it covers issues beyond the greater Toronto region, and is arguably national in scope. Other more locally based papers (as well as the two national papers) are included in the two tables below, as well as information on each newspaper's owner and the number of articles found for each. Table 1 specifically refers to articles found on migrant farm workers, while Table 2 specifically refers to articles found on migrant domestic workers.

Table 1 – Newspapers and number of articles on migrant farm workers

Newspaper	Owner	Number of articles
Chatham Daily News		4
Daily Mercury (Guelph)		13
Daily Press (Timmins)		3
Enterprise - Bulletin (Collingwood)		1
Era Banner (Newmarket)		2
Examiner (Barrie)		1
Expositor (Brantford)		14
Globe and Mail		3
Kingston Whig-Standard		1
National Post		4
New Hamburg Independent		1
Niagara Falls Review		4
North Bay Nugget		7
Northumberland News (Cobourg)		1
Observer (Sarnia)		4
Ottawa Citizen		6
Packet and Times (Orillia)		1
Peterborough Examiner		3
Sault Star (Sault Ste. Marie)		6
Standard (St. Catharines)		20
Sun Times (Owen Sound)		2
The Liberal (Richmond Hill)		2
The Record (Kitchener)		9
The Scarborough Mirror		1
The Spectator (Hamilton)		21

The Windsor Star		56
Toronto Star		14
Tribune (Guelph)		1
Tribune (Welland)		3
	Total	208

Table 2 – Newspapers and number of articles on migrant domestic workers

Newspaper	Owner	Number of articles
Cambridge Reporter		1
Daily Mercury (Guelph)		1
Daily Press (Timmins)		1
Expositor (Brantford)		1
Globe and Mail		21
Kington Whig - Standard		2
National Post		8
North Bay Nugget		1
Observer (Samia)		2
Sault Star (Sault Ste. Marie)		2
Spectator (Hamilton)		1
Standard (St. Catharines)		1
Sudbury Star		1
The Ottawa Citizen		28
The Record (Kitchener)		4
Toronto Star		60
Windsor Star		12
	Total	147

The focus on Ontario-published allowed for some insight into the consistency or inconsistency between national and provincial/local perspectives. The focus on Ontario-based newspapers helped to limit the search results. Without the specification of ‘Ont’ within the publication title field, all newspapers in the database with articles including the search terms above would have been included. This would have resulted in a broad spectrum of publication sources, in turn making it difficult to develop focused and effective research questions. At the same time, the Ontario focus enabled for an inclusion

of news sources from large urban centres, as well as smaller urban and rural areas. Including media coverage from sources originating in these different types of geographic spaces was especially relevant in the analysis of articles on both migrant domestic workers and farm workers, with domestic workers being based mainly in urban and suburban locales and farm workers in rural communities.

The inclusion of Ontario-based newspapers in this research is also justified based on the proportion of migrant workers who come to Ontario in relation to other provinces. As Stasiulus and Bakan (2003) point out, Toronto alone has the largest percentage of migrant workers in Canada (p. 3). United Food and Commercial Workers Canada (2004) indicates that ‘over 80% of migrant farm workers are placed with employers in Ontario’ (p. 3). In terms of examining both articles on migrant domestic workers and farm workers, this provides useful analysis of the racially gendered and classed differences that abound between the fields.

Not all of the newspapers included in this study were selected for close reading, as will be apparent in the following two chapters. The news articles selected for analysis in Chapters Three and Four were chosen based on the extent to which they demonstrate (or conceal) dominant discourses of nationalism, including those pertaining to neo-liberalism, modern citizenship, global citizenship and state multiculturalism. Overall, while a large body of articles were surveyed and reviewed, and some quantitative data is expressed above, the approach taken in analyzing the texts was strictly qualitative.

The process of selection consequently was carried out for the purpose of identifying key themes in the media representation of unfree migrant labour, rather than attempt to be quantitatively representative. Generally the news articles selected for close readings were from newspapers that had frequent coverage of migrant work. There are, however, certain exceptions to this general trend.

Chapter Two – Strategies of containment as nationalist practice

Migrant workers represent one of the fastest growing labour sectors in Essex County. But to many locals, they are nameless, faceless aliens whose appearance coincides with the first tomato crop./... [Migrant farm worker Modesto Jaramillo Laguna is] one of about 2,000 Mexicans who gratefully abandon their tight-knit families and travel 3,000 km to work nearly non-stop for \$7 an hour doing a job most Canadians shun./...As the *invasion of Mexican workers* makes Leamington look more like Laredo...*small* flaws in the program are becoming harder to ignore – some bad bosses, poor access to medical care, little chance to learn English and the *inability* of workers to advocate for themselves.../‘Offshore workers are very important to us. We could not run our farm without them,’ says [farm owner Jimmy] Lonsbery, who grew up working with Jaramillo. ‘They’re great guys, happy to work, intelligent. You can’t find that quality of workers among Canadians’. (Welch, 2000a, emphases added).

Ms. Cables came to Canada as a ‘live-in caregiver,’ under a government program that allowed her to enter Canada as long as she worked for only one employer at a time./Taking sanctuary in a Catholic church, Ms. Cables is fighting a government decision to deport her for holding more than one job. If she gets to stay, she has a new job to go to – and can keep alive the *dream* of bringing her husband and teenaged children to live in Canada with her./For Ms. Cables and many others, two years of hard work is a small price to pay for the *chance to live in Canada*, ranked by the United Nations as the *most civilized country* in the world. (Rights advocates criticize..., 1999: A5, emphasis added).

The excerpts above are taken from two mainstream Canadian newspapers. Both

news articles focus on migrant workers in Canada. The question that I will address in this chapter is how do representations of migrant work and workers in mainstream Canadian media reflect what Ghassan Hage (1998) identifies as nationalist practices? Hage argues that rather than acknowledging particular acts as racist, they are more accurately *nationalist* practices. Central to nationalist practices is the dominant imagination or image of the national space, and how this is acted upon by the dominant national subject. This subject has the ability to maneuver within the national space as a manager of it, which enables them to perceive the “‘ethnic/racial other’ as a mere object within this space” (p. 28). How do these representations, which may be understood as nationalist practices, act to contain and manage othered strangers within the imagined nationalist space? Furthermore, how are the productions and reproductions of migrant workers racially gendered and classed, particularly in relation to citizen-employers? How do reporters, as well as those who are asked to speak about and for issues of migrant work, participate in the containment of migrant domestic workers and farm workers? How do these strategies of containment constitute nationalist practices?

This chapter will aim to address these questions, and in doing so introduce the conditions by which migrant farm workers and domestic workers are made to belong and not belong within the imagined nationalist space. At the outset of this chapter, there will be an initial discussion on how nationalist practices constitute a type of management by the dominant white subject over the racialized other. Following that, I will examine how these types of practices emerge within the newspaper articles analyzed for this study. In particular, the ways in which nationalist practices constitute both racially classed and gendered processes will be analyzed.

Nationalist Practice and the Inclusion/Exclusion of Unfree Migrant Workers

Hage (1998) identifies containment as a nationalist practice that emerges out of the entitlement and ability of dominant subjects to manage what becomes known as the national space. The resulting discourse of home ‘clearly implies not only an image of a nation that is one’s own, but also of a self that occupies a privileged position vis-à-vis the nation, a privileged mode of inhabiting it’ (p. 42). As a result, the other becomes ‘an object to be managed’ while the self is treated ‘as spatially empowered to

position/remove this other' (p. 42). What Hage makes clear is that within this context, containment is not synonymous with exclusion. Instead, containment 'involves a far more complex process of positioning' (p. 133). Understanding the containment of migrant workers is of particular importance for this research. Hage provides an important analysis of the ways in which migrant workers are placed within a dialectic of inclusion and exclusion within the receiving nation-state. He argues that the exclusion of migrant workers is not total, since they are required to be included within the national space, but only as cheap labour. He points to the paradox of this relation, whereby 'it is precisely the interest of [migrant workers] inclusion that activated the existing social processes of their exclusion' (p. 135). As a result, migrant workers are valued only for very specific contributions – mainly as cheap sources of labour – making their acceptance within the national space extremely conditional. What will become apparent in the analysis of this research is that the valuation of migrant workers in the mass media is often framed in terms of whether they are good, hard working and obedient workers, as well as how grateful they are for the so-called opportunity to work in Canada. To a certain degree, as we shall understand more later on in this chapter, migrant farm workers may also be valued based on the cultural contributions they make to the multicultural Canadian nation-state.

The Naturalization of Migrant Workers' Status and Working Conditions

A critical understanding of nationalism and nationalist practices requires an examination of the productions and reproductions of the dominant subject and the other in relation to each other. A critical analysis of the modern citizenship discourse helps to reveal the way in which these two figures are dialectically related. Modern citizenship discourse is tied to values of freedom, democracy and equitable treatment (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003: 11). Yet concealed within this discourse is the construct of the free, white citizen, which requires the creation and maintenance of an unfree other. In terms of the ways in which unfree migrant work is represented in the mainstream media analyzed for this study, modern citizenship discourse is drawn upon in such a way that the *un*freedom of workers is concealed by language which suggests possibilities of 'improvement' in Canada that are not available elsewhere. In other words, the programs established by the

nation-state for unfree migrant labour are largely framed as opportunities for which migrants should be grateful. The actual conditions of unfreedom – including precarious working conditions – are downplayed in relation to the ‘opportunity’ to come and work in Canada, which is represented as a liberal, democratic, multicultural nation. The framing of most workers’ experiences as ‘good’, and only some being ‘bad’ contributes to this discourse. Overall, these constructs work to obscure the historical context in which relations of unfree labour has emerged, and in turn maintain hegemonic power relations of white supremacy within the Canadian nation-state. This is especially relevant where discourses of tolerance are implicated within an increasingly neo-liberal nation-state.

The following excerpt is taken from an editorial published in the *Toronto Star*:
For many Canadian families, especially those with elderly or ill relatives, a live-in caregiver is a *necessity*. For many others, especially those with young children, a live-in caregiver allows them more time to pursue careers that require long hours at work. At the same time, for many people in developing countries, the *chance* to work in Canada is *a dream*./ Each year, the Canadian government allows thousands of people, many of them women from the Philippines, to come here to fill jobs most Canadians do not want. (Time to regulate..., 2004: A20).

Here the author frames domestic work in Canada as ‘a dream’ for ‘people in developing countries’. Constructed is the figure of the ‘Third World woman’ who is grateful for the ‘opportunity’ to work in Canada. Prioritized, however, is the citizen-Canadian’s needs, whether for care for an elderly or ill relative, or the flexibility that a live-in domestic worker enables. At the same time, these constructs conceal the conditions under which people migrate and work as domestic workers, such as the separation from family while in Canada, the vulnerability to unpaid over-time, the overall limited access to social and political participation, to name a few.

We can also examine here how neo-liberal discourse is drawn upon. The citizen-subject must respond to cut-backs in social spending on long-term care. This subject is further interpellated to excel through the use of cheap and flexible labour. In turn, the conditions under which migrant domestic workers must come to Canada and qualify for permanent residency – including two years of continuous employment as a live-in

domestic worker and separation from family members back home – are perceived as acceptable and part and parcel of the requirements to obtain this status. Later in the article the reporter writes: ‘They leave their own families behind to care for children, elderly or disabled people with a single goal in mind to qualify for permanent residency in Canada’ (Time to regulate..., 2004: A20). Suggested here is that separation from family is a choice for domestic workers, rather than a regulation imposed on them by the receiving nation-state. The following sentence, which states: ‘For many, the Live-in Caregiver Program operates as it should’ further reinforces the notion that the conditions of migrant domestic work are ‘proper’ and even ‘fair’ when operating ‘as it should’, that is without any situations that are perceived as exceptionally abusive or exploitative (Time to regulate caregiver program, 2004: A20). This detachment from the oppressive conditions of unfree migrant labour is in fact a neo-liberal tendency that further conceals the actual historical and social organization of unfreedom (see Goldberg, 2002: 221).

While neo-liberal discourse disconnects the relations between Western subjects and those from less economically advanced countries, neo-liberalism itself necessitates a global dislocation of people from less economically developed societies. As Stasiulus and Bakan (2003) write: ‘the maintenance of the status and entitlements of First World citizens of a particular class, is contingent on the imposition of diminished access to rights and of heightening expectation of obligations among poorer Third World migrants in receiving states’ (p. 13). In turn, the conditions of unfreedom of migrant workers become perceived as innate to the livelihood of racialized ‘Third World looking’ people. The organization of migrant workers’ lives becomes perceived as natural. Overall this contributes to the ideology that unfree migrant workers are inherently precapitalist and premodern, and hence destined for over-exploitative working conditions. In turn, also reinforced is the discourse of global citizenship, in which the citizenship in the North, or the ‘First World’, is ordered above citizenship in the South. Therefore the neo-liberal subject is free in relation to those who are unfree, while her needs are ordered above those who are identified as ‘Third-World looking people’ in unfree conditions of existence.

In one newspaper article, for example, the reporter likens the movement of workers from Mexico to Canada to the migration of monarch butterflies. The reporter

writes:

Young men flying north is as common as the monarch butterfly's flight from Mexican jungles to the woods of Ontario.../Jim Bartkiw is their employer. He said he's had Mexicans work for him since he bought his peach and cherry orchard seven years ago./'I like their disposition. They're quiet, family-oriented. They just want to come here and work to support their families.'/'You treat them well and they pay you back.' (Marr, 2002: A08).

Here the metaphor of the 'exotic' and 'delicate' migrant butterfly is used in relation to migrant farm workers. This metaphor results in a de-contextualization of the social, economic and political conditions that affect the decisions people make to migrate and work temporarily in Canada, often over many years. At the same time it serves to naturalize the movement of people across borders to work in unfree conditions. From this article we can begin to understand how the discourse of conditional acceptance, and in turn containment, of migrant workers is drawn upon. It is only because of their 'quiet' and 'family-oriented' 'disposition' that the citizen-employer looks upon his non-citizen employees favourably. This construct of the 'good' migrant worker is a racially classed process embedded within the discursive practices of modern citizenship. The conduct of the 'good' worker is an evaluation that is especially embedded in the unfree relations under which she is located. In other words, her conduct as 'bad', that is resistant and challenging unfair conditions, would result in particular punitive measures, such as the inability to pursue other work in Canada and deportation.

The mainstream media is thus conceivably a space within which nationalist management practices occur. There are strong tendencies within the mainstream media for the containment of migrant workers through racialized, gendered and classed discourses. These discourses are drawn upon by reporters, and reinforced by those who are largely called upon to represent migrant work and workers. The discourses that are drawn upon are numerous and overlapping, but are all tied to the central notion of containment. This latter figure is contained. Using Hage's (1998) analysis of containment, unfree migrant workers are valued and included in the national space for their economic contributions as cheap labourers, but otherwise are excluded. Critical is

that the valuation of migrant workers' economic contribution is conditional. Such conditionality is demonstrated by the framing of migrant work as an 'opportunity'.

The 'Good' Migrant Worker

The construct of the 'good' migrant is reinforced by the fact that when represented in the press, certain migrant workers (when they are actually quoted) are largely quoted for saying 'good' things about Canada and the conditions under which they work while in Canada (see Calugay, 2000: 1; Mahoney, 2000: A7; and Skladany, 2000: A11 for examples). Hence one characteristic of the good migrant workers is gratefulness. Further, there is a clear construct of the 'good' worker, in relation to the 'bad' worker. This enables for the ideal tolerant, multicultural nation to emerge. By constructing an 'acceptable' and 'good' migrant worker through mainstream media, the nation-state can be absolved of its responsibility in the broader systematic oppression of racialized migrant workers. Here is a clear example of where managers of the national space determined and define what is 'good' and what is 'bad' behaviour. If we look carefully at the ways that 'good' workers are constructed in relation to 'bad' workers, we can begin to recognize the ways in which processes of racialization are used to support these productions and reproductions.

