CAUGHT BETWEEN THE 'BLEEDING HOMELAND' AND THE 'SAFE HAVEN': NEGOTIATING LOYALTIES IN TIMES OF CONFLICT

A Case Study of the Second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil Diasporic Community in Toronto

Kalyani Thurairajah

Department of Sociology

McGill University, Montreal

August 2013

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of PhD in Sociology

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 5

Abstract 8

Résumé 9

Introduction 11

The Study 15

Chapter 1: Diasporic Communities and Conflicting Allegiances 20

Diasporas and Transnationalism 20

Diasporas and the Homeland 24

Integrating into the Country of Settlement 33

Hybrid Identities and Dual Loyalties 37

Ethnic Lobbying and Political Engagement 43

Conflicting Allegiances in the United States 47

Conflicting Allegiances in Canada 52

Sri Lankan Tamil Diasporic Community: Negotiating Dual Identities and Conflicting Allegiances 58

Chapter 2: Historical Background and Methodology 61

Historical Background 61

Tamils in Sri Lanka: The Homelanders 69

Exodus of the Sri Lankan Tamil Population 72

Sri Lankan Diasporic Community: Suspect Minorities 77

Methodology 81

Participants 82

Interviews 85

Interviews in the Diasporic Community 86

Interviews with Homelanders 90

Analysis 94

Self as Researcher 95

Chapter 3: The Tamil Ethnic Identity and the Ties that Bind the Diaspora to the Homeland 98

Understanding Ethnic Identity 99

Tamil Social Networks 107

Connecting to the Homeland 112

Protesting 'Genocide' as a Narrative of Injustice 116
Protesting a Shared Identity 122
The Homeland of the First-generation 125
Protecting Ethnic Identity: An Episodic Occurrence 129
Conclusion 131
Chapter 4: *"Who Are We Without The War?"* The Homeland and its Relationship with the Diasporic Community 135
The Tamil Ethnic Identity 137
Focus on the Past: Regret over the Loss of an Identity 141
Focus on the Present: Survival over Identity 144
Focus on the Future: Technology, Development and the West 146
Multiple Imagined Homelands 148
The Perspective of Connection 148
The Perspective of Disconnect 155
The Perspective of Suspicion 158
Diasporic Tamils as Suspect Minorities in the Homeland 166
Conclusion 169
Chapter 5: *"I Bleed Red and White."* The Diasporic Community's Connection to the Country of Settlement 173
The Canadian Identity: What does it mean? 174
Canada as a Safe Haven 178
Canada and Multiculturalism 181
Being Tamil Canadian/Canadian Tamil 187
Practicing the 'Canadian' Identity 192
Engaging with Canada 200
Conclusion 208
Chapter 6: Canadians Under Suspicion: Diasporic Community as a Suspect Minority Group 212
Tigers: Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? 213
Perceptions of the Protests 217
Filling the Void of the Tigers 225
Tigers, Terrorists and the Tamil Identity 229
Multiculturalism and Suspect Minorities 234

The Boundaries of Support 240
Conclusion 244
Conclusion 248
The Tamil Ethnic Identity: The Diasporic Community and the Homeland 250
The Canadian National Identity: The Diasporic Community and the Country of Settlement 254
Being Tamil and Canadian: The Hybrid Identity of the Diasporic Community 256
Between a 'Bleeding Homeland' and a 'Safe Haven' 259
Limitations of the Study and Future Research 261
Committing Sociology 262
Appendix A: Map of Sri Lanka 266
Appendix B: Population Distribution of Sri Lanka 267
Table 1: Population Distribution by Ethnicity 267
Table 2: Population Distribution by Religion 267
Table 3: Population Distribution by Province 268
Appendix C: Interview Guide for Diasporic Community 269
Appendix D: Demographic Table of Diasporic Community Participants 273
Appendix E: Interview Guide for Homeland Community 275
Appendix F: Demographic Table of Homeland Participants 278
Appendix G: Archived Homepage for Canadian Tamil Congress Website 280
Appendix H: Website for Canadian Tamil Congress 281
Appendix I: Archived Website for CanadianHART 282
Appendix J: Halt Genocide Bus Tour Website 283
References 284

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the individuals who took part in this study. Without their stories, there would not be a dissertation. I am profoundly grateful for the many individuals in the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community for taking the time to share their experiences. I am also thankful to the community leaders who supported me throughout this project. This dissertation took me from the streets of Toronto to the island of Sri Lanka, where I had the opportunity to meet individuals who were a tremendous source of inspiration. These individuals experienced such tragedy, and yet, were able to speak with me with such honesty and courage. I feel honoured that they chose to share their stories with me.

I would not have been able to meet these individuals or hear their stories without the financial support of several institutions. I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for the doctoral fellowship that I received from 2010-2012, which was instrumental during the time that I was developing my dissertation. In addition, I am grateful to the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada for the Charles Bronfman and Alex Paterson Fellowship (2011-2013). The Faculty of Arts has also been very generous in funding my dissertation by providing various travel and research grants. In addition, the Oswald Hall Dissertation Fellowship I received from the Department of Sociology and the Arts Dissertation Writing Award I received through the Faculty of Arts both played significant roles in ensuring that I was able to take the time to write and complete my dissertation. I would also like to thank the *Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies* and the anonymous readers for their feedback on a paper that

was published in 2012 (volume 43, issue 1-2), and which formed the basis of the sixth chapter of this dissertation.

I cannot imagine being at this point—writing up my dissertation—without the support, encouragement and mentorship of Morton Weinfeld. He has been a phenomenal supervisor; one who never hesitated to challenge me when necessary, but who was also very open with his praise. Thank you for all of the invaluable insight you provided, and for always taking the time to answer my questions. And most especially, thank you for all my "Mort Mentor Moments."

In addition to my supervisor, I am extremely thankful to my committee members: Matthew Lange and Elaine Weiner. Matt, if you had not hired me as your research assistant to read about the history of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, this dissertation would not have taken the shape that it did. Thank you for all of your feedback and support. And Elaine, I cannot express how grateful I am for all of your encouragement while I was working on this dissertation. Thank you for all of your extremely helpful comments and suggestions, and for always taking the time to reassure me that it will all be okay. In addition to my committee, I am also thankful to John A. Hall—who has been a source of support in so many different ways during my time at McGill. Thank you for your warmth and generosity!

Being able to write the acknowledgments means that I have been able to survive the challenges of a doctoral program. I know that this would not be at all possible without the assistance of Franca Cianci, Erin Henson, Joanne Terrasi and Daniela Caucci. They are the cornerstone of the Sociology Department, and never flinched whenever I walked into the office and said, "I was wondering…", or even worse: "Can I

ask you for a favour?" Thank you for helping me navigate through all the paperwork and bureaucracy over the past five years. But most especially, thank you for your kindness, your humour, and all of your support.

I cannot imagine being at this point if it were not for all the love and friendship I have received from my family and friends. I am profoundly grateful for the friendships I formed over the past years. I was very lucky to have met many bright, kind, and supportive individuals during my time at McGill. I am so thankful to have been able to experience this journey with all of you.

I would also like to thank all of my friends who are not sociologists—thank you for reminding me about the world that exists outside of academia. And finally, to my family: I want to say thank you. To my parents: this dissertation has taught me how much courage it took for you to leave your homeland to forge a life in Canada, and has made me so grateful for the opportunities that your decision has brought to my life. And Kanna: thank you for your unwavering support. I will always remember your words when I was terrified before writing my first comprehensive exam. Thank you for always putting my worries into perspective, and for always being in my corner.

ABSTRACT

The loyalties of immigrant groups have often been questioned, particularly when they are considered to be suspect minorities whose loyalties to their homelands may outweigh their loyalties to their countries of settlement. As such, the concept of "conflicting allegiances" is built on the premise that the two loyalties are mutually exclusive, and that one must be prioritized over the other. However, this dissertation argues that the narratives that second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community hold regarding their homeland and their country of settlement opens space for the adoption of a hybrid Canadian-Tamil/Tamil-Canadian identity, as well as dual loyalties for both their homeland and their country of settlement. In conceptualizing their homeland as a "bleeding homeland", with a history of discrimination and victimization, this diasporic community is motivated to engage in homeland politics and to identify strongly with their Tamil ethnic identity. This loyalty to their homeland is *further* reinforced by conceptualizing their country of settlement as a "safe haven", where the Canadian identity is centred on tolerance, diversity and multiculturalism. This dissertation draws on interviews conducted with second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Toronto as well as their age-cohort in Sri Lanka, and argues that while there may be concerns about immigrants as suspect minority groups who hold *conflicting* allegiances, the story of Canada as conceptualized by second-generation immigrants actually encourages the development of a hybrid identity and the maintenance of dual loyalties.

RÉSUMÉ

La loyauté des groupes immigrants a souvent été questionnée, particulièrement lorsqu'ils sont considérés comme des minorités suspectes dont la loyauté envers leur pays d'origine peut être plus importante que leur loyauté envers leur pays d'accueil. Ce concept d' « allégeances conflictuelles » est basé sur la prémisse que les deux loyautés sont mutuellement exclusives et que, par conséquent, l'une doit avoir la priorité sur l'autre. Cependant, cette dissertation soutient que la conception que les membres de la seconde génération de la communauté diasporique Tamoule du Sri Lanka ont de leur pays d'origine ainsi que de leur pays d'accueil ouvre un espace qui permet l'adoption d'une identité hybride de Canadien-Tamoule/ Tamoule-Canadien, ainsi qu'une loyauté double à la fois pour leur pays d'origine et leur pays d'accueil. En conceptualisant leur pays d'origine en tant que « terre natale qui saigne », comportant un historique de discrimination et de victimisation, cette communauté diasporique est motivée à participer à la politique de leur pays d'origine et ainsi s'associer fortement avec leur identité ethnique Tamoule. Cette loyauté envers leur terre natale est de plus renforcée en conceptualisant leur pays d'accueil en tant qu' « havre de paix » où l'identité Canadienne met l'emphase sur la tolérance, la diversité ainsi que le multiculturalisme. Cette dissertation utilise des entrevues conduites avec des membres de la seconde génération de la communauté Tamoule du Sri Lanka vivant à Toronto ainsi que des membres correspondant à ce même groupe d'âge vivant toujours au Sri Lanka. Cette dissertation soutient que, bien qu'il puisse exister des inquiétudes concernant la loyauté de certains immigrants considérés comme étant des minorités suspectes qui possèdent une allégeance *conflictuelle*, ce projet démontre que l'histoire du Canada telle qu'elle est

conceptualisée par cette seconde génération d'immigrants encourage le développement d'une identité hybride et la persistance d'une loyauté double.

INTRODUCTION

On April 15, 2013, two pressure cooker bombs exploded near the finish line of the Boston Marathon, killing three people and injuring hundreds of others. Two brothers of Chechen descent, Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev, are suspected of executing the bombing, but only one brother survives to face the charges. The Boston Marathon Bombing raised many questions, but perhaps the most pressing one was *why*. Why would two young men plant a bomb at a marathon? What were they aiming to accomplish? Who did they want to hurt? What was their *motive*? In attempting to determine the answer to these questions, the ethnic and religious backgrounds of these brothers have been mentioned, suggesting that it was their loyalties to their Islamic faith and their disappointment in American foreign policy towards Muslim countries that led the two brothers to be behind one of the most tragic events in recent American history (Shane, 2013).

The Tsarnaev brothers are not the first or the only to utilize violence to promote a political message. On March 11, 2004, ten bombs exploded on trains heading into central Madrid, killing 191 people, and injuring nearly 1800 others. This event has been called the "worst Islamist attack in European history" (Hamilos, 2007). It was an act of terror that was committed by a group of men from northern Africa, with the assistance of a group of men from Spain. However, while the attacks were later credited to Muslim fundamentalists, initially certain Spanish politicians believed that the Basque separatist group Eta was to blame (BBC, 2004). In accusing this Basque separatist group without any evidence to support these accusations, these politicians were questioning the loyalties of this particular population. Essentially the accusations

demonstrate that the Basque population in Spain are viewed as a 'suspect minority group', who are likely to place their loyalties to their Basque identities *above* any loyalties they may feel to Spain.

Fear of terrorism has become particularly rampant since the tragic events of 9/11. While the militant Islamic group Al-Qaeda has been credited with orchestrating the events that occurred on September 11, 2001, the events have had repercussions for many Americans—particularly Muslim and Arab Americans. This population has had to face questions about whether they supported the terrorist acts committed by Al-Qaeda, and whether they were in any way involved in these events. They have had to face questions about where their loyalties lie and to what extent their commitment to their religious beliefs and ethnic identities are prioritized above their loyalties to the United States of America. This population of Arab and Muslim Americans, who may have called America their home for generations, were suddenly being seen as 'suspect minorities'—people to be doubted, whose loyalties to America could not be taken for granted.

Concern about where the allegiances of various ethnic and immigrant groups lie has been present for as long as there has been immigration. The apprehension regarding immigrant loyalty is not so much to do with the fact that immigrants have dual loyalties, but rather with the fear that immigrants may, in fact, be more loyal to their homeland or country of origin than they are to their country of settlement. If such a hierarchy of loyalty were to exist, then, at times of conflict between the homeland and country of settlement, immigrants may choose to side with their countries of origin, thereby posing a threat to their country of settlement. For example, such concerns of disloyalty led to

fears of the presence of a "fifth column" during World War II, whereby it was believed that there were enemies of the state posing as citizens in order to infiltrate the nation in order to do a hostile take-over (MacDonnell 1995).

In protecting "national interests", fears of terrorism have led to heighted security and immigration measures since 9/11. For example, Canada and the United States signed the *Smart Border Declaration and Action Plan* as a security measure to protect the two nations from any suspicious travel. There are four primary aims of this Action Plan: to secure flow of people; to secure flow of goods; to invest in secure infrastructure; and to coordinate and share information in the enforcement of these objectives (Public Safety Canada, 2008). According to Public Safety Canada, "the secure flow of people is about separating low risk travellers from high risk travellers and facilitating the movement of those who pose little risk to our security." However, the website does not describe what would constitute a "high risk traveller", and what characteristics would distinguish them from a "low risk traveller."

Changes have not only been made to security policies in Canada, but also to immigration policies. Canada has become more vigilant in terms of requiring appropriate documentation including visas from those wishing to enter the country (Adelman, 2002), and has also become much more stringent in terms of the qualifications that are required for immigration. While these changes are meant to secure the nation's borders from external threat, those who are *within* the borders have also been viewed with trepidation—particularly when they are believed to have ties to an external homeland that may be perceived as threatening to the country of settlement.

The changes in immigration and security policies since the tragic events of 9/11 demonstrate that the loyalties of certain diasporic and immigrant communities are not just being questioned. Their loyalties are being *assumed*. They have become "suspect minorities", whose loyalties to their homelands are assumed will be inevitably prioritized above their loyalties to their hostlands. Therefore, it becomes imperative that countries of settlement implement policies to protect themselves against any acts of terror or harm committed by these diasporic and immigrant communities.

In response to a question regarding when it might be important to start examining the root causes of terrorism, Prime Minister Stephen Harper claimed that "this is not a time to commit sociology" (Chase, 2013). Instead of 'committing sociology', and trying to understand the underlying causes that may have led to the tragedy that unfolded during the Boston Marathon, the Prime Minister asserts that the primary goal is to demonstrate "our utter condemnation of this violence and our utter determination through our laws and through our laws and activities to do everything we can to counter it" (Chase, 2013). Is the Prime Minister right in claiming that perhaps this is not the time to commit sociology? Perhaps it is simply enough to condemn and to oppose without having an understanding of the *why* and the *why not*.

The "Boston Bombings" raised some very important questions not only regarding terrorism but also about conflicting allegiances. As Shane (2013) discusses in an article in the *New York Times*, there are some serious concerns that were raised regarding the loyalties of the suspects to the bombings, and points to several examples "in which longtime American residents with no history of violence turned to terrorism: the plot to blow up the New York subway in 2009, the Fort Hood shootings the same

year and the failed Times Square bombing of 2010, among others". Shane suggests that these acts of terror are due to conflicting allegiances between a distant homeland or religious centre and the country of settlement, and that when there is tension between the homeland and the hostland, the loyalty to the homeland is prioritized.

While there *have* been examples of when members of immigrant and diasporic communities have endangered their countries of settlement in the interests of their countries of origin, can all immigrant and diasporic communities be labelled as "suspect minorities"? What is the process through which these communities negotiate between their dual loyalties and identities? Furthermore, when the community is labelled as a "suspect minority" group, and their loyalties are questioned, do these diasporic communities reframe their identities? Do they move away from the country of settlement that labels them in such a way? Do they, in fact, construct a homeland identity and loyalty that *endangers* their country of settlement? The Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Canada, with their strong connections to their country of settlement and homeland, enable the exploration of these questions.

THE STUDY

This dissertation examines these questions of conflicting allegiances, suspect minorities, and nationalism with respect to diasporic communities. Specifically, two core queries are explored:

1. When there is tension between the homeland and the country of settlement, how do second-generation immigrants negotiate their political identities and national loyalties?

2. How do the perspectives of homelanders on diasporic involvement in homeland affairs influence how the second-generation members of the diaspora negotiate their allegiances to both the homeland and the country of settlement?

In order to fully explore the relationships that diasporic communities have with their countries of origin and countries of settlement, and how these relationships are negotiated at times of conflict, this study utilizes the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic population in Toronto as a case study.

The first chapter reviews the relevant literature and theories pertaining to the study of diasporic communities, dual identities and conflicting allegiances. This chapter lays out the debate with respect to how identities and loyalties are constructed by diasporic communities, as well as the nature of the relationship between the diasporic community and its homeland as well as the country of settlement.

The second chapter provides a detailed description of the Sri Lankan Tamil population, including the historical background of the conflict in Sri Lanka. This second chapter further describes the establishment of the diasporic community in Canada, and provides some context with respect to the Tamil protests that were staged in Toronto during the first half of 2009. Furthermore, this chapter describes the methodological research design for this study, including the manner in which participants were recruited and interviewed, and the ways in which the data was analyzed.

In the third chapter, the relationship that the diasporic community has with the homeland and how the Tamil ethnic identity is conceptualized is explored. This chapter argues that the diasporic community feels that they share a common ethnic identity with the homeland, which drives their feeling of responsibility to the homeland and *right* to engage in homeland politics. The chapter also demonstrates that while they believe they share a common ethnic identity, they have a difficult time articulating this identity, and

primarily understood their 'Tamilness' as a primordial construct. They believe that the right has been passed down to them, and a large emphasis is placed on the narratives of the homeland that they have heard from the first-generation, primarily the history of injustice and victimization as experienced by the Tamil population in Sri Lanka.

In the fourth chapter, the ways in which the homeland population understand their ethnic identity and their relationship with the diasporic population are described. This chapter argues that the end of the ethnic conflict led to cleavages in the understanding of the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of the homeland among the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. These cleavages mean that there are divisions among the Tamil population in the homeland, creating challenges in maintaining or even imagining some form of collective ethnic identity. In addition to cleavages among homelanders, this chapter shows that the way the Tamil ethnic identity is defined by homelanders does not necessarily include the diasporic community, and that the diaspora's right to claim membership is questioned, and their intentions for engaging in homeland politics are viewed with suspicion.

In the fifth chapter, the relationship that the diasporic community has with the country of settlement is explored. This chapter argues that the diasporic community feels a connection to their Canadian identities, and that this connection is based primarily on an understanding of Canada as a "safe haven", as well as a country that promotes diversity, tolerance and multiculturalism. The chapter further demonstrates that while they claim a Canadian identity, they are unable to articulate what being Canadian means, and their engagement with Canada is relatively passive.

The sixth chapter explores how this diasporic community understood the responses of the larger Canadian community during the protests of 2009. This chapter further describes how the diasporic community felt disappointed in Canada for not upholding its professed reputation for being both tolerant and multicultural when the diasporic community expected it most. This chapter also explores how this diasporic community is conceptualized as a suspect minority group, whereby their rights to the Canadian identity are questioned.

The concluding chapter not only summarizes the major findings of this study, but also explores the implications of these findings, including future directions for research.

The findings from this study contribute to the areas of political sociology and the sociology of ethnic relations. They contribute towards the study of conflicting allegiances and suspect minorities, and the process of negotiating multiple identities and loyalties at times of tension. In addition to its contribution to the field of sociology, this study also contributes towards Canadian policies pertaining to immigration, multiculturalism and national security.

The findings from this study shed light on whether assumptions of guilt and disloyalty are warranted. It also provides insight into how second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community prioritize their loyalties between their homeland and their country of settlement, and if a hierarchy of loyalty exists. If such a hierarchy of loyalty is in place, the findings from this study then examine the factors that contribute towards the process of forming this hierarchy of loyalty, including the factors that connect this diasporic community to both their Tamil ethnic identity and

their Canadian national loyalty. The findings from this study also examine whether the categorization of this population as a 'suspect minority group' is justified, and whether there is support for the changes in security and immigration policies meant to secure Canadian borders from the threats of those who hold multiple identities and loyalties.

CHAPTER 1: DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES AND CONFLICTING ALLEGIANCES

DIASPORAS AND TRANSNATIONALISM

While the term 'diaspora' was originally applied to groups that were banished from their homelands, forced to leave their countries of origin, it has become much more flexible in its definition, coming to encompass any migrant group that continues to maintain some form of connection to the homeland despite having migrated to a new hostland. The fact that this flexibility demands a connection across nations may explain why the term 'diaspora' and 'transnational' have come to be conflated.

Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc provided one of the first platforms for the discussion of transnationalism (Kivisto, 2001), which led to the term being defined as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992, p. 1). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) later argued that transnationalism is a more *active* process than the building of social fields, asserting that there are in fact three different kinds of transnationalism: economic, political, and socio-cultural. The distance between the country of origin and the country of settlement also impacts the process of transnationalism. Faist (2000) further honed the definition of transnationalism to also include "a continual pattern of involvement with both governmental and civic institutions in the homeland and receiving country" (p. 208). Transnationalism, Riccio argues, is not a homogeneous process, but "encompasses a wide range of different and situationally varied practices" (Riccio, 2001, p. 596). As Vertovec (1999) points out, transnationalism has come to be defined and studied in a number of ways.

The divergence of opinions on the definition of transnationalism has also contributed to the difficulty in determining the precise definition of *diaspora.* While initial definitions of the term were focused on those who were banished from a homeland, researchers have come to realize that the term cannot be conceptualized with such simplicity (Skrbis, 1999). Barkan and Shelton (1998) suggest that the term "diaspora" has come to take on a wider meaning, essentially being used as "a universal nomenclature applicable to displaced groups of people" (p. 5). Cohen (1997) suggests that there are several features that are common to all diasporas, including "a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness" (p. 26). While Cohen was describing diasporas, this particular characteristic may explain why some researchers equate 'diaspora' with transnationalism (Tambiah, 2000).

However, Sheffer (2006) argues that this habit of labelling all immigrant groups as transnational is problematic, as *diasporas* have very distinct characteristics. He argues that while there are transnational groups that may be tied together because of their cultural or economic networks, these groups do not necessarily have a coherent narrative of their 'original homelands'. Sheffer argues that the Muslim population can be considered as a transnational group (pp. 127-128), whereas immigrants from Pakistan could be considered as a diaspora. He states that when individuals are connected by an ethnic or national relation, they should be considered as an 'ethnonational diaspora'. He claims that "unlike members of transnational networks, diasporans' ethnonational background…their identification with the diasporic formation is not questionable" (p. 128). Sheffer also asserts that diasporas are more cohesive and organized than

transnational communities, and are very actively involved in homeland affairs. In essence, he defines an ethnonational diaspora as "a cultural-social-political formation of people who actually are united by the same ethnonational origin and who reside permanently as minorities in one or more hostlands" (pp. 130-131).

While there may be varying definitions of transnationalism and diaspora, they all acknowledge that many immigrant and diasporic populations are influenced by both the country of origin and the country of settlement, forging 'transnational consciousness'. Ghosh and Wang (2003) point out that this transnational consciousness is informed by a number of factors (pp. 281-282):

> More specifically, we have realized that transnational consciousness is fed by intertwined conduits of the immigrant's pre-migration social identities, individual, familial and societal value systems (socio-economic/political), psyche of departure, material circumstances and social connections in the migrant city, sense of perceptions and expectations of the host and the home societies, and material circumstances of friends and family back home.

As Ghosh and Wang (2003) demonstrate, transnational consciousness is created actively by elements that are tied not only to the country of origin, such as the societal values of the homeland, but also from factors that are founded in the hostland.

The ability to identify with both a country of origin and a country of settlement is often forged through a dynamic process. While individuals may have an identity that is reflective of their country of origin, and an identity that is reflective of their country of settlement, these identities are not necessarily inherent. For immigrant populations, there is a process of *acculturation* that takes place, in which they begin to adapt to the new country of settlement, adopting certain values and reconfiguring their existing value system as with respect to their country of origin (Roccas, Horenczyk, and Schwartz, 2000). Berry (1997) argues that both the openness to the new dominant context to

immigrants, and the immigrants' attitudes towards the new dominant context will impact the extent to which they will acculturate, and maintain a connection to their culture of origin. He argues that there are four different levels of acculturation, each level reflective of the extent to which the immigrants have been able to adopt the values and identities of the new country of settlement: marginalization, separation, assimilation, and integration.

Marginalization occurs when the immigrant group is excluded from the country of settlement, whereas *separation* refers to a voluntary desire by the immigrant group to distance itself from the country of settlement. In the case of *separation*, immigrants are choosing to identify more strongly with their homeland identities than their hostland identities, whereas in the case of *marginalization*, even though immigrants may have an interest in identifying with the hostland, they are not being included within the social fabric of the country of settlement. According to Berry (1997), *assimilation* occurs when immigrants adopt the values of the country of settlement, thereby forging a stronger hostland identity than a homeland identity. *Integration*, on the other hand, refers to the acculturative process by which immigrants adopt the values of the country of settlement, but they *also* maintain the homeland identities.

The myriad of definitions available for both transnationalism and diaspora demonstrate the complexities involved in the study of these populations. For the purposes of this study, the term 'diaspora' or 'diasporic community' will be primarily utilized, as the case study population consists primarily of refugees and descendants of refugees who fulfil the criteria of ethnonational diaspora as set by Sheffer (2006)

.

DIASPORAS AND THE HOMELAND

The connection that the diasporic community feels to the homeland is often tied to their own sense of self. Their ethnic identities, and their ancestral histories are forged through their homelands, and the nostalgia that they feel for their countries of origin is based strongly on the desire to maintain these histories and identities. As such, in identifying with a past that is steeped in the history of the homeland, there is *also* a strong protectionist instinct to ensure that this past is maintained, and that the homeland continues to be the symbol of their ethnic identities. Therefore, in addition to connecting to the homeland due to a narrative of origin based on where they came from, diasporic community members are also invested in the *future* of the homeland, as it is the future of the ethnic identity that they have adopted for themselves. When the future of this ethnic identity is threatened in any way, it motivates the political engagement of the diasporic community, as they strive to defend the homeland at all costs.

Skrbis (1999) refers to the diaspora's political engagement in the homeland that stems from this protectionist instinct to practice "long-distance nationalism" and suggests that this is particularly salient when the diaspora believes that the history of their homeland is one steeped in victimization. Skrbis calls this the narrative of the 'bleeding homeland' (pp. 106-107). In the presence of a "scarring historical event" (Cohen, 1996, p. 512), certain groups come to be considered 'victim diasporas'. Cohen argues that for the Jewish diaspora, that event was 'Babylon', whereas for the Armenians it was the genocide, and for the Palestinians it was the creation of Israel. Each of these diasporas has a narrative of victimization that can be used to create solidarity among the group, whereby they work to politically advocate for the homeland

by vocally expressing a narrative of injustice. There is essentially a belief that they *too* share in this experience of victimization because of their common ethnic identity. While Skrbis (1999) uses the Croatian diaspora to illustrate the significance of a narrative of injustice, Fuglerud (1999) demonstrates that this holds true with the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Norway. Fuglerud (1999) argues that the members of this diaspora refer to themselves as a "'cursed people', abandoned by gods and men alike" (pp. 179-180). The collective narrative they have of the Tamil people is one in which they were betrayed historically (by the British and then the Sinhalese politicians), leading to the loss of *their* nation.

The narrative of the homeland that is carried by the diasporic community is believed to be passed from one generation to the next. In fact, Sheffer (2003) argues that, in addition to having a connection with the homeland, "the historical narratives, legends and myths, and personal and collective memories were also needed to ensure the perseverance of diasporas" (p. 55). These narratives and collective memories become particularly salient in situations where the homeland is actively engaged in nation-building. Baubock (2003) describes how the quest for self-determination in the homeland does not only impact first-generation immigrants, but also the second and third generations as well (p. 718). Carter (2005) asserts that second-, third-, and fourth-generation Croatian-Americans experienced an increased connection to their homeland during the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. These Croatian-Americans were actively involved in homeland politics, in pursuit of an independent Croatian state, although many of them had never been to Yugoslavia. Despite the fact that they were born and raised in their country of settlement, the many generations within this diaspora

were active in their support of the creation of Croatia. Therefore, it is not just first-generation immigrants who left the homeland who maintain a connection to their country of origin.

The ability for both first-generation immigrants and subsequent generations of immigrants to maintain a relationship with the homeland is indicative of the existence of what Brah (1996) refers to as a 'diaspora space.' Brah argues that the family can make up this diaspora space. The family unit plays a critical role in not only maintaining the values of the homeland and the narratives of the *journey* from the homeland to the country of settlement, but also in constructing new narratives of settling into the country of settlement (Brah, 1996). The process of negotiating the values between the country of settlement and the homeland is one that is often carried out by the females in the family (Tsolidis, 2011). Families, essentially, can provide the "transnational link" that enables the continual connection to the homeland (Levin, 2002, p. 9).

It is important to note here that the homeland and the country of origin are not always synonymous. When the country of origin is comprised of multiple factions or ethnic groups, diasporic communities may identify with one particular group rather than with the nation as a whole. In this case, they identify with an imagined homeland that exists within the territorial boundaries of the nation-state of the country of origin. Those diasporic communities that do not feel that the country of origin is representative of their ethnic identities, and that instead identify with a smaller faction are sometimes considered 'stateless diasporas' (Sheffer, 2003). The Palestinian, Sikh and Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic communities all identify with a homeland that is not officially recognized as a nation-state, and therefore do not identify with a *country* of origin.

Therefore, when "stateless" diasporic communities engage in the politics of the homeland, their political engagement is often *not* in the interest of the country of origin, and in such cases the question of whether the diasporic community has the right to engage can be raised. This question is often contextualized within the arena of citizenship and territoriality. If diasporic community members are not citizens of the country of origin or do not live within the territorial boundaries of the nation, then can they exercise political engagement? This question has been much debated, as it raises concerns about self-determination. Citizens living within the territorial boundaries of the country of origin have the right to self-determination, but those who live externally may in fact be jeopardizing this practice by influencing the political arena of a country from outside its borders.

While diasporic communities may feel a connection to the homeland, they are not homogeneous in terms of their views of the homeland. In fact, as Stuart Hall (1990) eloquently states, the diaspora experience cannot fully be understood without recognizing that it is made up of difference (p. 235):

> The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference, by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference.

Sheffer (2003) also argues that one cannot assume that membership into the diasporic community entails homogeneity, and in fact, there are four levels of membership in diasporic communities, and the level of membership determines the extent to which these individuals identify with their homeland (p. 100). 'Core members' are those who most explicitly identify with their homeland and diasporic community,

and they are active in their involvement with both the diaspora and the homeland. 'Members by choice' are those who may not have been born into the ethno-national diasporic community, but choose to belong to it, and are also very involved with the community. 'Marginal members' are those who while still maintaining their ethnic identity, are not involved with the diaspora, and may in fact, take measures to separate themselves from the community. The fourth level consists of 'dormant members.' These individuals may be aware that they have ethnic roots within this diasporic community, but have become fully integrated into the country of settlement. However, under situations when their support is required, dormant members may be 'awakened' to become more active participants within the diaspora.

These four levels of membership demonstrate that simply being of a particular ethnicity or nationality does not predetermine one's participation within a diaspora. Similarly, one cannot make the assumption that belonging to any one level of membership implies a particular perspective or interpretation of diasporic and homeland affairs. While there may not be consensus among all members of the diaspora with respect to the role they should play in homeland and diasporic politics, Sheffer (2006) asserts that one of the distinguishing characteristics of a diaspora is its ability to demonstrate great cohesion and solidarity (p. 128). When the core membership is robust, they are able to strongly influence the direction the diaspora takes with respect to homeland politics, particularly when the homeland is in the process of nation-building. When the diaspora is 'stateless', it tends to support a movement to establish an independent state, even if not all members of the diaspora are in agreement about

whether such a state should be established, or *how* it should be established (Sheffer, 2003, pp. 156-157).

For stateless diasporic communities, the formation of a nation-state may only occur through some form of conflict, as they desire a state that is reflective of their own ethnic identity. Individuals identifying with an ethnicity that may not fit with the 'ethnic core' of the nation-state may be construed as practicing a form of ethnonationalism that is detrimental to the state, thereby posing a threat that must be addressed. Ethnic conflict can be a form of practicing this ethnicity-based nationalism, or 'ethnonationalism.' Ethnonationalism does not mean that ethnicity is always synonymous with nationalism. Calhoun (1993) argues against the proposition that nationalism is a natural extension of ethnicity, claiming that there are many more ethnic identities than there are national identities. He suggests that it is not the presence of an ethnic identity that leads an ethnic group to develop a national identity, but that this ethnic group must also come together to form a *political* community (pp. 229-230). He argues that while one cannot separate ethnicity from nationalism, one also cannot make the claim that nationalism is "simply a continuation of ethnicity" (p. 235).

Tambiah (1996) argues that there are in fact two different models of nationalism that may interact with one another. There is the nationalism that stems from the nation-state, and *ethno*nationalism, which stems from the establishment of differing ethnic identities. However, he clarifies that not every ethnic identity leads to an ethnonationalism, but that it is when an ethnic group becomes politicized to act against a state that it believes is not necessarily acting in its best interests (pp. 16-17). Tambiah's claim of an ethnonationalism may be an extension of his earlier argument in *Ethnic*

Fratricide (1986) that ethnic polarization is a modern issue, and one that arose as a response to the modern concept of "nationalism." He uses the Sinhalese-Tamil tensions in Sri Lanka as an example to illustrate how ethnic tensions became prevalent only *after* the country of Sri Lanka was established, and it attempted to create a singular nation-state.

If it is in fact an ethnicity-based nationalism that is at the heart of the ethnic conflict, and not a form of nationalism that is based on territoriality or citizenship, then arguably one can continue to claim a right to practice ethnonationalism outside the borders of the nation and the nation-state. Therefore, as ethnonationalism is tied to ethnic identity, it can be practiced by individuals who leave their homeland, and although they may become immigrants and diasporic community members, they can still be connected to the homeland. They can still be a part of the collective people. Therefore, they can engage with the homeland, and claim rights to the homeland, from a distance. Therefore, ethnic tensions in the homeland can mobilize diasporic communities into action, fuelling a form of long-distance *ethno*nationalism.

In an in-depth analysis of the question of whether the diasporic community has the right to engage in the politics of the homeland, Addis (2012) asserts that if stakeholders have the right to be actively involved with the homeland, then diasporic community members *are* stakeholders on three different levels: culturally, economically and politically (p. 1038), and as such are not foreign entities, separate from the country of origin, but are, in fact, a part of the "people." The analysis reveals that as diasporic communities are part of the peoplehood of the homeland, and maintain this connection,

they not only have the motivation to participate in homeland affairs, but have the *right* to do so.

Diasporic community members can maintain very active ties to their homelands, particularly if they are 'stateless' diasporas. However, while the call for self-determination or nation-building may entice members of the diaspora to become actively engaged in their homeland politics, the agenda of the diaspora could differ drastically from that of the homeland. Cohen (1997) argues that while the members of the diaspora may advocate for a particular form of nation-state, they do not necessarily consider the complexities and contemporary issues in their homeland. Cohen uses the Babbher Khalsa International group as an example. He argues that while there may be support for the Babbher Khalsa International group (an insurgency group committed to the establishment of a separate Punjab state in India) among the Sikh diaspora, the members of the diaspora do not consider what would happen to the homelanders if a Khalistan were to form, and whether this nation-state is actually desired by homelanders (pp. 125-126). In essence, the interests of the diaspora are not necessarily the same as those of the homelanders.

According to Hall (1996, p. 4), this difference between the homelander and the diasporic community member is not surprising, since being a part of a diaspora is much *more* than identifying simply with a place:

> Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves.

Hall argues that the diasporic community carries not only the story of the homeland, but also the story of what *could have been* in the homeland, as well as the story of their hope for the future of both the homeland and their own community. These multiple narratives influence the ways in which the diasporic community develops its own identity and its relationship with the homeland, as well as how they feel towards the homeland.

Anthias (1998) argues that the diaspora's fervent displays of nationalism towards their homeland stems from feelings of guilt that may arise from knowing that they left the homeland behind. Anthias suggests that these diasporas cling to ethnic rituals and symbols in a possible attempt to assuage this guilt, and often hold a narrative of their homeland that is reminiscent of a period past—almost as if they are caught in a "type of time-warp" (pp. 565-566). These narratives are then passed onto the subsequent generations, creating an interesting situation in which the diaspora may hold onto a narrative and collective memory of their homeland that differs from that of homelanders. As Golbert (2001) found with young members of the Jewish diaspora in Ukraine, there was a strong tendency to preserve "a selective memory of Israel over embracing the locality in all its real dimensions" (p. 729). By virtue of having settled in a host country, the narrative or collective memory that the diaspora has of the homeland will be different than that held by those who stayed in the homeland.

However, just as there is a wide spectrum of perspectives that the diaspora can take with respect to the homeland, the homelanders can also have diverging opinions, not only in terms of the homeland, but also with respect to the role of the diaspora. While the homeland government (or ruling group in a stateless homeland) may desire a strong diasporic attachment (Anthias, 1998) because of the remittances they can receive,

and for the possible bridge the diaspora may provide to powerful host countries, there may be times when the homeland is not in favour of diasporic involvement. When the diaspora *opposes* the homeland government or ruling group, their connection may no longer be considered desirable (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2001). However, what if the homeland government or ruling party does not represent the voices of the greater homeland population? Which voice does the diaspora support? And whatever the voice of the diaspora, can they really speak for the homeland? Do they still have the right to engage in homeland politics?

Whether or not the right to engage in the politics of the homeland are acceded to the diasporic community, their strong motivation to engage speaks volumes about the strength of connection that they feel to the homeland. If the relationship with the homeland is so robust, and based on a shared ethnic identity and feeling of 'peoplehood', then why does the diasporic community have a relationship the country of settlement? As previously mentioned, diasporic communities occupy a distinctive space in that they are not only tied to their homeland, they are also tied to the hostland. As there are varying levels of connections to the homeland, there is also a range of connections that the diasporic community can make with their country of settlement. In part, this connection is tied to the extent to which the members of this diasporic community are able to integrate into the new dominant context.

INTEGRATING INTO THE COUNTRY OF SETTLEMENT

The topic of immigrant integration has had particular relevance in North America, specifically Canada and the United States—two nations that have experienced high levels of immigration. In fact, Wong and Satzewich (2006) point out that while the

United States may be credited with permitting more immigrants per year in terms of absolute numbers, “few countries match Canada in the number of immigrants they admit on a per capita basis” (p. 1).

With the influx of new immigrants, the question of how they adapt to their new circumstances and how they *integrate* into their new societal context has been examined at length. Despite the number of scholars who have focused on the topic of immigrant integration, there continues to be a lack of consensus on its precise definition (Weinfeld & Wilkinson, 1999, p. 65). Freeman (2008) suggests that integration is a perspective that falls between two extremes: assimilation and cultural pluralism, while Neuwirth (1999) suggests that integration is more closely related to multiculturalism than it is to assimilation, and that it needs to be understood as a two-way process. It appears that the perspective that researchers take on immigrant integration and its level of success is often predicated on the particular ideology of the researcher (i.e., ‘assimilation’ versus ‘cultural pluralism’) and their social context.

The level of immigrant integration is often associated with their feeling of social cohesion with society (Soroka, Johnston, & Banting, 2007). However, it is important to clarify the meaning of “society” (or “community”). While immigrants may be active members of their own ethnic communities, they may not feel the need to interact with those who make up the “larger” (or “dominant” or “receiving”) community. Therefore, there are two societal contexts in which immigrants may choose to participate—they may choose to participate in one exclusively, or in both simultaneously (but not necessarily *equally*).

Policies such as the Multiculturalism Act in Canada formally acknowledge the connections that immigrants and diasporic communities have to their homelands. These groups have the right to maintain a connection to the cultural, religious and ethnic beliefs of their countries of origin, including the right to be politically engaged with the homeland. Essentially, these policies acknowledge that immigrants have the right to maintain connections with their homelands while they forge connections with their countries of settlement. While there has been debate about the precise definition of "multiculturalism" (Li, 1999), and whether it is more of a symbolic gesture without actual meaning (Stasiulis and Abu-Laban, 1990), or whether it is simply misunderstood by the public (Kymlicka, 1998), the concept of multiculturalism has enabled immigrant communities to integrate into the wider Canadian context without having to abandon their ethnic beliefs or practices.

Multiculturalism is not the only ideology that is shrouded in confusion; the definition of 'assimilation' is also unclear. Li (1999a) points out that the assimilation model has also taken on many different names, including "the melting pot thesis" and "the Anglo-conformity perspective" (p. 14). It is a model that advocates strongly for a form of immigrant integration in which immigrants adopt the beliefs and practices of the receiving country, essentially *melting* into the dominant, mainstream culture. The 'assimilation' model claims that the descendants of the first-generation of immigrants will move away from their 'original' ethnic identity—to the point that they primarily identify as American. However, as Waters (1990) demonstrates, the subsequent generations of white Americans still maintained a connection to their ancestral ethnicity. Considering the ambiguities in defining multiculturalism and assimilation, it is difficult

to ascertain the success rate of immigrant integration. However, researchers have proposed several measures to attempt to understand this process. These measures include levels of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964; Stinchcombe, 1975); social networks, including levels of intermarriage (Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990); residential segregation (Driedger, 1996; Kalbach, 1990); and occupational and economic success (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999).

The level of integration of subsequent generations of immigrants is also a very strong measure of immigrant integration, and there has been much research on how second-generation immigrants negotiate their transnational lives (Levitt and Waters, 2002). The level of integration increases with the second-generation of immigrants (Weinfeld & Wilkinson, 1999). Isajiw (1990) asserts that while subsequent generations of immigrants maintain a connection to their ethnic groups, the intensity of this connection drops with each generation. Nahirny and Fishman (1965) suggest that the relationship with ethnicity shifts with each subsequent immigrant generation, whereby the second-generation may feel the need to reject their ethnicity because of some of the pressures they felt from the first-generation, while the third generation is less likely to reject it and more likely to maintain at least a passive connection with it.

While subsequent generations may notice a change in the extent to which they identify with their ethnic group, the impact of these changes on the level of integration varies depending on the ethnicity of the second-generation immigrant. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that second-generation immigrants of European ancestry experienced a smoother integration process into the United States than those who were non-white. In fact, they report that non-white second-generation immigrants,

particularly blacks, were more likely to continue to experience roadblocks that affected their level of acceptance in society and their economic success (pp. 55-56).

The extent to which immigrants integrate into the dominant context is also further complicated by new technological advances that facilitate immigrants' ability to maintain transnational ties. The presence of diasporic links adds an additional layer of complexity to the issue of immigrant integration. By being an active member of a diaspora, and by being able to maintain connections to the homeland, immigrants are no longer bound solely to one nation. They can continue to be actively involved with their homeland, continuing to foster a connection with their native ethnicity and culture without needing to be permanent residents of their sending nations. As such, members of diasporic communities have the potential to straddle two different contexts, without necessarily needing to choose one over the other, and can ultimately form hybrid identities.

HYBRID IDENTITIES AND DUAL LOYALTIES

When examining the identities of immigrant populations, terms such as 'dual identities' or 'hybrid identities' are used. These terms are used to indicate that immigrant populations not only identify with their homeland or country of origin, but also with their country of settlement. The strength of the two identities may not be equal, and the ways in which they manifest may vary depending on the context. Ghosh and Wang (2003) argue that transnationals create several hybrid identities, and that they are often able to switch between them according to the specific contexts. The identities reflect the extent to which they are with others of their ethnic group, and can expand from a local ethnic based identity to a larger urban or national identity (p. 277):

> Within our respective ethnic groups in Toronto, we express a more 'local' identity—say, an identity that could be related more specifically to Shanghai or Kolkata, rather than generalized to China/India. Within the larger society of Toronto, we express 'Chinese/Indo-Canadianness'. In China/India, we express a 'Canadian-Chinese/Bengaliness', and in Shanghai/Kolkata a 'Canadian-Shanghai/Kolkataness'. We switch smoothly and, at times, even unknowingly between our multiple, complex, hyphenated selves, evoking our situational and fluid local, regional, national and transnational identities.

Ghosh and Wang came to Canada as international students from India and China respectively. Their study finds that their hybrid identities shifted to reflect their specific context. Therefore, when they were with others of their ethnic group, their identities were more 'localized' to that particular ethnic identity. Their identities would then become broader at a societal level, shifting depending on whether they were in local urban centers like Toronto/Shanghai/Kolkata. These identities would become even more expansive when they were made to reflect the national context, such as Canada/China/India.

Hybrid identities suggest that immigrants and diasporic community members are able to *actively* adopt and maintain two or more distinct identities, and are able to create spaces between them. However, the process is not always an active one, and migrants may be placed in a situation where they are *forced* to see themselves through two lenses—a phenomenon that Du Bois (2007 [1903], p. 5) referred to as 'double consciousness':

> [T]he Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

Du Bois very hauntingly argues that it is the "dogged strength alone" that keeps this African American population from being "torn asunder" from the challenges of maintaining two separate identities. But it is not because they *choose* to be separated into two separate identities, but rather the fact that they live in "a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world." They are seen as 'other', and as always being more connected to something *else,* thereby being forced into multiple identities that they may not necessarily choose for themselves.

While Du Bois is not referring to immigrants and diasporic community members, his concept of 'double consciousness' can certainly be applied to these communities, as they are often 'conscious' of multiple identities. Although immigrant populations can feel an emotional connection with multiple contexts, including both the homeland and the hostland, this in and of itself is not problematic. It is the *political* investment in multiple contexts that can be perceived as challenging, particularly if this political connection is construed as questioning the authority of the state. Baron (2009) argues that the reason that 'dual loyalties' are considered problematic is because of how they may threaten the modern nation-state (p. 1031):

> Dual loyalty suggests that the state cannot take for granted the unconditional allegiance of the nation because the nation-state may actually be a group of nations with different loyalties. The paradox is that by recognizing dual loyalty, either, for example, as a challenge to state authority or as a possible reason for conscientious objection, the nation-state is accepting that it is not really a *nation*-state but a *nations*-state or pluralist state when the idea behind the modern nation-state is a rejection of this plurality.

Baron (2009) argues that perceiving dual loyalties as threatening is based on the idea that there is some kind of homogeneity to the nation-state, and that those who go

against the nation-state are those who can be perceived as 'others' in some way. However, he argues this articulation of dual loyalties is actually unreasonable as the notion of a purely homogeneous nation-state is more fictitious than realistic, and to assume that the presence of minority populations will threaten the foundation of the nation-state is nonsensical (pp. 1040-1041). He suggests that it is more the *fear* of what the minority group may possibly do that has caused the heightened attention to dual loyalties, and argues against any substantial merit to these concerns (p. 1041):

> Dual loyalty functions as a political term when it is tied to discrimination, fear, and often racism, such as when liberal societies start accusing minorities of having dual loyalties. Often those accused will be targeted because they do not conform in some way to whatever the nation is presumed to be. Yet dual and indeed multiple loyalties are quite common and they rarely pose much of a threat.

Although Baron argues against any actual threat from minority groups, he does acknowledge that the perception of dual identities is tied to discrimination stemming from racism. Race has often been used in the categorization of individuals and groups as 'other', further enabling the classification of certain populations as threats or 'suspect minorities.' Burman (2010) argues that there is suspicion towards Canadian citizens based on the colour of their skin, and that since the events of 9/11, this suspicion has primarily fallen on individuals that she describes as "Canadian-born brown." She argues that racializing suspect minorities, and enabling them to become "visible" in the public domain increases the fear and suspicion among Canadians that help to support new policies pertaining to immigration and security: "The deployment of brown as an 'identificatory strategy' seeks to sort the ally from enemy, the model minority/informant/'good Muslim' from suspect/extremist/'bad Muslim', but also to cast the net of suspicion widely in order to justify new policy frameworks" (p. 203).

Essentially, Burman argues that the onus is on the "Canadian-born brown" individual to prove that they are a 'model minority', in order to separate themselves from those who perhaps merit suspicion.

Burman's articulation of a 'Canadian-born brown' population draws attention to how race impacts the narrative of fear and suspicion that drive policies pertaining to national security. Dhamoon and Abu-Laban (2009) argue that Canada actually has a history of suspicion based on the 'racialized Other', and suggest that Canada occupies the unique position of consisting of a number of dichotomies or internal divisions: 1) indigenous and settler population; 2) white and non-white populations; 3) differing European groups (e.g., English and French origins); 4) immigrant and native-born populations (p. 164). Dhamoon and Abu-Laban suggest that within each division, there is a tendency to perceive one group as an "internal foreigner" in order to promote the building of a nation that consists primarily of White, English Canadians. As such, the allocation of a group as 'racialized Other' or 'internal foreigner' helps to strengthen a Canadian national identity. Therefore, the creation of suspect minorities is in some ways *necessary* to the nation, as it helps to solidify its understanding of self (p. 166).

However, Dhamoon and Abu-Laban (2009) argue that there is actually a very strong contradiction between the *perceived* identity of the nation and the *lived* national identity, in which despite the fears that surround the 'internal foreigner' and the strong history of suspecting racialized Others, Canada actually *requires* these groups. As the authors very provocatively claim (pp. 178-179):

> In Canada's case, the welcomed newcomer or model immigrant is necessary to build the myth of a *multicultural nation*, even though racism continues to privilege subjects marked as white, western, European, and male; the French-Canadian signifies a *bilingual nation* even while practices of dominance

> continues; and the Indigenous subjects serve as a mark of a *post-colonial nation* despite ongoing white supremacy and colonialism.

While race has certainly been used as a category for distinguishing between groups, and may explain the levels of discrimination and inequalities that are experienced by groups, Wimmer (2013) suggests that race not be used as a separate category that is completely distinct from 'ethnicity', but instead be considered as a subcategory of ethnicity. He articulates three reasons to do so (p. 8):

> First, treating race as fundamentally different from ethnicity overlooks the fact that one and the same group might be treated as a race at one point in history and as another type of ethnic category in another…Second, phenotypical differences are often evoked as one among *other* markers of ethnic distinction, as the racialization of ethnicity in Rwanda and Burundi and many other contexts with a history of ethnic violence shows. Third, distinguishing between race as fixed, imposed, and exclusionary, on the one hand, and ethnicity as fluid, self-ascribed, and voluntary, on the other hand, would not do justice to constellations where ethnic groups experience degrees of forced segregation, exclusion, and domination usually associated with race…

Utilizing Wimmer's classification of race as a subtype of ethnicity enables the consideration of a wider population of diasporic community members whose loyalties have been questioned, since race alone is not sufficient to explain the extreme suspicion that has wrapped itself around some diasporic communities, while appearing to only minimally affect other groups. As such, it is important to note that in addition to being a racialized or ethnic "Other", one must also be perceived to belong to a group that appears to be in direct opposition of the country of settlement, or which may pose a real or imaginary threat to the country of settlement. This fear is based in the notion that immigrant populations possess multiple loyalties that cannot coexist, otherwise known as conflicting allegiances.

