

Practising Ideology: Chinese Immigrant Mothers' Learning in Canadian Immigration Settlement Organizations

by

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The Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education
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Abstract

This research examines how Chinese immigrant mothers' learning has been socially organized in a Canadian immigration settlement organization (ISO) and how mothering as an ideology shapes immigrant mothers' learning practice. Drawing on a feminist and anti-racist theoretical framework and a critical ethnography, this dissertation problematizes motherhood learning through exploring the ideology of mothering, unpacking the ruling relations behind the learning practice, and examining immigrant mothers' standpoint. I argue that immigrant mothers' everyday experience of learning, mothering and settlement, which are socially organized by the state and its agencies, are not only a cultural nexus of transnational encounters, but also social relations with race, gender and class inequalities.

The findings of this dissertation were generated from three parts. First, I revisit the meaning of motherhood. I challenge the ideology of mothering, which is based on Westernized and neoliberalized ideas of "intensive mothering" (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014). I unpack the ruling relations behind Chinese immigrant mothers' learning and find out how the ruling idea of mothering shapes Chinese immigrant mothers' learning, settlement, mothering and everyday practice. Second, I examine the social organization of motherhood learning in Canadian

immigration settlement organizations. Through critical ethnographical research at MOSAIC, a Vancouver-based immigration settlement organization, I detail how hierarchical actors including the state, program organizers, social workers, and different individuals co-participate in the making of “immigrant mothers.” I provide an account of how Canadian immigration settlement organizations play a role mediating the state’s policy and immigrants’ actual settlement practice to ensure immigrant mothers’ learning is associated with the state’s neoliberal immigration policy. Finally, I investigate Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience as standpoints to understand motherhood learning as an ideological practice. I show that the discursive and material practice of Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning contains unequal social relations, hierarchically structured by race, gender, and class differences. This dissertation contributes to the understanding of migration and motherhood in the field of adult education, women’s and gender studies, anthropology and comparative and international education. The implications for immigration policy and settlement service involve a reframing of Canadian immigration policy and suggestions on the transformative practice in local immigration settlement organizations.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: The Limits and Challenges of Culturalized Ideas

On July 19, 2012, I, as a Chinese new immigrant, gave birth to my son in a Toronto hospital. After I delivered the baby, I was too tired to do anything. Suddenly, a nurse came to me. She brought me a cold juice and a meal and told me that I had to leave the hospital after the meal. She said that she had already booked a breastfeeding training course for me and I need to travel to another branch for it tomorrow. I was very shocked.

As a Chinese woman, I was told since I was a little girl that I would have to do the “Zuo Yuezi” (sitting the month) after I gave birth to my baby. In Chinese culture, the woman needs to stay in bed for a month after delivering the baby, with a series of rules and taboos. During the first month, the woman cannot travel, eat cold food and drink, and even wash their body and hair. I was hesitant to leave the hospital and asked if I could postpone the breastfeeding training to a later week. The nurse said, “No, this is a part of our policy, and you have to go to the training tomorrow. You are a mother now. Breastfeeding is very good for your baby, and you have to learn how to do it!”

Eighteen months later, I sent my son to a local daycare in Toronto. On a cold winter day, I dressed him in a T-shirt, sweater, and jacket. However, the daycare teacher told me that it was not necessary to put so many clothes on my son since it may cause him to become sick. I was shocked again that the logic in Canada is totally different from my culture, in which we assume that young kids will get the flu if they don't wear enough clothes. “You have to learn how to parent your kid!” The teacher said the same thing to me as what I experienced 18 months earlier: that I have to learn how to mother my child.

As a new immigrant mother in Canada, the experience made me wonder: is mothering a universal idea? As new immigrants, do we need to give up our previous traditions from our home country? Do Westerners need to respect these cultures rather than assume they are not “as good as” Western ones? In a multicultural society like Canada, how do Western modernity and non-Western cultures co-exist in immigrants' settlement and learning practice? What role does the state play in inculcating certain commitments, beliefs, and social values if these differ from the parenting and mothering practice of immigrant mothers? How do immigration settlement organizations (ISOs) as government agencies deliver these curricula and services for immigrant mothers? How is motherhood learning for newcomers socially organized, regulated, and

practised? And last but not least, as a Chinese new immigrant mother in Canada, how do I learn to become a mother, (re)construct my identity, and produce knowledge of mothering?

These questions are important not because motherhood learning is significant in immigrant mothers' settlement practice, but, rather, because they provide a lens to sharpen our focus on the tensions between the ideology of mothering and immigrant mothers' everyday practice. Through an exploration of these questions, I aim to problematize motherhood learning in Canadian immigration settlement organizations under the contemporary contexts of neoliberal restructuring and globalization.

Motherhood learning is socially, politically, and economically organized, and the social organization of motherhood learning is integral to the discursive, material, and ideological practices of the exercises of power. Power, according to Foucault (1990), is relational and exercised with social relations. Mothering, as an ideology, contains unequal social and power relations. The "knowledge" of mothering for immigrant mothers to learn in their settlement practice is constructed as expert, modern, civilized, and Westernized "knowledge" in contrast to immigrant mothers' traditional, indigenous, and personal experience and knowledge of mothering. Immigrant mothers' knowledge production and mothering practice are constructed as uncivilized, problematic, and different, and often ignored. The dichotomization of mothering between modern and traditional, civilized and uncivilized, Western and Eastern, and good and bad forces me to wonder how mothering as an ideology is practised. How is the learning practice of immigrant mothers socially organized? How are immigrant mothers conceptualized? With these concerns, my doctoral study explores the social organization of motherhood learning for Chinese immigrant mothers in Canadian immigration settlement organizations. With the exploration of Chinese immigrant mothers' identity, knowledge, and experience, this study not only challenges the ruling power and existing knowledge system, but also helps to reconceptualize immigrant motherhood and rethink immigrant mothers' learning practice as internally related to race, gender, and class relations.

The Problematics

In the last decade, a large number of women immigrated to Canada; almost 40% of them were mothers. According to Statistics Canada (2015), the 2011 National Household Survey estimated that there were 3,544,400 female immigrants in Canada, representing 21.2% of the country's total female population (Hudon, 2015, p. 3). Among these female immigrants, 38.1%

of those aged 15 and over were in a couple with children, in comparison to 27% of Canadian-born women (p. 37). These immigrant women were admitted mainly through economic class, family reunion class, and refugee class immigration. In 2013, 54.1% of female permanent residents were admitted under the economic class (19.7% as principal applicants and 34.4% as the spouse or dependent of a principal applicant), 34.3% under the family class, and 8.9% as refugees (p. 4).

Among female immigrants, the most frequently reported birth country was the People's Republic of China (8.4%) (Hudon, 2015, p. 8). Ontario and British Columbia share the largest female immigrant populations in Canada. Ontario was home to 53.7% of female immigrants but home to only 38.8% of the total female population in Canada. British Columbia was home to 17.8% of all female immigrants in Canada, compared to 13.2% of all females in Canada (p. 10). In BC in 2011, over 75% of the female recent immigrant population in British Columbia was born in Asia and the Middle East (p. 11).

This study focuses on Chinese new immigrant mothers who immigrated to Canada between 2002 and 2016. They immigrated to Canada under the family reunion class, skilled worker class, business class, and provincial nominee class. After they first landed in Canada, many of them participated in mothering/parenting educational programs organized by the settlement organizations.

The delivery of the settlement programs for immigrant mothers is problematic and has been overlooked for a long time. When immigrant mothers try to learn the "Canadian knowledge of motherhood" in order to become a "good Canadian mother," they reconstruct their identity and learn to integrate into the local society. The knowledge that these immigrant mothers learn involves unequal power relations. The local practice of organizing immigrant mothers' learning involves a series of institutions, politics, and social relations.

There are numerous debates about mothering, and motherhood studies concern how mothering as "an ideology" shapes mothers' everyday lives. Studies on motherhood recognize that mothering, as an ideology, refers to a role mothers play "as nurturers to their children as a 'natural' extension of their self-identity and sense of self" (Crawford, 2011, p. 10). This mothering ideology is socially reproduced through a variety of discourses and is mutually constituted by social variables such as race, class, gender, and culture that interact with women's everyday experience.

In the discourse of mothering and migration, researchers have started to look at how the social construction of motherhood is perceived by female migrants and how they negotiate the mothering style and make parenting decisions between their native and new cultures (Crawford, 2013; Holmes & Mangione, 2011). Studies on migrant mothers explore multiple meanings of motherhood through migrant women's transnational experiences and divergent conceptualizations of motherhood (Bohr & Whitfield, 2013; Crawford, 2011; Holmes & Mangione, 2011; O'Reilly, 2010; Sanmiguel-Valderrama, 2013; Smyth, 2012). A group of scholars has examined mothers' transnational and cross-cultural experience and practice of mothering in order to challenge the stereotypical "good mother/bad mother binary" (e.g., Manubar & Busse-Cardenas, 2011). The good mother/bad mother binary serves as an ideology to "control, police and sanction the action and activities of mothers who are expected to meet or conform to dominant standards of motherhood" (Crawford, 2011, p. 11). Gustafson points out that the "binary" is a conceptual tool for "dividing relative social phenomena thematically into polarized or oppositional categories" (Gustafson, 2005, p. 25). She criticizes that the binary as a limited analytic tool is reductionist and ignores mothers' experience, feelings, and everyday lives. According to Crawford (2011), "good mothers" "are presented as . . . loving self-sacrificing nurturers, who put their children's needs before their own" (p. 11). The "bad mother," on the other hand, is understood as a mother "who is an inept nurturer, lacking in demonstrative love and who is not readily available to meet her child's emotional and physical needs" (p. 12). The "bad mother" construct is "indicative" of what Gustafson called "unbecoming motherhood" for those mothers "who decide, or are forced to, live apart from their children for whatever reasons" (Gustafson, 2005, p. 12). Crawford (2011) criticizes that this binary does not allow mothers to experience mothering in multiple different ways. Manohar and Busse-Cardenas (2011) expands the discussion of good mother/bad mother binary into different contexts, especially that of international migration. They use the example of the ideology of motherhood in Tamil and Peruvian cultures to understand the culturally specific motherhood ideologies, which "lie in their exclusivity and corresponding valuation as the standard model of mothering against which all women are judged" (Manohar & Busse-Cardenas, 2011, p. 179). However, not enough studies connect the abstraction of motherhood to its material conditions and immigrant mothers' everyday experience.

Neoliberalism refers to a historical period that could be understood as involving a "class-based ideology of markets, privatization, efficiency, and flexibility" (McLaren & Dyck, 2004, p.

46). Under neoliberal globalization, the goals of Canadian immigration policy have shifted from long-term nation-building to short-term economic adaptation. Meanwhile, multiculturalism has shifted in emphasis toward a neoliberal ideology that focuses on the need for newcomers to quickly adjust to Canadian society. These two shifts bring an ideology of ideal immigrant motherhood that requires immigrant mothers not only to be self-sufficient and hardworking but also to be engaged in “child-centred,” “expert-guided,” and “financially expensive” mothering practices (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014, p. 160).

Recent studies on immigration settlement and education pay great attention to federal-provincial-municipal governmental relations (Clement, Carter, & Vineberg, 2013); funding (Mwarigha, 1997; Sadiq, 2005); and immigrants’ needs (Beyene, 2000; Murphy, 2010). There is little research examining the tensions among state, government agencies (e.g., ISOs), and different actors in organizing immigrant mothers’ learning practice, and how motherhood learning is organized, including the ideological shifting of neoliberal policies and actual organizational strategies by the local organizations.

ISOs are currently under direct control by the federal government, which provides diverse settlement programs delivering services and curricula to help new immigrants learn Canada’s official languages, find jobs, and settle in the new country. Although immigrant mothers intend to integrate into Canadian society, conflicts and tensions in mothering practice and learning occur in various dimensions of their everyday lives. ISOs stand between the state and immigrants and have their own strategies to apply for funding, promoting Canadian values, and helping newcomers to integrate. MOSAIC, as one of the largest immigration settlement organizations on the west coast of Canada, provides diverse programs for newcomers. Chinese new immigrants comprise one of MOSAIC’s largest client groups. MOSAIC’s family and settlement support program includes the HIPPY program, the immigrant mothers’ groups, and various workshops for immigrants and their families. In delivering settlement and support programs for newcomers, MOSAIC faces challenges in terms of limitation of funding, applying for government grants, and developing settlement programs as “best practice” for newcomers.

The state also plays an important role in migrant mothers’ learning practice. The state’s policies and regulations, social services, welfare, privatization of public-owned resources, and participation in global free trade not only affect migrant mothers’ learning and practice of mothering, but also shape the racialized, gendered, and patriarchal notion of mothering. Recently, the state has shifted its practice from nation-building to helping newcomers quickly

integrate into the local market for the purpose of economic development. The settlement service in Canada is seen as a part of the nation's economic development project that helps newcomers acquire a second language, learn skills of mothering and employment, and build certain networks in order to integrate into the local society and labour market. In inculcating immigrant mothers, local government-funded settlement agencies are not integrating immigrants into a unified national identity but instead using immigrant mothers to strengthen the nation's population and economy. The agencies reproduce a national ideology of mothering, which excludes migrant mothers' knowledge, culture, identities, and practices of mothering from the nation's beliefs, values, and identities.

Motherhood Learning as an Ideological Practice of Inquiry

The term "ideological practice" is conceptualized by Dorothy E. Smith. According to Smith (1990), an "ideological practice" is an epistemology that dominates the world of thoughts through the process of abstraction and separates social relations from the material world. Here, I use "ideological practice" as a framework for understanding how bourgeois society and its state utilize ideology to sustain unequal social and power relations. Ideology provides a framework to bridge people's subjective perceptions and ideas to their actual practice, different ways of knowing, and material conditions of everyday organizing. Smith (2011) re-examines ideology theory and develops it as a feminist method of inquiry to understand society. She points out that ideology, as a practice of "reasoning about society and history," involves interactions between ideas and reality. I take Smith's idea of the problematic of the conceptual separation between consciousness and life as a theoretical framework to study the abstraction process of differentiating concepts, ideas, and consciousness from immigrant mothers' learning activities. I highlight that examining immigrant mothers' experience could challenge the ideology of mothering and help to return inquiry to mothers' everyday world.

My understanding of ideological practice as a research inquiry is deeply rooted in Marx's theory of historical materialism and dialectics. Marx's historical materialism challenges the conventional approaches of studying either things or reality and proposes to understand our material life through the study of its relation with consciousness and social relations (Marx & Engels, 1991). In *Theses on Feuerbach* (1991), Marx claims that,

I

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism—that of Feuerbach included—is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as sensuous human activity, practice, not subjectively—which, of course, does not know real, sensuous activity as such. (p. 121).

Here, Marx critiques Feuerbach's "materialism," which views thing, reality, or sensuousness as merely object. Marx proposes a way of thinking the world through understanding material life subjectively. Based on this dialectical explanation, reality, sensuousness, or the material world has to be understood from humans' practice, an epistemology of "reason[ing] from the world of thought to actualities" (Smith, 2011, p. 26).

Motherhood learning as an "ideological practice of inquiry" has to be understood from the epistemological and ontological foundations of mothering and learning. Mothering, which is frequently abstracted as a concept, is actually mediated through "the construction of concepts from our mind, and our contact with reality is contact with a conceptualized reality" (Ollman, 2003, p. 23). As Ollman (2003) states, the process of abstraction is a method to answer a major question of dialectics: how can we think about change and interaction so as not "to miss or distort the real changes and interactions that we know?" (p. 60). He explains that there are two concretes: the "real concrete" and the "thought concrete." The "real concrete" means "the world as it presents itself to us," which is simply the world we live in (p. 60). The "thought concrete" refers to "the reconstituted and now understood whole present in the mind," in other words, the reconstruction of the world through theories (p. 60). In order to understand the world dialectically, people should pass the "real concrete" to "the thought concrete" through the process of abstraction. In this sense, the "abstraction" means the intellectual activity of "breaking this whole down into the mental units with which we think about it" (p. 60). The process of abstracting mothering/motherhood led to problems of a lack of reflecting on and challenging the existing ideology of mothering through people's actual daily experience.

Learning, as an ideological practice, is socially organized by a set of ruling relations. Ruling relations contain the "ruling class" and "ruling ideas" that secure the domination of bourgeois society. Bannerji (2011) points out the importance of understanding "ruling class" and "ruling ideas" while examining the racialized discourses through an exploration of ideology and knowledge. She highlights that,

though Marx's primary concern is with the precise method that produces ideology, he is also deeply concerned with the thought content or ideas that are generated. As they are ideas of ruling, they need to be specifically addressed by our political organizations. As such, racializing discourses need to be considered in these terms. (Bannerji, 2011, p. 52)

Ruling ideas refer to the ideas generated within dominant material relationships, which serve the interests of the privileged groups or ruling class. The interests and ideas of the ruling class are represented as "ruling knowledge," which, according to Bannerji (2011), relies on "epistemologies creating essentialization, homogenization (i.e., de-specification), and an aspatial and atemporal universalization" (p. 54). In immigrant mothers' learning, the ruling ideas represent the interests of the hegemonic dominant group or ruling class. The "knowledge" of mothering represents the interests of the globalized regime of ruling that shapes immigrant mothers' learning, mothering, and everyday practice.

In order to problematize motherhood learning in Canadian ISOs, this study asks how motherhood learning, as an ideological practice of inquiry, is socially organized in new immigrant mothers' settlement and everyday practices from local to global. I examine the complex ruling relations behind immigrant mothers' learning practice, the tensions between neoliberal restructuring and the social organization of motherhood learning in Canadian ISOs, and cross-cultural conflicts between ideology of mothering and immigrant mothers' experience. Taking Chinese immigrant mothers' experience as a standpoint, I find that immigrant mothers' learning, which is socially organized by the state and its agencies, is not only a cultural nexus of transnational encounters, but also contains social relations with race, gender and class differences.

I highlight that ideology could be utilized as a method of inquiry for problematizing the conceptualization of immigrant motherhood and challenging the conventional practice of differentiating and excluding immigrant mothers' experience and naturalizing that exclusion through immigrant mothers' settlement and learning practices. In my ethnographical research in the Canadian ISO, I studied the conceptualization of immigrant motherhood through the lens of "ideology" as a method of inquiry.

Immigrant mothers' identity and experience are important to an understanding of the ideological practice of motherhood learning. Many Chinese mothers have their own ideology. They reproduce the social constructions on themselves. I view the identities of Chinese immigrant mothers as constructed in association with the reproduction of race, gender, and class

inequalities and neoliberal ideology. The exploration of their experience by mapping the social relations contributes to an understanding of the problematics of their experience and identities. This study takes Chinese migrant mothers as a particular agent of social change that reveals larger institutional and ruling relations in Canadian society.

With this method of inquiry, my dissertation studies motherhood learning and Chinese immigrant mothers from four perspectives. First, I examine motherhood learning as an ideological practice of inquiry. I explore how mothering is produced as an ideology and how this ideology interacts with neoliberal values, beliefs, and forces. Second, I unpack the ruling relations behind the social organization of a settlement program for immigrant mothers. Third, I investigate Chinese immigrant mothers' embodied experience as an intersectionality of race, gender, and class. I aim to explore the unequal social relations behind Chinese immigrant mothers' everyday experience, mothering practice, knowledge production, learning experience, and identity construction. Finally, I take Chinese immigrant mothers' experience as a standpoint for challenging the ideological and material organization of institutions including immigration policies, settlement services, and the distribution of social welfare.

Overview of My Study

Since 2000, there has been an increasing focus on immigrant women in the field of Adult Education in Canada (Shan, 2016). A group of scholars in adult education research have studied immigrant women's learning as a "pathway to work" in settling in the host country (e.g., Ng & Shan, 2010; Shan, 2009). For example, Shan (2009) explores how immigrant engineers' foreign credentials are not recognized and how they must relearn their skills to get employment in Canada. Many scholars discuss immigrant women's learning experience in the workplace (Gibb, Hamdon, & Jamal, 2008, Mirchandani et al., 2010, Shan, 2007). A few scholars in adult education explore immigrant women's learning in the household (e.g., Liu, 2007). However, not enough studies pay attention to immigrant mothers' learning in immigration settlement organizations.

In adult education, there are studies on the role of immigration settlement organizations and the organizing of community services for immigrants. For instance, Gibb and Hamdon (2010) discuss how ISOs participate in systems of lifelong learning by "assisting newcomers in navigating the national employment terrain that requires them to retrain for their professions" (p. 186). They state that ISOs have provided settlement services for new immigrants, and their

administrators and staff have also acted as advocates for individual women and the collective rights of immigrant women in Canada. In particular, Gibb and Hamdon (2010) explore how changes to federal funding structures restrict the amount of advocacy work that “not-for-profit organizations can engage in without losing their funding further, subjecting them to compliance in maintaining inequitable relations” (p. 186). They further use Nancy Fraser’s (1995) work on the redistribution of recognition and explore ISOs’ practice of building alliances for advocacy with immigrant women and their allies. Using Fraser, Gibb and Hamdon (2010) shift their analysis of how the formal and informal learning occurs in ISOs and how immigrant women learn knowledge and skills in ISOs from “the bodies of immigrant women” to “the political and economic structures and discourses” (p. 186). Borrowing the notion of “isomorphism” from Chris Mason (2012), this study focuses on how social pressures associated with cross-cultural values and different ideologies shape the social organization of motherhood learning.

Isomorphism, proposed by a group of scholars (Mizruchi & Fein, 1999; Pedersen & Dobbin, 2006; Mason, 2012), was originally from the natural sciences for theorizing the conditions of how an organization is shaped. Mason (2012) proposed “isomorphism” in studying the structural homogeneity between organizations caused by internal pressures and external environment influences (p. 77). By using the term “isomorphism,” my study focuses on how culturalized ideas and hegemonic ideologies shaped Canadian ISOs’ structures, services, and practice of their missions, such as “engag[ing] in community building and advocacy to facilitate meaningful participation of immigrants and refugees in Canadian society” (MOSAIC, 2017). Moreover, this study explores how immigrant mothers, as important participants in immigration settlement, bring their cultural values, experience, knowledge, and practice of mothering and interact with the learning activities in immigration settlement organizations.

My study adopts a critical anti-racist and feminist theoretical framework, which provides a framework for examining social difference and social relations (e.g., Bannerji, 2005; Carpenter & Mojab, 2011) and is rooted in Marx’s theory of dialectical and historical materialism. Through dialectic thinking, I question the conceptualization of “immigrant mothers” through a dialectical and critical mapping process that explores social relations among migrant mothers’ learning, the everyday organizing in Canadian ISOs, and state policies.

Methodologically, this study applies a critical ethnography to question everyday practice and means of organizing in motherhood learning. Critical ethnography refers to the use of anthropological, qualitative, participatory, and observational methodology (Masemann, 1982).

