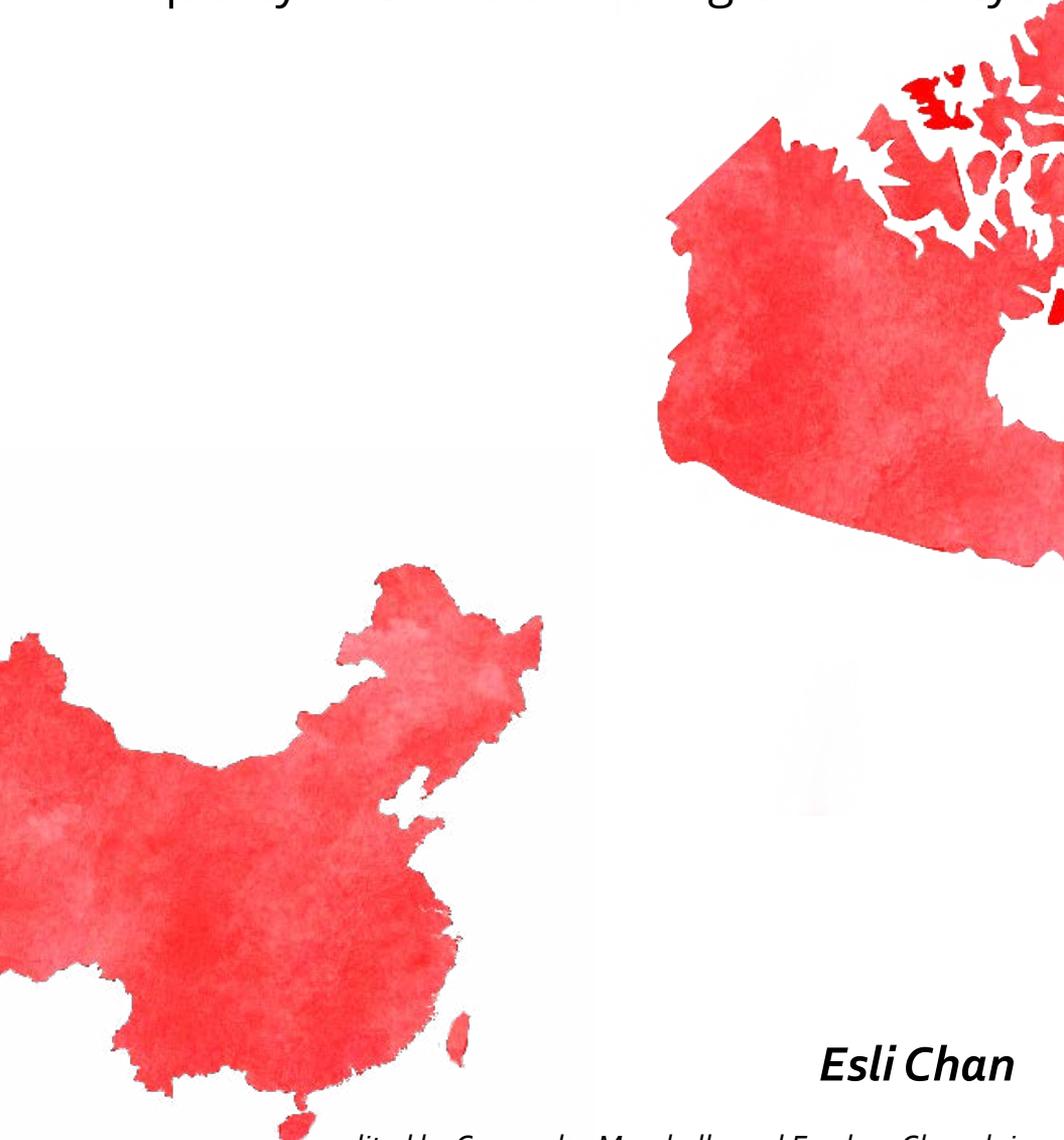


Neoliberalism's Effects on Asian Immigration

A Gender Based Analysis of Systemic
Inequality in Canadian Immigration Policy



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edited by Cassandra Moschella and Feodora Chouakri
POLI 499 Honours Essay

Abstract

Canada's immigration policy was historically checkered with discriminative regulations, namely posing restrictions on potential Asian migrants and their potential path towards citizenship through The 1885 Chinese Immigration Act. In 1967, The Immigration Refugee Protection Regulation ("IRPR") was introduced, claiming to eradicate all explicitly discriminative provisions and provide a new pragmatic point-based system to objectively assess all potential migrants. Despite this shift towards multiculturalism and equality, Canada's immigration regime still continues to reinforce racial and gendered inequalities. This paper argues that the rise of neoliberalism presented immigration as an economic transaction, reproducing and reinforcing historical forms of inequality as subterfuge for inclusivity. A focus on market structures and individualistic points-based assessment exacerbated global oppressions of women in labour, privatizing migrant women into domesticity. IRPR further reinforced heteronormative and traditional family unit, perpetuating the notion that women are predominantly dependents and subordinate to the man. As a result, the influence of neoliberalism on immigrant policy resultantly left immigrant women invisible in the Canadian public sphere.

Introduction

The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulation* ("IRPR") of 1967 claims to provide equitable immigration policies, eliminating all forms of racial and gender-based discrimination (Dobrowolsky 2008, 467). However, Canada's immigration policy was once checkered with explicitly restrictive regulations against prospective migrants from Asia, and specifically China. The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* was once one of many restrictive policies, imposing a "head tax" on Chinese migrants that harshened economic burdens (Strong-Boag 2018, 9). Between 1885 and 1950, Canadian policy limited immigration from China, and imposed especially strict conditions on the entry of immigrant women (Strong-Boag 2018, 71). In 1967, Canada revealed its landmark immigration policy; *IRPR*, which is still in place today, allegedly removed all discriminative and racist provisions, in replacement of a new pragmatic point system used to assess potential immigrants in an objective manner (Dobrowolsky 2008, 467). Despite this change in immigration policy, highly gendered and racialized immigration outcomes still persist. Given the explicit notions of equality codified in *IRPR*, this paper seeks to determine how Canada's contemporary immigration regime reinforces

racial and gendered forms of inequality.

In this paper, I argue that the rise of neoliberalism provided new logics around immigration, by presenting it as an economic transaction which reproduced historical forms of racial and gender inequality that were imposed onto Asian immigrants. In my analysis, I will focus on immigration from China and the Philippines. Firstly, neoliberalism manifested itself within the Comprehensive Ranking System in a subterfuge manner, capitalizing on its individualistic approach to exacerbate global inequalities that disadvantage women in the path of economic immigration. A neoliberalist focus on market structures within immigration policy allowed the state to discretionarily privatize aspects of women's life, to the advantage of the state. Within family-based immigration, neoliberalism appealed to the globalization of masculinized perceptions that worked against immigrant women. This reinforced a perception that immigrant women lack economic capacity, perpetuating the notion that women are predominantly dependents and subordinate to the role of the man within the family unit. While the evaluation of women seemed to function on objective standards through assessing them on what they do rather than based on whom they are, Canadian immigration policy resultantly invisibilized immigrant women by restraining them within domestic work, often left unseen.