ETHNIC LOBBYING AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

The presence of multiple loyalties becomes particularly salient when diasporic communities engage politically with their countries of settlement in the interest of their homelands. Ethnic lobbying is one format through which diasporic communities can engage with their homelands in their countries of settlement. Diasporic communities often exercise their right to participate in the political sphere of their country of settlement by advocating for their homelands (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2001). The political climate of the country of settlement may provide the confidence that is needed for a diaspora to engage in homeland politics. Carter (2005, p. 62) observes that that it was "American 'values' of freedom and democracy" that were emphasized when the Croatian diaspora in America worked towards supporting the establishment of an independent Croatian state.

Shain (1999) suggests that this political involvement demonstrates that the country of settlement is providing space for these ethnic communities to engage within the national (and international) political arena. Ethnic groups can form lobbies in order to intervene in foreign policies in their countries of settlement, particularly when these policies have an impact on their diasporic communities and their homelands. While these ethnic lobbies can be very passionate about their agendas, it is important to recognize that they are not only negotiating between the impact of the foreign policies on their country of settlement and their homeland, but also on their diasporic community. As Tillery Jr. (2011) argues, the extent to which the African American political elite will interfere in foreign policies with respect to Africa is directly impacted by how their political involvement will affect the standing of their community in

America. Furthermore, while ethnic lobby groups may be helpful in advancing the goals of their ethnic community both in the country of settlement and in the homeland, the reverse may also be true, whereby an ethnic lobby group can have an adverse effect on both the homeland and the country of settlement, as Mearsheimer and Walt (2007) found with the pro-Israel lobbyists in the United States.

The extent to which diasporic and immigrant communities will participate in ethnic lobbying and foreign policies is influenced by a number of factors. Aoun (2008) demonstrates the complexities of ethnic lobbying in a study examining the foreign policy engagement of Muslim Canadians. Aoun draws attention to the lack of homogeneity of this population in terms of their countries of origin, and how these internal differences impact their ability to be effective in Canadian policy-making—as each country of origin has a different relationship with Canada and has different needs with respect to foreign policy. In addition, the author also points to the role of the international community with respect to how this diasporic community participates in Canadian foreign policies. Specifically, Aoun (2008) argues that Canadian foreign policy with regards to the Muslim and Arab world are influenced by American policies, as well as the conventions of the United Nations.

Aoun's (2008) study demonstrates that the efficacy of ethnic lobbying as practiced by diasporic communities is influenced by several factors. With respect to the Muslim Canadian population, it is influenced by the various interests of the countries of origin, as well as the relationship that Canada has with these different homelands. In addition, the interests of other political communities (such as the United States and the United Nations) are also influential. Furthermore, the organizational structure and lack

of homogeneity in terms of the political interests of the diasporic community also play a role in how the diasporic community engages in foreign policy-making in their country of settlement.

Participating in homeland politics via influencing the foreign policies of the country of settlement is a strategy that has been utilized by various immigrant and diasporic communities. However, it is not enough to simply have a desire to influence foreign policy. As Wayland (2006, p. 33) points out, "transnational ethnic actors who wish to influence the foreign policies of the countries in which they live must learn how to negotiate the political landscapes of their countries, cities or communities of residence." Therefore, these immigrant and diasporic communities must not only learn about the political landscape of their country of settlement, they must develop the political clout to impact the foreign policies that pertain to their homelands.

While diasporic communities may demonstrate an avid interest in shaping foreign policies that are relevant to their homelands, Riddell-Dixon (2008) found that there appears to be four common areas of interests: (p. 34):

> Newcomers to Canada have several sets of foreign policy interests: liberalizing Canada's immigration and refugee laws, expanding trade links with their countries of origin, securing increased Canadian aid for their places of birth, and getting Canada to take sides on political issues involving their countries of origin.

It is this last interest, the one in which Canada is being asked "to take sides on political issues involving their countries of origin" that has raised concerns about the practice of ethnic lobbying among immigrant and diasporic communities.

In liberal democracies, citizens are allocated the right to dissent, and to participate in the political forum (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). Liberal democracies

not only permit but encourage their citizens to voice their opinions, and share their perspectives with their governments. As such, influencing government officials and foreign policies pertaining to countries of origin are well within the rights granted to individuals living in a liberal democracy. However, while they may have the right to engage politically, there are *limits* to the extent of dissent practiced in liberal democracies. When political resistance and activism are perceived to be done at the expense of the country of settlement in favour of a country of origin, it raises concerns about loyalties.

It is the possibility of harm to the country of settlement that leads Granatstein (2008) to assert that while Canada may care about issues that are happening around the globe, these issues are not national interests, and Canadian politicians must not cater to the interests of ethnic groups if their agendas are not beneficial to Canada as a nation-state. In essence, it is not just the concern of how the interest of ethnic groups may not be beneficial to their country of settlement, but the very pressing concern that the interests of ethnic groups will be detrimental to their hostland. In having dual identities, they may have allegiances that are in conflict with one another, leading to the apprehension that they will choose their loyalties to their homelands over their loyalties to their countries of settlement.

The concern that drives the consideration of certain immigrant populations or diasporic communities through the lens of suspicion is that while they may have integrated into the country of settlement, they have not integrated *fully*, and continue to hold a connection to a country of origin that may in fact be a threat to the country of settlement. In doubting the allegiances of these groups, their very connections to the

country of settlement are brought into question. While the immigrants themselves may identify with the country of settlement, this identification is not believed—or is not believed to be sufficient—because they *also* identify with another nation or nation-state. This is particularly relevant to stateless diasporas.

When a stateless diaspora advocates for the creation of an independent state for their homeland, they can use a variety of strategies to demonstrate their support for this cause, including ethnic lobbying and influencing foreign policy. However, when the country of settlement is opposed to a cause that the diaspora adamantly supports, then concerns begin to arise. For example, when a country of settlement is at war with the homeland, then any displays of support for the homeland may be construed as disloyalty to the country of settlement. And acts in support of the homeland in the country of settlement may be labelled as terrorism.

Conflicting Allegiances in the United States

There have been several incidents in American history in which various ethnic groups have engaged in homeland politics from their countries of settlement (Heindl, 2013). These include: the Irish American community, which has been accredited with playing a key role in the outcome of the IRA's armed struggle (Cochrane, 2007); the Palestinian diasporic community and their views on the conflict in their homeland (Schulz & Hammer, 2003); the Jewish diasporic community and their role in the creation of Israel (Cohen, 1997; Ganin, 1977); and the Sikh diasporic community and their desire for the creation of Khalistan (Tatla, 2004). These communities all demonstrated their connection to their homelands by politically engaging in foreign policies and ethnic lobbying in their countries of settlement.

Issues of conflicting allegiances have become particularly salient in immigration research following the events of 9/11. Although immigrants experienced conflicting allegiances prior to this monumental event, the salience of these multiple loyalties intensified following the terrorist attacks in New York City. Howell and Shryock (2003) point out the difficulties that the Muslim population faced in America following the attacks, and the need they felt to demonstrate that they were patriotic and that they identified with being American.

Transnationalist Muslim Americans found themselves struggling to prove that their Muslim identity did not condone violence, while also needing to prove that they were loyal to the United States of America. Despite their pledge of allegiance, however, their loyalties were questioned by the country of settlement. They were questioned every time "they board a plane or enter a federal building" (Howell & Shryock, 2003, p. 449). Schildkraut (2002) asserts that the judgment that Muslim Americans faced following 9/11, and their need to demonstrate their allegiances, and to prove that they identified with being American, is significantly similar to how Japanese Americans were treated during World War II. Schildkraut questions the extent to which transnationalism and multiple political identities can be maintained and *promoted* within a country at times of conflict and war, and the very vulnerable positions immigrant and diasporic communities are placed in during these times.

The reactions of the countries of settlement towards these immigrant populations at times of unrest stems from the doubt that these populations are not *as* loyal to the host countries as they are to their homelands. Cohen (1996) suggests that this is because the nation-state of the country of settlement is too large to create the type of intimate

connection that ethnicity, religion, or diaspora can evoke (pp. 517-518). As such, there is trepidation among the countries of settlement about precisely where the loyalties of diasporas lie when there is tension between the country of settlement and the homeland.

The process by which loyalties are determined, and the manner in which relationships with homelands and countries of settlement are constructed, is both complex and dynamic. As Kaya (2005) found in a study examining the construction of identity by Turkish Americans, there is a constant process of negotiation between being Turkish and American, between being Muslim and European. The identities of this population constantly evolve as they take into consideration the shifting attitudes and perspectives of their country of settlement, their homeland, and their diasporic community. The extent to which members of a diasporic community may identify with a homeland is also influenced by how the policies and practices of the homeland impact the diaspora within the country of settlement. As Shain and Bristmen (2002) argue, Jewish Americans questioned their attachment to Israel when they found that the Middle Eastern policies of Israel were impacting how they were being perceived within the United States. Therefore, the extent to which diasporic populations connect with both their country of settlement and their homeland is not static or unchanging, and is impacted significantly by the actions of both contexts.

Although governments may not act as radically on their wariness towards minority populations, there are other ways in which they can display their reservations towards the diaspora and their beliefs. One way in which these suspicions can be shown is through the practice of ethnic profiling. With respect to conflicting allegiances, the practice of ethnic profiling takes the form of 'terrorist profiling', in which certain ethnic

groups are more likely to be seen with suspicion, particularly in relation to national security (Bah, 2006; Newman, 2009). While the practice targeting specific ethnic and racial groups without adequate evidence of wrong-doing may appear to be a violation of their liberties, Schildkraut (2002) found that Americans were likely to insist that Arab Americans and Middle Eastern immigrants give up their liberties in order to protect the American people. In another study, Schildkraut (2009) found that attitudes towards ethnic profiling still remained strong among the American public. In fact, she found that one-third of Americans were likely to support the *internment* of suspect minority groups, similar to the practice that was carried out during the second World War with Japanese Americans. Schildkraut found that Americans who held certain characteristics were *more* likely to support internment as an appropriate strategy for dealing with suspect minority groups (p. 75):

> I find that lower levels of education, being a Republican, fearing being a victim of an attack, being proud to be an American, and having an ethnocultural definition of American identity all make such support more likely, whereas having a liberal definition of American identity makes such support less likely. Of these factors, ethnoculturalism has the greatest effect.

Schildkraut's (2009) findings demonstrate the significant role that national identity plays in the formation of suspect minority groups. Those who held a much more rigid definition of what it meant to be American—specifically holding an ethnocultural definition—were more likely to view those who were not perceived to be seen as sharing this national identity as being 'other'. An ethnocultural definition of the American identity would primarily consist of those who shared a similar ethnic identity, and were more likely to share similar cultural practices. As such, all other immigrant

and diasporic communities that did *not* share the same ethnic identity would be seen as being *less* (or not) American, and would be susceptible to being viewed with suspicion.

Those who held a "liberal definition of American identity" (Schildkraut, 2009, p. 75) were less likely to support the practice of placing suspect minority groups in internment camps. A liberal conceptualization of national identity is one that is not be anchored simply on a primordial understanding of the term, but which utilizes a more constructivist perspective. National identity, therefore, is fluid and can evolve, and is built on a shared sense of belonging and attachment, rather than on any particular ethnic identity.

Schildkraut's finding that those who hold a more liberal definition of national identity were more tolerant certainly appears to be promising, as it provides an educational and political strategy for increasing tolerance and decreasing suspicion among immigrant and diasporic populations. However, Schildkraut (2009) found that those who held a liberal definition of the American identity were only less likely to support internment of other *Americans*—they were not likely to be as tolerant about immigrant groups. If the suspect minorities were not seen as being American, then they not exempt from internment camps.

These findings illustrate that sharing in a national identity can protect suspect minorities from extreme forms of ethnic profiling, *if* the national identity is defined in liberal and inclusive terms. If suspect minorities are not seen to share in the national identity (whatever the definition may be), they are not protected from being viewed with a suspicious lens. Therefore, immigrant and diasporic communities that are not believed

to have integrated into the country of settlement and who are not believed to have adopted the national identity are more likely to be suspected if they have dual identities.

Conflicting Allegiances in Canada

While much literature has been devoted to the topic of suspect minorities in the United States, particularly in light of 9/11, concerns about the repercussions of conflicting allegiances has also been shown in Canada. Wong and Satzewich (2006) argue the importance of taking a historical perspective in considering transnational communities in Canada as "it takes into account changes in how countries like Canada have tolerated, promoted, and punished immigrants who maintain real and imagined transnational connections" (p.8). During the First World War, Ukrainians and Germans were labelled "enemy aliens", whereby their dual identities caused them to be treated with much suspicion (Kordan, 2002).

The treatment of the Japanese Canadian community during World War II in Canada highlights how suspicion of conflicting allegiances can lead to the dire treatment of ethnic groups. During the Second World War, Japanese Canadians were placed in internment camps for fear that they were more loyal to their ancestral homeland than they were to Canada. These internment camps were a measure to ensure national security from these "suspect minorities"—Japanese Canadians. In her article on the examination of the treatment of this community during this period of history, Sugiman (2006) argues that there was an active effort by the Canadian government to "unmake" this transnational community. The community was offered the "choice" of whether they wanted "repatriation" to Japan, or a move away from their homes in British Columbia to provinces in the east (p. 54):

> The goals behind this policy were clear: wholesale elimination of the "Japanese race" from the Province of British Columbia (as well as from the country more generally) and insurance that a concentration of such people would not resurface in any other part of Canada.

In essence, this effort to eradicate this transnational community was motivated by fears that they would prioritize their loyalties to Japan over their loyalties to Canada. For the Japanese Canadian community, they were "suspect minorities", whose Japanese identities were overemphasized, while their Canadian identities were virtually forgotten. Sugiman rather vividly describes this very dark period in Canadian history (2006, p. 68):

> For persons of Japanese descent, Japan became a spectre during the years of war: they were haunted by their Japanese blood, Canadians trapped in 'Japanese bodies.' Japanese Canadians' limited imaginings of transnational community reflect their general tendency to homogenize their lives. The government's racialized policy of repatriation and its unmaking of this community both rested upon and reinforced a belief in the sameness of all persons 'of the Japanese race.'

The Japanese Canadian community were not the only ones to experience the challenges of being viewed with suspicion in their country of settlement. Massa and Weinfeld (2010) chronicled the experiences of three different suspect minorities in Canada. They focused on the Italian, German, and Japanese communities in Canada, examining their experiences during the time period preceding and following World War II. The authors found that while these three communities were perceived as suspect minorities, whose loyalties to their homelands were stronger than their loyalties to their countries of settlement, these fears regarding any terrorist or treasonous behaviour were unfounded. In fact, the authors found that these communities appeared to follow a fairly sequential process with respect to how they overcame their experiences of victimization and suspicion in order to integrate into Canadian society (p. 24):

> First, group responses were framed within a tolerance paradigm, marked by public docility and acquiescence. Then came a focused process of social integration. This was followed by redress efforts or other legal interventions by group organizations, framed by a rights paradigm. At the end of the day, all three of these groups were (re)integrated fully into Canadian society as full and equal citizens, with upward economic mobility, increasing exogamy, and political and cultural participation.

These findings certainly present an interesting strategy as practiced by suspect minorities during the Second World War. Although all three communities experienced varying levels of suspicion, they all underwent a similar pattern of integration, and ultimately changed how they were perceived. In fact, not only were they able to alter their suspect minority status, they were *also* able to redress the injustice of being perceived through a lens of suspicion. Massa and Weinfeld (2010) caution, however, that it is important to consider the historical context when examining this particular sequence of events. They point out that human rights during WWII were not firmly established, and as such, immigrant populations were motivated to first work through a "tolerance paradigm, marked by public docility and acquiescence." It is possible, the authors assert, that "had the rights paradigm been operative, the communal leaders and organizations of these three groups would have been less concerned about re-earning trust before demanding justice" (p. 25).

The question then becomes whether in the absence of a 'tolerance paradigm', and in the presence of a 'rights paradigm', whether suspect minorities may be *more* likely to act on their conflicting allegiances, demonstrating a stronger loyalty to their homeland than to their country of settlement. While Massa and Weinfeld's (2010) certainly demonstrate the absence of support for suspecting certain minority groups during the Second World War, do these findings remain stable in a post-WWII period?

The events surrounding Air India Flight 182 certainly add to the complexities of understanding suspect minorities and conflicting allegiances in a post-WWII era. On June 23, 1985, a bomb aboard Air India Flight 182 caused it to crash killing all 329 passengers, including 280 Canadians. This event has been described as "the most horrific act of terrorism" to ever take place in Canada, and the anniversary of this tragic event has been labelled as the National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Terrorism (CBC News, 2013).

The Air India bombing highlighted the tensions that arise when minority groups come under suspicion. While no one has yet to be convicted for the act itself, it is widely believed to have been planned and executed by Canadians—those who have dual identities and conflicting allegiances. On the 25th anniversary of this event, Prime Minister Stephen Harper reaffirmed that this act of terrorism was committed by Canadians (CBC News, 2010):

> The bombing was not an act of foreign violence, Harper stressed, but an "atrocity" that was "conceived in Canada, executed in Canada, by Canadian citizens, and its victims were themselves mostly citizens of our country.

While the individuals who were responsible for the bombing may be Canadians who are strongly connected to a distant homeland, *other* Canadians with hybrid identities also came under scrutiny after these events. Families of victims experienced extreme difficulties, often being viewed with suspicion rather than empathy. The wrongful treatment of these individuals as suspect minorities was eventually addressed by the Prime Minister on the 25th anniversary in a formal apology (CBC News, 2010):

> I stand before you, therefore, to offer on behalf of the Government of Canada, and all Canadians, an apology for the institutional failings of 25 years ago and of the treatment of the victims' families thereafter…For that, we are very sorry.

> For that, and also for the years during which your legitimate need for answers and empathy, were treated with administrative disdain.

The apologies were not only about the treatment of the families of the victims, but also alluded to the many difficulties and controversies surrounding the trial. A trial that led to a non-guilty verdict, which caused an uproar among the wider Canadian community. As journalist Kim Bolan (2005) articulates in her book outlining the events of the Air India Bombings, Canada ultimately failed in being able to effectively handle this tragic event (p. 2):

> Canada failed to stop the bombers as they attempted to take revenge against their birth nation, India, for its perceived persecution of the Sikh minority. Canada failed to recognize that the majority of the 331 victims, while of Indian origin, were Canadians. Canada failed for years to catch those involved, and when charges were finally laid, Canada's justice system showed it could not deal with the complexities of a terrorism plot or with suspects determined not to be exposed, charged, or convicted.

The Air India bombings revealed how the wrongful actions of a few, who are believed to belong to the Punjabi Canadian population, led to an entire community being perceived with suspicion and distrust. It was not until decades later that this ethnic community was exonerated from suspicion, and their grievances addressed. This progression of suspicion followed by redress certainly echoes the findings of Weinfeld and Massa (2010) with respect to the treatment of various ethnic groups during the Second World War.

There certainly appears to be a history of suspecting minority populations in Canada at times of conflict between the homeland and the country of settlement. Therefore, the treatment of the Muslim and Arab population following the events of 9/11 should perhaps not come as a surprise. As Arat-Koc (2006) observes, the Arab and Muslim population in Canada were scrutinized in the aftermath of September 11, 2001,

and certain racist and prejudiced practices became legitimized in order to "protect" the nation from any acts of terrorism (p. 220):

> What has been new for Arab and Muslim Canadians since 11 September 2001 is not the experience of racism but its growing public legitimacy, spread and mainstreaming in all major institutions, from the media to law and policy. Overt acts of violence and expressions of hatred in civil society in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 were soon followed by government 'security' measures that not only justify, but also further fuel, racialization and a suspicion of mot Arab and Muslim Canadians. Once considered an illegitimate practice, racial profiling has not only become de facto policy, but also gained significant popular legitimacy.

Arat-Koc (2006) draws attention to how practices that had previously been viewed as being "illegitimate" were suddenly being considered as legitimate strategies for ensuring national security. In observing "growing public legitimacy", Arat-Koc (2006) argues that the larger Canadian community was essentially agreeing with the opinion that Arab and Muslim Canadians should be viewed with suspicion and treated accordingly.

As can be seen, Canada has a history of treating minority groups with suspicion during times of conflict. While Canada has certainly made redresses for some of the grievances caused by this suspicion, these measures were often not made for years, or even generations after the events unfolded. As such, it is unclear if or when the discrimination faced by Arab and Muslim Canadians will be acknowledged. Furthermore, while there is scholarship on how diasporic communities engage in homeland politics, as well as how some minority groups are faced with suspicion in their countries of origin, there is insufficient scholarship pertaining to how these communities negotiate between their political identities and national loyalties.

Sri Lankan Tamil Diasporic Community: Negotiating Dual Identities and Conflicting Allegiances

The scholarship pertaining to diasporic populations demonstrates that they are often defined not only by their relationship with their country of origin, but also their country of settlement. These populations are often found to adopt hybrid identities, in which they are not only identifying with their homeland, but also their hostland. The extent to which they identify with both may vary, but the presence of dual identities is not in of itself problematic. Rather, it is when tension is introduced in the relationship between the homeland and the hostland, that these hybrid identities are questioned, and certain diasporic populations are conceptualized as being 'suspect minority groups.' They are suspected of being more loyal to their homeland than to their country of settlement, and are suspected of potentially endangering their hostland with acts of terror.

While the literature demonstrates that diasporic communities are not uniform in their attachments to their homelands and their hostlands, and highlights that a myriad of strategies are utilized for defining their relationships with their countries of origin and their countries of settlement, there has yet to be adequate scholarship on how diasporic communities may negotiate their dual identities when they are perceived as being 'suspect minorities'. Also, while much of the literature on suspect minorities and conflicting allegiances have focused on Muslim and Arab populations, other diasporic communities that find themselves caught between their loyalties to the homeland and hostland are vastly understudied. As such, this study contributes towards the scholarship on suspect minorities and conflicting allegiances by examining the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community.

The study explores two main queries:

1. When there is tension between the homeland and the country of settlement, how do second-generation immigrants negotiate their political identities and national loyalties?

2. How do the perspectives of homelanders on diasporic involvement in homeland affairs influence how the second-generation members of the diaspora negotiate their allegiances to both the homeland and the country of settlement?

The following chapter provides an in-depth description of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto, as well as an account of the ethnic conflict that led to the establishment of this diasporic community. This population was selected for this study because it has not only been actively engaged in homeland politics, but has also been accredited with being supportive of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, an organization that was labelled as a terrorist organization by the Canadian government. Therefore, not only do members of this diasporic community have relationships with their homeland and their hostland, they are also perceived as 'suspect minorities' due to their connection to a known terrorist organization.

In the conclusion of their book, *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*, Satzewich and Wong (2006) argue that much of the scholarship pertaining to transnationalism in Canada has been "implicitly or explicitly celebratory" (p. 298). Certainly the tenets of multiculturalism and tolerance in Canada would suggest that it is a nation that celebrates transnational ties. However, as its history has demonstrated, this is not always the case. Satzewich and Wong (2006) propose that future research needs to be conducted to further demonstrate some of the darker edges of transnationalism (p. 298):

> [W]hat are the limits to some states' tolerance and encouragement of transnational activities and practices? Further, in an era of shifting global alliances when yesterday's international ally can quickly turn into today's "rogue state" (and vice versa), there may be good reasons for individuals and organizations to be cautious about the kinds of transnational relationships, connections, and identities that they cultivate or are perceived to cultivate. In a world shaped by the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001, individuals can be seen as disloyal or subversive because of their past citizenship, who they have coffee with, or the kinds of overseas causes that they support or for which they have sympathy.

By utilizing the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto, this study contributes to the scholarship on transnationalism by addressing some of the questions and concerns raised by Satzewich and Wong (2006).

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A small island off the south coast of India, Sri Lanka has been known by many different names throughout its history: The Pearl of the Orient; Serendib; Ceylon; Elankai; Teardrop of India. It has now settled on being the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka". Shakespeare may have argued that there is not much to a name, but the history of Sri Lanka demonstrates that each name change is indicative of the shifting realities of this small island state. Just as it moved from being a "pearl" to a "teardrop", Sri Lanka's history is full of both beauty and despair.

Despite its small size, Sri Lanka consists of a multicultural population. According to the census report released in 2012, the island has a population of just over 20 million people across nine different provinces (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012). (Refer to Appendix A for map of Sri Lanka). The Western Province, which includes the capital city of Colombo, is the most heavily populated province, consisting of nearly 6 million individuals. The least populated province is the Northern province, which includes Jaffna, and makes up just over one million individuals. (Refer to Appendix B for Population Distribution).

The largest ethnic group residing in Sri Lanka are the Sinhalese, who predominantly practice Buddhism, and are concentrated in the south of the country. In fact, of the approximately 20 million Sri Lankans, over 15 million identify as being Sinhalese, and over 14 million identify as being Buddhist, thereby making up nearly 75% of the overall population. The second largest ethnic group in Sri Lanka are the Tamils, who make up approximately 11% of the population, and who reside

predominantly in the east of the island as well as the northern peninsula, and who are predominantly Hindu. There are also Muslims (or Sri Lankan Moors), making up approximately 9% of the population, who mainly speak Tamil but consider themselves distinct from the Tamil population. When the British came to Sri Lanka, they also brought Tamils from India to work on the tea plantations. Although these plantation workers were predominantly Hindu and spoke Tamil, they were *Indian Tamil*, and therefore, considered distinct from the Sri Lankan Tamil natives (Cheran, 2000). There are approximately 4.1% Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. In addition to these groups, there are other smaller ethnic groups, including Burghers, whose ancestors were Portuguese and Sri Lankan, and who make up 0.1% of the population. Malays make up 0.2% of the population, and all other indigenous groups constitute the remainder of the population (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012). (Refer to Appendix B for Population Distribution).

The diversity of its population has led to much debate regarding its history. In fact, its historical narrative has yet to be formally established (Gunasingam, 2005). Historians continue to disagree regarding who the *original* inhabitants of the island were (Spencer, 1990). It has been argued that since the island is just south of the province of Tamil Nadu in India, which primarily consists of Tamils, that the first inhabitants of Sri Lanka must surely have been the Tamils. They are argued to have crossed the small Palk Strait that once linked the two countries. In fact, Tamils and historians who support this theory argue that it is ludicrous to believe that a population that would have been able to see the island of Sri Lanka from the shores of India would *not* have made the exploratory journey across the strait.

However, the Tamil population of Sri Lanka has historically made up the northern and eastern provinces of the nation. If they did in fact arrive first onto the island, would they not have continued to explore the island, and made their way to the south of the country? An alternative historical standpoint argues that it was the Sinhalese who travelled first to Sri Lanka, and who originally settled the country (de Silva, 2005). The Sinhalese were northern Indians who traversed across India prior to making the journey south into Sri Lanka. In fact, the literary text, the *Mahavamsa*, is believed to chronicle the early history of Sri Lanka and Buddhism in Sri Lanka. According to this history, it is believed that Vijaya, the "founding father" of the Sinhalese arrived in Sri Lanka from northern India in the fifth century BCE. According to this text, Vijaya was charged with ensuring that Buddhism was protected, and that Sri Lanka would be the home of this faith. As such, "this was to become in time the most powerful of the historical myths of the Sinhalese and the basis of their conception of themselves as the chosen guardians of Buddhism and of Sri Lanka as a 'place of special sanctity for the Buddhist religion'" (de Silva, 2005, p. 7).

This particularly historical narrative suggests that the ancestors of the Sinhalese population were then pushed to the south of the country by the Tamil explorers, who then populated the northern and eastern provinces (Arasaratnam, 1994). Therefore, it is argued that the country was *first* populated by the Sinhalese, and was only later populated by the Tamils. In fact, de Silva (2005) argues that while Tamils may have come to Sri Lanka as traders, invaders, and even mercenaries, "their presence was of peripheral significance in the early demography of the island" (p. 14).

Indrapala (2006) offers an alternate perspective, arguing that the two distinct ethnic divisions only occurred after the year 1200. He suggests that the South of India and Sri Lanka formed "a single cultural region" (p. 53), and that both the Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamil populations are descendants of a prehistoric Mesolithic people. He further argues that the Sinhalese and Tamil populations were able to assimilate the other smaller cultural groups of the island, forging two distinct, geographically divided groups by the year 1200. However, while the two populations may now appear distinct, Indrapala argues that they actually emerged from the same prehistoric population.

The multiplicity of historical narratives about the evolution of the Sri Lankan people is also partially due to the lack of adequate record keeping and writings with respect to the people of Sri Lanka. As Gunasingam (2005) argues, the Sri Lankan Tamil population has done a poor job of recording their history and he endeavors to demonstrate that the lack of writing does not equate to a lack of *history*. His book includes several examples of primary sources pertaining to the Sri Lankan Tamil population that can be found not only within the nation itself, but also around the globe. Gunasingam evokes the memory of 19th century Tamil scholar, C. W. Thomotharampillai, when he states that he "hopes to reignite Thomotharampillai's vision by once again stimulating Tamils after a lapse of some 150 years, to save and nurture their historical traditions and to keep the Tamil nation forever alive" (p. 182). Rajanayagam (1994) echoes this need for history, suggesting that a historical narrative allows for a group to lay a legitimate claim to a nation (pp. 75-76):

> To have a past, a history, seemed to confer on a community of people certain rights related to a territory, a language, and even self-rule. Indeed, history conferred legitimacy to a community because it defined the community's place and its standing in the world. Suddenly, historians became convinced that it was

> no longer adequate for a community to have a religion, a secure identity, a language and a great literature. Identity based on language, religion, and culture could contribute to a community's legitimacy, but it could not confer this legitimacy in itself. What was demanded was history, existence in time, not myth.

While the "legitimacy" of claims made to the historical settlement of the island may be debated, generally it is believed that for several hundred years, the two populations were able to reside in relative harmony. Kingdoms were formed in the north and east of the island, consisting primarily of a Tamil population, and kingdoms in the central hill region and southern regions of the island also formed, consisting primarily of the Sinhalese population. While these kingdoms are often described as being divided along ethnic lines between the Sinhalese and Tamil populations, Tambiah (1986) suggests the more salient divisions were along geographical and caste lines than along ethnic lines. While there may have been tensions across the kingdoms, there was also a general acceptance that each kingdom was responsible for governing its own people.

However, in the 16th century, the first Europeans colonizers arrived on the shores of Sri Lanka. It was first the Portuguese in the 16th century, followed by the Dutch in the 17th century that began to shift the make-up of Sri Lanka. However, while the Dutch and the Portuguese certainly had an impact on the inhabitants of Sri Lanka, they did not alter the island as dramatically as the British. The British arrived at the turn of the 19th century, and remained effectively in power until Sri Lanka gained independence on February 4, 1948.

The departure of the British and the newly gained independence of Sri Lanka meant that the nation had to govern itself as a *united* country for the very first time in

history. Prior to the British, there were three separate kingdoms, which governed themselves. During the reign of the British, there was a centralized government that was primarily controlled by the British state. Never in the history of Sri Lanka was there a period where Tamils and Sinhalese were both ruled by a native of the island.

During the British reign (1796-1948), there was a disproportionately high number of Tamils participating in civil service, and other elite positions within the government (de Silva, 1997; Sahadevan and DeVotta, 2006). Therefore, upon gaining independence from the British in 1948, the Sinhalese population highlighted the discrimination they had faced and the favourable position that the Tamils had enjoyed, and demanded that the government rectify the situation immediately. This demand led to changes in the language laws, whereby English was replaced with Sinhala as the language of the government, which dramatically decreased the number of Tamils who were able to keep their positions in public service (Misra, 1995). There were also changes in the admission policies at the university level. For example, in 1974, standardization of grades was introduced, which had the effect of requiring Tamil students to acquire a higher cut-off mark than their Sinhalese counterparts in order to be accepted into a university program (Misra, 1995).

Therefore, the narrative of injustice in Sri Lanka did not start with the thirty-year war as many may assume, but it rather goes back to the time of British colonization. The Sinhalese population's experience of injustice and inequality at the hands of British led them to demand that the newly established Sri Lankan government address their grievances and their experiences of discrimination (Manoharan, 1987, p. 41). In trying

to alter one narrative of injustice by implementing policies that were meant to allow the Sinhalese population to "catch up" to the Tamils in Sri Lanka—both in terms of education and occupation—the government effectively *created* a new narrative of injustice among Sri Lankan Tamils (Shastri, 1994).

Tamils began to feel like they were being discriminated against, pointing to policies that literally ensured that they were being unequally represented in the nation, such as the Official Language Act of 1956 that stated that Sinhala would be the official language of the nation. The implementation of the Official Language Act provoked the leaders of the Tamil political parties to launch a sit-in protest (*satyagraha*), as a non-violent method of declaring their displeasure with the change in the language policies. However, while the campaign was meant to be a non-violent one, the protests provoked violent retributions against not only the Tamil protesters, but other Tamils in and around the capital city of Colombo (e.g. Narayan Swamy, 1994). The attacks against the Tamils caused further feelings of resentment and frustration among the Tamil community.

In an attempt to minimize the resentment felt by the Tamil population, Sri Lankan Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, reopened discussion on the language policies in the country. The Prime Minister and Federal Party leader, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, signed the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1957, an agreement to recognize Tamil as the official language of the North and East of the country. It essentially stated that legislation would be introduced in which Tamil would be recognized "as the language of a national minority of Ceylon" (Keethaponcalan, 2009,

p. 26). This should have, perhaps, been the historical juncture in which the narrative of injustice experienced by the Tamil people would change. But this was not the case.

The Pact was broken in 1958, when the Prime Minister abolished it after mounting pressure from the Sinhalese political community (Narayan Swamy, 1994). The narrative of injustice became strengthened, as the Tamil people were thus able to collect *further* evidence of inequality and prejudice. In 1965, another pact was signed between the then Prime Minister, Dudley Senanayake, and the Tamil leader of the Federal Party, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam. This Senanayake-Chelvanakayam Pact reintroduced the language issue, and it was agreed between the two leaders that Tamils would be able to use the Tamil language as the official language for administration, jurisdiction and education in the northern and eastern provinces (Keethaponcalan, 2009). However, history repeated itself again when the Pact was dissolved by the Prime Minister due to rising pressures from the Sinhalese population and oppositional parties (Edirippulige, 2004).

In the wake of the devastating loss of the accord, the likelihood of being able to create a federal system of government waned for the Tamil population, and an interest in secession and forming a separate Tamil nation-state developed (Kulandaswamy, 2000). Once the idea of separation was planted, it flourished among certain sectors of the Tamil population (Sabaratnam, 2001). Several groups of educated militant youths rose to the surface, and took up arms to fight for what they believed was the Tamil cause (Manogaran, 1987). In fact, as Lange (2012) points out, "it seems unlikely that ethnic violence would have occurred with such intensity if educated individuals had not filled these roles [mobilizing support; framing grievances, etc.]" (p. 82). The violent actions of

the youth arose from a feeling of frustration regarding the loss of educational and occupational opportunity, and from a feeling of disenfranchisement (Tampoe, 2006). Tampoe points out that violent action was not the first resort of the Tamil population, and that it was only after thirty years of peaceful protest, that the Tamils resorted to acts of war (p. 287). While there may have been several different Tamil insurgency groups forming from a shared sense of frustration and resentment, eventually only one such militant group was left standing: the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Pfaffenberger, 1994; Rajanayagam, 1994).

This narrative of injustice is supported by a history that is perceived to be full of discrimination and prejudice. The Tamils of Sri Lanka are able to recount a history in which they lost their Tamil Kingdom to the British, and then lost their Tamil rights and privileges to the Sinhalese government. It is a narrative that can certainly satisfy Cohen's definition of a "scarring historical event" (1996, p. 512), enabling those Tamils who left Sri Lanka and continue to remember this narrative to become a 'victim diaspora.' They perceived themselves to be victimized, and are able to draw from historical events that can support their narrative of victimization.

TAMILS IN SRI LANKA: THE HOMELANDERS

The Tamils in Sri Lanka are not a homogeneous group. They differ along religious, caste and regional lines. The main division occurs along 'ethnic' lines, however. While they may all speak the same language, Tamils in Sri Lankan can belong to one of three groups: Sri Lankan Tamils, Indian Tamils or Muslim Tamils.

As previously discussed, Sri Lankan Tamils claim to be original inhabitants of the island in a way similar to the Sinhalese, who make up the majority population of all

Sri Lankans. Muslim Tamils, while able to trace at least a part of their ancestral lineage to the same group of Tamil inhabitants as Sri Lankan Tamils, do not identify with this group, and instead identify along religious lines. Indian Tamils are those who trace their lineage back to the tea plantation workers who were brought to the island by the British during the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this chapter, when referring to 'Tamils' or 'homelanders', I refer to the group of Sri Lankan Tamils who primarily identify as such, and not as Indian Tamils or Muslim Tamils.

Homelanders have generally been the largest population of Tamils in Sri Lanka, and while that remains true according to the 2012 Sri Lankan Census, the gap between the Sri Lankan Tamil and Muslim Tamil has been rapidly closing. (Refer to Appendix B for Population Distribution). While the majority of homelanders have historically been concentrated in the northern and eastern provinces of the country, there is now a significant number who reside in the capital of Colombo. Since the onset of the ethnic conflict, there has been migration throughout the island, and emigration *out* of the island. However, the majority of Tamils who remained in Sri Lanka continue to be concentrated in three regions: the north, the east, and the capital (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012).

In addition to the regional divide among the Tamils, there are also caste and religious distinctions. As "homelanders" for this study excludes Indian Tamils and Muslim Tamils, the religious divide occurs between the majority, who are Hindu, and the minority, who are Christian. Christian Tamils reside in all three regions, and for the most part, are able to co-exist with their Hindu Tamil peers. Aside from the socio-economic divisions that are common among any population, Hindu Tamils also follow a

caste system. While this system is similar to that which exists in India, it is not identical.

One major difference is that the most privileged caste in Sri Lanka is not the Brahmins (the 'priest' caste), but the Vellalars. This group often make up the elite, and while they reside in all three regions, they are concentrated in the North. Those who reside in Colombo and are from this caste are also often able to trace their roots back to villages and towns in the north. The other castes also reside throughout the country, but while Vellalars make up a majority in the north, other castes form majorities in the eastern provinces. These caste divisions and the extreme discrimination that is faced by the lower castes at the hands of the Vellalars created a culture of distrust and suspicion—not only between the castes, but also between the regions (Pfaffenberger, 1994).

It is important to note that the secessionist movement of the Tamil Tigers was not based on a newfound sentiment of Tamil identity and consciousness. For centuries, the Tamils of the north and eastern provinces had maintained strong cultural and religious practices that distinguished them in many ways from their Sinhalese neighbours. Despite the similarity of practices, the Tamils of Sri Lanka had strong views on caste and region—often maintaining strict boundaries around factions of the population that were viewed as being of a 'lower' caste (Cheran, 2009). The caste divisions were so strong that the Vellalar castes even denied that the members of some of the other 'lower' castes were not in fact Tamil (Pfaffenberger, 1994, p. 149). These caste differences would also spill over into regional divisions, whereby the Tamils of the north and the Tamils of the east were viewed as separate groups. These strong caste and

regional prejudices kept them from uniting under a common national collective, and instead allowed them to attach more strongly to an ethnic identity (Cheran, 2009). However, when the Tamil population began to perceive experiences of discrimination, the need for a more cohesive Tamil identity arose.

In order to be able to present a strong political opposition, it was required that the Tamils of the North and the Tamils of the East unite under a common Tamil banner. Wilson (1994) suggests that by the time of the 1977 election, the Tamils of both the east and the north recognized the importance of political unity. As such, he argues that "the regional identities had merged. A Tamil consciousness had evolved into a Tamil nationalism. This nationalism in turn demanded the right of self-determination and if need be the right to create a separate state to be named 'Tamil Eelam'" (p. 138). Wilson points out that this unified political identity resulted as a merging of the "Jaffna Man" (of the Northern Province) and the "Batticaloa Man" (of the eastern province).

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) further emphasized the need for the Tamil population to unite, dictating that Tamils stand under a common banner, with no regional or caste lines to divide them (Cheran, 2009). In fact, the initial growth and success of the LTTE is attributed to widespread participation across castes and regions of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka (Pfaffenberger, 1994). Arguably, the fact that the leader of the Tamil Tigers, V. Prabhakaran, was *not* of the Vellalar caste, and was in fact a member of one of the 'marginal' castes, demonstrated that the Tamils of Sri Lanka were able to move past caste divisions.

Exodus of the Sri Lankan Tamil Population

It was not unusual for Tamils to leave Sri Lanka for short periods of time. During the British rule, members of the elite who had the financial means were able to secure positions in universities in England (Tampoe, 2006). Most would return with degrees and attempt to gain employment in Sri Lanka. Following the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, and the changes in the educational policies, and the subsequent difficulties in attaining employment, those who had the educational backgrounds would immigrate to countries that would recognize their qualifications. The first wave of Tamil emigrants were predominantly educated professionals from wealthy families, and left Sri Lanka to establish lives in English speaking countries, such as England, Canada and the United States (Cheran, 2000). It was not until the 1980s that Sri Lanka experienced a mass exodus of its Tamil population. Following the intensification of violence in 1983 many Tamils fled Sri Lanka, adopting Canada (predominantly) as their country of settlement (Cheran, 2000). Canada soon became the home to tens of thousands of Tamils, giving rise to the emergence of the largest Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in the world. While tens of thousands of Sri Lankans have migrated to Canada for decades, there was a peak between 1991 and 1995 (Statistics Canada, 2006), a time of increasing violence in Sri Lanka.

Although Canada is widely recognized as home to the largest diasporic community of Sri Lankan Tamils, the exact size of this community is not known. During the protests that took place in 2009, numbers as large as 100,000 were cited (Ferenc, 2009) to indicate the number of participants, which presumably did not consist of the *entire* community. If half of the entire population attended the protests, then that would indicate that the population of Tamils in Toronto is upwards of 200,000.

However, this is not the number that is cited by Statistics Canada, which suggests that the population of Sri Lankan Tamils in Canada is significantly less. According to the 2006 census done by Statistics Canada, there are just over 100,000 Sri Lankan immigrants living in Canada, making up almost 2% of the entire immigrant population of the country. It is important to note, however, that this statistic only considers those who were "immigrants" at the time of the census, and does not consider those who would identify as Canadian citizens. This statistic also includes *all* Sri Lankans—not just Sri Lankan Tamils.

The numbers provided by Statistics Canada demonstrate the challenges in capturing the exact demographic picture of this population. According to the 2006 census, with respect to "ethnic origin", only 34,590 individuals indicated that they were "Tamil", whereas 103,625 individuals indicated that they were "Sri Lankan" and 5,825 stated that they were "Sinhalese." It is difficult to know how many Sri Lankan Tamils may have chosen to identify as "Sri Lankan" rather than "Tamil", and how many who indicated that they were "Tamil", may be of Indian descent. Similarly, the values pertaining to mother tongue and the language spoken in the home do not necessarily shed any more light with respect to the size of this population, as individuals may not have indicated Tamil as the language they speak at home, or may have indicated Tamil even if they are not of Sri Lankan descent (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The very significant difference in the population sizes points to the challenge in being able to clearly identify who belongs to this group and who does not. Part of the issue of course resides within the methodology that Statistics Canada employs to collect its data. When given options for country of birth or national identity or mother tongue

or language used at home, participants may be able to demonstrate that they are part of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, or they may be considered simply as "Canadian", thereby contributing to the lower numbers being reported by Statistics Canada.

An article in *The Toronto Star* speaks to this very issue of determining the exact size of this population. English (2009) argues that while Statistics Canada is generally taken as the most accurate source of information pertaining to population sizes, this may not hold true when describing a population that is made up of a large refugee population. The article was written in response to critiques that the newspaper had grossly exaggerated the number of participants at the protests and the number of individuals who make up the diasporic community as a whole. However, English (2009) argues that among scholars and leaders within the Tamil community itself, it is believed that the population cited by Statistics Canada is inaccurate. A rationale that was given for this discrepancy was tied to the fact that this community is made up of refugees. Due to the tensions that are associated with supporting a known terrorist organization (LTTE), members of this diasporic community may be more likely to complete their Statistics Canada questionnaires from a strongly "Canadian" identity, thereby skewing the results. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when groups are perceived as "suspect minorities" (e.g. Japanese Canadians after World War II; Muslim Americans after 9/11), they are more likely to demonstrate their strong allegiance to their country of settlement (Schildkraut, 2002). However, whatever the exact numbers of this diasporic community may be, it can be agreed that Canada has been a popular country of settlement for years since the start of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The ethnic conflict that caused such a mass exodus of Tamils from Sri Lanka has been bloody and ferocious. It is not known exactly how many people have lost their lives, their livelihoods, and their families in this conflict, although estimates suggest that tens of thousands of Sri Lankans (both Tamil and Sinhalese) have died since 1983 as a result of the civil war (Weiss, 2011). There are those who strongly believe that the Tamils *need* to separate, and should have their own land ("Tamil Eelam"), while there are others who believe that Tamil Eelam could not possibly survive without Sri Lanka. There are those who believe that the Tamil Tigers are the only means of achieving an independent state, while others believe that the LTTE stands in the way of realizing the dream of a separate Tamil nation. Whatever their perspective may be, however they may feel about the conflict, the members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community have all been affected on some level by the events that unfolded in their homeland.

Therefore, when the Sri Lankan Army made strides in the war against the LTTE, effectively gaining control of much of the Tigers' stronghold in January 2009, and forcing the Tigers to abandon Kilinochchi, their political centre (Buerk, 2009), it had a major impact on the members of the diasporic community. The diasporic community watched each new development in this war intently. They watched as the war pushed the Tamil Tigers into a small strip of jungle in the northeast of Sri Lanka, and watched as pundits proclaimed that the end of the civil war was near (Blakely, 2009). But when attention was drawn to the Tamil civilians who were caught in the midst of the warfare between the Army and the LTTE, the members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community stopped watching, and stood up to act. They began to organize, and effectively initiated a series of protests and demonstrations that were intended to *extend*

awareness of the plight of the Tamil civilians from their own community to that of the greater Canadian population. Therefore, not only is Toronto home to a large population of Sri Lankan Tamils, it is home to a large population of Sri Lankan Tamils who are actively engaged in homeland politics, thereby making it a particularly important site for the study of national loyalties and political identities in diasporic communities.

Sri Lankan Diasporic Community: Suspect Minorities

The Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community was selected as the case study population for this study. This population was chosen because tension was introduced in the relationship between their country of settlement (Canada) and their homeland (Sri Lanka/Tamil Eelam) following the labelling of the LTTE as a terrorist organization. The members of this diasporic community have also been very actively engaged in homeland politics, as evidenced by the mass protests they staged in 2009 in Toronto and Ottawa during the months leading to the end of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

While the community is from Sri Lanka, they primarily identify with the Tamil provinces, which collectively form Tamil Eelam, their desired nation-state. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, also known as Tamil Tigers) was the insurgency group that fought for the establishment of an independent Tamil State in Sri Lanka. For decades the LTTE had been engaged in ethnic conflict with the Sri Lankan government, and for decades Tamil Canadians were involved in these homeland politics. Whether they supported the actions of the LTTE or whether they desired the establishment of a separate Tamil state, the political allegiances of Tamil Canadians to their homeland was not in conflict with their political allegiances to Canada. However,

this changed in 2006, when the Canadian government officially labelled the LTTE a terrorist organization.

The LTTE was the 39th group to be labelled a terrorist group under Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act. It was the first group that the Conservative government added to the list of banned terrorist organizations when the Party came into power. The banning of the Tamil Tigers meant that it would be considered a criminal offence to support any activities of the Tamil Tigers, including financial contributions through Tigers' "war taxes." In fact, on May 14, 2010, a Tamil Canadian became the first man to be charged under the Anti-terrorism financing legislation for raising funds for the World Tamil Movement (WTM), an organization that has been widely believed to provide financial support to the LTTE (Carter, 2010).

Prior to the LTTE being labelled a terrorist organization, members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora were able to support the secessionist movement in Sri Lanka without feeling torn regarding their affiliations with Canada. While many may not have supported the Tigers, there were others who considered them to be "freedom fighters," soldiers who were fighting to protect the rights of the Tamils. However, after 9/11, and the war on terror, the actions of militant groups could no longer be ignored, and there was a crackdown on insurgency groups around the globe. It was not long before the LTTE was officially labelled as "terrorist," and organizations that supported this group were also declared to be "terrorist organizations" (CBC, 2008). In labelling the Tamil Tigers as terrorists, Canada was taking an official stance on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Suddenly, Tamil Canadians were faced with the challenge of determining whether their support for Tamil Eelam and for the LTTE was a betrayal of their

allegiance to Canada, while also struggling to decipher what this act by the Canadian government meant in terms of its loyalties to the members of the diasporic community.

Despite immigrating to a new country, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community continued to maintain a connection to their homeland. This connection was not only experienced among the first-generation population, but also among the second-generation cohort. In a study done by Amarasingam (2008), it was found that Sri Lankan Tamil youth in Canada continued to feel an attachment to their Tamil identities, often expressing this connection through linguistic, cultural and religious practices. This connection further strengthened the resolve of Tamil Canadians to be involved in the politics of Sri Lanka.

As Wayland (2004) demonstrates, Tamil Canadians were very involved with the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, often sending remittances to not only assist families and friends who were impacted by the war, but to also financially support the LTTE. In fact, Wayland argues that a crucial factor in sustaining the decades-long conflict was the political engagement of the diasporic community. While perhaps this would lead one to assume that Tamil Canadians are primarily staunch supporters of the ethnic conflict, Orjuela (2008) argues that one cannot paint the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community with a single brush. She claims that while they may tend to be supportive of the secessionist movement, they have also been known to advocate for reconciliation and peace. Orjuela emphasizes the importance of understanding that diasporic communities engage in multiple ways, and their strategies for political involvement shift in time and space.

However, whatever their political agenda, the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Canada is very proactive in demonstrating its involvement with the homeland. Between January and May of 2009, tens of thousands of members of the diaspora participated in several protests in Toronto and Ottawa to highlight what they believed was the genocide of the Tamils in Sri Lanka (Ferenc, 2009). In May 2009, the LTTE was defeated by the Sri Lankan government, and the ethnic conflict was declared to be over. However, despite the official declaration that the war in Sri Lanka had ended, and that the LTTE had been defeated, this diasporic community continued in its efforts to intervene in homeland politics.

Sri Lankan Tamils living abroad have not been shy in voicing their opinions on the ethnic conflict that shook the nation, or who they believe is to blame. In fact, members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in the United Kingdom gathered at Heathrow airport in November 2010 to protest against the Sri Lankan President, Mahinda Rajapaksa, effectively restricting him from making his address at Oxford University (BBC, 2010). Certainly it can be observed that the members of this community are vocal and opinionated, and it is clear that they are invested in homeland politics.