My critical ethnography is based on my fieldwork (2015–2016) at MOSAIC, a non-profit community-based ISO in Vancouver, founded in 1976 and funded by different levels of government and other stakeholders, including Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), the Government of British Columbia, the City of Vancouver, and United Way. MOSAIC serves a large number of immigrants from East Asia. Its services include English as a Second Language (ESL) courses for settlement, an introduction to family law, and workshops on parental strategies for newcomers. MOSAIC provides children and family programs for immigrants and refugees. My research included participation in MOSAIC's settlement programs, in-depth interviews with 30 Chinese immigrant mothers and eight program organizers, and textual analysis.

Two research questions guided this ethnography. First, how has learning, as a global ideological practice, been socially organized in new immigrant mothers' everyday lives and immigration settlement organizations (ISOs) from local to global? Second, how are race, gender, and class identities being constructed through the material and discursive practice in immigrant mothers' learning and everyday lives?

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter problematizes immigrant mothers' learning practice, introduces the major research approach, and gives an overview of my research. Chapter 2 reviews the contemporary literature on Canadian immigration policy under the frame of neoliberalism and proposes an anti-racist and feminist approach and centring immigrant mothers' experience in studying immigration policy and practice. Chapter 3 discusses how I use the anti-racist and feminist theoretical framework in researching immigrant mothers' learning. Based on this theoretical structure, I study the issues of Chinese immigrant mothers in settlement organization through taking ideology as a method of inquiry, unpacking ruling relations, and taking the standpoints. Chapter 4 introduces critical ethnography as my research methodology. I discuss my research questions, research scope, research process, and participants.

From Chapter 5 to Chapter 8, I present my research findings. Chapter 5 explores how mothering becomes an ideology in shaping immigrant mothers' learning in Canadian ISOs. I examine the case of immigrant mothers' support groups in immigration settlement and the separation between immigrant mothers' experience and the ideological practice of mothering. Chapter 6 discusses a home-based parenting program in the settlement organization through mapping its social relations and unpacking the ruling relations. Chapter 7 investigates immigrant mothers' material and discursive experience as they learn mothering in their settlement practice.

It analyzes the unequal race, gender, and class relations rooted in the everyday organizing of immigrant mothers' experience. Chapter 8 examines how Chinese immigrant mothers learn to become an "ideal immigrant mother." I take their learning experience as standpoint to challenge the patriarchal, imperial, and hegemonic neoliberal ideology of mothering that shapes the policy and practice of organizing immigrant mothers' learning and settlement. In Chapter 9, I conclude that it is important to centre immigrant mothers' learning and experience in the field of adult education in order to challenge unequal ruling relations and ideology.

Chapter 2

Neoliberalism, Immigration Policy, and Settlement Services

In the past 20 years, an increasing number of studies have examined immigration settlement policies and practice in Canada. These studies pay great attention to federal-provincial-municipal governmental relations on settlement issues (Tolley & Young, 2011; Clement, Carter, & Vineberg, 2013); history and ISOs' organizational/institutional change (Doyle & Rahi, 1987; Reitz, 2001); funding and distribution of delivery of settlement services (Mwarigha, 1997; Sadiq, 2005); and immigrants' needs in settlement programs (Beyene, 2000). However, most studies do not examine immigration settlement policies and practice from an anti-racist feminist perspective.

The concepts of settlement, immigrants' needs, and the welfare state are constructed within an androcentric, patriarchal, colonial and capitalist discourse. Instead, these concepts should be understood through people's actual experience. Furthermore, immigrant women's/mothers' experiences have long been ignored. Immigrant women closely interact with changing immigration policy and settlement services. Despite multicultural policies and access to settlement services, immigrant women/mothers still face tremendous barriers in settlement including the gendered wage gap, unpaid care work, lack of support for childcare, and the racialization and marginalization of their everyday experience.

In this chapter, I critically review the current literature and provide an anti-racist feminist analysis of Canadian immigration settlement policies and services and argue that immigrant women's/mothers' experiences play a crucial role in reframing research on Canadian immigration and settlement. I analyze three questions. How have neoliberal immigration policies and settlement practices been framed? How do immigrant mothers interact with neoliberal restructuring? How do we understand the interaction between the changing immigration policies and practice and immigrant mothers' experience? The chapter comprises four parts. First, I introduce the notions of neoliberalism and neoliberal ideology and explore how I use these notions as frameworks to study immigration policy, settlement service, and immigrant mothers' learning. Second, I review the literature on Canadian immigration policy and settlement services under the contextual framework of neoliberalism. Third, I examine the institutionalization of Canadian immigration policies and settlement practice by taking immigrant mothers' standpoint.

Finally, I analyze Nancy Fraser's work on welfare, "misframing," and neoliberalism to reflect on the "gender neutral" literature on immigration policies and settlement services.

Neoliberalism and the Neoliberal Ideology

My study of Chinese immigrant mothers' learning and Canadian immigration policy and settlement services takes from the extensive literature on neoliberalism as a theoretical framework that drives the phase of global capitalist development (Cahill, 2011; Clarke, 2006; Harvey, 2005; Kamat, 2011; Polanyi, 2001). As Harvey states,

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices...It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. (p. 2)

Harvey (2005) addresses that the process of neoliberalization "entailed much 'creative destruction'" not only of institutional powers, but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, etc. (p. 3). Neoliberalism representing "global capitalism" and the "free market" has shaped the global political, economic, and social orders. Neoliberalism has become the dominant ideology for the bourgeoisie to use, which interacts with the state's privatization, marketization, participating in the global free trade market.

Marxist scholars (e.g. Clarke, 2006) build critiques of neoliberalism. By analyzing Marx's labour theory of value and his theory of surplus value, Clarke (2006) points out that in the capitalist society, capitalists as owners own the whole project, which includes not only the products of labour but also the labour power itself. In this process, the capitalist that owned the capitalist private property determined the "the participation of the individual in society" (p. 52). This capitalist privatization process may lead to two processes, one being the market process, and the other being class reproduction. Clarke (2006) states that the market processes would give rise to inequality and "a polarisation of wealth and poverty as money accumulated in the hands of a minority, while the majority lost the means to earn their own living and were forced to

labour for others” (p. 53). He points out that in the process of class reproduction, the class identity is the most fundamental determination of determining the members of the society (pp. 53–54).

Cahill (2011) uses Karl Polanyi's (2001) conceptual framework, which understands neoliberalism as a “historically specific process of state and economic restructuring” that is “socially embedded through three mechanisms: ideological norms, class relations, and institutional rules” (p. 479). First, he argues that neoliberalism is embedded ideologically and discursively. Neoliberalism becomes the dominant hegemonic ideology used by the bourgeoisie. This ideology is considered as the “common sense” of modern capitalism and shapes government policies that systematically oppress the working class, women, or marginalized groups in the globalized world. Second, Cahill (2011) claims that neoliberalism is embedded institutionally. The state, as the driver of the vehicle, becomes an integral part of “the implementation, reproduction, and extension of neoliberalism” (p. 486). Finally, Cahill (2011) states that neoliberalism is embedded through class relations. He points out that,

Transformations to the regulatory apparatus of states (through privatisation, deregulation, and marketisation) facilitated changes within processes of capital accumulation, which in turn led to: a weakening of the power of organised labour and a strengthening of the power of capital at both the level of the firm and the level of state policy-making; a freeing of capital from many of the restraints imposed upon it as a result of the post-World War II “class compromise” in many advanced capitalist economies; and an expansion of the sphere of commodification, via deregulation and the opening up of former state-monopolised services to profitmaking enterprises. (p. 487)

Neoliberalism not only affects marginalized people in the global free market but also brings a set of “neoliberal ideologies” that requires individuals to integrate into the “neoliberal project.” Adopting the literature on neoliberalism, my study on Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning and the Canadian immigration settlement organizations focuses on three dimensions: ideology, institution, and social relations. From the ideology dimension, I look at how neoliberal ideology creates the “good mother/bad mother binary” as a common sense for Chinese immigrant mothers to become a good mother without any challenges of this notion. From the institutional dimension, I examine how state and its agents co-participate in applying the neoliberal ideology and reproduces the inequality among immigrants’ settlement and learning.

Finally, from the dimension of social relations, I investigate how social relations, such as race, gender and class relations, embedded in individual's everyday learning and activities, which are seen as an integral part of the state's practice in neoliberal restructuring.

Canadian Immigration Policy

Since 1995, two concomitant policy shifts have shaped current studies on Canadian immigration settlement policies and organizations. First, the changing relationship between federal, provincial, and municipal governments resulted in heated debates on the responsibilities of multilevel governments for immigration settlement. In 1995, the federal government downloaded responsibility for settlement services to the provinces via "federal-provincial settlement agreements" (Richmond, 1996; Sadiq, 2005). In 2013 and 2014, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration terminated the agreements with Manitoba and British Columbia. After that, the federal government insisted on launching a "more consistent level of services" for immigrant settlement (Clement, Carter, & Vineberg, 2013). Second, the devaluation and cutting of funding for immigration settlement services significantly influenced discussions on settlement policies, practices, and organizations. In 1995, Ontario's Conservative government dramatically reduced funding for settlement services (Richmond, 1996; Simich, 2003; Sadiq, 2005). In 2011, a 10% cutback in funding for settlement was announced by the federal government (UFCW, 2011). These policy changes prompted government agencies, social service programs, non-governmental programs, and academics to realize the importance, urgency, and advocacy of doing research on immigration settlement policies and services.

The changing policies involve a global neoliberal restructuring. The interaction between immigration policy, settlement services, and neoliberalism is widely explored in the literature. Many studies examine how neoliberalism shapes immigration policy and how the interaction between neoliberalism and immigration policy impacts on social service delivery and immigrants' everyday lives. Root, Gates-Gasse, Shields, and Bauder (2014) have developed a conceptual framework for understanding Canadian immigration policy change in neoliberalization. They point out two major immigration policy shifts in Canada. They indicate that the goal of immigration policy in Canada has shifted from long-term nation building to short-term economic development. They argue that Canadian immigration policy has changed towards a demand for "more 'flexible' immigrants better equipped to quickly adapt to a changed economic environment (with a much sharper focus on economic-class immigration and

temporary foreign workers)” (Root, Gates-Gasse, Shields, & Bauder, 2014, p. 4). This shift echoes neoliberal ideology, which concentrates on more immediate economic benefits of immigration and requires immigrants to integrate quickly into the local labour market. With this shift, the state preferred “highly-educated, skilled, self-sufficient, and wealthy immigrants” to reduce its responsibilities to support immigrants’ settlement (p. 5). As a result, the state has an increasing number of skilled and professional immigrants to assist in the development of the economy. Second, there is a core change in the meaning of multiculturalism in neoliberal restructuring. Canadian multiculturalism developed as a national ideology for promoting cultural diversity and democracy. It has had considerable influence on settlement and immigration policies regarding incorporating newcomers from diverse cultural backgrounds to Canada. Under the neoliberal ideology, multiculturalism is shifting in focus away from “accommodating difference” toward an emphasis on “the need for newcomers to adapt and to adjust to Canadian society and its established western ‘pluralistic’ value system” (p. 6).

Neoliberalism is a historical process that shapes current immigrant settlement policies and practice. Neoliberalism should not only be understood from its width—its global and local impact—but also from its depth—its historical effect. I treat the pressures for immigrant women/mothers in the current immigration and settlement system as a continuation of Canada’s racialized immigration history. Studies on immigration policies and settlement services need to be reframed to challenge inequality and to be developed as a path for social change. Additionally, I point out that the state plays an important role in supporting immigrant settlement under globalization and neoliberalization. State policies and regulations, social services, welfare, privatization of publicly owned resources, and participation in global free trade not only affect immigrants’ everyday practice, but also shape the racialized, gendered, and classical notion of the “new immigrant.”

There is insufficient research on how local people, especially immigrant women/mothers, interact with the changing immigration and settlement policy. The shifting of immigration policy from nation building to economic adaptation shapes immigrant mothers’ settlement and learning practice. Their integration has shifted toward employment and language learning, but their emotional and embodied experiences of integration and settlement are overlooked. The changing meaning of multicultural policy requires newcomers to be “solely responsible for making the adaptations to fit into the receiving society’s system of established values and institutions” (Root

et al., 2014, p. 6). However, too few studies explore how immigrant women/mothers have developed strategies to fit into the local society.

Canadian Immigration Settlement Services

Canada brings in 250,000 immigrants every year (Statistics Canada, 2014). Most settle in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. In Canada, settlement services are under the direct control of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). A Canadian model of settlement services for newcomers is usually delivered by local non-profit organizations and funded by the federal government. Shields (2013) called the non-profit-government relationship in settlement services a “non-profit-government partnership” (p. 2). Recently, the provinces progressively enrolled in supporting immigration settlement.

With funding and support from the federal and provincial governments, non-profit organizations provide settlement services based on their local needs. Maharaj and Wang (2015) review formal and informal settlement services in Canada (p. 4). CIC has funded many formal programs for immigration settlement, including the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), Job Search Workshops (JSWs), Host (a volunteer-newcomer matching program), Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS), and Resettlement Assistance Programs for refugees (RAPs). Maharaj and Wang (2015) mention some programs offered by provincial or municipal governments that are also considered “formal service,” including official language training (ESL is funded by the province through local school boards), bridging programs, internships and mentorships, support for temporary foreign workers, and cooperation initiatives among key agencies (p. 5). They find some private sectors, including the universities and colleges, playing an important role in supporting international students and potential immigrants. As to “informal settlement service,” they note that social support networks help newcomers build networks and assist each other to settle in the local society (p. 8).

This view of formal and informal settlement service is inadequate. Immigration settlement service is hybrid. The so-called formal and informal settlement practices and services are interchangeable and mutually affect each other. The boundary between formal and informal service is very blurred. In addition, the recognition of formal and informal settlement service contains power relations between the state, settlement agencies, and immigrants. The understanding of settlement service as hybrid is crucial for studying immigrant mothers’

settlement, not just because immigrant mothers' settlement, learning, and mothering are practised simultaneously inside and outside of the settlement organizations but also because their settlement practice should be recognized as an equally important component in immigration settlement service. For instance, in my research, I find that many new immigrants experience a racialization of their knowledge, language, and living conditions. Many had experienced their neighbours complaining about their noise, driving manners, the language, food, and the organization of their living space. Their learning how to become "good neighbours" was not included in the settlement services, but rather happened in their everyday lives. Such learning in discursive dimensions is not recognized as important in "formal settlement services" (Zhu, 2016).

Although many researches examine Canadian immigration settlement services in both formal and informal settings, not enough studies examine new immigrant mothers in the settlement services system. Immigrant mothers are commonly recognized as playing a significant role in reproducing Canada's next generation and progressively changing Canadian culture, economy, institutions, and society. They have experienced systemic barriers deriving from neoliberal ideology and market-oriented policy. Their knowledge of mothering and settlement experience could challenge the existing ideology of mothering and the institution of immigration.

There are various parenting and family programs for immigrants in Canada, such as Parenting and Family Supportive Counselling (Toronto), Parent Support Program (Toronto), Newcomer's Centre for Child and Family (Vancouver), Multicultural Early Childhood Development (Vancouver), Cross-cultural Parenting Program (Calgary), Support for Expectant Parents and Families with Babies and/or Toddlers (Calgary), and Ten-week Multicultural Family Program (Edmonton). A few studies examine these programs and immigrant parents' needs.

Janzen, Ochocka, Sundar, and Fuller (2001) engaged in a comprehensive study on supporting immigrant parents in the Waterloo region. They conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews with 50 immigrant parents and explored new immigrants' parenting beliefs, parenting styles, and perceptions of the Canadian style of parenting. Researchers found that immigrant parents changed parenting style dramatically. One major shift was in "equalizing" their relationship with their children over "by letting go of control" (Janzen et al., 2001, p. 54). Another shift was in coping with the challenge of adopting the new culture. For example, one parent realized that punishment is prohibited in Canada, so they needed to understand and cooperate with "all concerned citizens, neighbours, social and community workers, government

officials, teachers and education authorities” (p. 54). Although Janzen et al. (2001) provide rich resources on immigrant parents’ identity, perceptions, beliefs, and practice of parenting, they fail to recognize that parenting style is hybrid and diverse. The dichotomizing of parenting style into immigrant parenting and Canadian parenting is problematic. They find that immigrant parents are stricter than Canadian parents and rate the level of their strictness from low to high. The linear understanding of parenting style may result in the exclusion of immigrants’ identity, culture, and experience.

Many settlement service programs build curriculum for educating immigrant parents. The Calgary Immigrant Women’s Association developed a cross-cultural parenting program and published a practical guide for social workers to better assist immigrant parents to “build positive parenting skills,” “promote healthy family life,” and actively participate in Canadian society (Calgary Immigrant Women’s Association (CIWA), 2005, p. 3). The program promotes a commitment to “life-long learning among individuals.” It provides courses not only to help immigrant parents learn parenting strategies but also for “developing critical awareness skills of immigrant parents.” The course focuses on four components, including “effective communication,” “assertiveness,” “effective parenting,” and “problem solving” (CIWA, 2005, p. 3). This guidebook particularly emphasizes that immigrant parents and social workers be aware of race and gender issues. This program is a big contribution to motherhood learning for immigrant parents, while not so many settlement organizations provide the course materials and curriculum targeting immigrants by emphasizing the cross-cultural parenting and issues of social inequalities.

By looking at the social organization of Canadian immigration settlement service in the era of neoliberalism, I find that the Canadian ISOs face extraordinary challenges and pressures. These challenges and pressures are from not only the state’s governance and limits of the funding and resources, but also from the clash of different social and cultural values. Here, I use the notion of “isomorphism” to understand the challenges and pressures of the social organization of Canadian ISOs both internally and externally. Mason (2012) proposes the term “isomorphism” to analyze how social entrepreneurs “capture the interplay of exogenous and endogenous pressures that cause isomorphic effects” (p. 75). He defines isomorphism as the “degree of structure homogeneity between organizations caused by the internalization of external environmental influences” (Mason, 2012, pp. 77–78). He introduces two dimensions of analyzing the isomorphic pressures: competitive and institutional.

Competitive isomorphism aligns with Hawleys, and latterly the population ecologists' understanding of isomorphic pressures and change. However, institutional isomorphism differs from the competitive strand because, as DiMaggio and Powell (1983) made clear, organizations can affect structural change without creating or enhancing their competitive position vis-à-vis their competitors (e.g. efficiency creation). (Mason, 2012, p. 78)

Mason (2012) mentions that not all organizations are affected by isomorphism in the same way, but the “endogenous and exogenous and micro- and macro-level analysis is necessary when understanding why social structures remain constant while others change” (p. 79). He particularly addresses the importance of understanding the concept of legitimacy, by which he means two “combinations of factors influencing organizations, e.g. strategic and institutional” (Mason, 2012, p. 78). The strategic view allows researchers to understand legitimacy as “a resource that organizations can draw from to achieve operational objectives” (p. 78), whereas the institutional view emphasizes institutional legitimacy as a guide for management to make decisions that “are concordant with their interpretations of fundamental, shared values” (p. 78).

Isomorphism reminds me that the Canadian immigration settlement sectors were affected by the global neoliberal ideology both internally and externally. I point out that the organizing of Canadian immigration settlement service should be understood from not only the strategic purpose of achieving their operative objectives, but also how these services are structured by the “shared values” from different hierarchical levels (Mason, 2012, p. 78). The shared values may not come from a mono-cultural belief but are from a clash of ideologies, culturalized ideas, or different values. By taking a glance from the macro-level, Canadian ISOs also echo the global neoliberal ideology. In the case of supporting immigrant mothers in Canadian ISOs, the shared value of “being a mother” may fall into the “good/bad mother” fallacy and the hegemonic ideology of mothering. While looking at it by taking a micro-level, I find that these ISOs change their ways of organizing strategically under the power of state.

Immigrant Mothers' Experience in Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism not only impacts the global economy, institutions, and politics but also brings an ideology that requires individuals to be self-sufficient and hardworking and to adjust to a new society with an established value system. Migrant mothers in the era of neoliberalism experience a re-adjustment of parenting strategies, a re-construction of identities, and adaptation

to the society. Mothering becomes an ideology involving unequal power relations between East and West, civilized and uncivilized, or “ideal” and “failed.” Recently, an increasing number of studies have examined mothers’ changing role in the neoliberal global market (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014; Crawford, 2011). How do neoliberal policies, institutional restructuring, and neoliberal ideology interact with immigrant mothers’ everyday lives? How do migrant mothers encounter conflicts and readjust their practice in neoliberalism? In this section, I explore three major dimensions in the current literature: the construction of “ideal immigrant mothers,” the barriers to achieving “work-life balance,” and transnational motherhood.

The first dimension is the construction of the “ideal immigrant mother.” Vandenbeld Giles (2014) highlights a term called “intensive mothering,” which means “child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour-intensive, and financially expensive” mothering. She further indicates that the current neoliberal focus on “good motherhood” as “identified by white, middle-class consumption” does not apply to marginalized mothers (p. 160). Similarly, Root et al. (2014) claim that there is a construction of “an ideal/model immigrant” based on “certain personality, cultural, and skill-based characteristics.” They particularly use Anderson’s concept of the “good citizen,” which refers to a person who “embodies the neoliberal ideals of self-sufficiency, hard work, and effective labour market participation” (Root et al., 2014, p. 5).

These studies provide an understanding of the narratives on “ideal mothers” and “ideal citizens/immigrants.” I propose a notion of the “ideal immigrant mother,” which refers to an immigrant woman who is not only self-sufficient, hardworking and actively participating in the local labour market, but also engaged in child-centred, expert-guided, and financially expensive mothering practices. The “ideal immigrant mother” incorporates the neoliberal ideology that not only structures the settlement service for immigrant mothers but also affects immigrant mothers’ everyday lives, learning, and practice of mothering.

The ideology of the “ideal mother” associated with neoliberal restructuring, which is deeply associated with class-based activity. McLaren and Dyck (2004) argue that the class-based neoliberal ideology is based on “masculinizing logics and visions of citizenship in which paid work is its identificatory sign” (p. 42). Cutting funding for education, health and welfare spending significantly affects women’s care work. In the immigrant woman/mother’s case, the unpaid caregiving/mothering work becomes a class issue in that their social status greatly affects their learning new skills, parenting styles, and taking care of their kid in the new society of residence.

The second dimension is the work-life balance. Many immigrant women/mothers encounter a conflict between work and life. Meares (2010) points out that global migration tends to have a negative influence on highly skilled migrant women and creates “a concomitant increase and/or intensification of their work at home” (p. 474). Meraj (2015) examines the settlement experience of highly skilled immigrant women in Canada, the USA, Australia, and the UK. She finds that professional women who were “trailing spouses” or “trailing moms” were unprepared for migration and “faced a relatively increased burden of adjustment” (Meraj, 2015, pp. 71–72). These immigrant women have to “contend with the dual burden of work both in the home and at the workplace” (p. 72).