In 1999 and 2000 a migrant domestic worker, Leticia Cables, was featured in a number of news articles because she had been ordered deported by the government for working for more than one employer at a time, which was a violation according to the regulations of her work permit. The second excerpt provided above is a news story on Cables. Cables became known in the media as 'the nanny who worked too hard'. In many of the articles Cables is mainly quoted for saying positive and hopeful things about Canada. In the headline of one article, 'Filipina nanny agrees to leave Canada: Woman who sought sanctuary in church will reapply to return' (Filipina nanny agrees...2000: A11) Cables is also constructed as obedient. While faced with a deportation order, she is described as 'leaving', which suggests that she left Canada on her own free will. (Yet, noteworthy is that in the lead paragraph Cables is described as 'finally' leaving Canada, implying that she had overstayed her welcome here). Overall, Cables is thus constructed as a good, hardworking domestic worker, appreciative of the 'opportunity' to work in

Canada, 'obedient' to government orders, and therefore deserving of support for her return to Canada.

Integral to how Cables is represented is her role as a 'caregiver'. As Bridget Anderson (2000) argues, in the field of domestic work labour and care become interwoven, as does care with emotion. As Anderson points out, however, there is a particular danger in these connotations of labour, care and emotion as they 'can lead to an argument that care is not exploitative because women want to do it...and because they are doing it of their own free will' (p. 116). Such an argument thus serves to naturalize the position of women, especially racialized women from less economically advanced countries, as caregivers working for middle-class, 'First World' women. The position of these racialized women is further essentialized as a result of the ways in which emotions are socially constructed. Alison Jaggar (1989) contends that emotions, as opposed to reason/rationality/thought, are aligned with those who are racialized and gendered in specific ways. While reason is associated with dominant subjects, emotions are mainly associated 'with members of subordinate groups', that is racialized people and women (p. 141). The positioning of racialized 'Third World' women as inherently suited for migrant domestic labour conditions thus reinforces the notion of Cables as 'good'.

The representation of Cables in this and other articles, however, must be read in relation to other factors. Stasiulis and Bakan (2003) point out that since the 1980s, changes in immigration policy 'have tended to disfavour West Indian domestic workers and promote a patronizing racialized favour toward Filipinas that has directly impacted on the workplace experiences of these two groups of workers' (p. 87). Filipino domestic workers are constructed under the racialized and gendered stereotype of the 'good, submissive servant' who assimilates better (p. 90).

These ideologies are prevalent amongst domestic placement agencies (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003: 78-79). An article published in *The Windsor Star* on August 6, 1987, demonstrates how Filipina domestic workers are perceived by the employment agencies that place them in citizen-family homes:

Diane Anderson of Ace Personnel says [Filipino domestics'] work ethic and respect for the family unit are strong points and most are devout Catholics who don't smoke or drink./Linda Rogers of Able Nannies adds

that unlike many Europeans, who come ‘on a working holiday, Filipino girls take their jobs more seriously’. (Most nannies Filipinos, 1987: C3).

Another article published in *The Ottawa Citizen* reflects similar racialized ideologies, describing Filipina workers as ‘kind and gentle people who integrate easily into our society’ (Reeb, 1992: A6). There is also a strong maternalistic tone in the racializing of Filipino domestic workers. In the first article from *The Windsor Star*, Rogers describes the domestic workers as ‘girls’, when in reality many of the women who come to work in Canada as live-in caregivers have children of their own (Arat-Koç, 2001). In the second article from *The Ottawa Citizen*, the description of Filipino domestic workers as ‘kind and gentle’ essentializes personality traits of all workers. At the same time, the conditionality of acceptance of workers emerges – so long as they ‘integrate easily’ and have a ‘life plan’ they may be accepted into what is implied in the first article, and clearly stated in the second article, ‘our society’. Here the managerial and decision-making capacity of the citizen-subject emerges when it is suggested that it is ‘us’ who decides for ‘them’ whether or not ‘they’ are able to ‘integrate’.⁹

The ‘Bad’ Migrant Worker

Necessary is a consideration of how women from the Caribbean are racialized in relation to women from the Philippines. There is a tendency for migrant women from the Caribbean to be criminalized in the mainstream media. Vic Satzewich (1991) reveals that Canadian policy discourse in the early 1960s, when the government began regulating the migration and employment of migrant domestic workers from the Caribbean, describes Caribbean women as immoral and promiscuous. These descriptions were particularly reserved for lower classed women, as well as women ‘who describe themselves as ‘married’ [but] are not’, women whose children are ‘of diverse paternity’, and ‘single, unmarried women [who] have one or more (sometimes several) children, more often than not entrusted to the care of relatives’ (p. 143, original reference not included). This is particularly relevant when considering that until the 1960s, when Canadian policy indicated preference for European women as domestic workers, which was a result of the desire by the nation-state for these women to become ‘Canadian wives and mothers’

⁹ The representation of Leticia Cables in the media will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

(Anderson, 2000: 122). Such a policy points to the notion that Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989) raise, that is the way in which racialized and ethnicized groups are categorized, through the development of immigration control policies, by the nation-state as 'undesirable' in terms of their reproduction within particular national spaces (p. 8).

We should also consider how these constructs occur in relation to how women migrant domestic workers from the Caribbean are perceived in the media. The following article focuses on the situation of Mavis Baker, who was a domestic worker that the government ordered deported because she did not have proper citizenship status. News articles on Baker appeared in the media around the same time as Cables' story. The analysis provided is not to discredit Cables herself, but the perceptions and ideologies that shape how differently Baker and Cables are portrayed in the media. Unlike many of the articles on Cables, Baker's actions are criminalized, particularly because they are framed as being against the interests of the nation-state. In one article on Baker a reporter writes:

Mavis Baker was in Canada illegally for 11 years - giving birth to four children - before immigration officials finally ordered her deported./ Her case has made headlines over the clash between the rights of Canadian-born children and the government's right to deport people from Canada. But some say it has also highlighted another serious problem./ Why does it take so long for some cases to wind their way through the immigration department?/Even the immigration officer who handled Baker's file summed up its history this way: "This case is a catastrophe. It is also an indictment of our 'system' that the client came as a visitor in Aug. '81, was not ordered deported until Dec. '92 and in APRIL '94 IS STILL HERE!," he wrote, with the capital letters for emphasis. (Lawton, 1999: A1).

Baker, in contrast to Cables, is not perceived as the 'good' migrant worker. Instead she is described as 'illegal', and her situation is described in a way that does not generate the sympathy that was generated for Cables from the readership. Baker's situation is described as 'catastrophic'. In the lead paragraph she is made to be 'deviant' through her having had children while in Canada without status. This article also relies on the

hyperbole that contrasts Baker's 'bad' actions against the 'good' and 'rational' nation-state acting to 'protect' its rights. Baker's actions are illegitimized in relation to those of the nation-state. Baker's 'illegality' stands in for her 'irresponsibility' as a mother to 'illegitimate' children, which is further given emphasis in other articles where her role as a single mother is highlighted. In the broader context, Baker's 'illegitimacy' becomes reinforced in relation to the construct of the citizen-family employers of domestic workers who are perceived as two-parent, heterosexual family units. Also highlighted in another article is that Baker's four children are biologically fathered by two different men further reinforcing her 'illegitimate' actions (Blanchfield, 1999: A9).

These representations of Baker reflect the ideologies that informed the policies mentioned earlier on the regulation of domestic workers from the Caribbean in the early 1960s. Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2006) point out in their analysis of the discourse of the 'Jamaicanization of crime', that the construct of Jamaican culture in the media by white reporters continues to reflect these ideologies. They demonstrate how particular details around parenting, such as the number of children had by a Jamaican father, the different mothers of each child of one Jamaican father, or the absentee Jamaican father, are drawn upon (pp. 142-143). While Henry and Tator's analysis focuses on the media coverage of Jamaican men, the discourse they point to is relevant to the portrayal of Baker. As Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) argue, racialized, non-citizen women, within societies where Whiteness constitutes the hegemonic ideal of the citizen-subject of the nation-state, have historically been controlled in terms of their role as 'biological reproducers'. This control extends to "the 'proper' way" these women should have children, including with whom they should have children and under what definition of 'family' (pp. 8-9).

The above excerpt also includes oppressive statements made by the immigration officer in charge of Baker's case. The reporter, in the lead paragraph, reiterates the officer's statements by claiming that Baker was 'finally ordered' deported. Both the reporter and the immigration officer therefore claim that Baker 'overstayed' a supposed 'welcome' to 'our Canadian society'. From the outset, Baker is constructed as an unbelonging 'foreigner'. This is made even more apparent when considering that she is not quoted in any of the articles on her. At the same time, she is made to be over-

irrational, and dysfunctional since she is described as being diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia. The cause of her mental illness is not explained. While one article does indicate that she developed post-partum psychosis prior to being diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia (Blanchfield, 1999: A9), there still remains a lack of explanation to the overall societal conditions that contributed to her illness, thus pathologizing her actions.

At the same time, as Vivian May and Beth Ferri's (2005) research indicates, within an ableist society 'schizophrenia and madness more generally are often placed in opposition to more reasoned approaches, arguments, or positions'. Overall, disability is positioned 'as a state of unknowing, or irrationality' specifically in relation to the 'rationality' of ableized subjects (p. 129). Baker's positioning as the 'irrational other' is further reinforced by the positioning of the immigration officer handling, whose comments (and actions) are rationalized as being part of 'his own frustration', which 'interfered with his duty' (Jimenez, 1999). His comments become framed as results of his own, individualized frustration, rather than stemming from a systemically oppressive society. As van Dijk (1991) argues, acts by an authority figures which are clearly negative are often qualified with descriptors indicating that they were in a particular state (p. 191). The actions of these figures are often excused. His 'irrationality' is framed as an isolated incident, a one-time deal.

At the same time news articles on Baker remain focused on the 'flawed' system which allows for cases like hers to 'fall through the cracks'. This focus is legitimized by the rational voices of reporters, and those quoted, including lawyers, a Member of Parliament, a spokesperson from the Canadian Council of Refugees, and the immigration department. In the same article initially discussed on Baker above, the reporter writes:

Immigration lawyers [say], although many say they have their own Mavis Baker- type cases, along with plenty of others that may not take years and years but still languish far too long in the system./'It's true that Mavis Baker is the extreme, but it is very typical for processing delays to affect those seeking entry to Canada,' said Toronto immigration lawyer Max Berger.../Baker came to Canada in 1981 as a visitor, got a job as a domestic and gave birth to four children without becoming a legal immigrant. In 1992, after her youngest child was born, she was diagnosed

with paranoid schizophrenia and applied for welfare. That alerted immigration officials to the fact she had overstayed her visitor's visa. She was ordered deported. (Lawton, 1999: A1).

The focus here is on the bureaucracy and regulation of immigration policies rather than on the oppressive state system through which Baker is deemed 'illegal'. Meanwhile, Baker remains seen as an 'extremity', further isolating her case as particularly problematic and deviant. The discourse therefore emphasizes the need to effectively 'regulate' the 'extremity' of Baker (and of her case) so to avoid situations like hers where those made to be 'undesirable strangers' are kept in check. This is a particularly biopolitically informed discourse, which involves the scrutinizing and attempted control of Baker's reproductive practices while residing within the borders of the Canadian nation-state. Because of how she is racialized, disableized, illegalized, gendered, and portrayed as an unfit parent, the lack of sympathy and solidarity with her in the mainstream media become actions (or non-actions) that are justified.

The construct of the 'bad worker' also emerges within articles on migrant farm workers. Similar to articles on domestic workers, migrant farmworkers are racialized in particular ways. Henry and Tator (2000) argue that the racialization of crime involves 'the over-reportage of crimes allegedly committed by people of colour and especially Blacks' (p. 125). As demonstrated above with Baker's case, this is demonstrated in how she is described as 'illegal'. The following excerpt demonstrates how farmworkers from Jamaica are criminalized for alleged actions. From the outset, the title 'Crimes could hurt program for Jamaican farm workers' links 'crimes' with Jamaican farmworkers. Overall, Jamaican farmworkers are blamed for 'depriving farms of manual labour'. At the same time, a paternalistic tone runs throughout this article in the way that some 'bad Jamaicans' (although even this demarcation is unclear, will ruin the 'golden egg' for all potential farm workers from Jamaica). The reporter writes:

Thousands of Jamaican farmworkers given temporary jobs in Canada could soon be barred from the program because of increased illegal immigration and drug-smuggling by participants, Canada's ambassador to Jamaica said Tuesday./Nearly 850 Jamaican farmworkers have deserted Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program in the last six years,

Canadian High Commissioner Claudio Valle said in a telephone interview./Many flee shortly after arriving, costing Canada unknown sums in investigation and deportation fees and depriving farms of manual labour. Some workers who desert are never caught and stay in Canada illegally./‘That’s clearly not acceptable,’ Valle said./‘If the numbers increase, we will then turn to other sources of labour.’ (Crimes could hurt program..., 2003: D7).

The lead paragraph of this article implies that ‘thousands of Jamaican farmworkers’ are involved with ‘illegal immigration and drug-smuggling’ activities. Then, in the second paragraph the reporter writes that ‘nearly 850 Jamaican farmworkers have deserted’ the program. These numbers are extremely inconsistent with the statement made later that ‘two Jamaicans [had been] caught bringing in drugs’ to Canada earlier in the year. The first paragraph is a statement of a possible future event, that is made to seem factual while connecting Jamaican farm workers with illegalized activities. The second paragraph suggests that the reason why 850 workers left the program was as a result of illegalized activity. Other possible reasons, such as unsafe working conditions as a result of exposure to toxic chemicals, airborne dust and animal-borne diseases (Basok, 2002: 60), are not mentioned.

Later in the article, the workers’ ‘desertion’ is linked to ‘the terrorist attacks on the United States on Sept. 11, 2001’. While no evidence is cited on any actual link between farm workers and ‘terrorist activities’, this statement automatically creates the figure of suspect ‘terrorist Jamaican men’ (Crimes could hurt program..., 2003: D7). The mention of September 11, 2001 also immediately creates, as Fairclough (1995) argues, a ‘co-membership, with the audience, of the world of ordinary life and experience from which it is drawn, and a relationship of solidarity between newspaper and audience’ (p. 71). Thus the article, as with most of the media coverage on migrant work, is not written as information for the workers themselves, but for the citizen-readership whose solidarity does not lie with the struggle and resistance of workers. By instilling a fear amongst the citizen-public about the possible ‘threat’ of Jamaicans in general, and farm workers specifically, the reporter is speaking to the national security discourse that has been rationalized as part of the measures required to ‘protect the security of Canada’

through whatever means necessary. This makes Jamaican farm workers even more 'foreign' and even a potential threat to Canada, a country in which they come to Canada, for up to eight months per year on a rotational basis. Thus their temporary status (in Canada) becomes a permanent condition (Sharma, 2006: 124, original reference not included).

The blame for the so-called illegal activities associated with Jamaican farmworkers is placed on the Jamaican government. This further reinforces Jamaican society as a crime and drug-ridden society, while emphasizing the notion of the undemocratic and uncivilized 'Third World' country. This establishes the hyperbole of the 'good' Canadian nation and the 'bad' Third World nation. All the while the key event from which the story originates comes from the statement later that 'two Jamaicans were caught bringing in drugs into the country' (Crimes could hurt program..., 2003: D7). Meanwhile, there is no indication that the people caught were farm workers, and secondly, the reporter indirectly quotes Canadian High Commissioner Claudio Valle as not providing any further details about the activities of these men. While they were 'caught', were they investigated further, arrested, wrongly accused? Again, these details are not provided, nor are the men 'caught', or any other individuals from Jamaica, including farm workers, quoted in this article. The possible wrongful accusation is not highlighted as a negative action of the authorities.