While the high level of engagement in homeland politics certainly demonstrates an attachment to their Tamil identity and a loyalty to their homeland, this political engagement is being staged in their countries of settlement—countries that have, for the most part, officially declared the LTTE to be a terrorist organization. As such, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, in openly demonstrating support for a war, and for the insurgency group that has fought this war, this community can be perceived as one that may support their homeland over their country of settlement. The fear is that this

community may in fact choose to ultimately endanger the country of settlement if it benefits the homeland, causing the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community to be considered a suspect minority group.

METHODOLOGY

The site of the largest population of Sri Lankan Tamils in Canada is Toronto. As such, all diasporic community members in this study were selected from this city. However, while this study is primarily focused on how the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community negotiates its loyalties between the homeland and country of settlement, the story of diasporic engagement in homeland politics would remain incomplete without also having an understanding of how homelanders perceive such diasporic political engagement. There is much literature on the engagement of diasporic communities in homeland politics, and there is literature on how homelanders engage with the politics of their countries. However, there is significantly less literature on how homelanders perceive diasporic engagement in homeland politics, and there is little known research that attempts to understand the relationship between the diasporic community and the homeland through the perspective of *both* parties. As such, participants were drawn not only from the diasporic community, but also from the homeland.

While Toronto may be the primary site for the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Canada, there is no one city that would be considered the "primary" site for Tamils in Sri Lanka. As previously mentioned, the desired Tamil homeland of the LTTE consisted of the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. (Refer to Appendix A for map of Sri Lanka). However, while this "Tamil Eelam" may have been desired as *the* homeland of the Tamils, the Tamil population that lived in the Northern provinces

and the eastern provinces were not entirely similar to one another. In fact, as previously mentioned, there were differences with respect to caste, education and socioeconomic status between Tamils in the north and Tamils in the east. In addition to these two regions in which Tamils in Sri Lanka can be found, the capital city of Colombo is also home to a large number of Tamils—those who have lived there for generations, and those who had migrated as a result of the ethnic conflict. Therefore, homelander participants were selected from the north, the east and the capital.

Jaffna was selected as the primary site of recruitment for the north, and Batticaloa was selected as the primary site of recruitment for the east. However, during visits to the Vanni region (part of the Northern Province) and Trincomolee (part of the eastern province), a few participants were recruited. These participants were in the minority, and when compared to other participants from similar provinces (either Jaffna or Batticaloa), no significant differences were discerned in terms of the perspectives shared. All participants in the homeland identified as being Sri Lankan Tamil (as opposed to Muslim Tamil or Indian Tamil).

PARTICIPANTS

The participants for this study were second-generation members of the diasporic community, and were between the ages of 18 and 30. The age at which children immigrate to the country of settlement will determine their "generation", whereby children who were born in the country of settlement are referred to as second-generation, and those who arrived as pre-teen school-age children are referred to as the 1.5 generation (Rumbaut, 1997). For the purposes of this study, to qualify as a second-generation participant, individuals must have been born in Canada or arrived by the age

of 7. This decision was made by other researchers (see Ari, 2012) due to the fact that the assimilation patterns between children born in the country of settlement and those who arrived by the age of 7 are often very similar (Oropesa & Landale, 1997). All participants were raised in Toronto or the Greater Toronto Area until the age of 18. While they may have migrated out of Toronto for education or occupational reasons, their primary residence prior to the move was Toronto. Toronto is not only the home to the largest number of Sri Lankan Tamils in Canada; it was also the city in which the largest and most frequent forms of political collective action by the diasporic community were staged.

This study drew from a second-generation immigrant population as they were more likely to adopt dual identities (Sanders, 2002), and also would not have personally witnessed or experienced the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. This generation was chosen because the narrative of the homeland is believed to be passed on to subsequent generations of the diaspora (Sheffer, 2003). As such, it becomes important to study how these second-generation members of diasporic communities negotiate their political allegiances between country of settlement and homeland at times of conflict. Although they may have been born and raised in the country of settlement, being entitled to this country in a way that the first-generation may never feel, they continue to feel some form of connection to their ethnic homeland. In consideration of the fact that it is believed that by 2031 approximately 25% of Canada's population will be foreign-born, and over 60% of Toronto's population will be made up of a member of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2010), it becomes imperative to determine how those

who may have a strong connection to a country other than Canada may negotiate their loyalties between two different nations, particularly at times of conflict.

In addition to drawing from the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, this project also drew from their same-age cohort in Sri Lanka. This was done for two primary reasons. One, it allowed for some comparisons to be made between the two groups, when one controlled for age and similarities in terms of certain demographic variables (namely, being a student, marital status, etc.). Two, this same-age comparison also allows for some exploration of the effect of ethnic conflict on ethnic identity. Participants who were drawn from the diasporic community were either born in Canada or had immigrated to Canada in time to be primarily educated in their country of settlement. They had not lived through the ethnic conflict, and their own experiences of the war were mediated primarily through other sources, such as their parents and the media. Their own personal experiences of the ethnic conflict were non-existent or significantly limited.

The participants drawn from the homeland, however, have lived their entire lives in a time of conflict. They have not known anything but the war, and have only experienced a post-conflict nation since 2009. At the time of data collection (2011), participants in the homeland had lived in a post-war period for two years. While some of the diasporic community participants stated that they had immigrated to Canada as immigrants, the vast majority shared that they or their parents had arrived as refugees. Whatever factors may have contributed towards some participants being able to escape the war and leave Sri Lanka, while others remained, the experience of the ethnic conflict is a major source of *difference* between the participants in the diasporic community and

those in the homeland. As such, the data gleaned through working with participants in the homeland enabled a better understanding of how homelanders feel about diasporic engagement in homeland politics considering their own *lack* of experience of the conflict itself.

INTERVIEWS

Thirty-seven interviews with second-generation diasporic community members were included in this study. As many of the protests in Toronto were organized by student organizations, participants were initially drawn from those who are attending or have attended university or college. While the permanent addresses of these participants must be Toronto, they could be attending universities and colleges outside of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The participants were recruited by approaching the various Tamil Students' Organizations (TSAs) in universities and colleges, and through other youth organizations in the GTA. A snowball sampling approach was also used to reach out to those who are a part of this diasporic community but may not be involved with any ethnic or cultural organizations. In addition to the thirty-seven interviews that were conducted among the second-generation membership in the diasporic community, sixty-six individuals were also interviewed in Sri Lanka. A snowball sampling strategy was used to recruit participants from the Sri Lankan population.

All interviews were audio-recorded. Interviews were carried out in English and/or Tamil, depending on the interviewee's stated preference. All interviews that were done among the diasporic community were conducted in English. Among the interviews that were conducted in Sri Lanka, all were done primarily in Tamil. However, some participants in the capital were prone to using some English words or

English expressions in the interview. My fluency in both languages enabled me to conduct the interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were used to explore questions of political identity, conflicting allegiances, and diaspora-homeland relationships. (Refer to Appendix C for interview guide). There were some structured questions and probes that were posed to all participants in order to ensure that the core concepts of the hypotheses were addressed, including a question about how they self-identify (in terms of political identity), and how they understand the Sri Lankan Tamil identity. Participants in all sites were asked about the role of the diaspora in the ethnic conflict, and how they believed the Tamil political identity was defined and understood. Interviewing participants in both the country of settlement and the homeland allowed for a deeper understanding of the diasporic identity, and the intricate and multi-layered relationship that exists between the diaspora and its homeland.

While there were some similarities between the interviewing strategies for both the diasporic community and the homeland, there were also some differences. As such, the specific methodology that was used for the two groups will be described separately.

Interviews in the Diasporic Community

All participants from the diasporic community were asked to provide informed consent. They were provided with a document detailing the study and the terms for confidentiality. Participants were usually emailed the document, and after they had determined that they did fulfil the criteria for participation, and if they were still interested in participating, an interview time was scheduled. It was at the time of the interview that participants were once again provided with an opportunity to read the

informed consent, and were asked to sign the document. While all attempts were made to have face-to-face interviews, due to scheduling, some interviews were conducted by telephone or Skype. These tools have been argued to be suitable replacements to face-to-face interviews at times of difficulty, as long as one takes into consideration some of the challenges (including technical difficulties with the internet, and the loss of visual cues with telephone interviews) (Hanna, 2012; Lechuga, 2012). All participants were informed that they had the option to stop the interview at any point, and that they were within their rights to skip any question. For interviews that were conducted by the phone or through Skype, participants were asked to provide an email in which they stated that they had read the informed consent, and were agreeing to the terms of participation.

All participants were told that their identities would be protected, and that the interviews were confidential. As such, all participants are given pseudonyms. While religion was not an important variable in this study, participants who were known to be Christian were given traditionally Christian names, whereas those who were Hindu were given traditionally Hindu names. This nomenclature was used in case religious difference proved to be an important source of difference among participants at a later time—which it did not.

The interviews that were conducted among the diasporic community ranged between 60 to 90 minutes in length. The vast majority of interviews were done in public spaces, like coffee shops, but a few participants expressed a preference for conducting the interview in a private space, like a residence. Most interviews were conducted in person. However, due to scheduling conflicts, and challenges in location (for example,

two participants were living in Europe temporarily), some interviews were done by phone or through Skype, depending on the preference of the participant. The interviews that were done through Skype and by telephone were also audio-recorded.

Although all interviews were transcribed, there were some interviews that proved to be more challenging to transcribe than others—namely due to the background noise in the coffee shops. While not noticeable at the time of the interview, the background noises that were present at the time of interview were clearly picked up by the digital recorder, making the transcription process more challenging. Several strategies were employed to try to reduce noise, including shifting the positioning of the audio recorder, and changing the seating arrangements at the interview. In addition, when it was known that the time and location that the participant suggested for the interview would be noisy or distracting, alternative options were provided. However, at times the noisy environment could not be avoided.

Phone interviews proved to have the best sound quality, as there were no other sounds or distractions to be recorded. However, while there may not have been background noise during the interviews, there were other challenges that were unique to conducting interviews through the telephone and Skype. For one, at times participants would get another phone call or would become distracted, and it was difficult to know whether the full attention of the participant was engaged at the time of interview. As it was not possible to make eye contact or read body language, it was virtually impossible to pick up on the non-verbal cues of the participants.

While Skype allowed for the "reading" of non-verbal cues more effectively than the telephone, interviews conducted through Skype came with their own unique

challenges. Namely, at times the internet connection was unstable—particularly when the participant was living abroad—causing lags within the interview. In addition, there were sometimes difficulties in hearing the participant, or the need to weed through static noises or faint echoes that would affect the integrity of the interviews.

The questions that were posed in the interviews with the participants from the diasporic community were focused primarily on how they defined and experienced their Tamil and Canadian narratives. (Refer to Appendix C for interview guide). Questions also explored their experience of the protests that were staged by the diaspora, and their feelings regarding the end of the ethnic conflict. Their perspectives on the future of the Tamil identity, as well as the future of the Tamils in the homeland were also discussed. There were additional questions regarding their attitudes towards the arrival of the boats full of Tamil refugees off the coast of British Columbia, however, these questions were discarded if participants expressed that they were limited with respect to time. The majority of participants were able to participate for the full duration of the interview.

While the intent was to conduct all interviews individually, there was one case in which two participants requested that their interview be conducted in tandem. One participant had invited another individual to the interview, proclaiming that she also fit the parameters of the study. As they were students living out of town, and they expressed an interest in participating, but were limited in terms of scheduling opportunities, the decision was made to conduct both interviews simultaneously. The interview was done in a format in which each individual was asked the same question. While both individuals were very respectful of one another, this approach did prove to have some challenges. Namely, participants would reference one another, often

expanding on a point that their fellow participant had made. It is difficult to know whether those same points would have been made or would have been prioritized in quite the same way if the two interviews had been separately. However, despite their practice of referencing one another, the two individuals did not share similar opinions on some points, indicating that they were not simply agreeing with one another, or that they were unwilling or unable to *disagree* with one another.

Of the 37 individuals who participated in this study, there were more female participants than male participants. (Refer to Appendix D for Demographic Table). There were 22 females and 15 males. As the propensity towards more female participants was noticed at the forefront of the study, efforts were made to actively recruit more participants. As such, of the last ten interviews conducted, 7 interviews were done with male participants. It is difficult to know why there were more female participants than male participants, although one explanation may be due to the very nature of recruitment and snowball sampling. Many of the contacts who were willing to contact individuals for participation were female. As such, it is possible that they were more likely to encourage the participation of females rather than males.

Although Tamil Students Associations were targeted, the majority of participants in this study were not students. Of the 37 individuals, 14 were students (either full time or part-time) at the time of the interview, and 21 were employed. Two individuals were unemployed at the time of the study. As the average age of the participants from the diasporic community was 25, it is reasonable that there were fewer students.

INTERVIEWS WITH HOMELANDERS

The interviews that were conducted among the Tamil population in Sri Lanka were very different from those that were done among the diasporic community. (Refer to Appendix E for interview guide). For one, the identities of the participants were not known (unless they were already known prior to the interview). Therefore, interviews were anonymous, and not just confidential, as was the case with the diasporic community. Interviews were also much shorter. While the original interview guide was constructed for interviews that were of similar length to the ones conducted with the diasporic community, this decision was revised upon entering the field.

Individuals in Sri Lanka expressed wariness towards being interviewed. They were concerned about protecting not only themselves, but also their families. As such, they were only willing to participate after they were reassured that the interviews would not run longer than 30 minutes (unless they decided otherwise). Therefore, the original interview guide was substantially altered, and only questions that were directly in relation to the diasporic community and the ethnic conflict were included. While most interviews ranged from 20 to 30 minutes, some participants were interested in longer interviews, lasting up to 90 minutes. The interviews were conducted in private spaces, usually in either my place of residence or the residence of the participants—depending on their preference. Participants were asked for oral consent, which was audio-recorded, rather than signed written consent, in order to protect their identities.

The individuals who chose to participate in this study were recruited primarily through snowball sampling. Two key gate-keepers in the Tamil community were also especially instrumental in helping to recruit participants in Batticaloa, Jaffna and Colombo. These gate-keepers were leaders in their communities, and were well

connected with the demographic population of this study. One gate-keeper was female and situated primarily in Colombo, while the male gate-keeper was situated primarily in Batticaloa. While both gate-keepers were able to provide introductions to individuals who fulfilled the criteria for participation, it is important to note that neither gate-keeper drew their participants from community organizations that were primarily focused on the Tamil identity and nation-building.

One of the most challenging aspects of conducting fieldwork in Sri Lanka was the difficulty in recruiting male participants. The majority of individuals who chose to participate in the study were female. The ethnic conflict had certainly caused a change in the demographics of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka—whereby many youth, particularly men, were recruited into the LTTE and lost their lives, and where others were forced to flee the nation in order to avoid recruitment. Following the end of the war, the Sri Lankan government launched an investigation in order to deem whether there were any remaining Tigers amongst the Tamil population. As such, the Tamils in Sri Lanka have learned how to protect their male population.

As a researcher, who is a member of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, homelanders were often reticent about what they shared. There was worry that I was a journalist or that I was working for the Sri Lankan government. Even after I had reassured them that I was a doctoral student, and that I had no affiliation to any political party, homelanders were much less willing to introduce me to males who they felt would fulfill the criteria to participate in the study. At times their hesitation was explained simply as scheduling conflicts. They would state that the times that I was

suggesting to meet were inconvenient for them. However, they were not forthcoming about offering alternative times.

The strong motivation to protect the males in the homeland was not the only factor that contributed to the difficulty in recruiting male participants. The motivation was not only to protect the men from me, there also appeared to be a motivation to protect *me* and my honour. As an unmarried female, it was not seen as appropriate for me to interview men in private spaces without supervision. There were several times, particularly in Jaffna, when people would suggest that I do the interview in a more public space. They did not make the same suggestion when I was about to interview female participants. There were concerns expressed about whether my parents would approve about me meeting with these men on my own, and it was only after they were reassured that my parents were aware of what I was doing, and that this was completely appropriate and *necessary* for my "studies", that they would grant "permission."

Despite intentional efforts to recruit as many male participants as female participants, ultimately, there were more female participants than male participants in the homeland. In both Colombo and the eastern provinces, there were nearly twice as many female participants as there were male participants. (Refer to Appendix F for Demographic Table). In Colombo, there were 7 males and 14 females who participated, while in Batticaloa, there were 8 males and 13 females. In Jaffna, however, they were much more evenly matched, with 11 males and 13 females. Efforts to increase the number of male participants occurred after the first wave of interviews was completed in Jaffna. However, while the efforts appeared to have made an impact

among participants in the north, they did not garner the desired results in the east or in the capital.

Although there was a lack of balance between the number of male and female participants, they were much more on par in terms of other demographic variables, such as age, across the three regions. The average age for participants was 24 in both Colombo and Batticaloa. The average age was slightly lower at 22 in Jaffna. They were also similarities in terms of educational backgrounds and occupational status. While there were more men who were in the workforce than women, particularly in Jaffna, this difference was to be expected considering that this region has more "traditional" protocols with respect to the division of labour and gender norms.

Analysis

All interviews were transcribed into the language in which they were conducted, and were coded with the use of MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis software. The coding was done in English, as the software did not allow for the use of Tamil, and English was also deemed more appropriate for comparison purposes.

As the study was focused primarily on how second-generation members of the diasporic community negotiate between their loyalties to the homeland and the country of settlement, as well as how they determine their political engagement in homeland politics, transcripts were initially coded with concepts that were directly relevant to the primary focus of the study. Codes of loyalties, identities and suspicion were used but to name a few. However, with further reading of the transcripts, as well as in being informed by observations made in the field, the codes became more nuanced and specific. The larger themes that emerged through this analysis are what drive the

chapters in this dissertation. The themes that are discussed in the subsequent chapters are not exhaustive, and are not necessarily the most surprising or even the most expected, but are instead the ones that enable the narrative of national loyalties and political identities to be shared in a cohesive and coherent manner.

In addition to interviews, websites for three Tamil organizations were also analyzed for how diasporic communities framed the conflict in the homeland, and how they constructed the relationship between the homeland and the diasporic community. The organizations that were examined were the Canadian Tamil Congress, CanadianHART, and the University of Toronto Tamil Students Association. The "WayBack Machine" created by the archivists at Internet Archive (www.archive.org) was used to find the archived versions of these websites when the organizations did not offer their own archives. By inserting the website of the desired organization (e.g. Canadian Tamil Congress), the WayBack Machine provides various dates on which the website was archived.

Self as Researcher

The data that is presented are drawn primarily from the interviews that were conducted, as well as from websites and newspapers. While my own experiences are not included in this manuscript, it would be inaccurate to claim that they did not shape both the nature of the interviews and the observations that were made in the field. The practice of reflexivity and being aware of the dyadic relationship that exists between the field and the researcher is now a standard practice in qualitative research (McCorkel & Myers, 2003; Medved & Turner, 2011; Mosselson, 2010; Salzman, 2002).

The interviews that were conducted among homelanders were affected by my own experience of returning to the nation of my birth for the first time since I was three years old. As someone who self-identifies as being Tamil, I would certainly be considered an "insider", as I share a common ethnic identity with my homelander population. While my status as a member of the diasporic community would enable me to be considered as an insider with my participants from Toronto, it would define me as an 'outsider' among the homelander population. My simultaneous status as insider/outsider with my homeland population would have certainly impacted the nature of the interviews that were conducted (Yakushko, et al., 2011). However, it is difficult to siphon out just how my insider/outsider status interacted in the field to affect both my participants and the interviews gleaned. There are a number of levels through which participants and researchers may be both similar and different, including ethnicity, class, age, etc., and one must conceptualize insider/outsider status not as a dichotomy, but as a spectrum of possible relationships (Bolak, 1996; Mullings, 1999).

Much of the process of being in the field was not only an exercise in conducting an ethnography, but was also an exercise in re-discovering my own homeland. Sangarasivam (2001) strongly argues that the researcher is not only an individual who observes and collects data through others, but is *also* an "informant", and that her own emotional engagement and political experience must also be incorporated into the analyses, as they are rich sources of data (p. 98):

> Researchers are not innocent subjects who are in the field only to listen and learn from local people. We bring research agendas. But in acknowledging the researcher as informant, we destabilize the hierarchy. Understanding the researcher as an informant, I am conscious of my subject position, my motivation, my agendas. I can reveal my bias and fallibility as a human subject,

one relied upon to report on my experiences and observations of the realities of nationalism, resistance, violence, and war.

Sangarasivam (2001) conducted fieldwork in Sri Lanka, in which she focused on the perceptions and experiences of the LTTE and the wider Tamil and Sri Lankan community. As such, her own experiences as a Tamil woman (although a member of the diasporic community in the United States) in Sri Lanka and the suspicions she faced were very relevant to her own research. While my own experiences in Sri Lanka certainly shaped the texture of my field work, and my presence in the field would have certainly affected my participants, the data that is presented is directly from the interviews with participants. It is their voices that primarily drove the analyses and not my own.

CHAPTER 3: THE TAMIL ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE TIES THAT BIND THE DIASPORA TO THE HOMELAND

> *And at first it was like 'we* [members of the diasporic community] *need to communicate because people who are silent need to communicate cause the whole thing was people who are silent, but we need to communicate what's happening* ***back home****, and try to represent what's there, cause they don't have voices* ***back home****,' type of thing.* [Paandiyan, a 28 year-old male; emphases added]

Paandiyan was born in Sri Lanka, but he moved with his family to Canada when he was three years old. However, 25 years later, he continues to refer to Sri Lanka as 'home', and the situation that was occurring in Sri Lanka as what was happening 'back home.' Paandiyan's continued connection to a homeland that he has not seen since he left is not unique, and demonstrates that physical separation is not enough to sever the ties that immigrants feel to their countries of origin (Snel, Engbersen & Leerkes, 2006).

Paandiyan states that it is important for him as a member of the diaspora to speak for those "who are silent" and for those who cannot speak "back home", clearly indicating that despite immigrating to a new country of settlement, the connection between the diaspora and the homeland is still in place. This connection or loyalty that a diasporic community may feel towards their country of origin is strongly influenced by the extent to which the members of the community continue to identify with the homeland and all that it represents (Sheffer, 2003).

The homeland can represent the ancestral history of its population, and can be symbolic of its cultural and ethnic identity (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). As such, for immigrants who continue to practice aspects of the culture of their country of origin, the homeland can never truly be forgotten. However, there is a difference between not forgetting and actively *remembering* the homeland. The extent to which

the cultural and ethnic identities of the homeland are maintained in the country of settlement, and the degree to which the diasporic community continues to engage with the homeland are indicative of the strength of the relationship between the diaspora and the homeland (Safran, 1991).

This chapter explores how second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto engage with their Tamil ethnic identity, and demonstrates that while the vast majority of this population identify as being Tamil, their understanding of what this identity means can differ greatly, albeit most often leaning towards a primordial definition of the term. In adopting a Tamil ethnic identity that is steeped in a primordial tie to ancestral history, the diasporic community is able to forge a connection with the homeland population—as they also share this ethnic identity.

Although there may be a 'passive' adoption of an ethnic identity based simply on ancestry, this chapter illustrates that the diasporic population demonstrated an *active* practice of ethnic identity when this identity was threatened with extinction during the last stages of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, which was understood as a 'genocide' by this population. In actively practicing their Tamil ethnic identity through homeland political engagement with the homeland, the diasporic community demonstrates a strong connection to the homeland. Therefore, this chapter argues that at times of conflict, when the ethnic identity is under threat, the diasporic community is particularly motivated to engage in homeland politics.

UNDERSTANDING ETHNIC IDENTITY

The study of ethnicity has proven to be challenging for researchers, as there is yet to be a consensus in terms of how this term should be defined. Part of the challenge

lies in the confusing tendency of researchers to imply that ethnicity and *ethnic identity* are synonymous concepts. Therefore, when attempting to define ethnicity, often the definition includes a reference to an ethnic identity, with the underlying assumption that one can simply replace one term for the other without changing the meaning. De Vos (1995) offers a fairly comprehensive definition for ethnicity by defining ethnic groups as the following (p. 18):

> An ethnic group is a self-perceived inclusion of those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include "folk" *religious beliefs* and practices, *language,* a sense of *historical continuity,* and *common ancestry* or place of origin. The group's actual history often trails off into legend or mythology, which includes some concept of an unbroken biological-genetic generational continuity, sometimes regarded as given special inherited characteristics to the group…. [M]embers of an ethnic group cling to a sense of having been an *independent* people, in origin at least, whatever special role they have collectively come to play in a pluralistic society. [Emphases in the original]

Among scholars there appear to be three distinct schools of thought in terms of how ethnic identity should be understood: *primordialist, instrumentalist,* and *constructivist*. The primordialist view is one in which ethnic identities are believed to be something that is inherited or passed down, and therefore, takes a more essentialist perspective of the concept. As Geertz (1973) has argued, "one is bound to one's kinsmen, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, ipso facto: as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation" (pp. 259-260). This particular school of thought argues that ethnic identities are more enduring and more overarching than other identities. The instrumentalist view of ethnic identity argues that ethnic identity is one of many, but that by manipulating various ethnic symbols, one can increase its significance. The third perspective on ethnic identity, constructivism, argues that ethnic identity is socially constructed, and that its

make-up can be altered based on interactions with the social environment (see Eller, 1999, chapter 2; Gurr, 2000, p. 4, for a succinct explanation of these three schools of thought; also see Rex, 2002). It has also been argued that identity can be both enduring and changing and that these shifts occur as a result of time and circumstance (Chuang, 2004; Kaya, 2005), and that defining membership into a group based on ancestry and primordialism is too primitive a measure (Brubaker, 2005).

However ethnic identity may be defined among immigrant populations, there is often a strong drive to protect and maintain it (Cohen, 1996). Among the participants of this study, the importance of their ethnic identity—their Tamil identity—was frequently voiced. While their understanding of ethnic identity and what it meant varied, the majority of participants adopted a primordial view of their ethnic identity. Participants spoke of how their engagement in homeland politics was due to the fact that they were Tamil, and that even if they were born in Canada, their Tamilness was a part of who they were, and had been passed down to them from their families.

This essentially primordial understanding of being Tamil suggests passivity among those who hold this ethnic identity. They are Tamil because their parents are Tamil, and their parents' parents were Tamil. It is an identity that they inherited, and one that they may not have chosen for themselves. However, whether or not they would have chosen this identity, the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community share that it is a part of who they are, and when asked to identify themselves, they always expressed their Tamilness in some form or another. They ultimately construe themselves as having no choice in whether or not they are Tamil.

Nagesh, a 27-year-old male argued that the definition of 'Tamil' varies over time

and space, ultimately subscribing to a constructivist understanding of ethnic identity. And yet, he also argues that it is the very *fluidity* of the identity that causes the diasporic population to cling more closely to it, and to maintain a strong Tamil 'culture':

> 'Cause I feel like Tamil culture's always changing, it's not like one thing, it's always evolving based on what country, or your experiences. There's certain things, like some commonalities like the food, the music, the cinema, whatever it is, but given the fact that it influences who you are, being a part of that whole Tamil culture thing, that's why we called it that [Tamil culture].

Nagesh was born in Sri Lanka and had earlier articulated that while he had not returned to Sri Lanka since the time he left at the age of 3, he did have an interest in returning at some point. His argument was that it was where he was "from" and therefore, was a place that he should know about. But when asked to describe *why* he wanted to know more, and how he understood being Tamil, his primordial argument of simply being Tamil as a result of birth shifted to the more constructivist argument of being Tamil based on cultural practices that varies depending on a number of factors, demonstrating that the various definitions of ethnic identity are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The connection that participants feel to their ethnic identity was explained in multiple ways, but the one explanation that came up the most often was that they felt a connection to being Tamil because their parents were Tamil. They were interested in going to Sri Lanka because their parents were from there. They wanted to see where their parents were born and where their parents were raised:

> See where my parents are from, and to kind of put, uh, pictures to the stories that they've told, you know? And yeah, just to see… you know, where they grew up, and to see the house that they lived in. Yeah, I'd like, you know, to go and see what my homeland looks like. [Gowthami, 30 year-old female]

Gowthami has never been to Sri Lanka. When asked why she considered it her

homeland despite the fact that she had not been born there and had never been there, she spoke of how it was her homeland because it was the homeland of her parents. She was able to claim ownership as a result of ancestry—her parents passed their own homeland connection onto her.

While participants claimed a connection to their ethnic identity based on birth, it was not necessarily an identity that they felt needed to be maintained at all times. In fact, there was still a choice in terms of how to exercise their Tamil identity, but when exercised, their reason for doing so often went back to their parents and their ancestral connection. Davina, a 26 year-old female who was born in Canada and had never been to Sri Lanka, explained that she would like to go there because she always thought it would be nice to have a home in a 'tropical' country. When asked why she would choose Sri Lanka when there are so many other tropical countries to choose from, she said:

> ...because it has a lot of history and it would be somewhere where it would be easy to communicate with everyone, and we would have more people wanting to go there and we would have people wanting to visit that country because of family or just the fact that our parents used to live there. And I think they do have cousins there, so they would have to trace them, right?

Davina mentions the importance of history and ancestral past for why she would choose to go to Sri Lanka, indicating the importance of history in defining herself as being Tamil. She also states that she would choose Sri Lanka because it "would be easy to communicate with everyone", suggesting that language is also very important. However, as Davina later shares in the interview, while she believes that language is an important factor in defining her Tamil identity, she barely speaks it. In fact, she states that she only has a great-grandmother with whom she speaks Tamil, but as her great-

grandmother has a difficult time understanding her, her use of Tamil is very minimal.

Language is often used as an indicator of cultural and ethnic identity (Fong, 2004). According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, with changes in language, there are also changes in cultural identity, as the varying phrases and vocabulary can be indicative of the varying lenses through which groups see the world (Fong, 2004, p. 37). However, while the Tamil ethnic identity is literally named for the Tamil language, among the participants who were interviewed in this study, the majority, like Davina, did not speak Tamil. Many of them shared that they were able to understand the language, and a few indicated that they could speak a very rudimentary version of the language, but most indicated that they would not feel confident in claiming that they can speak Tamil. When participants were asked why they did not speak the language and whether they would like to be able to speak Tamil, many indicated that their inability to speak the language stemmed from the fact that their parents did not teach them the language or did not insist that they speak Tamil at home. Participants stated that they wished that they could speak the language, and also indicated that it is something that they are interested in learning, if given the opportunity.

When Venkatesh, a 26 year-old male, was asked whether he felt any regret about not being able to speak Tamil, he described the moment when he realized the importance of being able to speak the language:

> [It's] something I've always regretted. I don't regret not being able to write it because that's a non-used skill but I remember once speaking to my grandma in a wedding, and my grandma is 85 or so and we're speaking, and she's speaking English to me. My uncle leaned over and said, 'What's wrong with this picture?' …He said, 'Your 85 year-old grandma is learning your language instead of you learning hers', and I remember thinking, 'That's terrible!', and a few weeks after that I went to her to take Tamil classes.…I was 20 or so, [and] it got nowhere, so I abandoned it…. I regret being so ambivalent before—not even

> ambivalent, just being stubborn about it. I should've learned it when I was young, when it was easier to learn languages. It's tougher now. I try to learn a bit, or I try to speak a bit to my mom, but no, I think it's kind of tough now. It'll be a huge concerted effort that I would take and I don't have that in my present priorities.

Venkatesh described how his interest in learning Tamil stemmed from not being able to speak with his grandmother in this language. When he was later asked why he was not taught to speak this language as a child, he stated that it would have been difficult to learn this language without having someone who he would always have to speak to only in Tamil. While his parents did send him to Tamil language classes as a child, those lessons were insufficient. His parents spoke fluent English, and therefore, it was not necessary for him to communicate with them in Tamil. He argued that if his grandmother had lived with him when he was young, he probably would have learned the language:

> They sent me to Tamil school…I find that with learning languages when you're a kid is that people who speak languages are people that live with grandparents or other family members where they have to speak it in order to communicate with them. My parents spoke English to me, they knew English, so I could speak English back to them.…I find, like with the Chinese community, is that a lot of them can speak Mandarin and Cantonese but that's because they have an elder living with them. If my grandma had lived with me, I'm sure I would have been…I think I spoke fluent Tamil when I was a kid, my brother did too, but after a while, it's like using a bicycle, right? Actually no, I guess bicycle wheels are…bad example…

Venkatesh's experience demonstrates that while language may be used as an indicator of ethnic identity, it is by no means a necessary condition for staking a claim to the ethnic identity. His parents were Tamil but did not speak to him in this language, perhaps because they did not feel it was the most important aspect of the identity. For Venkatesh, the language is important so that he can communicate with the elderly or with people who are unable to speak English, but is not required to justify his claim to

the Tamil identity. His drive to learn the language in his twenties did not stem from the fact that his grandmother could not speak English, but from the fact that she was older and was able to communicate with him in his first language, while he was unable to communicate with her in *her* first language.

Among participants who *were* able to speak the Tamil language, often their motivation for learning the language and the primary use they had for the language was to be able to speak with those who were unable to speak English. Participants who spoke Tamil often also provided the disclaimer that they were not fluent, or that they had an accent and that anyone who heard them speak would know that they were not "native" speakers.

> I can speak Tamil in terms of…to do with my mom who only speaks Tamil. But…I'm not very strong or comfortable with it….I can speak it, but it's obviously…you could hear, if I was speaking to a Tamil person, you could hear…they'd probably laugh at me. [Nagesh, 27 year-old male]

> I can speak, read, and write. So in that sense it was… it was OK, 'cause I could understand my family members [referring to family in Sri Lanka], but even then I got teased for, like, my accent and I…no matter how much I try, I can't get rid of that, like, Anglicized Tamil accent. [Pooja, a 23 year-old female]

Both Nagesh and Pooja comment on how while they are able to communicate in Tamil, they still feel a level of self-consciousness when it comes to their Tamil. What is interesting in their feelings of self-consciousness is that they both speak of how they are judged for the *way* they speak Tamil—as if they do not speak as 'native' Tamil speakers do. Pooja explicitly states that her accent is "Anglicized", as if her Canadianness and the fact that she is a member of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community and not of the homeland seep through when she speaks in Tamil.

The possibility that they may be measured and judged for their inability to speak

Tamil like a homelander suggests that there is a model of how the Tamil ethnic identity should be practiced. If they are to be Tamil and they are to demonstrate their Tamilness through language, then they should be able to speak the language in the same way of the Tamils of the homeland. This suggests that even if they can speak Tamil in the diaspora, they are still somehow lacking because they do not quite live up to the standards of the country of origin.

If there is a primordial conceptualization of ethnic identity, and one is Tamil because one's parents are Tamil, then where do the feelings of inadequacy experienced by the participants who did not speak the language without an accent come from? It appears as if despite their feeling of entitlement to claim membership to the Tamil ethnic identity, second-generation diasporic community members are also aware that there exists a model for this ethnic identity—a model that seems to be set by the homeland.

TAMIL SOCIAL NETWORKS

Another indicator, in addition to language, that is often used to measure the extent to which individuals identify with their ethnic group is the make-up of their social networks (Snel, Engbersen & Leerkes, 2006). Individuals who socialize primarily with other members of their ethnic group are believed to identify more strongly with their country of origin and *culture* of origin than their country of settlement (Driedger, 1996). Conversely, the extent to which immigrants have developed friendships and intimate relationships with individuals who are *not* of their same group is often seen as being indicative of the extent to which they have integrated into the dominant culture of the country of settlement (Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990).

Among the second-generation population of Sri Lankan Tamils, the majority of participants stated that a significant number of their close friends were also Tamil. However, this outcome was not always intentionally decided. Idiya, a 25 year-old female shared that of her four closest friends, three were Tamil. The only non-Tamil member of her group was dating a Tamil male, which Idiya described with a laugh made her "pretty much" Tamil. When asked how she ended up with a close Tamil network of friends, she stated:

> …Maybe it's like...in high school we were the multicultural group, there was a little mix of everybody in there. But by the time grade 12 came around, everyone was kind of doing their own thing, except like the Tamil people stuck together…

When asked whether her propensity to form close Tamil friendships continued into university, Idiya stated that it did not. While she did join the Tamil Students Association at her university, she stated that she did not put much effort into developing or maintaining any of the friendships that were formed through this association. She had her close group of Tamil friends from high school, and was not necessarily looking to forge any new close relationships.

While several participants cited that they had simply gone to schools where there were many Tamil students, which is what led to them making so many Tamil friends, this was not necessarily the case for everyone. Whether they formed these relationships simply because they lived in largely Tamil neighbourhoods or not, the reason that was most often cited for why they had so many Tamil friends was that of 'relatability'.

Gagan, a 22 year-old male stated the majority of his close friends were Tamil. When asked to explain whether it was an intentional effort on his part to develop so many Tamil relationships, he explained:

> I find that I just more fit in and where I went to school there was a lot more Tamils... I have no issues making friends with non-Tamils....I communicate easily—if I wanted to make friends with someone, I can. I don't think that's a big issue. I just find that Tamils have more things to talk about. Even if I'm not talking about Tamil stuff, I kind of more fit in with the Tamil people.

Gagan makes an interesting assertion. He claims that it was not due to a lack of ability on his part that he did not form many non-Tamil friends. He is confident in his ability to communicate with others. Instead, he felt simply that the very *nature* of the Tamil friendship would be more meaningful despite the fact that they might not be talking about "Tamil stuff." Therefore, it is not so much in the *content* of the conversations, as they are not discussing aspects of the Tamil culture, community or identity, but rather it was that the *context* of the conversations could be better understood because of a shared ethnic identity.

The importance that is placed on a shared ethnic identity suggests that there is something unique to the Tamil ethnic identity and the lives of the diasporic community members that cannot be understood by those who are not also a part of this community. As Uriana, a 29 year-old female stated, part of the shared understanding has to do with similarity of experiences in terms of immigration and integration:

> ...it's helpful because you can connect to other people who have the same kind of culture in their families, [and] at the same time, who are trying to assimilate and who are also second-generation... So I mean, you can connect on different levels over and above your friendship.

Uriana's assertion is that it is not just being Tamil that inspires these individuals to establish friendships with other Tamils, it is also knowing that they have similar histories in terms of being immigrants or children of immigrants in Canada.

While sharing a similar immigrant experience and ethnic identity was important for many participants in the study, others revealed that they were very intentional in

ensuring that not all of their friends were Tamil. The reason that was most often cited was that they lived in a multicultural city and that it was important for them to befriend people from differing ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Famira, a 24 year-old woman told me that it was a very intentional decision on her part to ensure that not all of her friends were Tamil:

> I would say I've got multiple cultures in my group, and that would be a personal choice for me. Because I didn't want to be associated with a group of all Tamils, or a group of...we would say 'all brown friends', and it's because I wanted to learn about different cultures. I live in a society where I'm able to do that, and I grew up in a neighbourhood where there were kids of all different nationalities. So I chose to make friends of all different nationalities so I could learn about their cultures, and learn about their lifestyles back home, and share mutual interests that way, instead of being friends with all Tamils.

Famira's decision to make friend with "all different nationalities" was one that was made due to a strong need to step outside of a solely Tamil social network. When she was asked whether she felt that other members of the second-generation diasporic community had a similar mentality in terms of forming multicultural and multiethnic friendships, Famira vehemently asserted that they did not, and then explained why:

> I think it's a sense of comfort that you get….They know what you're going through in your home and with your parents, and they understand what it's like. So it's that sense of comfort you get that you can share with that other person, share the same issues as you and same culture, same music, same interests. So it's easier for you….So you don't want to step out of your comfort zone, for a lot of people. So that could be it, I feel…And also, another factor is where you grew up. I think it's a *big* factor in the type of people you hang around with. I know—not to be stereotypical—but people that grew up in Scarborough back when I grew up, they all had Tamil friends. Because that's what was available to them I guess, and they chose to all hang out together. But I never made that conscious effort to do that. I would always hang with people of different nationalities.

Famira's argument for why people may choose to develop Tamil friendships seems to be rooted in comfort and convenience. It is easier to make friends with other Tamil individuals if they are more easily accessible, as they are in Scarborough, a

suburb of Toronto which is known to have a very large Tamil population. It is also more desirable to form Tamil friendships because they "understand what it's like." This comment alludes to the fact that there is a similarity in cultural and ethnic values that can be shared with other Tamils that would be incomprehensible to non-Tamils. This was in fact the reason that Gagan cited for why he chose to have more Tamil friends than non-Tamil friends.

What is it that they believe they can discuss with their Tamil friends that they may not be able to discuss as openly or as easily with their non-Tamil friends? One issue that was brought up was the ethnic conflict in the homeland and the protests that occurred in Toronto. Many participants revealed that this was a very serious topic of discussion among their Tamil friends, and whether they were interested in the issues of the homeland or not, they often found themselves becoming more educated on the political tensions in Sri Lanka, and the impact of these tensions on the Tamils in Canada.

Among the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, the Tamil ethnic identity was very strongly held. They were not tentative in claiming this identity, arguing that it was a part of who they were and where they were from, essentially articulating a primordial understanding of the identity. Their Tamilness influenced their social networks, often motivating them to forge friendships with other Tamils because of a feeling of similarity and mutual understanding. It even motivated some of them to learn the language (or want to learn the language); although their rationale for learning the language was not so that they can communicate with their Tamil friends, but so that they can communicate with the elderly and those who were

unable to speak English.

In many ways, identifying as being Tamil seems to be a very passive process, not requiring much effort from participants in terms of maintenance. They were Tamil because they were *born* Tamil, and whatever they choose to do (or not), they will continue to be Tamil. Whether they can speak the language or not, they are Tamil; whether they choose to befriend other Tamils or not, they continue to maintain their own ethnic identity. This passivity in the adoption and even maintenance of the Tamil ethnic identity should not, however, lead to the conclusion that the second-generation diasporic community is *indifferent* to their ethnic identity.

The participants in this study demonstrated not only an acceptance of their primordial connection to the Tamil ethnic identity, but also an active *claim* to this identity. As such, when they perceived this identity to be threatened, they became quite *active* in their efforts to protect it. As Eller (1999) has argued, the practice of ethnicity can fluctuate over time, since "a group may have vibrant, even militant, ethnicity at one moment in time and much less so at a later moment, or vice versa" (p. 9). This variation in the practice of ethnic identity was certainly observed among the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community. The next section explores the active political engagement of the second-generation diasporic community in homeland politics as demonstrated through the protests that were staged in Toronto during the first half of 2009.

CONNECTING TO THE HOMELAND

In 2009, tens of thousands of members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Toronto staged protests throughout the city in order to raise awareness about the ethnic

conflict in Sri Lanka. The timing of these protests coincided with the last stages of the war; ultimately taking place just months prior to the Sri Lankan government declaring that they had defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and had effectively "won" the war. The protests in Toronto earned much media attention in Canada's national news, sparking debates on multiculturalism, loyalties and immigration in Canada (Ferenc, 2009; Siddiqui, 2009; Taylor, 2009; Wente, 2009). However, according to the participants, this was not their intent. They were protesting to raise awareness about the war, and to bring attention to the injustice that was taking place in their homeland. The injustice in Sri Lanka they were referring to was the treatment of Tamil civilians by the Sri Lankan government, and the violence that caused thousands of Tamils to flee Sri Lanka in a mass exodus. And it was this narrative of injustice that was most prevalent among the second-generation participants who chose to participate in the protests that occurred in the streets of Toronto in 2009.

While the opinions regarding the efficacy of the protests, and the organization of the protests may have differed among the participants who attended the protests, there appeared to be a general consensus that the protests were meant to serve two primary goals: first, to draw attention to the civilians who were being caught in the crossfire of the ethnic conflict, and second, to motivate the international community to act to *stop* the perceived injustice that was taking place in Sri Lanka. As Logan, a 25 year-old male articulated, the personal political perspectives of individual members of the diasporic community were not important to the protest. In being asked what motivated him to participate, he spoke of how people should protest because there was an injustice being committed:

> …there are moments where everyone needed to, no matter what part of the scale you're on, there was injustice that needed to be voiced, and advocated for. So I felt the need to participate regardless of what my values were, or what scale I was on.... It didn't really matter what your values or what you felt part of or not. For me, it was an issue that did not belong on a spectrum of values. It's an issue that all of humanity can relate to. And there was every person who knew and understood or had some relation was out there, regardless whether you're Tamil or not.

Logan articulates that it was not about the politics or the personal values of the individual, referring to whether one was in support of the LTTE or whether one was in support of the establishment of a separate Tamil state ("Tamil Eelam"). He argues that the fact that there was injustice in Sri Lanka should be enough to elicit a reaction—not only from members of the diaspora, but among the larger Canadian population as well. People should be motivated to act, not because they were Sri Lankan or Tamil, but because they did not want to excuse any form of human rights violations or injustice anywhere in the world. However, while Logan believed that the call for intervention should have been heard by all irrespective of ethnic identity, it was certainly heard by the members of the diasporic community because of their own shared ethnic identity and connection to the homeland.

This connection to the homeland based on an established narrative of injustice is what Skrbis (1999) defined as a narrative of a 'bleeding homeland' (pp. 106-107), and stems from what Cohen (1996) described as a "scarring historical event" (p. 512). The ardent political engagement of the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto was triggered from the recollection of the injustices suffered by Tamils in Sri Lanka, and their desire to bring this narrative to light. As mentioned in the second chapter, the history of Sri Lanka is one that is fraught with conflict and perceived acts of discrimination and injustices. The protests that took place in Toronto

were meant to highlight the narrative of injustice experienced by the Tamils in Sri Lanka throughout the history of the nation—particularly since the country's independence.

While the large turnout at the protests may demonstrate that there exists a strong connection between the diasporic community and the homeland, it does not suggest that the members of the diaspora are homogeneous in their views of the homeland. Among the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, there are multiple levels of engagement in homeland politics, which is based on their level of membership in the diasporic community. Sheffer (2003) asserts that there are four levels of membership in diasporic communities (p. 100). The level of affiliation the members of a diasporic community may feel to their homeland ranges based on their connection to their ethnic identity, their ancestral history and their personal histories. Therefore, the more strongly connected they are to the homeland, the more intensely they identify with the diasporic community, and the more likely they are to engage in homeland politics.

The second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community claim a Tamil ethnic identity. It is not necessarily an active claim, but rather one that is borne out of their belief that they are Tamil as a result of their ancestral history—it is a birthright that was bestowed upon them by their parents and their parents before them. In believing they shared an ethnic identity with homelanders, it is not surprising that when they began to feel that these homelanders were being endangered—and thus their own ethnic identity was being attacked—they felt they needed to step in and intervene. The experiences of injustice that had taken place in Sri Lanka resulting in the ethnic conflict (as discussed in the preceding chapter) became more and more pronounced as

the conflict intensified in the early half of 2009. The members of the diasporic community were strongly affected by these events, and felt that they had a responsibility to engage in homeland politics in order to not only raise awareness of the injustice that was taking place in Sri Lanka, but to also protect the future of the Tamil identity.

The findings of this study demonstrate that while the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto expressed an interest in homeland politics, their level of engagement was affected by the intensity of the threat to their homeland their ethnic identity. When the threat dissipated or stabilized, their level of engagement also decreased for the most part. A threat to the homeland was a threat to their ethnic identity, and as such, they were called to protect this identity when it was believed to be under serious threat during the last stages of the ethnic conflict. In particular, when the frame of 'ethnic conflict' shifted to that of 'genocide', it incited an impassioned response from the diasporic community.

PROTESTING 'GENOCIDE' AS A NARRATIVE OF INJUSTICE

There were many different bodies that were involved in the organization of the protests that took place on the streets of Toronto, including the University of Toronto Tamil Students' Association, the Canadian Tamil Congress, and CanadianHART (Canadian Humanitarian Appeal for the Relief of Tamils). All three of these organizations cater to members of the diasporic community. As the events of the ethnic conflict intensified during the spring of 2009, they began to focus their attention on how to raise awareness within the diaspora so that members might be mobilized to help the Tamil civilians caught in the war-zone. These organizations highlighted the deaths of Tamil civilians, and began to emphasize the parallels between what was happening in

Sri Lanka and what had happened in Rwanda. These deaths became labelled "genocide"—becoming the frame that would motivate thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils to act.

In the spring of 2009, the websites for all three organizations framed the situation in Sri Lanka as genocide. In the mission statement provided by the Canadian Tamil Congress, they stated that one of their mandates was "to participate in the alleviation of suffering of Tamils worldwide and in particular indigenous Tamils living in Sri Lanka" (Canadian Tamil Congress, 2009a; refer to Appendix G for screenshot of the archived website). Their website provided links for viewers interested in stopping "the *Genocide* in Sri Lanka" (Canadian Tamil Congress, 2009b, emphasis added; refer to Appendix H for screenshot of the archived website). CanadianHART (refer to Appendix I for a screenshot of the archived website) claimed that their aim was "to highlight the humanitarian and human rights crisis in Sri Lanka to the World and specifically to all levels of Canadian society... [by engaging] them actively through various campaigns and influence policy changes with regards to Sri Lanka to bring about Peace with Justice for Tamils in Sri Lanka" (CanadianHART, 2009a). They also encouraged people to join them "immediately to end this *genocidal* war" (CanadianHART, 2009a, emphasis added). The University of Toronto TSA proclaimed "Act now! Stop the *genocide* of Tamils!" (University of Toronto TSA, 2009, emphasis added), and encouraged its visitors to "pressure the Government of Sri Lanka...[to]...end immediately the genocidal campaign launched on Tamil civilians in the Northern regions!" (Note that there is no archived version of the University of Toronto TSA website for April 2009 available).

Not only did the websites frame the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka as "genocide", these community organizations were actively engaged in mobilizing the diasporic community. CanadianHART organized a bus tour during the month of February 2009 to visit ten different cities and universities in Southern Ontario to raise awareness of the situation in Sri Lanka. This mobilization effort was called the "Halt Genocide Bus Tour", and a blog was set up so that community members could follow the progress of the tour (CanadianHART, 2009b; also see Appendix J for screenshot of website). According to the organizers of the bus tour:

> This tour will be aimed at meeting politicians, media outlets, and more importantly conduct teach-ins at various locations to create awareness about the genocide currently taking place and to encourage immediate action to save the Tamils under a siege in Sri Lanka.

These three organizations not only explicitly labelled the deaths of the Tamils in Sri Lanka as genocide, but also overtly stated the importance of advocating on behalf of the Tamil population. The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka was labelled genocide, and these organizations urged the Sri Lankan Tamil members of the diaspora to undertake collective action, and appeal to the Canadian government to step in and assist in ending the violence.

The framing of the ethnic conflict as a "genocide" appeared to be successfully adopted by the diasporic community, as several participants explicitly cited the 'genocide' in Sri Lanka for being the reason that they took part in the protests. Jaanu, a 27-year-old year-old female who was very actively engaged in the diaspora, spoke earnestly about her involvement in the protests:

> I am very attached to the Tamil community, and I've engaged in the protests that happened a few years back to support the Tamil people and raise awareness of the *genocide* [emphasis added], and …I've been a volunteer with the Tamil

> Students' Council for 3 years now, so I like to engage in stuff the Tamil youth engage in, and the Tamil community engage in only because I feel a part of that, I feel one with that community.

Jaanu's asserts that she is a part of a community, and this membership automatically implies a level of connection—not just to the diaspora, but also to the homeland. As such, the frame of 'genocide' provides a very strong platform for these diasporic community members to become hooked into the narrative of injustice that was taking place in Sri Lanka.