With the neoliberal policy shift, women’s/mothers’ care work is greatly devalued and ignored. Neither the state and its agencies nor the individual or the market covers social support for immigrants’ care work. The “work-life balance” becomes “ever more skewed as caring responsibilities become downloaded away from publicly supported institutions to the home or to be purchased in the private marketplace” (Root et al., 2014, p. 8). Neoliberalization has a significant impact on women’s participation in the labour market. Most new immigrant mothers are isolated from the local society. Immigrant mothers not only face barriers in the gender-divided paid workplace but also encounter the work-life balance dilemma in trying to both take care of their kids and integrate into the local labour market. Albanese, Butryn, Hawkins, and Manion (2014) use mothers’ experience to address how they encounter the conflict between employment and childcare. They discuss how the state passed policies and launched social services with a purpose of balancing paid work and childcare for immigrant mothers in two policy jurisdictions.

The third dimension is immigrant mothers’ transnational practice. Since neoliberal policy requires self-sufficient and skilled immigrants who could actively participate in the local labour market and strengthen the nation’s economy, many immigrant mothers are forced to leave their family and children in order to integrate successfully into their new country of residence. Crawford (2011) introduces the notion of “transnational motherhood,” which encompasses both “the material and social aspect of care and support that female immigrants give to their children and families from abroad” (p. 9). By looking at immigrant mothers’ transnational experience, she re-examines the social construction of the “good mother/bad mother binary” and argues that transnational motherhood challenges the divergent ideology of mothering. She indicates that gender, race, and class privileges inform the social hierarchy of motherhood whereby immigrant

mothers who live apart from their family and children are imagined as “bad mothers,” which makes them feel guilty.

Transnationality has become an important framework for studying migration and mobility in the global and neoliberalized world. It criticizes the previous understanding of migration as a linear process from the home country to the host country or from one country to another. Issues in transnational studies concern transnational family relations and kinship networks (Brigham, 2015; Cohen, 2015; Reynolds, 2010), the changing meaning of “home” (Levitt, Kristen, & Barnett 2011; Taylor, 2015), integration, assimilation, and learning across borders (Guo, 2013, 2015; Kasinitz, Waters, Mollenkopf, & Anil, 2002; Waldinger, 2017) and the connections between return migration and transnationalism (Carling & Erdal, 2014; Teo, 2011; Wang, 2016; Xiang, Yoeh, & Toyota, 2013). Research on transnational motherhood learning and mothering practice remains in short supply.

Cohen (2015) argues that transnationalism “does not postpone, but rather redefines conventional discourses of motherhood.” In defining “transnational motherhood,” she writes,

In comparison to conventional uni-local mothering, which focuses on nurturing, multi-local transnational mothering is characterized by a reconfiguration of the nurturer’s role as well as an enhancement of the provider’s role (Cohen, 2015, p. 156).

I argue that “transnationality” provides researchers with a framework for not only understanding immigrant mothers’ experience, learning, and mothering practice as diasporic, dynamic, and fluid, but also studying the abstraction and practice of mothering within larger institutional, cross-cultural, and transnational contexts. I take the notion of “transnational motherhood” to examine Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning practice from three standpoints. First, I study how Chinese immigrant mothers took their children back and forth between China and Canada and how they experience transnational mothering with their children who are not staying with them. Second, I understand Chinese immigrant mothers’ migration process as nonlinear. With this understanding, I investigate how Chinese immigrant mothers practise their mothering, learning, and settlement back and forth between their home country and host countries or transnationally. Finally, I find that many new immigrant mothers heavily depend on their previous working experience, savings, and transnational relations. For instance, after some Chinese immigrant mothers give birth in Canada, they lack support in terms of infant care, breastfeeding, and financial assistance. They learn these skills and get support from their friends

and family members in China, but they aim to become “a good immigrant mother” in Canada. I explore how Chinese immigrant mothers learn to become good mothers in transnational spaces.

To sum up, immigrant mothers’ experience in neoliberal restructuring is constituted by the neoliberal ideology and social and institutional relations. First, the social construction of the “ideal immigrant mother” associated with the neoliberal ideology of mothering interacts deeply with immigrant mothers’ everyday experience. Second, immigrant mothers’ experience, skills, and labour are devalued, which result in their work and life balance. Third, immigrant mothers’ transnational experience and the diasporic mothering practice helps researchers to better understand how migrants interact with the global and neoliberalized world.

Reframing Research on Canadian Immigration and Settlement

Canadian immigration policies and settlement practices were written from a monocultural and gender-neutral perspective. I suggest a possible way of criticizing the male-dominant system and exploring immigrant mothers’ experience and knowledge in their transnational lives. In my research on Chinese immigrant mothers in settlement organizations, I find that a great number of Chinese immigrant mothers in Canada not only face language and cultural barriers but also experience unequal power and social relations in their everyday lives. “Immigrant mothers” are socially constructed and encouraged to take care of their kids and be self-supporting, which is deeply rooted in the institutions that idealize immigrant mothers based on gendered, race, and class assumptions.

I propose two ways of reframing studies on immigration policy and practice. First, I suggest that researchers should reflect on the welfare state in both material and symbolic dimensions and understand the power relations behind immigration policy and settlement services. Fraser (2008) defines the welfare state from two perspectives: the material and the symbolic. From the material perspective, the effect of the welfare state was to “worsen the economic situation of poor women and children, and beyond that, to reduce all women’s exit options vis-à-vis abusive marriages and exploitative jobs” (Fraser, 2008, p. 227). From the symbolic or expressive perspective, “the assault on AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] sent a clear message that recipients of this programme were scroungers who had been getting something for nothing, hence that their caregiving and childrearing labour had no social value” (p. 227). In immigration settlement service, the state provides resources to help

immigrants and their families to integrate into the society. However, not enough support is provided at the symbolic level. Immigrant mothers' knowledge, mothering experience, and learning practice are devalued and even ignored by the immigration settlement system. The existence of welfare for women and children plays critical roles. There are some parenting programs in settlement organizations, and the state also provides funding for women and children. The state undertakes these activities as demonstrations of their responsibility for women and children. However, immigration policy, settlement service, and parenting programs are still under an androcentric, capitalist, and imperialist frame that contains unequal power relations between what the state provides and what immigrants' needs.

Second, inspired by Fraser's idea of misframing and recognition, I suggest that immigrant mothers' experience, knowledge, and identity could offer a way to reframe research on Canadian immigration policies and settlement services. Fraser (2008) proposes a term called "misframing." She indicates that there is a shift in the grammar of "political claims-making from redistribution to recognition," and thus her focus shifts from "'who' was taken for granted" in the welfare state to one in which it is fiercely contested" (231). In immigration settlement service, the state provides funding for immigration settlement, but how to distribute this funding and who is taken for granted is an important issue to examine. Immigration settlement organizations are struggling in their search for funding. The program design, training for social workers, and even recruitment of newcomers are provided based on the funding criteria.

The notion of "misframe" helps us to revisit the relationship between the distribution and social service programs. With the notion of misframing, Fraser aims to find out "a proper frame" for social justice (p. 231). She finds two levels of struggles for current politics. On one level, "the increasing salience of recognition struggles has decentred the idea that distribution is the privileged dimension of justice" (p. 232). On another level, increasing transnational politics have problematized the national answer to the question of the "who" (p. 232). Researchers should not only explore the question of who receives settlement services but also reflect on the distribution of those services among privileged groups and how to redistribute resources to women from racialized minorities.

Although Fraser (2008) offers a framework for reinterpreting the welfare state and neoliberalism from a feminist point of view, she does not provide much analysis of women's learning practice and knowledge production. Taking immigrant mothers' practice of mothering as an example, I find that mothering as an ideology as well as an identity is socially reproduced

through a variety of discourses and is mutually constituted by social variables such as race, class, gender, and culture that shape women's everyday experience. The social construction of the "good immigrant mother" requires new immigrant mothers to take responsibility and learn to integrate into the Canadian society. In immigration settlement services, "mothering" refers to Westernized parenting beliefs and practices that are "implicitly (often explicitly) positioned as the ideal against which migrant mothers are compared; mothers who are more willing to adapt their parenting to the demands of the new culture are viewed as better parents" (Holmes & Mangione, 2011, p. 27). Immigrant mothers' mothering practice is differentiated, devalued, and excluded. A neoliberal ideology of "mothering" is embodied in the practice of immigrants' learning and settlement practice. Examining the interaction between immigrant mothers' knowledge production, identity, and mothering practice and Canadian immigration policy system could help to challenge the "misframing" of these political claims and lead to social change.

Conclusion

This chapter reviews current literature on immigration settlement studies and motherhood/mothering studies. It aims to provide a feminist analysis for examining immigration settlement and integration. Canada's immigration and settlement system is undergoing significant change driven by two facts: the goal of immigration policy in Canada has shifted from long-term nation-building to short-term economic development, and the meaning of multiculturalism under neoliberal ideology is shifting in focus away from "accommodating difference" toward an emphasis on adapting to a "pluralistic" value system. I posit that the neoliberalization of immigration policy has to be understood in a particular historical moment. By taking a feminist standpoint, I suggest that the Canadian immigration settlement service and immigration policy should be understood from immigrants' experience and the unequal power relations behind their everyday practice.

Previous literature on the changing immigration policy in neoliberal Canada reveals that the changing policies greatly interact with immigrants' everyday settlement practice and immigration experience. I particularly discuss the construction of the "ideal immigrant mother," the work-life balance dilemma, and the transnational mothering experience, which are all significantly shaped by the neoliberal ideology and institutional restructuring. Addressing immigrant mothers' experience and settlement service with the shifting of Canadian immigration policy is important if researchers are to become aware of systematic oppression under

neoliberalism. By taking a feminist standpoint, I argue that understanding migrant mothers' experience, identity, and knowledge is crucial for problematizing the androcentric, capitalist, and imperialist social structure and could become a pathway for social change.

Chapter 3

Toward a Critical Anti-racist Feminist Approach

Previous studies have explored diverse meanings of migrant motherhood through understanding migrant mothers' experience, identities, and practice of mothering (Bohr & Whitfield, 2013; Crawford, 2011; Holmes & Mangione, 2011). However, few studies have examined how migrant mothers' cross-cultural learning and integrating practice are socially, culturally, and politically organized and how the state and its agencies participate in organizing learning practice and shaping the conception of migrant motherhood. Through examining migrant mothers' learning in Canadian ISOs, my study will not only explore the interactions between the conceptualization of "migrant motherhood" and migrant mothers' everyday learning practice but also examine the social organization of learning in ISOs through mapping its unequal social and power relations.

Based on this idea, my study adopts a critical anti-racist feminist theoretical framework. Critical anti-racist feminist theory was developed by a wide range of scholars (Bannerji, 2005, 2011; Collins, 1991; Davis, 1983, 1998, 2012; Dei & Calliste, 2000, hooks, 1981, 1984; Mahmood, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Ng, 1988; Ng, Staton, & Scane, 1992; Razack, 2007; Smith, 1988, 2005; Thobani, 2009; Wane, Jagire, & Murad, 2013). It provides me with a framework not only for exploring the intersectionality of race, gender, and class but also for understanding how racialized women's experience could challenge the dominant hegemonic ideology and institutions. It also offers a critical perspective to examine marginalized people's struggles in material, ideological, epistemological, and ontological dimensions and provides possibilities for social change.

My research explores migrant mothers' learning practice in order to challenge the dominant ideology, raise consciousness of unequal social relations, and seek social justice and social change. A critical anti-racist feminist approach offers me a theoretical framework to explore ideology, map its social relations, and unpack the ruling relations in immigrant mothers' learning and settlement experience in Canadian ISOs. It helps me not only to problematize immigrant mothers' learning in settlement organizations but also to understand motherhood learning as an ideological practice that involves complex social and ruling relations in immigrant mothers' everyday practice. There are three reasons that I choose critical anti-racist feminist

theory as my theoretical framework for researching Chinese immigrant mothers' learning in settlement organizations.

First, critical anti-racist feminist theory enables me to study the materiality of migrant mothers' learning through mapping its social relations. My study problematizes migrant mothers' learning in ISOs and explores how their everyday learning experience and material learning conditions interact with mothering ideology and the conceptualization of migrant motherhood. Deeply rooted in Marx's theory of dialectical historical materialism, critical anti-racist feminist theory (e.g., Bannerji, 2005, 2011; Smith, 1990, 2005) argues that the human world has to be understood through its dialectics and social relations. Critical anti-racist feminist scholars argue that in order to understand our social world, people not only need to understand language, knowledge, and theories, but also the realm of reality (Allman, 2007; Carpenter & Mojab, 2011; Smith, 1990). In my study, I argue that the conceptualization of migrant motherhood as a discourse involves unequal social and power relations, and it has to be understood dialectically through examining its material conditions and social relations. The material conditions of migrant mothers' everyday learning (such as the learning curriculum, space, migrant mothers' bodies and their everyday learning experience) should be viewed not simply as things or realities, but as complex unities and historical moments that contain social relations, race, gender, and class inequities, ruling power from the state, and ideologies.

Second, the anti-racist and feminist approach enables me to explore the role of the state, its immigration policies, and social service programs in order to understand the ruling relations behind migrant mothers' learning practice by taking immigrant mothers' standpoint. The theories of "ruling relations" (Smith, 1987, 2005) and "standpoint" (Hartsock, 2002) assist me to unpack the ruling power of the state and challenge it by taking the standpoint of migrant mothers. Bannerji (2005) points out that when studying racialized discourses, it is important to understand the "ruling class" and "ruling ideas." Ruling knowledges as "epistemologies" shape and structure our everyday world and the power relations. Hartsock's "feminist standpoint" (1998, 2002) was developed to challenge oppression and ruling relations. The critical anti-racist and feminist theory provides a scaffold for understanding the power, social and ruling relations behind immigrant mothers' learning practice and shows us a way to explore immigrant mothers' experience and challenge the existing dominant power for the purpose of social justice and social change.

Finally, critical anti-racist feminist theorists develop ideology as a framework for examining not only social relations, but also social difference. In my study, I use ideology as a framework for understanding “the stability of bourgeois society and its state” and the unequal social and power relations in migrant mothers’ learning, to raise consciousness about the dominant mothering ideology and knowledge system, and to develop a transformative learning curriculum for social justice (Rehmann, 2007, p. 211). Within the framework of “ideology,” I find it is important to understand the notion of “difference” and the race, gender, and class relations. The notion of “difference” has to be understood as “processes of social conflict and products of a capitalist society. Within these processes, human actors reproduce social relations within a mode of capitalist totality. Bakan (2007) proposes four processes including exploitation, alienation, oppression, and the ideological form of racism, which “operate their own dynamic, historically interactions between subjective relations and objective conditions” that contribute to the reproduction mode (p. 239). This framework enables me to closely investigate the “differentiation” of immigrant mothers’ knowledge production, mothering practice and everyday activities, and it also enables me to view immigrant mothers’ experience of exploitation, alienation and oppression and the ideological form of racism as processes of social conflict and as products of a capitalist society. In addition, I find that the race, gender, and class relations are produced within an ideological and material practice of learning motherhood in Canadian ISOs. In my fieldwork in the immigration settlement organization, I explore the abstracting process of mothering involving race, gender, and class relations that differentiate migrant mothers’ knowledge, everyday lives, and embodied learning experience. The critical anti-racist and feminist approach enables me to use ideology as an analytical tool for raising consciousness of and challenging the hegemonic mothering ideology, the universalized mothering knowledge and practice, and the global, neoliberal, and capitalist structure.

In the previous chapter, I reviewed immigration policy and settlement service in neoliberalism. In this chapter, I link the literature review to contemporary critical anti-racist feminist theory on the notions of “ideology,” “ruling relations” and “standpoint.” I concretize how I take ideology as a method of inquiry, unpack ruling relations, and take Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience as a standpoint in researching motherhood learning in immigration settlement organizations.

Ideology as a Method of Inquiry

Ideology theory was developed to explain “the stability of bourgeois society and its state” and to “[inquire] into social constitution and unconscious modes of functioning and efficacy of the ideological” (Rehmann, 2007, p. 211). In this section, I discuss the historical development of ideology theory from Marxist and feminist scholars. I also review how ideology is produced and how this understanding helps me to frame my research. Finally, I explore how I take ideology as a method of inquiry to study motherhood learning for immigrant mothers.

Ideology was first introduced as an analytical tool for examining how people perceive the world in the way they do. It has been utilized to “overcome the dualism of materialism and idealism” (p. 211) and to explore the materialist world by examining different ways of knowing and people’s subjective perceptions and ideas. Ideology as “a form of consciousness” simply represents things with their appearance and fails to represent their historical life-process with social relations behind (Rehmann, 2007, p. 213). Marx developed the concept of “fetishism” to explain the “reversals of consciousness from social structures” (p. 213). Marx stated that “the fetish character of the commodity” characterizes the process in which “the social connection of the producers is only established in commodity exchange” (p. 213). Hence, Marx viewed ideology not only as a “false reality” but also a result of capitalism. The concept of ideology was further developed in Engels’ critical theory of the state, in which the state is regarded as “the first ideological power over man” (p. 215). Based on the legitimating theory of ideological power, Marxist scholars questioned if ideology theory could be integrated in a “social-technological way” with its contributions on “the perspective of domination” and its self-critique (p. 211). Therefore, I take “ideology” as a method of inquiry to understand the material world, its historical process, and its social relations. This approach also enables me to take a standpoint from people’s consciousness and to fill the gap of studying the social constitutions.

The concept of ideology was developed not only by Marxist scholars but also by feminist scholars as an inquiry to understand people’s everyday world (Bannerji, 2015; Smith, 2005, 2011). In her work *Ideology, Science, and Social Relations: A Reinterpretation of Marx’s Epistemology*, Smith (2011) re-examines ideology theory and develops it as a feminist method of inquiry to understand society. According to feminist scholars, taking ideology as an approach could help to problematize our material world through mapping the social relations behind the development of its concepts, to challenge unequal power relations through reflecting

“consciousness” and “common sense,” and to re-understand people’s experience and take people’s experience as standpoints for social justice and social change.

The Production of Ideology

Ideology is socially produced and reproduced. My research on motherhood learning in immigration settlement through the lens of “ideology” is deeply inspired by Marx’s “three tricks” of producing ideology (Bannerji, 2015) and feminist standpoint theory. This section discusses how ideology has been produced through a feminist and anti-racist framework and how the ideology theory and feminist standpoint theory help to frame my research.

Bannerji (2015) discusses the “three tricks” for producing ideology, based on Marx’s *The German Ideology*. As she describes,

It begins with an idea, a theory, or “discourse,” with the belief in the precedence and primacy of an idea over material/social conditions, in its transcendence from history. Marx shows that the first task for producing ideology is to separate ideas from their producers—that is, separate ideas from their social and individual origin. Thus, “ruling ideas” (ideas that are dominant in society) are separated from “ruling individuals” (intellectuals who are bourgeois or at their service) who help to produce justifications for the “ruling relations.” (pp. 166–167)

According to Bannerji, the first trick is a separation of ideas between the ideas from individuals from the “ruling class” and the ideas from the individuals from the “ruled class.” She states that this separation process highly depends on a “dislocation,” “displacement” and “abstract formulation” (p. 167). The mothering as an idea has been abstracted as different ideas from different classes. From the ruling class, their ideas of mothering became the dominant, “correct,” or advanced knowledge, while the mothering ideas from ruled class was become marginalized. As a result, the relationship between the separated ideas of mothering becomes the relationship between the ruling class and the ruled.

The second trick means the process occurs by “using metaphysical empty universalism or rational abstractions such as the ideas of “essence,” “nature,” “human nature,” “homogeneity” and so on (Bannerji, 2015, p. 167). The fabricated autonomy and human-like agency of ideas asserts that an “age” or “epoch” is moulded by certain ideals rather than by people” (p. 167). She particularly addresses the uses of “modernity” and “tradition” as examples, as are racist and

sexist stereotypes. In my study on motherhood learning, the ideas about breastfeeding, child rearing, parenting, and mothering are imagined ideas based on “universalism,” “essentialism,” and “totalization” (Mojab, 1998), which exclude and differentiate women’s identity construction, knowledge production, and everyday experience. Thus, Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience and mothering practice are treated as uncivilized, unhealthy, and problematic.

The third trick, according to Bannerji (2015), occurs as “the appearance of reality that ideological notions or usages convey occludes their origin in ‘metaphysics,’ erasing an overtly idealistic appearance to make it seem secular—for example, the movement from God to ‘Man’ is more suited to ‘modern’ times” (pp. 167–168). She gives the ideas of “whiteness” and “blackness” as an example. These concepts are treated as persons with agencies, “while actual people are seen as their mere bearers” (p. 168). The identity, settlement, learning practice and knowledge production of Chinese immigrant mothers contains a “Chinese” logic of organizing things and “ways of seeing” that along with the “Western” ways of parenting, mothering, and organizing co-constitute the social space of learning.

Taking Ideology as a Method of Inquiry to Study Motherhood Learning

Ideology as a method of inquiry provides me possibilities to problematize our material world through mapping the social relations behind the conceptional world. The first goal of my study is to problematize immigrant mothers’ learning by taking “ideology” as a method of inquiry. This method of inquiry not only helps me to understand immigrant mothers’ learning and mothering practice in a dialectical way but also deepens my understanding in studying the learning of Chinese immigrant mothering through reflecting on the notions of “consciousness,” “common sense,” and “experience.”

Our everyday world has to be understood in a dialectical way, in which the idealist and materialist world have shaped each other in the historical process. Smith (2011) addresses that ideology is “a practice of reasoning” (p. 27). By taking this method, people could problematize the materialist world through understanding its historical development and how the appearance is grounded “in concepts and categories in social relations” (p. 27). Smith (2011) states the difference between ideology and science as follows:

The difference between ideology and science is a difference in methods of reasoning and hence of inquiry. Both begin in the same social relations, but they proceed differently with them. Both have as their ground the categories in which actual social relations are expressed. Ideological methods of reasoning rupture the relationship between thought and its ground in the actualities of people's lives. Marx and Engels propose to work in the opposite direction, by uncovering the social relations reflected in "thought and ideas." (p. 31)

Through examining motherhood learning for Chinese immigrant mothers, I find that there is a conceptual separation between the concepts of "immigrant mothers" and "mothering" and the actual everyday activities of immigrant mothers and their mothering practice. The imagination of mothering practice and immigrant mothers involves unequal social and power relations without any attention to what actually happens to immigrant mothers and how they learn and practise mothering. Taking ideology as a method of inquiry, I problematize the construction of "immigrant mothers," the unequal power relations behind the practice and idea of mothering, and the abstracting of immigrant mothers' learning, settlement, mothering, and everyday experience.