Finally, a paternalistic and disciplinary tone is suggested in the article when the reporter writes that the 'bad Jamaicans' could 'ruin the opportunity' for others to come to work in Canada. The reporter writes: "'We want (Jamaican officials) to educate people that disobeying the rules could kill the golden egg,' Valle said, noting many Jamaican workers send home part of their earnings" (Crimes could hurt program..., 2003: D7).

The 'Tolerated' Migrant Worker

An analysis of how Mexican farm workers are represented demonstrates a particular tendency towards the discourse of tolerance. In contrast to farm workers from the Caribbean, however, Mexican workers (mainly when they are perceived as congregating in large groups) are constructed as a pending threat to the communities in which they work. In one article the reporter writes, "Leamington should find recreational

activities for its 3,000 to 4,000 migrant workers to avoid a ‘cultural clash’ in its downtown, says Leamington’s economic development officer Anne Miskovsky” (Hill, 2004: A5). In the next paragraph the reporter writes:

Migrant farm workers including many who are away from their families in Mexico to work in the greenhouse industry tend to congregate downtown in their off hours. Many do their banking downtown. Some businesses have complained large groups of workers standing outside a bar or a restaurant could keep customers from coming in their businesses. (Hill, 2004: A5).

While Miskovsky is then quoted as saying that ‘our migrant workers are our lifeblood’, she follows with the clause, ‘but there’s not enough for them to do here’. Overall this article draws on the discourse of managed containment. That is, migrant farm workers are required to fill their time and occupy particular spaces as defined by the citizen-community members. Otherwise they are perceived as ‘threats’ to the ‘security’ of the society in which they work. The citizen-community decides what kinds of activities are suitable for workers outside of their working day. These recreational activities, such as soccer, are not only suggested for them, but also imply that workers must be regulated through physical activities. Furthermore, as Hage (1998) argues, this opening up of ‘cultural spaces’ is a way in which political agency becomes further restricted (p. 138). In other words, the community’s cultural management of migrant farm workers stands in for an actual responsibility of supporting their inclusion in political processes. These activities reinforce the perception of racialized bodies as naturally inclined towards sport and physical activity. These associations are further emphasized by the consistent media images of migrant farm workers riding bicycles. In one article, the reporter describes a scene of migrant farm work, and writes, ‘Their bicycles – a familiar sight along roads criss-crossing the fruitlands – lean lazily on nearby posts...’. (Fraser, 2002: A2). In another article the reporter writes, ‘bicycles are the main means of transportation for hundreds of the seasonal workers, who descend on the downtown en masse each weekend’ (Schmidt, 2001: A5).

The image of the bicycle-riding migrant farm worker contributes to the notion of a ‘Third World looking’ figure who is bound to simple modes of transportation such as

the bicycle. In the second quote we see how this figure is described as a 'masse', as if a large and threatening body 'descending' on to the core of the town. This metaphorical description of migrant farm workers likens them again to a nature-like force, both uncontrollable, but in need of control. Hage's (1998) provides a particularly useful metaphor that is useful in conceptualizing who is made to belong and not belong in a nationalist space, and under what conditions. Hage writes:

Most humans perceive ants as a different species, and certainly as inferior species. Yet, just on the basis of this belief, they do not perceive them as 'undesirable' or as 'too many'. They do so only when these ants are seen to have invaded spaces where humans find their presence harmful such as in their houses or on their plates'. And it is only in such situations that practices of violence are directed against them. (Hage, 1998: 37).

Hage argues that these perceptions of what is 'too many' is a process of nationalist spatial management. In turn, this process requires those who manage, and those who are managed. In the case of migrant farm workers, their time both within and outside of work become managed. The news article above demonstrates how the management of migrant farm workers is especially relied on when the perception of them as 'too many' in a particular space ensues.

The management of farm workers is particularly emphasized within discourses of charity. The ideal loving multicultural Canadian nation-state emerges through these articles, in which citizen-communities are portrayed as open and giving towards migrant farm workers. In a letter to the editor, in which the author is an employer of migrant farm workers responds to an article that reveals some of the conditions of migrant farm work, she writes, 'we pay the cost of the flight and airbus to and from Canada, we give them free housing inspected by the regional health services each and every year – and we provide household supplies, drive them for shopping' (Pohorly, 2003: A4). This 'generosity', however, remains conditional. Required are certain strategies of containment, of keeping migrant workers in particular ideological and material places. This conditionality is strongly tied to the decision-making power and control that the citizen-subject wants to have over the migrant farm worker. As Hage suggests, this subject wants a piece of constructing who belongs to the space of White fantasy, who

does not and how (p. 96).

The following journalistic excerpt demonstrates this conditionality:
Leamington police hope to thaw relations with migrant workers./Instead of pursuing the cyclists for traffic and vehicle infractions, police are mending and replacing what's broken, handing out safety advice and even equipment such as reflectors./Building Bridges With Bicycles is a new program aimed at improving relations between law authorities and some of the more than 3,000 migrant seasonal workers who toil in the local agricultural sector./'We want to build a better rapport between police and the Mexican and offshore populations,' says Leamington police Const. Fred Stibbard./One of the hurdles in developing cordial relations with this grown community, he said, is that, 'back home, police are perceived differently.' (Schmidt, 2001: A5).

In this article, the 'good' actions of the Leamington police are emphasized in relation to the migrant workers who are perceived as possible threats to the community. In stating that the police want 'a better rapport' with 'the Mexican and offshore populations' Stibbard implies that currently there is a 'bad rapport' between the two groups. Mainly the 'Mexican' farm workers are identified as the source of this 'bad rapport'. At the same time, the act of the national subject, through the Building Bridges program, contributes to the ideal tolerant Canadian nation. Meanwhile, this perceivably selfless and charitable act suggests that providing migrant farm workers with bicycle safety equipment is the solution to the problem of 'traffic and vehicle infractions'. Underlying this, however, is the reality that migrant farm workers themselves are especially vulnerable to being the victims of traffic 'accidents' as they are forced to rely on bicycle transportation to call their families, from whom they are separated, as well as travel around the community.

Similar to many other articles analyzed in this study, no migrant farm workers are quoted in the article. This demonstrates the ability of the authority figure to positively self-present himself, in relation to the othered stranger who is mis-re-presented (see van Dijk, 1991: 187). While this statement is a presupposition, as it is not confirmed by a farm worker from Mexico, it also is a comparison that ends up justifying any perceptions

that the police might have of migrant farm workers. Similar to the article above that criminalizes farm workers (and other men) from Jamaica Stibbard's reference to the farm workers' perceptions of police 'back home' characterizes an undemocratic 'Third World' context. It also further reinforces the deferral to 'cultural differences' as the 'cause' of (alleged) poor relations between citizen-subjects and migrant farmworkers, therefore concealing the racialized nature of this type of characterization.

Hage (1998) identifies two key dominant figures within the multicultural nation-state. These are the 'evil white nationalist' and the 'good white nationalist'. Evil white nationalism includes practices that are perceived as blatantly racist. One example Hage refers to as an act of evil white nationalism is the tearing off a scarf from a Muslim women's head. Good white nationalism, on the other hand, is aligned with the discourse of tolerance. If we consider how the immigration officer who was assigned to Mavis Baker's case, is positioned in relation to these two figures, he is mostly aligned with evil white nationalist practice. Yet, while he is characterized as having acted poorly in other articles, integral to how his actions are described is the use of disclaimers. In this case, his actions are justified because of his 'own frustration'. This tendency, to excuse the actions of evil white nationalism by way of disclaimers, whether frustration or extremist behaviour is demonstrated in other articles.

Several articles were published in 2000 that focused on the racialized harassment against migrant farm worker by some community members. Most of the articles on this story characterized those who committed the attacks as 'youth', 'alleged racists' and 'a small group of morons'. These descriptions isolate racism against migrant farm workers within the town's 'moronic youth' population. At the same time, the racist attacks are described as 'alleged', thus questioning the actual occurrence of the events. Meanwhile, migrant farm workers are portrayed as passive victims, particularly in relation to the ways in which authority figures are characterized, as the active political agents. The titles of these articles – 'Ontario: Migrant workers victimized' (Ontario: Migrant workers...2000: A5), 'Migrant workers in Delhi afraid to travel into town' (Migrant workers in Delhi..2000: A3), 'Migrant workers subjected to racism' (Migrant workers subjected...2000: A2) – demonstrate how workers become known as the passive victims. In one article, a police officer – Sergeant Rob Bermuhler, is quoted as saying

‘it’s frustrating in this day and age, when police and teachers have worked so hard for years to deal with racism issues’ (Migrant workers in Delhi..., 2000). Here the police and teachers are characterized as the ‘good’ multicultural citizens who have ‘worked so hard...to deal with racism’ and are disappointed in the ‘youth’.

The role of police as managers becomes even more apparent in another article. The reporter writes, “Although no one was physically hurt, police and farmers were concerned that racial slurs were used, [Bermuhler] said./ That’s why we’ve gone public,’ Bermuhler said. ‘They’re an important group to us economically and we want them to know they’re welcome’” (Youth, man charged..., 2000: B7). Here we can see the emergence of the good white nationalist in Bermuhler’s statements. While he has ‘worked hard on racism’, he is also in the position of valuating why migrant farm workers do not ‘deserve’ this treatment. For Bermuhler, the justification of not tolerating racism against farm workers stems from his valuation of their contributions to the economy. Hage (1998) speaks directly to how processes of valuation are embedded within historical discourses of tolerance and unfree labour. He writes:

It is slaves, domestic servants and other forms of exploited labourers – people who are seen as inferior, or in negative terms, by the dominant – who, because of their value as objects of exploitation, are accepted and included within the dominant’s space, while, at the same time, the limits of their inclusion are carefully traced (p. 94, original emphasis).

Therefore the discourse of tolerance constitutes the process of valuation and management by dominant subjects, and in turn, the creation of managed objects.

Integral to the discourse of tolerance is a containment of racialized bodies/individuals/communities by way of selecting particular aspects of these grouped groupings and allowing them to emerge and ‘exist’, within constructed boundaries. In one article entitled ‘Cultivating a bond down on the farm: Niagara growers depend on offshore workers just as much as the labourers rely on the farmers for wages far higher than they could earn at home’ the reporter writes about a local grocery store at which migrant farm workers shop (Fraser, 2002: A1). He writes:

Store shelves now hold such fare as the fruit ackee, pumpkin beef soup, carrot drink, dry West Indian crackers and specialty beans and rices./‘As

we learn more, we get more in,' says Cameron. 'We have a lot of Mexicans now, so we have salsas, tortillas, hot foods for them.'/Each July the IGA throws a barbecue featuring a Trinidad steel band and jerk chicken prepared by a Jamaican meat cutter./It's all part of a west Niagara community opening its arms to the temporary summer workers./'They can come and shop, everybody knows their names and it makes them feel more at ease,' says [store owner] Cameron./'I guess it's kind of like home.' (Fraser, 2002: A1).

This article further emphasizes how migrant farm workers, and migrant workers in general, are enabled by the citizen-subject, to emerge, but in very particular ways. In this article migrant farm workers are valued for the economic and cultural contributions they make within the towns that they work. Hage (1998) argues that again it is the national subject who decides what is of value within predominant multicultural discourse, and what is not. So, for example, the 'masse' of Mexican farm workers 'descending on to the downtown', mentioned in the article above, is not valued yet their 'participation' in managed, recreational activities, the business they generate as a result of their 'ethnic food tastes' and the 'carnival' culture they 'bring' to the communities in which they work are valued. At the same time, within the multicultural nation-state, as these 'cultural' components become valued by dominant national subjects, they also become appropriated, and simultaneously acquired as cultural capital. In turn, these appropriated forms of cultural capital therefore enable national subjects to position themselves with a multiculturalized Whiteness.

Notable is that the management and containment of farm workers differs from that of migrant domestic workers. One of the factors contributing to this differentiation is the ways in which farm workers are more visible in their communities than domestic workers. Because farm workers work within a public domain, they become more visible, whether it is because they are perceived certain ways when spending time together in groups of 'too many' or as a result of their consumer habits. In the articles analyzed migrant domestic workers are not reported as gathering in large groups. Instead, domestic workers are located in more individual situations. While this location is a result of the isolating conditions of domestic work, the ideological constructs that both

reinforce and result from these conditions are worth exploring. An analysis of these constructs is helpful in determining how discourses of nationalism, and in turn how nationalist practices, are not only racially classed but racially gendered.

Unfree migrant domestic work is a predominantly hidden form of labour. The location of domestic work within the private domain, combined with its socio-economic undervaluation contribute to its overall concealment. The containment of unfree migrant domestic workers is based on the maintenance of their concealment. Anderson (2000) points out that paid domestic workers are differently perceived than the 'wife/daughter/mother' who may be performing the same tasks, however, from a different class position (p. 2). The role of the paid domestic worker is to help maintain the female employer's status – that is as 'middle-class, non-labourer [and] clean' (p. 2). In contrast, the domestic worker is constructed as 'worker, degraded [and] dirty' (p. 2). These oppositional positions are further extended into the citizen (or non-citizen) categories in which the employer and worker are organized. Anderson argues, that the 'relationship of domestic workers to the state encourages and reinforces the racialisation of domestic work' (p. 2). Processes of racialization, which are implicated within the social organization of legal national membership, result in the predominant notion that some women are 'more suitable for domestic work than others' (p. 2). The conditions of unfree migrant domestic work become both naturalized and concealed. As such, unfree migrant domestic workers are contained in particular ways that are different from migrant farm workers.

Anderson (2000) elaborates on the ways in which domestic workers are valued. The valuation of domestic workers, particularly by employers, is very much based on the conflation of labour, care and emotion discussed above. Anderson writes:

employers are not only looking for a labourer when they are looking for a carer; they want somebody 'affectionate', 'loving', 'good with children'. Sometimes employers attempt to keep workers by appealing to their 'finer feeling' (rather than offering an increase in salary) (pp. 119-120).

The value of domestic workers is based on their ability to 'care' for the children or elderly of the families for whom they work. Integral to this 'care', however, are responsibilities such as cooking, cleaning, laundry and other domestic chores (Stasiulis

and Bakan: 2003: 94-97). Therefore, the 'good' migrant domestic worker is determined by her ability to fulfill these duties. This is clear in the coverage of Leticia Cables in the media, especially in relation to Mavis Baker, whose performance as a domestic worker is not discussed in news articles about her situation. The racialization and domestic work, and in turn the containment of unfree migrant domestic workers, can be further understood if we consider the representations of : a) female migrant farm workers; and b) male domestic workers.

Marie de Lepervanche (1989) points out that in white multicultural societies (her research focusing on Australia), there is a general tendency that racialized immigrant men are expected to fulfill duties of production within the family, while women are expected to be responsible for consumption and reproduction (p. 41). Because of these expectations, and hence the 'social construction as of [these] women as dependent breeders' the participation of racialized immigrant women in the paid workforce may be perceived as problematic (p. 41). This suggests that the positioning of migrant women within the more visibly paid workforce, outside of the private domain, might result in particular conditions.

Kerry Preibisch and Luz Maria Hermoso Santamaria's (2006) research suggests that prevalent in Canada's agricultural sector are ideological constructs that constrain women's role in this domain. They contend that 'farm work in Canada rests on a gender division of labour based in agrarian patriarchal culture', which is informed by a male-bias 'within the agricultural bureaucracy that is dominated by men and where a masculinized culture prevails' (p. 116). Preibisch and Hermoso Santamaria's research indicates that in both Canadian and labour-exporting countries government officials involved with the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program perceive women as being less able to do the 'strenuous work' required in farming. Overall, they believe that women are not as profitable as male workers because they are not able to fulfill production rates to the same degree. This perception is a particularly capitalist-driven one. Notably one of the Canadian government officials interviewed by Preibisch and Hermoso Santamaria states that 'women are great if they're standing and working with their hands', and thus more suited for jobs in food processing or packing (p. 116). This statement suggests how gendered divisions of labour persist within the agricultural bureaucracy. These gender

ideologies are re-presented in certain news articles that focus on migrant women workers in the agricultural sector. One news story that represented women migrant farm workers involved a group of workers from Mexico, both men and women, who were hired to work at a bait farm¹⁰. One reporter writes:

Desperate Mexican migrant workers who came to Canada for the promise of money say that [their] dream has been shattered because jobs here don't deliver the expected cash. But the man running the worm-picking business employing the Mexicans say any misfortune is of their own making, because they are city people who can't handle the rigours of farm work. The migrant workers, many of them single mothers, are based in Guelph and pick worms throughout the region for National Bait Inc., a Mississauga firm. The workers say they can't make enough money to wire anything to their poor families. (Kirsch, 2004: A1).