Yuthavan, a 28-year-old male, who had never been engaged politically within the diaspora, when asked about the protests and why people were so passionate about what was happening in Sri Lanka, stated that the 'genocide' was something that would call any member of the community to action:

> I remember thinking that a genocide's happening, I remember just thinking, people were getting killed left-right and center. And it was like, and even though I've never been there, my skin color, my family, you have some ties, it's hard to explain, and I don't think a lot of second-generation Tamils can explain it....I grew up in [a town just outside of Toronto] and I grew up, and I haven't really been back that much, but imagine a place where you grew up, the people you grew up with, were just getting slaughtered. It's hard to imagine any war-torn country, somebody you're close to—so my family, where they grew up, their houses are getting bombed.

Yuthavan was studying abroad at the time the protests took place in Toronto, but he stated that he was very aware of what was happening, and during this time he found himself seeking out information not only on the protests, but also the conflict in Sri Lanka. While he had never been politically engaged with the homeland, the framing of the ethnic conflict as genocide invited him into sharing in the injustice as experienced by the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Tamils in the homeland being threatened by extension meant that the Tamil identity was being threatened. And although Yuthavan had never

been politically engaged, he could not maintain his distance from the conflict when the violence intensified.

The motivation to participate and become educated about the protests and the ethnic conflict was not only made possible through community organizations and events, such as the ones mentioned above, but also at a more local level through the social networks of the participants. Many participants shared that their primary sources of information were their friends and social media, and it was through these friendships that they became more aware and were mobilized into engaging in homeland politics.

Gagan, a 22 year-old male shared that he grew up in a household where he did not hear a lot about the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. However, when he went to university, he joined the local Tamil Students' Association and began to make friends with other Tamils who were very actively engaged in homeland politics. Through these new connections he became not only more educated, but also became impassioned about educating others:

> Before, I didn't know anything about these things. I had no clue what was going on and then my friends started educating me....So after I got interested, I was like, 'Ok, there's so much going on. Why am I not helping out?'... So then I started helping out and I tried to get other people involved—they didn't know what was going on....It's just like I wanted something to be done back home and like all those issues and at least from our perspectives I can at that time, with my time, and pretty much that's why I wanted to do it.

Gagan did not join the Tamil Students' Association (TSA) because he wanted to learn about homeland politics. He joined because he knew that the membership shared his ethnic identity, which would afford him some foundation upon which to develop new relationships. However, once he joined, he became informed about the situation in Sri Lanka, and he wanted to ensure that something was being "done back home." He

shared an ethnic identity not only with the other diasporic community members who were a part of the TSA, but also with the homelanders in Sri Lanka.

Even individuals who did not have very many Tamil friends or connections found that they were being educated on the situation in Sri Lanka whenever they interacted with those who were Tamil or of Sri Lankan descent. Barath, a 23 year-old male, stated that growing up he was the only Tamil member of his circle of friends. However, as an adult, he was dating a Sri Lankan woman, and through her connections, he became more educated on the situation in Sri Lanka:

> None of my cousins were like activists or anything of that sort in this, whereas my girlfriend's friends were. So kind of through that I did get some exposure. 'Cause my girlfriend is Sri Lankan...and a couple of her really close friends are Tamils and born and raised here but they were very moved by what's going on in Sri Lanka, so they participated in school events and protests and raised money for this. So through that on Facebook I would be exposed to it. Nothing directly related to me, this is kind of third-party. My girlfriend's friends and these are people I don't really interact with at all until someone's birthday or something.

Barath clarified that it was not necessarily intentional on his part to become more exposed to the political tensions in Sri Lanka. He shared that he did not become informed because people were purposefully targeting him, but that he became exposed simply because his social network consisted of individuals who were Tamil and felt passionately about the events taking place in Sri Lanka: "Yeah, no one's calling my phone and being like, 'Hey you coming to that rally today?' It was more I'd be on Facebook and be like 'Hey, they did that thing,' looking at their pictures and that's how I'd be exposed to it."

It is important to note that while many participants expressed that they were informed to some extent on the situation in Sri Lanka because of their friends and other members of their social network, not all participants were equally informed or had

networks that consisted of individuals who felt the need to inform. Maniratnam, a 30 year-old male shared that his group of Tamil friends consisted of individuals who shared a similar perspective as his with respect to homeland politics, and this was a perspective of disengagement:

> I think amongst my close friends I do think it's somewhat of a commonality. We have the same view that we don't really agree with what's happening in Sri Lanka. And at the same time we don't really have any desire to really…push the envelope, because at least for me I feel like there's not much point. I'm not sure about others, but I think we do have a kind of commonality when it comes to...we're not happy with the situation, but it's not something that's a priority for us to deal with on a day to day basis.

Despite Maniratnam's choice to disengage from homeland politics, he is not completely uninformed. As he indicates, he does have an opinion on the situation in the homeland, which is that he disagrees with "what's happening in Sri Lanka." However, he has decided that he would prefer not to participate in forms of activism related to the homeland as he does not feel that it is a "priority" that penetrates his daily life. While Maniratnam is certainly representative of a subpopulation of the second-generation membership, a more significant population felt the need to engage in the homeland, feeling that the "genocide" that was taking placed demanded their attention.

PROTESTING A SHARED IDENTITY

The protests that were held in 2009 demonstrated the extent to which the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora felt compelled to intervene on behalf of the homelanders. Their shared ethnic identity seemed to suggest that they were acting as "representatives" of the Tamils, and had every right to do so. In fact, among the participants of this study, there was a general belief that they were not just responsible for representing the Tamils and raising awareness about the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, but that they had a duty to the

Tamils in Sri Lanka. They spoke of how as people who had managed to escape the war, and lived in the comfort and safety of Canada, they had a responsibility to rescue the Tamils who were continuing to be victimized in the homeland.

Idiya, a 23-year-old female who was born and raised in Canada and had never been to Sri Lanka stated:

> It's just like the whole hostage situation. If one of the hostages is able to leave, the rest of them would expect the guy to help, not just leave and go about his day. I would expect that if I was still back home, like why aren't these people doing anything?

By utilizing the analogy of a hostage situation, Idiya draws a very stark picture of the situation in Sri Lanka. And yet, she has never been there herself, nor does she have any personal experiences of the violence and brutality that is characteristic of warfare. However, she maintains a narrative of the homeland that is infused with victimization—the Tamils in Sri Lanka are being held hostage, and they are afraid for their lives. They are experiencing an injustice. And as a member of the population that managed to *escape* the hostage situation, she and all other diasporic community members have a responsibility to help the other Tamils in Sri Lanka escape, and more importantly, to defuse the hostage situation altogether.

Other participants claimed that it was not about "responsibility" as if it were a duty, but that it was in the nature of the Tamils to assist the homelanders because they had a shared identity. Yuthavan shared this perspective, when he expressed:

> I don't know responsibility, I think they feel like they have a responsibility, and I think they will do it gladly. Because of how—who we are. I mean, when I see Tamil people I don't really know at these soccer meetings, people I don't know at all—I mean, they're very unbelievably welcoming to me. And just in my group—my friends, I do see in my Tamil group of friends just the way they take care of each other. Like, when we go out to eat, everyone pays for everybody else's meal. When I go with my Caucasian or non-Tamil friends, you know,

> we're saying, "Hey, you ordered a salad, seven dollars, here's nine." You know, that's how it is. I think in the same way, when you have those people in, I don't think it's a responsibility, I think they actually feel like they're honored to help those people. It's like, you're Tamil, we'll help you out.

Yuthavan's argument is that in sharing an ethnic identity, there is a sense of community among the Tamils that would motivate them to not only share in the cost of food at dinner because "everyone pays for everybody else's meal", but to also share in the suffering of the homelanders, which means "if you're Tamil, we'll help you out." They are part of the same community, they are all Tamil, and if the Tamils in the homeland require the assistance, the advocacy and the activism of the diaspora, then they are entitled to it.

The majority of the participants had never set foot in Sri Lanka, and yet demonstrated a zealous enthusiasm for homeland politics. Why were they so passionate and how were they able to maintain such intense focus during the multi-month long protests? The protests that took place in Toronto in 2009 drew many members of the diasporic community—both first and second-generation alike. Their reasons for participating varied, and their level of engagement while protesting also varied, but they still contributed towards the number of protesters who were expressing displeasure over the situation in Sri Lanka.

The motivation for participation in the protests was often cited as being about 'community'. Several stated that they wanted to show support for the Tamil community—both in Canada and in Sri Lanka—and that this was their primary reason for attending:

> *Carsha, 23-year-old female*: …people were protesting day and night, and we had friends who had family there and I wanted to support them, like direct family members. Just that solidarity that was on the street, I've never felt that connected

> to the Tamil community. Just to see people coming together regardless of common divisions like caste and geographical location and language…And we got aid as well, that was so huge for me, and so moving that I actually felt part of the community and connected to the Tamil collective, and the Tamil identity.

While political engagement of the second-generation diasporic community was influenced by episodes of crisis, and varied according to the level of intensity of conflict, it was not just community organizations and peers that were instrumental in mobilizing this population. The political engagement of the second-generation population also appeared to be influenced by the perspectives of the first-generation membership of the diasporic community. Considering that the Tamil ethnic identity of the second-generation diasporic community had been passed down to them from their parents, it is not surprising to recognize that the perspectives on these ethnic identities and the homeland may also be passed down to the second-generation membership from the first-generation population.

THE HOMELAND OF THE FIRST-GENERATION

After immigrating to a new cultural context, the first-generation population is very likely to maintain a strong link to their country of origin, and it is not unusual that they would want to pass down their stories of the homeland to their second-generation offspring. However, as often and as ardently as the first-generation may strive to pass down a strong connection to the homeland, the connection that the second-generation population feels to the country of origin is often much more subdued (e.g. Isajiw, 1990). And yet, during the protests of 2009, it was the second-generation faction of the diaspora who appeared to be most present and engaged in organization and mobilization. Their strong commitment to engaging in homeland politics may be explained by the extent to which the experiences of the first-generation and the intensity

of these experiences affected them.

The narrative of injustice is not just about the Tamils in Sri Lanka, and it is not just a narrative of historical injustice—it is also a narrative that captures the experiences of the first-generation parents who were forced to flee their homeland in order to settle elsewhere. Therefore, the strong connection that the second-generation community members expressed towards their homeland was borne not only out of a sense of responsibility for the Tamils who remained in Sri Lanka, but also for those Tamils who had come to Canada as refugees—namely, their parents, grandparents, and other family members.

The first-generation members of the diasporic community personally experienced the injustice in Sri Lanka, and are able to share their stories with the second-generation population, eliciting not just a connection to a distant homeland, but empathy for a *local* family member. While the second-generation community members may not have their own personal experiences of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the stories of their parents and families and friends propelled them into action. Parental viewpoints with respect to the ethnic conflict and the role of the diaspora in homeland politics appear to be influential in shaping the perspectives of the second-generation community members:

> *Indira, female, age 18:* I think it's 'cause of their parents. 'Cause I know—well, I don't know, but—I'm pretty sure if my parents were part of this, they would have wanted to take me with them to the protest. And I would have probably gone if they were like, really part of the whole group, I think I would have gone….My mom's a really big Sai [religious group] devotee and everything, and I know, for a fact, that if she wasn't a Sai devotee…I wouldn't be one either, right? So I think we follow our parents' footsteps. So, like, kind of like that… If my parents went, I would have gone [to the protests].

Indira did not attend the protests, but she explained that if her parents had gone,

if they had taken an interest in the protests, then she *too* would have attended, remarking on the strong parental influence on second-generation engagement in homeland politics. Many participants commented on the strong role that their parents played in influencing their own understanding of the situation in Sri Lanka, and their positionality with respect to the conflict and the narrative of injustice. Participants spoke of how despite the fact that their parents may have migrated years ago—even decades ago—they still continued to maintain strong connections to their homeland. In fact, the sentiment that was most often expressed was that even though the first-generation may have left Sri Lanka years ago, they were *still* members of that community, and had a right to engage in the politics of that country. There appeared to be an understanding among the second-generation population that the personal histories and experiences of the war that the first-generation population still held onto would inhibit them from walking away from political involvement.

> *Pravin, male, age 30:* I think a lot of people are so entrenched—they live in Canada, and they're so entrenched. It's part of their identity, Sri Lanka politics, and they would not back off. They might take a different path, a different approach, but they feel it's their right to be involved in Sri Lankan politics.

There appeared to be an understanding among the second-generation diasporic community that the experiences of the past bound the first-generation to their homeland, and these experiences of injustice were no less true or traumatic than those that may be held by a Tamil person in Sri Lanka. As Bavan, a 21 year-old male shared, it was due to the war that many members of the first-generation fled. If the war had not happened, the first-generation diasporic community and their families may have stayed in Sri Lanka, and as such, they had the right to be invested in homeland politics, and it was unreasonable to expect them to back off from political involvement simply because they

no longer lived in the country.

Second-generation diasporic community members suggested that it was not only the personal injustices that their parents had experienced that motivated such fierce involvement in homeland politics, it was also the belief that they may know *more* about how to intervene because they had experienced the political liberties and freedoms of their countries of settlement, and knew how to best use them to assist those in Sri Lanka.

> *Yuthavan, male, age 28:* So I don't think the generation above us—so my parents—would be able to do that, because they inherently feel tied to there, and they probably also have a superiority complex, having come to a first-world, making money, feeling they're more educated and whatnot. I think that they would feel like they know more, so they would try to intervene. I don't think their goals are that different [from homelanders], so even if they were to intervene, I don't think it would be that bad.

> *Nishanthani, female, age 23:* Because they're very patriotic, which is a really great thing, but I think that they would've felt no that's not right, we should come and be involved, I mean we are Tamil at the end of the day, we have been through this at the end of the day, so we should put in our voice too. So I think a lot of people felt that they understand more how the politics in the world work, so it would've been best to put in their knowledge. Because when you're stuck in this whole situation you're not thinking about the politics of the whole situation, or the whole aspect of really how can we tackle this. But these guys [first-generation diasporic community] are outside the country, they are seeing how the world thinks, seeing how the government thinks, so our knowledge will be really useful for you to use, so you need us.

Both Yuthavan and Nishanthani express the belief that perhaps the very fact that they reside outside of the homeland, in a country that fosters education and political freedom provides not only themselves but their parents with the knowledge and tools they need to intervene in homeland politics.

It certainly appears as if the first-generation membership of the diasporic community influenced the second-generation membership with respect to not only their perspectives on the ethnic conflict and the politics in Sri Lanka, but also their level of

engagement in homeland politics. Also, since participants credited their ability to identify as being Tamil to their parents, as it was the fact that their parents were Tamil that allowed them to claim membership to this group, the narratives of the first-generation certainly carried significant weight in terms of how the second-generation population formed their own narratives of their ethnic identity and their role in homeland politics.

PROTECTING ETHNIC IDENTITY: AN EPISODIC OCCURRENCE

Second-generation diasporic community members engaged actively in homeland politics when the ethnic conflict was framed as "genocide" and when the narrative of injustice was heavily emphasized. While community organizations, social networks and the first-generation diasporic community were all influential in mobilizing the political action of the second-generation community, this engagement was not a permanent one. For participants who were compelled to protest because of the escalation of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, their enthusiasm and commitment to homeland politics was most intense at the height of the protests. Following the defeat of the LTTE and the end of the ethnic conflict, however, their engagement in homeland politics decreased substantially, demonstrating that their level of participation is dependent on episodes of crisis or intensity in the homeland. For example, Gagan, a 22 year-old male, who was previously mentioned because he had become more educated and more active with respect to homeland politics as a result of his social network, stated that his engagement had weaned significantly since the 'ending' of the conflict:

> Now I can't say I do because of work and like studies and stuff, but when I was doing my Bachelor's in university, I did a lot of helping out in a lot of those things—like TSA and stuff like that. And my friends were pretty involved and I was kind of involved as well. But now it's kind of like I'm not too up to date

with it. It's kind of like a year ago this time I was pretty involved and stuff.

Similar to Gagan, Easwari, a 28 year-old female also shared how her engagement had changed over time:

> At the height of it, I was very involved, like attending protests. I wrote countless emails, countless letters. When I say countless, I mean like I was more attentive to that than school at a point. And it was… kind of like when you focus on it and read a lot about it, it really does get into your emotions and it evokes a lot of…so then you feel like you have to. And when you're surrounded by like-minded people, you start believing you have to do this. Right now I find myself not. My dad voluntarily tells me. He keeps me up to date with politics there, but I don't find myself researching like I did before.

Easwari's testimony reveals two important trends in terms of political engagement in the homeland vis-à-vis the protests. One particular trend that was observed was that political engagement appeared to be most intense when the tensions in the homeland escalated to critical points, but subsided when the homeland situation was no longer perceived to be in crisis. This decline in political engagement was also seen in the change of intensity as expressed by community organizations. While the websites for Canadian Tamil Congress, CanadianHART and the University of Toronto Tamil Students' Association all emphasized the genocide and plight of the Tamils in 2009, they no longer do so. In fact, the website for CanadianHART no longer exists, and can only now be accessed partially through various secondary sites, such as the Canadian Peace Alliance (Canadian Peace Alliance, 2009) or through internet archives (refer to Appendix I). The Canadian Tamil Congress has updated its site to focus on current issues within the diaspora, and has moved its focus away from the "genocide", as has the homepage for the Tamil Students' Association at the University of Toronto.

It was not only changes in the mandates of the community organizations that may have contributed to the fluctuating levels of political engagement observed among

the second-generation diasporic community. Decreasing levels of interest or intensity as observed among the first-generation can also explain the intermittent political interest of the second-generation. According to Pooja, 23 year-old female:

> It's interesting—like, on my ride to the station every morning, my dad puts on the [Tamil radio station], so I would be listening to the news with him, and like, we, for some reason, we always get there, right when the news portion is on, so I listen to the news with him, and it's, like, dead silence in the car, 'cause we're listening to the news. And then we would kind of have, like, one or two minutes of discussion after that. But…on a regular—unless something grand, like a big event happens, we don't really talk about it. Only in relation to our family members there.

It appears that the need to engage in homeland politics is often episodic, and related heavily to increased threat in the homeland and to the ethnic identity, or as Pooja describes, "a big event". However, it is important to note that not all participants disengaged from homeland politics following the end of the protests. A few participants spoke of their continued engagement in community organizations, and their continued interest in homeland politics. For these participants, the Tamil ethnic identity was not simply conceptualized as a passive primordial construct, but instead was seen as an active and essential dimension of who they were. Carsha, 23 year-old female, illustrates this point:

> So that's what I think it is. Like reconnecting with your roots, and reclaiming what it means to be Tamil and really finding a community. Those are all reasons for why second-generation Canadians are so involved with what is happening back home.

CONCLUSION

The second-generation membership of the diasporic community identify as being Tamil. They understand this ethnic identity to be a significant part of who they are, and to be something that they inherited—they were born Tamil because their parents were

Tamil. This primordial conceptualization of ethnic identity did not preclude an awareness of certain factors that may enable them to practice their Tamil ethnic identity, including language proficiency and social networks. While most participants were not fluent in the Tamil language, several expressed an interest in wanting to learn and become proficient in the language, citing a desire to be able to communicate with other members of the Tamil community (both in the diaspora and the homeland) who could not speak English.

Participants also demonstrated the practice of their ethnic identity through their social networks, whereby the majority of participants shared that they had Tamil friends. While it is true that many shared that they had formed friendships with other Tamils simply because they grew up in neighbourhoods that were saturated with other Tamils, there were other participants who indicated that they used a more active approach in increasing their Tamil social network. Several participants claimed that they were intentional in forming more Tamil friendships, and even joined Tamil Students' Associations and other Tamil community organizations in an attempt to make connections with people who shared their Tamil ethnic identity. They claimed that it was important for them to have friendships with people who were able to "understand" what it meant to be Tamil and to be immigrants or children of immigrants.

However, while the importance of language and social networks was certainly demonstrated, the *absence* of language skills or Tamil friendships did not disqualify membership into the Tamil ethnic community, thereby further illustrating that ethnic identity was being understood (and practiced) fundamentally as a primordial construct. While participants may have maintained a fairly passive practice of the Tamil ethnic

identity, they demonstrated an active defence of this identity at times of threat and conflict. As such, the second-generation diasporic community became mobilized to act when this ethnic identity was threatened during the ethnic conflict. The framing of the conflict as a 'genocide' heightened the need to act in order to protect the ethnic identity and the homelanders who shared this identity from being eradicated. The perceived injustice that was taking place in Sri Lanka motivated the second-generation diasporic community to become further invested in advocating on behalf of the homelanders.

Their ability to connect to the homeland and demonstrate a strong level of political engagement with the homeland was further influenced by the extent to which their parents were engaged with homeland politics. The intensity with which their parents were engaged with homeland politics was instrumental in determining the extent to which the second-generation population also engaged with homeland politics. However, while participants were mobilized into action with escalating threat to the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity, this political engagement in homeland affairs was episodic. Therefore, as the crisis passed and the threat was destabilized or no longer immediate, the level of political engagement by the second-generation diasporic community also decreased.

This chapter demonstrated that the second-generation diasporic community not only identifies with being Tamil, but they also identify with the homeland. Their primordial connection to the ethnic identity allows them a feeling of shared responsibility to not only the Tamil identity but also to the homelanders who share this identity. However, this responsibility and urgency to protect or defend the shared Tamil ethnic identity manifested most significantly at times of conflict. While the level of

political engagement may decrease significantly when the threat has passed, and the community may once again resume their passive practice of the Tamil ethnic identity, the fact that they *are* likely to engage actively at times of conflict indicates that this community is committed to protecting their ethnic identity from endangerment. This conclusion leads to two lines of query, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

First, while the diasporic community may feel that they share an ethnic identity with the homeland, thus motivating their need to protect the homeland and this shared ethnic identity, do homelanders support this view? Do Tamils in the homeland also feel that they share an ethnic identity with the diasporic community, and do they also feel that the diasporic community has the right to engage in homeland politics? The next chapter explores these questions in more depth.

Secondly, if the diasporic community is likely to mobilize in order to defend their Tamil ethnic identity when they perceive threat, then to what extent would they mobilize against Canada or the Canadian government at times of conflict between the country of settlement and the country of origin? This question is further explored in Chapters Five and Six.

CHAPTER 4: *"WHO ARE WE WITHOUT THE WAR?"* THE HOMELAND AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DIASPORIC COMMUNITY

There is an old saying in Tamil: "*Thamilan endru sollada; thalai nimirnthu nillada*." Its authorship is unknown, but it is a saying that is often adopted by Tamils who wish to express the pride they feel in their ethnic identity. The saying roughly translates to: "*Say that you are Tamil; Stand with your head held high*." It is a saying that is meant to convey that there is nothing to be ashamed of in being Tamil, and that it is, in fact, something that you should be able to announce with pride, "with your head held high." It is a saying that is used by countless Tamils throughout the Tamil speaking world and among the various Tamil diasporic communities. However, what the saying does not define is what it *means* to be Tamil. What does it mean to say that you are Tamil, and are all Tamils proud of the same thing when it comes to this ethnic identity?

The civil war in Sri Lanka was an ethnic conflict—a conflict between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), representing the Tamil ethnic community, and the Sri Lankan government, defending a Sinhalese majority nation. The ethnic conflict, which was significantly responsible for the creation of large Sri Lanka Tamil diasporic community, ended in 2009 after several decades of violence and bloodshed. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community protested during the last months of the ethnic conflict in order to raise awareness about the violence, demonstrating their high level of engagement in homeland politics. Their engagement stemmed from a heightened need to protect their Tamil ethnic identity—an

identity which they believed was under serious threat in the homeland. As the diasporic community believed that they shared an ethnic identity with the homelanders, it became their responsibility to try to intervene on their behalf through political action.

The diasporic community was not only protesting to raise awareness of the ethnic conflict that was taking place in Sri Lanka, they were also protesting for the future of the homeland—their *imagined* future homeland. But how does this imagined homeland fit with the homeland of the Tamils in Sri Lanka now that the war has ended? While the members of the diasporic community demonstrated a solid commitment to their homeland, and as discussed in the previous chapter, had a strong connection to their Tamil identity, they had not lived the ethnic conflict—not in the way that the homelanders had lived the conflict. To what extent, then, does the experience of the ethnic conflict and its end affect the views of the homelanders with respect to the Tamil ethnic identity, and how do these views influence their perceptions of the diasporic community?

This chapter explores these questions in length. Primarily it considers how the end of the ethnic conflict affected the conceptualization of the Tamil ethnic identity among homelanders. Just as the start of the ethnic conflict led to the creation of a diasporic community who envisioned an imagined homeland, this chapter argues that the *end* of the ethnic conflict has led homelanders to envision an imagined homeland as well. In fact, it was found that three different perspectives on the future of the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity currently exist among the homelander population. In addition to views on the future of the Tamil ethnic identity, homelanders were also found to hold varying perspectives on the relationship between the diasporic community

and the homeland. Specifically, this chapter argues that while the majority of homelanders may be interested in maintaining a connection with the diasporic community, there are others who view the diasporic community with suspicion, and who question the loyalties and ties of this population.

THE TAMIL ETHNIC IDENTITY

As previously mentioned, there are many schools of thought with respect to how ethnic identity is defined, and who can claim a right to the identity (see Gurr, 2000; Rex, 2002). Primordialists argue a biological and ancestral connection to ethnic identity, while instrumentalists argue that it is a connection based on need or purpose. Constructivists suggest that the right to claim the identity is based on one's interaction with the social world and how identity becomes socially constructed. Whatever definition may be used, the ethnic identity in question is not believed to be a static concept, unmoving in time and space. As the parameters of identity change, so do the contours that make up this identity (see Chuang, 2004).

One way in which the parameters of an identity may shift is through migration. When a subset of a population migrates away from the primary context in which the ethnic identity is being developed and maintained, the manner in which the subset population may define the ethnic identity can be very different from how it is defined by the remaining population. The subset population's ethnic identity alters as a result of its interaction with the new context post-immigration, while also maintaining a recollection of the ethnic identity of the primary context prior to immigration (Dorais, 2010). In essence, this subset population can form a diasporic community—a community that physically inhabits space in a new country of settlement while also figuratively

inhabiting space in the country of origin (Carter, 2005). Please refer to Chapter 1 for a more in-depth discussion of diasporic communities.

Therefore, among diasporic populations—the subset populations that have migrated away from the primary population, or the homeland—there is often a collective memory of the homeland as it was prior to their emigrating, and a desire to maintain the ethnic identity of this homeland as it used to be. Among the members of the diasporic population, there is often a sense of nostalgia and romanticism that is associated with the ethnic identity of recollection (Cohen, 1997). As such, any threat that is perceived to endanger this homeland and homeland ethnic identity is taken seriously, stimulating the political action that is required to protect the homeland and the homeland ethnic identity (Skrbis, 1999). A history of threat, injustice or victimization has also been found to play a powerful role in how diasporic communities maintain their memories and their connections to not only their homelands, but also their ethnic identities (Cohen, 1996; Fuglerud, 1999).

In fact, the experience of ethnic conflict and the memory of the violence associated with such conflict can be powerful factors in the narratives that diasporic communities carry about their homelands. In a study done by Oppenheimer and Hakvoort (2003) examining the memories of WWII several generations later, the researchers found that children as young as age 8 already held strong perspectives on the war that had happened decades prior to their births. The authors conclude that community members were tapping into a "collective memory" of the events that went beyond any personal memories they may have. The authors assert that "the past does

not yet belong to the past and apparently the Germans have not yet been forgiven" (p. 103).

The members of the diasporic community who took part in this study did not live in Sri Lanka during the time of the ethnic conflict. (See Appendix A for Map of Sri Lanka.) Although some of them were born in Sri Lanka, they all immigrated to Canada by the age of seven. As such, for the majority of their lives, if not *the entirety* of their lives, they have not directly experienced the ethnic conflict. It was, in fact, the onset of the ethnic conflict that was the cause for much of the migration out of Sri Lanka. The majority of the second-generation diasporic community members who participated in this study expressed that their families had initially arrived in Canada as refugees—having left Sri Lanka as a result of the conflict. Therefore, inevitably, a cleavage forms within the Sri Lankan Tamil community: those who stayed and experienced the ethnic conflict (homelanders), and those who migrated out as a result of the ethnic conflict (diasporic community).

While the *onset* of the ethnic conflict may have introduced a cleavage in the ethnic identity of the Tamil population, the results of this study demonstrate that the *end* of the ethnic conflict also created cleavages—specifically among the homelander population. These cleavages further demonstrate the dynamic nature of ethnic identity, and how when it is faced with a dramatic situational rupture, such as civil war, it will have an intense effect on the future direction of the ethnic identity. This chapter examines the effect of the end of the ethnic conflict on the Tamil identity in the homeland, and further explores the relationship between the homeland and diasporic

population, and the implications of this relationship on the future of the Tamil ethnic identity.

Kimura (2003) examined how memories of violence and massacre affects the narratives that groups develop with respect to their collective identities. Kimura concludes that when minority groups wish to distinguish themselves from the dominant group, they will be more intentional in remembering the violence through a lens in which they are "victims" who were "attacked" by another (often dominant) group. In constructing a narrative in which there are clear delineations that are drawn between groups, a strong collective identity that is separate from the dominant group can develop. However, when the minority group is not interested in developing a separate collective identity and prefers to assimilate into the dominant group, then the memory of the events shift to be more congruent with the narrative as constructed by the dominant group. They too become a part of the narrative, and it is now a separate faction that becomes the "attacker". Kimura's study demonstrates the complexity and ambiguity of the relationship between memory and collective identity. The intentions of the group may drive how they recall a particular event, and how they recall this event then determines how they construct their collective identity.

Among the homelander population, the experience of the ethnic conflict and the implications of the end of this conflict were not uniform. In fact, three different conceptualizations of the conflict and its end were shared. Each narrative demonstrated not only a different conceptualization of the ethnic conflict itself, but also of the Tamil ethnic identity, and the future of this group in Sri Lanka. One perspective was that the end of the ethnic conflict led to a *loss* in the fundamental tenets of the Tamil ethnic

identity. A second perspective equated ethnic conflict with ethnic identity. This second perspective considered the promotion of a distinct Tamil ethnic identity to be a dangerous gateway to conflict and violence. The third perspective was that the end of the ethnic conflict meant that the Tamil ethnic identity could move forward in a more cosmopolitan and less traditional direction.

Focus on the Past: Regret over the Loss of an Identity

The Sri Lankan ethnic conflict was a war that was waged between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Whether or not one agreed with the visions and aspirations of the LTTE, this insurgency group had a very strong impact on the Tamil ethnic identity during the ethnic conflict. Therefore, it is not surprising that their defeat in 2009 *also* had an impact on the Tamil ethnic identity. Among a subpopulation of the homelanders, the end of the ethnic conflict was seen as a *loss* of the Tamil identity. This population looked to the past, and how the ethnic identity was maintained during the reign of the LTTE, and they felt regret that with the end of the conflict, there also appeared to be an *end* to the traditional Tamil ethnic identity.

Homelanders who focused on the past argued that since the end of the ethnic conflict, the values that were once considered integral to the Tamil ethnic identity were no longer being held. They argued that traditions and modesty were key components to the Tamil culture, and that the LTTE ensured that these values were being kept. However, with their defeat, the Tamil population had let go of these values and were heading in a very dangerous direction. These homelanders expressed dismay over the

westernization and "modernization" of the Tamil ethnic identity, and were distraught over the loss of tradition.

These homelanders had a clear image of what it meant to be Tamil, and they argued that this Tamil ethnic identity was shifting in an unwelcomed direction. This direction was often one that appeared to be looking towards the west and towards modernization; a direction in which the traditional values and beliefs of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka were being replaced by values that were seen as being much too "modern" and corrupt. They also noted that if Tamils kept going in this direction they would become more and more superficial, focusing on technology and fashion, rather than family and culture.

As Rasathi, a 22-year-old female in Jaffna bemoaned:

> Before, we would respect our parents and not speak back to them. But now, it's all changed. Now we give more importance to money…We want to show that we are also big, and so we will lie and lie…Now, we think, 'I want to wear jeans, and have a cell phone, and drive a motor bike.' …. Even the way we dress has changed. Before, going to the temple meant wearing a sari or a full skirt. But now, even for the temple, they're wearing jeans or a short skirt, or sleeveless blouses.

Rasathi told me this while we sat on a veranda in a village in Jaffna. She was dressed in a *salwar kameez*, which is a traditional outfit for women, but is not a 'sari or a full skirt.' She had her hair in a long single braid down her back, and had a *pottu* (or bindi) on her forehead. She was very articulate, and was pursuing a medical degree, and had a great understanding of the political situation in Sri Lanka and its history. For her, one of the most disappointing consequences of the end of the ethnic conflict was that the Tamil population appeared to be in a state of flux, and instead of clinging to their

traditional ethnic and cultural identity, they instead appeared to be adopting the values of the western world.

Rasathi's lamentation about the *loss* of culture among the Tamil population in Sri Lanka suggests that there was a model of the Tamil culture and identity to begin with, and it was this model that was upheld during the ethnic conflict, when the LTTE was at the helm. However, it appears as if without the LTTE to reinforce this model of the Tamil ethnic identity, not all homelanders were able or *willing* to maintain this definition of the Tamil identity, indicating the presence of a dramatic cleavage among the homelanders. Umakanth, a 25 year-old male in Colombo states that this difference in the Tamil ethnic identity can be observed between regions in Sri Lanka, particularly comparing Colombo with Jaffna. He argues that while Jaffna has managed to maintain some of the traditions and values that are integral to the Tamil identity, this is not the case in Colombo:

> There is a difference between the lifestyles in Jaffna and Colombo….In Colombo, it is mostly modern, but in Jaffna…they still have managed to maintain the traditional values and practices…there is some more modernity there now, but overall, there is more tradition.

This cleavage not only demonstrates a difference among homelanders with respect to ethnic identity, but also indicates a difference with respect to the view of the ethnic conflict. Those homelanders who held a perspective in which there was a feeling of regret over the loss of identity appeared to have a much more *romanticized* perspective of the ethnic conflict than other homelanders. A romanticized perspective does not mean that these homelanders advocated violence or even supported the LTTE in their war against the Sri Lankan government; but rather is indicative of their feelings of support for the *traditions* that were practiced during the time of the ethnic conflict.

Therefore, with the end of the ethnic conflict, and the defeat of the LTTE, and in observing the changes to the practice of the Tamil ethnic identity, these homelanders began to feel nostalgia for the time of the conflict and the Tamil ethnic identity of the past. Just as there is nostalgia among the members of the diasporic community for the homeland that used to be, there seems to be a similar sentiment of nostalgia among some of the homelanders for the homeland that used to be.

FOCUS ON THE PRESENT: SURVIVAL OVER IDENTITY

While homelanders like Rasathi were focused on the past and were distraught over the loss of the Tamil ethnic identity, other homelanders were much more focused on the present, and felt that it was not helpful to focus on the Tamil ethnic identity. These homelanders were relieved with the end of the conflict, and wanted to ensure that they would avoid experiencing such violence and turmoil in the future.

When asked about the future of the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of the Tamils in the homeland, participants who held a perspective of survival over identity were unable to imagine any kind of future. They were much more focused on the present, and surviving the everyday experiences of living in a country that had just arisen from a multi-decade long civil war. They could not describe what the future would look like because they could not imagine that there *would* be a future. Several participants argued that it was important to keep their heads down, and to simply walk forward without looking up. They were terrified about the idea of moving back into the time of violence, death and conflict, and wanted to ensure there was no movement in that direction. As Ram, a 20-year-old male in Colombo stated: "Let's just keep things as is…and try not to look for any problems…Let's not go back to how things

were…Let's stay like this now." He was one of many participants focused on survival rather than any kind of political engagement.

Homelanders who were focused on the present were unable to articulate any kind of shared ethnic identity. It was as if the ethnic conflict and the fact that it appeared to have emerged as a *result* of ethnic identity had taught them that identifying as Tamils and developing a shared identity was dangerous and would lead them back to a position in which ethnic conflict would once again be possible. This was not a desirable outcome, and in fact, was one that was to be avoided at all costs. These homelanders were much more focused on themselves and their families than on the larger Tamil population, and simply wanted to ensure that their basic needs were being met. Simbu, a 21-year-old year-old male in Jaffna demonstrated this viewpoint when he said that, "All I want is for people now to finally live happily…to have a job and to be able to take care of their families…"

While those who held a perspective of the present argued against the promotion of a strongly shared Tamil ethnic identity, it is important to note that this does not mean that they did not identify as being Tamil or that they did not practice the cultural elements of their Tamil identity. However, while they may have identified as being Tamil, they were opposed to establishing a model for this Tamil ethnic identity, and were frightened of what would happen if homelanders were to come together and openly advocate or fight for such a model. For these homelanders, the open advocacy of shared ethnic identity meant the creation of space for ethnic conflict—something to be avoided at all costs if they wanted to survive.

FOCUS ON THE FUTURE: TECHNOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT AND THE WEST

Homelanders who focused on the past felt that the end of the ethnic conflict meant the end of the Tamil ethnic identity as it should be, and were focused on trying to reintroduce this model of identity back to the homelanders. Homelanders who were focused on the present felt that any focus on Tamil ethnic identity would open the door to another ethnic conflict, and were opposed to this. They, therefore, were much more focused on *survival* than in forging any kind of unified Tamil ethnic identity, and were relieved with the end of the ethnic conflict. However, there was a third group of homelanders who were not past or present focused, but instead looked to the future, and had a very clear vision for the Tamil ethnic identity.

These homelanders argued the importance of building a strong Tamil identity by building a future in which the Tamil population could prosper. These homelanders argued that prior to the ethnic conflict, Jaffna Town, the capital of Jaffna, was the heart of the Tamil population, and if it had not been for the ethnic conflict, this would have developed into a large metropolis—one to rival the likes of Colombo. However, the war essentially stalled the development of this northern 'city', and now that the war had ended, it was vital that the Tamil population worked together to rebuild what was lost, and to move forward along the trajectory that they *would* have moved in if it had not been for the conflict. In essence, the ethnic conflict was seen as an *interruption* to the Tamil ethnic identity that would have naturally emerged over time, and homelanders who held a perspective of the future argued that with the end of the ethnic conflict, it was time to continue the trajectory that had simply been interrupted. The end of the

ethnic conflict meant continuing down the path to forging the Tamil ethnic identity that would have developed if there had never been a war.

Homelanders who felt it was important to rebuild used Jaffna as the symbolic representation of this new growth, but also further stated that the development of the Tamil people meant showing that Tamils throughout the island were focusing their attention on moving forward and demonstrating the strengthening of their group. Annanth, a 23-year-old year-old male in Colombo felt that it was important for the Tamil population to shed their village mentality, and instead adopt a new modern, cosmopolitan identity:

> We shouldn't just stay in Jaffna, but move all over the country…Because of all of these problems—if you look, you can see—all the other regions of Sri Lanka have developed, but Jaffna has stayed the same…People are focusing on the [political] problems instead of thinking of how to improve Jaffna…We need to focus on development…We need to show we're capable of standing on our own two feet.

While Rasathi focused on the loss of Tamil identity at the level of daily cultural practices, Annanth argues that it is not prudent to stay at a local level of identity, but instead advocates the adoption of a Tamil identity that is centred on development and prosperity. Interestingly, the very modernization that Rasathi sees as a threat to Tamil identity is what Annanth argues is needed for the Tamil people. However, Annanth's argument emphasizes that it is not enough for individuals in Jaffna to have cell phones, but that if they move throughout the country and become more technologically advanced, then would be able to demonstrate the intelligence, capability and innovation of a people that possessed all of these traits prior to the onset of the ethnic conflict. Annanth's argument is about *regaining* an identity that had been overshadowed by the need to survive during the war, but which can now once again come back to the surface.

MULTIPLE IMAGINED HOMELANDS

The presence of these three diverging perspectives on the Tamil ethnic identity as influenced by the end of the ethnic conflict in the homeland raises questions with respect to the diasporic community. As shown in the previous chapter, the diasporic community has been very actively engaged in homeland politics, particularly during the last stages of the ethnic conflict. Their rationale for homeland political engagement was cited primarily as a feeling of connection to the homeland based on a shared ethnic identity, and a desire to protect the homeland from a threat to this identity. But what ethnic identity are they connecting to? And what ethnic identity are they trying to protect?

The previous section demonstrated that homelanders have very particular ideas about the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of the homeland. However, they are not unaware of the diasporic community, and the political actions of Tamils who live outside of the country of origin. While some homelanders believed that the diasporic community had the right to engage in homeland politics because of a shared ethnic identity, not all homelanders shared this perspective. In this next section, the perspectives of the homelanders with respect to diasporic political engagement are considered.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF CONNECTION

The majority of homelanders who were interviewed articulated a need for the diasporic community to continue to maintain a connection with the homeland. Homelanders who held this perspective stated that the diaspora had a relationship with the homeland despite immigration, and on many levels, this relationship was encouraged

because of immigration. As participants who held this perspective stated, the diasporic community played an integral role in not only advocating for the homelanders, but also in helping to sustain them, particularly through financial support.

With respect to advocacy, participants who held this perspective of connection argued that they were without a voice in the homeland, and were unable to speak freely or fearlessly for themselves. They not only wanted, but needed, the diasporic community to speak for them—literally becoming their spokesmen and spokeswomen. A common sentiment that was expressed was that if the diasporic community refrained from advocating on their behalf, then they would be placing homelanders in an endangered position in Sri Lanka.

As Dharma, a 25 year-old female from Colombo stated:

> Only if they [Tamils living abroad] give voice, will they respect us here... People will think that even those who left to go abroad haven't forgotten and continue to give voice to their homeland, and they [the Sri Lankan government] will think that we can't shake them, and we have to respect the Tamils who live here...

Dharma argues that it is through the active efforts of the diasporic community who continue to put pressure on the Sri Lankan government to ensure that the rights and liberties of the Tamil population are being met and protected, that the homelanders are able to enjoy any semblance of respect. Dharma's perspective suggests that there is a causal relationship between diasporic engagement in homeland politics, and the level of comfort and safety that is experienced by homelanders. As such, if the diasporic community were to disengage, it would not bode well for the homelanders, and would perhaps place them in a very vulnerable position with the Sri Lankan government.

The level of engagement of the diasporic community is not only appreciated by homelanders who subscribe to a perspective of connection because it protects them to a

certain extent from the Sri Lankan government, it is also appreciated because it ensures that the story of the Tamils in Sri Lanka is not lost or forgotten. Many participants spoke of how they were not only unable to speak without fear in Sri Lanka, but that they did not have the means to share their stories with the world. There was a sense of appreciation that in having the diasporic community so actively engaged with what was happening in Sri Lanka, the injustice and victimization that had been experienced by homelanders would not be lost over time.

Dilani, a 20 year-old female from Batticaloa shared:

> It shows that even if they [the diaspora] left Sri Lanka, they still struggle for us Tamils here….It's enough that they even protested for us [in 2009] because it shows they still care. We can't really expect any more since it could cause problems for them there.

Dilani's testimony demonstrates that the connection is not one directional from the diasporic community to the homeland. While she acknowledges her appreciation for the diasporic community's engagement in homeland politics, she also demonstrates that the connection is bi-directional, and that homelanders are also aware of the challenges experienced by the diasporic community. As such, while there may be an expectation for the diasporic community to engage in homeland politics, the homelanders also acknowledge that there may be certain constraints that dictate the extent to which the diasporic community may be able to intervene on their behalf.

Much of the confidence that homelanders had in the diasporic community was also strongly influenced by their perceptions of the lives that diasporic community members led in their countries of settlement. In fact, it was often expressed that the diaspora had more access to resources and led more privileged lives, and that one way that they can demonstrate their connection was to invest in the homeland. Several

participants stated that they were at least in part being financially supported through the remittances they were receiving from family that lived elsewhere, and spoke of the importance of being to provide for those who had been severely affected by the war.

Jainthi, a 23 year-old female in Jaffna, when asked about what the diasporic community could be doing for the homeland, spoke of the importance of financial support:

> For those who are suffering, they could at least try to ensure that everyone has at least one meal a day. Not everyone living here has the means, or has the means to help others. If those living abroad send even a little bit of their money, it is so much money for us here….There are those who still don't have homes even, and if money could be sent to help them, that would be so helpful.

In addition to remittances to family members, participants argued that the diasporic community could demonstrate their continued connection to the homeland by contributing financially towards the development and improvement of the infrastructure of the Tamils in the homeland. Participants stated that many individuals had lost their homes during the conflict, and that many businesses had also been destroyed. They argued that if the diasporic community invested in the homeland by building homes and developing business opportunities, they would be assisting in ameliorating the lives of those who had lost 'everything' in the multi-decade long conflict.

While homelanders appreciated the connection that the diasporic community felt for the homeland, they were not necessarily surprised by it. There was often an expectation that the diaspora would engage with the homeland, and would continue to maintain a connection with their country of origin. Much of this expectation had to do with the ways in which they constructed the Tamil ethnic identity, and how they determined who belonged to this group and who did not. Homelanders with a

perspective of connection often stated that even if members of the diasporic community had not been born in Sri Lanka, they were *still* Tamil because it was the country of their parents and the country and identity of their ancestors. These homelanders argued that the Tamil identity would persist through the generations and beyond borders, and was not dictated by place of birth. If their parents were Tamil, they were Tamil; if their grandparents were Tamil, they were Tamil. The members of the diasporic community would always be able to claim a connection with the homeland as long as their ancestral roots were buried in the homeland.

Therefore, even if the diasporic community members were unable to speak the language, they would not lose their right to claim a membership within this group. Binthu, a 29 year-old woman in Batticaloa argued that "even if they can't speak Tamil, if they follow the culture and traditions, then they can say they are Tamil. They can't say they're white just because they live abroad. If you're Tamil, then you're Tamil." Along with the right to claim a connection with the homeland, homelanders also expressed that the members of the diasporic community had a responsibility to connect with the homeland. This responsibility could play out in any number of ways, including financial support through remittances and political engagement. Homelander participants suggested that the members of the diasporic community would connect to the homeland because they felt the call of their shared Tamil identity, and understood that they had a responsibility to protect and defend their Tamil brethren.

As Victor, a 29 year-old male in Jaffna stated: "A true Tamilan is someone who stands up for the injustices that Tamils face...There has to be a feeling that you are Tamil, you need to feel for those who suffer, and advocate on their behalf." This

perspective of connection suggests that in belonging to the same group, in being Tamil, one should be able to feel the pain of one's community, and one should advocate on behalf of this community. In a sense, this perspective is very reminiscent of the charge of 'All for one, and one for all.' The diasporic community is a part of the whole—a part of the homeland—and their physical distance does not excuse them from their responsibilities.

Christina, a 29-year-old woman from Batticaloa shared that when the LTTE was still functioning, they were able to speak for the Tamils, but with their collapse, the weight of responsibility falls on the shoulders of the diasporic community: "There is no one to talk for us now. There used to be someone, Prabhakaran [the leader of the LTTE], but they have killed him. So there is no one left now, and so, we need the Tamils living abroad to speak for us." She declared that many Tamils were still suffering since the tsunami that hit Sri Lanka in 2004, as well as the end of the ethnic conflict in 2009, and that there were only two ways in which homelanders could be helped: "There are so many people who are still homeless and who are struggling…In order to help them either God has to open his eyes or the Tamils living abroad have to do something to help."

Christina's testimony of the experiences of the homelanders is one in which the death of Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, had left a vacancy for the position of defender, protector and spokesperson for the Tamils living in Sri Lanka. Essentially, she states that there is no alternative for the diasporic community but God to ensuring the protection of the homelanders. Therefore, if the diasporic community were to

disengage, then they would ultimately be leaving the Tamils in the homeland to their fates, as there was no one who could possibly intervene and "save" them.

The homelanders who held a perspective of connection identified strongly as being Tamil. They wanted to ensure that this ethnic identity remained resilient, and in including the diasporic community they were able to ensure that the identity would not cease to exist if anything were to happen to the Tamils in the homeland. In a way, in supporting diasporic engagement in homeland politics, homelanders who held a perspective of connection were acting out of a primary drive to protect the Tamil identity—through whatever means necessary.

The perspective of connection was more likely to be held by those who had a strong vision of a shared ethnic identity. These include homelanders who wanted to maintain a more traditional Tamil ethnic identity—as those homelanders who held a view of the past—and homelanders who wanted to maintain a more modern Tamil ethnic identity—as the homelanders who held a view of the future. From both of these perspectives, the diasporic population could be used as a mechanism to help move the agenda of the homelanders and the model of the Tamil ethnic identity forward.

> Despite everything, there are few Tamils here. We make up only a small percentage. At least because some of us left [to go abroad], then we are able to have at least some financial support and some respect. If they hadn't left then Jaffna would have remained like some small village, but now at least some of us can study and develop, and come and live in Colombo, for example. [Parthipan, 23 year-old male in Colombo]

Parthipan argues that the diasporic community has enabled the homelanders to develop and to live with at least "some respect". If there was no connection between the homeland and the diasporic community, then according to Parthipan, Jaffna would not have been able to develop, and would have remained "like some small village."

However, depending on the homeland that was being imagined, the strength of connection of the diasporic community to the homeland could be viewed as either beneficial or corruptive. For example, while homelanders who advocated moving towards a more "modernized" future may have appreciated the remittances that were being sent by the diasporic community that allowed homelanders to become more exposed to technology, other homelanders saw these expenditures as being wasteful and as moving the community away from tradition. Therefore, the diasporic community was actually connecting in a way that was moving the homeland *away* from the homeland that was being imagined by some homelanders, while moving them *toward* the imagined homeland of other Tamils in Sri Lanka.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF DISCONNECT

Homelanders who held a perspective of connection articulated the importance of action and advocacy by the diasporic community, and were able to explain why they as homelanders were not necessarily able to be active. However, not all homelanders shared this perspective. There were a few homelanders who held a perspective of disconnect, in which they ultimately argued that there was no real point in the diasporic community connecting with the homeland. The perspective of disconnect is one in which homelanders did not appear to care about the political engagement of the diasporic population, arguing that this engagement did not make much of a difference in their lives. Participants expressed that diasporic engagement in homeland politics was essentially ineffective and not useful, as it did not alter their everyday lives in any significant way.

Gagan, an 18 year-old male spoke with scepticism about the political engagement of the diasporic community. He argued that while they may be active, this form of activity was inconsequential, and that if they had *stayed* in the country of origin, then the war would have had a completely different ending. Gagan argued that there would have been power in numbers, and this would have potentially led to a victory for the homelanders:

> I believe it…if Tamils had stayed and united, then a different ending would have occurred [to the conflict]…If they had stayed, it would have led to a strength, and this would have led to a victory. I believe this….When trying to engage from another land, it just won't be as effective…as powerful…it won't be as strong as if they did it from here….From here, there could have been a victory.

Gagan acknowledges that the diasporic community is engaged in homeland politics, but ultimately he argues that this engagement is ineffective. He also implies that the war would not have ended in defeat if the members of the diasporic community had simply stayed in the homeland—an argument that appears to implicitly *blame* the diasporic community for the ultimate resolution of the conflict. The perspective of disconnect however, was not just about the lack of efficacy in terms of the efforts shown by the diasporic community, it was also a perspective in which the overarching sentiment seemed to be that efforts really did not matter—not just on the part of the diaspora, but also on the part of the homelanders.