Second, by reflecting on the concepts of "consciousness" and "common sense," I take ideology as a method of inquiry to explore learning as socially organized practice. Smith (2011) points out that ideology has to be understood through the concept of "consciousness," which is a subject that possesses ideas and actual practices. As she says,

Those designated as "the German ideologists" represent ideas and concepts as if they were powers in and of themselves, whether external to or appropriated by individuals. The ideologists start with "consciousness taken as the living individual," that is, consciousness conceived as agent. Society and history are understood as a manifestation or product of ideas, of "spirit," or of essences such as Feuerbach's "species-being." Hence, reasoning ideologically about society or history means interpreting people's actual life processes as expressing ideas or concepts. The concepts that interpret the social are treated as if they were its underlying dynamic. (Smith, 2011, p. 22)

With this explanation, she discusses the theory of consciousness through a historical understanding of "object" and "subject." She states that examining the social world as object is inadequate. The social differentiation of consciousness "into 'mental' and 'manual' labor, or into

a ‘superstructure’ and a ‘base,’” must be understood from its historical process, the individual’s activities and experience, and its complicated and different social relations (Smith, 2011, p. 25).

The understanding of consciousness helps me to explore learning that is not simply a social activity but a process that is socially organized with unequal social and power relations. I explore Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning in three aspects. The first aspect is that learning has to be understood in its historical context. We are living in the era with new economic and political conditions, such as policy shifting and the neoliberal restructuring. The meaning and practice of learning has also shifted dramatically based on the new economic and political conditions in our society. In studying Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning, I find that the strengthening of an individual’s self-support, a policy shift toward focusing on the state’s economic development, cuts to funding for immigration settlement, and transnational communication and relations between China and Canada all interact with immigrant mothers’ learning practice. Learning, in this particular historical moment, requires people to negotiate their identity, knowledge, and experience with the contemporary world with a purpose of fit into the local society.

The second aspect is that learning as a socially organized practice involves complex social relations that represent different interests, identities, and power of knowledge. Chinese immigrant mothers not only learn mothering practice in settlement organizations but also produce their own knowledge in their everyday practice of mothering. The knowledge production process is not simply a production of ideas, but an integrating process between ideas and actualities, representing immigrant mothers’ mode of production in social relations. The knowledge produced by Chinese immigrant mothers involves not only theories and ideas but also representation of the reality of immigrant mothers’ everyday lives. It represents these mothers’ ways of knowing within the logic of the society. It is essential to explore immigrant mothers’ knowledge production, identity construction, learning practice, and everyday experiences through social relations, historical formations, and individuals’ experience.

In terms of the third aspect of studying learning, I suggest understanding learning as a transformative way of challenging the existing “ideology,” which is regarded as “common sense” deeply rooted in the political, economic, and legal structure of our society with unequal race, gender, and class relations. Researching immigrant mothers’ learning experience helps to problematize “mothering” as an ideology that has been treated as a “common sense” that fits the dominant, imperialist, and hegemonic ideas from the bourgeoisie and ruling class.

Last but not least, ideology theory contributes to my understanding of experience. Experience as an ontology arises in “definite social relations that are given theoretical expression” (Smith, 2011, p. 30). In other words, experience, as an ontology, arises in people’s everyday activities, is socially organized, and integrates people’s ways of knowing. However, the experience, organized by different actors and integrated with people’s ways of knowing, is separated from the definition world. As Smith (2011) expressed,

The determination of thought by life is not a secret causal work taking place behind the backs of individuals, vitiating their powers of judgment and will; instead, it lies in how things appear, are named, spoken of, in the context of the social relations that constitute them. The everyday experience of the social relations of wage labor under capitalism expressed in the notion of a fair day’s wage is reconstructed as an ideological form when that notion is raised to the level of economic theory. Ideology is not a function of appearances as such, but rather of how the categories constituting appearances as phenomena are entered into processes of reasoning that treat them as given and build theory on them while ignoring the social relations they reflect. (Smith, 2011, p. 31)

Exploring people’s experience through an ideological method of inquiry helps to unpack the unequal social relations behind people’s experience. In centring immigrant mothers’ experience in immigration and settlement studies, it helps to challenge the unequal institutional relations behind the social organization of immigrants’ settlement and the distribution of social welfare.

To sum up, taking ideology as a method of inquiry provides me with a framework for problematizing immigrant mothers’ learning, mapping the unequal social and power relations that organize immigrant mothers’ learning, and reflecting on their everyday experience. In the next section, I mainly discuss how I understand ruling relations and link the ruling relations to the theory of ideology and the concept of consciousness, and how I unpack the ruling relations behind immigrant mothers’ learning in this study.

Unpacking Ruling Relations from Local to Global

The second goal of this study is to unpack the ruling relations that structure immigrant mothers’ learning in Canadian settlement organizations. Our everyday world is organized and regulated by the complex of objectified social relations, called ruling relations. Dorothy Smith

(1996, 2005, 2011) defines ruling relations as “forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places” (Smith, 2005, p. 13). The forms of social organization in local people’s daily lives are absorbed and displaced with these ruling relations. Therefore, the social organization of our everyday lives contains unequal power relations and differences.

Consciousness involves a series of ideas, theories, and concepts that represents how people understand the world. I state that people’s consciousness is formed within the ruling relations through diverse agencies, not only texts but also all kinds of human activities and practices. Carpenter (2011) argues that ruling relations are “primarily ideological” in that they rely on “ideological methods of reason to create objectified consciousness and explanations abstracted from individual experience” (Carpenter, 2011, p. 96). In that sense, exploring immigrant mothers’ experience is significant for addressing the relations of consciousness and challenging ruling ideas of the ruling class.

Motherhood learning is a complex social practice that mediates the mothering ideology and mothers’ everyday lives. On the one hand, mothering is abstracted as the roles that mothers play “as nurturers to their children as a ‘natural’ extension of their self-identity and sense of self” (Crawford, 2011). Mothering ideology, which refers to not only the role of mothers but also the good mother/bad mother binary, is widely utilized to control and sanction mothers’ activities in order to meet certain dominant standards of motherhood. This mothering ideology is socially reproduced through a variety of discourses and mutually constituted by social variables such as race, class, gender, and culture, which shape women’s everyday mothering experience. On the other hand, mothers’ daily activities and knowledge production process are ignored and devalued. A diversity of mothering practices from mothers with different identities, cultural backgrounds, races and ethnicities, and social class, challenge the mothering ideology. The learning practice of these mothers involves a serious of ruling relations embedded in both the mothering ideology and the everyday practice of mothers.

Under the trends of global migration, immigrant mothers’ daily experience and learning practice have been greatly overlooked. Some studies examine immigrant mothers’ perceptions of mothering ideologies. For example, Manohar and Busse-Cardenas (2011) use the example of the ideology of motherhood in Tamil and Peruvian cultures to understand culturally specific motherhood ideologies, which “lie in their exclusivity and corresponding valuation as the standard model of mothering against which all women are judged” (p. 179). However, not

enough research looks at the material conditions and migrant mothers' actual daily experience to unpack the ruling relations behind the ideology of mothering and the social organization of motherhood learning. My examination of the ruling relations behind immigrant mothers' learning has two levels. On one level, I investigate the local practice in immigration settlement organizations and explore how local settlement organizations and the state organize immigrant mothers' learning. On the other level, I explore how global, neoliberal, and imperialist ideology of mothering interacts with immigrant mothers' learning and settlement within the "global regime of ruling," which is discussed by Ng and Mirchandani (2008) as interactions between local people's everyday experience and the globalized relations of ruling. Unpacking ruling relations helps to address the experience of immigrant mothers and challenge the regulated social structure and institution within global and dynamic contexts.

Standpoint

The third goal of this study is to examine immigrant mothers' experience as standpoint in order to question the existing immigration system and policies. Standpoint theory originally comes from Marx's analysis of class relations in capitalism (Cockburn, 2015). According to Cockburn (2015), standpoint theory derives from Marx's historical materialist analysis of capitalism that addresses how the "realities of life in the new mode of production shaped the consciousness of the individuals experiencing it" (p. 331).

Hartsock (2002) proposes a "feminist standpoint" (1999, 2002) to develop the ground for "specifically feminist historical materialism" and to challenge systemic oppression and ruling relations (Hartsock, 2002, p. 350). Standpoint is an epistemology that is neither a "perspective" nor "a point of view." It is shared by groups of people who are facing political struggles and "are similarly placed vis-à-vis oppressive power relations" (Hirschmarm, 2008, pp. 77–78). However, there are critiques of feminist standpoint theory. The Universalists argue that this theory does not recognize differences among women in terms of their culture, ethnicity, race, sexuality, or class (hooks, 1984; Spelman, 1988). Some critiques discuss the "meaning of women" and argue that the dominant white feminist standpoint excludes the experience of women of colour or poor women (Hirschmarm, 2008, p. 74). Hirschmarm (2008) defends Hartsock's "feminist standpoint" as an important method to understand the "culturally constructed social relations of household production and reproduction in late capitalism" (Hartsock, 1984, p. 234).

Smith (2005) discusses the notion of “women’s standpoint,” which is different from Hartsock’s notion of “feminist standpoint.” Smith (2005) emphasizes that women’s standpoint is “integral to the design of what [she] originally called ‘a sociology for women’,” and “it does not identify a position or a category of position, gender, class or race within the society, but it does establish as a subject position for institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry, a site for the knower that is open to anyone” (p. 10). In other words, Smith introduces standpoint as a point of entry for the researcher to discover society by taking account of women’s experience and everyday lives. She argues that the exclusion of women as “subjects from the objectified relations of discourse and ruling” helps her to formulate the notion of women’s standpoint, which evolved at the “conjunction of the local and embodied work of mothering,” “immediate subsistence,” and “household care and the locally transcending work of participating in the extra-local relations of sociological discourse” (p. 22).

I take the notion of standpoint to examine Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience of learning and settling in the host country of Canada. First, standpoint theory enables me to examine the different forms of oppression of immigrant mothers through ideological practices. Harding (1991) mentions that one of the goals of standpoint theory is not to “act out” women’s experiences but to “theorize them critically and to learn about women’s responses to oppression as much as about oppression itself” (Hirschmarm, 2008, p. 75). Standpoint theory enables me to explore immigrant mothers’ interaction with what Bakan (2007) called the “ideological form of racism,” which is a deep form of exploitation, alienation, and oppression. Bakan (2007) identifies the ideological form of racism with the trade of slavery and rise of capitalism. When the slaves are “de-humaned,” an ideology of legitimating “inhumanity” has been expressed. As Bakan states, racism, as a deep form of exploitation, alienation, and oppression, has to be understood not only from the “historical cultures of hegemonic whiteness” but also from an understanding of colonial relations (p. 246). Immigrant mothers’ knowledge, practice, and everyday experience contain an “ideological form of racism” by which knowledge has been distinguished from the dominant groups with ruling ideas.

Standpoint theory also helps me to examine the ideological practice of difference. It enables me to explore immigrant mothers’ ways of knowing, knowledge production process, and identity construction in order to challenge the ruling relations and the reproduction of differentiation. Immigrant mothers’ experience has been treated as “different” in either immigration settlement organizations or the local society. In my study, I use the term “the

ideological practice of ‘difference’” to investigate how immigrant mothers’ learning, mothering, and everyday experience is constructed and practised differently. With this notion, I treat difference as experience, social relations, and praxis. The concept of difference has been constructed as a “common sense” that has been frequently utilized to distinguish dichotomies, such as man and woman, Western and non-Western, civilized and non-civilized, etc. In understanding “difference” by taking immigrant mothers’ everyday experience and standpoint, I find that the meaning of “difference” is challenged. My research focus has shifted from whose experiences are different to how the unequal power relations behind the “difference” in immigrant mothers’ learning and experience are practised and constructed. The standpoint theory is an important approach for me to explore how individuals with different experience interact with the social world while they shape and are being shaped by the institutions. The ideological practice of difference in immigrant mothers’ learning is not simply a differentiation process, but a socially organized practice that involves the process of abstraction and organization of immigrant mothers’ learning.

Finally, the notion of “standpoint” helps me to understand immigrant mothers’ knowledge production. Knowledge production represents certain ways of knowing. The different ways of knowing deliver messages of divisions of difference in terms of race, gender and class. Knowledge production serves the interests of the ruling class and becomes an ideology, which dominates the world of thoughts through the process of abstraction, separates relations with the material world, and has power relations within capital and the division of labour. The knowledge that migrant mothers learn has a logic from the ruling power from the host society, which has to be problematized by taking the standpoint of migrant mothers. In addition, Westernization and modernization interact with global neoliberal restructuring. Migrant mothers are largely excluded, alienated, oppressed, and even ignored. This situation requires the researcher not simply to examine migrant mothers’ needs and experience but also to understand the institutions, regulations, and unequal power and social relations in organizing immigrant mothers’ everyday lives from their standpoints.

Conclusion

This study adopts a critical anti-racist feminist approach, which provides me with a theoretical framework for problematizing migrant mothers’ learning practice in Canadian ISOs through exploring ideology, unpacking ruling relations, and taking immigrant mothers’

standpoint. With this framework, I not only examine how migrant mothers' knowledge production and learning practice have been socio-culturally and politically structured but also how the understanding of migrant mothers' experience could challenge the ruling idea of mothering, the white and male-dominant institutions, and the hegemonic knowledge system and ruling power.

Within the framework of an anti-racist and feminist approach, I discuss three goals in organizing and framing this dissertation. My first goal is to take "ideology" as a method of inquiry to problematize immigrant mothers' learning. I revisit the "three tricks" of producing ideology to point out the separation of abstract ideas, concepts, and thoughts and people's concrete and actual everyday practice. I reflect on the conceptions of "consciousness" and "common sense" and discuss how I understand learning not simply as a social activity, but as a process that is socially organized with unequal social and power relations. Under this framework, I discuss how I understand learning as a historical process, as social relations and as a transformative pathway for social change. I highlight the ideology theory as a method of inquiry to explore the reasoning process behind the experience of immigrant mothers.

My second goal is to unpack the ruling relations behind immigrant mothers' learning and everyday activities during their settlement practice in Canada. I explore the relations of ruling through an understanding of ideology and consciousness. I address the notions of "ruling class" and "ruling ideas" that represent the power of knowledge/interests and propose to unpack the ruling relations behind immigrant mothers' learning practice. Unpacking the ruling relations requires an understanding of consciousness in a dialectical way. There are two levels of unpacking the ruling relations. One is to unpack the ruling relations in organizing immigrant mothers' learning within the institution, which helps to clearly map different actors such as the state, government agencies, community works, and immigrant mothers with unequal power and social relations. Another is to unpack the ruling relations within the global regime of ruling, which develops a framework to examine the logics and power relations behind the ideology of mothering across the different regimes.

The third goal of this study is to take immigrant mothers' experience as a standpoint to challenge the dominant power and institutions in shaping immigrant mothers' activities, practice, and everyday experience. I discuss Hartsock's theory of "feminist standpoint" and Smith's idea of taking women's standpoint as a sociology for women. I provide my reasons for using standpoint theory to explore Chinese immigrant mothers' experience. The standpoint theory not

only helps me to understand how immigrant mothers interact with systematic oppression and various ideological forms of racism and difference, but also to emphasize immigrant mothers' ways of knowing, knowledge production, identity construction, and experience to challenge the ruling relations.

Chapter 4

Methodology: Doing a Critical Ethnography

One of my reasons for choosing critical ethnography as my research methodology is that this research methodology could help me to position myself and critically challenge the “common sense” and power relations in our everyday world. Using my personal experience as well as Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience, knowledge production, and ways of knowing, I am able to problematize the motherhood learning in immigration settlement organizations by taking immigrant mothers’ standpoint. Critical ethnography not only provides me with a framework for examining the experience of “others” but also critiques the existing knowledge systems legitimized by the bourgeoisie or the ruling class.

Madison (2005) addresses the importance of “positionality” in doing critical ethnography and argues that the goal of critical ethnography has to be shifted from simply politics to “the politics of positionality” (p. 6). “Positionality” requires critical ethnographers to focus on their own positions, to acknowledge their power and privilege, and to reflect on the power relations between researchers and the researched (Madison, 2005, p. 7). The understanding of positionality enables me to reflect on my role as a researcher building dialogues with migrant mothers and also empower migrant mothers and help them seek social justice. Hence, critical ethnography is also a “reflective ethnography” that helps me not only to understand migrant mothers’ lives, knowledge, and experience, but also to reflect on my positionality and make it “accessible, transparent, vulnerable to judgment and evaluation” (p. 8).

As I state in the first chapter, I am a former Chinese immigrant mother and a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Toronto. I participated in an immigration settlement program in 2011 and found my previous ideas of mothering, which I learned in my hometown in China, treated as different, incorrect, and uncivilized. There were unequal social and power relations throughout my learning practice as an immigrant mother. I started to think about how mothering as an ideology is socially produced. How is migrant mothers’ learning socially organized by different actors? How can we challenge the dominant ideology, knowledge system, and institutions by taking migrant mothers’ standpoint?

In this study, I locate myself not only as a researcher but also as a participant. I stand in a position with immigrant mothers. Through my ethnographic fieldwork at MOSAIC in

Vancouver, I explored the unequal social relations behind learning practices that create injustice in Chinese immigrant mothers' lives and experience in Canada.

Critical ethnography, which is different from traditional ethnography in emphasizing the social conditions of people's daily life as "the foundation for inquiry," enables the examination of institutions, regime of knowledges and social practices that "limit choices, constrain meaning, and denigrate identities and communities" (Madison, 2005, p. 5). Huspek (1994) points out that the "ideology critique" should not only be the central goal of ethnographical research but also is best positioned "against the empirical-analytic tradition which, in its objectifying attitude, proscribes ideology but, in so doing, legislates against any and all efforts to direct ideology critique toward itself" (p. 46). By using critical ethnography as an analytical tool to challenge the ideological meaning and the definition of our world, I aim to use immigrant mothers' experience to question the meaning of mothering and study motherhood learning as an ideological practice.

With the idea of unpacking the ruling relations, I explore how the ruling power interacts with the construction of mothering ideology and the practice of motherhood learning for immigrant mothers. I try to understand how migrant mothers' learning has been socially organized and how gender, race, and class relations are produced and reproduced in migrant mothers' experience. Critical ethnography enables me to understand the existing ruling power/knowledge and problematize the systemic oppression of immigrant women. Madison (2005) writes that the phrase "knowledge is power" refers to how "narrow perception, limited modes of understanding, and uncritical thinking diminish the capacity to envision alternative life possibilities" (Madison, 2005, p. 6). She states that critical ethnography contributes to discourses of social justice and challenges existing power and knowledge. This methodological framework helps me to examine the ideas of the ruling power and the ruling relations underlying the social organization of motherhood learning in settlement organizations.

By taking immigrant mothers' experience as standpoint, I explore immigrant mothers' material and discursive dimensions in their everyday activities. Critical ethnography provides possibilities to study everyday life in a dialectical way. As Anderson (1989) states, critical ethnographers seek accounts "sensitive to the dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency" (p. 249). Immigrant mothers have been imagined and abstracted as women who come from another countries without any local knowledge, local experience, and language skills, take care of their children, and do household labour. They have even been constructed as women who stay at

home and cannot build connections to the local community in the host society. Taking immigrant mothers' experience as an inquiry as well as a standpoint, my research aims to problematize the conceptualization of "immigrant mothers" through a dialectical examination of the interactions between the social organizing of motherhood learning and the abstraction process of "immigrant mothers."

Critical ethnography also provides me with a framework for promoting social activism for social change. Anderson (1989) points out that critical ethnography can be a vehicle for "theoretical advances in Marxism" (p. 251). He addresses Willis's (1977) argument:

The ethnographic account, without always knowing how, can allow a degree of the activity, creativity and human agency within the object of study to come through into the analysis and the reader's experience. This is vital to my purposes where I view the cultural, not simply as a set of transferred internal structures (as in the usual notions of socialization) nor as the passive result of the action of dominant ideology downwards (as in certain kinds of Marxism), but at least in part as the product of collective human praxis (pp. 3–4).

This chapter explores the use of critical ethnography as a major research method in my study. In this chapter, I first highlight the use of critical ethnography in the field of adult education. I point out that there is little research that discusses the origins, trends, directions, and significant contributions of critical ethnography. I summarize the contributions of critical ethnography in the studies of adult education. I then explore my research process in conducting this critical ethnography at MOSAIC in Vancouver and how I position myself in the study. Finally, I provide an overview of my research design and participants. I highlight that this research method helps researchers to challenge the "common sense" in schooling, education, and people's everyday lives and to build a pathway for social justice and social change.

Conducting Critical Ethnography in Adult Education

Critical ethnography is an under-used research methodology in the field of adult education. Anderson (1989) posits the origin of critical ethnography in the field of education. He states that,

Critical ethnography in the field of education is the result of the following dialectic: On one hand, critical ethnography has grown out of dissatisfaction with social accounts of “structures” like class, patriarchy, and racism in which real human actors never appear. On the other hand, it has grown out of dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad structural constraints like class, patriarchy, and racism never appear. Critical theorists in education have tended to view ethnographers as too atheoretical and neutral in their approach to research. Ethnographers have tended to view critical theorists as too theory driven and biased in their research. And so it goes (Anderson, 1989, p. 249).

After his exploration on critical ethnography in educational studies, a group of scholars (Brown & Dobrin, 2004; Carspecken, 1996; Madison, 2005; Marcus, 1998) applied critical ethnography in the field of educational research. Foley, Holland, and Levinson (1996) used critical ethnography to study local practices in schooling. Heller (2011) conducted a critical ethnography in sociolinguistics, language learning, and identity construction. Yet, not enough research in adult education takes critical ethnography as a major research methodology in studying learning activities outside of dominant school settings. Adult education has a history of research in workplace learning, informal learning, and community organizing, development, and education (e.g., Nesbit, Brigham, Taber & Gibb, 2013). As a researcher in the field of adult education, my research is about how Chinese immigrant mothers produce their own knowledge in the practice of settlement, mothering, finding jobs, and learning language. I choose to use critical ethnography as my research methodology because it not only helps me to explore the voice and knowledge of marginalized groups but also to challenge the ruling relations that shape immigrant mothers’ everyday lives by taking both my personal and immigrant mothers’ standpoints.

Being physically present in the ISO as a critical ethnographer challenges the system and brings changes to the program. During my fieldwork at MOSAIC, I talked to people, interviewed the program organizers, took training courses with social workers, and even co-facilitated a six-week workshop for Chinese immigrant mothers. I think my activities impacted the program organizers and raised their awareness of immigrant mothers’ learning and settlement.