In this article the women migrant farm workers are framed as 'failures', in terms of how they are quoted as well as represented by the reporter and their employers. Their devaluation and 'failure' is reinforced throughout the article between quotations chosen by the reporter from workers and employers. Hence the 'failure' of (single parent) migrant women in the farm sector is suggested in this article, and even serves as the central event around which the story is written. (See van Dijk, 1991: 178).

A paternalistic and demeaning tone is used by owner Joseph Hauptert to describe the female workers. In the above excerpt Hauptert is indirectly quoted as saying that the 'misfortune' of the workers 'is of their own making', suggesting that it was their fault that they could not perform in such a way as comparable to the other workers (Kirsch, 2004: A1). Later in the article the son of Joseph Hauptert, James Hauptert, is quoted as saying: 'they just wanted to be on vacation here' (Kirsch, 2004: A1), thus reinforcing the tone initiated by his father.

The gendering of the performance of the workers is concealed within the article. While it is later suggested in the article that Joseph Hauptert felt the workers could not keep up because of their status as 'professionals, who have little or no experience

¹⁰ The workers referred to here came to Canada under the federal government's pilot program for unskilled foreign workers as opposed to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. Because their work, however, took place on a farm, the representations of them in the news articles selected are relevant to this study.

working on farms’, the underlying reason why he believes that they cannot ‘keep up’ with others, which include ‘other Mexicans’ is because they are women. When Joseph Haupt and his son refer to the ‘inferiority’ and ‘laziness’ of the workers who ‘just wanted to be on vacation’ what is insinuated is that these are the female employees – ‘many of them single mothers’ the reporter writes. At the same time, Haupt’s description of the workers’ professions suggests a classed reaction. Haupt is not providing a critical analysis of class relations in Mexico in his statement. Instead, what is implied is his desire to have less educated, less articulate, less metropolitan and more ‘backwards rural-type’, more grateful, more submissive ‘good’ workers to employ.

This desire is revealed in other articles on this story¹¹ (see Richmond, 2004a: B5 and Richmond, 2004b: A10) that highlight the resistance of certain female migrant workers over their working conditions. In one article the reporter writes:

A group of Mexican migrant workers has banded together to sign a declaration denouncing their Canadian employer and asking for help getting new jobs...Twenty-three workers signed a declaration yesterday that charged National Bait Inc., a Mississauga company, with misleading and mistreating them...In interviews with *The Free Press* this week, the workers, many of them single mothers, said they have not received full pay and the company is holding their passports and other documents. They also complained they have been denied proper medical care and water and latrines while on the job. The workers say National Bait has threatened to send them back to Mexico if they complain. (Richmond, 2004a: B5).

In another article by the same reporter published a day earlier, Haupt is quoted as describing two of the female workers in particular as ‘ringleaders’, whom he was going to order deported the next day (Richmond, 2004b: A10). He then is quoted as saying: ‘they are bringing in the drug trade...one of the women is a hooker’ (Richmond, 2004b: A10). These responses by Haupt demonstrate not only blatantly racist, and nationalist,

¹¹ These other articles were not found through the Canadian Business and Current Affairs database search. Instead, they were found using Lexis Nexis. Their use was motivated by a phone conversation with Kerry Preibisch, who indicated the derogatory comments for which Joseph Haupt was quoted in the *London Free Press*.

sentiment, but also a particular anger on the ability of these women – particularly single parent women – in resisting his authority. What is suggested by Hauptert's comments is a desire to contain these women from protesting with any sort of dignity. His criminalization of sexualization of these women are especially mired in racially gendered and classed ideologies. At the same time, in his frustration, his actual perceptions of these women become clear. In opposition to other comments made by Hauptert, which indicated his disdain for these workers because of their status as 'professionals', these more derogatory comments are contradictory. Here we can observe the slipperiness of how racialized individuals are spoken of and perceived in different situations. At the same time, the reactions of Hauptert indicate the way in which the acceptance of migrant workers is conditional upon their being obedient and grateful for the 'opportunity' to work hard in Canada.

Turning our attention back to the excerpt included at the outset of this chapter on migrant farm workers, the reporter writes that (male) migrant farm workers are 'grateful' to 'abandon' their families back home (Welch, 2000a: A1). In another article a reporter writes:

When the men are not working they watch TV, play dominoes or chat. Anything to occupy their time during the eight months they're away from their families./'The family gets used to it,' said Gordon, a father of two, of the long separations. 'The men, it's their responsibility to make money and send it home. That's the man's responsibility wherever you are.'/ 'I miss my family yeah, but I've got to make some money,' said [another migrant farm worker Mel] Williams. (Martensson, 2002: A5).

An analysis of these characterizations of male migrant farm workers in relation to the portrayal of the single mother migrant farm workers explains how differently they are constructed. Male migrant farm workers in these articles are portrayed as successful providers for their families. Numerous articles also emphasize the role of these men as consumers, for their families – highlighting their purchases of entertainment and kitchen appliances and other consumer goods (see Welch, 2000b: G3 for example). Likewise, as Tanya Basok's (2002) research on migrant farm workers who work in Leamington, Ontario indicates that money earned is usually spent on housing needs, children's

education, and investments in land, livestock and/or small businesses (pp. 132-134).

Therefore in relation to the portrayal of single mother migrant workers, these men are not characterized as failures, but as succeeding in working, and in turn providing, for their families. This type of characterization also serves to normalize the figure of the 'absentee father'. One article, entitled 'Far From Home; In Mexico, wives worry and children wait while migrant workers tend our farms' (Marr, 2002: A08) further normalizes this positioning, as well as constructs the family from whom the worker is separated, as passive. This represents a gendered portrayal of the 'worrying wife', who is aligned with the 'waiting children'.

If we contrast the constructs of these men in relation to female domestic workers, a further gendering of migrant labour is becomes known. In the case of Leticia Cables, her separation from her family is described in several articles as a 'sacrifice'. This type of descriptor reinforces the socially constructed tie between responsibilities of social reproduction and women, therefore further normalizing the feminized role of family care (as opposed to economic family 'care'). While the ways in which male parent migrant farm workers and single-parent female migrant farm and (non-single) female parent domestic workers are gendered, also underlying the ways in which they are characterized is also the discursive practices which normalize the transnational separation of families for purposes of work. This demonstrates a particularly neo-liberal discourse that encourages measures such as these while concealing the emotional, social and political impact. The topic of neo-liberal subjectivity will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Who Cares?

Overall the gendering of positions, where farm work is masculinized and domestic work is feminized, constitutes a normalization and naturalization of gender roles. The normalization of the categorization of racialized women from less economically advanced countries as migrant domestic workers is further reinforced in the ways that male migrant domestic workers are represented in the mainstream print media. As a result, migrant women working in the farm sector, as indicated above, and migrant men working in the domestic sector become anomalized in the media.

One article in the *National Post*, which reports on a male Philipino live-in domestic worker working in the Rosedale neighbourhood of Toronto is entitled ‘Hey, why isn't my nanny that cool?: Male caregivers: On the 'nanny scene' they stared at first. Now the other moms are jealous’ (Eckler, 2002: AL4). The lead paragraph reads, ‘Like many children in the Rosedale neighbourhood of Toronto, three-year-old Julian Carter has a full-time nanny. Except in Julian's case the nanny isn't a she but a he’. Noteworthy is that the mere fact that Olavario is a man is the central event for the story. In the article, the reporter also mentions that this domestic worker, whose name is Jaycen Olavario, ‘came to Canada...with his girlfriend’, who is also a domestic worker. The reporter is therefore careful to notify the reader of Olavario’s heterosexual relationship status. Later in the article, the reporter writes:

‘Can I offer you anything to drink?’ asks 25-year-old Jaycen Olavario, the nanny, as soon as I walk in to the house. ‘Are you sure?’ he asks again, when I decline./A true gentleman, I think to myself.../‘I don't know any other male nannies,’ he says. ‘I think I'm the first here. Most other male caregivers work with the elderly. I think I'm something of a novelty’.../ Olavario sleeps on the second floor of the three-storey house, in a bedroom across the hall from Julian's room. (Olavario's room is mostly decorated in pink. Even the bedspread is flowery.)/ On weekends, he goes to the apartment he shares with his girlfriend in Mississauga./Olavario is the fifth nanny Moffat has had in the past two years./“I had such difficulty finding a good nanny,” she says, moaning. “I heard that Jaycen's girlfriend was good, but then someone said, 'You know, you should really talk to Jaycen.' I first met Jaycen to do the interview at a Starbucks, and something clicked immediately. I asked him if he could start Monday.” (Eckler, 2002: AL4).

Here we see more clearly a questioning of Olavario’s sexual orientation, because of his profession, and later a firm ‘justification’ that he is not gay. Initially the reporter prompts this questioning, by way of the gendered and heterosexist positioning of Olavario – his ‘gentlemanly’ manners and ‘pink’ and ‘flowery’ bedroom décor. But then ‘confirms’ that he has a girlfriend and is quick to state that he is not gay. The reporter seems to be

playing with the readership, as a way to keep the reader 'engaged' and 'entertained'. Later in the article the reporter writes: "All the stereotypes you might expect to hear about a male nanny were heard. "My husband was, like, 'He must be gay,'" says Moffat. Here, Olavario interrupts: "I'm not!" (Eckler, 2002: AL4). Here the reporter thus 'gives the answer' to the 'big question'. The fact that this article is published in the 'Arts & Life' section (rather than News or Business) also plays on the overall gendered discourse of domestic work. This demonstrates a normalized heterosexist and homophobic discourse.

The positioning of Olavario's employers is significant here. This is the only article on domestic workers in which a male citizen-employer has been quoted, either directly or indirectly. This presence of a male voice suggests that the reporter is trying to make it clear, once it is confirmed that Olavario is not gay, that there is not 'threat' of an intimate and conjugal relationship between Moffatt and her male domestic employee. Notable is that this is also the only article in which going to a regular weekend dwelling of a domestic worker is constructed as an acceptable practice. Again, this suggests a gendered acceptance of a male worker having greater entitlement to this kind of mobility.

Another article (while not published in a national or Ontario-based newspaper, but worth analyzing, especially in relation to the above article) from the *Calgary Herald*, where the event is a male domestic worker is entitled, 'Unique arrangement works for family' (Tavender, 2006: N15). The article contrasts the position of Debbie Gillis, the citizen-employer – 'a single mother with full-time custody of her three children who range in age from seven to 11 years' with 'her male nanny, Nobert Delmonte...who hails from the Philippines'. Later in the article the reporter writes, that while Gillis's responsibilities are 'a lot to manage...Gillis does with help from an atypical source -- her male nanny'. In this article, the employer and her domestic worker are differently framed than in the previous article. Here the single status of Gillis is emphasized, while there is no mention of any intimate sexual relationships that Gillis may be involved in. Instead, the relationship between Delmonte and Gillis is framed conventionally, into gendered roles, where Delmonte provides a fulfillment in the 'stable male' lack of Gillis' life. At the same time, Delmonte's role in Gillis' children's lives is framed differently than those of female migrant domestic worker. The reporter writes, "[Delmonte will] sit down and

play Xbox and build Lego with my son ... he'll go to every soccer game.... He's like a bud or an older brother,' Gillis explains" (Tavender, 2006: N15). This demonstrates a playful relationship between Delmonte and Gillis' son, whereas articles on female migrant domestic workers emphasize other elements of care, including feeding the children, and duties such as cooking and cleaning. Play is not a central practice that is used to describe the relations between female migrant domestic workers and the children for whom they 'care'.

An analysis of articles in Canadian mainstream print media helps to understand how, in the ways that they are represented, migrant workers are contained. These representations are both racially classed and racially gendered, and incorporate discourses of neo-liberalism, modern citizenship and the global citizenship divide, which serve to reinforce the naturalization of 'Third World' people into positions of unfreedom and subordination. This type of representation is a result of historical-material conditions of unfree labour relations whereby particular communities have been over-exploited through unfree labour relations, and simultaneously differentiated based on processes of racialization that have served to fulfill capitalist class interests. Certainly the class positionings of reporters who write on migrant work, community members of the towns in which migrant workers live and work, as well as the employers who hire migrant workers are debatable, in other words they do not constitute what Marx defines as the 'capitalist class', as well as varying. However, the analysis provided here demonstrates that amongst them (in the ways that they characterize migrant workers), is a shared experience as national subjects. The following chapter will build on this analysis by examining the emotionality of media representations of migrant workers. To what extent are migrant workers emotionally contained, specifically in relation to their citizen-employers? How is multiculturalist discourse embedded within the emotional management of migrant workers and the emotional entitlements of citizen-employers? How is this discourse racialized, classed and gendered?

Chapter Three – Conditional ‘love’: Representations of migrant workers in the Canadian media

But does she love you? What do you really know of what she says about you when she is home? What have you done to earn the right to talk about her? (hooks and Mesa-Bains, 2006: 38).

These questions are a response by bell hooks to a white woman who claimed that she and her family ‘loved’ their Black maid. A critical discourse analysis of mainstream Canadian news print press reveals that this kind of statement of ‘love’ expressed by the white woman is commonly expressed by citizen-employers of migrant domestic workers and farm owners towards their non-citizen employees. What does this ‘love’ really mean and why is there such a tendency to profess this type of emotion? How can the emotionality of texts be read in relation to the production and re-production of nationalist sentiment? Furthermore, what do emotions have to do with the construct of both the ‘member citizen’ of the Canadian multicultural nation-state and the ‘non-member’?

This chapter expands on the notion of conditional inclusion for migrant workers within the broader context of the ‘tolerant’ and multicultural nation-state. The analysis here, however, focuses on the emotionality of newspaper articles – which emotions are represented in the media, and how? At the same time, this chapter aims to analyze how the media participates in evoking certain emotions, which in turn draw support from those national subjects who are not directly invested in unfree migrant labour. For example, these national subjects may not be involved in the actual hiring of migrant workers themselves, but are members of the national ‘we’ that is reinforced through the types of sentiments used to draw them in. In turn, the reinforcement of this ‘we’ perpetuates the character of its membership, which excludes full participation by those who are racialized in various ways.

This chapter will explore what types of emotions are effectively expressed, as well as how they are represented – that is who they are attached to and in what ways. Such an analysis provides a particular understanding on the socio-political and cultural

conditions of inclusion and exclusion faced by migrant workers. Overall it offers a new perspective in the critical understanding of the cultural and socio-political representations of migrant workers in the Canadian context. At the same time it reveals the extent to which emotions are a significant component in the construction of a national 'we', of a nationalist collective sentiment that brings the 'we' closer together through the exclusion of others.

The Social Organization of Emotions

Sara Ahmed (2004) writes that emotions are transferred and circulate through a 'rippling' effect, "they move sideways (through 'sticky' associations between signs, figures and objects) as well as forwards and backwards" (p. 45). The concept of an affective economy helps to articulate the way in which emotions are produced and circulated, as well as increase in magnitude as a result of circulation. The project of nation-building requires such a circulation of emotions if it is to be successful and meet the objectives and values of those in power. For example, if we consider discourses of 'national security', in order to sustain that collective 'we' amongst dominant subjects, required is the emotional construct of the 'terrorist' and 'irrational' other. The fear that is constructed and evoked as a result must be continuously circulated, and in doing so, be increased in strength and magnitude in order to maintain support for and even mobilize the collective 'we' around national security.