Gagan proceeds to declare that the time of believing that Tamils will have equal rights and independence in Sri Lanka is past:

> I don't believe it…After all these problems have passed, we will have to continue living with oppression….The time has passed. There is no point in talking about it anymore. Maybe back in the day, if we had been able to work together, something could have happened…But now there is no point in talking about it…We just have to get used to living with oppression…That kind of opportunity we had before won't come again….The time of freedom has

> passed….Really, we only ever had freedom for such a short period of time…And now, there is no chance of it ever happening again…

Gagan says quite simply that "the time of freedom has passed." There is no longer any point in dreaming about freedom, and it is just time to move to acceptance. Homelanders like Gagan were those who were primarily present-focused in terms of the homeland, and advocated survival over identity. Therefore, considering that they found the open advocacy of a shared Tamil ethnic identity to be dangerous because it could lead to another ethnic conflict, they were not supportive of any political action on the part of the diasporic community. They were vehemently opposed to the members of the diasporic community drawing attention to the Tamil identity and the homeland, and expressed that they favoured the diaspora ceasing all political action, especially as there was no reason to protest, since there was no proposed model for a shared Tamil ethnic identity.

The lack of a need to advocate for a distinct Tamil identity among the homelanders who held a perspective of disconnect meant that there was no real reason for the diasporic community to engage in homeland politics. The fact that the diasporic community might identify as being Tamil meant nothing, as this identity was no longer a reason to connect for the homelanders—and in fact, was seen as a reason to *avoid* connecting. Therefore, among homelanders who held a perspective of disconnect, not only were the actions of the diaspora unnecessary, but they were also unwarranted—the Tamils who lived abroad were a different group altogether, and they had no connection to the Tamils in the homeland. Homelanders went so far as to claim that Tamils in the homeland also had no connection to one another—there was no longer a common Tamil

banner in the homeland—every Tamil homelander stood on their own, as far apart from one another as possible, so as not to draw attention to themselves.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF SUSPICION

In addition to a perspective of connection, and one of disconnect, there is a third perspective: A perspective of suspicion. This viewpoint questioned the motivation of the diasporic community in engaging in homeland politics, while also questioning whether the diasporic community can stake a claim to a shared ethnic identity.

The perspective of suspicion was by no means the most commonly held perspective among homelanders. However, it was one that was shared among homelanders across all three regions, and one that certainly raised significant concerns regarding the strength of the diaspora-homeland relationship. Among participants who held a perspective of suspicion, one common question that was voiced was around *why* the diasporic community was so keen to participate in homeland politics. Part of the interview consisted of questions in which homelanders were asked their opinions on the diasporic drive to 'help'. These questions elicited a strong response.

Participants argued that diasporic community members were not intervening in homeland politics because they were primarily driven by the need to help homelanders. They claimed that the diasporic community engaged in homeland politics because it was most helpful to *them* to do so. Homelanders contended that many members of the diasporic community had fled Sri Lanka as refugees and that in order to meet the criteria of 'refugee', one needed to demonstrate that they were being persecuted or were being endangered in some way. As such, those members of the diasporic community who were claiming to be 'refugees' had a stake in ensuring that the situation in Sri Lanka

continued to be seen as a humanitarian issue and considered through the lens of discrimination, violence and persecution. Participants claimed that if Sri Lanka were to be seen as a peaceful nation, then this would not serve the interests of the diasporic community, and that those who were claiming to be 'refugees' would no longer be able to hold onto the claim—and would therefore, have to return to Sri Lanka. Homelanders suggested that these members of the diasporic community actually *desired* conflict in Sri Lanka, and only engaged in homeland politics in order to ensure that the civil war continued.

Indrakumari, a 20-year-old woman in Jaffna stated:

> Only by saying there are problems here, can they stay there [abroad]. If there were no problems here and everything was smooth here, then those governments would send those refugees back, right? Because of that reason the Tamils there are saying that there are problems here, and protesting about it. They want to show how they had to flee such a dangerous place, and draw attention to the struggles they've experienced….But honestly, it's not nearly as bad here as they are protesting….Yes, it *used* to be that bad, but it's not that bad anymore.

It is a perspective that directly opposes the perspective that is being offered by the members of the diasporic community who engage in homeland politics. Those diasporic community members claimed (as described in the previous chapter) that they were intervening in homeland politics because they felt a responsibility to help homelanders, and to protect and defend them from the dangers that they were facing in Sri Lanka. However, this explanation is not believed by homelanders with a perspective of suspicion. These homelanders argue that by engaging in homeland politics, the diasporic community actually *further* endangers the homeland population.

Participants used the example of the diasporic community in England who blocked President Mahinda Rajapaksa from speaking at Oxford University to illustrate

their point (BBC, 2010). They said that while the diasporic community members may have felt that that they were looking out for the homelanders, they did not in fact take time to consider the consequences of their actions on the homelanders themselves. Participants claimed that this incident was a source of embarrassment for the Sri Lankan president, and that it further alienated the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, who were believed to have encouraged the actions of the diaspora.

Furthermore, homelanders expressed that in antagonizing the Sri Lankan State, the diasporic community was not helping homelanders because their actions were seen as an act *against* Sri Lanka, which meant that they would not be welcomed freely into Sri Lanka. Homelanders argued that if the diasporic community really wanted to help the homelanders, they would not provoke the Sri Lankan government, and instead would try to appease them so that they would work on behalf of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Instead, by making the decision to embarrass the Sri Lankan government, the diasporic community was providing Sri Lankans with justification to suspect the Tamil population and further discriminate homelanders. As Raguvaran, a 23-year-old male in Batticaloa stated in response to how he perceived the actions of the diaspora towards President Rajapaksa, "Telling someone who was invited to leave is not something we do in the Tamil culture." Raguvaran argued that boycotting the President was an ineffective approach, as it did not actually help the President understand *why* the Tamils were so upset, and only further alienated the Tamils. This perspective of suspicion held by homelanders not only questions the motives of the diasporic community, but even speculates that the diasporic community is doing more harm than good for the homelander population.

Homelanders who held the perspective of suspicion further justified their viewpoint by questioning just how educated diasporic community members were about the state of affairs in Sri Lanka. They claimed that while an ethnic conflict *did* ravage the island for decades, the island and its population were not frozen in time during this period. Homelanders stated that although Tamils living abroad felt as if they have the right to intervene, they did not have all the facts and figures, and could not possibly understand what it was like for the Tamils who *lived* the war. As Raguvaran, a 23-year-old male stated:

> A person has the right to talk for another person if they need it. And a Tamilan certainly has the right to talk for another Tamilan if needed. But the important thing is that they know the truth about what they're talking about here. For example, when you're playing cricket, only the players know the tensions of the game. As an audience you can encourage them and cheer for them, and think you're on the same team, but you won't know the tensions of the game the same way the players on the ground will.

By using the cricket analogy, Raguvaran draws attention to the fact that the diasporic community members never actually played the game, and as much and as *loudly* as they may cheer or jeer from the sidelines, they are only able to understand the game from a surface level, and are unable to fully fathom the intricacies of the game as being played by the players themselves.

The lack of knowledge of what is happening on the ground in Sri Lanka is further complicated by the news sources that are made available to the diasporic community. Many homelanders expressed scepticism regarding how the news in Sri Lanka was being covered by the media, and claimed that the news was at best incomplete, and at worst, completely inaccurate. As Binthu, a 29-year-old woman in Batticaloa stated rather pragmatically: "You cannot say that everything in the media is

true, but similarly you cannot say that everything in the media is false, as well." Jegathisan, a 27-year-old male was more vocal in his scepticism about news coverage, claiming:

> They [the diaspora] only know what's happening here through the news. They are not coming here and seeing what is happening on the ground. Therefore, they cannot say that they know what is happening here. Even the news you can't trust because it is often twisted. Even those of us who live here don't fully know what's happening, so how can they say that they know?

As revealed through the interviews conducted with participants from the three regions of Sri Lanka, their experiences of the conflict and the aftermath vary. While many spoke of the horrors of the war and the tragedies they have experienced, others spoke of how while things have been bad, they have not been consistently horrific, and that the situation in Sri Lanka continues to evolve. In considering that these perspectives may *not* be taken into consideration in the development of a 'homeland image' by diasporic community members, it is not surprising that some homelanders are suspicious of the diasporic community, and wonder whether the diasporic community actually relates to an *imagined* homeland—one that is not in fact based on the ground reality of the Tamils in the homeland.

Furthermore, these homelanders also argued that while the diasporic community seemed interested in engaging in homeland politics, they did so from the safety of their countries of settlement, and argued that this form of long-distance engagement was essentially ineffective. Homelanders questioned why these diasporic community members were not coming to Sri Lanka, and were not engaging from the "ground" level. Homelanders argued that while diasporic community members may stage protests in their countries of settlement, these countries were not necessarily the ones that would

have any significant input into the future direction of Sri Lanka. By protesting in their countries of settlement, the diasporic community were not doing anything that would alter the future of Sri Lanka. In fact, protesting in their countries of settlement that there was a 'genocide' taking place in Sri Lanka was seen as evidence by these homelanders that the diasporic community was simply trying to justify that they continued to merit the status of refugees and asylum seekers.

Homelanders who held the perspective of suspicion were also outraged at the idea that diasporic community members could dictate the future of people in a country that they no longer lived in, and that they had (for the most part) never been to. As Lakshman, a 19 year-old male in Colombo emphatically stated:

> If you are living abroad as an international student, and plan to return to Sri Lanka to work, then yes, you have every right to protest, 100 per cent. But if you do not plan on ever coming here, then you don't have the right to speak for us…They left for there because they couldn't stay here, right?....If they're going to get citizenship abroad and still say that they want their own land, then they have to come back here and work. If they don't plan to come back here, then they don't have the right to speak.

This anger was particularly pronounced when the interview turned to the question of whether the diasporic community had the right to encourage or support the notion of secession and the establishment of "Tamil Eelam". Homelanders with the perspective of suspicion vehemently asserted that if the diasporic community wanted to have a separate Tamil Eelam, then they should come and fight. They did not have the right to say that homelanders should fight and sacrifice their lives for a Tamil Eelam, when they refused to endanger themselves, and had in fact *fled* the country when it needed them the most.

Bhavidra, a 22 year-old female in Jaffna stated:

> Although they live abroad, they haven't really been able to do anything. Even though there are so many living abroad—you said that they have been leaving since '83—and even though they may be thinking about us while living abroad…in one night we lost so many lives…thousands of lives in one night of fighting…during that time, even though there were Tamils living abroad they weren't really able to do anything. At that time, they could not stop the fighting, although all these lives were being lost. They couldn't do anything from over there. Only those who are here, living in our land, can save us….

Bhavidra was speaking about the last stages of the war, when the violence had escalated so severely that there were reports of thousands of Tamil deaths. Bhavidra spoke her words in a very calm voice, simply appealing to a sense of logic. If you are living away from the fighting, how can you possibly help? If you are not here to witness the deaths, how can you possibly be as affected as those who are? At the end, she argues that it can only be those who have actively lived the war, and who have lived in "our land" that could truly "save" the Tamil population and the future of the homeland.

This particular argument is embedded within the question of who has the right to influence the future of the homeland, and whether the diasporic community and the homelanders share a common identity. According to the homelanders who hold a perspective of suspicion, the diasporic community did not have the right to intervene because they were *not* members of the same group. This assertion was articulated when homelanders were asked what it meant to be Tamil, and whether they considered diasporic community members to be Tamil. While homelanders who held the perspective of connection argued that diasporic community members *were* Tamil because their ancestral past was rooted within this identity, and while homelanders who held the perspective of disconnect argued that there was no longer an overarching Tamil

identity to be shared, the homelanders who held the perspective of suspicion claimed that diasporic community members were most assuredly *not* Tamil.

Part of their reasoning for this characterization had to do with the importance of language. They argued that it was not enough to simply claim membership because of an ancestral past. They said that if diasporic members were to say that they were Tamil, then they should certainly be able to speak the language. Several participants actually laughed outright at the idea that there were diasporic community members claiming they were Tamil without being able to speak the language. If they could not speak Tamil, these homelanders mused, how would they be able to communicate with the homelanders? And if they could not communicate with the homelanders, how could they claim that they belonged to the same group as them?

As Jegathisan, a 27-year-old male in Batticaloa stated:

> If you can't speak Tamil, there is no point in saying that you are Tamil. You should be able to speak the language even if you live abroad, or else the future of Tamils is becoming endangered because that is what identifies us…. Even if they follow the culture, traditions, but they don't maintain the language, then what is the point of calling oneself Tamil?...The Tamil language is what allows us to communicate with one another…If they went abroad but felt that being Tamil was important to them, then they would have maintained the language, otherwise they are *not* actually living as if being Tamil is important.

In fact, their *inability* to speak Tamil further strengthened the argument that the diasporic community was acting in their own interests. If they were really acting in the interests of the Tamils in the homeland, then they would be acting to create a future that they *too* would be able to partake in. However, without knowing the language of the people, they would not be able to legitimately belong to this group—and therefore, would not be a part of this future. The question then became how could they feel they

have the right to shape the future of a population that they had no real interest in connecting with?

DIASPORIC TAMILS AS SUSPECT MINORITIES IN THE HOMELAND

During the ethnic conflict, whether one supported the tenets of the LTTE or not, and whether one advocated for a separate Tamil Eelam or not, there was an expectation that with the end of the ethnic conflict, the future direction of the Tamil ethnic identity and the homeland would become more clear. However, this was not the case. The end of the ethnic conflict did not result in a unitary understanding of Tamil ethnic identity and did not lead to a common vision for the homeland. Instead, the end of the war played an instrumental role in dividing the homelanders with respect to their hopes for the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity, essentially creating three different imagined homelands. The future visions of these homelands among the Tamils in Sri Lanka did not necessarily include the diasporic community. Instead, the role that the diasporic community played in the future of the homeland had much more to do with how the Tamil ethnic identity was defined. Depending on whether or not there was a shared Tamil ethnic identity, assumptions about the loyalties of diasporic community members and expectations for their political involvement in homeland politics were made.

Considering the lack of consensus among homelanders and the presence of multiple imagined homelands and several differing definitions of the Tamil ethnic identity, perhaps it becomes impossible to dictate whether the members of the diasporic community either fit or do not fit within any of the narratives of Tamil identity as defined by homelanders. Arguably, the lack of a solitary Tamil ethnic identity in Sri Lanka means that it is much easier for the diasporic community to claim a membership

to this group, as they are not necessarily acting outside of the dictates of what it means to be Tamil. In fact, since these differing opinions with respect to what it means to be Tamil also demonstrate that homelanders themselves are not in agreement on the Tamil identity, one cannot necessarily judge the diasporic community for not knowing what it means to be Tamil or not knowing how to act according to this ethnic identity. While the lack of consensus and uniformity with respect to defining Tamil identity may allow the diasporic community more 'leeway', what is important to recall is that the members of the diasporic community have their own perspective of what it means to be Tamil, and this definition does not necessarily fit in with any of the aforementioned homelander perspectives on Tamil identity.

Recall in the previous chapter that the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora self-identified as Tamil. When asked what qualified them to call themselves Tamil, many participants argued that they were Tamil because this is what their parents were, and their connection to the homeland was associated to where their parents were "from." In essence, they argued that their membership to this group was legitimate because of the primordial connection they shared with homelanders through their ancestral roots—a rationale that mirrors the reasoning that was offered by homelanders who held a perspective of connection.

In claiming that they were Tamil because they were biologically bound to this group through their parental and ancestral history, the diasporic community could continue to claim membership despite the fact that they may live outside the country of origin for generations to come. Essentially, any descendent of these diasporic community members can claim to have a Tamil ethnic identity, and if they followed the

logic of homelanders who hold a perspective of connection, they will continue to have the right and responsibility to engage in homeland politics. However, if asked to expand on what it means to *be* Tamil beyond the primordial connection, and to elaborate on what the homeland means to them, their understanding as second-generation members of the diasporic community is often one that is heavily influenced by the experiences and stories of their first-generation parents.

However, if there is an overarching Tamil identity, and all Tamils in the homeland and the diaspora belong to this group, and can claim that they are Tamil, then the diasporic Tamil population would arguably be considered the 'suspect minorities' of this group. While many homelanders may perceive diasporic Tamils to be an advantageous segment of the Tamil population, and may desire that the diasporic population continue to feel a strong affiliation to the homeland, there are other homelanders who question whether this group is *actually* Tamil, or if they are in fact working *against* the Tamils of the homeland.

One argument that was presented amongst homelanders who held this perspective of suspicion was that diasporic community members wanted Sri Lanka to continue to exist within a situation of tension and conflict, as this context of conflict in the homeland enabled them to hold onto their countries of settlement without being forced to return to their countries of origin. This argument hints at the possibility that the diasporic population is in fact *more* loyal to the identities tying them to their countries of settlement than to the ones that connect them to their countries of origin. The very fact that they are members of a *diaspora*—which by its very definition refers to a population who left their homelands to make their homes in another country—

means that their actions will be viewed with suspicion. In being diasporic community members, the strength of their Tamil identity is brought into question because this ethnic identity is seen to be secondary to their *other* identities.

If their Tamil identities are in fact secondary, then the homelanders who hold a perspective of suspicion are arguing that the diasporic community members are only engaging in homeland politics in order to reinforce their other identities—that of refugees or descendants of refugees. In essence, although there may be a large umbrella Tamil group to which the diasporic community could belong, they would be perceived as suspect minorities within this group—their loyalties questioned, and their identities uncertain. This particular argument would suggest that the diasporic community must be more tied to their countries of settlement than their countries of origin. Therefore, with respect to the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, it would suggest that they are more Canadian than Tamil, and that their actions within the homeland, while earnest, are believed to be done, at least in part, to protect their Canadian identities.

CONCLUSION

"*Thamilan endru sollada; thalai nimirnthu nillada*." "*Say that you are Tamil; Stand with your head held high*." While this may be an old Tamil saying that is frequently used among Tamils around the world, this chapter demonstrates just how challenging it is to live by these words for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Since the end of the ethnic conflict in 2009, Sri Lankans have been working to rebuild their lives and move forward. However, what has been brought forward by this study is that not all homelanders are moving in the same direction, or are rebuilding their lives in the same way.

Three different perspectives of the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of homeland have emerged since the end of the conflict. Two of these perspectives urge homelanders to say that they are Tamil and to stand with their heads held high. However, while one urges Tamils to practice a traditional form of the Tamil ethnic identity, and to return to a former (or past) conceptualization of the homeland, the other perspective urges Tamils to move in the direction of technology and modernization, and to take pride in being a *future*-oriented Tamil. While these two perspectives differ in their orientations (past and future), they both agree in the need to take pride in drawing attention to the Tamil ethnic identity. However, not all homelanders agreed with this sentiment. A third perspective rejected the call to announce one's Tamil ethnic identity with pride. This perspective was shared by homelanders who argued that survival is more important than identity, and that it was time to focus on the *present,* and for Tamils to keep their heads bowed down. In this perspective, drawing attention to the Tamil ethnic identity meant the possible instigation of another ethnic conflict.

Homelanders not only differed with respect to their perspectives on the future of the Tamil ethnic identity, there were also multiple perspectives regarding the relationship between the diasporic community and the homeland. This chapter demonstrates that while the diasporic community has an understanding of their Tamil identity that appears to make them feel a sense of loyalty and responsibility to the homeland (as shown in the previous chapter), their understanding of the homeland and its identity is not necessarily the one that is being echoed by homelanders. While many homelanders held a perspective of connection, supporting the propensity for diasporic community members to engage in homeland politics, their preliminary criterion for

being Tamil was simply having an ancestral connection. However, when homelanders were asked to clarify what being Tamil meant and the changes they have noticed in the Tamil ethnic identity, many described changes in cultural values that do not necessarily include the diasporic community in its definition.

In addition, this chapter revealed that while there are homelanders who believed it was important for the diasporic community to engage with the homeland, there were others who did not feel it was helpful or advisable for the diasporic community to engage, demonstrating a perspective of disconnection. While many homelanders promoted connection, there were others who promoted disconnection between the homeland and the diasporic community, and still other Tamils in Sri Lanka who were suspicious about the very nature of diasporic engagement in homeland politics. These differing perspectives of the diaspora-homeland relationship were also held in conjunction with maintaining differing viewpoints on what it meant to be Tamil, and who had the right to claim this identity. These alternate definitions of the Tamil ethnic identity and the differing perspectives for the future of the homeland and the relationship between the diaspora and the homeland demonstrate that there is no *one* uniform homeland in existence.

The next chapter examines the relationship that second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members have to Canada as their country of settlement, and how they understand their Canadian identities and loyalties. The sixth chapter subsequently explores whether the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community feel more strongly tied to their Canadian identities—as suggested

by some homelanders—or whether they are more tied to their Tamil identity, and what strategies they have found to manage both identities without tension.

CHAPTER 5: *"I BLEED RED AND WHITE."* THE DIASPORIC COMMUNITY'S CONNECTION TO THE COUNTRY OF SETTLEMENT

A memory of the "bleeding homeland" (Skrbis, 1999) steeped in a narrative of injustice and victimization has been instrumental in not only connecting the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members to their homeland, but in motivating them to become advocates of their ethnic identities. The story of a people who have experienced discrimination based on their Tamil ethnic identity not only triggered a violent civil war in Sri Lanka (Manoharan, 1987; Shastri, 1994), but also mobilized its diasporic community to actively engage in the protection of their ethnic identity through political activism. However, while ancestral history and threat to the homeland may promote a strong connection to one's identity, these are not the only strategies that can be utilized to heighten loyalty to a nation.

This chapter explores how the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community define their Canadian identities, and how their understanding of what it means to be Canadian influences their loyalty to Canada. Specifically, in this chapter, it is argued that second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils primarily conceptualize Canada in two ways: first, as being a 'safe haven' and as a nation deserving of their gratitude and loyalty, and second, as a multicultural nation that encourages diversity and tolerance. The perceptions of Canada's as a 'safe haven', and as a nation that not only tolerates but endorses multiculturalism and diversity contributed towards strengthening the connection that the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community felt towards this country. The very factors that contributed

towards the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka—discrimination and victimization—were not only absent in Canada, but the tapestry of this nation was built on a narrative that was entrenched in *refuge* and *diversity*—further highlighting the difference between the country that they fled *from* and the country to which they fled. The chapter also demonstrates that Canada's openness to tolerance, political activism and multiculturalism provided space for the diasporic community to *practice* their Canadian identities by engaging in homeland politics.

THE CANADIAN IDENTITY: WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

There has been much debate in defining exactly what it means to be Canadian. The need to determine whether Canada has a national identity, and to understand what it is that creates a sense of belonging and creates a feeling of solidarity among the population has been studied at great depth. Howard-Hassmann (1999) argues that there is a Canadian national identity if one focuses explicitly on the English-Canadian identity, and that being a part of this group allows one to identify as being Canadian: "Canadians exist: there is a Canadian identity in which all Canadians, regardless of ethnic ancestry, can share. Identity is a state of mind: to think of oneself as Canadian is to be Canadian" (p. 534). Furthermore, she argues that simply holding a citizenship does not a Canadian make, and that it is about building a community in which there are "shared ways of living, shared values, and loyalty to the country" (p. 527). Therefore, it takes more than simply swearing an oath of citizenship to be Canadian, and one needs to actually *belong* to the community by ensuring they have "shared ways of living, shared values, and loyalty". However, Howard-Hassmann does not clearly articulate what these shared values are or how Canadians can demonstrate their loyalty.

Kymlicka (2003) attempts to understand what it means to be Canadian by exploring how the Canadian identity is being constructed internally and being perceived externally. Kymlicka suggests that a primary element of Canadian identity is the belief that Canadians are "good citizens of the world" (p. 359). In fact, Kymlicka states that not only do Canadians believe this about themselves, but they believe that this is an internationally held opinion: "Canadians nurture and cherish an identity as good citizens of the world, and view their flag and passport as internationally-recognized symbols of that goodness" (p. 360). Although being considered "good citizens of the world" is an integral part of the Canadian identity, Kymlicka speaks of Canada's diversity and the ways in which it manages it to be something that Canadians consider make them unique. Kymlicka argues against the notion that managing diversity is something unique to Canada: "…it is often seen as a distinctively Canadian characteristic to tolerate and accommodate diversity…But in reality, it is not distinctively Canadian at all" (p. 374). He suggests that it is not in the managing of internal diversity that Canada is different since these management practices are found across western democracies. Instead, he claims that it is in the fact that Canada has made its multicultural practices an official element of its constitution that make it different from most other western democracies.

Arguably, it is this element—multiculturalism—that stands out as a defining characteristic of the Canadian identity. In a study done by Lee and Hébert (2006), where both youth of immigrant and non-immigrant origin were interviewed, the importance of accepting diversity and appreciating different cultures were emphasized by both groups as being salient characteristics of the Canadian identity. There was a

feeling of pride that was attached to the fact that Canada and Canadians were so open to *difference*. One non-immigrant-born youth claimed: "To be Canadian means to be proud and to be able to accept something different from yourself; this is because the people make up a country's identity. Canada is very much like this, comfortably multicultural" (p. 506).

While multiculturalism has been very strongly adopted as an important characteristic in defining the Canadian identity the definition of the term has never been clearly articulated (Li, 1999b). Li (1999) argues that 'multiculturalism' and 'cultural pluralism' have often been used interchangeably by academics, and that the lack of clear definition makes this a difficult construct to analyze within the social sciences, and that despite these challenges academics continue to study it, giving it undeserved weight (p. 171). The model of multiculturalism proclaims to encourage immigrants to integrate into the receiving society by becoming active members of that society without needing to abandon the beliefs and practices of their sending countries. However, Stasiulis and Abu-Laban (1990) lament that multiculturalism is more a *symbolic* gesture than anything else.

While these researchers may feel that multiculturalism is purely symbolic, and is not a useful model for Canadians, Kymlicka (1998) adamantly disagrees. He states that the challenges posed to the model of multiculturalism primarily stem from the lack of understanding that this model is actually a policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.' If this is clarified, then the expectations that Canadians have for immigrants to integrate into either the French or English cultural contexts of the nation

are understood. Kymlicka staunchly declares that if multiculturalism is conceptualized correctly, then it "must be seen as a success" (p. 58).

While the debate among scholars certainly demonstrates the complexities in defining the Canadian national identity, presumably the Canadian government itself may have a particular image or identity that it wishes to convey. The Citizenship and Immigration Canada website may be considered as the gateway for new migrants or prospective migrants, who seek out information on their new or desired nation. According to this website, Canada appears to focus its identity on two factors: being a safe haven for refugees, and being a multicultural and diverse nation.

The website for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) offers prospective immigrants the opportunity to determine how they would like to apply to enter into the country (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a). One option is to enter as a refugee. The website explicitly states that "Canada is recognized around the world for its leadership in offering *safe haven* to people who need refugee protection" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013b, emphases added). This webpage proceeds to claim that "refugees bring their experiences, hopes and dreams to Canada to help build an *even richer and more prosperous society for us all*" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013b, emphases added). The homepage for CIC not only offers information for prospective refugees, but also to prospective immigrants, ranging from those entering as skilled workers to those who will be entering through family sponsorship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a).

Whatever their form for entry into the nation, the website provides information for these new migrants, including how to prepare for life in Canada (Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, 2013c). New migrants can become familiar with various aspects of the Canadian landscape, including weather, government, provinces and territories, and the people. In describing the "people" of Canada, the website very explicitly claims that "Canada is a multicultural society", and offers prospective migrants with the opportunity to "learn what it means to live in a country that celebrates diversity" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013d). In defining diversity and multiculturalism, Citizenship and Immigration Canada states frankly that "Canada promotes multiculturalism by encouraging all Canadians to take part in all aspects of life. People of every race and ethnic background can join in social, cultural, economic and political affairs. *Everyone in Canada is equal. Everyone has a right to be heard*" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013e, emphases added).

While the website for Citizenship and Immigration Canada certainly provides information on the diverse and multicultural landscape of Canada, and very clearly articulates the laws and responsibilities of Canadians, it does not offer any other information regarding what it *means* to be Canadian. It does not define the Canadian national identity. However, what it *does* offer—the portrayal of Canada as both diverse and a 'safe haven'—certainly seems to imply that these are integral characteristics of the Canadian identity. If these are the characteristics of Canada that are being presented to refugees and new migrants, then the findings of this chapter demonstrate that Canada has been *successful* in conveying the image or identity it desires.

CANADA AS A SAFE HAVEN

Canada has become known as a 'safe haven' for refugees, taking in thousands of individuals from war-torn countries. In fact, according to the CIC, Canada has a long

history of taking in refugees and asylum seekers, going back to the 18th century (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013f). While not all members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Canada entered the country as refugees, the majority of the participants who took part in this study were either refugees or were descendants of refugees. As such, when asked to describe their relationship to Canada, participants often expressed a feeling of gratitude towards the nation for having saved them from a violent and tumultuous ethnic conflict. As Pooja, a 23 year-old female shared:

> But the diaspora in general, I think, I don't know, I just feel like, maybe—it's hard for me to kind of distance myself since I'm a member of the diaspora—but just in general, there's much love for their adopted land....I just feel like, there's a general gratitude. Like, the fact that we're able to have television stations, radio stations, the funding, the fact that they allowed us to come at the beginning...

Pooja shares that there is love for Canada because of a "general gratitude". She recognizes that the diasporic community has enjoyed many opportunities that they may otherwise not have been able to experience, including being able to set up ethnic-based television and radio stations. Therefore, the gratitude was not only for having saved them from the ethnic conflict, but also for having provided them with opportunities they may otherwise not have been able to enjoy. The feeling of gratitude was described in a number of ways by participants, but they all carried the common theme of patriotism borne of gratitude. Their appreciation for Canada and what the nation has done for the diasporic community was not just internalized among participants, but was also made explicit through such acts as carrying the national flag.

Easwari, a 28 year-old female explained that her gratitude towards Canada originated from experiences her family had when they first arrived to their new country of settlement:

> We had like Canadian flag stickers on our car…and honestly it's because when my father first came to Canada, Canadians were very, very understanding, empathetic of Sri Lankans. So they're very grateful to this country.

Easwari is not only commenting on a connection to the country of settlement when she talks about the feeling of gratitude and the Canadian flag, but also to the citizens of this nation who were instrumental in helping her family feel welcomed. Their ability to be both "understanding" and "empathetic" of the members of the diasporic community was something that was largely appreciated by Easwari and her family.

While Easwari utilizes the possession of Canadian flag stickers as an example of her connection to Canada, Eloginy, a 30 year-old female emphatically stated that her gratitude to Canada would extend to defending the nation if ever necessary:

> I mean I don't believe in war, but if I *have* to, I will. As much as it has its pitfalls, it is a democratic country, and I feel very fortunate to be in this country. So I mean, it gave us food...it's a better country than a lot of other countries, and I feel at home here, well at least in Toronto. That's another distinction, I feel at home in Toronto. If I go to the outskirts of Canada? I don't know…right?

What is interesting in Eloginy's response is that her family had left Sri Lanka as a result of the ethnic conflict, coming to Canada as refugees. However, despite the fact that she doesn't "believe in war", she is more than willing to defend Canada and fight for it if the need were ever to arise. Her patriotism is explained through a sentiment of gratitude, in which she recognizes that Canada "gave us food" and had taken her and her family in when they needed it the most. In essence, Canada had been a safe haven for her family.

All participants who spoke about a feeling of gratitude towards Canada were also explicit about why they felt this gratitude and what it meant. They were grateful for the fact that Canada took their families in, and helped to protect them. They were

grateful for the opportunities they had in Canada. However, they were not necessarily *surprised* by the fact that Canada was able to act in this way. If anything, participants stated that it was the tolerance, multiculturalism and acceptance of diversity that were all so intrinsic to the Canadian identity that enabled the nation to welcome the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees and offer them a home. Therefore, the gratitude that was felt towards the country of settlement is perhaps more specifically a gratitude for the *ideologies* of the nation as understood by the participants. And perhaps, the feelings of gratitude would not extend to the nation if the country of settlement did *not* hold these particular ideologies.

Eloginy exemplifies this positionality when she states that while her gratitude and appreciation for the welcome she received from Canada enables her to "feel at home here", she is actually specifically referring to the culture of Toronto, alluding to the multiculturalism and diversity that is representative of the city, and which is not necessarily representative of other parts of the nation. Her qualification suggests that it is a *particular* Canada that she is loyal to—a Canada that is welcoming, tolerant and multicultural—a version of Canada that was portrayed on the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website.

CANADA AND MULTICULTURALISM

As previously mentioned, one of the strongest characteristics of the Canadian national identity is the significance that the nation places on multiculturalism and diversity. Not only is it an official aspect of the constitution, it is also one of the first traits that Canadians mention in explaining what makes Canada so unique or special (Lee and Hébert, 2006). The extent to which multiculturalism is believed to be integral

to the Canadian identity was observed among the participants of this study, who mentioned Canada's multiculturalism as part of the reason that they felt grateful towards the nation, and as being an important contributor towards the staunch loyalty that they felt towards their country of settlement.

A large proportion of the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community came to Canada as refugees or were descendants of refugees. When asked why their parents chose Canada as the destination site, the tolerant and multicultural nature of Canada was often mentioned. Jaanu, a 27 year-old female whose parents had migrated to Canada a year prior to her birth stated that Canada was chosen because: "I believe maybe opportunity and they hear it's a good, I guess it was more multicultural, more opportunities for coloured people. I'm not really sure, but I think the main thing was opportunity." She argues that there were more opportunities in Canada, and in referring to the multiculturalism of the country, suggests that it was this multiculturalism that allowed for there to be more opportunities for her parents and for "coloured people." If Canada had not been so multicultural, then perhaps there would not have been the same kind of opportunities, and therefore, it would not have been the destination of choice for these migrants.

Paandiyan, a 28 year male, when asked why his parents chose to migrate to Canada, stated:

> I never actually particularly asked them directly, but I'm guessing for... one was they always would say education for me, to be able to raise kids. It was a good place, or so they heard it was. Second, would be the opportunity for them, work-wise to improve their lives.

Paandiyan's response explicitly refers to the educational and occupational opportunities that his family was able to enjoy as a result of migrating to Canada. However, while he

mentions that his parents may have heard that "it was a good place", he does not indicate whether Canada was just one of several "good" places, or whether it was somehow better than other similar options. When he was asked whether his family specifically chose Canada as a migration destination because they already had family here, Paandiyan responded that his parents had family in Europe as well. However, it was the specific characteristics of Canada that made his parents choose this nation as their country of settlement:

> Yeah, my mom had sisters here as well, so it was a way to come here. But they had family all over Europe as well. They decided Canada has…I guess Canada also was accepting, and had better immigration laws than other countries.

Paandiyan's family did not choose Canada because they had no other options. They did not choose Canada because it was the country that their other relatives had chosen. They chose Canada specifically because it somehow differed from other nations—it was "accepting, and had better immigration laws than other countries." It therefore appears that Canada was not chosen out of desperation or because the members of the diasporic community had nowhere else they could possibly go. Canada was chosen because its very nature of tolerance and acceptance appealed to them, and arguably it is with respect to this particular nature that the narrative of gratitude developed.

Participants often associated the level of tolerance they experienced in Canada with its policy of multiculturalism, suggesting that perhaps if it were not for multiculturalism, they would have had an entirely different experience in Canada. When participants were asked about challenges they may have faced in being Tamil in Canada, the question was often interpreted to be about racism, and as such, participants

stated that they had not experienced any overt displays of racism. In fact, there was a perception that the multicultural attitude of their environment protected them from experiencing discrimination based on race. However, as Sanjutha, a 26 year-old female shared, this relationship between high level of multiculturalism and low level of racism may not be representative of Canada, as much as it was symbolic of *Toronto*:

> I don't think…I've never really experienced full-on racism… I think it's actually harder to be a Tamil Canadian and then leave Canada, because you're so used to multiculturalism here, and then you go somewhere else—or even leaving Toronto actually. Like, [husband's] family's from Ottawa, which is east and we went to like a park, and I was like the only person of colour there and it was just very strange because you're so used to such a multicultural place and then you go somewhere else and…it's very, like, very weird.

Sanjutha suggests that in becoming so "used to multiculturalism here", it is easy to assume that one's lived reality of being Tamil Canadian may extend beyond Toronto, but that this is not necessarily the case. Her experience of going to Ottawa, which is the nation's capital, and finding herself as being the "only person of colour" demonstrates that while multiculturalism may be constitutionalized, it is not necessarily in *practice* throughout Canada, and that when it is not in practice, it is very apparent to those who perhaps rely on it as the members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community do.

The practice of multiculturalism in Canada seems to be valued not only because it provides immigrant populations with the opportunity to experience tolerance and acceptance, but it also seems to give them permission to maintain dual identities. Multiculturalism in Canada is not just about accepting different ethnic minorities, it is *also* about ensuring that immigrant populations are able to maintain connections with their countries and cultures of origin. In fact, citizens are encouraged to respect, foster, and develop the diversity of cultures that are available in Canada. According to the

Canadian Constitution Act of 1982, all citizens have certain fundamental freedoms, including the "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression" (Department of Justice, 2011: Section 2b), and the "freedom of peaceful assembly" (2c). It then proceeds to state that "this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Section 27). These rights belong to all Canadian citizens, irrespective of age, ethnicity, and gender.

Among the second-generation population of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, the tenets of the multicultural policy seem to have been very strongly adopted. Multiculturalism enables these participants to be both Tamil *and* Canadian. In fact, in being able to maintain their connection to their Tamil identities, they are in a sense *being* Canadian. Onisha, a 21 year-old female expressed the almost paradoxical nature of defining the Canadian identity:

> Like, I don't think there's a particular way of being Canadian and that's what makes you a Canadian citizen. Like, I don't think that's it. I think you could still—giving like an extreme example, you could still wear a sari or something, and still be a Canadian by doing all the other stuff.

This may in fact be the very crux of the difficulties that participants expressed in being able to articulate what the Canadian identity entailed. While they were very forthcoming in describing the gratitude they felt towards their country of settlement, and while they were able to explain how this gratitude was often related towards the culture of diversity, tolerance and multiculturalism that is often seen as being integral components of the Canadian national identity, participants demonstrated great difficulty in describing what it meant for *them* to be Canadian.

As Arul, a 27 year-old male stated, being Canadian meant having the flexibility and the freedom to be "other" as well without fear of consequence or judgement. In essence, being Canadian meant the right to practice a dual identity:

> Yes, I felt that being Canadian, I was sort of glad that I was Canadian because it seems like the safest...not the safest, but the most comfortable nationality to have because of Canadians' acceptance of other people and other cultures and knowing that because we lived in Canada, we could still feel like we could identify with the people that lived in Sri Lanka and not feel like traitors to Canada, you know? Whereas I feel like if we were American and if we were fighting, there might be some unease about… "Why are you fighting so strongly? You're American and you should identify with the American identity, you know? You're American now; you're not Tamil or Sri Lankan anymore." I don't feel that way in Canada so I was glad…I was glad that this was all happening and that things were the way they were but that we did live in Canada because whatever happened, our parents were born there and I'm still Tamil and so if we were living somewhere else, it might have been harder to deal with, whereas we didn't have to think about dealing with it in terms of the people we lived with because we lived in Canada.

Arul draws a clear distinction between what it means to be Canadian as opposed to being American, indicating that in being Canadian there is a right to identify as *also* being Tamil or Sri Lankan that would not be granted if one were American. His argument is anchored in the belief that the multiculturalism and tolerance of his country of settlement are very unique aspects of the national identity, and the ways in which to practice these aspects are to embrace one's hybrid identity. The conceptualization of Canada as a "safe haven" that merits gratitude, and as a nation that endorses multiculturalism and tolerance has opened space for the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community to not only identify as being Canadian, but to *also* openly acknowledge their connection to their homeland and ethnic identity.

BEING TAMIL CANADIAN/CANADIAN TAMIL

Of the 37 participants who were interviewed in the diasporic community in Toronto, 16 were born in Canada. Of the remaining 21 participants, 5 were born outside of Sri Lanka prior to immigrating to Canada. The remaining participants were all born in Sri Lanka and had all immigrated to Canada at the age of 7 or younger, and were Canadian citizens. When participants were asked to describe how they would identify themselves, given a choice between their Canadian, Tamil and Sri Lankan identities, nearly all the participants stated that they were either Tamil Canadian or Canadian Tamil. When asked why they took on these dual identities, participants stated that they were Tamil because that was where they were "from" (even if they were born in Canada), once again articulating their primordial claim to the Tamil ethnic identity. The explanation for being Canadian was often simply that this was what they *were* because this was their home, without offering much further clarification.

The participants of this study were either born in Canada or had immigrated to the country in time to complete the first grade. The vast majority (if not all) of their lives was spent in the country of settlement. However, nearly all of the participants identified as being connected to both their homeland and their country of settlement. As shown in Chapter 3, despite the fact that they may never have been to their country of origin, these participants indicated a strong connection to the homeland. Similarly, despite the fact that they may not have necessarily been born in the country of settlement, they expressed a strong sense of loyalty to Canada. They were both Tamil *and* Canadian, and while they took on these two identities, not all participants took on the two identities in the same order.

Many participants indicated that they were Tamil Canadian, placing the Tamil identity in front of the Canadian identity. When they were questioned about the decision-making process that may have led to having their connection to the homeland precede their connection to the country of settlement, their explanations were often focused on how the identities of their parents and their own ancestral connections to the homeland were the factors that contributed towards these decisions. Easwari, a 28 year-old female stated that she was both Tamil and Canadian, although there were aspects of both identities she did not fully endorse. When asked whether she identified in the order of Tamil first and then Canadian, she laughed, and then admitted that she did:

> Yes. And because of my parents. Because my parents are Tamil. My father is very open, very understanding, very appreciative of all cultures. So, yeah. But that's what I attach my Tamil identity to, I attach it to my parents and I love *them*, so.

While she was asked to explain her understanding of both her Tamil and Canadian identities, her explanation was focused on her Tamil identity and not on her Canadian identity. Her need to explain or justify her rationale for the significance of the Tamil identity without needing to provide one for her Canadian identity suggests that she perhaps feels that her Tamil identity is more likely to be questioned than her Canadian identity. While her Tamil identity required some kind of explanation, her right to claim the Canadian identity did not require justification. However, while Easwari was *born* in Sri Lanka, she immigrated to Canada as a child at 3 years of age. Yet, it is not her identity based on birth that was assumed without question, but rather her identity based on citizenship.

Onisha, the 21 year-old female who as previously mentioned had stated that being Canadian meant being able to connect with different identities, primarily

identified herself as being Canadian Tamil. Although she expressed her strong connection to the Canadian identity when she was asked to explain why she chose to supersede her Tamil identity with her Canadian identity, she offered a much more impassioned explanation for why she couldn't be justified in placing the Tamil identity first:

> Canadian Tamil...I don't know the meaning of Tamil Canadian-Canadian Tamil, but the reason I chose Canadian Tamil is because, I grew up most of my life in Canada…and I understand the culture more and I think I'm more integrated into the Canadian culture, quote-unquote, but, you know, a whole—a large part of me is still Tamil. Like, I don't know how to say it without—like, a whole part of me is still Tamil, because that's my race or ethnicity. So, yeah, Canadian Tamil, only because I think I lack, you know, the language—and that maybe, like, most of the traditions that are done in the Sri Lankan Tamil culture. But I still think I'm a mix of both, for different reasons.

In Onisha's explanation, it seems as if there is almost a checklist of items that she would need to possess in order to be able to claim the Tamil identity first. And although she may possess many of these characteristics, the fact that she doesn't speak the Tamil language inhibits her from feeling that she has the right to claim that she is "Tamil Canadian." Interestingly, if she had the language, then her identity would have been Tamil Canadian, pushing her connection to the country of settlement behind her connection to the homeland.

Although participants were able to offer some explanation for why they may have made the decision to place their Tamil identities before their Canadian identities, it was clear that the process through which they made these decisions was not intentional. When participants were asked about why they explicitly chose to identify as "Tamil" instead of "Sri Lankan", whether their Tamil identity preceded their Canadian identity or not, participants commented on how they were intentional in their decision to identify

as Tamil instead of Sri Lankan because of the ethnic conflict and the history of injustice and victimization experienced by Tamils in the homeland. However, several participants appeared to be caught off-guard by the question, and upon reflection commented that they were not sure why they said they were Tamil instead of stating they were Sri Lankan. They further articulated that they would probably identify as being both Sri Lankan and Canadian, rather than as being both Tamil and Canadian.

Barath, a 23 year-old male exemplified this confusion in terms of whether he primarily identified as being Tamil or Sri Lankan. He initially stated that he was Canadian Tamil, placing the Canadian identity in front of the Tamil identity. When he was asked why he opted not to identify as being Sri Lankan, and whether he considered Tamil to be synonymous with being Sri Lankan, he was startled by the question, and stated:

> Hmm…that's a good question. Yeah, I think I say Sri Lankan more often than Tamil. Yeah, that's true, I never even thought of that. Yeah, if people ask me, I'll say Canadian-Sri Lankan. Yeah, that's true because I would never say, "I'm Torontonian." I say I'm Canadian, the country I'm from. My parents are from Sri Lanka, so they're Sri Lankan, right? They speak Tamil and their sub-community is the Tamil people but they're Sri Lankan, right? So, yeah, I would say Sri Lankan then. I never even thought of that.

The fact that not all participants understood their Tamil identities the same way indicates that while second-generation members of the diasporic community may all be claiming a connection to the homeland, and may be articulating that they have adopted Tamil identities, they are not necessarily referring to the same homeland or the same identity. However, while there may have been some confusion about their Tamil identities, participants demonstrated more clarity when articulating that they were Canadian, although they were not necessarily as forthcoming in terms of explaining

their strong connection to the country of settlement. They simply argued that they *were* Canadian.

Indira, a 19 year-old female, was vehemently opposed to qualifying her Canadian identity. In fact, she was one of the few participants who did not claim to have a dual identity. Indira explained that if someone were to impose the Sri Lankan or Tamil identity on her she would not deny it, but would qualify this identity by claiming that this was the identity of her parents, and although it was passed down to her, it was not her only identity, and was certainly not her primary identity:

> I've actually openly said I'm proud to be Canadian and I—I don't like it when people categorize me as Sri Lankan. So, my parents ask me why—I'm like, if someone asks me, I'd be like, "I'm Canadian, born Canadian and I'm Canadian."…They'd ask me why, I'd be like, "I don't know. Just because." My mom would be like, "OK," and my dad would be like, "Why? You're Sri Lankan." And he'd try to get into this funny fight with me, be like, "You're not a Canadian, you're Sri Lankan." And then—it's just like a funny thing.

Indira identifies strongly with being Canadian, and has even had to defend her decision to identify first and foremost as being Canadian to her father. However, while she is very passionate in her sense of national pride, and is not reticent in staking a claim to this identity, she is unable to clearly explain why she so strongly identifies with being Canadian aside from her brief mention that she was "born Canadian." Even in choosing not to adopt the Sri Lankan identity, Indira is unable to offer any more explanation than "just because", suggesting that how individuals identify and how they negotiate between identities is not a conscientious and intentional process.

Indira's staunch advocacy for the Canadian identity over the Tamil identity did not mean that she was unable to understand why some people may have identified more strongly with their Tamil identity. In fact, Indira was able to empathize with the strong

connection that first-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community felt to the homeland despite having immigrated years ago, stating that the connection one has to one's home nation does not waver, particularly at times when the homeland is in need of aid. She used her own connection to Canada to explain this:

> …'Cause they still have, like, a really deep attachment to their…nation, right? Like, I'm the—a really strong proud Canadian and…if I ever left Canada, and if Canada ever told me to back off, I think I'd still…I don't know, feel like I could somehow indirectly help, whatever. Give my support for Canada…I don't know, it's my home nation.

Indira's testimony suggests that immigration does not eliminate one's national identity, and even if she left Canada, her connection to Canada and her strong sense of Canadian identity would not alter. Indira's strong attachment to Canada and her desire to continue to engage in Canadian politics despite possible future immigration is exemplary of the long-distance nationalism that is practiced by diasporic communities (Skrbis, 1999).

Virtually all participants identified as being Canadian—whether it was their primary identity or a part of a hybrid identity shared with their Tamil ethnic identity. However, while participants demonstrated a strong sense of connection to their Canadian identity, they were not very clear about what it meant to be Canadian. The majority struggled to describe how they practiced their Canadian identities.

Practicing the 'Canadian' Identity

As previously described, defining the Canadian national identity has been strongly debated. Part of this challenge has been the difficulties in determining what characteristics are important to Canada and Canadians, and whether these characteristics are uniformly understood by a very diverse Canadian population. The difficulties in describing the Canadian national identity were also observed among the participants of

this study. Although participants were assured in their Canadian identities, they did not necessarily know how to describe what this meant or how it should be practiced.

While many participants were vague in how they practiced the Canadian identity, others were more explicit, pointing to traits that they believed was integral to the national identity. Easwari was among the few participants who argued the significance of language in identifying as Canadian, emphasizing the importance of knowing both national languages:

> Well, personally I think we should learn French. Me and my boyfriend are doing that, 'cause we live here. And I think that it's important to... learn French. Because French is part of the Canadian identity. When it's Canada Day, we celebrate it. I think a lot of Tamil people do. So things like that.

Easwari's response was given to the question of how she practiced the Canadian identity. However, her response was not immediately given. She paused for several seconds as if she needed to think about what she would describe was important for the Canadian identity. When she did offer her response, she was explicit in stating the importance of French, but she seemed to be uncertain about describing other aspects of the Canadian national identity, settling instead for proclaiming the importance of celebrating Canada Day without necessarily stating *why* it was important to do so.

Kasthuri, a 20 year-old female was another participant to echo that the French language was an important aspect of the Canadian identity. She stated that her parents also recognized the importance of being bilingual when they ensured that she was enrolled in a French immersion program. While being able to speak French was identified as a part of the national identity, Kasthuri's explanation for why it was important to learn the language had more to do with increasing employment opportunities than any expression of national identity:

> It was very important for them [her parents] 'cause maybe they knew that French was the second official language, and I would have better opportunities as a Canadian if I spoke both languages…. I have two older siblings, but I was the only one that was put into French immersion. So maybe they saw what the benefits could come out with my brother and sister 'cause they didn't, and maybe they wanted to make sure to enrol me.

Both Easwari and Kasthuri speak of the role that the French language plays in defining the Canadian national identity, and how they both have learned (or are in the process of learning) this language. Knowing French will certainly assist them in any employment opportunities they may seek in Canada, but whether this is the sole motivation for learning the language or whether they were *also* motivated by the belief that French is integral to the Canadian national identity remains unclear.

While language was perhaps a more clearly defined characteristic of the Canadian identity, participants also mentioned other cultural aspects of the national identity that they followed to demonstrate their 'Canadianness.' Easwari mentioned that Halloween was one such example of this, stating: "Meaning when I was little, my dad would take me to Halloween parties, and I know it's not very Canadian, it's Western, but still, for them it was Canadian." Easwari acknowledges that taking part in Halloween is not unique to the Canadian identity, but that in her parents supporting this practice, they were demonstrating their willingness to adopt what to them was a Canadian national identity.

Playing hockey or identifying with the national pastime was also described as a characterizing element of the Canadian national identity. Yuthavan, a 28 year-old male described how playing hockey has become symbolic of practicing the Canadian identity:

> I think kids growing up now that are in, like, high school or whatnot, they're doing things that are more Canadian—for example, they play hockey, in hockey leagues. You know, I grew up watching hockey, loving hockey, but it's not my

> parents' culture to wake up at 5AM and drive me to hockey, we just didn't do that. And we didn't do a lot of sports. But I think nowadays, Tamils whose parents might have had kids later, are doing these kinds of things. So they might identify more with the Canadian culture than anything.