In 2016, during the time I conducted the critical ethnography at MOSAIC, there was a shift in the program. MOSAIC faced the expiration of its three-year contract with the partner and funding provider for one parenting program, and the program did not get renewed. There were

less mothering and parenting educational programs for new immigrants due to the tight finances and program restructuring. I could easily connect this issue to the current neoliberal trends of restructuring and cutting funding for settlement. It's my hope that my participation and activist work will help to promote more programs and activities to support immigrant mothers.

Finally, while conducting a critical ethnography, I faced lots of pressures, embodied feelings, and emotional challenges. Here, I want to share one of my experiences in the fieldwork that emotionally affected me.

On a dark and rainy evening, I took a taxi after finishing my interview with a Chinese immigrant mother in Richmond. After a few minutes' drive, the driver said, "Richmond's traffic is the worst in the world." "But why?" I asked. He answered, "Because Chinese people don't know how to drive." I looked at him and saw that he looked like an immigrant. I asked, "How do you feel about the Chinese newcomers?" He said, "It's crazy! They have lots of money, but I don't know where the money comes from. They buy houses for several millions, but they know nothing about our culture, our city, and our rules!" He started to become very angry. He stopped the car in front of a red light and turned on the dome light above me. Now that he saw me as a Chinese immigrant, he said, "Well, you should know it. Chinese people's coming completely changed my life! You made me very, very angry!" Although he did not physically hurt me, that this moment happened after my interview with a Chinese immigrant mother really shocked me. I realized that the racism within the newcomers' communities against other newcomers becomes an integral part of Canada's anti-immigrant/anti-Chinese movement and continues the nation's racist history. There will be a long way to go for social justice and equity in Canada. I hope my critical ethnography could bring awareness of Chinese newcomers' experience, identity, and standpoint to better problematize people's everyday world.

Toward a "Critical Theory in Action"

The understanding of critical ethnography as a "critical theory in action" enables me to achieve the goal of seeking social justice and social change (Madison, 2005, p. 13). It mobilizes critical theory into actual research and action and becomes "the 'doing' or the 'performance' of critical theory" (p. 15). Guided by Marx's theory, postcolonial theory, critical race theory and feminist theory, critical ethnography provides ways of designing interview questions, coding data, and doing observations inspired by the theory. It enables me to design my research method with a consciousness of power, ideology, and resistance. In my study, I analyze "ideology" in

immigrant mothers' learning practice in Canadian ISOs. Critical ethnography provides me with a critical perspective going beyond a simple examination of how migrant mothers learn in Canadian ISOs to a deeper problematization of the learning practice involving power and social relations organized by the state, ISOs, community and social workers, and immigrant mothers.

Deeply influenced by anti-racist and feminist theory, I aim to develop a "critical theory in action" as my revolutionary praxis in the field of immigration study and education. Paulo Freire (2005) mentions "education as a practice of freedom" (Freire, 2005, p. 14). He posits the oppressor-oppressed relationship in education and suggests that it is urgent to regard students as knowledge producers rather than knowledge receivers. Allman (1999) discusses Gramsci's theory of hegemony and ideology. She points out that Gramsci's term "hegemony" describes how Western democratic power operates not just "through the political state" but becomes an ideology experienced everywhere (Allman, 1999, p. 88). Allman (2001) points out that by understanding Freire and Gramsci, Marx's writing about dialectical conceptualization, theory of consciousness, and concept of ideology can be used to develop a revolutionary praxis in education (Allman, 2001, p. 172). She suggests a practice of critical education and self-transformation could be developed for "revolutionary social transformation" (p. 178).

I think that researchers in the field of adult education need to understand learning in a dialectical way, which helps to challenge the dominant system of schooling. In adult education, there is not only a lack of research into people's/learners' actual practice but also a lack of concern about how people are marginalized. Previous studies in adult education and settlement focus more on history and ISOs' organizational/institutional change (Doyle & Rahi, 1987; Reitz, 2001); funding and delivery of settlement services (Mwarigha, 1997; Sadiq, 2005); or professional immigrants' learning in ISOs (Campbell et al., 2006; Shan, 2011). Few studies give attention to examine motherhood learning and immigrant mothers' practice through a dialectic approach. On the one hand, immigrant mothers have been imagined as a certain group with a lack of parenting skills and employment skills. On the other hand, many immigrant mothers' experience and mothering practice has been greatly overlooked.

Furthermore, a critical ethnographical research provides us possibilities to mobilize the knowledge into action for the purpose of social change. There is a tendency in radical adult educational research to focus on the ideological (superstructural) level rather than the relations of production (Holst, 1999). Holst (1999) discusses how theories of Lenin and Gramsci could lead a revolutionary praxis concerning social relations. He points out that Lenin's revolutionary

practice through the political party was usually understood as a transformative practice within elites or intellectuals. Holst (1999) suggests that a deep examination of Lenin and Gramsci's thoughts could help us to understand the role of adult education "in creating and sustaining the radical political practice" (p. 420). Carpenter and Mojab (2013) criticize critical or radical adult education by carefully examining Marx's ideas of dialectical historical materialism. They argue that the Marxist scholars in adult education should focus more on the social and material relations of class rather than reproducing the mechanical notion of class. The critical adult education scholarship should develop "a mode of analysis" that explores the "dialectical relations between social identity, social relations, and material forces" (Carpenter & Mojab, 2013, p. 166). They argue that the study of neoliberalism in adult education should understand neoliberalism as an ongoing and "incomplete" historical process that is deeply rooted in historical imperialism and capitalism and will continually reproduce oppression and exploitation (p. 166). They point out that the examination of neoliberalism without imperialism "is directly related to the political horizons of critical adult education" (p. 166). Based on their argument, I agree that there is a limitation of critical adult education, which has a gap between the theory and the revolutionary practice. By exploring the social and political construction of mothering ideology through three dimensions: the dialectics, the social relations, and people's experience, I intend to use my study as a vehicle for mobilizing knowledge and theory into practice for revolution and social change.

The Research: A Critical Ethnography in Vancouver

My fieldwork started on May 16, 2015, at MOSAIC, an immigration settlement organization in Vancouver, BC. During my fieldwork, I interviewed 30 Chinese immigrant mothers as participants and eight program organizers including their director, coordinators, social workers, and instructors. In addition, I participated in a six-week workshop for new immigrant mothers, called Immigrant Mothers' Support Group. In the workshop, I observed the curriculum, collected course materials, and recorded some class discussions with their permission. I also participated in the training program for social workers teaching the parenting/mothering program provided by the BC Council for Family and Children. I collected related documents at MOSAIC, including program funding proposals, annual reports, flyers, training materials, teaching materials for the curriculum, and textbooks. This research focuses on how Chinese new immigrant mothers' motherhood learning is socially organized in the MOSAIC program. I find that there are different actors such as the state, provincial and

municipal governments, community and social workers, and newcomers and their families co-participating in the making of “motherhood learning” in ISOs and thus immigrant mothers’ learning practice has to be understood through a holistic contextual (sociocultural, economic, and political) framework. In the following section, I first discuss my reasons for choosing Vancouver as my research site. Following that, I discuss my research process, methods for data collection and analysis, and information regarding my research participants.

I chose Vancouver as my research site for four reasons. The first is that Vancouver has a large population of Chinese immigrants, which in turn brings a great number of ISOs and settlement and language learning programs in the local community. According to the *Canadian Magazine of Immigration*¹ (2016), in 2011, 30.7% of Chinese immigrants in Canada resided in British Columbia. Of those, 95% (159,200 people) lived in the Greater Vancouver Area. Richmond has the highest percentage of Chinese immigrants in North America. A report from the City of Richmond (2016) showed that 49% (91,890 people) of Richmond’s residents are Chinese immigrants. This proportion has grown from 34% in 1996.

There are two major types (also known as “two waves”) of Chinese immigrants or Chinese Canadians in Vancouver. The first group comprises people who are originally from Hong Kong. From 1988 to 1993, 166,487 Hong Kong immigrants settled in Canada, and 26.7% of them settled in British Columbia.² In the mid-1990s, due to the fear of losing their freedom and prosperity under the Chinese government, thousands of Hong Kong people immigrated to Vancouver. The Chinese immigrants or Chinese Canadians with the Hong Kong origin have enough English background because of their former colonial history and education by the British. Most speak Cantonese and have their own identities.

The second type of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver are the Chinese from Mainland China. Since 2000, people from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) become the major population among Chinese immigrants. After 2010, China’s economic growth brought thousands of millionaires from Mainland China to Canada, especially to Vancouver. This type of Chinese immigrant usually finds learning English is a challenge for integrating into the local society because they don’t have the “cultural background” that Hong Kong-based Chinese immigrants

¹ Retrieved from: <http://canadaimmigrants.com/chinese-immigrants-to-canada/>

² Retrieved from <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/chinese-canadians/>

have. My study focuses on Chinese immigrant mothers from Mainland China who immigrated to Vancouver between 2002 and 2016. Since they have a “short history” of immigrating to Canada, they are called “Xin Yi Min” (new Chinese immigrants) (Zhu, 2010).

The second reason for choosing Vancouver as my research site is that it has undergone an increasing anti-Chinese movement in the past seven years. The tensions between the Chinese community and the local society have racialized Chinese immigrant mothers in their everyday practice. Since 2010, there have been increasing protests against Chinese immigrants and the Chinese community in Vancouver. These include protests against Chinese language signs, Chinese “foreign buyers” in the local real estate market, vacant Chinese houses, and Chinese birth tourism.

From 2012 until recently, there have been many protests against the Chinese language signs in Richmond. In order to better serve newcomers from Mainland China with a poor English language level, many Chinese businesses in Richmond only use Chinese signs or barely use English signs. However, while more than 1000 signatures were presented to Richmond City Council against the Chinese signs, the council found that Chinese signs were only 3.5% of the total number of business signs.³

Another protest is against the Chinese buyers in Vancouver’s real estate market. After 2010, Vancouver’s housing prices increased tremendously. People quickly found out that many of those buyers were “Chinese.” No matter if they were Chinese Canadian, Chinese immigrants, Chinese international students, or Chinese visitors, the local people called them “Chinese foreign investors.” The local media, local communities, and the local governments received and co-participated in a “movement” of making “Chinese buyers” the major cause of Vancouver’s unaffordable housing.⁴ As a result, on August 3, 2016, the BC government passed a new tax called the “Property Transfer Tax” that set a 15% property transfer tax for foreign buyers in Metro Vancouver. Although they did not mention “Chinese buyers” as the targeted group for this

³ See related newspaper article: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/richmond-chinese-language-only-sign-controversy-a-sign-of-cultural-tension-1.2991836>

⁴ See related news from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jul/07/vancouver-chinese-city-racism-meets-real-estate-british-columbia>

tax, it was clear that most Chinese buyers were affected by this tax,⁵ including many Chinese immigrants-to-be who were waiting for their immigrant status and buying a house before they move to Vancouver.

Similarly, there was a protest against vacant houses owned by Chinese foreign investors.⁶ People believe that Chinese foreign buyers leave houses vacant and go back to China for business. They think that the Chinese foreign buyers and their vacant houses are the major reason for Vancouver's housing being unaffordable and are causing homelessness. As a result, they push the government to tax these vacant house owners.

In addition to these protests against Chinese people, there was recently a petition calling for an end to Chinese birth tourism in Vancouver.⁷ In past years, many Chinese mothers gave birth to their babies in Canada with a tourist visa. Their babies thus got the Canadian passport. Yet, according to Statistics Canada in 2012, only 699 of 382,568 births in Canada were to mothers who are not Canadian residents (Mackin & Fayerman, 2016). Postmedia reported that in 2015, 295 of the 1,938 babies born at Richmond Hospital in British Columbia were born to foreign Chinese mothers (Fayerman & Mackin, 2016).

These racialized petitions or protests against the Chinese remind me of Canada's racialized immigration history and the anti-Chinese movements for evicting "Chinese" from the country (Nijboer, 2010). Therefore, the third reason for choosing Vancouver as a research site is that I hope my study could link Vancouver's current anti-Chinese/anti-immigrant movement to its racialized history. The 1885 Chinese Immigration Act marked early immigration policy as racialized. The government was concerned about the large population of Asian workers building the Canadian Pacific Railway and required Chinese newcomers to pay a "head tax" upon arrival in Canada (Nijboer, 2010, p. 5). In 1923, the Canadian Immigration Act "formalized this bar by prohibiting all immigration from China with the exception of some restrictive categories of persons such as merchants and diplomats" (p. 5). The bar was ended in 1947. In addition to the racialized "head tax" and the "anti-Chinese immigration" history in Canada, there were continuously narratives against the Chinese community in Vancouver. For example, in the

⁵ See a news article addressing the Chinese buyers. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/the-market/bc-pledges-to-close-loophole-that-allows-some-real-estate-investors-to-dodge-taxes/article26713509/>

⁶ See news <http://ca.reuters.com/article/businessNews/idCAKCN0ZR2C4>

⁷ See article: <http://www.timescolonist.com/news/b-c/petition-calls-for-end-to-birth-tourism-in-canada-1.2296425>

1980s, there were race-driven narratives of the so-called “monster house,” which described houses owned or built by Chinese people (Wang, 1998, p. 4). I treat the recent era of excluding Chinese immigrant mothers from the local community as a historical moment that not only links the Canadian anti-Chinese/anti-immigrant history but also needs to be examined in the current global, neoliberal, and cross-cultural contexts.

The final reason comes from my personal experience. Having lived in Vancouver for five years, I am quite familiar with the city and feel both love and hate for it. On the one hand, I have local connections with the ISOs in Vancouver and know lots of Chinese immigrant mothers here who are encountering challenges in settling in the host country and learning language and skills. The people from the ISOs show great support and love for both immigrant mothers and myself. On the other hand, I feel very disappointed to observe increasing gaps between race and ethnic groups. It is my hope that my research might not only challenge the “ideology” in shaping immigrants’ everyday lives but also become a pathway to promote social justice in this city full of multiculturalism and immigrants.

The Research Process and Data Collection

My study focuses on migrant mothers’ learning at MOSAIC. In my fieldwork, I collected comprehensive data through observations, interviews, and a collection of the ISO’s curricula, programs, administrative documents, and flyers.

I started to conduct this ethnography in May 2015 and met the director (Jason, a pseudonym) at MOSAIC. I explained my research and showed him my ethical review forms and an invitation letter. After he had signed the consent form, I began my fieldwork.

In the beginning, Jason introduced the program and the community to me. He began,

I think we are in a good position because we are neighbourhood houses. We offer holistic programs and we have settlement services. We and other staff here have connections to the community, and they know what they can outreach to get people interested...like they know where the library is and...they could look for places for families to come. The families know about us...so we started to promote it, we got families signed up. So far there have been every ten weeks, we put some programs for..., they always ask for another one coming up, it’s well attended. So I have to say we did a great job. And because of our community, too. When we look at the demographics, there’s 51% Chinese

right now, and forty-something are South Asian, so because in our community we have a lot of Chinese population.

From June 2015 to March 2016, I did observations in the settlement and family program at MOSAIC. I attended six classes in the immigrant mothers supported program from January to March 2016. I observed immigrant mothers' learning environment, curriculum, and activities in the program. I focused on five research areas during the observation: 1) the space of learning, 2) different actors' participation in organizing motherhood learning, 3) immigrant mothers' learning practice and activities, 4) the imagination of immigrant mothers and the program's curriculum, 5) race, gender, and class relations. The observation provides me with information about space, actors, and learners' performance in immigrant mothers' learning and settlement curriculum that cannot be gained from the document and interview analysis.

During my fieldwork, I was involved in several programs at MOSAIC. I first took a training course for the immigrants' parenting program (or a series of mothering workshops) from the BC Council for Families. I investigated how the government trains social workers to teach mothering and parenting in the community. In addition, I examined a nation-wide parenting program for teaching immigrants and Aboriginal people. I co-organized a supported group for immigrant mothers at MOSAIC. In the group, I assisted the instructors to facilitate the discussions and organize some of the curriculum. All of the new immigrant mothers are Chinese. I did observations and interviews based on a six-week long workshop for new immigrant mothers.

I conducted one-on-one interviews with 30 Chinese immigrant mothers and 8 program organizers in the MOSAIC program. I recruited Chinese immigrant mothers through flyers and referrals. I recruited and contacted Chinese immigrant mothers starting from May 2015 and conducted interviews from October 2015 to May 2016. The interviews were audiotaped. Each interview lasted 60–90 minutes. The interview took place in the MOSAIC program office or public areas in Vancouver. The interviews were about immigrant mothers' settlement, learning and mothering experience in the MOSAIC program. The interview questions had six parts, including the immigrant mother's immigration history, settlement practice, mother-child relationship, work and extracurricular activities, emotions and feelings, and suggestions. None of the participants required a withdrawal clause during the research. All signed the consent forms and fully participated in the interviews. Table 1 provides basic information about these 30 Chinese immigrant mothers. Due to ethical concerns, I do not provide their names.

Table 1

Chinese Immigrant Mothers

No.	Immigration Category	Month and Year of Landing in Canada	Education	Employment Status in Canada	Number of Kid(s) and Age of Kid(s)	Date of Interview
1	Family reunion	Nov. 2014	College	Not employed	1 (10)	Oct. 21, 2015
2	Business immigration	Mar. 2007	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (20, 5)	Oct. 29, 2015
3	Provincial nominees	2010	College	Part-time work	1 (11)	Nov. 3, 2015
4	Skilled worker	Oct. 2015	Bachelor	Not employed	Pregnant	Nov. 4, 2015
5	Business immigration	May 2012	Bachelor	Self-employed	1 (17)	Nov. 4, 2015
6	Skilled worker	June 2014	Bachelor	Employed	1 (10)	Nov. 12, 2015
7	Skilled worker	July 2009	Master	Self-employed	2 (10, 6)	Dec. 1, 2015
8	Skilled worker	2008	Bachelor	Employed	2 (12, 4)	Dec. 7, 2015
9	Skilled worker	2007	Bachelor	Employed	2 (8, 4)	Dec. 7, 2015
10	Skilled worker	2011	Master	Self-employed	1 (10)	Dec. 9, 2015
11	Skilled worker	2010	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (5, 2)	Dec. 10, 2015
12	Skilled worker	2002	Master	Not employed	2 (4, 1)	Jan. 28, 2016
13	Skilled worker	2011	Bachelor	Self-employed	2 (6, 4)	Jan. 29, 2016
14	Skilled worker	2011	PhD	Student	1 (6)	Feb. 3, 2016
15	Family reunion	2011	Bachelor	Not employed	1 (3)	Feb. 5, 2016
16	Family reunion	2008	Bachelor	Employed	2 (8, 5)	Feb. 6, 2016
17	Business immigration	2009	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (14, 6)	Feb. 16, 2016
18	Skilled worker	2011	Ph.D.	Student	1 (6) and pregnant	Feb. 16, 2016
19	Business immigration	2008	Bachelor	Self-employed	2 (19, 16)	Feb. 16, 2016
20	Family reunion	2007	College	Not employed	1 (7)	Feb. 17, 2016

No.	Immigration Category	Month and Year of Landing in Canada	Education	Employment Status in Canada	Number of Kid(s) and Age of Kid(s)	Date of Interview
21	Business immigration	2011	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (24, 4)	Feb. 26, 2016
22	Skilled worker	2008	Bachelor	Self-employed	2 (6, 2 months)	Feb. 29, 2016
23	Visitor visa	2015	Bachelor	Not employed	1 (16)	Feb. 29, 2016
24	Family reunion	2009	Bachelor	Not employed	1 (2)	March, 3, 2016
25	Skilled worker	2006	Bachelor	Not employed	3 (26, 24, 16)	March, 14, 2016
26	Skilled worker	2014	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (11, 8)	March 14, 2016
27	Family reunion	2006	Bachelor	Self-employed	1 (6)	March 15, 2016
28	Family reunion	2012	Bachelor	Not employed	1 (4)	March 31, 2016
29	Skilled worker	2014	Bachelor	Not employed	1 (17)	March 31, 2016
30	Business immigration	2011	Bachelor	Not employed	2 (17, 5)	April 15, 2016

Most of these mothers were from Mainland China. One was born in Hong Kong, and two were from Taiwan. Different immigration categories greatly affected their ways of integration and settlement. For example, the immigrant mothers in the family reunion class may not only have to integrate into the local society, but also adapt to their partner's family in Canada. The immigrant mothers from the skilled worker class may face challenges in finding jobs in their professional areas. The immigrant mothers from the business immigration class may face challenges such as language and cultural barriers.

The mothers were all aged between 20 and 60. One of them was aged between 20 and 29. Half of them (15) were aged between 30 and 39. Less than a half (12) of them were aged between 40 and 49. Two were aged over 50. Most of the mothers have participated in settlement programs, such as ESL programs or mothering or parenting programs. Over 17 of them took these programs for less than one year. Eight took a one-year program. Four took the programs for two years. One took the programs for over two years. Table 2 shows the statistics of the participants' basic information.

Table 2
Demographic Characteristics of Sample

		Frequency	Percent
Gender	Female	30	100
	Male	0	0
Place of Birth	Mainland China	27	90
	Hong Kong	1	3
	Taiwan	2	7
Education	Bachelor	22	73
	Master	3	10
	PhD	2	7
	College	3	10
	High School	0	0
Age	22–29	1	3
	30–39	15	50
	40–49	12	40
	Over 50	2	7
Year of Landing	2000–2005	1	3
	2006–2010	14	47
	2011–2016	15	50
Marriage Status	Single/Divorced	1	3
	Married/Common-Law	27	90
	Separated but still married	2	7
Employment Status in Canada	Not-employed	16	54
	Self-employed	7	23
	Part-time work	1	3
	Full-time work	4	13
	Student	2	7
Number of Children	0 (Pregnant)	1	3
	1	14	47
	2	14	47
	3	1	3
Duration of Participating in Settlement Programs	Under 1 year	17	57
	1 year	8	27
	2 years	4	13
	More than 2 years	1	3

In addition, I interviewed eight program organizers at MOSAIC. Table 3 provides information about the program organizers I interviewed.

Table 3

Program Organizers

No.	Occupation	Program	Date of Interview
1	Social Worker & Coordinator	Newcomers' Centre Parenting Program	Oct. 27, 2015
2	Director		Oct. 27, 2015
3	Coordinator	Parenting Program	Nov. 10, 2015
4	Social Worker	Immigrant Mothers' Support Program	Nov. 10, 2015
5	Program Instructor	Newcomers' Centre	Nov. 13, 2015
6	Coordinator	Parenting Program	March 17, 2016
7	Social Worker	Parenting Program	March 19, 2016
8	Director	Immigration Settlement Program	April 7, 2016

I transcribed all the interview data from October 2015 to March 2016. Between April and September 2016, I undertook the data analysis. The codes I created are listed in Table 4 below. I divided the code into two parts. One is the basic information about new immigrant mothers' settlement, which includes their reasons for settling in Vancouver and their settlement experience with children and family. The other part is about new immigrant mothers' learning practice in settlement. I divided it into several dimensions, such as language learning, household work, travelling, employment, financial, volunteering, personal interest, environment, housing, child's education, leisure time, participation in political activities, race, and safety. I included theoretical notes in each code, such as race, gender and class relations, cross-cultural practice, identity construction, space, and violence.