Introduction and Background: Canada's Shift towards an Equitable Immigration Policy

While Canada prides itself on a non-discriminative and equitable immigration policy through the 1967 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulation*, Canada's immigration regulations were once marred with racist and exclusionary provisions, especially towards those of Asian descent, notably those from China. The restrictiveness of Chinese migration policy fluctuated over the early nineteenth century until the 1960s. In this, I argue that Chinese immigration restrictions only relaxed in circumstances where Canada required increased labour supply. An allowance in Asian migration was highly racialized; the entry of migrants was not due to their assimilability and acceptance into the polity, but because they were temporary hands to reduce Canadian laborious burdens. The selectivity of Chinese migrants, as argued by King, was kept "in preserving the character of the population" (Strong-Boag 2018, 72).

Chinese immigration grew in the nineteenth century, as additional cheap labourers were needed for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Strong-Boag 2018, 71). However, the increase of Chinese

immigration was heavily racialized and “were recruited to work the most dangerous jobs... as a class accustomed to ‘roughing it’” (Strong-Boag 2018, 71). At the completion of the Railway, the *Chinese Migration Act of 1885* and “infamous head tax system” was implemented to deter further Chinese migrants by imposing heavy payments upon entry into Canada (Strong-Boag 2018, 71). In this period of time, very few Chinese women entered Canada as they were labeled as prostitutes; wives of labourers were often denied as they were seen as dependent. Following this matter, the 1923 *Chinese Exclusion Act* further denied entry of all Chinese into Canada (Strong-Boag 2018, 71). However, this Act was lifted during World War II, due to a need for additional labourers in rebuilding the economy (Strong-Boag 2018, 72). The post-World War II period also served as a turning point for Canada, where democratic and deracialized immigration policies became the new Western standard (Poy 2013, 13).

A “non-discriminatory” immigration policy and points system was then introduced in 1967, framing Canada as a progressive leader in the liberal Western world. The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulation* introduced the Comprehensive Ranking System, an economic points-based system that sought to assess all potential economic migrants on the basis of meeting a common acceptable threshold, assessed against select requirements (Canada 2002). Prospective migrants would be rewarded with a certain number of points based on their level of achievements within education, language ability, occupational experience, age, arranged employment, and adaptability (Canada 2002). For example, an individual could achieve five points on the completion of high school education, with a maximum of twenty-five points within the educational criteria if a master’s degree or Ph.D. was earned (Canada 2002). Regardless of a highly reformed and seemingly equitable policy change, Man states that this shift in policy was a “strategy to bolster Canada’s competitiveness in the market place...with fluid, skilled, flexible labour forces that would provide Canada with a comparative advantage” (Man 2004, 136). Furthermore, Poy argues that “issues of race and ethnicity influenced Canadian agenda” (Poy 2013, 12) beyond just the economic advantage. While the largest immigrant population consists of those from Chinese descent, I argue that immigration regulations still discriminated against Chinese migrants in subterfuge through a neoliberalist agenda of marketization and securitization.

The Logics of Neoliberalism in Economic Immigration Policy

The rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s shifted immigration policy towards marketization and securitization (Dobrowolsky 2008, 465). Neoliberalism marketized migratory flows in Canada, and assessed migrants as units of economic transaction in ways that subordinated migrant women. Neoliberalism manifests itself in Canadian economic migration regulations and changed the discourse around immigration to focus on economic responsibility, market competition, and “duties and obligations of citizenship” (468).

Neoliberalism’s Effect on Immigration: Marketization

Since 2006, neoliberalism emphasized a “global war for talent,” (Tannock 2011, 1345) concentrating on the individualization of market potential. Focus grew increasingly towards one’s obligation and ability to conduct productive and paid work (Dobrowolsky 2008, 468), rather than equitable opportunities. In a shift towards temporary economic immigration, immigration flows were seen as transactions for short term labour contracts (Tariq 2013, 19). The new logic around economic migration within the Canadian immigration regime “actively [recruited] the highly educated and skilled, but [kept] the access of less skilled foreign-born individuals to permanent residency and citizenship status to a carefully controlled and restricted minimum” (Tannock 2011, 1335). This capitalized on mechanisms such as the *Temporary Foreign Worker Program and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program* that employed foreigners to temporarily fill labour shortages in Canada without providing a pathway to citizenship (Tariq 2013, 22). In highlighting the importance of an individualized market, an “ideal immigrant is a self-sufficient one, who will not make demands on the programs of the welfare state” (Dobrowolsky 2008, 468).

However, this shift towards short term economic migration did not reflect the reality that women were more likely to enter Canada through the family-based immigration stream (Tannock 2011, 1336). Increased marketization brought with it decreased social rights and welfare, which often benefited immigrant women (Dobrowolsky 2008, 468). Within the marketized global competition, migrant women were also less likely to capitalize on a shift towards marketization due to “clear gender inequalities in the skilled worker immigration stream to Canada, of which most of 75% of primary applications are male” (Tannock 2011, 1336). This was exacerbated by the globalization of gender inequalities in formal occupational and educational institutions, where women are less likely to meet the individualized requirements of economic

migration or be recognized for domestic work (Kofman 2004, 651). The marketization of migration, however, did not fully disregard women. The Canadian government introduced the *Live-In Caregiver Program*, which predominantly employs Filipino women in providing domestic and household labour (Tannock 2011, 1336). This program notably subordinates women, often leading to harsh and prolonged working periods, minimal income, and abusive environments (Hodge 2006, 62). As neoliberalism manifests itself within economic migratory regulations, women became increasingly vulnerable and marginalized.

Neoliberalism's Effect on Immigration: Securitization

Neoliberalism capitalized on the individualist criteria and structure of the Comprehensive Ranking System, exacerbating globalized inequalities that disadvantaged women within economic migration. Neoliberalism, as manifested within immigration policy, emboldened discourse around racialized securitization. Rhetoric on being “tough on crime” was emphasized, creating “racialized markers” that framed “culturally dissimilar” immigrants as threats to the quality of the Canadian labour force, cohesion of cultural identity, and westernized community (Dobrowolsky 2008, 466; 474). Through the social distance theory “immigrants from countries more socially distant from host countries tend to do more poorly in labour market relative to persons from socially similar societies” (Phythian, Walters, Anisef 2011, 133). As a result, these were often discriminated against in the assessment of their ability to assimilate into Canada.

In the context of economic migrants, “those from non-traditional source countries of Asia” were seen as socially and ethnically dissimilar to other European migrants (134). Securitization intersected both ethno-cultural and economic dimensions, where prospective immigrants were presented as threats to both the “ethno-cultural composition of society” and to the overall steadiness of the state. (Watson 2007, 99).