Yuthavan draws the distinction between himself and the younger generation of Canadian Tamils, claiming that while playing hockey might not have been the norm for his generation, it is a much more recognized activity among the younger members of the diasporic community, indicating that over time the ways in which the national identity is practiced has strengthened—they have moved away from simply loving to watch hockey to playing hockey, and "doing things that are more Canadian."

Often hockey was mentioned as some kind of symbol of being Canadian. By stating that they either watched or played or enjoyed the sport, they were claiming the strength of their Canadian identity. However, participants did not expand on what made this so Canadian, or how they justified their love of hockey as demonstrating their Canadian identity. In fact, it was as if simply stating they enjoyed the sport should be enough to demonstrate the strength of their Canadian identities without needing to provide any other examples of how they practiced being Canadian.

Haran, a 28 year-old male indicated that identifying as Canadian was important for him, and when asked how he demonstrated this, he stated: "But I am very like…I play hockey, I do everything *here*. I don't know. I don't know how to explain it." He uses 'here' to refer to Canada and how he is anchored to this nation despite the fact that he was born in Sri Lanka and did not immigrate to Canada until he was 6 years old. The anchor he describes, the one that proves his Canadianness, is the fact that he plays hockey, but he is unable to describe what this means and why it is a sufficient symbol of his Canadian identity.

Paandiyan, a 28 year-old male who was born in Sri Lanka but immigrated to Canada when he was 3 years old also utilized hockey as a representation of Canadian national identity. He explains that while his parents may not have necessarily *practiced* the Canadian identity by enrolling him in a hockey league, he knew what it meant to be Canadian through learning from those who were outside of his diasporic community. However, he does not explain what it was he learned, and again hockey is meant to somehow act as a 'catch-all' phrase for all things Canadian:

> It's not like they brought me to learn hockey, or put me into anything truly *Canadian*. Like they were very shy, they never really associated with neighbours, so we don't really…for them, they haven't picked up that culture. So they weren't able to pass that on to us, me and my sister. So both cultures were learned on…maybe associating with them is how I learned Tamil, obviously. So the Tamilness I picked up from them, and my Canadianness I picked up from outside…from teachers, and friends and TV.

Paandiyan laughed in the interview when he said that he learned his Canadianness from "TV", but he did not retract the statement. He uses hockey as representative of being "truly Canadian", and claims that he learned about his Canadian identity from "teachers, and friends and TV", but aside from hockey, Paandiyan is unable to clearly articulate what this 'Canadianness' really means, or why *hockey* is somehow an appropriate symbolic representation of this national identity.

While hockey was often used to demonstrate the strength and integrity of one's Canadian identity, Barath, a 23 year-old male did not feel it was a *sufficient* explanation for claiming a Canadian identity. He argued that in order to be Canadian, one needed to be politically engaged in the nation and not just practice sports:

> ...but involve yourself in what *makes* us Canadian. It doesn't mean playing hockey. But involving yourself in Canadian politics on some level. That is very Canadian, right? It's our government that's really supposed to represent who we are, you know?

Barath points out that it is not enough to play hockey to show that one is Canadian, but about being politically engaged in Canada. If one is not informed and active in the political process, then one is not actually *practicing* the Canadian identity. However, Barath is not completely dismissive of the role that hockey plays in the Canadian identity. In discussing the winter Olympics that took place in Vancouver in 2010, Barath argues that hockey was one of the unifying forces for the country, bringing people together in a fervent display of national pride and patriotism:

> Like the Olympics—I get really touchy about this stuff, I thought it was the most beautiful thing, coast to coast, every ethnicity—everyone was wearing their team Canada shirt. 'I don't watch hockey but I'm going to watch this!' and it was, like, magical. For the first time this country was, like, not only were we proud, but we were kicking ass. And all of a sudden the Tamil cloak came off and the Jamaican cloak came off and everyone was like, "Yeah I'm Canadian, we won gold!"

Barath was very vocal in expressing the importance of the Canadian identity, and uses the Olympics as an example of when the nation was able to come together in a show of national pride. However, he argues that it is not enough to simply have sports as a unifying factor. As he later points out in the interview, six months after the Olympics, the national fervour had dissipated. It was for this reason that he argued the importance of a political pride in the nation, as this is more sustainable. Barath also expressed that Canadians need to branch out beyond just hockey as something to characterize Canada and Canadians, and mentioned the importance of recognizing other aspects of the Canadian national identity:

> To me there's nothing that makes you more proud than to say, "I'm Canadian." And when I travel, I proudly wear a Canadian flag because I want people to ask me, and they see me with my white friend and we say, "Yeah, we're all Canadian!" Not like, "Oh he's from Venezuela, he doesn't speak English. He's Chinese but I'm Canadian." It's like as a collective group of this multi- like, I

> want to be that poster in whatever Canada's hyped up to be, I want to perpetuate it and tell the world like, "Yeah we're good at hockey and also, we've got intelligent…like Markham is like the high-tech capital of Canada…" And we have so much R&D that happens here—the Canada Arm was developed and built in Canada—it's not all about NASA. We're doing some amazing stuff here and it's because of all of our immigrants and a lot of that is done by immigrants. And it's those immigrants that are not like you know taking the money that they make here and then moving to Florida or going back to Sri Lanka or Europe. It's keeping that here and that becomes more *building* this country. You can criticize it but you live here, let's *do* something about it. So I'm big on action or inaction. There's no in between, so you're either doing something about it or you're not. So in terms of building a Canadian identity, I try my hardest. I'll scream it loud and scream it proud, so it's something I stand behind. And I feel like that's my drive.

Barath was very articulate about his level of pride and loyalty to the Canadian identity. He was able to clearly state what demonstrated this connection, and the differences between the role of sports and politics in expressing one's Canadianness. However, Barath was in the minority in terms of being able to so plainly define what it means to be Canadian and how to practice this Canadian national identity. Barath was very passionate about his Canadian identity, and even claimed that "I always joke that 'I bleed red and white.' I am Canadian—there's no if, and or buts about it." He claimed that being Canadian and practicing the Canadian national identity required individuals to take on some kind of active role. Barath's perspective explicitly states that it is important for individuals to be actively engaged in their Canadian identities. Canadians should be politically involved and should be informed about the different aspects of the national identity that are worthy of pride, rather than simply utilizing hockey as a security blanket for justifying their Canadianness. Canadians, according to Barath, have a *responsibility* to the nation that requires activism. Karen, a 20 year-old female, was another participant, who was similar to Barath in feeling that it was imperative that

members of the diasporic community practice their right and their *responsibility* to engage in the politics of Canada:

> I think a lot of Canadians in general don't vote – I think the Tamil community, especially Canada being a nation that gave them refuge, they should exercise their rights. And not even just politically, I think that they should exercise their right and responsibility to the environment, and respect the country as a whole. At the same time, it is their home as well. I think if you show respect, you get respect, and that's how I look at it as for the Tamils. My parents vote, they're very, very into that. So I think we have a huge responsibility, but I think we do need to be informed about it. People just mainly think, 'okay, I gotta get my citizenship, I gotta make this my home, get my papers, be safe and avoid the risk of getting deported' and I think they missed the main idea. If you're gonna be a citizen of the country, there's lots of responsibility. And I think they forget. I think they, I dunno, maybe the second-generation Tamils should...should inform …other age groups. And now, in the past 4 years, since the past election, I've seen a *lot* more young people voting, and I see a lot more Tamil people voting, which is very good... it makes me happy. Because I think the younger generation is more getting involved, and in the election they're educating their grandparents or their parents which is good 'cause then they realize like 'oh, I can do this too! I couldn't do it back home, my voice wasn't heard back home, but I can do it here' and they can choose, they can put their political faith in their own country. And they have a huge responsibility, but they don't realize it until someone tells them.

Karen points out that while it is important for community members to vote, and while she is certainly seeing more active participation in the process, people are still not nearly as engaged as they should be. She attributes this behaviour to the fact that people are simply satisfied with gaining their citizenship and avoiding "the risk of getting deported", and thus are much more *passive* in their practice of the Canadian national identity. Although Karen and Barath offered very specific strategies for practicing their Canadian identities that involved an *active* engagement, the majority of participants shared a much more passive view in terms of describing what they felt were their responsibilities as Canadians.

ENGAGING WITH CANADA

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada the responsibilities of Canadians include obeying the law, taking responsibility for oneself and one's family, serving on a jury, voting in elections, helping others in the community, and protecting and enjoying both Canadian heritage and the environment (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013g). While these are all responsibilities, not all are legally required of citizens. In fact, with the exception of obeying the law and serving on a jury, citizens can opt not to take on any other responsibilities without legal ramifications. Therefore, it appears that the only truly *active* aspect of fulfilling one's responsibilities to Canada is to obey the law.

As such, when the participants of this study were asked about how they understood their responsibilities to Canada, it was perhaps not surprising to observe that the vast majority stated that their main responsibility to their country of settlement was to be law-abiding citizens. Ranjini, a 26 year-old female, stated that the primary responsibility that they had was to be good "citizens", and ensure that they followed the rules of the nation. Ranjini was also very clear about highlighting the importance of ensuring that members of the diasporic community not "abuse" the country of settlement by not following the rules and by taking advantage of the system:

> Well, I mean, we are living here, and so we do have to abide by the laws, abide by the rules that, you know, the government has set here. Just be a good citizen. Uh…I mean, regardless of where you are, you should respect whatever the, you know, the country is asking of you. Just, you know—be a good citizen. You're—pay your taxes. You're living here, so pay your taxes. Just, you know, vote. Exercise your rights that the country has given you. Make the best of everything that's been given to you, but at the same time, don't abuse it, and don't use your circumstances back home as an excuse for doing things that are not so great here. You know, like don't use that as, you know, "We didn't have a lot growing up so we're going to take advantage of everything"—not like that.

> Use it to your—use it to your advantage but don't take advantage of it. You know what I mean? Like, don't abuse it.

Pravin, a 30 year-old male, clearly stated that the basic requirement of Canadians was to follow the laws and regulations of the country, and that one could not expect much more than that:

> So, it's hard to say what…it's hard to say what is it to be Canadian I think. I think that's a very hard definition. So I wouldn't say much, honestly - we live in a very multicultural. I think all citizens…I think what Tamils are to Canada is what the basic may be, but also is a goal, to be law abiding. And outside of that, that's it maybe. I think to be, once you're Canadian, that's the bare minimum that a country can expect from you, or want from you, and I think to be law abiding is all. And after that, I'm not…I feel that I'm more liberal minded, so I don't feel that I'd tell anyone that you need to be patriotic, or think of yourself as Canadian first, or identify as Canadian, or always support the government in their foreign affairs, and things like that. So I'd say while we expect all immigrants to be law abiding, that's it. I feel that how people change in a country within their lifetime and generation should be more organic, and shouldn't be forced on people.

Pravin even argues that one cannot expect Canadians to be "patriotic, or think of yourself as Canadian first, or identify as Canadian", as these cannot be expected in a nation that has essentially adopted a multicultural philosophy. All that can be expected is that immigrants be law-abiding, and if they choose to later practice more active forms of citizenship, then that would be their choice and something that came about organically.

While most participants were able to articulate the importance of following Canadian laws when asked about their responsibilities to the country of settlement, they were not necessarily always able to offer this response without some kind of prodding. In fact, several participants expressed confusion when asked about what their responsibilities were to Canada. They acknowledged that they *did* have certain

responsibilities as Canadians, but were not always certain about what that meant or how to express them.

Other participants articulated specific responsibilities they had to Canada based on their positionality as members of the diasporic community. Uriana, a 29 year-old female was very clear in tying the responsibilities that the members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community have to the country of settlement back to feelings of gratitude, and demonstrating appreciation to Canada for being their safe haven when they had to flee their homeland:

> I think you know, to respect the laws, to contribute to society. I mean, this is your home, I mean this is clearly giving you a much better life than what it did there, which is the reason you're still here and not gone back…Yeah, show respect to the people you live with, to the law, like stop you know, stop with the crime, you have every opportunity, every door opened for you here. There's really no excuse to assimilating.

Uriana's response shows that she feels strongly about the fact that members of the diasporic community should fulfil their responsibilities to the country of settlement. However, the need to fulfil these responsibilities are not tied simply to the fact that diasporic community members are Canadians, and should do as all Canadian citizens should do, but rather seems to be much more related to the fact that diasporic communities have a *debt* to repay, since Canada has given them all "a much better life than what it did there [homeland]". She further argues that following the law and fulfilling one's responsibilities to the country of settlement would also be indicative of assimilation, which she endorses. Therefore, according to Uriana, following the law is not just indicative of being Canadian, but is also an important way for diasporic community members to repay their debt to Canada, and demonstrate their gratitude for the role that Canada has played in assisting the diasporic community.

Many participants articulated that their responsibilities to Canada were tied to their gratitude to the country of settlement for taking them in, and providing them with a home. When asked about whether the diasporic community had any kind of responsibilities to Canada, Bavan, a 19 year-old male who had been born and raised in Canada stated: "Yeah, they gave us a home. Like…we—we just, yeah, I'm not sure, like, what we have to do, like…[laughs]." When he was further probed about what these responsibilities were, he was unable to state them. However, when probed about whether the responsibilities included things like paying taxes, obeying the laws and voting, Bavan replied, "Yeah, obviously." He later proceeded to explain *why* he would take these responsibilities seriously even though he was unable to state them without prompting: "And—Canada's like our second home, it's like—just the way I feel for Sri Lanka, that's the same—how much I care for Canada, too, right?"

As previously mentioned, most participants declared that they had a hybrid identity, in which they were both Tamil *and* Canadian, and thus tied to both their homeland and their country of settlement. And like with Bavan, they were able to express that their feelings for both contexts were similar, if not completely equal. However, while they struggled to clearly state how their feelings for Canada would manifest behaviourally through responsibilities, participants did experience the same level of difficulty in articulating what their responsibilities were to their homeland.

When asked about whether the diasporic community had a responsibility to the homeland and the Tamils in the homeland, Bavan who had been so uncertain in articulating his responsibilities to Canada, declared "Do they have a responsibility for them? Yeah…they—most of them, like, they're related to us. So someone you know is

there, so it's like…they have a responsibility." His explanation for the perceived responsibility is tied to the fact that the diasporic community is "related" to the homeland, and that diasporic community members all might have someone they know living in the homeland. As such, there is a responsibility to the homeland, and these responsibilities include:

> Help them out, because it's like a war-torn country. They probably lost a lot of things—like, they probably don't have homes, and like food and stuff like that. I just think—help…help donate and, like, yeah—that's the only thing you can do.

Bavan openly declared that the diasporic community has a responsibility to *both* the homeland and the country of settlement. According to him, his feelings for both of these identities are the same, and yet, while he was very easily able to state what it was that diasporic community members should be doing for the homeland, he was unable to do the same for the country of settlement without prompting. Bavan was able to relate his responsibilities to individuals who were living in the homeland, as if homelanders *were* the homeland. Since these homelanders were his relatives, and since they had "lost a lot of things" including "homes, and like food and stuff like that", it seemed easier to relate his responsibilities to helping these individuals. Perhaps the difficulties in clearly articulating his responsibilities to Canada comes from not necessarily being able to see fellow Canadians as relatives, or perhaps it only comes down to the fact that the homeland is a "war-torn country", demanding assistance from the diasporic community, whereas the country of settlement is at peace and therefore, does not require the same level of conscientious assistance and engagement.

Manjula, a 24 year-old female, however, demonstrated how responsibilities to the homeland and to the country of settlement may intersect, and one can fulfill

responsibilities to both contexts simultaneously. When asked about the responsibilities that the members of the diasporic community had to the country of settlement, Manjula discussed the actions taken by the diasporic community during the protests that were staged in Toronto in 2009:

> Follow the laws, definitely. During the protests and stuff, I think the majority of the protestors were really good in terms of following the law. You even had Bill Blair come out and say 'these are the most peaceful protesters I've ever seen'. Like, whenever there's been a protest like G20 and hippie protests, there's always been a windows broken and stuff. And these people came together as such a huge group, and not create such a huge problem. And they clean up after themselves too. They haven't been such a nuisance, like yeah, traffic that's a difference situation, but they're following the law. And yeah, blocking the highway's not really following the law, but there was a situation. I think as Canadians it's our duty to follow the law, regardless of whether you're angry, whether there's a really big situation that happened. You need to get the point across to authorities in a lawful manner. Yea like blocking the highway, taking over University Avenue, they were extreme cases. But to an extent, it got the point across, negative or positive, it got people talking.

Manjula's response is not specific to the general responsibilities that Canadians have to Canada, but seems to be much more heavily anchored in the responsibilities that members of the diasporic community have to the country of settlement. When asked if there were other responsibilities that diasporic community members may have to the country of settlement, Manjula once again used the protests as the backdrop against which to articulate these responsibilities:

> Well, responsibilities as a Canadian citizen? Well I guess respect everybody else's needs. We can't be selfish. That's another thing I found – I guess we felt like we were a majority during the protest times, because we'd all be crowded in one area, and we saw a white person it'd be like here's a white person. And it was discrimination, right? It was just... do unto others as you'd want others to do unto you. In this situation it was kind of the opposite – we were discriminating against other groups because we were in a group, and there were people from the outside coming into our group, and it's just like, 'what is he doing here?' It was discrimination. And then whole concept of respect and... like, not treating people different because they're a difference race, that's another responsibility as a Canadian.

Manjula clearly articulates responsibilities that Canadians have to Canada, but she speaks specifically about how these responsibilities would manifest among the diasporic community. It therefore was not just about what responsibilities Canadians had to Canada, but the *specific* responsibilities that the members of this diasporic community had to Canada. Manjula was not the only one who found it difficult to articulate her responsibilities as a Canadian without relating it back to her Tamil identity, demonstrating that perhaps the two identities cannot be separated as two distinct entities. Hamish, a 25 year-old male was very clear in stating that while it was important to follow the laws and regulations of Canadian society, it is also important for diasporic community members to understand how these very responsibilities to Canada can *also* be used to exercise their responsibilities to the homeland:

> So, I think we have to be... first of all I think being in Canada we're very fortunate as opposed to other countries. And we do have to adhere to the rules and the policies and that kind of stuff so we do have a responsibility to…I guess to accept the Canadian values. But we also have the power to utilize our rights within us being Canadian, and if that means voting left wing as opposed to right wing 'cause it helps Sri Lankans...like people back home, then we have every right to do that. But we do have a responsibility to adhere to the rules, policies and values of Canada, but we also have certain rights that we can utilize...

Hamish, like the majority of participants argues that the primary responsibility that the diasporic community has to the country of settlement is to "adhere to the rules and the policies and that kind of stuff." However, while he is able to voice his responsibilities as a Canadian, his response demonstrates that he cannot speak only through the perspective of his Canadian identity, but must also examine how his responsibilities to his country of settlement also impact his responsibilities to the homeland. He will vote because that is his right and responsibility as a Canadian, but he

will choose who he votes for based on the rights and responsibilities he has as someone who identifies as being *Tamil*. Therefore, he cannot just express his responsibilities as a Canadian because he is *not* just Canadian. He is both Tamil and Canadian, and the interests of both his homeland and country of settlement must be taken into consideration when he is making any decisions about how he will act and exercise his rights and responsibilities.

It is important to note that while many participants articulated their responsibilities to Canada based on either feelings of gratitude or based on their membership in a diasporic community, other participants felt it was important to recognize that they had no *special* responsibilities to Canada that went beyond the responsibilities of any other Canadian. Maniratnam, a 30 year-old male, was one of the participants who expressed this particular viewpoint:

> I think we have a responsibility to engage and function as part of our society. But that's about it. I don't think we have any other responsibility to Canada in terms of what we owe Canada. I think our main responsibility is to just act as a part of our community, to respect our neighbours, our function as a community, society as a whole. I don't think there's anything we need to do to go out of our way to be Canadian.

While many participants expressed that the feeling of gratitude that they hold with respect to their country of settlement motivate them in ensuring that they are especially conscientious in following the rules and dictates of Canada, Maniratnam does not adhere to this perspective. His argument seems to be anchored in the position that as a Canadian he has certain responsibilities "to engage and function as part of our society", but he does not feel he owes the country of settlement anything that would have him going "out of our way to be Canadian." He has embraced the Canadian

national identity as his, and does not agree with the perspective that he would need to act in a particular way simply because he is a member of a diasporic community.

Although Maniratnam's testimony may lead one to believe that he has adopted the Canadian national identity so strongly that he does not feel he has to behave differently simply because he was originally a refugee to the country, it is important to note that Maniratnam explicitly argues that he does not *need* to do anything because of a feeling of debt. In arguing that this feeling of debt is unwarranted, Maniratnam is still acknowledging the existence of a sentiment of gratitude, and the fact that the ways in which the members of the diasporic community engage with their country of settlement may be affected by this sentiment—even though, according to Maniratnam, it should not be.

CONCLUSION

If an important component of the Canadian identity is that Canadians are "good citizens of the world" (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 359), then arguably, being a country that acts as a safe haven, and endorses a multicultural practice enables Canadians to live up to this reputation of being "good citizens of the world". For, not only is the country providing refuge for people who feel unsafe in their countries of origin, but they also ensure that the people of Canada are diverse and accepting of people and cultures from around the world. Therefore, if Canada is trying to establish a reputation built on being a multicultural safe haven, then according to these findings, it has certainly succeeded.

The second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community demonstrate a strong connection to their country of settlement. They identified as being Canadian, even if it was most often expressed as part of a hybrid identity, shared with being Tamil.

Participants expressed a feeling of gratitude towards Canada for enabling them and their parents to enter when they had to flee their country of origin, ultimately conceptualizing the nation as a safe haven. Participants also expressed an appreciation for Canada's multicultural framework, even arguing that it was the tolerance and openness to diversity of the nation that motivated their parents to immigrate to Canada.

This chapter also demonstrated that in being a refuge that endorses multiculturalism, Canada has actually opened space for the practice of a hybrid identity. While participants identified strongly with being Canadian, they *also* identified with being Tamil, and in fact, argued that being Canadian meant being *able* to simultaneously maintain connections with their homeland and ethnic identity. In many ways, being Canadian meant being multicultural, and being multicultural meant the ability to maintain a hybrid identity.

This chapter also found that while participants may adopt a Canadian identity, and while they express an appreciation for the multicultural safe haven, they found it challenging to articulate other characteristics of this Canadian identity. While there were participants who mentioned the importance of bilingualism and hockey, most participants struggled to articulate what it meant to be Canadian beyond the multicultural framework. Participants also shared that their primary responsibilities to their country of settlement was to follow the laws and regulations of the nation, but were unable to articulate other responsibilities they may have to Canada.

Although participants were unable to express a responsibility to Canada beyond following the laws of the country, they conversely *were* been able to express an active responsibility to the homeland (as discussed in chapter 3). This finding may lead to the

incorrect conclusion that the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members are *more* actively engaged with the homeland than they are with the country of settlement. However, recall from Chapter 3 that the responsibility that the diasporic community felt towards their homeland was primarily triggered by a perceived threat to the homeland and their ethnic identity.

As this chapter demonstrated, participants argued that if they felt that Canada was under threat or needed their assistance, they would also be motivated to act. As Eloginy, a 30 year-old female, stated: "I mean I don't believe in war, but if I *have* to, I will. As much as it has its pitfalls, it is a democratic country, and I feel very fortunate to be in this country." Therefore, while the participants may not have the primordial and ancestral connection to the country of settlement that they have with the homeland, and while they may not have a historical narrative of injustice and victimization of the country of settlement that they have of the homeland, they *do* have a feeling of gratitude that would motivate them to protect and defend their Canadian identity at times of threat.

The findings of this chapter, therefore, show that second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members are not only strongly connected to their Tamil identities, but *also* to their Canadian identities. However, if second-generation diasporic community members have a hybrid Tamil-Canadian/Canadian-Tamil identity, in which their actions and loyalties are considered in relation to both their homeland and their country of settlement, it would lead to the question of whether their loyalties to both identities are equal, and how these allegiances would manifest at times of conflict between the homeland and the country of settlement. Note that the findings of this

study have revealed that the diasporic community are much more actively engaged in defending their identities at times of threat. However, what happens if the threat to the homeland is coming from the country of settlement or if the threat to the country of settlement is coming from the homeland? Which loyalty would be prioritized?

These questions are further explored in the following chapter. Specifically, the subsequent chapter examines the tensions that second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community may feel when there is conflict between the country of settlement and the homeland. Chapter 6 also explores how this diasporic community feels they have been perceived by their country of settlement, and how this has affected their relationship with Canada and their loyalties to the nation.

CHAPTER 6: CANADIANS UNDER SUSPICION: DIASPORIC COMMUNITY AS A SUSPECT MINORITY GROUP

The second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community profess a connection to their Tamil ethnic identity and to their homeland. However, they also proclaim a strong Canadian identity and allegiance to their country of settlement. They appear to possess a hybrid identity, which enables them to have dual loyalties to both their homeland and their country of settlement. Participants have also demonstrated that if and when their homeland or their country of settlement are threatened, they feel compelled to act, and are mobilized to defend and protect these identities. While the adoption of a hybrid identity can allow for the maintenance of dual loyalties, the concern of *conflicting* allegiances arises when there is the belief that the loyalty to the homeland may outweigh the loyalty to the country of settlement (Schildkraut, 2002). This apprehension is particularly heightened at times of conflict between the homeland and the country of settlement (Howell & Shryock, 2003), whereby immigrants and diasporic community members are questioned about their identities, and the precise nature of their loyalties raise cause for concern.

This chapter explores how the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community understand the challenges of maintaining a hybrid identity, and being perceived as "suspect minorities" in Canada. In this chapter, it is argued that the conceptualization of Canada as a safe haven and multicultural nation by the diasporic community (as shown in the previous chapter) opened space for feelings of disappointment among diasporic community members when these traits were not shown during the Tamil protests of 2009. However, the chapter also demonstrates that while

the diasporic community engaged actively in homeland politics and were disappointed in the country of settlement, there was a *boundary* of support for the homeland that enabled their connection to the country of settlement to remain unbroken.

TIGERS: TERRORISTS OR FREEDOM FIGHTERS?

For Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members, there may be some distinctions between whether they identify with being Sri Lankan or Sri Lankan Tamil. There may be very complicated feelings regarding their support for a separate Tamil Eelam. The creation of Tamil Eelam would remove any identification with the Sri Lankan nationality in favour of that of Tamil Eelam, creating significant shifts in their definitions of nationality. While the process of determining where their loyalties lie with respect to Sri Lanka is complex and multifaceted, it became even more challenging following Canada's declaration that the LTTE was an official terrorist group in 2006. The official labelling of the LTTE as a terrorist organization suggests that any support for this group is support of terrorism. In recognizing this, the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora had to determine whether they would continue supporting the Tamil Tigers despite disapproval from the Canadian government, and if they opted not to support the Tigers, whether they would still be supporting the establishment of a separate Tamil Eelam. In essence, the members of the diasporic community had to explicitly determine what their role would be in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict.

The labelling of the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist organization was met with a myriad of reactions from second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils. However, the majority of the participants fell within two very distinct camps: one of disappointment and the other of acceptance. With respect to the first, participants expressed frustration

regarding the Canadian government's decision to label the LTTE as terrorists. They felt that the government had not done its research, and was simply jumping on the "war on terror" bandwagon without having a comprehensive understanding of the history of the LTTE, and the philosophies of the organization. Nagesh, a 27 year-old male was explicit in his belief that the Canadian government was uninformed in its decision:

> I don't know if they were educated on what was going on, I think they did it just 'cause the US did it. That's how I felt. 'Cause I guess we have close ties with the US, we don't wanna piss them off. And then now I think even after that when Harper came to power, he had some kind of dinner with people that were associated with the Tigers. It didn't really make sense. The government just wants kind of... they do whatever to get more votes.

Participants were disappointed in the Canadian government for not taking the time to really understand the problem, and they shared that it would be a sign of good faith if the government removed the Tigers from this list. Ranjini, a 26 year-old female said:

> I felt bad. I felt sad when that happened. I was like, wow, like, you people don't even take the time to consider what happened to us, and what's happened to us. It's like, you just automatically, by the word of the government, the Sri Lankan government, you've put us—you've listed us. And yeah, it's just a list, it's just a label, but, I mean, it's a label…. And it was sad that the government was promoting that by putting us on that list. I mean, we're not. We're not terrorists. We didn't go into any other country and cause any sort of havoc. I mean, we were in our own country fighting for our own rights. I mean, basic human rights…. No, we're asking for the right to study, and the right for food, and the right for, you know, equality. How does that make us terrorists? And it was ridiculous. It was sad. And it just made it more obvious to me that politics is just, that's what it is. It's people kissing each other's butts. Governments doing whatever is necessary to protect their own, and you know, like, trying to get whatever they can from another country…. It was sad that, even Canada, a peace-loving nation or whatever it is, um, decided to follow that and actually do that to our cause. But it happened. It was sad. It was a sad day.

Ranjini was born in Europe and immigrated to Canada when she was three years old. She had never been to Sri Lanka, and yet, she did not separate herself from the LTTE. In the Tamil Tigers being labelled as terrorists, she was also being labelled as a

terrorist. She did not proclaim that "they are not terrorists," but, instead, vehemently asserted in the interview that "we're not terrorists." Therefore, the act of placing the LTTE on the official list of terrorist organizations was not seen simply as labelling a militant group, but instead was considered to be an act of labelling an entire diaspora with the brand "terrorist."

The Canadian Tamil Congress released a press release shortly after the Tamil Tigers were listed as a terrorist organization, articulating their disappointment in the Canadian government (Canadian Tamil Congress, 2006), echoing some of the frustration expressed by participants:

> The Canadian Tamil community is deeply shocked and saddened of the decision by our Canadian government to list the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as a Terrorist organization under Bill C-36. The Canadian Tamil Congress, the representative organization of Canadian Tamils, considers this decision to be harmful as both the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka are currently engaged in an internationally brokered peace process as equal partners. This decision, at such a sensitive time, will tip the delicate balance which has brought both parties to the negotiating table and hinder the prospects for long term peace and stability in the region.

However, while the statement released by the Canadian Tamil Congress was certainly representative of the views of many participants, it certainly did not embody the attitudes of all members of the diasporic community. While there were participants who were as disgruntled as Ranjini, others were much more pragmatic in their views of the banning. Whether they supported the Tamil Tigers or not, they were able to understand the difficult position in which the Canadian government found itself, and stated that they could comprehend why the LTTE was labelled in such a way. Participants spoke of how, even if the Tamil Tigers may have a just cause, their means could not be justified, particularly following the events of 9/11. Venkatesh, a 26-year-

old who had never been to Sri Lanka and was born and raised in Canada, claimed that it was not impossible to understand why Canada would feel the need to define the LTTE as terrorists. He was one of many participants who declared that the diasporic community should have been more strategic at the protests, and should not have brought flags that represented the Tamil Tigers:

> I mean, if you took a step back, and took a more intellectual look at the story, you'd say, 'you know what, it makes sense that they would be labelled.' It's because they [the LTTE] are not the government, and our government having political—and this is again based on not having a great knowledge of political science—would have to call them a terrorist organization. So bringing those flags and recognizing they've been labelled as such is just detrimental, it's taking two steps backwards…

Neither Ranjini nor Venkatesh have been to Sri Lanka. They are both the same age, and are both young professionals. Despite these similarities, however, they were very different with respect to their views on the labelling of the LTTE. Whereas Ranjini understood the labelling of the Tamil Tigers as an error of judgment made by the Canadian government, and as something that was completely inappropriate, Venkatesh declared that he was able to understand the politics that would have driven the actions of Canada, and he felt that it was important that the diasporic community act accordingly. The sentiments expressed by this diasporic community echo the challenges that Nadarajah and Sriskandarajah (2005) observed behind labelling the LTTE as a terrorist group. These authors suggest that the naming of the Tamil Tigers as terrorists despite the fact that others may view them as freedom fighters demonstrates the political agendas of the Sri Lankan government, the LTTE, and the diasporic communities, and the complex ways in which they interact to inform international foreign policies.

While Venkatesh and Ranjini represent the two more common perspectives that were offered by the second-generation participants with respect to Canada's stance on the LTTE, all participants were unanimous in stating that the government's decision to label the LTTE did not alter their own opinions of the insurgency group. If they had supported the Tamil Tigers prior to 2006, they continued to do so even after the group was labelled as a terrorist organization. They did not stop supporting the group because Canada had branded it as a terrorist organization. It did not appear as if the opinion of the country of settlement could alter the opinions of the members of the diaspora—what did become apparent was that while some were pragmatic and were more understanding of the rationale behind Canada's decision to ban the LTTE, others saw this move as an act of betrayal. They felt that the Canadian government had sided with the Sri Lankan government rather than listening to the pleas of the diasporic community. Therefore, labelling the Tamil Tigers as terrorists did not bring anyone closer to the country of settlement; it either maintained their relationship to Canada or it distanced them.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROTESTS

During the three decades that spanned the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community had staged several different forms of collective action in tandem with various developments in the war. However, it was not until the last stages of the conflict in 2009 that the diasporic community around the globe united in protest. When attention was drawn to the vast number of civilian deaths that were taking place in Sri Lanka during, it initiated the mass protests staged by the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community.

The protests that were organized by the diasporic community were very effective in mobilizing support. Thousands of community members stood for hours, if not days, in the downtown core of Toronto in an attempt to raise awareness of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, and the loss of civilian lives. These protests were very effective in drawing attention to the diasporic community. However, the attention they garnered was not always the kind that was desired. As discussed in the third chapter, the protests were organized under the frame of 'genocide', attempting to draw attention to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the loss of civilian lives. However, while this may have been the primary motivation for the protests, it was not necessarily the narrative of 'genocide' and ethnic conflict that was most prominently associated with the diasporic community and the protests. Attention, instead, was often drawn to the LTTE and terrorism, and participants argued that the media was unrelenting in framing the protests through an unfavourable lens.

Idiya, a 24-year-old female, speaks to the role that the media played in depicting the diasporic community in a particular way:

> It's [the protest] portrayed in a way that everyone who's here protesting looks like a bunch of crazy people. And even Canadian media during protests last year, very rarely would they go to younger students or people who were professionals, you would see like straight immigrants who work in factories …or don't know the language very well. And it just looks like a bunch of uneducated immigrants who come to Canada and want to protest for their country back home, when there's a real problem there, and no one…no one's really addressing the problem, they're just addressing the protest.

Idiya's comments suggest that the media intentionally may have gravitated towards interviewing newer immigrants within the diasporic community in order to portray the entire group as if they were more bound to Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam than they were to Canada. However, many of the individuals who were not only present at

the protests, but who were actively engaged in organizing these events were second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils. These individuals were raised in Canada, and many had been born here, and had never even been to Sri Lanka. In not focusing on the engagement of this segment of the diasporic community, the protests were then more easily seen as an immigrant effort, rather than a Canadian one.

As Maniratnam, a 30 year-old male observed, it was not just that the protests were seen as being an "immigrant" effort, but it was more specifically seen as a "visible minority" effort. Maniratnam argued that the perception of protesters as "dirty immigrants" contributed towards the lack of support from the wider Canadian community:

> To be honest, I think to be very blunt and honest, I think it was just the perception of the demographic. I think if you put a whole bunch of visible minorities together, protesting, screaming, yelling, it doesn't look very professional. It looks kind of…ghetto kind of thing. It has nothing to do with what the message is, it has more to do with the visible minority—the way that the people, largely visible minority, look. Especially because most of the protesters were not wearing suits, or were not polished. I think from an outside perspective, looking at that, it's kind of a racial thing. It's almost a dirty immigrant view. It's almost comparable to seeing homeless people on the street. So when you look at a visible minority, and just because people are dark and immigrants, I think there is a racial tendency of people to stereotype.

Maniratnam speaks explicitly about how racial prejudice was the primary reason for why the protesters were not seen in favourable terms. However, he was in the minority among participants in terms of his overt expression of the role that race played in creating negative narratives of the protests and the protesters. The vast majority of participants focused on how their status as immigrants (even if they were second-generation immigrants) was what primarily contributed towards the adverse attention

they received, and that it was the media that contributed significantly to ensuring that this community was portrayed negatively.

However, while participants acknowledged the role of the media in how the protests were framed, the reactions of some members of the wider Canadian population left space for participants to feel disappointment in their country of settlement. Many shared that they felt that the Canadian government and Canadians at large could have done more to become educated about the situation in Sri Lanka, and felt saddened that their concerns were not being taken seriously. Participants also expressed incredulity that many Canadians appeared to be more focused on the inconvenience that was being caused to them by the protests in Toronto, without considering why this diasporic community was protesting in the first place. Eloginy, a 30 year-old female, described her feeling of disappointment in her fellow Canadians:

> And mind you, the media was pretty hard on us, they didn't understand the whole story. There were people who were sympathetic, but most people…what I remember [was] going to Union Station, and we had one of the biggest protests, and people were having a fit, these non-Tamil people, like 'oh my God this is rush hour, blah blah blah' and in my head, I'm like, 'just once wouldn't you mind going home late?'

While Eloginy expressed a deep sorrow in the perceived lack of empathy from Canadians, the lack of understanding from the larger Canadian community is not surprising considering the confusion that surrounded the true intentions of the protests. Although many protesters exclaimed that they were protesting against the ethnic conflict, others were protesting in support of the Tamil Tigers, a group that had officially been labelled as a terrorist organization by the Canadian government: "Hundreds of people were already waving signs on sidewalks in the downtown core by lunch, waving Canadian flags alongside red ones with the tiger insignia of the Tamil

Tigers....Old men holding signs reading “Respect Tamil Sovereignty”, stood next to parka-clad children waving flags larger than themselves, chanting pleas for liberation” (Coutts, March 16, 2009).

The presence of the flag that is associated with the Tamil Tigers at the protests garnered much media attention. The flag, which is red and depicts a picture of a Tiger with two rifles crossed beneath it, was adopted by the LTTE in direct opposition to the lion that is emblazed on the Sri Lankan flag. While the flag itself has been strongly associated with the Tamil Tigers, it is also relevant to the Tamil people. Many Tamils have also adopted the flag as being representative of Tamil Eelam, the separate nation-state that they hope to establish one day. And, as such, participants asserted that it made sense for the flags to be present at the protests. They claimed that the flags were not about the Tamil Tigers, but were about the Tamils, and as such, should be present. Karen, a 20-year-old female was adamant about this, claiming:

> The Tiger flag, the red flag, it's actually a flag that does represent Tamil people. But it does also represent the organization, the so-called Tamil Tigers, which is the army, or the people call it the terrorist group, that was fighting on behalf of the Tamils. The flag is the only thing that we had—we never looked at it as a terrorist flag. Even though the group was associated with the flag, that's the only thing we can use to identify ourselves, or to show the world that there are other people here.

Hamish, a 24-year-old male stated:

> Now I'm like a person that I’d say I'm proud of the flag, I think that flag represents the Tamil community more than it does the Tamil Tigers. To me I feel like the Tigers adopted that flag to represent them based on it being the flag for the Tamil community and what it represents. So in my head I just feel that, you know, its people are not making a jump to understand that…we view it as, most of us view it as the flag for our community, not just the rebel fighters who represent us.

While Hamish and Karen's perspective may be representative of the many protesters who opted to wave the flag, it was not a stance that was necessarily understood by the wider Canadian population. There were questions about the relationship between the Tamil population and terrorism. In an editorial in the National Post (2009, A12), the presence of the flags was questioned, and it was claimed that the protests were actually in support of terrorism:

> The rally that took place in Toronto on Monday was not just, as organizers claimed, an expression of support for Tamil civilians in war-torn Sri Lanka. Many of the participants carried flags of the Tamil Tigers, a terrorist group that practices suicide bombings and abducts children to use as soldiers…. Some of the banners displayed on Monday also depicted Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, a wanted mass murderer who personally authorizes the acts of terrorism that group has committed over the last decades.

The protests in Toronto elicited such a strong response that the Toronto Star had a special section where readers could write to the editor on their views about the protest (Toronto Star, 2009). The section was aptly titled 'More voices on Tamil protest' and demonstrated the range of responses Canadians had to the protests. While several Canadians expressed their support for the protests and the cause that motivated the protests, of whom the majority were members of the diasporic community, there were others who expressed strong opposition to the protests.

One Torontonian wrote, "I was disgusted to see hundreds of Toronto residents waving the Tamil Tiger flag and vocally declaring their support for a banned terrorist group. Until the LTTE agrees to renounce violence this country should not offer any support for its cause." Another Torontonian expressed disbelief that such a protest was even possible:

> Let's see if I have this straight. Authorities in Toronto give 120,000 people the go-ahead to clog the city's busiest sidewalks to hold a protest that for the most

> part is a show of support for a group that is deemed a terrorist organization by Canada's government. Right?

Such an understanding of the protests and the presence of the flags was not completely inappropriate. Some members of the diasporic community spoke of the challenges in conveying an effective message regarding the conflict in Sri Lanka, and suggested that the presence of the flags actually inhibited the wider Canadian population from being able to sympathize with the cause. As Sanjutha, a 26 year-old female exclaimed:

> I didn't protest, because I…was upset at the way they were doing it. Like I asked, someone there, I asked him, like "You're holding up this Tamil Tiger flag"—I understand the reason why, but the Tamil flag is like this growling tiger with guns—"so, you want the mainstream who's annoyed at you for stopping traffic to listen to your cause, have you thought of just putting down the flags?" And, like, they had other posters they were holding up, and like—or, like reducing the—like, I understand why, because it's very part of the identity, and they felt helped by the Tigers, but I'm like, you're trying to get to the mainstream person, and it's very scary for them. In Canada, they don't know about like, like freedom fighters, or rebels, they don't know what that means…

The controversy that followed the presence of the flag at the protests is not surprising considering that it is difficult to determine exactly what the flag means, and whether its presence was in opposition to Canada's ban on the LTTE. Dayanada Perera, Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in Canada, was astonished by the presence of the flags at the protests, and demanded that the Canadian government intervene and stop the protesters from waving the flag, as it was in support of the LTTE, which was a "banned terrorist organization" (Davis, 2009). Perera was speaking to the legality of waving the flag, arguing that the protesters were actually overtly supporting the LTTE. The Canadian government was not unaware of the possible legal contradiction in permitting the flags to be flown at the protests. However, the Toronto Police department declared

that there was “nothing illegal” in protesters waving the flag (CBC News, 2009a). Arguably, this decision was made because it remained unclear whether the flag was in support of the Tamil Tigers, the banned terrorist organization, or in support of Tamil Eelam, a desired homeland that cannot be “banned.”

The decision of the Toronto police not to take legal action against protesters waving the flag is indicative of some of the inconsistencies that lie in the labelling of certain groups as terrorist organizations. While the Canadian government has banned the LTTE and organizations that officially raise funds for this group, it did not ban the presence of the flag. This may be due to the fact that the diasporic community does not necessarily consider the flag to be representative of the Tamil Tigers, but rather sees the flag as being a symbol for their desired homeland. Therefore, in *not* banning the flag, it appears as if the government is taking a stance against terrorism, but not against secessionism. While supporting the creation of a Tamil Eelam was not condemned, the means through which this desired homeland was being fought for *was* condemned. And perhaps it is this seeming contradiction that opened space for the wider Canadian community to be disgruntled by the presence of these flags. As far as they were concerned, the Canadian government had banned the LTTE, so how could they possibly condone the flag? And if they believed that the flags were *not* condoned, then it would be believed that it was the diasporic community that was acting not only disrespectfully, but also *illegally*. In categorizing the LTTE as a terrorist organization, but in not considering the implications of this banning on other forms of political action, particularly with respect to support for secession, the Canadian government actually

created an opportunity for increased disconnect and suspicion towards the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community from the wider Canadian community.

FILLING THE VOID OF THE TIGERS

Among second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members, the level of support for the LTTE and their tactics ranged from a lack of support to complete support. However, despite the varying levels of support for the LTTE, there was awareness that this group had fought for decades for the Tamil cause, and there was an underlying belief among many members of this community that the Tigers would keep on fighting until they had achieved their goal: the establishment of Tamil Eelam. As such, several participants expressed that it came as a shock when the Sri Lankan President made an official declaration of victory on May 19, 2009, asserting that the Sri Lankan army had defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and that the leader of the organization, Velupillai Prabhakaran, had been killed.

They had not expected Prabhakaran to be killed. Even people who had openly dismissed the LTTE or had not been ardent supporters were horrified with how the story had "ended." However they may have perceived the LTTE and the tactics that were used by this militant group, the reactions of the Tamils in Canada demonstrated that the Tigers and Prabhakaran were symbolic of a possible future. With their defeat, this future suddenly no longer seemed possible. And there was fear that the Tamils in Sri Lanka who had for decades prior to the ethnic conflict, experienced discrimination and prejudice would once again be moved to the rank of "second-class citizen" in their homeland. Without the Tigers and Prabhakaran, it was believed that there would no longer be a voice for the Tamils. Karen, a 20 year-old female said:

> As to Prabhakaran being killed, at first I didn't believe it. Just like [with] Osama bin Laden....Osama bin Laden has died multiple times over the years. I didn't believe it. I thought it was a scheme.... But later on I did find out it was true, but there are people who believe he's [Prabhakaran] still alive, in a different country, in hiding. But as to the war being over, the conflict being over, I didn't believe it was over. They just eliminated what they thought was the problem or the problem-causer, which was the LTTE leader. And they thought that if they take him out of the equation, the Tamil people wouldn't have a voice...

Latha, a 30 year-old female, echoed this sentiment:

> I was really sad actually. Like, I mean, I guess you're kind of glad that the war is over...but at the same time…I felt really bad. I felt all defeated because like I said I wasn't a huge Tiger supporter or anything like that. But at the same time I grew up hearing about all this stuff, and here's this guy who always managed to be the hero, the leader of the Tamil Tigers, who started it all. And he's been killed, and it's like, he was fighting for all these people, and they killed him. And now, who's going to fight for us?

Both Karen and Latha were born and raised in Canada, and while both had been to Sri Lanka on holiday, neither had stayed there for an extended period of time. Karen, a student in Toronto, shared that she was very active in gaining knowledge on Sri Lanka and its ethnic conflict, and expressed an understanding of the Tamil "cause." Latha, on the other hand, shared that she had never been actively engaged in homeland politics. In fact, she had made a conscientious effort not to become educated on Sri Lankan politics. Despite the fact that these two women had differing viewpoints on their roles in homeland politics, they expressed very similar perspectives in terms of the impact of Prabhakaran's death. Aside from their personal feelings of sorrow and disbelief that the leader of the Tamil Tigers had been killed, they shared a greater question: who would stand for the Tamils now?

Even though participants expressed that they did not necessarily approve of the use of violence or the employment of child soldiers or the other brutal tactics the insurgency group was known for, they did understand that the LTTE had initially

formed as an advocacy group for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Therefore, despite how the LTTE may have been perceived during the war, their defeat was felt more keenly because it was not just about the defeat of the Tamil Tigers, but the defeat of the mouthpiece for the Tamils. There was now a void, and a need arose for someone to step in as an advocate for the homelanders.

With the defeat of the Tamil Tigers, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community felt a more heightened need to intervene in homeland politics. With the Tamil Tigers not only being defeated but effectively dismantled, Tamil Canadians were no longer faced with the dilemma of feeling as if they had to choose between their allegiance to Canada or to Tamil Eelam. There was no longer a formal LTTE organization to support—and if they wanted to continue being involved in homeland politics, they had to find another venue. On December 19, 2009, the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Canada held a referendum asking the community whether they believed Sri Lankan Tamils had the right to self-determination (Tamil Elections Canada, 2009). Over 48,000 members of the diaspora voted, and an overwhelming 99.82% voted yes in the referendum. Therefore, despite the demise of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the desire for self-determination and the establishment of a separate Tamil state was not extinguished.

It is important to note, however, that the referendum question was multi-layered, and it is possible that voters were not all necessary saying “yes” or “no” to the same thing. The question read: “I aspire for the formation of the independent and sovereign state of Tamil Eelam in the North and East territory of the Island of Sri Lanka on the basis that the Tamils in the Island of Sri Lanka make a distinct nation, have a traditional

homeland and have the right to Self-Determination" (Tamil Elections Canada, 2009). Also, while the referendum was open to members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community throughout Canada, polling stations were not made available in all provinces and territories. In fact, the majority of polling stations were found in Ontario, particularly in the Greater Toronto Region, suggesting that the vast number of voters resided in this area. A further challenge of this referendum is that there may have been selection bias. It is possible that only those who were strongly in favour of secession and the creation of a Tamil Eelam were motivated to vote, whereas those who were not may not have felt the need to cast their vote. However, despite these challenges, the results are certainly compelling in demonstrating that this community is not only politically active, but that when they *are* politically engaged, they appear to be united in their strong connection to the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity.

Shortly after the referendum, in the spring of 2010, members of the diaspora worldwide formed the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE), an organization that claims to be committed to acting on behalf of Tamils in Sri Lanka (McLean, 2010). According to their constitution, "the TGTE, elected democratically by the Tamil Diaspora, shall endeavour to re-establish the independent, sovereign State of Tamil Eelam" (TGTE, 2011, Chapter 1.1.1). Engagement in homeland politics, therefore, appeared to be motivated by more than simply advocating for an organization, such as the LTTE. The defeat of the Tamil Tigers was felt keenly by the diasporic community, and Tamil Canadians recognized that there was now a void that needed to be filled. They realized that the Tamils in Sri Lanka still needed support—thereby

opening the door for the members of the diasporic community to step into the role of advocates, further strengthening their engagement in homeland politics.

The LTTE had for decades been the primary advocates for the establishment of a separate Tamil nation in Sri Lanka. Although they did not have the support of all homelanders or diasporic community members, they were the 'officially' recognized spokesmen and spokeswomen for the Tamil community. With their defeat, the diasporic community recognized a need for new spokespeople to intervene and represent the Tamil people. However, in filling this 'void', the question becomes one of whether they were actually stepping into the shoes of the LTTE—and if this was the case, then is it unreasonable to be suspicious of a community that was replacing a terrorist organization? Was the diasporic community in becoming the new spokesmen and spokesmen, now the *new* LTTE, and deserving of the "terrorist" brand?

TIGERS, TERRORISTS AND THE TAMIL IDENTITY

The defeat of the Tamil Tigers did not suspend engagement in homeland politics because, while the Tamil Tigers may have been the insurgency group representing the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers did not represent the Tamil identity. Therefore, when asked if the defeat of the Tigers altered their understanding of their Tamil identity, the majority of participants proclaimed that it did not. They were just as certain of their Tamil identity after the LTTE was dismantled as they had been before the war ended. However, participants felt that while they were able to distinguish between being Tamil and being a Tamil Tiger, they found that non-Tamil Canadians were unable to do the same. Participants expressed that, following the protests, it was not always easy to be Tamil in Canada.