Table 4

Coding Table

Areas of Interest	Codes (Descriptive)	Codes (Second and Third Level Analytical Codes)	Theoretical Notes
General Information About New Immigrant Mothers' Settlement	Reason for Settling in Vancouver, Canada	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Family connection 2. Neighbourhood description 3. Friends' connection/networks 4. Immigration status (family reunion, skilled worker, etc.) 	Space Class relations
	Settlement with Children	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Racial discrimination 2. Language problem/ESL learning 3. Communications with teachers 4. Transnational relations/difference between Canada and China 5. Settlement practice/time 6. Self-discipline/Self-learning 7. Parents' support 8. Interest class/Leisure time 	Race, gender and class relations Language learning and transnational relations
	Family Relations in Settlement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Transnational connections 2. Future plan 3. Husband's employment 	Gender relations Cross-cultural and transnational relations
New Immigrant Mothers' Settlement	Language learning	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ESL class 2. Settlement programs 3. Friends 4. Children 5. Media 	Identity construction
	Household work	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cleaning 2. Preparing food 	Discursive and material dimensions of race, gender, and class relations
	Travelling	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not able to drive 2. Bus 3. Walk 	Race, gender, and class Space
	Employment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Settlement service 2. Fears 3. Language barriers 4. Work as a dream 5. Obtain a licence 	Credentials
	Financial	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government funding: small grant, financial support 2. Social welfare: childcare benefit 	Distribution

Areas of Interest	Codes (Descriptive)	Codes (Second and Third Level Analytical Codes)	Theoretical Notes
		3. Medical/ Dental	
	Volunteering	1. Time/workload 2. Work experience 3. Parenting	Labour power
	Personal interest	1. Nutrition 2. Food	Culture
	Environment	1. Unstable 2. Weather 3. Living area: convenience/traffic 4. Safety 5. Neighbourhood 6. Noise 7. Ethnicity	Space
	Housing	1. Rental	Class
	Child's education	1. Good school district 2. Prepare for higher education	Culture/education
	Leisure time	1. Sports: swimming 2. Hiking 3. Music 4. Reading 5. Media: Social media, TV show, movies	
	Political Activities	1. Never heard	
	Race	1. Living with Chinese communities	
	Safety	1. Living environment 2. Traffic 3. Children's safety 4. Bullying 5. Family violence	Violence

Based on the data I collected, my dissertation is organized into three parts: the role of the state, the practice of immigration settlement organization, and Chinese immigrant mothers' experience. I aim to use these data to explore how motherhood learning is socially organized and practised in Canadian immigration settlement organizations.

Conclusion

My study adopts a critical ethnography to question everyday practice and means of organizing in motherhood learning. I divided this chapter into two parts. In the first part, I explained the reason I took critical ethnography as my research methodology. I not only explained why and how I use this research methodology in my study but also how I position myself in this critical ethnography, reflecting on my process of conducting it, and taking it as a pathway for action. In the second part, I introduced my critical ethnographical research at MOSAIC. I explicate my research scope, research questions, research site, the process, and research participants.

My research examines the learning practice of migrant mothers in Canadian ISOs. Critical ethnography provides many possibilities for examining the institutions, regimes of knowledge, and social practices that generate people's everyday lives. With this understanding, critical ethnography helps me to explore the power relations in the organizing of migrant mothers' learning practice for purposes of social justice and social change.

Chapter 5

Motherhood Learning as an Ideological Practice

Motherhood learning, as a global ideological practice, has been socially organized in new immigrant mothers' settlement and everyday practices in local spaces. At the global level, motherhood learning, associated with the changing globalized neoliberal ideology, emphasizes mothers learning to become "good mothers" who are self-supporting and expert in taking care of children. At the local level, mothering ideology is socially reproduced through a variety of discourses and is mutually constituted by social variables such as race, class, gender, and culture that shape women's everyday experience.

In this chapter, I use Smith's (1990) notion of "ideological practice" to explore how motherhood learning, as an "ideological practice," shapes immigrant mothers' learning in settlement organizations. I first use current feminist literature and my fieldwork to examine how "immigrant mothers" are socially constructed. Second, I explore an immigrant mothers' support and learning program at MOSAIC and analyze the program's curriculum to understand how mothering has been imagined and abstracted. Finally, I discuss how motherhood learning as an ideological practice shapes Chinese immigrant mothers' experience.

The Making of "Immigrant Mothers"

The "immigrant mother" is made, not born. The term "immigrant mother" is socially, politically, and culturally constructed. It refers to mothers who have immigration status but are not citizens. In the Canadian context, these mothers are perceived as those who emigrate from the Third World and take care of their baby at home. In many settlement programs in Canada, immigrant mothers' previous experience and knowledge have been greatly ignored. They have to learn "Canadian knowledge of mothering" in order to become ideal "Canadian mothers."

Guo and Andersson (2005) mention that in Canada, the social construction process of the immigrant is a process of "othering the other," which divides "we" and "the others" (Guo & Andersson, 2005, p. 7). They further indicate that culture and language are the "main 'explanation' of difference":

Li (2003) maintains that the social construction of "immigrant" uses skin colour as the basis for social marking. These individuals' real and alleged differences are claimed to be incompatible with the cultural and social fabric of 'traditional' Canada, and they are

therefore deemed undesirable. Immigrants are also often blamed for creating urban social problems and racial and cultural tensions in the receiving society. The social construction of immigrant places uneven expectations on immigrants to conform over time to the norms, values, and traditions of the receiving society. (p. 7)

The social construction of “immigrant mothers” is a process of “becoming” that categorizes certain groups of women as “immigrant mothers.” Ng (1992) points out that the social construction of “immigrant women” is a “naming process” in which the individual who “does not speak English or who speaks English with an accent; who is from the Third World or a member of a visible minority group; and who has a certain type of job (e.g. a sewing machine operator or a cleaning lady)” is entered in the category of “immigrant woman” (p. 16). Similarly, immigrant women who do not work and take care of children at home are categorized as “immigrant mothers.” Immigrant women are a product of capitalism, which “displaces segments of the population from their indigenous livelihood and draws them to centres of new industrial development” (Ng, 1992, p. 17). Ng (1992) indicates that “immigrant women become a social entity after the rise of the phenomenon of immigration, which in turn indicates a process whereby different labour supply systems are integrated into the world capitalist economy” (p. 17).

In comparison with the notion of “immigrant” or “immigrant women,” the notion of “immigrant mother” is a product of androcentric, capitalist, and imperialist development. Immigrant mothers’ labour power working in the family-based setting is unrecognized and even ignored. Critical anti-racist feminist scholars argue that gender, race, and inequality are treated as ahistorical and depoliticized. Roberts (2012) argues that it is assumed that women or mothers are “naturally inclined to spend their earnings on the social reproduction of their families and communities, and by extension, improve national economies,” which is “the result of a historical process associated with the transition to capitalism” (p. 93). Roberts writes that,

As men (and some women) entered the wage-labour force to participate in relations of capitalist production, processes of social reproduction remained within the household, becoming predominantly the work of women. Though women and children have long engaged in wage labour, especially during the early years of the industrial revolution, with the development of capitalism, an idealized gender division of labour was created whereby men were expected to engage in paid wage labour and women in unpaid domestic labour. This led to the material and ideological devaluation of the work

performed by women in households, which is often not considered to be work at all, while also subordinating women and helping justify men's higher wages in the paid labour force. (Roberts, 2012, p. 93)

There is a systematic devaluation of women's work in both the household and the labour market, which causes gender inequalities in the society. As Roberts (2012) points out, "the point is not to suggest that all forms of unpaid labour are necessarily exploitative, nor is it to suggest that households are purely functional units for capitalism" (p. 94). Rather, "the historically specific delineation of what constitutes the economy and productive labour has concealed a whole host of social relations and forms of work that are essential to the social reproduction of people and communities" (p. 94).

Collins (1994) addresses how the mothering relationship has been shaped by "work that separated women of color from their children" (p. 51). That work is the family-based labour shaped by "racial ethnic women's motherwork for survival and the types of mothering relationships that ensued" (Collins, 1994, p. 50). She further addresses the significance of the motherwork of racial ethnic women. Their motherwork not only helps the physical survival of individuals and the community but also "extracts a high cost for large numbers of women" (p. 50). In studying new Chinese immigrant mothers' practice of mothering and learning in Canadian ISOs, I find that the social organizing of immigrant mothers' everyday practice is an example of race, gender, and class intersectionality. The unpaid motherwork, racialized practice of mothering, and reproduction of class co-constitute immigrant mothers' material and discursive everyday practice.

Furthermore, the critical anti-racist feminist point of view reveals that the material and ideological devaluation of migrant mothers' labour, knowledge, and skills happened not only within a patriarchal, racial, and capitalist structure, but also in a global, neoliberal, and imperialist institution. I point out that studies on devaluation of migrant mothers' knowledge and experience should shift from a recognition of migrant mothers' labour in households and workplaces to an understanding of the social and power relations, the hegemonic ideology, and the politics of differentiation behind the devaluation process.

Imagined Mothering: The Ideology of Motherhood Learning

In this section, I explore how mothering has been imagined and practised in immigrant mothers' learning. Taking Smith's (1990) notion of "ideological practice" as an approach, I examine how mothering as an ideology has been abstracted and how the notion of "mothering" has been separated from the material world. I aim to explore the power relations behind immigrant mothers' everyday activities and the division of labour within the capitalist society.

Recent studies in anthropology, sociology, history, and education show great interest in exploring motherhood. In 1982, Dally claimed that motherhood is invented and that the idea of motherhood grew with idealization (Dally, 1982, p. 17). Abbey and O'Reilly (1998) pointed out that the notion of motherhood needed to be redefined. It has been challenged from different standpoints. O'Reilly (2010) argues that mothering is a "practice," a definition that enables scholars to examine the experience and practice of mothering as "distinct and separate from the identity of mother" (p. 5). She points out that the word "mother" should be understood as a verb. She mentions that "mothering is not a singular practice, and mother is not best understood as a monolithic identity" (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 5). Vandebeld Giles (2014) further clarifies the notion of mothering. She states that the term "mothering" refers to "the work of primary caregiving, being responsible for the economic, educational, and social care of another human being," which occurs in many forms and is acknowledged as highly gendered (p. 2). This definition means "fathers, grandparents, LGBTQ parents can perform 'mothering'," but women are "globally performing the majority of the mothering work" and mothering is still seen as a highly gendered reality (Vandebeld Giles, 2014, p. 2).

Here, I clarify the difference between mothering and parenting. Mothering is a gendered perspective of parenting. The notion of mothering is a social construction within patriarchal social institutions. Mothering focuses on the gender difference between mothers and fathers. In traditional families, men and women are constructed as playing different roles in parenting. For example, the assumption that families should conform to the roles of man as provider and women as nurturer marginalizes mothers and distinguishes their mothering practice from parenting or fathering practice.

In the following sections, I examine an immigrant mothers' support program at MOSAIC. I explore how the notion of the immigrant mother has been socially constructed and

how to rethink the meaning of mothering through an exploration of motherhood learning in the settlement programs.

Motherhood Learning in Canadian ISOs

The immigrant mothers' support and learning program is a workshop series for immigrant mothers at MOSAIC. I participated in this six-week learning workshop for Chinese new immigrant mothers. In the workshop, I observed the curriculum, collected course materials, recorded class discussions (with participants' permission), and co-facilitated the workshops. This program ran every Friday afternoon from January 29, 2016, to March 4, 2016. These immigrant mothers, as participants, usually took an English as a Second Language (ESL) class at the same location on Friday mornings. The settlement organization usually provided a free child-minding program for mothers. The organizer of the program provided volunteers to take care of the immigrant mothers' kids in the same location. There were 12 immigrant mothers participating in this support program, and all were from China. In this program, I participated not only as a researcher, but also as an immigrant mother, a facilitator, a teacher, and a learner. All the names used are pseudonyms.

The workshops were from 12 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. Each session started with a group song for these immigrant mothers' children for half an hour. After singing the song, all the children went to the group daycare downstairs. Three or four volunteers take care of the children for the remaining two hours.

In this program, I co-facilitated the group with Nina (Table 3, #4), one of the program organizers. She is a Chinese-Canadian and has run the program for many years. Nina introduced the program history and general information as follows:

We started the first moms' support group in October 2013. It's one of the community connection activities under the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) Settlement and Integration Program. Although MOSAIC's family programs offers different kinds of family support activities, this is the first kind under the settlement program that targeted immigrant mothers who need support in parenting their children in a new home. Frequency depends on our contract with IRCC. Under the current contract year, we run one group in Vancouver and two groups in Burnaby. In the previous contract, we run two groups in Vancouver and two groups in Burnaby. The content varies

depends on individual worker's training and plan. (Program coordinator, Nina, November 10, 2015)

Nina further addressed the goal of this program and discussed the challenges that immigrant mothers were facing, saying,

Immigrant mothers face many challenges, such as cultural shock and difference, lack of support from extended family, unfamiliarity with the family law and school system and language barriers. . . . A moms' support group also provides a support network for newcomer moms. We offer a comfortable space which is safe and inclusive for mothers to share their challenges, struggles and obtain support.

With a goal of supporting immigrant mothers and providing a support network for them, this program develops various workshops for newcomers to learn parenting skills and share stories. My analysis of the social organization of motherhood learning is from three aspects: the curriculum, the learning space, and immigrant mothers' learning.

Curriculum: The Clash of Cultures

The BC Council for Families⁸ determined the curriculum. They organized training sessions for potential instructors or facilitators from the settlement organizations to be able to teach the curriculum for immigrant parents. Here, I take the *Facilitator's Guide* (Minister of Health, 2000) as an example for introducing the curriculum. The program is targeted toward parents, particularly those who are “young, single, isolated, or who have low income or little formal education” (p. 3). The *Guide* addresses the commonality of its participants: “They want to be here; they want what's best for their children; and they want to be good parents” (Minister of Health, 2000, p. 4). The guide states that the program “does not teach one ‘right’ way to parents, it helps parents to recognize their strengths and to find positive ways to raise healthy, happy

⁸ The B.C. Council for Families is a British Columbia non-profit organization. They are dedicated to celebrating the diversity and strength of families by providing access to information, skills training, parent education, evidence-based research, and effective advocacy. The Council maintains an active and positive role in local, provincial, and national family initiatives. They are dedicated to providing family education programs and resources that help BC families to grow stronger and more resilient. They are strengthened by professionals, nonprofit organizations, and family-friendly corporations who work with them to support and educate BC families. For more information, please visit: <https://www.bccf.ca/bccf/about/our-values/>.

children” (p. 4). In addition, the guide introduces some beliefs and ways of organizing as a “parent-centred” program (p. 6). It states that,

The program is based on a few simple beliefs:

1). Parents love their children and want to be good parents. They want their children to be healthy and happy. 2). Nobody is born knowing how to be a parent. All parents need information and support. 3). Helping parents to meet their own needs is an important step in helping them to meet their children’s needs. 4). Parents appreciate practical, positive, and inexpensive ideas and approaches. (Minister of Health, 2000, p. 6)

The program provided five teaching books for parents to use. The books are entitled “Behaviour”, “Body”, “Mind”, “Parents”, and “Safety”. The book of *Behaviour* mainly introduces parents to how to tell the difference between loving and spoiling, how to encourage cooperative behaviour, and how to handle common behaviour problems (Minister of Health, 2000, p. 10). The book of *Body* introduces how to keep a child healthy, how to recognize the signs of illness, and what to do for common childhood illnesses (p. 10). The book of *Mind* introduces how a child’s mind and feelings develop, how to encourage a child to learn, and how to help a child develop through play (p. 11). The book of *Parents* indicates how parents can look after their own needs, how to find and choose different kinds of children rearing style, and how to find support and resources in the community (p. 11). Finally, the book of *Safety* teaches what causes injuries, how to prevent injuries, and what to do for specific injuries. These books are provided by the council, and they could be utilized by the program organizers as major or additional resources for the participants.

The *Facilitator’s Guide* (Minister of Health, 2000) also addresses the program’s key concepts, including respective values and experiential learning. As to the respective values, the program indicates that it is not about “changing values” but about “acknowledg[ing] the value—and the delivery of values—in any group.” It highlights that “the focus is on examining the impact values have on the choices parents make every day” (p. 17). As to the experiential learning, the program emphasizes the experience from the parents and does not tell parents what they should do or how they should do it. The program offers experiences through which parents gain information and insight and apply what they have learned to many areas of their lives. The program uses an experiential learning cycle (see Figure 1) for the facilitators and learners to use. It involves four major parts: the experience, noticing, relating, and applying. The experience part

requires the learners to describe their situation and previous experience (for example, someone may cry during a discussion about the stresses of single parenting). The noticing part requires the group to notice and acknowledge what's happening in the group, notice the underlying value or behaviour, and encourage the group to find this value in themselves. The relating part requires the facilitators to create an opportunity for each person in the group to find their own experience. The applying part requires the group to put the experience, discussions, and suggestions together, and to discuss what to do in the future.

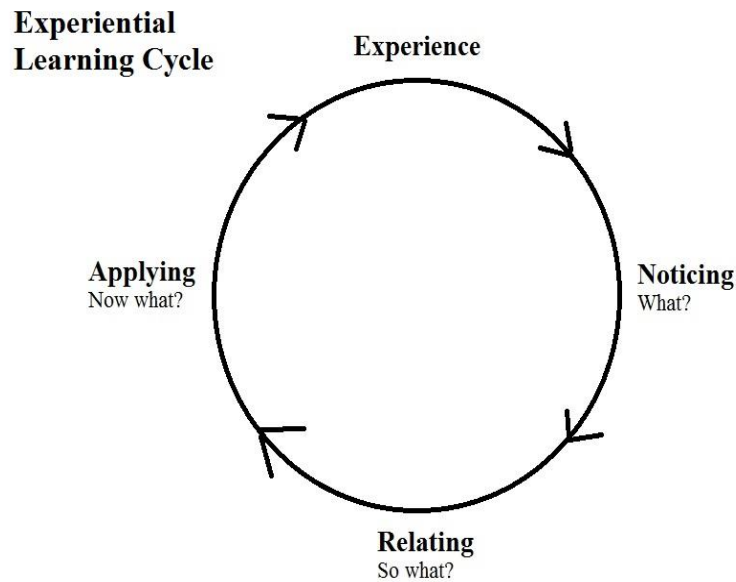


Figure 1. The Experiential Learning Cycle

While observing the sessions as a researcher, I found that the facilitator applied this circle in some of their sessions. For example, in one of the classes regarding safety, the facilitator utilized this experiential learning circle for her learning activities. The facilitator first asked the participants to use markers, pencils, crayons, and paper to draw pictures about their home. Then, the facilitator asked the learners to share the pictures with each other and talked about why they chose to draw that and the way in which it represents home to them. After that, the facilitator provided the “noticing questions,” such as “What did you notice as you were drawing your picture?” “What were you aware of when you looked at other people’s picture?” For the relating part, the facilitator asked the participants to discuss some related questions, such as “When you stop and think about your experience, what does it remind you of?” Throughout this process, the learners could reflect on their personal experience and find some solutions together.

Based on these key concepts, each session is organized into three parts: opening, main part, and closing. In the opening part, the facilitator welcomes (or checks in) every participant, provides warm-up activities, and sets the stage for the topic. In the main part, the facilitator introduces the topic and works with the topic. In the closing part, the facilitator provides summaries, reflections, monitoring, and information about the next session.

MOSAIC provided parenting programs for immigrant parents. The immigrant mothers' support program was particularly designed for new immigrant mothers from single ethnic groups who cannot speak English. The program organizers could use their native language to teach and choose additional teaching materials and activities for new immigrant mothers, which were slightly different from the general parenting programs for all kinds of parents. In my fieldwork, I participated in the immigrant mothers' support program, which was mainly for Chinese immigrant mothers. The facilitator not only used Chinese language for teaching and communication but also took some text materials in Chinese for these immigrant mothers to read. The support program provided more language support for newcomers without any English language background.

In the parenting/mothering programs for newcomers, the settlement organization emphasizes the challenges that these newcomers have and aims to provide support for newcomers to integrate. Table 5 below shows the challenges that the new immigrant parents may face that are listed in the textbook.

Table 5

List of Challenges That Immigrant Parents Face

Challenges	Descriptions
Language	Lack of English and/or not having a Canadian accent causes major trouble and obstacles for immigrants
Culture and Values	<p>The following examples could be shared:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eye Contact: For some cultures, it is considered disrespectful to look those that are in positions of “authority” in the eye. Yet at school, children are expected to look at their teachers in the eye to show that they are paying attention. 2. Addressing a person that is older than you by first name is considered disrespectful in some cultures; however, here in Canada it is considered acceptable. 3. Many parents socialize their children to be “obedient” and not to ask questions. However, at school, they are encouraged to ask questions.
Food	<p>Immigrant parents, who belong to various ethno-specific groups, continue to cook and serve foods from their own culture in Canada. One parent shared an example of how her son was teased at school for eating rice for lunch. Although he took his lunch to school, he would not eat it. The teacher realized what was happening and decided to eat rice for lunch to support this student. After observing the teacher eat rice for lunch, the children stopped teasing the young boy.</p>
School System	<p>In Canada, the school and parents are partners each with equal responsibility for their child’s education. To understand the school system, it is recommended that parents volunteer in the child’s classroom as a class mom, or on field trips as a volunteer parent. The advantage is that you can observe (1) your own child, (2) how Canadian teachers interact with students, (3) other children and how they treat your child. If you ask any parent “why did you come to this county?” almost always the answer is “so our children can have a good education and a good future.” That’s the bottom line. However, research has shown that approximately 61 to 74% of ESL children do not finish high school and typically drop out of school due to a lack of proficiency in the English language. Yet one notices that several immigrant students receive awards and scholarships for their accomplishments and hard work. This clearly shows that immigrant children do not lack intelligence. Research has shown that parental involvement in their children’s education has a positive effect. Therefore, in order to keep the goal of why you came to Canada, as parents you can do the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand and work with the school system. 2. Volunteer and get involved in your child’s school.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Talk to your children in positive terms about school and their teacher. 4. Keep in touch with your child's teacher. Call the teacher in between parent teacher interviews and ask how you can help your child at home. 5. Be active in providing "education" to your child's teacher about your cultural beliefs and practices, such as giving eye contact and the impoliteness of asking questions, etc.
Unemployment/Under employment	Due to a lack of recognition of foreign qualifications, and (consequently) a lack of Canadian experience, many immigrants are either underemployed or unemployed.
Lack of Information	Unlike possessing an awareness of their societal, cultural, economic, political, and communal values, beliefs, ways, procedures, norms, practices, systems, etc. in their own country, many immigrants find they lack much of this information in Canada. This becomes further complicated for those who have either no or minimal English.
Services	Methods for accessing services (doctor's appointment, applying for jobs, etc.) are different. Also, services/help provided by family and friends back home are generally provided by strangers and service providers, e.g., counselling.
Lack of Support	Some immigrants do not have any (extended) family members and/or friends. As a result, they are socially isolated and feel they have no support.
Racism	Racism is a social crime and against Human Rights. One immigrant mother shared an example of how she took her five-year-old to the park. Upon arrival, the two parents that were already there immediately packed up their stuff and left. March 21st is the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It is funded by the Federal Government to educate and inform the public that racism has no place in Canada and the world.
TV Shows	Are more explicit for some immigrant parents. Family members (grandparents, grandchildren, parents, and children) are uncomfortable in each other's presence when scenes of kissing and/or nudity are on the screen. Immigrant parents feel that it is easy for their children to pick up undesirable behaviour from the media.