In the post-9/11 era, migrants who held different religious beliefs or were ethnically dissimilar to white European citizens and migrants, such as women wearing hijabs, were increasingly racialized (99). During this time, Chinese immigration to Canada was restrictive as they were seen as dissimilar and culturally threatening as non-Europeans (98). As a result, they were often discriminated against in hiring practices and competitive wages as having lesser “market value” (Phythian, Walters, Anisef 2011, 132). Asian immigrant women were faced with intersectional barriers, challenged by a points-based system that discounted globalized gender

inequalities while also labelled as socially and ethnically distant migrants that did not fit into a Westernized cultural identity. As a result, the logics of neoliberalism had significant implications on their prospects of migration - “Chinese immigrant women in the paid labour market [did] not fare well in the context of a new political and economic environment” (Man 2004, 136).

Methods of Assessment: Economic Points-Based System

I argue that neoliberalism manifested itself within the individualistic and quantitative approach of the economic points-based system, operating under gender neutral terms that exacerbate workplace inequalities. As a result, this restrained qualified migrant women into subordinate positions. The introduction of a points-based system presumed to deracialize and de-gender all previous discriminatory processes, creating equal opportunity for all potential migrants. However, the eradication of discriminatory clauses and imposing gender-neutral objectives does not equate to gender equal policies. The creation of an objective points-based system blindly assumes that migrants’ “entire worth as potential Canadians are mathematically measurable” (Strong-Boag 2018, 75). A gendered approach requires intentional consideration of the experiences of women, often not easily quantitatively measured but rather qualitatively deliberated through the investigation of inherent privileges and patriarchal tendencies. A seemingly objective requirement such as adaptability was presumed to assess a spouse’s occupational or educational achievement and familial contributions to Canada; however, a nuanced understanding of asymmetrical societal privileges and inherent patriarchal advantage would see that this assessment is a judgement of one’s privileges in attaining a social status and educational standards within a Western perception of an ideal migrant.

The points-based system was inherently structured in ways that subordinate immigrant women and their access to the labour market. In its ability to define and categorize what is “valuable work” and “valuable experience”, the points-based system perpetuates patriarchal standards (Strong-Boag 2018, 76; Walton-Roberts 2004, 268). For example, childcare and domestic labour is increasingly racialized and discounted as invaluable work that is ordinarily performed by mothers within the home (Strong-Boag 2018, 77). This patriarchal notion upholds that the “the point system reinforces the socially constructed dichotomy between ([women’s]) less valuable private household work and ([men’s]) more valuable public work” (Strong-Boag 2018, 77). As a result, women are

increasingly bound to undesirable manual labour positions. Domestic and manual work are often employed outside of the points-based system, perpetuating the notion that “the kinds of work women do often defined *prime facie* as less skilled” and are outside the sphere of formal and recognized labour (Strong-Boag 2018, 77; Tannock 2011, 1336).

Immigrant women are also racially de-skilled in what is known as the “brain drain” through discounting their economic potential (Tannock 2011, 1348). While white immigrant women from Europe are comparatively more highly regarded due to their westernized standards of higher education and formal occupation and cultural similarly, qualified non-white women are minimized for their economic potential (Mojab 1999, 123). The immigrant women’s experience and intellect were dismissed upon arrival in Canada (126); immigrant women of non-White descent, possessed skills that were seen as non-transferable into Canadian society. In particular, “earnings disadvantage persists among racial minorities in Canada despite relatively high levels of education suggests that race carries with it a “market value,” whereby immigrants and non-immigrants are penalized for their non-white status” (Phythian, Walters, Anisef 2011, 132). A neoliberalist shift towards a market-oriented migration process deemed non-white immigrant women and their experiences as incompatible with “the Canadian experience” (Mojab 1999, 127). As a result, women with credible professional experience abroad were placed into exploitative and degraded positions in the workplace, such as housekeepers and caretakers, and struggled to gain recognition as a qualified economic migrant (Tannock 2011, 1348).

Exacerbating Global Inequalities of Access to Education

Neoliberalism manifested itself within economic migration policy by shifting the discourse around the Canadian economy and market interest towards focusing on remaining competitive and capitalizing on the most suitable candidates (1345). As a result, I argue that this increasingly competitive and economic interest failed to consider gendered implications of globalization, in which globalization encourages the movement of gendered inequalities, such as unequal access to education (1331). In the context of Canada, the process of gendered globalization is veiled by a subjective and asymmetrical “winner-takes-all” system which seen as equitable and meritocratic (1339).

The points-based system and its assessments based on educational and occupational requirements, language, arranged employment, and adaptability, is ultimately governed by access to education (1338).

Education serves as a foundation for one's language fluency and expertise, chances for basic employability, and the possibility of promotion (1338); this affects one's perceived adaptability to certain societies and stance within class structures. However, access to education must also be problematized within an intersectional context, considering opportunities for education due to dynamics of class, race, and sex. As Pythian states, "home country characters generate disparities in human and social capital across immigrant groups and evoke differences in the way in which they are received by the resident population" (Pythian, Walters, Anisef 2011, 132). While the point system may assume that it creates equal consideration in assessing levels of education, it fails to account for the gendered ways in which women, especially in less-developed countries, are marginalized in attaining a westernized perception of education. Between the host and originating state, there is a highly prevalent disparity of women in education (Strong-Boag 2018, 76). For example, women within developing countries may be challenged to a lack of access to educational institutions due to structural barriers. Within certain societies, women may also be assumed as child-carers and home-keepers according to traditional gender roles, ultimately subordinating women into the home. As a result of these factors, "not only do women in many countries not have equal access to education and skilled employment, but the very notion of skill itself is a gendered notion" (Tannock 2011, 1336).

Neoliberalism increasingly marketized and individualized applications of potential economic migrants, generating increased competition that worked against the prospects of immigrant women. As Canada grew as an attractive host state, exponentially increasing immigrant applications raised the relative competition of experience and formal occupational achievement amongst its applicants. Increased competition intersected multiple axes of barriers for immigrant women and discouraged women in application as economic migrants; women had less access to education and lacked recognition of domestic work and common forms of their manual labour as formal work. As a result, there were "clear gender inequalities in the skilled worker immigration stream to Canada, of which almost 75% of primary applicants [were] male" (Tannock 2011, 1336). While the points-based system seemed to set out impartial assessment criteria, the effects of neoliberalism capitalized on inherently gendered disadvantages that set men ahead in the competition of migration through the privilege of access to education. Tannock states that "in such a 'winner takes all' situations, education ceases to be a public good that benefits everybody and instead becomes

privatized and socially divisive ‘ticket’ for some individuals to get ahead and escape fate of the others they have let behind” (1340).