A critical component of the affective economy is the organization of emotions. Embedded in this organization is the association of emotions with particular bodies, and how such associations may vary depending on what types of bodies are implicated. Ahmed uses the concept of 'sticky emotions' to explain how "those who are 'other' to me or us, or those that threaten to make us other, remain the source of bad feeling in this model of emotional intelligence" (pp. 3-4). In turn white bodies become the source of rationality, whilst racialized bodies are aligned with irrationality. Alison Jaggar (1989) provides a theoretical framework based on the notion that emotions are socially constructed 'within a capitalist, white supremacist, male-dominant society' (p. 143). Jaggar offers the concept of emotional hegemony to describe the privileging of emotions that are associated with dominant subjects. Within an emotional hegemony those in

power are most aligned with reason/thought and rationality, while those who are not may be seen as irrational. Reason/thought is therefore associated with ‘dominant political, social, and cultural groups and emotion with members of subordinate groups’ (p. 141). Certain emotions that are considered ‘conventionally unacceptable’ such as anger, feeling disturbed or fear, become perceived as ‘outlaw’, particularly when associated with racially gendered and classed individuals (p. 144). In other words, those ‘subordinated individuals who pay a disproportionately high price for maintaining the status quo’ are perceived as often experiencing outlaw emotions (p. 144). Outlaw emotions are therefore emotions that stick more easily to the surfaces of ‘othered’ bodies.

As a result, depending on who they are attached to at a certain point in time, certain emotions, namely those associated with rationality, thought and reason, become “‘elevated’...signs of cultivation, whilst others remain ‘lower’ as signs of weakness” (Ahmed, 2004: 3). As well, the ability to legitimately associate a particular emotion with a particular body, for example ‘anger’ and ‘irrationality’ with racialized women, is also determined by particular power relations within a white-dominated society. Inherent in the organization of emotions is hence an ordering that produces a type of socio-emotional hierarchy.

In this chapter I will attempt to examine critically which emotions citizen-subjects are entitled to express publicly in relation to non-citizen migrant workers. In the case of love, for example, while the white subject may be entitled to express ‘love’ towards her Black maid, is the worker allowed to respond publicly with anger or rage? As hooks (in hooks and Mesa-Bains, 2006) states, in further responding to the white woman who says she ‘loved’ her Black maid:

Of course, I remembered that when my mother came home, the critique that she brought to bear on the white people that she worked for was *fierce*. They would not have been able to imagine it. She would come home and do a gendered critique, or do a critique of the idea of female freedom, of the white female leisure-class model in a way that the white people she worked for did not see because of their racism and classism. (P. 38).

If hooks’ mother did express this honesty in a public manner, what would the

consequences be? Would she continue to be 'loved', or even hired for that matter? Or, is this 'love' (and employment) conditional on the basis of the maid's subservience and silence? As Ahmed (2004) contends, 'love' when expressed by a dominant subject for an othered subject within a multicultural society is conditional. She refers to this type of expression as 'multicultural love'. Multicultural love may be articulated by the multicultural subject towards those who are 'recognizable as strangers' (p. 134). It is expressed because to completely reject these strangers would reflect 'the failure of multiculturalism to deliver' an ideal image of the 'loving' nation that is open to and celebrative of difference and diversity (p. 139). In order to maintain this ideal, the multicultural subject, however, requires that strangers 'learn to be' like the citizen (134). Therefore the migrant worker must become 'like the Canadian' in order to be loveable. At the same time, if the migrant worker does not return a 'loving' sentiment back to the multicultural subject, the reaction is to turn against the migrant stranger. This unrequited love, in turn, signifies the migrant's failure. Underlying multicultural love is that the decision to 'love' or 'not love' is that held by the subject. In turn, this decision-making process contributes to the production and reproduction of the ideal multicultural loving nation, which requires the presence of exploitable objects.

The Emotionality of Neo-liberalism

When considering then how migrant domestic workers and farm workers are represented in the mainstream press, what emotions are they allowed or not allowed to express publicly, particularly in relation to the emotional expressions of their citizen-employers? How are these emotional expressions discursively framed? How do their conditions of unfree work extend into their emotionality? The broader context that must be considered is that of the neo-liberal nation, and in turn, the affective make-up of the neo-liberal citizen-subject. What emotions are called upon by the citizen-members of society in consolidating a nationalist sentiment in a period of neo-liberalism?

Daiva Stasiulis and Abigail B. Bakan (2003) point out that the neo-liberal discourse of the state urges citizens to be diligent in acquiring a variety of skills, in being multifaceted, in practicing self-discipline, entrepreneurship, and resilience in 'riding the roller coaster vagaries of business cycles, technological changes, and restructuring of

national and local economies' (p. 22). What this suggests is that citizens are increasingly encouraged to take on measures of economic security and overall wellbeing at an individual level, rather than relying on governments to stabilize insecure markets through subsidies or other types of assistance. Overall, this call to citizens requires them to be more independent and self-reliant.

At the same time dominant neo-liberal discourses construct the neo-liberal subject as free and autonomous from systems of oppression. This freedom is also abstracted from relations of power as a result the “‘free-market’ ideology of the supreme individualist consumer with endless choices and freedoms” (Cabezas, Reese and Waller, 2006: 505). Amalia L. Cabezas, Ellen Reese and Marguerite Waller (2006) identify the Western neo-liberal subject as a ‘virtuous imperialist’ who is impermeable and abstracted from relations of power, but also ‘emotionally traumatized by [her] own violent history of domination, and addicted to preserving an illusion of absolute moral superiority’ (pp. 540-505). An analysis of the magazine *Marie Claire* by Jennifer Lynn Stoeber (in Cabezas, Reese and Waller, 2006) examines how this subjectivity is what enables ‘upper-middle class women with improved visions of themselves as multicultural, neo-feminist activists’ to be simultaneously comfortable as ‘consumers in the marketplace of fashion and body-sculpting and spectators of horrific depictions of human rights abuses against women in the third world’ (p. 505). As a result the Western neo-liberal upper-middle class female subject is positioned as both the autonomous political agent, in relation and contrast to ‘the passive, miserable women in the third world plagued by a monotonous array of gender, economic and political injustices’ (p. 505). Therefore, when considered *in relation to* ‘miserable third world women’ the Western female neo-liberal subject becomes more aligned with the rational Western male neo-liberal subject. But the subjectivity of the Western female neo-liberal subject should also be considered when only in relation to her male counterpart.

In relation to the Western neo-liberal male subject the Western female neo-liberal subject may be perceived as more emotionally affected by the ‘miserable third world women’. The Western male neo-liberal subject, however, who is expected to be (as well as performs being), less ‘in touch with’ his emotions, continues to present:

a facade of coolness, lack of excitement, even boredom [and expresses]

emotion only rarely and then for relatively trivial events, such as sporting occasions, where the emotions expressed are acknowledged to be dramatized and so are not taken seriously. (Jaggar, 1989: 142).

The autonomy of the Western neo-liberal male subject may be tied more with concern for his financial stability, and being able to ride the waves of 'business cycles, technological changes, and restructuring of national and local economies' (Stasiulus and Bakan, 2003: 22), while maintaining his role as the provider for him, and/or his family.

The relations between neo-liberal citizen-subjects and their non-citizen migrant worker employees, however, require more careful consideration. In the case of migrant domestic workers, the upper middle class neo-liberal female subject who employs them is no longer a distant observer of the 'miserable third world woman', but in closer and more direct proximity with a 'Third-world woman'. Therefore what happens when the upper middle class neo-liberal female becomes the employer of the 'Third World woman', who both lives in her home and looks after her children? Meanwhile different factors must be considered for the neo-liberal male farmer subject who hires migrant farm workers. Not only are citizen-farmers largely male, but also located in rural areas (as opposed to the urban and suburban spaces occupied by employers of migrant domestic workers). Furthermore, the perceived class status of urban and suburban employers of migrant domestic workers is different than that of rural employers of migrant farm workers. There may be a perceived elitism and cosmopolitanism attributed to the urban and suburban middle class, which is not associated with rural farmers. Farmers, particularly small-scale family farmers, may not be seen as the holders of cultural capital, especially in relation to their urban and suburban counterparts. This, however, does not mean that citizen-farmers do not have their own specific entitlements to the landscape which they occupy. Their imagined belonging to this national landscape is discussed below. The different ways in which citizen-employers of migrant workers are gendered and classed, in relation to the affectiveness of media texts, will be discussed later in this paper.

'Love' as Conditional

The following news articles demonstrate how 'love' is expressed by both citizen-employers of migrant domestic workers and farm workers. As suggested above, the

conditions under which a migrant worker might be 'loved', is just that, conditional. The analysis of articles suggests that it is when workers are described as being 'good' and 'hardworking', and therefore 'deserving' of any fair treatment while in Canada, that they may be 'loved' or perceived 'as family'. Furthermore, as Ahmed points out, this "idealisation of the object [of affection] is not 'about' the object, or even directed to the object, but is an effect of the ideal image that the subject has of itself" (Ahmed, 2004: 127). By claiming to 'love' the worker the citizen-employer or member of the community is in fact valorizing themselves as part of this act (and the multicultural nation), rather than the worker. The following article, entitled 'Industrious nanny leaves Edmonton for Manila' was published in the *Globe and Mail*:

Leticia Cables, the nanny who ran afoul of immigration authorities by working too hard, finally left Canada yesterday with a promise she won't be gone for long./Mrs. Cables was ordered deported in July. She took refuge in an Edmonton church to await word on an application to have the courts consider her case, while repeated pleas were made to the Immigration Minister to intervene. Neither worked.../ 'I am so hopeful,' she said, noting that Immigration Minister Elinor Caplan has voiced no objections to her returning./Mrs. Cables, 42, also expressed deep thanks to her supporters and the strangers who have sent letters and money. 'The people of Canada are very generous. They have helped me.'.../ If [Cables] is successful [in returning], she has a guaranteed job offer from Deborah Kruhlak, who employed Mrs. Cables for a month after Immigration officials granted her a temporary work permit on Christmas Eve./ 'I have a lot of feeling swirling around in my head. I feel scared for her. I feel confused. My heart feels broken. It's like when your best friend is leaving. I'm just really scared. I just want her to come back soon,' Mrs. Kruhlak said. (Mahoney, 2000: A7).

As mentioned in the previous chapter Leticia Cables was a domestic worker whose story gained heightened news coverage between August 1999 and March 2000. One of the reasons why Cables' was featured in the media was because she had been ordered deported by the government for working for more than one employer at a time, which,

according to the regulations of her work permit, was a violation. Cables became known in the media as 'the nanny who worked too hard'. In many of the articles Cables is mainly quoted for saying positive and hopeful things about Canada. Cables is therefore constructed as a good, hardworking domestic worker, appreciative of the 'opportunity' to work in Canada, and therefore deserving of support for her return to Canada. At the same time, constructed through these expressions is Canada as a 'generous' nation. The reference to Cables' being granted a work permit on Christmas Eve further compels the reader to perceive the nation-state as generous. This 'giving' image of the nation-state is further reinforced through the way in which Cables' employer, Deborah Kruhlack is represented, which is discussed in more detail below. Kruhlack, the national citizen-subject, is similarly constructed as a 'generous' and 'sympathetic' figure.

Cables exhibits all of the characteristics that make her 'loveable'. She is made 'loveable' in the ways that the reporter describes her, as well as in how she is described by her citizen-employer (also a result of the reporter's actions). At the same time, there is an expectation of Cables to be 'loveable' as a result of her working within an affective field of labour. As Bridget Anderson (2000) contends, the line between 'care as labour and care as emotion...can be very difficult to distinguish' for domestic workers (pp. 114-115). Cables' position as a 'loveable' nanny is therefore reinforced by this blurred boundary.

Cables' citizen-employer expresses emotions of closeness towards Cables, and sadness that she is leaving. She says that she is both 'scared' for Cables, and 'confused'. She also refers to Cables as a 'best friend'. Referring back to Ahmed's positioning of the subject in professing 'love' for an object, however, are Kruhlack's expressions more than about her own ego? As well, does Cables feel this 'love' towards Kruhlack?

Kruhlack becomes understood from this article as very emotional. In other words, she becomes known to the reader through her feelings. At the same time, because the responsibilities of social reproduction of the Canadian citizen-family, particularly in a neo-liberal economy, are placed heavily on citizen-women, Kruhlack's position is already naturalized for the readership. As Kate Bezenson and Meg Luxton (2006) point out, 'a new ideal of good mothering and intensified concerns about women's devotion to social

reproduction [have been] acute in the developing neo-liberal gender order'. This ideal, emphasized under neo-conservative, neo-liberal government regimes which cut social spending on communities and families, blames 'families – and mothers in particular – for failing to take responsibility for their members' (p. 6). It is not surprising, for instance, that in all of the articles reviewed on migrant domestic workers (except the one mentioned in the previous article), it is always the women of the citizen-family household who is quoted and represented as the employer of migrant domestic workers. The popular perception that women are responsible for social reproduction is therefore reflected in the reporter's choice to only seek quotations from the citizen-woman employer of domestic workers. Both the gendering of particular emotions, and the neo-liberal ideology of the middle-class citizen-mother contribute to the ease with which the readership may accept Kruhlack's positioning and emotional expressions.

What is absent from the article, however, is Kruhlack's classed positioning in relation to Cables. In other words, the reality is that Kruhlack feels this way because she is losing her non-citizen employee, and therefore the ability to pursue her own objectives based on the subordination of a non-Canadian citizen is not mentioned. Here is where neo-liberal discourse also informs the absence of information in the text. This absence further masks the relations of social reproduction, whereby childcare is a not a priority for the state and remains an individualized and private responsibility. In turn, childcare is not recognized as a critical issue within society. The hiring of migrant domestic workers thus occurs beneath this private social problem, which further conceals the conditions of migrant domestic work (Arat-Koç, 2006: 87-88).

Sedef Arat-Koç (2006) argues that migrant domestic workers fulfill the needs of middle-class women, who, in a neo-liberal economy, can only access "the public sphere 'as men's equals'". Notable is that to be 'man-like' is not to be socially, politically and economically equal with men, but to perform certain tasks 'like men'. The inequality that persists between men and women, in general, is reflected in the ways in which social reproduction continues to be the responsibility of women. Arat-Koç writes further:

What makes a female employer of a migrant worker appear manlike and 'independent' – that is, of family responsibilities – in her own workplace is precisely her dependency on an invisible worker. Migrant workers are

ideally suited to support this type of labour-market participation, since they can be (made to be) more flexible than citizen workers. Such flexibility is made possible by the vulnerability of the – migrant or undocumented – non-citizenship status, often associated with a lack or near impossibility of asserting labour rights. (Pp. 88-89).

Thus, the ‘sadness’ and ‘confusion’ of Kruhlack may be read not as a genuine sadness for the well-being of Cables, but feelings of sadness and confusion for her own career situation, which is now compromised by the lack of a flexible nanny who can attend to Kruhlack’s need as an employer. This sadness is not only naturalized because of the gendered association of emotionality with women (Jaggar, 1989: 141), but also because neo-liberal discourses drive citizens to forge ahead, unaware of the systemic oppression in which they are implicated. When this forward moving motion, this acceleration, comes to a stop, other neo-liberal citizen-subjects may sympathize with emotions of loss. Furthermore, Kruhlack’s sadness also works to distract from the injustice of Cables’ deportation order, as well as the broader context that requires Cables to leave her family and to seek work in Canada (without the option of family reunification for several years while in Canada). As a result of this distracting affect of Kruhlack’s misery, she becomes absolved of her role and responsibility in the systemic oppression of migrant domestic workers.