Second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils commented on how, despite everything that had happened, and the attempts that had been made to educate the public, they often experienced situations in which non-Tamil Canadians would treat "Tamil" as being synonymous with being "Tiger," which was then in turn synonymous with being "terrorist." They commented on how, when they mentioned that they were Tamil, they were often asked if they were a Tamil Tiger. While some were asked this in jest, others found themselves in a situation in which they had to explain that being Tamil did not automatically imply that they were members of the LTTE. As Arul, a 27 year-old male, said:

> You say 'Tamil', and the first thing that comes to…many people's mind now are, 'oh! Tamil Tigers, rebel terrorists, bad'... I mean, I knew that before, which is why I felt the one thing that really made me feel badly for the people that were protesting....is that they were fighting to try to get rid of this image.... Yeah, we're all faced with it. It's not just the people who were protesting, and it's not just the Tigers. It's everybody that is Tamil, and goes anywhere and says that they're Tamil. Now, the issue is so known all over the world... it's what the Tamil race seems to be identified with. We're not just fighting for the Tigers...we're fighting for ourselves and our own identities, to make it legitimate...as an ethnicity, not as a rebel group.

Carsha, a 24 year-old female, stated:

> I was upset 'cause I didn't understand why they were placed on the international terrorist list, 'cause it didn't make sense, and it also makes it difficult for us 'cause now we're Tamils who're living in Canada, and because people don't have context they're automatically like, 'oh, you're Tamil', there's just always this weariness, 'like, 'oh, you're the same way like the Muslims.' The Muslim community at large has experienced that. Also, the South Asian community that's not Muslim has experienced that Islamophobia….So now when you say 'Tamil' there is an automatic word association in many parts of the world, where 'Tamil' goes with 'Tigers', as opposed to the point in time when some people didn't even know what Tamil was. So now I feel like for many people who are not Tamil and from different groups, even other racialized groups who don't have the information, will associate Tamil with Tigers 'cause it's the first time they heard the word 'Tamil' even. So I think it demonized our community in a way 'cause it associated us with one specific group, and by means of that word the way they phrase it as a terrorist group, we've been demonized and we've

> been…and I don't know, I would equate it…for us it's similar, not exactly the same but similar to the way the Muslim community has been demonized, and Islamophobia has risen. Like Tamilphobia.

Nearly every participant that was interviewed had a story to share where they found themselves being equated to the Tigers or to terrorists because of their Tamil identity. Carsha was certainly not the only participant to draw a comparison between the experiences of the Tamil community and the Muslim community, referring to the suspicion that is cast on both groups due to fears of terrorism. Equating ethnic or racialized groups with criminal or suspicious behaviour is referred to as "racial profiling." While "racial profiling" has often been used to describe the increased police scrutiny faced by the black population (Meehan and Ponder, 2002), the term has now come to encompass other groups.

As Bah (2006) points out, the nature of profiling is reflective of the most pressing societal concerns (p. 77):

> Prior to the 9/11 attack, the rationale for racial profiling centered mainly on the need to protect the public against drug trafficking and illegal immigration. Blacks and Hispanics were the primary targets for racial profiling. Since the 9/11 attack, however, terrorism has become the primary security concern. This concern has led to a dramatic increase in the profiling of Arabs and Muslims, who are often considered terrorists.

Bah (2006) notes the changing trends with respect to which groups are being targeted with suspicion and are being profiled. The profiling of ethnic groups based on suspected terrorist activity or affiliation is referred to as "terrorist profiling" (Newman and Brown, 2009). The topic of racial profiling has been particular salient in the United States, where the police record racial information of individuals that are stopped and/or searched. Wortley and Tanner (2003) argue that since this information is not required in Canada, it can make it more difficult to determine the existence of racial profiling in

Canada. However, the testimonies of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto certainly appear to demonstrate the perceived experience of "terrorist profiling".

While some participants expressed that they understood that the comments were being made in jest by friends and colleagues, and some found it an opportune way to educate people on Sri Lankan history and the ethnic conflict, others expressed a keen disappointment in their fellow Canadians for not taking the time to consider the impact of their words. The blame for this insensitivity was placed on the media for not educating Canadians correctly on the subject matter. As Haran, a 28- year-old male, proclaimed:

> Well, the way other people look at Tamils, when they look at Tigers they think of terrorists...'cause I guess that's how the media put it.... That's what they learned. Like, they look down at Tamil people, I noticed that. Especially after all the protests...

During the time of the protests in Toronto, much media attention was centered on the Tamil diaspora and the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. News articles discussed the impact of the protests on the citizens of Toronto, the intent of the protesters, and the implications of these protests (Ferenc 2009; Taylor 2009). Journalists questioned how the protests reflected the level of tolerance of Canada and whether Canada should be tolerant. An editorial by Haroon Siddiqui in the Toronto Star (2009) addressed how the protests highlighted some of the questionable edges of multiculturalism and tolerance in Canada, addressing the question of whether it's appropriate to bring homeland politics into the country of settlement:

> Tamil Canadians are not the only ones to bring baggage to this debate. In the last few days we've heard, over and over again, an old Canadian myth: Let the immigrants not import their old country troubles to Canada. Except that they always have: the British and the French, to start with, and the Irish, the

> Ukrainians, the Serbs, the Sikhs, etcetera, etcetera. Canadian politics and the Canadian character have been shaped, in some ways, by "old country" politics.

Margaret Wente of the Globe and Mail (2009) further questioned engagement in homeland politics, by asking the critical question: “Can you belong to more than one nation?” She wrote that while it is evident that Tamil Canadians appear to be engaged in both contexts, she remained uncertain of whether it was indeed possible to maintain a “transnational citizenship,” and concluded by stating that “there are many mini-nations in our midst. And we don’t know anything about them.”

It is a weighty statement on which to conclude an article that took great pains to point out the level of political engagement practiced by Tamil Canadians, including second- and third- generation diasporic community members. Her conclusion implies a threat that is borne from uncertainty. If there are so many mini-nations in our midst and we do not know anything about them, then how confident can we truly be in their loyalty, and in their citizenship? It is this uncertainty that breeds distrust and opens space for the creation of ‘suspect minority’ groups.

As shown with the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community, they were disappointed to discover that they were being viewed with suspicion. The community was not just perceived to support the Tamil Tigers, an officially labelled terrorist organization, they were actually believed to be Tigers themselves. In being Tamil, they were also Tiger, and hence ‘terrorist’, further demonstrating that they were suspect minorities. This phenomenon of collapsing a minority population into a terrorist faction when the minority population had not posed any notable threat to the country of settlement raises questions about whether the country of settlement is actually as open and tolerant to immigration as might have been believed. Furthermore, in the case of

Canada, a country that is internationally recognized for its multicultural policies, the question of the extent to which multiculturalism actually exists and works is raised.

MULTICULTURALISM AND SUSPECT MINORITIES

The protests that took place in Toronto began a dialogue on the implications of multiculturalism in Canada. While the fact that an ethnic minority group felt confident enough in their rights as Canadians to stage a protest in the core of the busiest city in Canada speaks volumes to how successful multiculturalism has been in promoting the rights of a diverse population, the perceived reactions of the wider Canadian community suggests that multiculturalism has not been successfully implemented on an individual citizen basis. The extent to which participants felt that they were not being understood or accepted by the larger Canadian population because of their Tamil identities and allegiances reveals that there are aspects of multiculturalism that have yet to be fully addressed by Canadian policy makers.

In feeling as if they had to justify their involvement in homeland politics, and needing to defend their support for the Tamil Tigers or the creation of a separate Tamil state, the members of this diasporic community were placed in a very vulnerable situation. While they may have staged the protests in hope of garnering sympathy and support for the civilians who were dying in the ethnic conflict, the protests actually appeared to play another role, demonstrating a very sharp edge of multiculturalism in Canada. The protests provided the platform on which Canadians that had an allegiance to a country or identity that was different from their country of settlement needed to prove that their passion and sense of urgency was both appropriate and warranted. They needed to not only explain why they were protesting, they had to explain why any

protest of the ethnic conflict would demand some mention of the Tamil Tigers, which inevitably led to conversations about terrorism instead of conversations about the right to protest and advocate.

The participants of this study were very staunch Canadians, often expressing their appreciation and gratitude for the country that allowed them to escape the war in Sri Lanka, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, their experience of the protests and the reactions that the protests seemed to evoke among their fellow Canadians caused them to wonder about just what it meant to be Canadian, and whether Canada still deserved the label of being a 'multicultural' nation. They had assumed that multiculturalism meant tolerance and sensitivity, and this was not what many experienced:

> *Karen, 21 year-old female:* Students were sitting down on the road, they had the roads closed off, but students were sitting on it and right beside them, not even two meters away there was horse manure...right? And even being raised here, there's a lot of students who were Canadians who were born here that were voicing their opinions, and Canada's a place where, you know, there's multiculturalism, it's open to freedom, open voice, it's democracy, and everyone has a say in what they believe in. And why they were restrained, and compressed into a little area and they were ignored. And that's kind of disappointing from a Canadian perspective. Seeing how I'm second-generation Sri Lankan, I was kinda, I don't know, kinda sad. Sad that it happened to this point, that we had children, and elderly people were out on the street in the cold, in the rain, or in whatever weather it was, at night trying to get a message across. It's sad that we couldn't find another way to approach the government. It was sad that it took us to jump on the Gardiner Expressway to get some kind of attention. Like we had the media's attention, but we had like five minutes…five seconds of it. As to getting proper coverage, I think it was poorly presented within the media to the public's eye.

Perhaps these experiences should not have come as a surprise. As Ryan (2010) points out, Canadians often live with a 'multicultiphobia', a worry regarding the consequences of multiculturalism and issues of loyalties and identities. Ryan argues,

however, that this anxiety is due to the ways in which various events are presented by the media, often skewing the views of the general population with errors in facts and interpretation. These inaccuracies and overgeneralizations may lead the average Canadian to question the integrity of multiculturalism and fear various ethnic groups, when, in fact, these concerns may not be warranted.

The protests staged by the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Canada presents a very important and *timely* opportunity to consider the implications of not only how multiculturalism is being understood and implemented by Canadians, but also how these policies affect transnational populations who continue to engage with their homelands. Further questions about Canada's understanding of the diaspora and their perspectives were raised with the arrival of boatloads of Tamil refugees to Canadian shores between 2009 and 2010. While the diasporic community had been protesting since 2009 that the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka was, in fact, genocide of the Tamils, the reactions towards the arrival of these Tamil refugees were not necessarily sympathetic towards the views of the Tamil diaspora. While these refugees gained much media attention, the focus was on the criminality of illegal migrants, rather than on the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka (Armstrong and Ibbitson, 2009).

> Well, I was actually really embarrassed to be Canadian in some situations.... I mean, a lot of people say Canada is such a peaceful nation, they do peace-keeping things—they basically want peace. Right? But especially with more recent news with the boat coming in off the shore of Vancouver Island, which is just ridiculous the amount of discrimination involved with that!... To assume all the people on that boat were terrorists, to label them as terrorists, and to label them as cheating the system—it was just ridiculous! [Manjula, female, age 24]

Manjula's belief that the media seemed to be skewed in its portrayal of the Tamil refugees is not without merit. Bradimore and Bauder (2011) performed a content

analysis of three major newspapers (the Toronto Star, the National Post, and the Vancouver Sun) between October 2009 and January 2010 to determine how media portrayed the arrival of the boats of Tamil refugees. They found that the refugees were portrayed negatively, whereby "the press emphasized issues of criminality and terrorism, and constructed the refugees as risk" (p. 5).

The reactions from the media and other Canadians regarding the protests, Tamil Canadians, and the arrival of the Tamil refugees were felt keenly by the diasporic community. Some participants spoke of comments they heard and read from other Canadians, where members of the diaspora were encouraged to go "back home" if they were so anxious to engage in homeland politics. Their right to belong to Canada was being questioned, and an implicit message that their place was actually in Sri Lanka was also being conveyed.

During the time of the protests, not only were there a number of articles addressing the protests and the diasporic community, there were also hundreds of online posts from Canadians. While there was a range of reactions to the protests, including an attitude of support for the protesters and their rationale for protesting, there were also several posts that highlighted the belief that this diasporic community consisted of immigrants who were *not* Canadian, and who should actually be considered as suspect minorities:

> If they were Canadians they'd be arrested and forcibly removed. Because they are not Canadians, they get to break the law with impunity, abetted by all the nice Canadian cops who are themselves shackled by a nice muddle of Canadian multicultural fundamentalism. Thank you Pierre Trudeau indeed, as a previous poster said. [Lewington & Makin, *Globe and Mail*, May 11, 2009: Online comment posted by user "Cyrus of Persia"]

> Canadians protesting about Sri Lanka? Or are you displaced Sri Lankans holding another country hostage for a few hours and should be moved home. Pick your loyalty. You chose Canada, the fight is not here. [Lewington & Makin, *Globe and Mail,* May 11, 2009: Online comment posted by user "Bob London"]

> Let's give them their Tamiltopia in CANADA. The civil war seems to be lost for these poor people and it seems that there is no chance of them ever getting their home land in Sri Lanka. As there are a lot of media supporters for their cause at the Toronto Star and other media outlets how would it be if they began lobbying for a TAMILTOPIA in CANADA??? We could offer them Prince Edward county!! Nice island area that is clean and quiet. Then the likes of Siddiqui and other Canadians could donate a portion of their nice salary to the advancement of this new country !!! After all, as been stated in many articles, the inconvenience we CANADIANS have suffered at the hands of these terrorist supporters is tiny compared to the conditions suffered by the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It seems to me therefore that a small inconvenience for the residents in the part of Canada that would host this new Tamiltopia would show what great people we really are!!! Anyone agree ?? [Siddiqui, *Toronto Star,* May 16, 2009: Online commented posted by user "blogexpert"]

These are but a few of the posts that demonstrate the real concern that some Canadians appear to have regarding the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community. The concern is not only that the members of this diasporic community are not really Canadian since they appear to be so actively invested in the politics of their homeland, but also that they may eventually bring these politics to the country of settlement and move beyond "simple" protests. User 'blogexpert' articulates the concern that in allowing a suspect minority group to go unchecked in their support of their homeland, it would not then be surprising for this group to one day demand a separate Tamil state within Canada itself.

While this online respondent was being facetious, there are several interesting points made in his comment. He equates the protesters with "terrorist supporters", and separates Tamils from other Canadians. And by speaking of a "Tamiltopia", there is a level of mockery about the desire to establish a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka. This

comment highlights the idea that the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community does not belong in the nation of Canada, and that if they are given any support, they may in fact lobby to separate Canada into smaller ethnic communities—such as a "Tamiltopia." User "blogexpert" was not alone in his opinion: "The day these people will claim a separate province from Canada will be very soon. It is time that Canada wakes up and send every one of them packing, never to return, to wherever they came from" (Yum, May 10, 2009: Online comment posted by user "DanP").

These comments are indicative of the fear that is often felt in association to immigrant populations that are perceived to have dual identities. These different identities mean that the country of settlement cannot take the allegiances of these community members for granted, and if there is ever tension between the country of settlement and the homeland, these community members may side with their homeland, thereby posing a very real threat to the country of settlement. Perhaps then, as user "DanP" so ardently proposes, it is time to "send every one of them packing", thereby removing the threat.

It is important to note, however, that while there were Canadians who expressed a lack of support for the protests and who viewed the diasporic community through a lens of suspicion, the actions of the Canadian government for the most part did *not* demonstrate this. While the LTTE had been banned as a terrorist group, the diasporic community were still allowed to protest. In fact, Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon staunchly claimed that he would not put an end to the protests: "'It's not up to me to put an end to protest. People are allowed to protest in Canada. We live in a democracy'" (Potter, 2009). Andrew Potter suggests in his Maclean's article, however,

that the reason that the Tamil protests were "tolerated" was because it is not considered to be as significant a concern for Canadians as issues in the middle-east. As he points out, while the government may have allowed the Tamil protests, it was opposed to British MP George Galloway "coming here to speak, on the grounds that his past efforts raising funds for humanitarian relief in Gaza made him some sort of security threat" (Potter, 2009). However, while Potter may argue that Canada generally showed a tolerance for the Tamil protests, the comments posted in response to this article, as well as the previous comments demonstrate that even if the protests were tolerated by the Canadian government, Canadians were not all so tolerant.

As shown among the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members, they demonstrate a very strong connection to their homeland, and expressed a very heavy disappointment in Canada for their lack of support for both the diasporic community and their "cause" in the homeland. These factors, therefore, may lead one to presume that if they were ever faced with the challenging position of having to choose between their two national loyalties, the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Canada would lean more heavily towards their Tamil allegiances, thereby justifying the worries of Canadians who perceive this diasporic community to consist of 'suspect minorities'. However, it was found that this was not the case.

THE BOUNDARIES OF SUPPORT

While Tamil Canadians were protective of the homelanders, and understood that it was now their responsibility to speak up for them, there were certain lines that they would not cross in order to advocate for the homeland. Namely, when asked if they would engage in any acts of violence on Canadian soil in order to increase awareness of

the situation in Sri Lanka, participants claimed that they would not. They acknowledged that there may be extremists who would engage in these behaviours, but these acts would not be condoned by the vast majority of the diasporic community. Participants shared that they felt that Canada was their home, and they would not do anything to jeopardize their positions in this country. Therefore, while they are loyal to the homeland, and while they do feel a sense of responsibility to the homelanders, this responsibility is not eclipsed by their gratitude to Canada and their desire to maintain their Canadian citizenship. As Pooja, a 23-year-old female, stated:

> If it [the Canadian government] became like, I don't know, the Iraqi government or something like that, then it would be easier to engage in violence. But the diaspora in general, I think, I don't know, I just feel like, maybe—it's hard for me to kind of distance myself since I'm a member of the diaspora—but just in general, there's much love for their adopted land.... I just feel like, there's a general gratitude. Like, the fact that we're able to have television stations, radio stations, the funding, the fact that they allowed us to come at the beginning...

While Tamil Canadians, for the most part, accepted their role as advocates following the defeat of the LTTE, feeling a responsibility to the homelanders, and a sense of connection to the Tamils in Sri Lanka, it is important to note that this connection was not left completely unchecked. The members of the diaspora may recognize their roles as defenders and lobbyists, but they were unwilling to advocate if it meant it would affect their positions in Canada. Participants commented on the difficulties that the Muslims faced following 9/11, and they were unwilling to do anything that would paint their entire community with the same "terrorist" brush. They would not engage in any act of terror on Canadian soil. While several participants explained that this would not be an effective strategy and therefore should not be considered, many also added that they would not risk their positions and the security

they had in Canada. Onisha, a 21 year-old female, articulates this perspective, when she says:

> I absolutely would not, and I…don't think anyone in the right of mind should, or would, feel that way....I would find that scary if anyone would be like, yeah, let's, let's make ourselves heard by, you know, having suicide bombs, like, in another country or somewhere like that. No, absolutely not. And I think…anyone would be able to understand that hypothetical example—if the LTTE were to have a suicide bomber in Canada or something like that, we would not—we'd be a lot farther from having peace and having people listen to us, so I don't think anyone would agree to that, I hope not. For, for my perspective, I don't think anyone would, because we've…'cause I think we've seen it with the Taliban stuff like that, you know…it's unfortunate, because…the Muslim community's having a hard time, you know, living in a Western country because of the Taliban, 'cause they always associate the two together. So I think learning from history, or from other experiences, that other people should know that…when, if you were to do something like that, it would hurt the Tamil diaspora and the Tamil people in Sri Lanka extremely, you know.

However, their willingness to dismiss violence as a tactic to be used in Canada also appeared to stem from the fact that they had a general understanding of politics and international relations. Whereas their level of knowledge in terms of Sri Lankan politics varied, they were appreciative of the fact that condoning violence on foreign soil would not actually be beneficial to the Tamil cause, and that in addition to not being helpful to Tamils in Sri Lanka, it would also effectively blackball the diasporic community. Their ability to step back and react to the conflict from a matter-of-fact perspective does not necessarily suggest that second-generation members of the diaspora are not emotional about the cause, but rather indicates that they are able and willing to be strategic regarding the future directions of the conflict. As such, when these participants were asked if they would back off from intervening in homeland politics if they were asked to do so by the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the participants said yes, albeit with the caveat that

they would need to be reassured that the Tamils in Sri Lanka were not somehow being coerced into making this request of the diaspora:

> *Davina, 24 year-old female*: ….if they told us to back off, I definitely will, and I think I'm pretty sure other people would too unless, you know, they felt that they were being forced to say that for some reason.

Davina argues that she would need to know that the homelanders were not being "forced" to ask the diasporic community to back off in order for her to feel comfortable decreasing her level of political engagement in the homeland. However, she does not articulate how she would be assured that they were *not* being forced. In considering that they would need to be convinced not to engage by the homelanders suggests that the diasporic community feels that they have the right to *decide* whether and how they will engage. If the voices of the homelanders are not sufficient, or if their request for the diasporic community to step back is not made in an "acceptable" fashion, then the diasporic community will opt to continue their engagement. The possibility that they may act *despite* the wishes of the homelanders may lend credence to the perspective of suspicion held by some homelanders, in which homelanders argue that the diasporic community is only engaging for their own purposes, without taking their interests and desires into consideration.

Although the second-generation diasporic community members may need to be convinced to terminate their political engagement in the homeland, they did maintain strong boundaries with respect to *how* they exercise this political activism. Participants shared that the end of the ethnic conflict has left room to consider *other* means of supporting the homelanders and achieving rights and freedoms for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Second-generation diasporic community members did not condone violence,

and argued that the defeat of the LTTE, while tragic, also means that more peaceful and humanitarian efforts must be made in assisting the homelanders, such as the development of infrastructure in Sri Lanka. When participants were asked how they would react if the LTTE or another insurgency group were to rise again, they argued that they would not be able to support these groups if violence was the primary means through which they planned to achieve their objectives.

CONCLUSION

The manner in which diasporic communities determine where their loyalties lie, and how they construct their relationships with both their homelands and their countries of settlement, is not a simple one. It is not static, and it is certainly not one-dimensional. Several factors must be considered in this process of negotiation, and what is particularly challenging is that these factors must be reconsidered each time the relationship between the homeland and the country of settlement shifts. When the members of the diasporic community know that the country of settlement and the homeland are on friendly or neutral terms, then they can maintain a relationship with both the homeland and the country of settlement without feeling as if it is in any way betraying one for the other. It is when any form of tension is introduced into the relationship between the country of settlement and the homeland that diasporans may find themselves experiencing the challenging situation of needing to actively negotiate loyalties.

As observed among the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora, the perspective the country of settlement may take in terms of the homeland does not unilaterally determine the strength and direction of loyalty experienced by the

diaspora. Labelling the Tamil Tigers as terrorists did not weaken the diaspora's ties with the homeland. Participants in this study demonstrated that their relationship with the homeland did not change as a result of Canada's position on terrorism and the LTTE. However, while their relationship with the homeland may not have altered as a result of the banning, this study showed that there were members of the diasporic community whose connection to the country of settlement was weakened by the Canadian government's decision to ban the LTTE. For those who disapproved of the terrorist label, Canada's decision to label the LTTE as terrorists was seen as an example of how the Canadian government was uninformed on the topic of the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, and was unconcerned about the position of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Canada.

When the needs of the homeland were most severe, and there was a call for action, the diasporic community was moved to engage more actively in homeland politics. The absence of an insurgency group actually appeared to move the diasporic community to consider alternate forms of engagement in homeland politics, aside from simply supporting or promoting the organization when it existed, including the formation of a transnational government to represent the interests of both the diasporic community and the homeland. Participants also spoke of the need for advocacy and education if they wanted to move towards a peaceful future for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

However, while the members of the diasporic community seemed to take their job as advocates seriously, their support was not unconditional. The extent to which they would engage in homeland politics was limited by their loyalty and gratitude for the country of settlement. Despite their interests in homeland politics, participants

spoke of how they did not feel that the diasporic community would ever act in a way that would cost them their own rights and freedoms in their country of settlement. Their support for a resolution to the conflict in Sri Lanka would not extend to supporting violent actions in Canada.

As such, while the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community may be considered with misgiving in the country of settlement, as they are a "suspect minority group", and while their loyalties may be questioned, the findings reveal that despite their high level of support and engagement in homeland politics, this community still maintains strong boundaries around their support. They understand the need to act through non-violent means in their efforts to support the homeland, and they have also learned through the experiences of the Muslim population how detrimental it could be to bring homeland politics into the country of settlement. In addition to not wanting to jeopardize their own position in the country of settlement, the diasporic community also recognizes that strategies utilizing violence and terror will not benefit the homelanders and the political agenda of the homeland.

These findings illustrate that several different factors, including the political climate of the homeland, the level of understanding and tolerance of the country of settlement, and the personal experiences of the country of settlement, all influence how the diasporic community negotiates its ties between both the country of settlement and the homeland. The process by which the second-generation members of the diaspora determine their national allegiances is dynamic and is constantly shifting. In order for the country of settlement to be assured that the diasporic community is continuing to be loyal, it must be able to demonstrate that it too feels a strong sense of connection to its

immigrant population, and it must foster space for diasporic communities to engage with all aspects of their identity. While fear of terrorism and betrayal has affected how immigrant populations are treated in their countries of settlement, this study reveals that diasporic community members are not all uniform in terms of their attachments, and that their loyalties cannot be assumed or dismissed at times of tension between the homeland and the country of settlement.

CONCLUSION

On May 10th, 2009, traffic on the Gardiner Expressway in Toronto came to a standstill. Families who were travelling to celebrate Mother's Day were forced to endure a delay in their plans as hundreds of protesters marched onto the major metropolitan highway, forming a human barricade (CBC News, 2009b). These protesters all stood together, effectively ruining the plans of many Canadian families. And yet, amongst these protesters were mothers, and fathers, children, and grandparents—individuals who would otherwise have celebrated Mother's Day. What would motivate them to choose to spend Mother's Day out on a cold highway, rather than with their families? Why would they choose to potentially endanger other Canadian families by blocking the Gardiner Expressway? And perhaps the most haunting question of all: what could possibly be more important than the safety and well-being of their fellow citizens?

The barricade formed by the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community on the Gardiner Expressway is but one example of how immigrant communities demonstrate that they still maintain a link to a home that is 'elsewhere.' Since the events of September 11, 2001, the connections between immigrant and diasporic communities and their homelands have become particularly salient among scholars, policymakers and politicians. Are these immigrant groups trustworthy? Or are they wolves in sheep clothing? Are they simply biding their time until they can harm their countries of settlement? Are their loyalties for their homelands always going to surpass their loyalties to their hostlands?

Certainly the barricading of a major highway in downtown Toronto by a diasporic community raises the question of whether Canadians should be inconvenienced by the dual allegiances of their immigrant populations. In blocking the highway on Mother's Day, the diasporic community was not only trying to raise awareness about the issues in their homeland, they were *also* affecting the lives of fellow Canadians—Canadians who are not in any way tied to the conflict in Sri Lanka. Therefore, by delaying traffic, by causing the cancellation of dinner reservations, by essentially "ruining" Mother's Day plans for many Canadians, the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community appeared to be putting the interests of their homelands above the interests of their country of settlement. If they could do this, then what else would they do? How far would their loyalty to their homeland take them? To what extent would they endanger their country of settlement?

In order to be able to understand how diasporic communities negotiate conflicting allegiances, this study explored two core queries:

1. When there is tension between the homeland and the country of settlement, how do second-generation immigrants negotiate their political identities and national loyalties?

2. How do the perspectives of homelanders on diasporic involvement in homeland affairs influence how the second-generation members of the diaspora negotiate their allegiances to both the homeland and the country of settlement?

The findings from this study demonstrate that the act of barricading the highway cannot simply be seen as an example of prioritizing loyalty to the homeland above loyalty to the country of settlement. Among the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto, the process through which dual identities and loyalties are negotiated was found to be fluid and contextual. Participants

identified with both their Tamil ethnic identity and their Canadian national identity, albeit in different ways.

THE TAMIL ETHNIC IDENTITY: THE DIASPORIC COMMUNITY AND THE HOMELAND

With respect to their Tamil ethnic identity, the most common rationale that was provided for why there was a connection with the homeland was that they shared a common ancestral history with the Tamils in the homeland. Participants conceptualized their Tamil ethnic identity in primordial terms, whereby their claim to the homeland was biologic, and was something that was passed down to them from their parents. As such, from birth they had the right to claim a connection to the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity—irrespective of whether they chose to or not.

While the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community argued that they shared a Tamil ethnic identity with homelanders, they did not necessarily *practice* this identity. As such, there was a range in terms of the extent to which participants actively demonstrated their connection to this ethnic identity. For example, while there were participants who were very conscientious about forming strong Tamil social networks, not all participants believed this was important. Similarly, while there were participants who were very committed to learning to speak the Tamil language, there were also participants who were not. However, despite these differences, participants did not express that any of these factors were prerequisites for claiming a connection to the homeland.

In having a predominantly primordial conceptualization of their identification with the homeland, participants generally demonstrated a *passive* engagement with their Tamil ethnic identity. However, this engagement became *active* when the homeland,

and by extension the Tamil ethnic identity, was threatened. During the last stages of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, when the history of victimization and injustice that was experienced by the Tamils in the homeland was brought to the surface under the frame of 'genocide', the diasporic community was mobilized into collective action. In essence, the story of the 'bleeding homeland' motivated a strong sense of responsibility to intervene in homeland politics in order to protect a population and an ethnic identity that was being threatened. The diasporic community was called to step in as advocates for the homeland. However, while the perceived threat motivated this community to act in 2009, political engagement in the homeland was episodic. After the war ended, the need to engage in homeland politics diminished among many members of the diasporic community.

This finding demonstrates that while the second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community are ardent in their claim to the Tamil ethnic identity, they are most committed to demonstrating their loyalty to this identity when it is believed to be under threat. Therefore, while their connection to the homeland and the Tamil ethnic identity may be steady, the *nature* of this connection varies. However, while the diasporic community may believe themselves to have a right to claim a shared identity with the homeland, this sentiment was not always shared by the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The end of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka highlighted the existence of three separate narratives on the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of the homeland. One faction of the homeland population argued that the end of the ethnic conflict has tarnished the Tamil ethnic identity by introducing non-traditional elements, such as

Western forms of dressing. This perspective of the Tamil ethnic identity argues the need to return to the *past*, suggesting that the end of the ethnic conflict has moved the homeland in an undesired direction.

A second perspective that emerged among the homelander population was that the end of the ethnic conflict meant that the Tamil ethnic identity can finally progress in the way it would have if the ethnic conflict had never happened. Homelanders who held this perspective argued the importance of looking to the future, and moving in a direction that valued innovation and technology—essentially promoting the development of a cosmopolitan homeland.

The third perspective was one that did not look to the past or to the future, but simply advocated the importance of staying in the present. Homelanders who held this perspective argued that any promotion of a Tamil ethnic identity could be dangerous as it would lead to the possibility of *another* ethnic conflict. According to these homelanders, advocating for a distinct Tamil ethnic identity meant that more violence may result. Therefore, it was better to focus on the present and survival, rather than trying to articulate a strong Tamil ethnic identity.

The views that homelanders held with respect to the Tamil ethnic identity and the future of the homeland were forged without regard to the diasporic community. However, when asked about the role that the diasporic community played in the homeland and their right to claim membership in a shared ethnic identity, homelanders held opposing views. The majority of homelanders advocated for a continued connection between the homeland and the diasporic community. This connection was

seen as particularly important because of the economic support and political advocacy that the diasporic community could provide for the Tamils in the homeland.

However, not all homelanders believed in supporting a connection between the homeland and the diasporic community. Participants who did not advocate the promotion of a strong ethnic identity—those who focused on the *present* in terms of the homeland—were more likely to argue against maintaining a connection between the diasporic community and the homeland. In essence, this population believed that any kind of connection could be dangerous as it may once again introduce the possibility of conflict.

A third perspective was that of suspicion—whereby homelanders were wary of *why* the diasporic community wanted to maintain a connection to the homeland. This perspective was held by homelanders who believed that the diasporic community was engaged in homeland politics to serve their own needs—particularly in the country of settlement. Homelanders suggested that the diasporic community wanted to ensure the continuation of conflict in Sri Lanka to protect their right to claim refuge in their country of settlement, and that the diasporic community was not actually committed to the homeland. Among homelanders who held this perspective of suspicion, there was a question of whether the diasporic community really had a right to claim the Tamil ethnic identity, especially if they did not speak the language.

The myriad of perspectives held by homelanders with respect to the Tamil ethnic identity, the future of the homeland, and the role of the diasporic community in homeland politics demonstrates that there is no consensus with respect to this identity and the strategies for demonstrating loyalty to the homeland. Although the diasporic

community has claimed a predominantly primordial connection to the Tamil ethnic identity, warranting their right to engage in homeland politics, the way in which the Tamil ethnic identity is being defined and practiced by the homeland and diasporic populations are not the same. And while the diasporic community may feel a responsibility to homelanders, their actions are not always encouraged or respected by homelanders—and are even, in fact, questioned, causing the diasporic community to be viewed as 'suspect minorities' within the larger Sri Lankan Tamil community.

The Canadian National Identity: The Diasporic Community and the Country of Settlement

While the diasporic community are not able to argue an ancestral connection to the country of settlement as they are to the homeland, they still identified strongly with the Canadian national identity. The diasporic community conceptualized Canada as the 'safe haven' that had protected their families when they needed to flee the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. As many participants were children of individuals who arrived in Canada as refugees, there was a strong sense of gratitude for the nation that had provided them with refuge.

The connection to Canada was based not only on a feeling of gratitude towards the safe haven, but also on an appreciation for the tolerance, diversity and multiculturalism that were believed to be cornerstones of the Canadian national identity. Second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community members identified with a Canadian identity that protected refugees and encouraged tolerance of its diverse population.

However, while participants felt a strong sense of connection to their country of settlement, they were relatively passive with respect to their level of engagement with the nation. Participants argued that their primary responsibilities to the country were to be law abiding citizens. They further argued that the narrative of multiculturalism and tolerance that Canada had adopted to frame its identity meant that they were encouraged to continue to forge a connection with their homeland. Therefore, being Canadian meant having dual identities and loyalties.

Their understanding of Canada as a tolerant and multicultural nation was undermined during the protests that occurred in 2009. This diasporic community commented on their disappointment in their country of settlement for its lack of understanding and support when they needed it most. Participants were particularly struck by the label of 'suspect minorities', and the ease with which members of the larger Canadian community were labelling the diasporic community as being terrorists and Tigers.

Their disappointment in the country of settlement demonstrates the extent to which the diasporic community *believed* Canada's identity as a multicultural safe haven. As such, when Canada was not believed to live up to its reputation, participants expressed frustration and a level of disillusionment in their country of settlement. However, although they were disappointed, they did not sever their ties to Canada by prioritizing their loyalty to their homeland. In fact, participants argued that while they identified with the homeland and felt a responsibility for the homelanders and the Tamil ethnic identity, they would not resort to violence in the country of settlement in order to

defend the homeland. Participants demonstrated that there were boundaries in terms of their level of support for the homeland.

These boundaries of support came not only from their level of connection to the country of settlement, but also from an awareness of the ineffectiveness of resorting to acts of terror. Participants were cognizant of the impact of 9/11 on the Muslim community, and were unwilling to be considered with the same intense level of scrutiny and suspicion. Furthermore, participants argued that endangering the country of settlement would jeopardize their positions in the country of settlement, and would not be effective in raising political support for the homelanders.

It is important to note here that while it appears as if the diasporic community may be prioritizing the country of settlement above the homeland, this is not the case. Second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil community argue that they would not endanger the country of settlement, but their rationale is not only about protecting their *own* interests, but is also tied to not wanting to harm the country that took them in, while simultaneously wanting to maintain goodwill for future support of the homeland. As such, the process for negotiating between the country of settlement and the homeland appears to be heavily influenced by the fact that this diasporic community has adopted a *hybrid* identity, in which they are both Tamil and Canadian.

Being Tamil and Canadian: The Hybrid Identity of the Diasporic Community

The findings from this study demonstrate that political identities and national loyalties are not conceptualized as distinct and mutually exclusive entities. The second-generation membership of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community were not Tamil

and Canadian, but adopted a much more cohesive and hybrid identity. However, maintaining a hybrid identity does not necessarily mean that these individuals are able to choose to exercise one identity in one context and another identity in another context. It seems that even when they are asked about one particular identity, they are unable to fully separate the two, demonstrating that it is not two separate identities that they have managed to adopt, but rather that the two identities have fused together to form one overarching identity. This melded identity was observed among the second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in a number of ways.

For one, while many of them identified as being both Tamil and Canadian, they were unable to explain how they practiced either of these identities in any unique way. They were able to justify their Tamil identities as being something that was passed down to them through a biological and ancestral connection, and they were able to *assume* their Canadian identities as a right earned through citizenship. However, for neither identity were they necessarily able to clearly articulate what it was that they *did* that demonstrated they were Tamil or that they were Canadian.

The stories that the diasporic community held about both the country of settlement and the homeland were instrumental in the continued connection they felt for both identities. Specifically, it appeared that a narrative of injustice and victimization helped to reinforce their connection to the homeland, while a "narrative of gratitude" was shown to provide a particularly significant reason for why second-generation members of the diasporic community were able to adopt the Canadian identity and develop a strong connection to the country of settlement. However, just as it was shown that the second-generation diasporic community members did not necessarily follow any

specific practices to demonstrate their Tamil identities, a similar lack of practice was shown in relation to their Canadian identities.

Their inability to articulate how they specifically practice being Tamil and Canadian is indicative of the fact that in being *both* Tamil and Canadian, all of their practices were indicative of this melded or fused identity, and cannot necessarily be separated easily. While certain practices may clearly be representative of one identity versus the other, such as speaking Tamil, the lack of this practice was not indicative of a lack of right to connect with the homeland. This, therefore, demonstrates that while certain practices may *reinforce* one particular identity, there are no specific practices that are required in order to adopt that identity.

In addition to difficulties in articulating practices that are specific to the two different identities—indicating the possibility that diasporic community members do not conceptualize themselves as having two different identities that can be separated from one another—participants also found it difficult to speak about one identity without connecting it in some way to the other. When participants were asked about their responsibilities to the country of settlement, many of them expressed their responsibilities as diasporic community members to Canada, rather than as Canadians to Canada. As members of a diasporic community, they were unable to separate their responsibilities to the country of settlement from their responsibilities to the homeland, and the presence of this fused identity was very apparent in how they expressed the ways in which they engaged with the country of settlement.

BETWEEN A 'BLEEDING HOMELAND' AND A 'SAFE HAVEN'

This study reveals that the manner in which diasporic communities conceptualize their homelands and their countries of settlement influence how they manage their dual identities and loyalties. In conceptualizing the homeland as one that is steeped in a history of victimization and injustice, and in carrying a narrative of a 'bleeding homeland', the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community was compelled to not only identify with the Tamil ethnic identity, but to also act to protect and defend it. Since their connection to the Tamil ethnic identity was one that was perceived to be forged at birth through primordial means, this diasporic community felt that they would always have the right to connect to the homeland. However, the extent to which they felt a *responsibility* to engage in homeland politics varied depending on the perceived level of need of homelanders, and the intensity of threat to the Tamil ethnic identity. When the narrative of 'bleeding homeland' was emphasized, their connection to the homeland was strengthened. When the threat to the Tamil ethnic identity was reduced or not as explicit, the extent to which they engaged in homeland politics also decreased.

Similar fluctuations in the level of connection to the country of settlement were also observed. In conceptualizing Canada as a 'safe haven', participants adopted a "narrative of gratitude", in which they were grateful for the opportunities and refuge that was provided by their country of settlement. However, when Canada was not seen as a 'safe haven', and did not live up to its professed reputation of being both tolerant and multicultural, participants demonstrated a distancing in their connection to the country of settlement. However, while they may have distanced themselves because they were

disappointed, they never cut their ties completely from their country of settlement, as they were still able to recall their gratitude.

The second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community employ strategies that enable them to connect strongly with both their country of settlement and their homeland. And while the level of their connection may vary depending on how the narrative of the homeland and the narrative of the country of settlement vary over time, the connection is never severed. This finding is demonstrative of two key points.

The first being that the manner in which immigrant and diasporic communities conceptualize their sending countries and their receiving countries are integral to how they forge their dual identities and loyalties. If, perhaps, the homeland was not conceptualized as a 'bleeding homeland' with a history of victimization and injustice, the diasporic community may not have felt compelled to engage in homeland politics in order to defend their Tamil ethnic identity. They would have continued to *identify* with the homeland because of an ancestral connection, but this identification would not have transformed into any active political engagement—and therefore, the question of conflicting allegiances may not have been raised.

Similarly, if the country of settlement was not conceptualized as a 'safe haven', and the diasporic community had not adopted a "narrative of gratitude" for the refuge provided by Canada, it is possible that they would not have felt such a strong sense of loyalty to the nation. As such, if asked to demonstrate their loyalty to the homeland, they may not have avoided endangering their country of settlement. However, conceptualizing Canada as a 'safe haven' protected the country of settlement despite the

fact that the homeland was 'bleeding.' Although the diasporic community wanted to protect their Tamil ethnic identity, they would not do so at the cost of endangering the nation that had protected *them* when they needed it most.

The second point is that while this process of negotiating loyalties between the country of settlement and the homeland appears to be active and intentional, the findings from this study demonstrate that this is not the case. Participants do not define their Tamil and Canadian identities as being completely distinct from one another. In fact, their belief in a multicultural Canada urged them to believe that being Canadian meant they should *also* be Tamil. As such, they identify as both Tamil and Canadian, but rather than seeing them as two separate entities, they are both fused into one hybrid identity: Tamil-Canadian/Canadian-Tamil. This is not to say that participants are unaware of the differences between their Tamil ethnic identity and their Canadian national identity, but rather participants make decisions about loyalties by seamlessly drawing from both identities.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

While the findings of this study provide some very important insight into the areas of ethnic relations and political sociology, there are certain limitations that must be addressed. Primarily, this study is focused on a very specific population: second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community in Toronto. As such, the findings are not generalizable to other generations, or other diasporic communities. Future studies would benefit from examining the process of loyalty negotiation among the first-generation membership of this diasporic community. It would also be interesting to observe whether second-generation members of the Sri Lankan Tamil

diasporic communities who have settled in other countries of settlement have similar conceptualizations of their homeland and countries of settlement. For example, are other countries that have constitutionalized their multicultural policies also viewed as 'safe havens'?

This study also drew from participants who entered Canada or whose parents entered the country as refugees. As such, they are more likely to adopt a sentiment of gratitude towards the country of settlement. Future studies could explore how non-refugees conceptualize their countries of settlement, as well as the homeland. Are they still likely to experience a strong sense of loyalty to their country of settlement if it is not credited with providing them with a safe refuge during a time of war?

COMMITTING SOCIOLOGY

There are several important implications with respect to the findings of this study. Primarily, this study contributes towards the scholarship on immigrant and diasporic communities and their process of identity formation. This study adds valuable insight in terms of demonstrating that the process of negotiating loyalties is dynamic, and identities are fluid. In addition, this study reveals that the specific characteristics of both the homeland and the country of settlement and how they are conceptualized are paramount in understanding how loyalties are structured.

Individuals who migrated to their country of settlement as refugees or who are descendants of refugees hold narratives of their homelands and their countries of settlement that appear to reinforce their loyalties to both identities. In perceiving the country of origin as a 'bleeding homeland', in which there is a history of victimization and injustice, participants feel compelled to defend and protect their ancestral histories.

Their primordial ties to their ethnic identities promote a feeling of responsibility to the homeland. However, they are also able to foster a strong connection to their country of settlement due to a "narrative of gratitude", in which they are grateful to the hostland for offering them a 'safe haven', and essentially rescuing them from continuing to experience the victimization and injustice of the homeland. Furthermore, characterizing the country of settlement as one that is tolerant and supportive of multiculturalism enables them to continue to be connected to their homeland despite migration.

While this study focused on the Sri Lankan Tamil community, the findings may be relevant to other refugee communities who hold a 'bleeding homeland' narrative. Their continual involvement in homeland politics may not only be due to their loyalty to their homeland identities, but may also be a result of the feeling of safety they have in their countries of settlement. However, whether all countries of settlement merit a "narrative of gratitude" is unclear. In the case of Canada, it was not only the fact that the nation became a safe haven that participants were able to convey a feeling of gratitude. They also acknowledged the specific characteristics of multiculturalism and tolerance that were believed to be integral to the Canadian identity, which enabled them to feel a sense of belonging.

This study also sheds some interesting insight with respect to race relations in Canada. While there has been much scholarship on the role of racial tensions in inhibiting certain populations from being able to fully integrate into their countries of settlement (Gupta, 1998), the findings of this study demonstrate that for this population, racial difference was not an obstacle. Very few participants mentioned race as an inhibitor to immigrant integration. Instead, the focus was on their status of 'immigrant',

and how at times of tension they were re-labelled as 'immigrant populations' rather than as 'Canadians'. Participants very rarely accredited any challenges they faced in Canada to racial differences. While these findings are not meant to suggest that participants have never faced racism in Canada or that racism does not exist, it certainly offers a different perspective on Canada's racial landscape. Essentially, it appears as if some minority populations are much more sensitive to their immigrant status, and discrimination they may experience as a result of this immigrant status, than they are to their racial and ethnic differences.

The findings clearly indicate the need to explore the validity of labelling certain populations as 'suspect minority groups'. While tensions between the homeland and the country of settlement certainly impact diasporic communities, the findings from this study demonstrate that the loyalties of these communities cannot be assumed. In fact, it is this very act of questioning loyalties, and the nature of allocating labels such as 'terrorist' that affect the connection that diasporic communities feel towards their countries of settlement. The results reveal that despite feelings of disappointment in their country of settlement, the "narrative of gratitude" which participants in this study held with respect to Canada appeared to outweigh their disappointment. Whether this "narrative of gratitude" is robust enough to handle *any* degree of disappointment, however, is not known. It is possible that in the face of continual disappointment, the feelings of gratitude may start to fray—particularly when the characteristics that strengthened this "narrative of gratitude", that of tolerance and acceptance, are believed to no longer be in place.

Although Prime Minister Stephen Harper has claimed that "this is not a time to commit sociology" (Chase, 2013) and that rather than trying to understand the root causes of terrorism, we should demonstrate "our utter condemnation of this violence", the findings of this study argue that it *is* time to "commit sociology". The testimonies of the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic community demonstrate that making assumptions about loyalties and identities are not warranted. Their process for negotiating loyalties is dynamic and fluid, and there is not a rigid hierarchy of prioritizing one identity over the other.

It is true that on May 10th, 2009, members of this diasporic community blocked the Gardiner Expressway in Toronto. And while the *easy* conclusion to draw from this is that this community was prioritizing its loyalty to its homeland over its loyalty to its country of settlement, the results of this study demonstrate that this 'easy' conclusion cannot be justified. While their need to draw attention to the 'bleeding homeland' may have mobilized them to protest, it was arguably their belief in the tolerance and refuge of their country of settlement that would have pushed them onto a major Toronto highway. We will not be able to know why or understand *why not* until we do what is most necessary: 'commit sociology.'

APPENDIX A: MAP OF SRI LANKA

Source: Geology.com

Jaffna and Vanni: Northern Province

Number of Participants: 24

Batticaloa and Trincomolee: Eastern Province

Number of Participants: 21

Colombo: Capital (Western Province)

Number of Participants: 21

APPENDIX B: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF SRI LANKA

TABLE 1: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNICITY

Ethnicity	Population
Sinhalese	15,173,820
Sri Lankan Tamil	2,270,924
Indian Tamil	842,323
Sri Lankan Moor (Muslim)	1,869,820
Burgher	37,061
Malay	40,189
Other	29,586
Total	**20,263,723**

TABLE 2: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION

Religion	Population
Buddhist	14,222,844
Hindu	2,554,606
Muslim	1,967,227
Roman Catholic	1,237,038
Other Christian	272,568
Other	9,440
Total	**20,263,723**

TABLE 3: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCE

Province	Population
Western	5,821,710
Central	2,558,716
Southern	2,464,732
North Western	2,370,075
Sabaragamuwa	1,918,880
Eastern	1,551,381
Uwa	1,259,900
North Central	1,259,567
Northern	1,058,762
Total	**20,263,723**

Source: Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012 (www.statistics.gov.lk)

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DIASPORIC COMMUNITY

1. Do you have any questions before I begin?
2. What year were you born?
3. Where were you born?
4. When did your family immigrate to Canada?
    a. Why did your parents decide to leave Sri Lanka (SL)?
    b. Do you know whether they came as immigrants or refugees?
    c. Why did your family choose to immigrate to Canada?
    d. Are they interested in ever moving back there?
        i. Under what circumstances would they consider migrating back to SL?
5. Where did your parents live in SL (i.e. Jaffna, East, Colombo, etc.)?
6. If you were not born in SL, have you ever been there?
7. How many times have you visited Sri Lanka?
    a. Where did you go in SL?
    b. What were your impressions of SL? What memories do you have of SL?
    c. Do you have any family in SL? What region do they live in? (i.e. Colombo, Jaffna, East, etc.)
        i. How would you characterize your relationship to this family?
    d. When was the last time you were in SL?
    e. Are you interested in going to SL in the future?
        i. What motivates you to want to go there? OR: Are there any specific reasons for why you are not interested in going to SL?
        ii. Would you ever consider migrating to SL?
            1. If so, what would motivate you to do so?
            2. If not, why not?
8. How do you keep apprised of what is happening in SL?
    a. Do you share this news with your parents? Anyone else?
9. Do your parents keep informed about what is happening in SL?
    a. How do they get their news?
    b. Do they share the news with you?
    c. How are your views about the news similar to your parents' views? How are they different?
10. How do you keep apprised of what is happening in Canada (both among Tamils and larger community)?
11. Are you involved in any Tamil or SL organizations?
    a. If yes, what are they?
        i. What motivated you to join?

        ii. What role do these organizations play (both for Tamils and larger community)?
    b. If no, what keeps you from joining them?
        i. What do you think of these Tamil or SL organizations?
12. Did you participate in the 2009 protests in Toronto?
    a. If yes, what motivated you to join in? How did you find the experience?
    b. If not, what motivated you to *not* participate? What were your views of the protests?
13. There was a strong reaction in the media and from other Canadians to the presence of the LTTE flag at the protests: How did you feel about it?
14. There were some protesters that were claiming that the Canadian government should remove the LTTE from the official terrorist group: What do you think about this?
    a. Do you remember when the LTTE was put on this list in 2006?
    b. How did you feel when this happened?
    c. Do you remember how your family felt at this time? What was your sense of how the larger Tamil community felt?
    d. What were your feelings towards the government for labelling the LTTE in this way?
    e. Why do you think the Canadian government put the LTTE on this list?
    f. Did your views on the LTTE change during this time? How so?
15. What role (if any) do you feel the LTTE had in shaping the views of Tamils both in Sri Lanka and abroad?
16. Have your views (on being Sri Lankan/Tamil/Canadian) changed since the 'defeat' of the LTTE in 2009? How so?
    a. How did you feel when you found out that they had been defeated?
    b. How did your parents/family feel?
17. How important was it to your parents/family that you identify with being Sri Lankan? With being Tamil? With being Canadian?
18. What do you think is in the future for SL?
19. How do you feel about the Tamils who still remain in SL?
    a. What are your responsibilities to the Tamils in SL (if any)?
    b. What responsibilities do Tamils who live abroad have to Tamils in SL (if any)?
    c. Have the Tamils abroad (the diaspora) been helpful to the Tamils in SL? How so?
        i. Have they been *un*helpful? How so?
    d. What would you like to see happen for Tamils in SL in the future?
    e. What would you like to see happen for Tamils in Canada in the future?