The points-based system fails to challenge how globalized gender and ethnic inequalities commodify and stratify educational and occupational opportunity, in which meritocracy does not create equality but upholds the foundation for inequality (1341). The opportunity for formal recognition of achievement is more accessible to those seen as able-bodied, commonly placing the prospects of economic migration into the hands of Westernized white men. The accreditation of foreign credentials are held to the standard of Westernized perceptions of acceptable and formal experience (Hodge 2006, 63), minimizing the experiences of many potential Asian immigrants that do not conform to the cultural expectations of work in the public sphere. In this, the objectivity of educational and occupation attainment becomes increasingly subjective to the perceptions and standards of the Western state, “creating a second-class tier of immigrants” who are discredited for their non-Western skills and education. (Tannock 2011, 1331).

The Power of the State: The Paradox of Discretionary Privatization

Neoliberalism’s focus on market structures capitalized on programs introduced within the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, such as the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*, by selectively exploiting the privatization of women while domesticating them into the sphere of the private household. Household politics within the private sphere in contrast to state affairs were seen as two independent and separate silos, where former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau states that “there is no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation” (Gaucher 2018, 4). However, with the rise of neoliberalism, new hierarchies were produced within the dynamics gender preferences within immigration politics – “drawing up new lines of selective inclusion and exclusion and resulting in complex systems of stratification” (Kofman 2004, 64).

I argue that the gendered dynamics between the public and private sphere is crucial in understanding how the state exercises its authority in shaping the Asian migrant women’s in both spheres. In analyzing how the state exercises its authority over the public and private sphere, Walton-Roberts argues that it will unveil the “understanding of [how] household scale relations are linked to global system of inequality” (Walton-Roberts 2004, 267). In this, neoliberalism manifests itself within traditional gender roles through encouraging the state to perpetuate the notion that immigrant women are economically invaluable. This is done through

the subjugation of immigrant women into the private sphere while also discretionally exploiting women for their domestic labour through programs such as *the Live-In Caregiver Program*.

Domestication and Construct of the Private Life

Neoliberalism shifted perceptions of economic competitiveness within Canadian immigration policy, prioritizing potential migrants who are perceived to have greater socioeconomic potential. A seemingly pragmatic approach which assessed migrant women on what they do instead of who they are reproduced traditional gender roles.

Traditional characterizations of women and men were constructed and transposed within the divisions of labour, fortifying a new logic within immigration that perceived women as less valuable candidates within economic migration. A neoliberalist focus on market competition reinforced a masculinized migration agenda, intentionally creating a “feminized sector” seen as secondary in the labour market (Kofman 2004, 648). Potential economic migrants who performed managerial and technical roles in leadership were seen as dominant, intelligent, and masculine, and were subsequently awarded greater points in the points-based system. In contrast, work that required less specialization or were household tasks were seen as subservient and feminine; they were subsequently removed from the priorities of the labour market, and marked as a wife and mother’s role in the private realm. This reinforced the notion that “women are exclusively occupied with domestic labour, care, and sex work, while men occupy the commanding heights of the knowledge economy and society” (650). This new logic characterized migrant women as incompatible in the Canadian labour market in which “gendered migrations allocates women lowly occupations as exotic, subservient or victimised, or relegated to applying supporting roles as homemakers. Men, on the other hand, are the breadwinners and... pursue careers in the financial, scientific, and technological spheres” (645).

The state reproduces a divide in the perception of household and formal workplace, reinforcing a public and private separation that domesticates women. Seldom do public processes and the realm of household work intersect (Walton-Roberts 2004, 267). The state views household dynamic as a private and non-political matter, kept to the intimacy of its citizens’ own home (Gaucher 2018, 4). The privatization of the role of the women into the household is further reinforced by the notion of Rubin’s sex negativity, where “good sex” and a healthy private sphere are “private, and procreative” (Gaucher 2018, 86). As a result,

this is used as a justification for the state to selectively engage within the private sphere and domestic, which “allows the state to bypass certain responsibilities... state determination of what is private is partial, selective, inconsistent” Gaucher 2018, 28). The domestication of women is used to uphold a masculinized public sphere while “traditionally [furnishing] the unpaid labour of women” in the private sphere (Gaucher 2018, 28).

The private-public divide reinforced the power of the household and immigrant life into the authority of the man; states reproduce this preference for the masculinized independent and sponsor migrant through immigration policies (Gaucher 2018, 645). While migration through the neoliberalist lens has shifted towards a focus on individualization and economic migration, the privatization of women into the domestic sphere leaves the agency of immigrant women into the hands of the male migrant who is assumed to hold economic prowess as the breadwinner in the public sphere (Dobrowolsky 2008, 467).

As a result, there is a prevalence of exploitation of Asian migrant women in Canada, where there are “[issues] of martial violence among South Asian immigrants, and...growing mail-order [brides]...structured by traditional assumptions regarding the ‘proper’ role of the wife within the home” (Walton-Roberts 2004, 268). The intentional domestication of women through the neo-liberalization and marketization of migration policy not only marginalized but exploited immigrant women, leaving them susceptible to abuse. Migrant women become a process of a “global chain of care” that capitalizes on what is deemed as informal labour; “globalized domesticity” perpetuates the movement of migrant women who partake in unpaid domestic labour (Kofman 2004, 651). As a result, women are made to be invisible, and are often unaccounted for in potential economic benefit, where the “majority of migrants in Asia fall into the unskilled labour category, from domestic work, entertainment, and prostitution” (650). The intentional domestication of women into the private sphere, without the problematizing of reproductions of hierarchy and masculinity in the domestic home, increased the susceptibility of migrant women to exploitation.

Capitalization of Domestic Labour: Live-In-Caregiver Program

While the state removes immigrant women from the economic public sphere through functions of domestication and privatization, neoliberalism also presents itself within immigration policy through highlighting aspects of household labour as economic potential. In this,

the Canadian government discretionarily capitalizes on the aspects domestic labour associated with immigrant women through the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*; this reproduces racial hierarchies and gender discrimination in the employment of immigrant women from Asia. The Program demonstrates Canada's perception of Asian immigrant woman, exploiting traditional norms of gender roles and highlighting the labour market potential of immigrant women when it was believed to benefit the Canadian economy. As a result, I argue that neoliberalism framed immigrant women and the determination of their economic viability as a cost-benefit analysis. The state capitalized on its ability to discretionarily frame immigrant women in different perspectives, rendering immigrant women invisible in the private sphere and out of the formal workplace when they were deemed unfit in the labour market; additionally, the state capitalized on aspects of household labour to the benefit of the Canadian economy. In both these venues, immigrant women remained marginalized and underqualified in their abilities.