A number of articles focusing on migrant farm workers also express a certain kind of ‘love’ by suggesting that they are ‘like family’ to citizen-farm owners. In one article the relationship between the citizen-farmer and non-citizen worker is likened to that of marriage (Churchill, 1999: F8). In the lead paragraph the reporter writes, ‘not many relationships pass the 30-year mark’ (Churchill, 1999: F8). Later in the article, it states:

Foreign workers provide Niagara farmers with a core of dependable labour during the peak season. Niagara farmers, in turn, provide foreign workers with the chance to improve their standard of living at home. It’s a marriage of convenience, but one that seems to be working. (Churchill, 1999: F8).

The comparison of the relationship between citizen-farmer and non-citizen worker to marriage, whether out of convenience or not, is a distortion of the actual conditions that

define the relations between the two. At the same time, it parallels the xenophobic ideology that those who are (made) foreign to Canada use marriage to a Canadian citizen as a way to get into the country. This is particularly relevant as later in the article migrant workers from 'Mexico, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and other Caribbean islands' are described as part of the 'latest wave' to arrive in Canada as seasonal agricultural workers (Churchill, 1999: F8). This type of discourse suggests that workers are coming in as a force of nature, like a threatening 'tropical storm from the South', instilling a sense of fear amongst 'you/us' the reader. Thus the arrival of workers is naturalized, but not without an element of threat. Notable is also how rational the relationship between the citizen-farmer and his worker is made out to be. Absent in articles in which there is any articulation of a 'family-type' bond by the male citizen-farmer (towards their migrant farm workers) are they tearful or wracked with emotion.

Significant about this article (in terms of how the 'loving family bonds' are described), is that there are not quotations, direct or indirect, from the farm workers themselves. Therefore it is presupposed that they would return this feeling towards their citizen-employer. What is suggested, however, is that if they were to complain about the conditions of their work, they would not be 'loveable' anymore. We can see the affective impact of a citizen-employer's unrequited love later in the same article. The reporter writes, 'in the fall of 1995, a Canadian union's unsubstantiated claims of abuse by employers infuriated farmers and provoked fear among workers that the program would be cancelled' (Churchill, 1999: F8). This sentence not only implies that the union's claims were 'unsubstantiated', therefore disqualifying any concerns of abuse, but also that migrant farm workers responded with 'fear'. One might argue that also presupposed is the emotional reaction of farmers, however, given that farm owners' voices are prominent in the text one can assume this might be an indirect quote taken from a farm owner. Meanwhile the rest of the article contains a number of clauses which defend the position of the farmer in hiring migrant workers. The reporter states such things as, '[the workers] don't mind the heavy demands and are fully covered by workers' compensation if they're injured on the job'. A farmer is quoted as saying:

We're not here to take advantage of these people. We're helping them out because they don't have work in their country and they're helping us out

because we don't have a reliable core of good labour...most of the workers who have come here have come because they want to do something better for their family. (Churchill, 1999: F8).

Again, not only are the farm workers spoken for, but the claims made by the union (on behalf of migrant farm workers) are further discredited as a result of these statements.

Outlaw Emotions

News stories where migrant workers do express outlaw emotions such as frustration or anger against their conditions of work are limited, and yet telling. Amongst the few articles that were published on a protest by migrant farm workers in Leamington, Ontario in Spring, 2001, they are framed as irrational. One reporter writes, 'a flood of stories and questions poured from a swarm of Mexican migrant workers Sunday during a visit by union leaders, Toronto journalists and a local MP' (Welch, 2001: A1). Note that farm workers are described as both 'a swarm' and 'Mexican', whereas the other figures are not described by way of how they are ethnicised/racialized, but merely by their professional titles. In other words, their positioning within Whiteness remains unquestioned. As well, migrant farm workers are likened to a swarm of bees, unwelcomed, possibly a threat if not least a nuisance for voicing their concerns. Nowhere in this article is there any 'love' declared for migrant farm workers. Meanwhile the title of the article 'Migrants air workplace complaints' implies that the farm workers are merely 'airing out' minor complaints, letting some steam out, rather than raising significant political issues.

One article in which migrant farmworkers are provided with substantial space, in terms of being directly quoted and enabled to provide highly descriptive accounts of their working conditions is particularly telling. In this article, the citizen-farmer who employs these workers is himself a racialized individual, and is framed in such a way as to distinguish his behaviour from other non-racialized employers. The reporter writes:

Twenty-six people crammed into one house./A worker charged \$20 by his boss to be driven to a doctor./Working with metal tools in the middle of a thunderstorm./These were among complaints listed by Mexican migrant farm workers who agreed to talk to the York Region Newspaper Group

about their living and working conditions in the Holland Marsh area./The first batch of complaints came from Peter, who read them from a piece of paper he pulled out of his pocket./Complaints also included verbal abuse by the farm owner and a supervisor and not being allowed any visitors -- including members of the church they attend -- during off hours./Peter is not his real name. He and his compadres asked pseudonyms be used because they fear reprisal from their boss./The reprisal they fear most is being sent back to Mexico before their work contract is ended./A farm owner can send a worker back for any reason and the worker has no right of appeal, says Stan Raper of the United Farm and Commercial Workers. Once sent back, it becomes difficult for the worker to return the following year.../The five workers said their employer is Chinese, as are some of the other farm workers./"All the Chinese workers have power over us, even though they're just workers, too," Peter said. "They scream at us and intimidate us. They expect the Mexicans to have the same stamina as Chinese workers who are used to doing this."/Juan claimed Chinese workers also have better housing conditions, better pay and someone to cook for them. (Varley, 2001: 1).

In this article, unlike others, migrant farm workers are directly and indirectly quoted clearly and coherently on their concerns. While their ability to self-represent is limited by the reality of speaking under pseudonyms (which would be the case if they were given the opportunity to speak out against a non-racialized farm owner) their concerns are given weight because their employer is himself racialized, and this is made extremely clear in the article. The focus on the antagonistic relationship between 'Mexican' and 'Chinese' workers is a clear ideological representation that characterizes racialized groups as inherently unable to form 'cordial' and 'civilized' relationships with each other. This is a hyperbole, which draws on the multiculturalist discourse, that emphasizes the 'bad behaviours' of racialized groups over the 'good behaviour' of white people to 'get along', be 'tolerant' and 'accepting'. This hyperbole is reinforced later in the article when the reporter describes the relations between another farmer and his workers:

John Gorzo Jr., who runs a farm with his father, said the farm employs only two Mexican workers./‘Our workers have been coming back year after year,’ he said. ‘They’ve got accustomed to us and we’ve got accustomed to them.’/As far as Mr. Gorzo knows, his workers have no complaints.../Luis, now in his fourth year as a migrant worker, said he has been with his current employer for a little more than a month and both the farmer and his wife, who are Italian, treat him well. (Varley, 2004: 1).

The qualification that Luis’ employers are ‘Italian’ therefore justifies the earlier concerns made against the ‘Chinese’ farm owner. At the same time, there is a particular racialization of Luis in mentioning that he is Italian, as farm owners mentioned in other stories, who are presumably (more) ‘White’ are not described in terms of ethnicity. This story should also be considered in relation to others where migrant farm workers have been reprimanded due to concerns they raised about their employers in other situations, namely where the employers were white. In these situations, farm workers are treated as suspect, their concerns are minimalized, and are spoken of in particularly paternalistic ways. The responses of citizen-farmers are prioritized over workers.

One article, “Migrant workers not ‘sacked’, manager says”, demonstrates the legitimization of citizen-farmers’ comments over workers. In the lead paragraph the reporter writes:

The manager of a Leamington greenhouse said a Caribbean migrant worker who claimed he was ‘sacked’ for whining about a radio station wasn’t fired at all – he asked to be sent home, then turned violent when the manager agreed./‘He asked me to go home so I sent him home,’ said Gilles Paquette, 39, the manager at Hazel Farms, a 10-acre tomato operation./‘I don’t know why he made all that stuff up,’ he said./Eldred Greene, 33, said he was fired six months before his contract with Hazel was slated to end because he complained about the omnipresence of CHYR-FM (96.7), a Leamington adult contemporary station that doesn’t play any of the reggae or soca he prefers./A second worker, Theodore Dacaul, 24, said he was fired for supporting Greene’s anti-CHYR revolt. (Patrick, 2003: A2).

In this article, Greene and Dacaul are clearly constructed as the ‘bad workers’ who ‘caused trouble’, as extreme as a ‘revolt’ for ‘petty’ reasons. They are characterized as violent and irrational, and their actions are constructed as extreme in relation to their concerns. However, to what extent can we be certain that the reporter is providing all details to the story, particularly when Greene and Dacaul are not substantially quoted in the article reinforce the assumed suspicion against them. Instead Greene is only quoted for a very limited selection of phrases, namely ‘sacked’ and is quoted later in the article for describing CHYR for playing music for ‘moms in minivans’. These phrases are irrelevant details, yet they become relevant in order to create a negative portrayal of Greene (see van Dijk, 1991: 185). The article later suggests that Greene’s initial action of wearing headphones on the job is identified as ‘the source of the problem’. The reporter writes: ‘the real problems didn’t start until Greene brought a mini-CD player with a pair of headphones to the greenhouse on Tuesday’ (Patrick, 2003: A2). Notably this is only mentioned after Greene is characterized as violent and irrational. Yet, this initial action becomes rationalized as a problem as a result of the way Greene’s situation is characterized throughout the rest of the article.

While other farmworkers are quoted, they are pitted against Greene and Dacaul. Greene and Dacaul are constructed as extreme in comparison to the others, who are described as ‘preferring CHYR’. The reporter quotes another farm worker Andrew Christopher, who is described as a ‘St. Vincent native and four-year veteran at Hazel’, for saying that “Greene waved the machete and, ‘said he would destroy us’” (Patrick, 2003: A2). Notably, however, none of the other farmworkers are quoted directly or indirectly as saying whether or not they actually did prefer this radio station. Furthermore, as suggested in the article, their participation in speaking against Greene and Dacaul is likely in order to separate themselves from being grouped with these two men, and in turn keep their employment at Hazel’s. Yet, in including the quotation by Christopher, this further legitimizes the claims made by the employer. Instead, his actions may be justified as tolerant, as they are seemingly supported by other ‘Jamaican’ farmworkers.

There is a particularly paternalistic tone used to describe Greene and Dacaul. The choices, for example, the reporter makes in how to characterize Greene as childlike, by interpreting Greene’s complaints as him ‘whining about a radio station’. Paquette is also

quoted as saying ‘I don’t know why they made all that stuff up’, likening Greene and Dacaul to children who lied and told a ‘make belief’ story (Patrick, 2003: A2). Later in the article the reporter even explains how Greene ‘was scolded’ as a result of his ‘behaviour’ (Patrick, 2003: A2).

In the case of domestic workers, the conditions under which they or their advocates may express resistance, anger and/or frustration due to the injustice of their situations are also limited. Advocacy on behalf of and for domestic workers has received similar backlash to the voicing of concerns for or by migrant farm workers. In the case of a reporter who had raised concerns on the conditions of migrant domestic workers, she writes in a follow-up piece:

Recently, I wrote about a non-profit housing project for Filipina women, and mentioned the rights of live-in domestics. From the stung fury of some nanny-employing women who responded, you’d have though I’d accused them of cannibalism. What did I mean by saying that our immigration laws force domestics into indentured servitude? (Landsberg, 1991: J1).

Yet, and possibly in response to the angry reaction of citizen-employers, she writes later:

The working mother’s point of view demands sympathy, too. She’s paying for a live-in nanny precisely because she needs more than 9 to 5 help. And though the wage may seem low to the nanny, it represents a sizable chunk of the employer’s income since she, too, as a woman, is underpaid. She may well resent – and fudge – the obligation to pay overtime. (Landsberg, 1991: J1).

In this quote Landsberg implies that ‘the working mother’ only applies to the citizen-employer, rather than to her and the domestic worker, when in most cases workers are also mothers, but are forced to leave their children and other family at home. She therefore prioritizes the citizen-working mother’s position and needs above those of the domestic worker’s. She further justifies this positioning of the citizen-employer by using a strong clause in relation to the low salary of the domestic worker. She only discusses the domestic worker’s salary in relation to the cost it bears on the citizen-employer. As a result, the overall concerns on domestic workers’ conditions are minimized, and the

angry reactions of the citizen-employers mentioned earlier in the article are made rational. The anger that they express is not sticky in the same way as the anger expressed by ‘Third World’ racialized women, as we shall see further in the examples below.

Another figure that appears particularly rational in relation to those who advocate in support of and in solidarity with domestic worker is the federal government. In 1992 the government proposed a new policy that would require migrant domestic workers to undergo six months of training in order to qualify for their work. (While the media coverage dismisses critiques of this policy, it was later revised). In response INTERCEDE stated that this policy was racist. In some articles that reported on INTERCEDE’s response, the word racist was placed inside quotation marks, thus making their statement questionable. In other articles INTERCEDE’s response is simply denounced. Worth mentioning is that INTERCEDE is an organisation that advocates for the rights of migrant domestic workers, and was instrumental in the changing of policy which previously prevented workers from applying for permanent residency at any time. As well, INTERCEDE staff who are represented in the media are mainly Philipina women who were formerly domestic workers themselves. Joseph Hall from the *Toronto Star* writes:

Ottawa’s new policy on domestic workers is not racist but designed to help both immigrants and their employers, and employment and immigration ministry official say.../But [Ministry press secretary Justin] de Beaucamp says the six-month child training requirement will ensure that Canadian receive quality care for their children. (Hall, 1992: B3).

In the first sentence, which is an indirect quote from a government representative, includes the clause that the new policy ‘is not racist *but* designed to help both immigrants and their employers’ (emphasis added). In the following sentence of the excerpt the reporter extends the initial clause, using his own ‘*but*’ to qualify de Beaucamp’s statement (which is indirectly quoted). This reveals the reporter’s bias in supporting the new policy, as well as the denouncement of INTERCEDE’s statement that it is racist, therefore constructing the state as the rational figure. The indirect quote used by the reporter also reveals a closeness with the government’s perspective. As Fairclough (1995) argues, the use of indirect speech is a way in which boundaries between the

reporter and the source are dissolved, thus translating into 'discourses which fit more easily into the reporter's voice' (p. 81). Meanwhile, a reader responds to INTERCEDE's statement in a letter by saying:

Instead of being racist, the new policy governing workers from abroad, announced on Jan. 30, is obviously a genuine effort by Employment and Immigration Canada to benefit Canadian society and the economy; and to accord a fairer treatment of all countries. (Yap, 1992: A14).

In both responses it is the needs of Canadian citizens that are prioritized. Again, the focus on the ways in which migrant workers are racialized and made to work under oppressive conditions, is concealed. These responses are defensive reactions to the ideology of multicultural love, and overall, to Canada as a multicultural nation. Finally, the statement made by INTERCEDE is also perceived as biased, largely because the individuals making this claim are themselves not white. As van Dijk (1991) argues, when racialized people comment on racialized oppression, they are seen as partisans, as biased, "whereas white authorities, such as the police or the government, are simply seen as ... 'neutral'" (pp. 153-154).

Worth noting is that there has also been consistent affective critiques against the upper-middle class citizen-employer women who defend their needs for flexible, and cheap, live-in domestic workers. In one letter to the editor entitled, 'No tears for working mom', the author writes:

Pity those frantic mothers forced to care for their own children due to immigration problems for their nannies. How did our country reach this level of chaotic primitiveness? Surely these parents didn't bring their children into the world and actually expect to change their diapers, band-aid their wounds or play with them in the sandbox. (Hargreaves, 2000: A16).

While this type of reaction, expressed mainly in the form of letters to the editor, might seem to act in a critical manner, they are not in fact appeals for justice for migrant workers, but attacks against the citizen-employer women themselves for seeking help to raise their own children and clean their own homes. Again, this reflects the neo-conservative ideology (that reinforces and informs the neo-liberal discourse) in which

women are made responsible for the social reproduction of society (see McBride and Shields, 1997: 31). Furthermore, in the above excerpt, there is a suggestion that by depending on the 'immigration' of 'Third World' women to care for citizen-children, the nation has reached 'a level of chaotic primitiveness'.