(Cross-cultural Parenting Program, Session 1, FAC1.4-1.5, p. 40-41).

The textbook above has preconceived ideas about immigrant parents. For example, it shows that "many parents socialize their children to be 'obedient' and not to ask questions" (see Table 5), yet, many immigrant parents do encourage their children ask a lot of questions. Immigrant parents' practice of parents is diverse, hybrid, and fluid. It could not be preconceived in this way. The ideas from the textbooks generalize that immigrant parents may have lots of

burdens, such as a lack of language skills, employment skills, or they may have different cultural values. For instance, it mentions that “lack of English and/or not having a Canadian accent causes major trouble and obstacles for immigrants” (See Table 5). The textbook also shows newcomers may be isolated due to a lack of family support. It said “some immigrants do not have any (extended) family members and/or friends. As a result, they are socially isolated and feel they have no support” (See Table 5). The materials also indicate that the immigrant parents may face some racism in the local society. All these pre-assumptions provide logics for new immigrants to learn “good” parenting/mothering skills.

In my fieldwork, I found that most of the facilitators, organizers, and social workers for assisting the Chinese immigrant mothers were previously immigrants. They also had ideas about the challenges that newcomers face. One of the social workers, Amanda (Table 3, #1), a previous Chinese immigrant, mentioned that,

It is important for Chinese immigrant parents to learn all kinds of skills, such as language, social skills, etc. As to their children, they may not be familiar with the social system here in Canada, especially they may not be familiar with communicating with the white teachers in schools. The program could provide Chinese immigrant parents the opportunities to learn how to communicate. Although most of their English is not very good, they could still learn some language and communication skills here.

I find that some of these assumptions from the textbooks, facilitator’s guide and the program organizers socially construct new immigrant mothers as the ones who are “isolated,” have a “lack of skills or self-esteem,” or are without any local knowledge and local experience. This social construction of the “new immigrant mother” greatly influences the organizing of programs’ policy, guidance, and curriculum design. The curriculum was made to help these immigrant mothers not only learn “knowledge of mothering” but also “adjust” their own practice of mothering and identities in order to adapt into the state’s immigration policy and integrate into the local society and market.

In the six-week program in which I participated, the facilitator, with the understanding of these immigrant parents’ challenges, held a discussion with all the immigrant mothers in the first week and determined six main themes for each week, including parents’ expectations, institutional and social pressure, parenting style and values, self-esteem, child discipline, and effective communication. These themes were the most popular topics selected by Chinese

immigrant mothers. In the next sections, I select the workshops on Self-esteem and Parenting Style as examples to examine how mothering has been socially constructed in the curriculum.

Self-esteem

One of the workshops was about self-esteem, a psychological notion mostly from the Western educational system, emphasizing how people feel about themselves. One of the teaching materials said,

Our self-esteem is high when we have control over things, or feel valuable, important, capable and useful. Our self-esteem is low when we feel that nobody cares about us, or believes that we can not do anything right. As newcomers to Canada, we may not understand how things work in Canada at first. We may not understand Canadian laws, social customs, and traditions. Many of us experience culture shock, and feel out of place and confused by how different things are in Canada. Because of our (limited) English or a lack of recognition of our education and experiences, some of us cannot find work, or work in low paying jobs that are not related to our training, or work at jobs that are at a lower skill than what we have been trained for such as a medical doctor operating an ice-cream machine, an architect driving a cab, or an engineer doing cleaning jobs. Being new in Canada, many of us do not have friends and feel isolated. Sometimes, we experience discrimination at work or in the community. Under such circumstances, we sometimes question our own abilities, feel rejected, not appreciated, and even lose faith in ourselves. These are some of the signs telling us that we are losing our self-esteem. Fortunately, when we are aware of things that affect our self-esteem and get support and learn ways to build our self-esteem, we are able to gain control over our lives and feel worthy again.

The goal of this workshop is to reflect on how the process of immigration impacts on the self-esteem of immigrant parents and children. In addition, there are two minor goals including raising awareness among participants about the importance of self-esteem and developing strategies and techniques, such as encouragement and self-praise, to help build the self-esteem of immigrant parents and their children. At the beginning of this workshop, the instructor divided the Chinese immigrant mothers into two groups. She asked group 1 to indicate what “low self-esteem” is and group 2 to discuss how to raise self-esteem. The Chinese mothers from group 1 provided the following opinions:

Mother A: I think there are several things will affect our self-esteem. The first thing is language communication. For example, as a new immigrant, we have to buy things and go to the banks, and we need English [language skills]. Sometimes, we are even facing racial discriminations. My English is not very good, it is not like my Chinese language skills. I can talk a lot in Chinese, but in English, I just could not say anything.

Instructor: Yes. Good point.

Mother B: We also experience the difficulties in finding jobs. I think as a mother, I am a role model for my child. If I cannot find a job here, it means I don't have the ability to work here in Canada. I feel like I am not a good mother.

Mother C: In parenting, sometimes blaming our child will affect our self-esteem. Sometimes, I have a lot of pressure. So I blame my child. But after that, I find myself as a loser. I start to wonder if it is a right choice to come to Canada. Do I really need to come and immigrate to Canada? [Everyone nodded.]

Instructor: Yes, you are right!

Mother D: I find the relationship with my husband is one of the most important things [for my self-esteem]. Not only will the relationship with my husband, but also the family relations, such as my relationship with my parents-in-laws, greatly shape my self-esteem.

Mother B: Yes, I also find the degree is very important. If you don't have a higher degree, it is very difficult to find a good job.

Mother A: Many times, people like to compare. For example, my friend took her son to Disney land, but I didn't. My son will say 'why don't you take me to the Disney land?' I felt very sad, because I did not have enough money to take my son to there.

The Chinese immigrant mothers from group 2 then discussed how to raise self-esteem. I provide their discussion as follows:

Mother E: In parenting, sometimes we should not have too much requirements for our kids. Usually, 80% is good enough. We could encourage our children more often. As a parent, I believe it is important for us to be a good role model. If the parents could spend

more time on studying, our children will also spend time on learning. The more knowledge we learn, the more respect we will receive.

Instructor: The self-esteem for mothers is very important. Because it will affect your parenting, your relationship with your kids, and even your kids' development.

Mother F: You are right! Last time, my daughter has got an award from her school. She was so happy, which also affect my feeling. I felt happy too. It encouraged me to spend more time on her study, and helped her to get a better achievement in school.

Mother G: It is important to encourage both our children and ourselves. I think good encouragement will affect our self-esteem. I really need it! [Everyone laughed.]

Instructor: You've already done lots of incredible jobs here! I am so proud of you guys. Raising self-esteem is especially crucial for immigrants, since their living environments are changing. They have more pressure in settling in the city.

After the discussion, the instructor provided a summary and gave out the solutions. She pointed out the examples of "raising self-esteem" and "lowering self-esteem." Then she showed the solutions about how to raise self-esteem as a new immigrant. Table 6 summarizes the participants' points.

Table 6

Summary of the Participants' Points About Self-esteem

Raising Self-esteem	Lowering Self-esteem
Compliments from husband	Having weight or health problems
Being understood by others	Not being able to understand English or speak English well
Doing a good job	Not feeling welcomed by people
Doing volunteer work, such as joining a committee	Not having many friends
Landing a good job	Feeling homesick
Being a successful parent	Not being respected or listened to by children
Encouragement, praise, and patience from others	Being unemployed or underemployed
Being able to communicate in English	Facing criticism or disregard of opinion
Meeting nice people, making friends	Failing a driving test
Taking care of things outside of the home	Having language problems at job interviews
Feeling a sense of belonging	Having financial problems
	Experiencing discrimination and racism
	Having a sick child
	Not having money to entertain friends
Solutions	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Use affection and approval b) Focus on positive qualities in the child and the situation c) Faith in your child d) Recognize effort and improvement e) Power of expectations f) Avoid name calling and labelling g) Listen h) Avoid comparing i) Use of positive language j) Use positive methods to correct behaviours 	

In the above dialogues and teaching process, both participants (immigrant mothers) and the instructor discussed what “low self-esteem” meant to them and how to raise self-esteem. I find that there are three main dimensions to the relationship between self-esteem and immigrant mothers’ settlement. The first is employment. Many immigrant mothers find that if they cannot find a job, they may feel themselves to be a “loser,” unable to be a good “role model” for their children. In Table 6, “job” is frequently mentioned. For example, “landing a good job” is considered something that could help to raise self-esteem. However, “being unemployed or underemployed” is believed to lower the participants’ self-esteem. The second dimension is language. Some mothers believed that their lack of English language is a major barrier they are facing in settlement. Table 6 shows that “being able to communicate in English” could help to raise self-esteem, whereas “not being able to understand English or speak English well” and “having language problems at job interviews” could lower their self-esteem. Finally, the participants believed that for an immigrant mother, “making friends” could help raise self-esteem. “Making friends” means meeting people, doing volunteer jobs in the community, feeling welcomed by people, and having money to entertain friends.

All these dimensions categorized the participants as “immigrant mothers,” who are imagined as a group that has language problems, experiences difficulties in getting employed, and is isolated from the community. Through the discussion, the Chinese immigrant mothers in the group believed that a “successful mother” is a good learner who can not only speak fluent English, get a job, and make friends in the local society but also can take good care of their children and be a good learner. In the settlement programs, the organizers developed not only the language learning program, but also programs for employment and community services. These programs seem to fit all the newcomers’ and immigrant mothers’ needs. Yet, they participated in the process of categorizing “immigrants” or “immigrant mothers” into a certain group that is different from the local people.

Parenting style

This workshop discussed the cross-cultural and different parenting styles. It addressed how to raise the self-esteem of children through choosing the “right” parenting style to raise awareness of cross-cultural parenting and promote critical examination of various parenting styles.

The instructor showed a clip of a video about the “Tiger Mother” to the Chinese immigrant mothers in class. The term tiger mother refers to a strict parenting style in order to help children succeed. In 2011, Amy Chua, a law professor at Yale University, published *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. In this book, she talks about how Chinese parents are raising children in a better way than the West. Since the book was published, the term “tiger mother” has been utilized to describe a “Chinese mother” who practises strict “Chinese-styled” childrearing. After watching the video, there were debates among the Chinese participants.

Mother A: I think this parenting-style is very good, even though I know it is a very controversial topic.

Mother B: I think a little bit strict is good for our kids, but I prefer not being too strict to them.

Mother C: A few days ago, one of my friends told me that she thinks the Western parenting style is very bad. They allow their kids to choose everything. For example, in the dinnertime, there are two sauces on the dining table. One is a ketchup. Another is a chili sauce. In Western parenting, they allow their kids to choose any sauce. In our culture, it is not good for kids to have chili sauce in the young age.

Mother B: It is OK for your kid to try the chili sauce. Because if he or she try it and find it is really spicy, he or she won't choose it next time.

Mother C: This is only a simple example. But in the real situation, if there are two things. One is a good thing, and another is a bad thing that will even cause safety issues. Will you still allow your child to choose anything they want?

Instructor: So for this case, I want to mention what we have learned last time about “boundary” and “expectation.” Do you still remember? The boundary is decided by the children's development and our expectation should fit for our children's development. For example, my parents are very strict. They do not allow me to go swimming that boys can do. But I still insist to go swimming. Now I am a mother. I usually allow my children to choose what they want.

Mother D: I think every mother has different parenting style.

Instructor: You are right. Amy Chua's parenting style is also associated with her personal experience. People with different experience will parent differently.

From the above discussion, we can see that Chinese immigrant mothers and the teacher believed that the parenting style and values deeply related to their identity and experience of living in different cultures. Then the instructor asked the participants to share their personal experience of how their parents treated them when they were a child and made a mistake.

Mother B: My mom usually punished me and asked me to kneel on the ground. I felt my knees were really painful. At that moment, I really hated my mom.

Mother C: My mom never punished me, but my father did. My father usually spanked me.

Mother A: I cannot remember my parents spanked me, but I only remember once. One day, I played with my younger brother at home. Suddenly, we had a quarrel. My dad came and asked us to have dinner together. In the dinner, we were still fighting each other. Then, my dad brought a broom, and beat both of us.

Instructor: We grew up in China, but immigrated here. There are a lot of cultural differences here between China and Canada. In our Confucian culture, we usually emphasize "Xiao" (filial). It means, as a child, we could not challenge our parents, even though they beat me. But in Canadian culture, spanking children is not allowed.

Mother C: But my mother-in-law always said to me that "You have to spank your child." Because she believed punishment is a good way to teach our children to behave in a better way.

Instructor: OK. Sometimes, we experienced it, so we thought it was a right thing. We are now facing the clash of cultures between the east and west. We have all kinds of the pressures from our experience, family, and the new society.

Mother B: My neighbour in China always beat his daughter. It is normal in China.

Instructor: When we talked about the parenting style, do we need an assertive parenting style or an easy-going parenting style? According to the book, the author believed that

different kind of parenting may cause different kind of kids. For the assertive parenting style, the kids may have a better achievement in school, but may not have good social skills or other abilities. Do you remember the self-esteem that we talked last time? When you use the assertive parenting style, the child may have a lower self-esteem.

From the above conversation, the instructor linked the previous “self-esteem” theory to the practice of punishment, and informed the participants that corporal punishment is not appropriate. While the instructor discouraged participants to use assertive parenting style, she provided a connection between the “right” parenting style and the “good” development and performance of their children. Hence, the Chinese participants established the different understanding between Chinese and Western style parenting styles. They believed that the Chinese-style parenting emphasized “punishment” based on the Confucian culture and tradition. In Confucian culture, the parents have the authority, and the children cannot challenge their parents’ ideas, opinions, or instructions. If children fail to respect their parents, they may get punished. However, the Western parenting style has been imagined as more positive, emphasizing a lot of encouragement in order to raise children’s self-esteem. In comparison with the Western styled parenting, the Chinese parenting style seems “negative” for children’s development.

The imagination of parenting style shapes the division of “Western” and “Eastern” parenting style and a stereotypical idea of the immigrant parent, who usually likes to spank their children. During my observation, I find that not all the Chinese immigrant mothers spank their children and most of them agreed that corporal punishment is inappropriate, which may come from their previous experience in their childhood. Sue (#5), one of the participating mothers, said,

I am a free-styled mommy. I usually don’t pay too much attention to my son’s homework. Once my son got a lower score in the school, I did not punish him or felt angry about him. Instead, I asked his feeling to see if he had any struggles. I always encouraged him. I think the way of spanking your kids would bring your kids a lot of pressure and make them feel really nervous. It is not very good for children’s development.

Fang (#7), another mother, said,

I used to beat my son when we were in China, because he did not do a good job in school. But when I came to Canada, I changed my parenting style. I did not beat him anymore, since I learned it is not a good way of disciplining your child. Now, I use more encouragements for my son.

Many immigrants have fluid identities and experiences while living in different countries or across cultures. The parenting style is changing. Many immigrant mothers adjust their parenting style during the practice. They find that there is a better way of disciplining their children. Hence, the notion of “parenting” has to be understood as a dynamic, fluid, and hybrid concept that could shift based on immigrant mothers’ previous experience and everyday practice. Motherhood learning, as I understand it, is a process of reflecting on the mothers’ personal experience and reconstructing their identity.

Creating the “Third Space” for Immigrant Mothers

The space of the learning centre at MOSAIC was structured by its functional design. The learning centre was close to a SkyTrain station in an area where a large population of new immigrants lived. The centre was in a commercial building, sharing the building with other companies. The third floor is its main classroom for English language classes in the morning and parenting workshops in the afternoon. There is a free daycare belong to MOSAIC on the first floor. Immigrant mothers could send their children to the daycare downstairs and go to the classes upstairs. However, the spatial structure “labelled” this place as a space for newcomers, especially for immigrant mothers. This labelling process significantly interacts with new immigrants’ identity construction and learning activities.

Borrowing the notion of “third space” from a group of scholars (Haverly, 1973; Soja, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991), this section provides an analysis of the learning space for immigrant mothers through an understanding of their interaction with the space. The notion of “third space” challenges the dichotomizing understanding of the first space (concrete space) and the second space (abstracted space). Rather, this notion provides possibilities to understand the learning space in a dialectical approach, in which the space could be perceived as social relations and “spaces of representation” (Soja, 1996). The “third space” enables me to explore the space for motherhood learning as a hybrid space, a geographical stretching-out of social relations that results from global capitalism and increasing institutionalization. This notion guides us to raise

consciousness of the spatialization of certain social relations, such as race, gender, and class relations, with a production of power to build certain social orders and logics.

I find that the Chinese immigrant mothers perceived the place of settlement organizations and the programs in three different ways: as a place for extra support, a place for social networking, and a place for learning mothering. I argue that the learning space has been created for immigrant mothers as a hybrid space, which not only brings together immigrant mothers' culture, identity, and practice, but also involves a re-adjustment for them to integrate into the new social, economic, cultural, and political conditions.

The settlement organization as a place for extra support

Many immigrant mothers treated the learning space at MOSAIC as a place for extra support in taking care of their children. The provision of childcare attracted the immigrant mothers to come and learn language, parenting, and skills in the settlement programs. The organization provided free childcare services while the mothers had lessons, and the immigrant mothers believed that it was the best place to assist them with both childcare and learning.

Alison (#13) is an immigrant mother with two daughters. Her younger daughter was aged 4. She did not send her daughter to paid daycare. Instead, she brought her daughter to the free daycare at MOSAIC in the morning. Sometimes she took care of her daughter by herself in the afternoon. If there were other workshops and programs for immigrant mothers that included a child-minding program, she would join them. She remembered that,

I brought my daughter to a formal daycare several times. But I find it is really expensive. I cannot afford it. Even if I have a job, I have to pay the daycare fee from the salary, which means I could not either take good care of my daughter or earn good money. There is a saying that if your kids go to daycare, they could not gain enough love from their mother. For that reason, I won't send my daughter to a formal daycare here. Instead, I find the MOSAIC's daycare and program is fantastic. They provide a half-day daycare, which enables me to have time and take the lessons. In the afternoon, I could bring her home or join to other activities. I really enjoy going to the place there.

Alison treated MOSAIC as a place for supporting her childcare. She mentioned that one of the major reasons for her learning was because of the childcare or child-minding program. I also noticed that she could not afford the fee for regular daycare. She had no idea about where

she could go after finishing the program. This place became the only place that she could balance her mothering and learning activities.

Angela (#16) is another new immigrant mother participating in the MOSAIC program. She also found that the daycare in the settlement organization was very helpful.

The daycare is amazing. The teachers are incredible! I have been in the program for many years. When my daughter first came to daycare, she was a 10-month-old. The infant program had eight infants and three teachers. Now, she was in the toddler program. They have 15 students and three teachers. They also provided a people for cooking meals. Many times, they also have a lot of volunteers. So there was lots of support in the daycare program.

Angela believed that the design of the child-minding program was very helpful for mothering practice. She mentioned that the daycare even provided a mother and child time for enhancing the bond between her and her daughter:

There were a lot of activities in daycare for introducing the relationship between mother and the child. For example, they have a singing time every Wednesday. All the parents would come and sing songs together with their children. I liked these activities.

With a purpose of engaging all the immigrant mothers or parents, the program provided free child-minding programs and enabled these parents to have time to take the lessons. Most of the parents were immigrant mothers and they need a place other than their home to mother their children.

The program organizer Nina talked about the main purpose of the program and the childcare service for immigrant mothers.

All the parents . . . that we need to . . . talk about resilience. Because we have so much overwhelming choices, responsibilities . . . Sometime we find like, lost ourselves. Sometimes, we find that parenting is a very challenge of work. Resilience, we always talk about resilience, and I also heard about resilience a lot of times. How we can be resilient, like managing all these challenges. I think we want to have the mothers supported program is to have these mothers to . . . to take a break. They have could have some support from others. They feel that . . . “Oh, I am not alone.” Because they feel that a lot

of the other moms, they are going through the same path. Sometimes, a lot of moms, their husband or spouse is not here. So they may even feel more challenging.

Furthermore, she told me about these immigrant mothers' background and how the support program could fit their needs.

I also find that in our family and language centre, there are more mothers in the family and sponsorship class. That means they married their husband to come here. Or their husband to come here first, and they separate for a while, and they finally stay together. I have heard a lot of stories, many mothers, they separate from their husbands for years before they get the permanent resident status. I think it is also very tough. Because you are new to the country and you expect some support from your partner, from your husband, or the one who close to you. But throughout the long-term separation, after they came here, a lot of things change. They separated from their husband again. This separation makes their support network even weaker. They are more on their own. For those moms, I think they need a lot of support.

The settlement and learning program was perceived as a particular place for providing extra support for immigrant mothers. It provided flexibilities for these mothers to choose how to manage their new life in Canada. In contrast to public daycares, all the children in daycare programs in settlement organizations are from new immigrant families. The extra support system distinguished immigration settlement organizations from other local daycare or support groups, which required more funding in childcare and extra curricula for immigrant children's education.

The settlement program as a place for social networking

In many immigrant mothers' minds, the settlement program also provided opportunities for peer support. In the program, they could meet other mothers with similar backgrounds, experiences, or struggles. Gina (#11) described her experience in the immigrant mothers' support program.