The *Live-In-Caregiver Program* stemmed from an influx in need for non-European domestic workers in Canada during the Cold War, where many typically "preferred" European immigrants found it difficult to make the journey Canada (Hodge 2006, 62). As a response, Canada first created the Foreign Domestic Movement Program between 1981 and 1992, which gave residency status to immigrants who had lived and worked within the home of their employers for at least two years (62). Canada modified its program by creating the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* from 1992 to 2014, to capitalize on the domestic labour of immigrant women (62). In reforming the program, immigrant domestic workers had "to not only...live in their employers' houses, but also possess the equivalent of a Canadian Grade 12 education supplemented with domestic training, effectively barring many women from economically marginalized nations from migrating due to a lack of access to Western education" (62). The Program intended to provide immigrant women with an opportunity to gain permanent residency after working for at least two years as a temporary foreign worker within an employer's home (64). The domestic employee was to provide domestic work and care for private homes; in return, the employer must be able to "provide the foreign national with adequate furnished and private accommodations in the household" and sufficient wages (Canada 2002). As a result, more than five thousand women have arrived in Canada per year under the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* (Hodge 2006, 62).

The creation of a *Live-In-Caregiver Program* may have seemed to be a program that provided immigrant women a pathway into the public

and economic sphere de jure. In the public eye, the Program seemed to empower more immigrant women in applying their domestic workplace skills in the formal Canadian labour market. In reality, the Program not only monetized the private sphere, but drew upon globalized inequalities de facto, exploiting and capitalizing on the racialized circumstances of Asian immigrant women. Imposing educational and training requirements for the Program inherently furthered “systemic racism by implicitly preferring white, Western-educated women” (Hodge 2006, 62). However, this program still employed many Asian immigrant women, predominantly Filipino women. Due to the racial stratification between immigrant women, many European immigrant women were deemed to possess more acceptable qualifications that gave them more access to distinguished occupational roles within the formal public sphere beyond employment through the *Live-In-Caregiver-Program*. In contrast, many women of colour migrants were inclined to stay as domestic workers “even after the end of their initial contracts, largely because employment discrimination left them little other choice” (Hodge 2006, 62). The *Live-In-Caregiver Program* capitalized on the intersections of racialized and gender inequalities, by creating a system of economic dependency, disguised as economic opportunity for Asian immigrant women. As a result, the Program employed “largely women of colour from economically marginalized nations such as the Philippines, which rely on foreign remittances to stimulate their economy” (Hodge 2006, 61).

Implications of the Live-In Caregiver Program for Asian Immigrant Women

I argue that the neo-liberalization of immigration policy monetized global inequalities and traditional gender roles. The *Live-In-Caregiver Program* devalued Asian immigrant women, notably Filipino women, and exacerbated gender-based vulnerabilities. Globalized inequalities, push many immigrant women into the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* as their only option. Many Asian immigrant women relied on the Program as a method to provide remittances to their families back home, not able to meet the requirements of the economic points-based system (Hodge 2006, 61). Aware of this economic dependency, the Canadian state and many employers framed domestic caregivers as temporary and dispensable workers rather than reputable professional migrants. For examples, the BC Philippine Women Centre “outlined how Immigration Canada’s treatment of these workers as temporary workers rather than landed immigrants... framing women who demand their worker’s rights

are greedy” (63). Caregivers were also not afforded the same benefits of “foreign professionals” who were often able to immediately extend and sponsor immigration status to their family members (63). Under the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*, caregivers were only able to sponsor immediate family members, spouses and children, as defined by “a Eurocentric heterosexist definition of ‘family’” after the completion of two years of labour (64). As a result, immigrant women within Program were not afforded the same rights as any other economic migrant (62).

The subordination and economic dependency of immigrant women in the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* also gave way to increased vulnerabilities. In addition to extended working hours and working in unfavourable conditions within the home, the “problem with recognition of credentials...is exacerbated in this program due to work conditions that often mean that the caregiver is unable to afford time or money to upgrade their education or skills to enter other professions” (63). This created a viral iteration of dependency and marginalization of the domestic work of the women. As a result of the live-in requirements and overlooked unduly workplace conditions, many migrant caregivers were “susceptible to isolation, powerlessness, invisibility, and loneliness,” and were vulnerable to abuse (62). Many immigrant caregivers, who were dependent on this Program, often did not speak out against abusive or exploitative employment relations, out of a fear of revocation of immigration status of “fear of deportation.” (63)

Furthermore, neoliberalism capitalizes on the feminization of household labour, operating on the monetization of gendered norms to the benefit of the Canadian labour market (61). Immigrant women are characterized by their feminine sensitivity and gravitation towards motherhood, that makes them suitable “to be responsible for ‘emotional labour’” required within the Caregiver Program (64). Traditional perceptions of women as mothers and wives are intersected with racialized divides that suppress and maintain Asian immigrant women within the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*. In addition to this static gendered assumption, many Filipino women within the program are expected to have a level of collegiate education in “midwifery, nursing, or teaching,” professions that are often feminized, undermined, and racially stratified as secondary (Kofman 204, 651). The Canadian government reinforces racialized gender roles, promoting this Program as an opportunity for Asian immigrant women to monetize their feminized labour in their ability as home-keepers and child-carers.

Neoliberalist Agenda behind the Live-In-Caregiver

Program

The manifestation of neoliberalism in immigration policy changed logics around the economic potential of Asian immigrant women. I argue that a neoliberalist agenda capitalized on existing perceptions of immigrant women as unprofitable within the private sphere, where women are household workers and caregivers in a feminized labour market. The “marginalization of migrant women in Canada is less to do with low educational standards than with their ability to overcome barriers to entry into labour workforce” (652). *The Live-In-Caregiver Program* functioned as a system that not only filled a labour market need for secondary migrants that did not meet a Westernized standard, but created a viral dependency of many Asian immigrant female care-workers. Many Asian workers, mainly Filipino, were faced with racialized labour market competition, maintaining their participation in the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* as they faced no other greater income alternative. Hodge states that this program allows the Canadian government “to benefit from the economic inequalities of globalization while marginalizing migrant women, especially visible minority women, and contribution to the marginalization of all women through the continued devaluation of domestic labour” (Hodge 2006, 61). Through this racialized containment of Asian immigration women in the Program rendered them inferior as economic labourers, and allowed for a neoliberalist state to continually marketize domestic labour.

The exploitation of women as caregivers was fundamentally overlooked as it was still considered as labour within the private sphere and out of the concern of Canadian government. The work conducted under the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* was still labeled as private due to its practice within the home, while reaping the economic benefits of the caregivers economic labour market benefit. In doing so, this allowed for the state to bypass exploitative activities within the Program. Furthering this point, Hodge argues that “the *Live-In-Caregiver Program* makes childcare a private issue to be dealt with by mothers, not a public issue to be dealt with by the government,” while also allowing the state to redirect the attentions of shortcomings in the social welfare and childcare system towards this providing this Program as an alternative (65). The Caregiver Program served as a function to rectify insufficient labour, as this program “[enables] the government to avoid taking responsibility for shortage of childcare programs and instead place the burden on women” (65).