20. How do you think the Tamils in Sri Lanka feel about the Tamils in the diaspora? What do they expect from the diaspora (if anything)?
    a. How does the diaspora know what the Tamils in SL want?
    b. Do you think the Tamils in SL want the diaspora to be involved in SL politics? How do you know this?
21. If you were to discover that the Tamils in SL preferred that the diaspora *not* get involved in the situation in SL, how would you react?
    a. What if you were to discover that they were disappointed in the diaspora?
22. What responsibilities do you think the diaspora has to Canada?
    a. How involved are you in Canadian politics? (i.e. reading news, voting, actively supporting a member of parliament, etc.)
23. How familiar are you with the history of SL? (For example, do you know about the different strategies of resistance that the Tamils used against the government in SL?)
24. How would you feel if there was another insurgency group in the future in SL fighting for a separate Tamil Eelam?
    a. Should the diaspora support this group? How?
        i. For example, if the group asked the diaspora to protest to the Canadian government, is that reasonable? If they asked for financial support? What else would be considered reasonable?
            1. What would be considered unreasonable?
    b. If you do not support the creation of another insurgency group, why not?
        i. Would you vocalize your lack of support? How so?
25. Have there been times when you felt it challenging to be Tamil in Canada? Can you describe these situations?
    a. What would make it easier to be Tamil in Canada?
    b. What do you expect Canada to do for Tamils (both in Canada and SL)?
26. How do you think the perspectives of the second-generation Tamils in the diaspora differ from the first-generation? How are they similar?
    a. How important is homeland politics to the second-generation?
    b. Why do you think that the second-generation population is so actively engaged in homeland politics?
27. What role do you feel the Canadian media had in shaping the views of the diaspora?
    a. For example, there was a lot of coverage of the Tamils who arrived by boat in 2010: What were your reactions to these Tamils?
    b. How do you feel about the way it was covered by the media?
    c. How do you feel about the way the Canadian government reacted to the Tamils on the boat?
        i. Were there other ways to have handled that situation?

        1. How would you have wanted the government to react?
    d. Did you stay apprised of what happened to these Tamils? How?
    e. Does the diaspora have a responsibility towards these Tamils? If so, what are they?
28. Can you speak/read/write in Tamil?
    a. If yes, what motivated you to learn? When did you learn?
    b. If not, are you interested in learning? How would you learn?
    c. What language do you speak with your parents? Your grandparents?
29. Can your parents speak Sinhala?
30. Do you have anything that you would like to add to any of your former responses? Or anything that you would simply like to add to the interview?
31. Do you have any questions or concerns regarding the interview?
32. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview if such a need were to arise?

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE OF DIASPORIC COMMUNITY PARTICIPANTS

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Age at Migration	Occupational Status
Arul	Male	27	Born in Canada	Employed
Barath	Male	23	Born in Canada	Student
Chandraleka	Female	20	Born in Canada	Student
Devika	Female	20	3	Student
Eloginy	Female	30	7	Employed
Gowthami	Female	30	1	Employed
Haran	Male	28	6	Employed
Indira	Female	18	Born in Canada	Student
Janani	Female	28	Born in Canada	Student
Karen	Female	20	Born in Canada	Student
Latha	Female	30	Born in Canada	Employed
Manjula	Female	24	5	Employed
Nishanthani	Female	23	4	Employed
Onisha	Female	21	3	Student
Pravin	Male	30	4	Unemployed
Pooja	Female	23	4	Employed
Ranjini	Female	26	3 (Born outside of Sri Lanka)	Student
Sanjutha	Female	26	7 (Born outside of Sri Lanka)	Employed
Theva	Male	29	6	Employed
Uriana	Female	29	1	Employed
Venkatesh	Male	26	Born in Canada	Employed
Yuthavan	Male	28	Born in Canada	Student
Bavan	Male	21	Born in Canada	Student
Carsha	Female	23	Born in Canada	Employed
Davina	Female	24	Born in Canada	Employed
Easwari	Female	28	3	Employed
Famira	Female	24	Born in Canada	Student
Gagan	Male	23	1	Employed
Hamish	Male	24	1	Student
Idiya	Female	23	Born in Canada	Student
Jaanu	Female	27	Born in Canada	Employed
Kasthuri	Female	20	Born in Canada	Student
Logan	Male	25	5	Student
Maniratnam	Male	30	3	Employed
Nagesh	Male	27	3	Employed
Paandiyan	Male	28	3	Employed

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Age at Migration	Occupational Status
Ramesh	Male	25	1 (Born outside of Sri Lanka	Employed

Number of Males: 15
Number of Females: 22
Average Age: 25

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HOMELAND COMMUNITY

1. Do you have any questions before I begin?
2. What year were you born?
3. Where were you born?
4. Have you ever left Sri Lanka (SL)?
    a. If so, where did you go? Have you been to Canada? For what purpose?
5. Have you ever considered migrating out of SL?
    a. If so, where would you consider immigrating to? Why?
6. Do you have family who lives abroad?
    a. Where do they live?
    b. Have they ever come to visit you?
    c. How do you feel about their visits? How would you characterize your relationship?
    d. Does your family who live abroad speak Tamil?
    e. Do you think they are still Tamil if they can't speak Tamil?
    f. Do you think they are still Sri Lankan if they don't live in SL?
7. What do you think about the Tamils who left SL?
    a. Are they different from the Tamils who stayed? How so?
    b. Why do you think some Tamils stayed in SL?
8. Many Tamils left after 1983, when the riots broke out in Colombo: Do you think SL would have been different if these Tamils had stayed? How so?
    a. Do you think the conflict would have been different if these Tamils had stayed? How so?
9. Many Tamils who live abroad continue to be interested in what is happening here in SL: What do you think about this?
    a. How do you know they are interested? How do they show you they care about what happens to you?
    b. What do you think the Tamils abroad want for SL?
    c. Do you think they want the same things that the Tamils here want?
        i. What is similar? What is different?
10. Do you think that the war would have gone differently if the Tamils abroad were not involved in any way? How?
    a. What role did you want the diaspora to play?
    b. How have you been able to tell the Tamils abroad about what you want?
    c. Do you think the Tamils abroad care about what you think? How do they show they do/don't care?
11. Can you speak Sinhala?

    a. If so, why did you decide to learn?
    b. If not, are you interested in learning it in the future?
12. How important is it to be able to speak English in SL?
13. What languages can your parents speak?
    a. How do your parents feel about the war in SL?
    b. How did you feel when this happened?
    c. How do you think the Tamils abroad felt?
14. What do you think is the future of Tamils in SL?
    a. What would you like to see in the future for Tamils in SL?
    b. How can Tamils abroad help with this future?
15. Do you think that Tamils abroad are just as "Tamil" as you?
    a. What are the similarities and differences between the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Tamils living abroad in terms of how they define being "Tamil"?
16. Do you think that the diaspora understands what you have experienced?
    a. If yes, how do they show you that they understand?
    b. If not, how could you help them to understand?
    c. Do you think the diaspora *wants* to understand? How do you know?
17. What role do you think your generation plays in Sri Lankan politics?
    a. What role will they play in the future?
18. Did you hear about how the Tamils in London stopped President Rajapaksa from speaking at Oxford University in Nov. 2010?
    a. What do you think about what they did?
19. Many Tamils around the world (including Canada) protested in 2009 about the war in SL: What do you think about the fact that tens of thousands of them protested together?
    a. Did this help the situation in SL? How so?
    b. Was it unhelpful? How so?
    c. In Canada, they were protesting to the Canadian government to help the Tamils in SL: What responsibilities do you think these foreign governments have to SL?
20. A lot has happened in Sri Lanka in the past forty years—a lot of different strategies were used to help express the "Tamil cause." Is there anything that could have been done differently?
21. What do you think would be the first step to having peace in SL?
    a. How can Tamils abroad help with this?
    b. How can Tamils in SL help with this?
22. Do you have anything that you would like to add to any of your former responses? Or anything that you would simply like to add to the interview?
23. Do you have any questions or concerns regarding the interview?

24. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview if such a need were to arise?

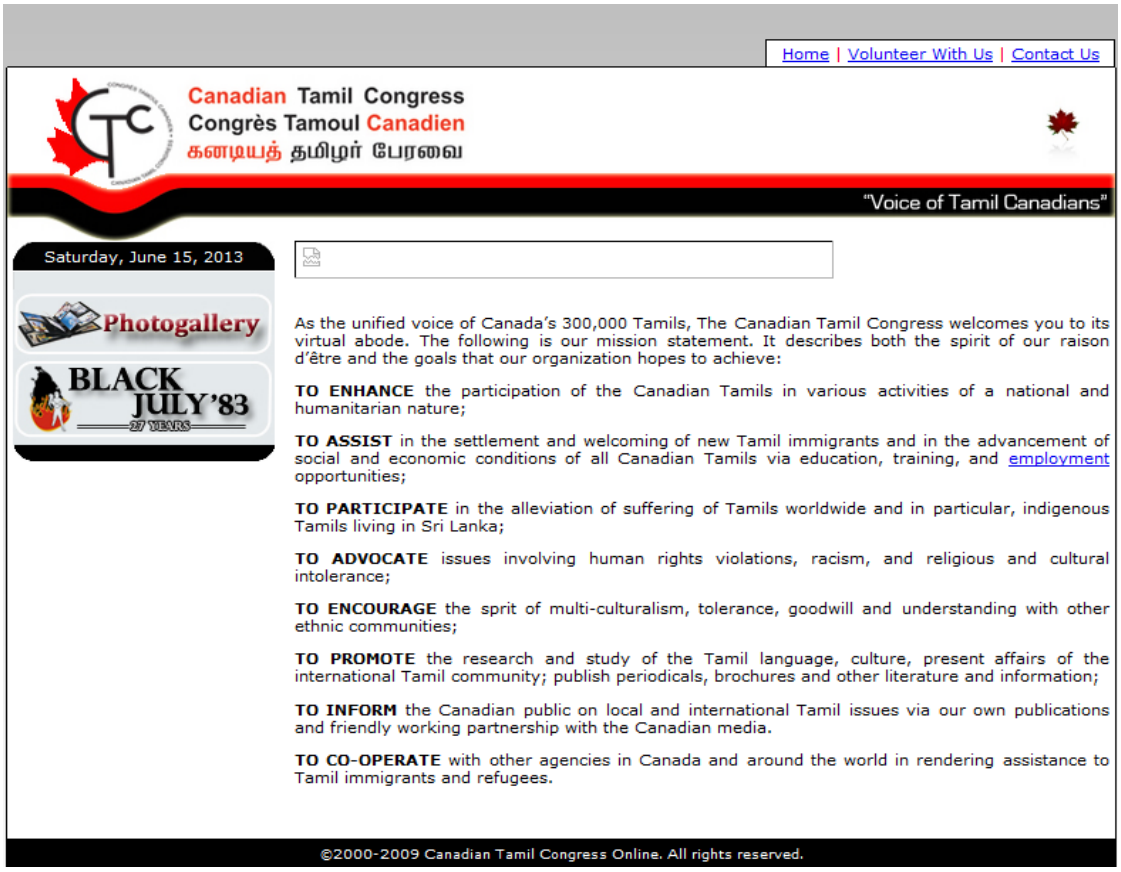
APPENDIX F: DEMOGRAPHIC TABLE OF HOMELAND PARTICIPANTS

Pseudonym	Site	Gender	Age
Aravind	Jaffna	Male	27
Bhavidra	Jaffna	Female	22
Chitra	Jaffna	Female	27
Denoka	Vanni	Female	22
Embika	Vanni	Female	20
Gajan	Vanni	Male	18
Hari	Jaffna	Male	26
Indrakumari	Jaffna	Female	20
Jainthi	Jaffna	Female	23
Krisha	Jaffna	Female	21
Laviniya	Jaffna	Female	23
Manjula	Jaffna	Female	19
Niroshi	Jaffna	Female	22
Ovvind	Jaffna	Male	20
Pournami	Jaffna	Female	19
Rasathi	Jaffna	Female	22
Simbu	Jaffna	Male	21
Thevarajah	Jaffna	Male	22
Victor	Jaffna	Male	29
Xavier	Jaffna	Male	29
Zack	Jaffna	Male	21
Ajith	Jaffna	Male	27
Bhanupriya	Jaffna	Female	28
Christopher	Jaffna	Male	28
Annanth	Colombo	Male	23
Bhanathy	Colombo	Female	22
Chandrika	Colombo	Female	22
Dharma	Colombo	Female	25
Eswari	Colombo	Female	27
Gowri	Colombo	Female	30
Harishini	Colombo	Female	25
Illango	Colombo	Male	24
Jamini	Colombo	Female	28
Kaarunya	Colombo	Female	27
Lakshman	Colombo	Male	19
Mano	Colombo	Male	23
Nishika	Colombo	Female	21
Parthipan	Colombo	Male	23
Ram	Colombo	Male	20

Pseudonym	Site	Gender	Age
Sophini	Colombo	Female	25
Thanushika	Colombo	Female	26
Umakanth	Colombo	Male	25
Vasantha	Colombo	Female	24
Yalini	Colombo	Female	27
Ahila	Colombo	Female	29
Abishek	Trincomolee	Male	24
Binthu	Batticaloa	Female	29
Christina	Batticaloa	Female	29
Dilani	Batticaloa	Female	20
Evangelina	Batticaloa	Female	22
Francesca	Batticaloa	Female	30
Henrietta	Batticaloa	Female	24
Irvin	Batticaloa	Male	24
Jegathisan	Batticaloa	Male	27
Kesawan	Batticaloa	Male	26
Luxmi	Batticaloa	Female	21
Milini	Batticaloa	Female	25
Nillanthy	Batticaloa	Female	25
Pumani	Batticaloa	Female	24
Raguvaran	Batticaloa	Male	23
Saraswathi	Batticaloa	Female	25
Thinuja	Batticaloa	Female	23
Ursula	Batticaloa	Female	23
Viyasan	Batticaloa	Male	21
Yogalingam	Batticaloa	Male	23

Number of Males: 26
Number of Females: 40
Average Age: 24

APPENDIX G: ARCHIVED HOMEPAGE FOR CANADIAN TAMIL CONGRESS WEBSITE



Source: Internet Archive WayBack Machine (www.archive.org)
for http://www.canadiantamilcongress.ca/mission_objectives.htm

(Archived on: April 26, 2009)

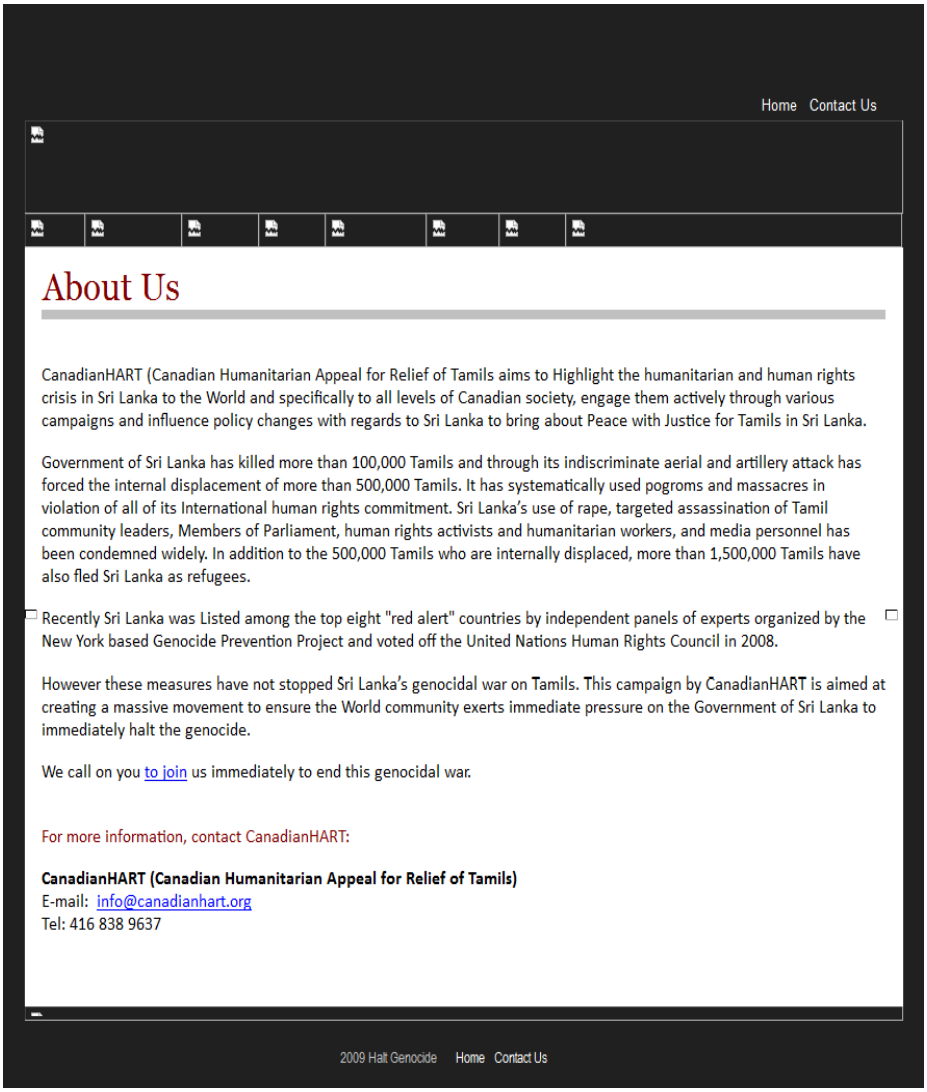
APPENDIX H: WEBSITE FOR CANADIAN TAMIL CONGRESS

"Genocide" to describe the conflict

Broken link on archived website. This is where the website originally posted a link to stop the "genocide".

Source: Internet Archive WayBack Machine (www.archive.org)
for http://www.canadiantamilcongress.ca/index.htm (Archived on: April 26, 2009)

APPENDIX I: ARCHIVED WEBSITE FOR CANADIANHART



Home Contact Us

About Us

CanadianHART (Canadian Humanitarian Appeal for Relief of Tamils aims to Highlight the humanitarian and human rights crisis in Sri Lanka to the World and specifically to all levels of Canadian society, engage them actively through various campaigns and influence policy changes with regards to Sri Lanka to bring about Peace with Justice for Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Government of Sri Lanka has killed more than 100,000 Tamils and through its indiscriminate aerial and artillery attack has forced the internal displacement of more than 500,000 Tamils. It has systematically used pogroms and massacres in violation of all of its International human rights commitment. Sri Lanka's use of rape, targeted assassination of Tamil community leaders, Members of Parliament, human rights activists and humanitarian workers, and media personnel has been condemned widely. In addition to the 500,000 Tamils who are internally displaced, more than 1,500,000 Tamils have also fled Sri Lanka as refugees.

Recently Sri Lanka was Listed among the top eight "red alert" countries by independent panels of experts organized by the New York based Genocide Prevention Project and voted off the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2008.

However these measures have not stopped Sri Lanka's genocidal war on Tamils. This campaign by CanadianHART is aimed at creating a massive movement to ensure the World community exerts immediate pressure on the Government of Sri Lanka to immediately halt the genocide.

We call on you to join us immediately to end this genocidal war.

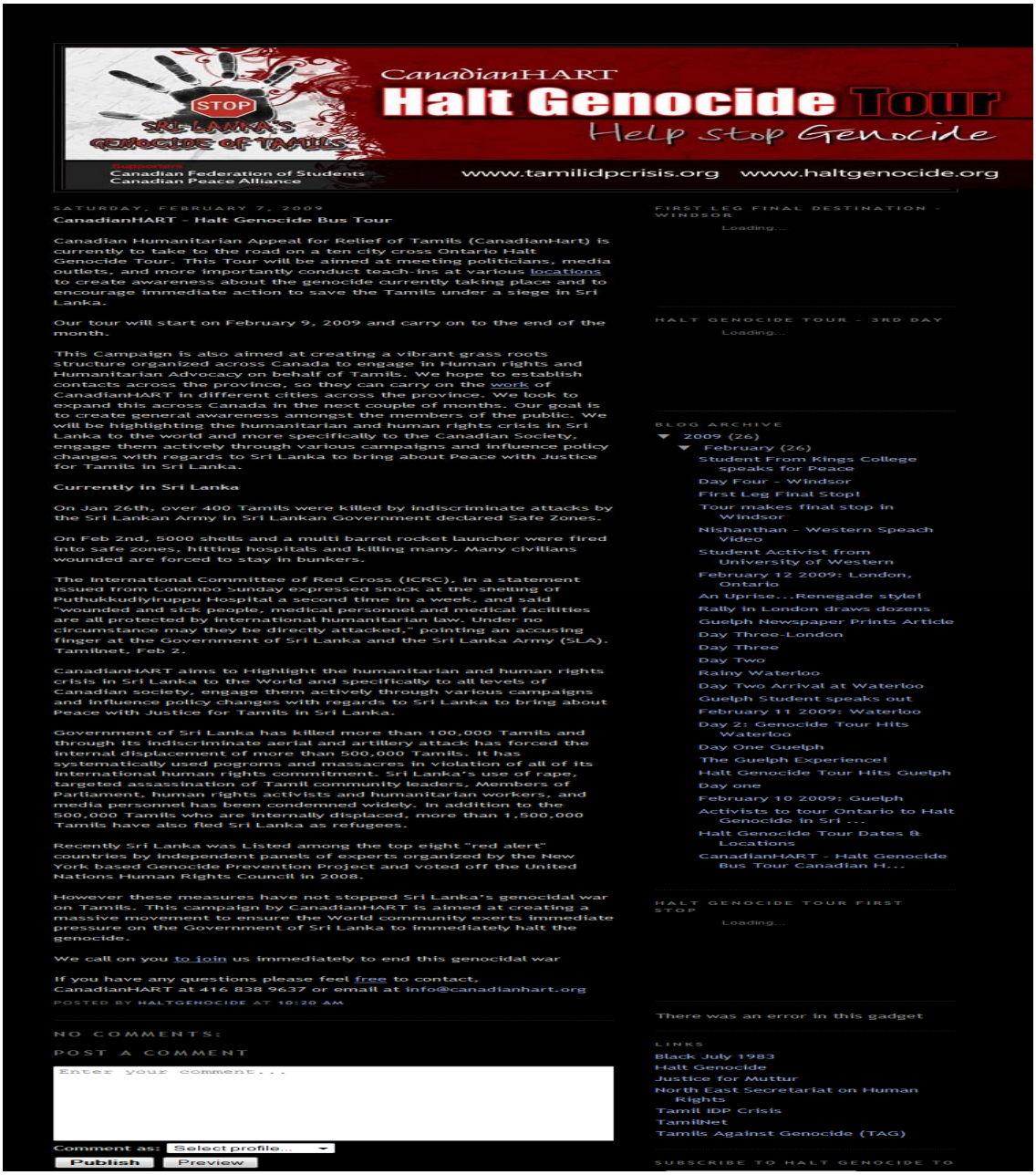
For more information, contact CanadianHART:

CanadianHART (Canadian Humanitarian Appeal for Relief of Tamils)
E-mail: info@canadianhart.org
Tel: 416 838 9637

2009 Halt Genocide Home Contact Us

Source: Internet Archive WayBack Machine (www.archive.org)
for http://www.haltgenocide.org/about_us.html (Archived on: April 16, 2009)

APPENDIX J: HALT GENOCIDE BUS TOUR WEBSITE



Source: http://haltgenocidetour.blogspot.ca/2009/02/canadianhart-halt-genocide-bus-tour.html

REFERENCES

Addis, Adeno. (2012). “Imagining the homeland from afar: Community and peoplehood in the age of the Diaspora.” *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, 45*, 963-1041.

Adelman, Howard (2002). “Canadian borders and immigration post 9/11.” *International Migration Review, 36* (1), 15-28.

Alba, Richard. (1990). *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Amarasingam, Amarnath. (2008). “Religion and ethnicity among Sri Lankan Tamil youth in Ontario.” *Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies, 40* (2), 149-169.

Anthias, F. (1998). "Evaluating 'diaspora': Beyond ethnicity?" *Sociology, 21*, 557-580.

Aoun, Sami. (2008). “Muslim communities: The pitfalls of decision-making in Canadian foreign policy” in D. Carment and D. Bercuson (Eds.), *The World In Canada. Diaspora, Demography, and Domestic Politics.* Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, pp. 109-122.

Arasaratnam, Sinnappah. (1994). “Sri Lanka’s Tamils: Under colonial rule” in C. Manogaran and B. Pfaffenberger (Eds.), *The Sri Lankan Tamils. Ethnicity and Identity*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Arat-Koc, Sedef. (2006). “Whose transnationalism? Canada, ‘Clash of civilizations’ discourse, and Arab and Muslim Canadians” in V. Satzewich and L. Wong (Eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 216-240.

Armstrong, Jane and John Ibbitson. (2009, October 20). “Seeking a safe haven, finding a closed door.” *The Globe and Mail,* A1.

Ari, Lilach Lev. (2012). “North Americans, Israelis, or Jews? The ethnic identity of immigrants’ offspring.” *Contemporary Jewry, 32* (3), 285-308.

Bah, Abu B. (2006). “Racial profiling and the war on terror: Changing trends and perspectives.” *Ethnic Studies Review, 29* (1), 76-100.

Balakrishnan, T. R. and Feng Hou. (1999). "Residential patterns in cities" in Shiva S. Halli and Leo Driedger (Eds.), *Immigrant Canada. Demographic, Economic, and Social Changes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 116-147.

Barkan, E., and Shelton, M. (1998). *Borders, Exiles, Diasporas.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Baron, Ilan Zvi. (2009). "The problem of dual loyalty." *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 42* (4), 1025-1044.

Baubock, Rainer. (2003). "Towards a political economy of migrant transnationalism." *International Migration Review, 37* (3), 700-723.

BBC (2004). "Scores die in Madrid bomb carnage." *BBC News*. Retrieved June 27, 2013: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3500452.stm

BBC News. (2010, December 1). "Mahinda Rajapaksa's Oxford Union talk cancelled." *BBC News*. Retrieved December 3, 2010: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-11891866.

Berry, John W. (1997). "Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46* (1), 5-34.

Blakely, R. (2009, January 3). "Sri Lankan army captures Tamil Tigers' capital, Kilinochchi." *Times Online.* Retrieved April 17, 2009: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article5435492.ece.

Bolak, Hale C. (1996). "Studying one's own in the Middle East: Negotiating gender and self-other dynamics in the field." *Qualitative Sociology, 19* (1), 107-130.

Bolan, Kim. (2005). *Loss of Faith. How the Air-India Bombers Got Away with Murder*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Bradimore, Ashley and Harald Bauder. (2011). "Mystery ships and risky boat people: Tamil refugee migration in the newsprint media." *Metropolis British Columbia Working Paper Series, 11* (2), 1-46.

Brah, Avtar. (1996). *Cartographies of diaspora. Contesting Identities.* London: Routledge.

Breton, Raymond. (1964). "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants." *The American Journal of Sociology, 70,* 193-205.

Brubaker, Rogers. (2005). “The ‘diaspora’ diaspora”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28* (1), 1-19.

Buerk, R. (2009, January 5). “Ruined remains of rebel ‘capital.’” *BBC News.* Retrieved April 17, 2009: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7811360.stm.

Burman, Jenny. (2010). “Suspects in the city.” *Cultural Studies, 24* (2), 200-213.

Calhoun, Craig. (1993). "Nationalism and ethnicity." *Annual Review of Sociology, 19,* 211-239.

CanadianHART. (2009a). *About Us.* Retrieved April 14, 2009: http://www.haltgenocide.org/about_us.html.

CanadianHART (2009b). *Halt Genocide Tour.* Retrieved May 5, 2013: http://haltgenocidetour.blogspot.ca/2009/02/canadianhart-halt-genocide-bus-tour.html

Canadian Peace Alliance (2009). *Stop the Attacks on the Tamil People*. Retrieved May 5, 2013: http://www.acp-cpa.ca/en/HART.html.\

Canadian Tamil Congress. (2006). “Canadian Tamils Disappointed by LTTE Listing.” *CTC Press Release*. Issue date: April 10, 2006.

Canadian Tamil Congress. (2009a). *Mission & objectives.* Retrieved April 14, 2009: http://www.canadiantamilcongress.ca/mission_objectives.htm

Canadian Tamil Congress. (2009b). *Home Page.* Retrieved April 14, 2009: http://www.canadiantamilcongress.ca/index.htm

Carter, Sean. (2005). “The geopolitics of diaspora”. *Area, 37* (1), 54-63.

CBC News. (2009a, March 18). “Tamil flags flown at protest legal, Toronto police say.” *CBC News*. Retrieved May 8, 2009: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/03/18/tamil-flag.html.

CBC News. (2009b, May 11). “Tamil protesters end blockade on major Toronto highway.” *CBC News.* Retrieved May 12, 2009: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/05/10/toronto-tamilprotest.html

CBC News (2010, June 23). “Air India families treated with ‘disdain’: PM”. *CBC News.* Retrieved June 30, 2013: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2010/06/23/air-india-harper.html

CBC News (2013, June 23). “Feds call for vigilance, 28 years after Air India bombing.” *CBC News.* Retrieved June 30, 2013: http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/06/23/bc-air-india-bombing-anniversary.html

Chase, Steven. (2013, April 26). “PM Stephen Harper steps up attacks on Justin Trudeau over terrorism.” *The Globe and Mail.* Retrieved May 4, 2013: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/pm-stephen-harper-steps-up-attack-on-justin-trudeau-over-terrorism/article11548558/

Cheran, Rudhramoorthy. (2000). *Changing Formations: Tamil Nationalism and National Liberation in Sri Lanka and the Diaspora.* Toronto: York University Dissertation Services.

Cheran, R. (2009). “Pathways of dissent: An introduction Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka” in R. Cheran (Ed.), *Pathways of Dissent. Tamil Nationalism in Sri Lanka.* New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd, pp. xiii-xlvii.

Chuang, Rueyling. (2004). “Theoretical perspectives: Fluidity and complexity of cultural and ethnic identity” in M. Fong and R. Chuang (Eds.), *Communicating Ethnic and Cultural Identity*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 51-68.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013a). *Home Page.* Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/index-can.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013b). *Refugees*. Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/index.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013c). *Get to Know Canada.* Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomers/before-canada.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013d). *People.* Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomers/before-people.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013e). *Multicultural Society*. Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomers/before-multicultural.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013f). *Canada: A History of Refuge*. Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/timeline.asp.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2013g). *Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*. Retrieved June 21, 2013: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-04.asp.

Cochrane, Feargal. (2007). "Irish-America, the end of the IRA's armed struggle and the utility of 'soft power'. *Journal of Peace Research, 44* (2), 215-231.

Cohen, Robin. (1996). "Diasporas and the nation-state: From victims to challengers". *International Affairs, 72* (3), 507-520.

Cohen, Robin. (1997). *Global Diasporas. An Introduction.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Coutts, M. (2009, March 16). "Tamil supporters stage protest against violence in Sri Lanka. *National Post.* Retrieved March 29, 2009: http://network.nationalpost.com/np/blogs/toronto/archive/2009/03/16/tamil-supporters-stage-peaceful-protest-against-violence-in-sri-lanka.aspx

Davis, Jeff (2009, March 11). "Canada Blasted Over Protest." *Embassy News.* Retrieved May 8, 2009: http://www.embassymag.ca/page/view/pro_tamil_tiger_protest-3-11-2009

Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka (2012). *Map P1.4.1: Population by Ethnicity and Province.* [http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PopulationAtla_2012/02_ProvincialMaps/Map%20P1.4.1%20Population%20by%20Ethnici%20ty%20and%20Province,%202012.pdf]

Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka (2012). *Map P1.1.1: Population by Province.* [http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PopulationAtla_2012/02_ProvincialMa

ps/Map%20P1.1.1%20Pop%20u%20lat%20ion%20by%20P%20r%20ov%20i%20n%20c%20e%20,%202%2001%202.pdf]

Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka (2012). *Census of Population and Housing*. [http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2012Visualization/htdocs/index.php?usecase=indicator&action=Data&indId=1]

Department of Justice. (2011). "Multiculturalism Policy of Canada." *Canadian Multiculturalism Act.* Retrieved August 10, 2011: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-18.7/page-1.html#h-3

de Silva, Chandra Richard. (1997). *Sri Lanka. A History*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

de Silva, K.M. (2005). *A History of Sri Lanka.* Sri Lanka: Vijitha Yapa Publications.

De Vos, George A. (1995). "Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accommodation. The Role of Ethnicity in Social History" in L. Romanucci-Ross and G.A. De Vos (Eds.), *Ethnic Identity. Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, pp. 15-47.

Dhamoon, Rita and Yasmeen Abu-Laban (2009). "Dangerous (internal) foreigners and nation-building: The case of Canada." *International Political Science Review, 30* (2), 163-183.

Dorais, Louis-Jacques. (2010). "Politics, kinship, and ancestors: Some diasporic dimensions of the Vietnamese experience in North America." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies, 5* (2), 91-132.

Driedger, L. (1996). *Multi-Ethnic Canada. Identities & Inequalities.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (2007 [1903]). *The Souls of Black Folk.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Edirippulige, Sisira. (2004). *Sri Lanka's Twisted Path to Peace: Some Domestic and International Obstacles to the Peace Process.* Sri Lanka: Human Resource Management Foundation.

Eller, Jack David. (1999). *From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict. An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Faist, Thomas. (2000). "Transnationalization in international migration: Implications for the study of citizenship and culture." *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23* (2), 189-222.

Ferenc, Leslie. (2009, March 17). "Human chain of Tamils circles city core. Protestors explain Why they're demonstrating." *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved March 29, 2009: http://www.thestar.com/printArticle/603446

Fong, Mary. (2004). "Ethnic and cultural identity: Distinguishing features" in M. Fong and R. Chuang (Eds.), *Communicating Ethnic and Cultural Identity*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 35-50.

Freeman, Gary. (2008). "Immigrant incorporation in western democracies" in Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind (Eds.), *Rethinking Migration. New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 122-146.

Fuglerud, Oivind. (1999). *Life on the Outside. The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism.* London: Pluto Press.

Ganin, Zvi. (1977). "The limits of American Jewish political power: America's retreat from partition." *Jewish Social Studies, 39* (1/2), 1-36.

Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Ghosh, Sutama, and Lu Wang (2003). "Transnationalism and identity: a tale of two faces and multiple lives." *The Canadian Geographer, 47* (3), 269-282.

Glick-Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. (1992). "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645*, 1-24.

Golbert, R. (2001). "Transnational orientations from home: Constructions of Israel and transnational space among Ukrainian Jewish youth." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27,* 713-731.

Granatstein, J. L. (2008). "Multiculturalism and Canadian foreign policy" in D. Carment and D. Bercuson (Eds.), *The World In Canada. Diaspora, Demography, and Domestic Politics.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 78-91.

Gunasingam, Murugar. (2005). *Primary Sources for History of the Sri Lankan Tamils. World Wide Search.* Sydney: MV Publications.

Gupta, Tania D. (1998). "Anti-racism and the organized labour movement" in Vic Satzewich (Ed.), *Racism & Social Inequality in Canada. Concepts, Controversies & Strategies of Resistance*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., pp. 315-334.

Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson. (1996). *Democracy and Disagreement.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Stuart (1990). "Cultural identity and diaspora" in J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity. Community, Culture, Difference.* London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 222-237.

Hall, Stuart. (1996). "Who needs identity?" in S. Hall and P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity.* London: Sage, pp. 1-17.

Hamilos, Paul. (2007, October 31). "The worst Islamist attack in European history." *The Guardian*. Retrieved June 27, 2013: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/oct/31/spain.

Hanna, Paul. (2012). "Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: A research note." *Qualitative Research, 12* (2), 239-242.

Heindl, Brett S. (2013). "Transnational activism in ethnic diasporas: Insights from Cuban exiles, American Jews and Irish Americans." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 39* (3), 463-482.

Howard-Hassmann, Rhoda E. (1999). "'Canadian' as an ethnic category: Implications for multiculturalism and national unity." *Canadian Public Policy, 25* (4), 523-537.

Howell, Sally and Andrew Shryock. (2003). "Cracking down on diaspora: Arab Detroit and America's "war on terror". *Anthropological Quarterly, 76* (3), 443-463.

Indrapala, K. (2006). *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity. The Tamils in Sri Lanka C. 300 BCE to C. 1200 CE.* Chennai: Kumaran Book House.

Isajiw, W. W. (1990). "Ethnic-identity retention" in Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, and Jeffrey G. Reitz, *Ethnic Identity and Equality.*

Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 34-91.

Kalbach, Warren E. (1990). "Ethnic residential segregation and its significance for the individual in an urban setting" in Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, and Jeffrey G. Reitz, *Ethnic Identity and Equality. Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 92-134.

Kaya, Ilhan. (2005). "Identity and space: The case of Turkish Americans". *The Geographical Review, 95* (3), 425-440.

Keethaponcalan, S. I. (2009). *Conflict and Peace in Sri Lanka. Major Documents.* Sri Lanka: Kumaran Book House.

Kivisto, P. (2001). "Theorizing transnational immigration: A critical review of current efforts." *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 24* (4), 549-577.

Kordan, Bohdan. (2002). *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Kulandaswamy, M.S. (2000). *Sri Lankan Crisis: Anatomy of Ethnicity, Peace and Security*. Delhi: Authorspress.

Kymlicka, Will. (1998). *Finding Our Way. Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will. (2003). "Multicultural states and intercultural citizens." *Theory and Research in Education, 1* (2), 147-169.

Lange, Matthew. (2012). *Educations in Ethnic Violence. Identity, Educational Bubbles, and Resource Mobilization.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lechuga, Vicente M. (2012). "Exploring culture from a distance: The utility of telephone interviews in Qualitative research." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 25* (3), 251-268.

Lee, Jennifer Wenshya and Yvonne M. Hébert. (2006). "The meaning of being Canadian: A comparison between youth of immigrant and non-immigrant origins." *Canadian Journal of Education, 29* (2), 497-520.

Levin, M.D. (2002). “Flow and place: Transnationalism in four cases.” *Anthropologica, 44* (1), 3-12.

Levitt, Peggy and Marcy C. Waters. (Eds.). (2002). *The Changing Face of Home. The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lewington, J., & Makin, K. (May 11, 2009). “Tamil protest surprises Toronto.” *The Globe and Mail.* Retrieved November 30, 2009: http://v1.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090510.wtamilprotest0510/BNStory/Front/News/

Li, Peter S. (1999a). “Race and ethnicity” in Peter S. Li (Ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-22.

Li, Peter S. (1999b). “The multiculturalism debate” in Peter S. Li (Ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, pp.148-177.

MacDonnell, Francis. (1995). *Insidious Foes. The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Manogaran, Chelvadurai. (1987). *Ethnic Conflict and Reconciliation in Sri Lanka.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Massa, Evelyne and Morton Weinfeld. (2010). “We needed to prove we were good Canadians: Contrasting paradigms for suspect minorities.” *Canadian Journal for Social Research, 3* (1), 15-28.

McCorkel, Jill A. and Kristen Myers. (2003). “What difference does difference make? Position and privilege in the field.” *Qualitative Sociology, 26* (2), 199-231.

McLean, Jesse. (2010, May 2). “Thousands of Tamils turn out to ‘transnational’ election.” *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved May 5, 2010: http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/article/803611--thousands-of-tamils-turn-out-to-transnational-election.

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. (2007). *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Medved, Caryn E. Lynne H. Turner. (2011). “Qualitative research: Practices and practicing reflexivity.” *Women & Language, 34* (2), 109-113.

Meehan, Albert and Michael Ponder. (2002). “Race and place: The ecology of racial profiling African American motorists.” *Justice Quarterly, 19*, 399-429.

Misra, S. S. (1995). *Ethnic Conflict and Security Crisis in Sri Lanka.* Delhi: Kalinga Publications.

Mosselson, Jacqueline. (2010). “Subjectivity and reflexivity: Locating the self in research on dislocation.” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 23* (4), 479-494.

Mullings, Beverley. (1999). “Insider or outsider, both or neither: Some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting.” *Geoforum, 30* (4), 337-350.

Nadarajah, Suthaharan and Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah. (2005). “Liberation struggle or terrorism? The politics of naming the LTTE.” *Third World Quarterly, 26* (1), 87-100.

Nahirny, Vladimir C. and Joshua A. Fishman. (1965). “American immigrant groups: Ethnic identification and the problem of generation.” *Sociological Review, 13*, 311-326.

Narayan Swamy, M.R. (1994). *Tigers of Lanka. From Boys to Guerrillas.* Sri Lanka: Vijitha Yapa Publications.

National Post. (2009, April 20). “The fine line between a protest and a mob.” *National Post,* A12.

Neuwirth, Gertrud. (1999). “Toward a theory of immigrant integration” in Shiva S. Halli and Leo Driedger (Eds.), *Immigrant Canada. Demographic, Economic, and Social Changes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 51-69.

Newman, Deborah Wilkins, and Nikki-Qui D. Brown. (2009). “Historical overview and perceptions of racial and terrorist profiling in an era of homeland security.” *Criminal Justice and Policy Review, 20* (3), 359-374.

Oppenheimer, Louis and Ilse Hakvoort (2003). “Will the Germans ever be forgiven? Memories of the Second World War Four Generations Later” in E. Cairns and M. D. Roe (Eds.), *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 94-103.

Orjuela, Camilla. (2008). "Distant warriors, distant peace workers? Multiple diaspora roles in Sri Lanka's violent conflict." *Global Networks, 8* (4), 436-452.

Oropesa, R.S., and Nancy Landale. (1997). "In search of the New Second Generation: Alternative Strategies for Identifying Second Generation Children and Understanding their Acquisition of English." *Sociological Perspectives, 40,* 429-455.

Ostergaard-Nielsen, Eva. (2001). "Diasporas in World Politics" in D. Josselin and W. Wallace (Eds.), *Non-state Actors in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 218-234.

Pfaffenberger, Bryan. (1994). "The Political Construction of Defensive Nationalism: The 1968 Temple Entry Crisis in Sri Lanka" in C. Manogaran and B. Pfaffenberger (Eds.), *The Sri Lankan Tamils. Ethnicity and Identity.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Portes, Alejandro, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt. (1999). "The Study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promises of an emergent research field" *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22* (2), 217-37.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. (2001). *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Potter, Andrew. (2009, April 21). "Tamil protesters, yes. George Galloway? Keep out." *Maclean's.* Retrieved May 8, 2009: http://www2.macleans.ca/2009/04/21/tamil-protesters-yes-george-galloway-keep-out/.

Public Safety Canada. (2008). "Smart Border Declaration and Action Plan." *Public Safety Canada*. Retrieved June 27, 2013: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/le/bs/sbdap-eng.aspx

Rajanayagam, Dagmar-Hellmann. (1994). "Tamils and the Meaning of History" in C. Manogaran and B. Pfaffenberger (Eds.), *The Sri Lankan Tamils. Ethnicity and Identity.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Rex, John. (2002). "The Fundamentals of the Theory of Ethnicity" in Sinisa Malesevic and Mark Haugaard (Eds.), *Making Sense of Collectivity. Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalization*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 88-121.

Riccio, Bruno. (2001). “From ‘ethnic group’ to ‘transnational community’? Senegalese migrants’ ambivalent experiences and multiple trajectories.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies, 27* (4), 583-599.

Riddell-Dixon, Elizabeth. (2008). “Assessing the impact of recent immigration trends on Canadian foreign policy” in D. Carment and D. Bercuson (Eds.), *The World In Canada. Diaspora, Demography, and Domestic Politics.* Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, pp. 31-49.

Roccas, S., Horenczyk, G., & Schwartz, S. H. (2000). “Acculturation discrepancies and well-being: The moderating role of conformity.” *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30,* 323-334.

Rumbaut, Ruben. (1997). “Ties that bind: Immigration and Immigrant Families in the United States” in A. Booth, A. C. Crouter, and N. S. Landale (Eds.), *International Migration and Family Change*. New York: Lawrence Earlbaum, pp. 3-46.

Ryan, Phil. (2010). *Multicultiphobia.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sabaratnam, Lakshmanan. (2001). *Ethnic Attachments in Sri Lanka: Social Change and Cultural Continuity.* New York: Palgrave.

Safran, William. (1991). “Diasporas in modern society: Myths of homeland and return.” *Diaspora, 1* (1), 83-99.

Sahadevan, P. and Neil De Votta. (2006). *Politics of Conflict and Peace in Sri Lanka.* New Delhi: Manak Publications PVT, Ltd.

Salzman, Philip. (2002). “On Reflexivity.” *American Anthropologist, 104* (3), 805-813.

Sanders, Jimy M. (2002). “Ethnic boundaries and identity in plural societies.” *Annual Review of Sociology, 28,* 327-357.

Sangarasivam, Yamuna. (2001). “Researcher, informant, ‘assassin’, me.” *Geographical Review, 91* (1/2), 95-104.

Satzewich, Vic and Lloyd Wong. (2006). “Conclusion: Directions for future research” V. Satzewich and L. Wong (Eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 296-298.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. (2002). "The more things change…American identity and mass and elite responses to 9/11." *Political Psychology, 23* (3), 511-535.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. (2009). "The dynamics of public opinion on ethnic profiling after 9/11. Results from a survey experiment." *American Behavioural Scientist, 53* (1), 61-79.

Schulz, Helena Lindholm, and Juliane Hammer. (2003). *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland.* New York: Routledge.

Shain, Yossi. (1999). *Marketing the American Creed Abroad. Diasporas in the U.S. and Their Homelands.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shain, Yossi and Barry Bristmen. (2002). "Diaspora, kinship and loyalty: The renewal of Jewish National security." *International Affairs, 78* (1), 69-96.

Shane, Scott. (2013, April 20). "Suspects with foot in 2 worlds, perhaps echoing plots of past." *New York Times.* Retrieved April 21, 2013: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/us/boston-suspects-confused-identities-and-conflicting-loyalties.html?hp&_r=0

Shastri, Amita. (1994). "The material basis for separatism: The Tamil Eelam movement in Sri Lanka" in C. Manogaran and B. Pfaffenberger (Eds.), *The Sri Lankan Tamils. Ethnicity and Identity.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Sheffer, Gabriel. (2003). *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sheffer, Gabriel. (2006). "Transnationalism and ethnonational diasporism." *Diaspora, 15*, 121-145.

Siddiqui, Haroon. (2009, May 16). "Tamil protests a test of our tolerance." *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved November 30, 2009: http://www.thestar.com/columnists/article/635385

Skrbis, Zlatko. (1999). *Long-distance Nationalism. Diasporas, homelands and identities.* Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Snel, Erik, Godried Engbersen and Arjen Leerkes. (2006). "Transnational involvement and social integration." *Global Networks, 6* (3), 285-308.

Soroka, Stuart N., Richard Johnston, and Keith Banting. (2007). "Ties that bind? Social cohesion and diversity in Canada" in Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle (Eds.), *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*. Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, pp.561-600.

Spencer, Jonathan. (1990). "Introduction: The power of the past" in J. Spencer (Ed.), *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict.* New York: Routledge.

Stasiulis, Daiva and Yasmeen Abu-Laban. (1990). "Ethnic activism and the politics of limited inclusion in Canada" in A.-G. Gagnon and J.P. Bickerton (Eds.), *Canadian Politics. An Introduction to the Discipline.* Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Statistics Canada (2006). *Immigrant Population by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration (2006 Census).* [http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo24a-eng.htm]

Statistics Canada (2006). *Profile for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions (2006 Census).* [http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dppd/prof/rel/Rpeng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=94533&PRID=0&PTYPE=89103&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&THEME=81&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=]

Statistics Canada. (2010). *Study: Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population*. [http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/100309/dq100309a-eng.htm].

Stinchcombe, Arthur L. (1975). "Social structure and politics" in F. I. Greenstein and N. W. Polsby (Eds.), *Macropolitical Theory*, vol. 3, *Handbook of Political Science*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, pp. 557-622.

Sugiman, Pamela. (2006). "Unmaking a transnational community: Japanese Canadian families in wartime Canada" in V. Satzewich and L. Wong (Eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 52-68.

Tambiah, S. J. (1986). *Sri Lanka. Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Tambiah, Stanley J. (1996). *Leveling Crowds. Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Tambiah, S. J. (2000). "Transnational movements, diaspora, and multiple modernities." *Multiple Modernities, 129* (1), pp. 163-194.

Tamil Elections Canada . (2009). *Homepage*. Retrieved on December 22, 2009: http://www.tamilelections.ca/english.shtml.

Tampoe, Mahen. (2006). *From Spices to Suicide Bombers and Beyond: A Study of Power, Politics and Terrorism in Sri Lanka.* Twickenham, UK: Athena Press.

Tatla, Darshan Singh. (2004). *The Sikh Diaspora. The Search for Statehood.* London: Routledge.

Taylor, L. C. (2009, January 31, 2009). "Thousands protest Tamil 'genocide'; As many as 45,000 line downtown streets to beg for help in Sri Lanka's escalating civil war." *The Toronto Star*, GT-1.

Tillery Jr., Alvin B. (2011). *Between Homeland and Motherland. Africa, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Black Leadership in America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

TGTE (2011). *The Constitution of the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam.* Retrieved June 8, 2013: http://www.govthamileelam.org/index.php/constitution-english.

Toronto Star. (2009, March 20). "More voices on Tamil protest". *The Toronto Star.* Retrieved March 29, 2009: http://www.thestar.com/printArticle/605059.

Tsolidis, Georgina. (2011). "Memories of home: Family in the diaspora." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 42* (3), 411-420.

University of Toronto TSA. (2009). *Home Page*. Retrieved April 14, 2009: http://www.utsgtsa.com/.

Vertovec, Steven. (1999). "Conceiving and researching transnationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22* (2), 447-462.

Waters, Mary C. (1990). *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Wayland, Sarah. (2004). “Ethnonationalist networks and transnational opportunities: The Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora.” *Review of International Studies, 30* (3), 405-426.

Wayland, Sarah V. (2006). “The politics of transnationalism: Comparative perspectives” in V. Satzewich and L. Wong (Eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 18-34.

Weinfeld, Morton. and L. Wilkinson. (1999). “Immigration, diversity, and minority communities” in Peter S. Li (Ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, pp. 55-87.

Weiss, Gordon. (2011). *The Cage. The Fight for Sri Lanka & The Last of the Tamil Tigers.* London: The Bodley Head.

Wente, Margaret. (April 23, 2009). “Can you belong to more than one nation?” *The Globe and Mail.* Retrieved November 30, 2009: http://v1.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090422.wcowent23/BNStory/International

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. (1994). “The Colombo Man, the Jaffna Man, and the Batticaloa Man: Regional identities and the rise of the Federal Party” in in C. Manogaran and B. Pfaffenberger (Eds.), *The Sri Lankan Tamils. Ethnicity and Identity.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. (2013). *Ethnic Boundary Making. Institutions, Power, Networks.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wong, Lloyd and Vic Satzewich. (2006). “Introduction: The meaning and significance of transnationalism” in V. Satzewich and L. Wong (Eds.), *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 1-15.

Wortley, Scot and Julian Tanner. (2003). “Data, denials, and confusion: The racial profiling debate in Toronto.” *Canadian Journal of Criminology & Criminal Justice, 45* (3), 367-389.

Yakushko, Oksana, Manijeh Badiee, Anitra Mallory and Sherry Wang. (2011). “Insider Outsider: Reflections on working with one’s own communities.” *Women & Therapy, 34* (3), 279-292.