In another series of articles Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall is criticized for not prosecuting her sister, Janet Enright 'for employing an illegal alien as a nanny' (Nanny denies using..., 1989: A16). These articles not only target McDougall and Enright, but also negatively portray Irma Demkiw, a migrant domestic worker, who was faced with a deportation order for having worked without a permit or permanent residence status. A number of articles treat Demkiw as suspect, implying that Demkiw is using the public figure status of McDougall and Enright (as well as her marriage to a Canadian citizen) to stay in Canada.

Grace Chang (2000) writes on a similar case in the United States involving Zoë Baird, who was nominated (but not elected) for the position of Attorney General in 1993. Baird was publicly criticized for having hired two non-status Peruvian immigrants, one as a baby-sitter and the other as a driver. It was largely a result of Baird's actions of hiring these two people that she lost her nomination. Chang's analysis indicates that the 'public outcry' against Baird was not 'so much a response to the discovery' that she had hired undocumented workers, nor a concern for the 'plight of the undocumented workers themselves', but because as a middle-class (or upper middle-class) woman Baird was able to employ others to take care of domestic responsibilities (pp. 55-56). Here is another example whereby the responsibilities of social reproduction are publicly placed on a woman of a household. Worth considering is that Baird was not treated in such a way that her male colleagues would have been if they had been involved in the hiring of migrant domestic workers. While the criticisms against Baird raised the contrasting position between herself and working class women, the lack of solidarity with migrant women demonstrates a racially classed act. Chang points out that "during the Baird controversy, it was anticipated that a coalition of immigrant advocacy, child-care advocacy, and women's groups might form around the 'shared interests' of women's working in housekeeping and child care" (p. 79). Yet, this coalition was never established, therefore indicating the lack of support amongst national feminist

organizations to advocate for the rights of migrant domestic workers.

What is even more revealing is that while many articles on migrant farm workers also privilege the needs of the citizen-farmer over those of their non-citizen workers, male farmers are not criticized for defending their needs. Instead, letters to the editor seem to defend farmers when critiques against the migrant worker program are written about in the news. In one letter entitled 'Letter unfairly attacks farmers', a reader writes about how all of the migrant farm workers he knows are 'treated with very much respect', and how they were 'laughing and having a good time' during a trip home from a shopping excursion at Wal-Mart and Zehrs (Mason, 2005: 4). Another letter to the editor justifies the program (in response to another critical article) by stating that the workers are like 'Family That Goes South For The Winter' who 'are grateful in having the opportunity to work here and take home a substantial amount of money' (Gonsalves, 2006: A15).

Shameful Nationalist Practice

Ahmed (2004) argues that shame works like an exposure, but one without consequences for the subject. She writes, 'shame feels like an exposure – another sees what I have done that is bad and hence shameful – but it also involves an attempt to hide, a hiding that requires the subject to turn away from the other and towards itself' (p. 103). Thus the expression of shame and feeling ashamed requires a witness. However, in the act of expressing shame, the subject is not owning up to their privilege, as well as involvement in forms of systemic oppression, but merely hiding her head and turning away, blushing because she has not lived up to her 'ideal self'. In the multicultural context, this 'ideal self' is open to otherness and difference. In an editorial, the author describes 'bad experiences' that migrant domestic workers experience as 'shameful examples'. The author writes:

The program is a shameful example of what can happen when governments fail to regulate the policies they create. That is why it is imperative Ottawa and the provinces step in to prevent the exploitation of thousands of vulnerable people who come each year wanting only a decent job and a better life.../Those who enter this country as caregivers expect

hard work, not indentured servitude and abuse. Canada must clean up this program before it becomes a permanent stain on our international reputation. (Time to regulate..., 204: A20).

Implied is that exploitation of migrant domestic workers only occurs as a result of the government's failure to properly regulate the program. In turn, it is suggested that the program itself is not flawed and is not in itself implicated in the exploitation of domestic workers. The author is therefore saying that when properly implemented, the 'thousands of vulnerable people' who come to Canada for domestic work will be fairly treated. However, it is implied that this fair treatment is only deserved if domestic workers 'work hard', and are therefore grateful for the 'opportunity' not to be abused and treated like indentured labour. The author's response to these 'particular cases' of exploitation is to shame the government for not properly regulating the migrant domestic worker program, particularly 'before it becomes a permanent stain on our international reputation'. Therefore the concern lies not with the exploitation of workers, but with the nation-state's international reputation. Here is another demonstration of how shaming acts to point out the failure to live up to a social ideal – this one being that Canada is a democratic country committed to ensuring human rights to its 'members'. This positioning of Canada aligns it with what Ghassan Hage (1998) describes as a 'White essence' which constitutes 'the democratic-tolerance-freedom-of-speech ingredient that only the White aristocracy really knows how to throw' into the multicultural nation-state (p. 123). Reinforcing this alignment is the presupposition in the last sentence of the excerpt that for most domestic workers, the program under which they migrate and work 'operates as it should'. In other words, the author implies that only some workers have 'bad experiences', while most have 'good experiences'. Nowhere in the article, however, are workers quoted (directly or indirectly) on their experiences. Overall, these examples demonstrate how the affective responses are both gendered and classed.

As suggested above, the perception of urban and/or suburban upper middle-class and middle-class, that category of citizen-Canadians who are implicated in the hiring of domestic workers, presents striking differences to the perceptions of farmers in rural areas who hire migrant farm workers. While the class positions of citizen-farmers who employ migrant farm workers in Ontario is variable, because of their rural location, they

are likely perceived as having less cultural capital in relation to their urban and suburban counterparts.¹² The perceived elitist position of the female citizen-employer of the migrant domestic worker seems to grant greater justification for critique in her role as employer. Yet this critique is not a genuine concern for, and call to action in solidarity with, migrant domestic workers, but a critique of the employer's 'irresponsibility' in the domain of social reproduction. Meanwhile, citizen-farmers, who are not recipients of such critiques are granted greater compassion for their need to maintain the family farm and to provide for their families and the local economy, based on the use of migrant farm workers. Embedded within this leniency is also the ideological and material placement of the citizen-farmer within the rural 'Canadian' landscape as he who belongs. There is a certain entitlement that the White citizen-farmer in rural Canada has to the land, especially in relation to the racialized other, including First Nations communities and individuals. The imagination of Canada as 'an agrarian idyll' is strongly tied to the historical ideological construct that those who belong to the rural landscape are white, rustic and courageous men who are deserving of their place for having fought 'against nature in a harsh, isolated northern environment' (Kaufman, 1998: 683 & 686). Meanwhile, the unbelonging of migrant farm workers, their 'being used to' the heat of greenhouse work, is an ideology that is repeatedly reinforced in news articles.

If reactions to migrant workers', as well as their advocates' expressions of outlaw emotions, such as anger and frustration are met with similar emotions, but those that are not seen as outlaw, but rationalized in relation the 'other', what emotions are migrant workers 'allowed' to feel publicly? What emotions are shown to circulate through and from them and how?

An emotion that migrant workers are enabled to express publicly is that of pain. Ahmed (2004) argues, 'the pain of others is continually evoked in public discourse' (p. 20). Similar to the emotion of love, Ahmed demonstrates how pain is not necessarily about the person who is hurt or injured and in pain, but about the subject who comes to learn about the pain. Ahmed uses a letter written by Christian Aid to show how the site

¹² As Tanya Basok points out, the profitability of the greenhouse industry in Leamington, in which many migrant farm workers are hired, is variable amongst different farms. While larger greenhouse operations have experienced steady growth over the last decade, smaller businesses have not. See Tanya Basok, *Tortillas and Tomatoes: Mexican Transmigrant Harvesters in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's Press, 2002), pp. 84-85.

of pain can become dislocated from victims of landmines to the readership, as well as how the object or cause of pain becomes the landmines themselves. This is also apparent in the following excerpt taken from the *Toronto Star* in an article by David Bruser entitled, ‘‘No one wanted to know about me’ Pedro Rosales-Rojas had to fend for himself after he collided with a minivan in 2005’.

Leamington Police got the call at 9:34 p.m. on Monday, Aug. 1, 2005./Pedro Rosales-Rojas, a migrant farm worker, lay on the grass, most of his bottom teeth scattered near the base of a wooden signpost.../Reading from the accident report, Leamington police constable Kevin O’Neil says, ‘He went face-first into it. He had a fairly significant head injury. No helmet.’.../Home for Pedro now is a musty basement apartment in Toronto, where he continues to be treated for the injuries suffered in the accident./Pedro cries a lot. It seems he can’t talk about his family without crying./While he sits in a Tim Hortons on the Queensway, just around the corner from his apartment, kids sitting one table over hear the strained voice in the foreign tongue and the bowed head and can’t help but stare./Tears dribble down Pedro’s face, his idle hands tearing a napkin into little bits, as he tries to explain his situation./He pulls out a St. Michael’s Hospital card, his expired health card, some thumbnail black-and-white headshots of his wife and kids, as if these provide the clue. (Bruser, 2006: D1).

Here pain is expressed by Rosales-Rojas and is transferred to the reader, first through the graphic description of his ‘accident’, and then later on the emphasis on his tears. Underlying the pain is the way in which Rosales-Rojas’ situation is framed. Overall he is understood as having been in an ‘accident’. Furthermore, it is suggested in the title of the article that it was his fault, where it says *he* collided with the van. At the same time, the quoted police report also suggests this by indicating he was not wearing a helmet. (While the report may have indicated the role of the driver of the minivan, this is not included in the article). This tendency of blaming the victim is commonly seen in other articles that cover the numerous bicycle ‘accidents’ that have appeared in the media over the past several years. One article even attributes these ‘accidents’ to ‘big cultural differences’

(Council asks to aid migrants, 2007: A5). These descriptions de-contextualise these incidents from the reality that it is the conditions imposed upon the workers that puts them in positions of danger. Farm workers do not have access to telephones in their living quarters, and therefore have to cycle or walk, or depend on their employers, to go to a phone to call their families, from whom they are forced to leave behind in order to qualify for a work permit in Canada. The conditions of Rosales-Rojas' situation is further decontextualized by the suggestion that his 'home' is within the confines of the Canadian border.

This article, as well as a number of others that cover stories of bicycle 'accidents' involving migrant farm workers also reinforce their non-belonging in relation to the citizen-farmers for whom they work. As Harold Bauder (2005) reveals in his research, which includes a critical discourse analysis of how migrant farm workers are represented in mainstream newsprint press in terms of the national landscape, 'the images of bicycle-riding migrant workers reinforce the sense of un-belonging' (p. 47). He writes:

Although newspaper articles often mentioned bicycle-riding Jamaicans and Mexicans, recognizing them in the visual scenery of rural Southern Ontario, their presence is perceived as misplaced. They differ from European-Canadian farmers, whose image may appear in the popular imagination of rural landscape as handling big farming machinery and travelling unnoticed through the rural landscape by car or pickup truck. (P. 47).

Reinforced in these opposing and dialectical figures is the notion of belonging of the white, citizen-Canadian farmer. Indeed, the imagination of the Canadian landscape contains at least these two figures. Thus, the focus on the graphic details of Rosales-Rojas' so-called 'accident' and his tears, not to mention his 'foreign tongue', distracts the reader from the underlying reality (if they are even aware of it). While the description of Rosales-Rojas' 'accident' and the results thereof evokes pain, because he remains othered as the 'foreigner' – emphasized by the audible image of his 'voice in the foreign tongue' – this pain is reified. Rosales-Rojas himself becomes symbolized as the wound. As Ahmed (2004) argues, in the examination of how wounds are characteriszd when they are attached to subaltern subjects:

the wound comes to stand for identity itself...The transformation of the wound into an identity is problematic...because of its fetishism: the transformation of the wound into an identity cuts the wound off from a history of 'getting hurt' or injured (p. 32).

This objectification of Rosales-Rojas' injuries conceals the many processes and relations of power through which he became injured in the first place. At same time, by making Rosales-Rojas' injuries a central focus of the article this creates a spectacle that further distracts the reader from the underlying causes of them. The focus on Rosales-Rojas' tears demonstrates, particularly in relation to how citizen-farmers are portrayed in the media, how he is further racialized. Because women are expected to be more emotional than men in Western patriarchal societies, the expressions of emotions such as sadness by men makes them suspect of either 'being homosexual or...deviant from the masculine ideal' (Jaggar, 1989: 141-142). Because this article appears within the context of a patriarchal and homophobic/heterosexist society, the representation of Rosales-Rojas further places him in the figure of the irrational, 'Third World' male subject. While citizen-farmers may express emotions like love towards migrant farm workers, in the form of familial ties, these emotional expressions are not presented as tearful or overly emotional, but as matter of factual, and business-like. Though these citizen-farmers might not represent neo-liberal upper-middle class male subjectivity, they do come to represent a form of neo-liberal male subjectivity in general.

Overall, as suggested by Ahmed (2004), what is lacking in the constructs of these types of love and pain discourses is a call for solidarity with migrant workers. At the same time there is no recognition of the relations of power that underlie the positioning of the citizen-employer in relation to their non-citizen employees, nor between the citizen-reporter and the non-citizen migrant workers. Instead, the emotionality of media texts becomes about the feelings of the citizen-readership, the 'citizen-you' to which the articles speak. In turn, the emotions become about this audience's emotions and 'ability to feel the feelings of others' (p. 35). At the same time, also revealed is a particular conditionality of the public expression of emotions for differently identified subjects. While reason/thought is generally associated with dominant groups within Western society, this does not exclude the public demonstration of emotions by citizen-employers

of migrant workers. However, the conditions by which they may express emotions, while classed and gendered, are not as limited as the acts of emotional expression by non-citizen migrant workers. This demonstrates a more specific type of emotional hegemony in which (citizen or) non-citizen positionings work in conjunction with productions and reproductions of racialized, gendered and classed ideologies.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to analyze how unfree migrant domestic workers and farm workers are represented in mainstream Canadian news print media. Broadly this analysis also helps in understanding to what extent the mass media is autonomous from, or complicit in reinforcing the interests of the neo-liberal Canadian nation-state. Specifically examined was how, in relation to citizen-employers and other citizen-subjects, migrant workers are contained and managed. Ghassan Hage (1998) argues that dominant white subjects have the ability and entitlements to manage racialized others within the imagined national space (p. 42). He argues that these constitute nationalist practices. This type of management recognizes that racialized bodies are not entirely excluded from existing within the national space, but included in limited ways. Their inclusion, the character of it, is what becomes managed.

This dialectic of inclusion and exclusion, and how it plays out in mainstream Ontario newsprint media, is of particular focus in Chapter Two. The analysis pays specific attention to how nationalist practices of containment also constitute racially gendered and classed processes. In Chapter Three the analysis was motivated by the question: how is the inclusion/exclusion of migrant workers an emotional process? This chapter focuses on what types of emotions migrant workers are enabled to express publicly, and under what conditions, particularly in relation to the emotions that their citizen-employers may express.

The racially gendered and classed character of the containment or management of unfree migrant domestic workers and farm workers is best understood if we consider the ways in which unfree migrant work is perceived within the global context. In Canada unfree migrant workers largely come from less economically advanced countries. These workers are also mainly racialized, and mostly women (Sharma, 2006: 125-126). The recruitment and overall social organization of migrant labour, as they are determined by the Canadian nation-state, reinforce existent divisions of labour that are categorized along racially classed and gendered lines (Sharma, 2006: 125-126). Ideologically, racialized men and women from less economically advanced countries – those who are perceived as Hage (1998) points out, as ‘Third World looking’ (p. 18) – are believed to be somehow

suitable for over-exploitive and unfree conditions of labour. Men are more accepted in more public domains of physical labour, such as farm work, while women are more accepted in less obvious and more private domains of labour, such as domestic work.