Immigrant Women: Marketized and Invisibilization

of Domesticity

In this process, immigrant women were rendered invisible as private individuals within the home or of lesser economic value within the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*. The state enacted discretionary authority in shaping the discourse of the economic viability of immigrant women, either by drawing on traditional gender roles which diminished migrant women into the private sphere or through capitalizing on their domestic labour within the Caregiver Program. In both cases, Asian immigrant women became subject to a skewed perception of their economic potential. Immigrant women were assessed based on a focused cost-benefit analysis of their labour market potential, rather than a holistic assessment of the individual's potential sociocultural and political contribution to Canadian society.

Neoliberalism within Family-Based Immigration

The rise of neoliberalism presented new logics around the family – globalized patriarchal perceptions of immigrant women shaped family-based immigration. Neoliberalism drew upon reproductions of culturally hegemonic norms and heteronormativity to construct feminized perceptions of women. Through a subterfuge reinforcement of heteronormative and patriarchal standards, the Canadian immigration system disadvantaged women as dependents of male breadwinners, who were subordinated to the role of the man within the family environment.

Without the intersections of racial stratifications, family-based immigration was already undesirable relative to economic immigration. Neoliberalism created new rhetoric around immigrant families with the guise of securitization and marketization (Dobrowolsky 2008, 465). Under the lens of securitization, family-based immigration could provide a source of stability or pose as a threat to the polity of its nation: “the prominence of family migration is a simultaneous force of stability and instability for the Canadian state; reunification allows the state to reproduce the nuclear family unit while subjecting the ‘Canadian family’ to perceived threats of otherness” (Gaucher 2018, 9). Canadian family-based immigration system worked to reproduce stable and heteronormative immigrant family units to preserve its polity, while marketization also increasingly subjugated family-based immigration. Gaucher, who analyzes the gendered relationship between the family unit and Canadian citizenship, best explains a neoliberal and marketized influence on family-based immigration:

Immigration and citizenship reforms highlighted a

commitment to global neoliberal discourse of economic competitiveness, privatization, and cost recovery...[it was about getting] the 'best' migrants, and by extension prospective citizens, are those whose labour-market skills would enhance Canada's competitive position in a world economy. As such, the family class reclaimed its position as an undesirable group considering its very composition was that of dependents. (62)

This created a new rhetoric that family sponsored immigrants were dependent and held little to no economic potential; as such, family-based immigration became secondary to a dominant economic migrant class.

History of Chinese Family-Based Immigration to Canada

An analysis of the historical changes in Canadian family-based immigration policy displays how barriers were erected for potential immigrants not only by race but by gender. Due to increased migration flows between the 1960s and 1980s and discourse surrounding multiculturalism and equitable migration regulations, there appeared to be an opportunity for potential Asian immigrant women to independently arrive in Canada. (Poy 2013, 93). However, neoliberalism exacerbated racialized and gendered inequalities that continued to disadvantage Asian immigrant women.

Up until the 1960s, immigration of Chinese women to Canada was extremely rare (191). While Chinese men were able to immigrate to Canada independently to find work, many women stayed home to care for both their own and their husband's parents, as well as children, relying on the remittances of their male counterparts to maintain their livelihoods (191). As a result, "prolonged marital separation and deprivation of a family life had adverse social, psychological, and economic consequences," increasing isolationism for the Chinese male migrant (37). In 1955, the Canadian government administered an Order-In Council, which opened a pathway for Chinese women to reunite with their male spouses in Canada through family sponsorship (36). While many immigrant families took this opportunity to reunite in Canada, racial stratification still permeated the immigrant experience. "Upon their arrival in Canada, many such women were shocked to find a poor, ill, aging, and dependent husband," often separated in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown without much economic and cultural integration or communication with a more urban Canada (37). The 1955 Order-In Council, which allowed for increased Chinese migration, also created a demand for Chinese wives, where "Chinese middlemen

in Hong Kong and Canada [made] a small fortune by arranging blind marriages” (44). During the 1960s, immigration policy shifted towards a more open stance with a multiculturalist rhetoric introduced by Pierre Trudeau (72). Family sponsorship, as a proxy of dependency of the male migrant, extended until 1962 (49); thereafter, Chinese women were able to independently immigrate to Canada. The introduction of the *IRPR*, which gave rise to the economic points-based system, also gave new hope to many Chinese immigrant women, who saw this as an opportunity to gain agency and economic independence. At the end of the 1960s, education participation of women in Hong Kong also rose; many Chinese immigrant women could potentially hold the acceptable requirements within economic immigration (167). Despite these changes in policy and an increased demand for immigration, many Chinese women still did not migrate within the economic stream (193). In contrast, they often arrived as sponsored dependents of their husbands, bound to traditional Chinese gender roles (196). In this, gendered notions of immigration continued to marginalize women from gaining economic agency and equal access to opportunity (196).

Reinforcement of Patriarchal Norms: Sponsorship Standards and Paper Sons

Increased market competition and demand for economic migrants reinforced Chinese patriarchal norms by drawing on functions of inequality implicit within the structure of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. As stipulated within the Act, sponsorship within family-based immigration required the presence of permanent resident or citizen that, at minimum, had a stable income and was not reliant on social welfare assistance (196). These requirements are clearly reproduced through the understanding of a neoliberalist shift in family-based immigration, where an “‘ideal’ immigrant is also a self-sufficient one, one who will not make demands on the social programs of the welfare state. As Chinese women were unable to immigrate independently until the 1960s, they were more reliant on social welfare support; as such, these stipulations inherently privileged men as the heads of the household, as the initial economic migrant (473). As a result, this reinforced the patriarchal norm that men held authority over family and household decisions as they are the primary sponsor and provider to the family (Gay 1992, 20). Immigrant men were prioritized within a patriarchal structure of strengthening workplace skills, where “job and language training [was] often available only to the independent heads of households, who are usually men” (Poy 2013, 93). As such, women

were maintained in a continuation of dependency in submission of their household and husbands.

Many patriarchal practices reverberated throughout immigrant homes stemmed from longstanding Chinese traditional norms, globalized through the migration process. Within Chinese tradition, the birth of sons was often preferred over daughters, as they were seen as the bearer of the family name and were able-bodied to perform paid work and provide for the household. Furthering this “patriarchal tradition of importance of sons,” the official One Child Policy, enacted from 1979 to 2015, limited each household to only one child per home for Chinese citizens (Poy 2013, 47; Denyer & Gowen 2018). As a result, many family households would not report the birth, or would abandon female newborns, hoping to have a son as their firstborn child.

Many landed Chinese immigrants also forged sponsorship migration papers in prioritizing the arrival of their immigrant sons, known as a paper son. A paper son was “a Chinese Canadian man’s son who did not qualify as a dependant to enter Canada and had assumed the identity of another man’s son who did qualify” (Poy 2013, 65). Potential immigrant sons who did not meet the qualifications to be sponsored to Canada, mostly due to an age requirement, would trade and buy birth certificates worth up to five thousand dollars from other Chinese citizens and sons who were eligible (65). Furthermore, “some men reported the birth of a son when none actually existed,” and many daughters at birth were reported as male instead of females (65). Vivienne Poy recounts a story where a Chinese daughter was reported as a male at birth to allow for the eldest son of the family, who had surpassed the Canadian age requirement for sponsorship, to immigrate to Canada in her place (66-67). As a result, “like many of the women, [she] was a victim of patriarchy, in that her birth was reported as the birth of a son...she was again a victim, this time of the Canadian immigration laws that made illegal immigration a necessity for Chinese families wishing to reunite” (69). Her identity was stolen by a system that reproduced and reinforced patriarchal traditions, both at home and abroad. The prioritization of the son within the family unit within the patriarchal norm of Chinese culture were reproduced through immigration to Canada.

The Canadian family-based immigration system indirectly reinforced the ways in which men were perceived to be more valued than women. In the same ways that traditional Chinese patriarchal norms value sons over daughters, neoliberalism’s individualization prioritized immigrants who held more productive capacity in stimulating the Canadian economy through paid labour (Dobrowolsky 2008, 468). Immigration

was not only viewed as an economic transaction of productive labour, but as a gendered transaction of sons at the cost of daughters. Within the sponsorship process of family-based immigration, patriarchal norms were exacerbated by a neoliberalist shift towards a “global war on talent” (Tannock 2011, 1345).

Reproduction of Cultural Hegemony, and Feminization: Paper Brides

Reproductions of Chinese culture forcibly feminized women as brides and wives, who were obligated to obey their husbands (Poy 2013, 105); this reinforced the subordination of Asian immigrant women within family-based immigration. Chinese immigrant women were mainly dependents of male counterparts, often “as wives, daughters, and servants, though some women brought to Canada were forced to work as prostitutes” (4). For settled Chinese-Canadian men who were looking for wives, “picture brides” were commonly sent overseas between the 1950s and 1960s through the family-based immigration process (48). Poy, who recalls the lived experiences of various Asian migrants to Canada, further elaborates on one immigrant women’s experience:

In the case of a picture bride, a deposit had to be given for me before I was allowed to come to Canada, as a guarantee that when I met my husband, if either of us should decide not to marry, there would be enough money for me to return to China (48).

Many of these arranged marriages resulted in abusive relationships between the husband and wife. However, many immigrant women and mothers resolved to remain in Canada in hopes for a better life for themselves and their children (63). Women entered into marital agreements, anticipating a more economically stable and prosperous future, as “[marriage] was ‘women’s only hope at a decent life” (Gaucher 2018, 34). As a result, immigrant women and were victimized by the process of their own marriage through the globalized migration process, where they believed that immigrating would have greater returns for the family unit at the cost of their own safety. Migration through marriage became a gamble for many immigrant women; it held the power to create relative gains of a new life, yet ran the risk of subjugation and abuse. Female migrants from South Asia are prone to marital abuse, as “women who migrate through marriage are subject to increased vulnerability because of their tenuous legal status, something immigration policies often unintentionally amplify by increasing controls of immigrant procedures to resident spouse” (Walton-Roberts 2004, 268).

The feminization of potential female immigrants as brides reinforced the notion that their roles as immigrants were maintained within the home, defining their immigrant identity in relation to their male breadwinner counterparts. This notion of domestication was replicated in the China-Canada migration relationship through cultural hegemony. In following the Chinese tradition in which wives would take care of all residing extended family members, immigrant women who arrived in Canada were also subject to domestication and the dominance of patriarchy, where they were subordinate to their husbands and in-laws (Poy 2013, 191).

I argue that the role of cultural hegemony and hegemonic masculinity were fueled by neoliberalist thought that focused on economic capacity. Stemming from neoliberalist rhetoric, “economic needs and skilled workers trump other considerations like family reunification” (Dobrowolsky 2008, 472). While migrant men and husbands arrived in Canada mainly as independent economic migrants, women seemed to receive family sponsorship as a generous gift rather than on the grounds of their own qualifications. As a result, women who were more likely to enter through family sponsorship were seen as non-profitable and were met with a reactionary masculinized dominance of men who had earned their spot in immigrating to Canada. This created reactions of hegemonic masculinity, which can be defined as the reasserting of one’s dominance and prevalence in the household where women were resultantly subject to obeying the authority of men in risk of abuse.

Globalized Masculine Hegemonic Perceptions of the Family

Though immigrant policy seemingly shifted towards more equitable processes that promoted economic independency, Chinese immigrant women continued to be dependents within family-based immigration. Neoliberalism reproduced itself as a form of globalized masculine hegemony, prioritizing those who were independent, non-reliant on the welfare state, and able to produce paid work (Dobrowolsky 2008, 468). Through a gendered analysis, this reproduced masculinized perceptions where preferable immigrants needed to be strong and self-sufficient. While the Canadian state adopted a masculinized attitude in prioritizing immigrants that were able to be dominant in a competitive labour market, this same rhetoric was reproduced abroad in the globalization of immigration. Pre-existing gendered stratifications in Chinese culture were replicated and transferred into the processes of migration. A preference for immigrant men was no surprise to Chinese women,

and immigrating to Canada further reinforced existing subordinate relationship. I argue that a neoliberalist construct of immigration that focused on individualization and masculinity reproduced global cultural and patriarchal hegemonies (468).

An Ideal Family: Heteronormativity as a Measurement of the Family Unit

Within family-based immigration, Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) constructed a legal definition of a family that would assess potential migrants on the basis of an idealized and westernized heteronormative family unit, where “family reunification enables state to create hetero-patriarchal relations for the recruitment and socialization of labour” (Gaucher 2018, 31). In this, marriage and conjugality were used as a method to create an “ideal family type” to privatize women’s dependency within the family unit (28). Clear divisions in assessments between family and economic migration streams also discount potential economic contributions of migrants within the family class, casting family-based migrants as economically undesirable and secondary to those qualified within the points-based system.

The creation of a family-based immigration process assisted in the reinforcement of heteronormative norms on conjugality, which would not only shape the immigrant women’s experience but would serve the best interest of the Canadian state (5). The Canadian immigration system’s creation of an “ideal family” is in many ways determinative of “the ideal citizen” (19). In the perspective of the state, an ideal family would align with sexual stereotypes, where “good sex is heterosexual, married, monogamous, private and procreative” and would uphold the “institution of marriage” (86, 72).