The reality, however, is that no one person is inherently more suitable for unfree conditions of labour (See Sharma, 2006: 66). More accurate is the way in which the Canadian nation-state exploits and reinforces conditions of debt and poverty in less economically advanced countries in its recruitment of unfree migrant labour from countries such as Mexico (mainly for farm labour) and the Philippines (mainly for domestic labour), as well as from countries in the Caribbean region (for both farm and domestic labour). As well, tied in with this are the overall ideological notions that racialized individuals from these countries are pre-modern and pre-capitalist and thus inherently destined for conditions of unfree migrant labour (Sharma, 2006: 66). The resulting conditions, including separation from family, exclusion from citizenship status, limited if not non-existent mobility while in Canada, low wages, and so on, become perceived as necessary sacrifices. The neo-liberal citizen-subject who might employ these workers is encouraged to minimize, if not completely distance themselves from, the actual oppressive nature of relations of unfree migrant labour.

These ideologies and strategies are reflected in the newspaper articles reviewed for this study. The constructs of the 'good' and 'bad' migrant worker are particularly prevalent and indicative of the conditionality by which unfree migrant farm workers and domestic workers are included/excluded in the Canadian national space. In the case of domestic workers, for example, their construct as 'good' is linked to the ways in which they are perceived as 'caring' for the children or elderly for whom they are hired to look after. More specifically, in the case of female domestic workers, their valuation is dependent on the extent to which they carry out other domestic tasks, such as cooking and cleaning. These are significantly gendered evaluations of what constitutes a 'good' domestic worker, also motivated by the ideology that it is the hidden 'Third World' woman who is responsible for the reproduction of the middle-class 'First World' woman, who is more accepted in the public work sphere, and thus recognized as a worker (Anderson, 2000: 2).

The valuation of migrant workers as a gendered process becomes more clearly

evident when analyzing the contrast between the female migrant workers with male migrant workers. Amongst male domestic workers there is an emphasis on their value either as 'playful' caregivers or providing stability and balance for a single mother household (see Blanchfield, 1999: A9 and Lawton, 1999: A1). Meanwhile, for male migrant farm workers they are valued largely for their role as economic providers for their families, from whom they are separated, as well as sources for culturally appropriated capital for the citizen-subject (see Fraser, 2002: A1 and Martensson, 2002: A5).

These contrasts between migrant domestic workers and migrant farm workers are generally a result of the gendering of the two types of labour, where domestic work is feminized and farm work is masculinized. The masculinization of farm work in turn creates particular challenges for female migrant workers entering the sector. In the articles analyzed on female migrant farm workers, they are portrayed as 'failures' in terms of their ability to work and 'keep up' with their male counterparts (see Kirsch, 2004: A1; Richmond, 2004a: B5; and Richmond, 2004b: A10). In turn, if we consider these articles in relation to others on male farm workers, the 'inability' of female farm workers to 'keep up' also presupposes an 'inability' to be economic providers for their families. Overall, the gendering of migrant work reveals the extremely heterosexist context in which policies and news are produced, which normalizes male-female family couplings and structures.

The construct of the 'good' domestic worker is also informed by processes of racialization. For example, certain news articles domestic worker placement agencies indicate a racialized preference for Philipina domestic workers, which are based on a particularly Orientalist construct of East and Southeast Asian women as passive, subservient objects (see Most nannies Filipinos, 1987: C3 and Reebbs, 1992: A6). Meanwhile, migrant domestic workers from the Caribbean are more often criminalized and made deviant in news articles. Particularly biopolitical representations are used in characterizing Mavis Baker, for example, as 'illegal', 'irrational' and 'deviant' as a result of her mental illness and having had children without 'proper' status while in Canada (see Lawton, 1999: A1).

What becomes comprehensive in the analysis from Chapter Two is that the

interests of the nation-state, and in turn of neo-liberal capitalism, are enabled a strong self-presentation. These interests are reflected specifically in the reinforcement of policies that encourage the recruitment of a precarious and cheap labour force that is unprotected from collective bargaining provisions, minimum employment standards and social programs and services (Sharma, 2001: 427). By reinforcing the notion that migrant workers should be valued mainly for the ways in which they accommodate these interests – that is as ‘good’ and ‘obedient’ sources of cheap labour – we can understand how the media draws from neo-liberal capitalist interests. At the same time, because these interests translate into racially gendered and classed divisions, we can conclude that the media participates in the production and reproduction of the supporting ideologies. As a result, drawn upon are dominant discourses of tolerance, neo-liberalism, modern citizenship and global citizenship.

Perhaps one of the most obvious ways that dominant preferred meanings are drawn upon, and those excluded meanings are in fact omitted, is through the over self-presentation of nation-state interests, which include the representation of migrant workers by national subjects, and the limited self-presentation by migrant workers themselves. Migrant workers are commonly represented and spoken for in the news articles reviewed. When migrant workers are provided with space within the mass media to speak, the ways in which their statements are framed very much result in a containment of how they are allowed to appear to the readership. In other words, their ability to express themselves is limited by particular conditions. By saying positive things about Canada and the ‘opportunity’ to work in Canada, for example, migrant workers are framed as ‘good’ (see Filipina nanny agrees...2000: A11). However, by making critical comments about their conditions while in Canada, they are no longer represented as ‘good’, but as ‘bad’ or ‘ungrateful’ (see Patrick, 2003: A2).

Overall, Chapter Two demonstrates the extent to which migrant workers are contained through racially gendered and classed processes that reinforce the notion of the national space as belonging to those dominant, white citizen-subjects. The ways in which racialized men and women from less economically advanced countries are recruited and categorized into particular types of unfree labour become translated in the mainstream media as the domains in which they are expected to fulfill their duties. Integral to these

expectations are specific conditions – workers must be grateful, obedient and hardworking – which determine the extent to which these workers are accepted and perceived as ‘good’ or ‘bad’. In Chapter Three we observe very similar conditions in terms of the types of emotions that unfree migrant workers are ‘allowed’ to publicly express. The severity of these conditions becomes even more apparent when considered in contrast to those emotions that citizen-employers are entitled to express publicly.

As Sara Ahmed (2004) demonstrates, while ‘emotions [are not] the centre of everything’, nor do they ‘make the world go round’, the tracking of them does allow for a specific type of insight, which builds on more ‘materialist’ analyses (p. 16). Ahmed’s work concentrates on how emotions are socially constructed in ways that “shape the ‘surfaces’ of individual and collective bodies” (p. 1).

First we should consider that nationalist sentiment [keeping in mind Hage’s (1998) concept of nationalist practices] constitutes the cultivation (of emotions in the creation) of a collective ‘we’ amongst dominant citizen subjects, which excludes racialized ‘others’. For example, the collective ‘we’ is often reminded of the ‘threat’ to ‘our’ economic security when the ‘too many others’ (‘legally’ or ‘illegally’) migrate to Canada. Or, the ‘threat to national security’ requires particular sentiments of fear and territoriality amongst the national ‘we’ that requires the emotional construct of the ‘terrorist’ and ‘irrational’ other. Required in these projects is a constant circulation of emotions, in which particular emotions, for particular purposes increase in magnitude and affectiveness over time. For example, ‘fear of threat from others’ is particularly instrumental in terms of its production, reproduction and growth. Ahmed refers to this system of circulation and growth of emotions as the affective economy (p. 45).

Secondly, and in turn, the association of certain emotions to certain bodies is part of this affective economy. As Ahmed (2004) points out, emotions are organized in a certain way. She writes that there is a ‘hierarchy between emotion and thought/reason’ (p. 3). Those emotions aligned with thought/reason and perceived as civilized, are ordered above and those lowered ones aligned with irrationality. In turn, those dominant subjects are more aligned with expressions of civility, while “those who are ‘other’ to me or to us, or those that threaten to make us other’ remain the source of bad feeling in this model of emotional intelligence” (p. 4). The ways in which emotions are constructed, as

well as made to stick to certain bodies over others, allow us another avenue through which to understand power relations in society.

In terms of the news articles analyzed, those in which emotions were predominantly expressed or evoked largely demonstrate the ways in which free citizen-subjects are enabled to emotionally express themselves. For example, for both migrant domestic workers and farm workers, there is a tendency in certain articles for expressions of 'love' by citizen-employers towards their non-citizen migrant workers. Notable is that the ways that this 'love' is expressed, and in turn represented, is both gendered and conditional.

In articles on migrant domestic workers, where there is 'love' expressed towards them it is always by the female citizen-employer, and it is often described in a very sentimental manner. In one article, the citizen-employer is described as tearful because her non-citizen employee is leaving (Mahoney, 2000: A7). Meanwhile, the 'love' that is expressed for migrant farm workers, whether by or on behalf of a male farm owner, is described more pragmatically. In one article the bond between citizen-employer and migrant farm worker is expressed as a 'marriage of convenience', and in another, migrant farm workers are described as 'family that goes south for the winter' (Churchill, 1999: F8 and Gonsalves, 2006: A15). These types of representations suggest the predominance of the gendered alignment of emotions, whereby women are perceived as being more emotional, and less rational, than men. When examining the ways in which citizen-employers are represented in relation to non-citizen migrant workers, the construct of emotions demonstrate divisions along racially classed and gendered lines.

Ahmed's (2004) concept of multicultural love is especially relevant to the findings in Chapter Three. Multicultural love requires an image of the ideal multicultural nation in which 'to love difference' becomes imperative in the construct of a national ideal (p. 133). Underlying this ideal, however, is the requirement that the racialized other, that 'foreign' presence, must return and 'accept the *conditions* of one's love' (p. 134, emphasis added). If this 'love' is not accepted, then there will be consequences, and hence, the other has failed to contribute to the multicultural ideal. In order to remain 'loved', 'good' migrant workers must 'love back'. In order to remain 'loved', 'good' migrant workers must not speak back, engage in political debates about their conditions

of labour, or be critical of their employers.

In the articles analyzed, the conditionality of the 'love' expressed by citizen-employers is clear. Where migrant workers are framed as 'good', they are often quoted as saying positive things about their employers or their work in Canada. Leticia Cables is a case in point. She is constructed as the 'good and hardworking nanny' that 'worked too hard'. At the same time, she is quoted as saying positive and hopeful things about Canada (see Mahoney, 2000: A7). 'Good' migrants are also constructed as such when they are perceived as passive, and in certain cases, the 'spectacles' of pain. The article examined for close reading on Pedro Rosales-Rojas, who was injured after being hit by a car while on his bicycle, demonstrates such a process (Bruser, 2005: D1).

One way the citizen-employer is free is that she is not expected to question her role as the dominant subject and her complicity in the creation and maintenance of systemic oppression. Emotionally this enables the neo-liberal subject, as the citizen-employer, to express such emotions as 'love' without question. Tied in with this ability is the discourse of tolerance. As the analysis in this research suggests, such a discourse remains prevalent. As Sharma (2006) points out, the discourse, and processes of tolerance are historically what informed the organization of unfree migrant work in the Canadian nation-state (p. 147). In turn, the 'making of migrant workers and the discrimination against them ... [is] effectively depoliticized, since discriminating against non-Canadians simply [can] not be imagined as such by most (p. 147). While Sharma's analysis is rooted in a relatively historical moment (as she examines parliamentary discourse between 1969 and 1973, when legislation was first established for temporary employment authorizations), her analysis remains relevant, as demonstrated by the findings here.

The prevalence of the discourse of tolerance is indeed problematic, particularly when considering the ways in which migrant workers are represented when they do express resistance. In these instances, the conditionality of their acceptance becomes even more obvious. The news article examined, for instance, on Eldred Greene and Theodore Dacaul, two migrant farm workers from the Caribbean who protested conditions of their working environment, demonstrate such a tendency (Patrick, 2003: A2). Meanwhile, the dominant subject is enabled to express anger, frustration and

suspicion towards migrant workers without standing to be questioned (see Welch, 2001: A1). The migrant worker remains unfree and contained in terms of their ability to publicly express emotions. That is, the unfreedom of their working conditions extend into their emotionality.

Overall this research demonstrates that the tendency of the mass media, in terms of unfree migrant work, is to represent the interests of the capitalist, neo-liberal nation-state. Particularly the discourse of tolerance is drawn upon in many of the articles analyzed. Given these observations, what roles do reporters, as well as editors, play in relation to the containment of migrant workers? In turn, how do these roles compare and contrast to the roles of both the nation-state (through government officials) and citizen-employers of these workers, who are often given the opportunity to self-present in articles? These questions suggest the complexity of the positionings of reporters, employers and workers in relation to the Canadian nation-state, as well as the nation-state from which migrant workers migrate.

Perhaps most consistent amongst all of the articles analyzed is the way in which the dominant 'you' or 'we' of the citizen-Canadian population is interpolated. The ways in which the readership are addressed strongly demonstrate a dialogue that is exclusive to those readers who are migrant workers themselves. In other words, migrant domestic workers and farm workers are not entitled a space within the mass media as active readers, and in turn, political agents. The knowledge provided in the media is not addressed to them, and thus for them to take and engage within political processes. Instead, as figures who are managed and represented as managed objects, they remain outside of any type of national dialogue that might originate from the media. At the same time, as a result of their limited access to the production of media, they remain outside of the dialogue that informs the mass media. How then are editors and reporters responsible for this exclusion?

While an accurate explanation of the complicity of news producers is not possible here, as the study did not allow for or entail information gathering from editors and news reporters, a brief theoretical discussion is possible. As suggested by Pierre Bourdieu's (2005) concept of fields, the journalistic field is one in which agents have a limited amount of autonomy from the dominant meanings that define it (p. 30). As a result,

reporters and editors, are subject to the perspectives of the media ownership class, who are significant players in the capitalist ruling class of the nation-state. The analysis carried out here demonstrates that neo-liberal, capitalist interests are significantly reflected in news articles on unfree migrant workers. What this suggests is not only are news producers pressured by these interests, but might even take them on themselves, as personal biases. This speaks to the larger socio-political field in which we live. Meanwhile, Frances Henry and Carol Tator's (2002) research demonstrates the extent to which racialized communities are underrepresented in the journalistic field in Canada. This systemic exclusion further suggests the types of forces and power relations that exist within the journalistic field, which is situated not only within a neo-liberal capitalist society, but one that draws on the 'racial possibilities' of a white dominated society (Goldberg, 2002: 101).

How is it that we begin to make sense of the analysis here and move it towards actively challenging the relations of power that inform the dominant discourses drawn upon within the mass media? How do we envision the analysis within a broader context of social justice movements, as well as amongst specific mobilization efforts in support of migrant workers?

Overall, the systems that uphold unfree migrant work need to be challenged. Sharma (2006) calls for a 'world without borders' – both material/political and ideological ones (pp. 166-167). That is a global society that allows for the free movement of people. Ideologically, this would entail a radical change in the ways that people perceive and define 'home'. Home as a place of exclusion, thus leading to conditions of 'homelessness' would therefore need to change. Stasiulus and Bakan (2003) encourage further agitation of the global citizenship divide. They draw on the experiences of non-citizen migrants in their use and accumulation of social capital, that is transnational networks of resistance, in challenging the systems that reinforce modern forms of citizenship across the globe. Hage (1998) suggests that attention be given to the ways in which Whiteness is constructed, and how it may be challenged. He calls for an examination of what constitute the dominant subject, and how this subject may be assimilated into what he refers to as 'the multicultural Real', that is the domain in which

interactions between racialized and non-racialized individuals and communities occur without being informed by nationalist practices (p. 233).

Overall these strategies support the recognition of the subjectivity and agency of migrant workers, which is hugely unrecognized in the mainstream media. The popular perception of migrant workers as either 'good' and 'obedient' or 'bad' and 'criminal' do nothing to encourage solidarity with them. These perceptions need to be critically examined, revealed and challenged. The resistance of unfree migrant workers do just that. With this research I hope to contribute to such work.

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