In this construction of an ideal family, a productive immigrant family would reinforce social and political roles and the “patriarchal division of labour” through the imposition of traditional gender roles within a conjugal relationship (72). A heteronormative family unit as assessed within family-based immigration would concur that “the principal applicant is assumed to be male, placing spouses in a state of dependence in relation to rights of residence and employment” (Kofman 2004, 647). Heteronormativity then prescribes a “[dichotomy] based on the constellation of the economic, male and workplace in opposition to socio-cultural, female and family frame the way migration is traditionally explained,” noting a gender-binary approach where public labour is exclusively held in the authority of the male husband while social family matters are privately relegated to female wives (647). In this, family-

based immigration processes reproduce certain values held about heteronormativity and an ideal marriage. This rhetoric predisposes the immigrant women's experience upon their arrival in Canada, influencing a perception that views them as dependent and domestic.

Securitization and Marketization of the Family Unit

Through the creation of an idealized immigrant family, the state was able to preserve its neoliberalist agenda that prioritized the securitization of immigration. An increasingly securitized state imposed high restrictions on immigration to Canada due to the fear of a contestation in the identity of 'Canadian family'. With the rise of securitization, single immigrant men without the presence of family, ironically, were seen as potential security threats (Gaucher 2018, 6). The feminization of the family unit would resultantly provide the stable nature and conditions ideal for immigration (Strong-Boag 2015). The Canadian family-based immigration system would to admit potential immigrant families on the basis of westernized perceptions of a heteronormative family unit. Many immigrant women conceded themselves within domesticated and privatized roles to submit to this standard of the family.

Though the state has claimed that private life and family matters are to be kept out of public and political engagement, it capitalizes on the ability to construct a heteronormative family institution to its economic benefit. The ability to define an ideal family and the role that each actor within the family plays is intertwined with access to citizenship and to "certain benefits and privileges reserved for those in relationships deemed as legitimate by the state" (Gaucher 2018, 6). This relationship between family and state power is affected by "the way in which family reunification is structured influences who can immigrate and ultimately become a citizen; the state is not creating only citizens but families as well" (28). Family-based immigration seeks to regulate the relationship between a "market citizen," in the form of an economically able-bodied husband, balanced with the domestication of women (31). As a result, women wishing to immigrate to Canada must abide by the standards of a patriarchal and heteronormative family structure, formed by the economic interest of the state.

An innate dichotomy within the Canadian immigration system is created by two distinct streams of either economic or family immigration. The Canadian immigration system frames economic viability and family upkeep as two mutually exclusive concepts. Though many immigrant women are qualified to meet the standards of the economic-point based

system, immigrant women are often contained by heteronormative family structures within family-based immigration. Women, who may hold economic potential through the necessary educational or occupational requirements, remain discounted in their ability due to their exclusive label as wives and mothers within the sphere of family-based immigration. The Canadian immigration system inherently and pre-emptively shapes the discourse around immigrant women who arrive through family sponsorship; the system fails to consider other various areas of strength that immigrant women may hold. Instead, the immigration system preserves heteronormative standards and predispositions. As a result, migrant women who predominantly enter through family sponsorship are assumed to not hold practical and public labour expertise, while men who often arrive through economic immigration have no obligation with domestic work.

A Gendered Analysis and Critique of the Paradoxes within Neoliberalist Logic

Neoliberalism manifested itself within Canadian immigration, shaping rhetoric around economic and family-based immigration to marginalize immigrant women. Neoliberalism provided two main logics around immigration: securitization and marketization (Dobrowolsky 2008, 465). With the rise of securitization, single male migrants were seen as security threats to Canada in contesting the authority and identity of the state (Strong-Boag 2015). However, increased securitization also shaped the discourse around family-based immigration, creating assumptions that heteronormative immigrant families who met the westernized standards of an ideal family would not disrupt the Canadian polity. The feminization of immigrant women into marriages provided stability in rising conditions of securitization. While immigrant men were seen as risks, immigrant women became proxies of the preservation of the state.

In juxtaposition, marketization favoured the economic ability of immigrant men, yet viewed women as dependent within family-based immigration. This idea was strengthened through the point-based economic system, which reinforced global inequalities to the disadvantage of immigrant women. As a result, neoliberalism's two main proponents, securitization and marketization, come into paradoxical conflict in their goals within Canadian immigration processes. While marketization and securitization are not mutually exclusive, marketization clearly dominates. This is reflected in the ways that immigrant women continue to be subjugated within all realms of immigration processes, under

the guise of economic ability and public performance. The prevalence of economic priority within Canada is highly telling of its gendered interpretations and implications of immigration policies.

In likeness, neoliberalist perspectives have shifted immigration to value economic migrants, “[trumping] other conditions like family reunification” (Dobrowolsky 2008, 472). However, neoliberalist immigration policy still requires the foundation and support of family-based immigration to support its marketization objectives. I suggest that, for marketization to take its force within the Canadian immigrant labour market, it requires the acknowledgement of contributions made by immigrant women who are domesticated and privatized. Within the arguably traditional gender roles manifested in globalized Asian immigrant homes, women serve as a force of socialization and private labour, creating the backbone of the family by taking care of in-laws, husbands, and children. Much of women’s domestic work, often dismissed within the public sphere or lessened through the *Live-In-Caregiver Program*, become the foundation of the home, which enables men to engage in economic activities. In this, domestic work, unseen in the public eye, serves as an engine for formal marketization that is prized within the public labour market. I suggest that neoliberalism does not necessarily prevail over the importance of the family unit, but capitalizes on it, in ways that the state, and often immigrants, may not realize. Though the logic of neoliberalism innately creates barriers to gendered outcomes in immigration, it requires the support and engagement of immigrant women to succeed in its marketization objective.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the effects of the rise of neoliberalism within Canadian immigration policy and how it produces racial and gendered stratifications that work against Asian immigrants. While much of this discussion has focused on experience of Chinese and Filipino female immigrants to Canada, the discourse around Asian immigrant women fails to fully integrate and intersect both gender and race simultaneously in its analysis, often only looking at one or the other. Understandings of Asian immigrant experiences to Canada have often failed to acknowledge the fluidity of sexuality, often taking a binary analysis in gender. In this, the study of Asian immigration to Canada must question the ways that knowledge and experiences are reproduced and analyzed, moving to consider how race, gender, and sexual orientation constantly intersect in various ways at different times of history.

The manifestation of neoliberalism within Canadian immigration

policy presented inequitable gendered and racialized outcomes in Asian immigration through viewing migration as process of economic exchange. Within economic migration, the points-based system capitalized on global inequalities that draw on access to educational and occupational opportunity, disadvantaging Asian immigrant women in subjugation to the private sphere. The domestication of immigrant women was capitalized to the benefit of the state. The *Live-In-Caregiver Program* monetized domestic labour, but dismissed participating immigrant women from recognition of formal labour. Family-based immigration reproduced gendered and racialized hierarchies, drawing on heteronormative assumptions of the family and traditional roles of dependency within the migration of marriage (Poy 2013, 47). Family-based immigration was ruled secondary to economic migration, where the domesticated home had no place in the marketized public sphere. As a result, while Canada seemingly engrained its non-discriminative and equitable immigration policies through the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulation*, the force of neoliberalism marginalized Asian immigrant women in Canada.

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