In our class, all of them were Chinese immigrant mothers. I think friendship is really important. Really, sometimes I felt a lot of pressure, I would like to speak them out. Last time there is a parenting program, a Taiwanese teacher, she taught us a lot of things about parenting, mothering, or how to reduce the pressure. I think it really helped me a lot. But

that program was closed. I don't know why, I think it is really a pity. Now, I was so grateful there was a new support program for us. We could share our secrets in the program. We sat there and talked about our families. What happened to our relationship with husbands or parents-in-law? What kind of changes our children have? What kind of changes we have in settlement? We talked about our stories. It made a real difference. Because these mothers, we did not know each other before. After we came here and shared our stories, I was not worried if they told my secrets to others. Because we did not know each other and share friends with each other.

Sue (#5) talked about how she took the settlement programs as a place for social networking.

I have a lot of friends in China. They were like my confidantes. After I immigrated to Canada, I did not have my close friends with me here. This is my biggest problem for my settlement. The so-called confidante is not a normal friend you have. They are friends with you for years. It required a long-term friendship. After I came here, I found this was the biggest difference of settlement challenges between men and women. For men, they did not need any close friends for chatting. But for women, I think I really need a close friend here for sharing stories, ideas, and releasing pressure. So I choose to go to the support program. In there, I find a group of Chinese immigrant mothers with the same age as me. They have the same difficulties in settlement. We shared a lot of stories there. In Canada, the relationship between people is much simpler than China. I really like this feeling in the program.

Social networking is a process of learning through which these mothers can learn from each other, share ideas, and practice mothering together. Treating the settlement program as a place for networking, the Chinese immigrant mothers reconstruct their identities and sense of belonging, enabling them to adjust their mothering practice through the learning activities from both the program instructor and their peers. Since many immigrant mothers experience transnational relationship with their family and friends in China, they found that building networks with other Chinese immigrant mothers could help them share similar experiences in China or transnational experiences in Canada. They may find that their identity is neither Chinese nor Canadian. Sharing the same experience, they could easily find their position and reconstructed identities in the host country.

The settlement organization as a place for identity construction

The settlement organization has always been constructed as a place for both providing settlement services for newcomers and offering them learning opportunities. The learning activities at MOSAIC include not only the learning of language, culture, and parenting, but also learning all kinds of ideas, information, and understanding of life. These practices shaped immigrant mothers' identities and made them reflect on their relationship with others.

Frances (#9), a Chinese new immigrant mother, talked about how she reflected on her experience of learning as a mother after attending the settlement programs. She indicated that,

In my settlement practice, I reflected on what mothering is for many times. I think I have learned so many through sharing stories with other mothers and learning from the teachers. First of all, I think the learning practice takes place in my parenting and mothering experience. To me, mothering is a way of re-understanding the world and re-understanding myself. Why? Because it totally changed my mind of who I am. Before I came to Canada, I am a “princess” at home, you know, I am the only child in my family. I could enjoy my life there. I could go shopping whenever I wanted, and I could go out for an afternoon tea with my girlfriends. After I came here, I totally changed my lifestyle. As a mother, I have learned how to change diapers, how to feed my son. I have to do everything by myself. For example, breastfeeding, I was a very shy girl in China. I can imagine that I would not breastfeed my baby in public space. But after came to Canada, as a mother, I breastfeed my baby in public for many, many times, because I was the only person taking care of my son and bringing him to the park or malls for a walk. When he cried, I have to do it immediately. After I shared with other mothers in the group, they told me that they have the same experience.

Furthermore, Frances told me about her shifting before she came to Canada and after being a mother in Canada.

Another thing I reflected on what mothering means to me is that I changed my relationship to the world. Before I was in China, I really wanted to go abroad. I wanted to look at the great world. I eager to experience the different culture. I thought I was a person loving travelling, talking with different people, and living in different places. I thought I had a lot of flexibilities to experience the different things as much as possible.

However, after I gave birth to my son, I totally become another person. I became the one who hates to move. I didn't care about the world anymore. I enjoyed my little world and my daily lives. I went to the settlement programs every day, sent my son to the daycare, and took courses. After the school, I picked up my son and went home for making dinner. That's it! I haven't thought about the world anymore. What I care is my son. My world has been totally changed to a child-centred world.

In the settlement programs, the mothers started to reflect on who they are and what mothering means to them. The learning practice in the space is not simply learning language or skills but a process of connecting themselves to the new world. They reorient their identities and build connections to the new society. The settlement and mothering experience challenges their previous understanding of who they are and makes them renegotiate their practice with the local practice.

Immigrant Mothers' Learning as an Ideological Practice

In my fieldwork, most of the Chinese immigrant mothers believed that they needed to keep learning in the host country in order to better integrate into the society and become a "good mother." Learning becomes an ideological practice that directs the immigrant mother to have good reasons and motivations to become an ideal person. There are three reasons for immigrant mothers to choose the workshop. These reasons could be seen as motivations for these immigrant mothers participating in the parenting and mothering workshop.

The first reason is that many of them believe that they need to learn a lot of skills in order to integrate into the host society, including language skills, employment skills, and parenting skills. For example, Diana (#23) was an immigrant mother taking the workshops and ESL class at MOSAIC. She told me that,

I tried my best to help my daughter's study in Canada, meanwhile I need to learn many things. Since my mother-in-law came and provided her support for my household work, I am able to take all these workshops and language courses here. I had a plan that I have to learn English well. After I get my Canadian citizenship, I hope I can speak English fluently. So, I have to take these classes.

Sandra (#30) talked about her understanding of learning.

Before I came to Canada, I have prepared myself very well. I totally understood that I need to learn everything from the beginning. After came to Vancouver, I started over again. I started to re-learn so many things. I think it is a process of keeping learning. During these years, I learned a lot in this new country.

When I asked her what she learned, Sandra told me,

The first thing I need to learn is language. Then I re-learned driving skills. I drove in China for over ten years. After I came here, I need to re-learn the driving skills in order to pass the driving test for the licence. Then I need to learn some employment skills in order to find jobs. As to my daughter, after we immigrated to Canada, her attitude had been totally changed. I also need to learn some parenting skills in communicating with her.

Many mothers find that learning parenting skills is very important for helping their children to integrate. Susan (#21) had a four-year-old son. She talked about her learning experience, telling me,

I always worried about my son's growing up, especially his communication skills with others. My son is very . . . how to say . . . sometimes, he did not want to tell you what happened. I really want him to tell me his experience, questions, and problems. But he did not like to talk about his experience in the daycare. He did not know how to deal with the bullying and how to make friends with other children. As a new immigrant mother in Canada, I find the communication skills are really important. For example, in China, we usually taught our child to stay at home and study. We did not focus on our children's communication skills. But here, I find the communication skills were extremely crucial for my parenting.

The second reason for learning is that most of immigrant mothers want to learn the "Canadian way." They really want to learn the "knowledge" to parent their children in a scientific way. Cindy (#22), for example, has taken the parenting workshops many times. She said,

Every week, we went to the workshop and learn parenting skills there. The teacher provided a lot of discussion and actual practice for us. For example, we learned how to build relationship with our children. In Canada, they really emphasized the "bond"

between mother and child. The teacher asked us a question such as if you have a conflict with your child, what you should do. She asked us to provide concrete solutions and discuss any results. Then she shared her experience with us. She told us it is very important to communicate with our child. She even shared her experience of how she interacted with her children in a positive way.

Cindy provided an example about how Canadian culture emphasizes building a “bond,” and she learned that Canadian people believe that effective communication between mothers and children was one of the most important things.

Sabina (#18) is a mother who took workshops for new mothers in settlement. She discussed her learning experience in her postpartum care.

After giving birth to my daughter, I hired a Yuesao (the Chinese maternity nanny) to help. She recommended me to use the breast pump for breastfeeding. But I didn’t want to learn from her, because her knowledge was very unprofessional. Then I took some breastfeeding workshop in the local community, which made me feel really good. They taught me how to do breastfeeding in a scientific way. I really appreciate that.

In comparison with the Chinese nannies, most immigrant mothers wanted to believe in what they learned from the community workshops and settlement service. Tiffany (#25) believed that her learning purpose was to practise with a “Canadian style.” She pointed out,

I really want to learn the Canadian style of parenting. I find my own parenting style was not so “Canadian.” For example, I did not usually bring my children outside. But here, many Canadian kids went camping in summer and went skiing in winter. I really want to jump out from the traditional Chinese-style of parenting, which is really boring. I want to learn more about Canadian or Western-styled parenting and integrate into the Canadian culture.

In comparison with the Chinese way, most immigrant mothers believe that the Canadian style of parenting is more scientific or advanced. They also think learning a Canadian way of parenting or mothering may help them to integrate into the Canadian culture.

The last reason for these mothers to learn is to become a “good model” for their children. Cindy believed that mothering is a practice of “modelling.” The learning practice helped mothers to learn a “correct” way of teaching their children. Cindy mentioned,

I always took these courses. Because I think if I behave correctly, my child would behave correctly. As mothers, we all hope our children to behave well. If we corrected our children's misbehaviour directly, it might not work. We need to learn these parenting skills and educate our children with a correct approach.

Nina also found that lifelong learning is important for immigrant mothers. She said,

There was an old saying in Chinese, 活到老学到老 (It's never too old to learn!). As a mother, I have to keep learning. If I did not learn very well, even my son would laugh at me. He would believe that I am totally out of date.

Understanding immigrant mothers' reasons for learning helps us to better examine the separation between the goal of immigrants' settlement programs and immigrant mothers' motivation and purposes. The next section re-examines the notion of "settlement" and discusses what the best practice of motherhood learning was in settlement.

Conclusion

Through the examination of the motherhood learning workshop and immigrant mothers' learning activities, this section discussed how motherhood learning became an ideological practice in shaping immigrant mothers' identity and experience.

"Mothering" has been imagined in different ways. First, people distinguish different mothering practices between immigrant mothers and the "Canadian." For example, people believe that immigrant mothers may have lower self-esteem than the Canadian mothers. Second, the Canadian style of mothering has been imagined as more "advanced" so that the Chinese immigrant mothers should learn mothering skills to better parent their children in Canada. The distinguishing of mothering between Canadian and China is also a reflection for these immigrant mothers to challenge their own tradition and cultures on mothering. Finally, the unequal relations between the imagined "Canadian mothering" and "Chinese mothering" led to immigrant mothers learning to integrate into Canadian society. As a result, motherhood learning becomes an ideological practice in immigrant mothers' settlement and experience.

In addition, the settlement program, as a space for learning, has been perceived by Chinese immigrant mothers in different ways. I utilized the "third space" perspective to understand the relationship between Chinese immigrant mothers and the space of learning in the

program. As a place for extra support, social networking, and identity construction, the settlement organization becomes a third space in which immigrant mothers reconstruct their identity and reorient their mothering and settlement in the new country.

Rather than considering immigrant mothers' experience, many settlement programs still overlooked immigrant mothers' experience and identity. There was not enough funding to provide support to all immigrant mothers. Few programs focus on immigrant mothers' fluid identities and diasporic practice of mothering. I suggest that immigrant mothers need to be centred in the practice of settlement to limit their marginalization and develop a transformative learning practice for social justice.

Chapter 6

Unpacking Ruling Relations: The HIPPY Program

In this chapter, I explore the complex of social relations that organize and regulate immigrant mothers' learning practice in Canadian settlement organizations. I aim to unpack the ruling relations of learning through examining Chinese immigrant mothers' experience, learning practice, and the learning curriculum in MOSAIC's immigrant mothers' support program. I find that motherhood learning, as an everyday practice, has been organized and regulated by the relations of ruling.

I particularly address the program in a larger context of global neoliberal restructuring. As I stated in Chapter 2, neoliberalism is embedded ideologically, institutionally, and through social relations. This chapter mainly introduces how different social actors including the international organization, state, the settlement organization, social workers, home visitors, and Chinese immigrant mothers co-participated in learning activities for becoming a "good immigrant mother." From the ideological aspect, this chapter discusses how mothering as an ideology associated with the neoliberal ideology shapes Chinese immigrant mothers learning activities in the HIPPY program. From the institutional aspect, this chapter explores how the global regime of ruling in motherhood learning shapes the organization of this program. From the aspect of social relations, I explore unequal ruling relations between different social actors as well as behind the knowledge of mothering.

I first introduce the Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) program at MOSAIC, which is a home-based parenting program helping immigrant mothers and their children to integrate into the host society. Through investigating the HIPPY program and immigrant mothers' learning in this program, I then discuss how motherhood learning has been socially organized. I explore the global regime of ruling in motherhood learning and unpack the ruling relations between the HIPPY international organization, the state, ISOs, and program coordinators. Finally, I look into Chinese HIPPY home visitors' and HIPPY mothers' experience as a standpoint in order to understand the institutional and ruling relations behind the motherhood learning.

The HIPPY Program at MOSAIC

The HIPPY program is an international home-based program that works with families, primarily mothers, to help them strengthen their parenting skills in order to actively prepare their children for school and prepare themselves to integrate into the civil society. It is designed for parents with children aged three to five. The program is based on the principle of “mothers helping mothers” (Cunningham-Dunlop, 2016, p. 1). The core of the HIPPY program is its home visitors. Each week, the home visitors visit the families and teach the mothers about parenting skills and the local school curriculum to help families integrate into the local society and the school system.

The HIPPY organization has its largest programs in the United States and other programs in eight countries internationally. In Canada, HIPPY mainly focuses on low-income families, basically Aboriginal families and new immigrant families. MOSAIC in Vancouver has signed a three-year contract (2014–2016) with HIPPY Canada to offer home visiting programs for new immigrant mothers. The HIPPY program at MOSAIC used an “At Home in Canada (AHC) Hub Model” as its logic model (Cunningham-Dunlop, 2016, p. 2). The Hub model is a reconfiguration of the programs’ current delivery mechanism and increasingly emphasizes “employment training for mothers in the second and third years of the program along with enhanced labour market partnership” (p. 2).

The Hub model has two components: the central office and the pods. The central office provides major administration, coordination, and training. There is a full-time coordinator to train HIPPY home visitors and develop approaches to integrate the home visitors and HIPPY mothers in the program. The pods are considered the satellite sites in the communities. They consist of one senior home visitor and three junior home visitors. In the local sites, the home visitor delivers the curriculum and “role-play” model to teach immigrant mothers some parenting skills, preparation for kids entering school, and how to support their families.

According to the contract between HIPPY and MOSAIC, the Hub Model employs, trains, and provides career planning over 3 years to 10 newcomer mothers who are former HIPPY mothers and who experience multiple barriers to employment. The Hub Model site provides home visitors with 4–6 hours of training weekly for 88 weeks. The HIPPY program at MOSAIC recruited a total of 124 isolated newcomer mothers. Each home visitor recruits 12–15 immigrant

mothers and families every year. The home visitors provide a weekly training session to each mother for 30 weeks annually.

In order to visually map the institutional relations between HIPPY Canada, MOSAIC and its staff and participants, I provide a figure as follows:

Figure. Mapping the Institutional Relations of the HIPPY Program

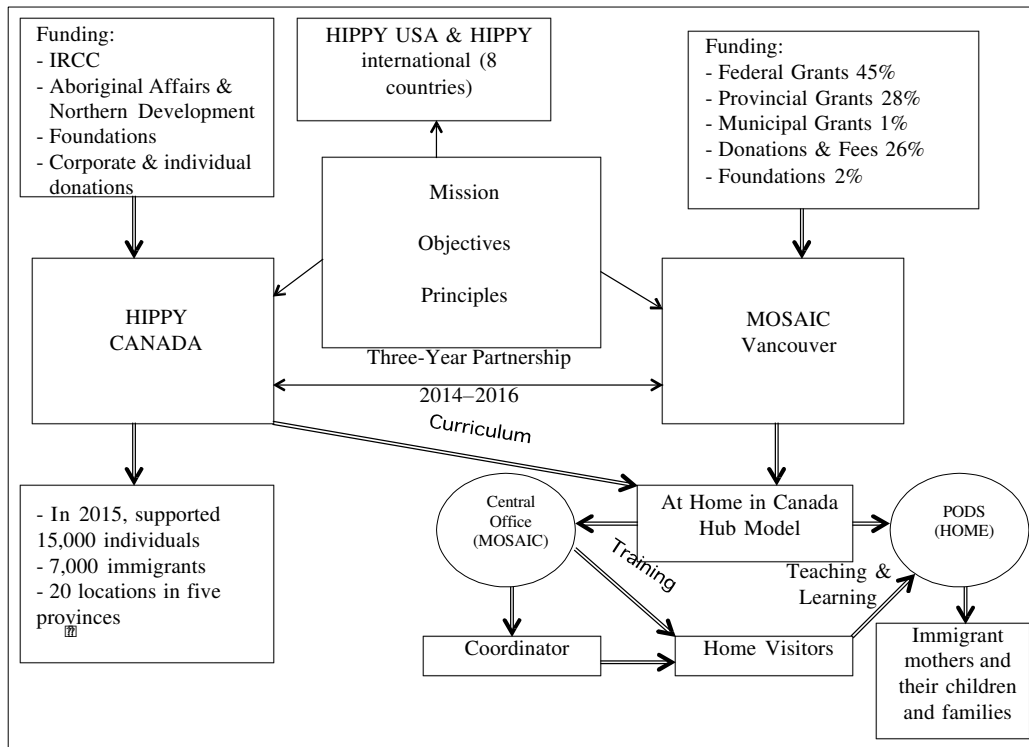


Figure 2. Mapping the Institutional Relations of the HIPPY Program

This figure brings to mind the notion of “isomorphism,” which provides a framework for understanding the structure of organizations both internally and externally. In mapping the institutional relations visually, I find that although HIPPY Canada provides the major curriculum to MOSAIC, both HIPPY Canada and MOSAIC share the mission, objectives, and principles of HIPPY USA and HIPPY International. The shared mission, objectives, and principles present ideas from the global regime of ruling, which echoes the globalized neoliberal ideology. The isomorphic pressure may deeply affect the structure of MOSAIC and different actors in organizing the parenting program for immigrant mothers.

With a goal of exploring the social organization of motherhood learning in ISOs, I aim to unpack the ruling relations from global to local that I call “the global regime of rulings in motherhood learning.” Through an examination of the HIPPY program at MOSAIC, this chapter mainly explores how multi-level agencies—the HIPPY International organizations, HIPPY Canada, and MOSAIC and its local practitioners—co-organize immigrant mothers’ learning practice.

Ng (2006) proposes a term called “the globalized regime of ruling” (p. 175). According to Ng, the globalized regime of ruling refers to municipal, regional, national, and transnational processes that produce local conditions and local effects that greatly affect an individual’s experience. Ng and Mirchandani (2008) indicate that they use the term “regime” because they treat these processes as not accidental but rather as dynamic daily activities that involve interactions between local people’s everyday experience and the globalized world (p. 38). My examination of ruling relations has two levels. On one level, I explore a global, neoliberal, and imperialist ideology of mothering and its interaction with migrant mothers’ learning. On another level, I look at how the state and its agencies structure migrant mothers’ learning following a Canadian ideology of mothering.

Mothering, as an ideology, has to be understood on the basis of the ruling relations behind the social organization of motherhood learning. Taking immigrant mothers’ experience as a standpoint could help to challenge the ideology and the unequal power and ruling relations. Ng (2006) discusses the use of migrant workers’ “standpoint” to understand globalized restructuring. She points out that standpoint means a starting point outside the institution, from which people could challenge conventional scientific approaches and the previous “logic of discovery” within the institution (p. 179). Bannerji (2015) points out that ideology refers “diffusely to interpretive frameworks, consciousness or commonsensical, which John Berger (1972) called ‘ways of seeing’” (Bannerji, 2015, p. 161). Ng and Mirchandani (2008) use the term “standpoint” as a stronger word to define the “see-er” as an “interested and invested knower” rather than a “disinterested, neutral, or ‘objective’ one” (pp. 37–38). In my research, I take migrant mothers’ experience as standpoints for understanding the state and global restructuring. I aim to unpack the ruling relations of learning and challenge the mothering ideology of the ruling ideas and ruling classes. I use the HIPPY program as an example to explore how motherhood learning has been socially organized with the global regime of ruling. I examine how the HIPPY program has

been organized agencies at different levels, including HIPPY Canada, the state, settlement organizations, coordinators, home visitors, and immigrant mothers.

HIPPY as an International Organization

In 2007, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) cited HIPPY in its EFA (Education For All) Global Monitoring Report. It said,

Parents (typically mothers) may also be included in the ECCE [Early Childhood Care and Education] workforce. In addition to being the first educators of their children, some parents actively assist in development, organization, management, and fundraising for local ECCE programmes. In developing countries and in rural areas, many ECCE programmes, especially those for disadvantaged children, would probably not be established without the collaboration of parents and community members (Fisher, 1991). In many countries where parents have limited access to formal ECCE programmes, governments and NGOs develop parenting programmes to improve the quality of care and education that young children receive (Evans, 2006). For example, the international HIPPY (Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters) programme provides parents with support and information to help them accomplish their role as first educator effectively (Westheimer, 2003). (UNESCO, 2007, p. 145)

The HIPPY program as a part of the UNESCO's Education For All project provides parents from different regions with support for preparing their young kids for school. According to the HIPPY Canada Start-up Manual (2010),

HIPPY International is based at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It is the licensing agent for the HIPPY programs around the world and supports prospective sites in their initial investigation and implementation. The Israeli HIPPY program is now in its 30th year. Over the years, the HIPPY program has been replicated in ten countries, currently operating in Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States. National early childhood programs based on the principles and programmatic approaches of the HIPPY program also exist in Turkey and the Netherlands. The programs operating in Chile and Mexico were closed as a result of HIPPY Canada Start-Up Manual changes in political leadership and priorities. Discussions are now taking

place about the possibility of starting new programs in Ethiopia, France, Singapore and Zimbabwe. (HIPPY Canada, 2010, pp. 5–6)

This manual addresses a deep linkage between poverty and stressful social-ecological family conditions and children's outcomes and parents' abilities:

The relation between poverty, compromised development and academic failure is well established in the research literature (Duncan, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, 1994; Hunt, 1961; Scarr-Salapatek, 1971). In Canada, where the level of child poverty is one in five, this relationship presents a problem of the gravest nature. The more recent work of UBC's Clyde Hertzman shows similar findings. In Grandview-Woodland, the neighbourhood where the majority of Vancouver HIPPY program families live, the link between stressful socio-ecological conditions and child outcomes is painfully clear. (HIPPY Canada, 2010, pp. 4–5)

HIPPY as an international organization brings tensions between state-controlled identities and the practice of supra- and parnational institutions. The different organizations of HIPPY at the international level co-participate in producing the mothering ideology. Some researchers examine parenting and motherhood learning and practice within the context of the nation-state and its institutions (Bernard & Bonner, 2013; Coşkun, Karakaya, & Yaşer, 2009; Foster, 2013; O'Reilly, 2013). For instance, Foster (2013) examines how Caribbean migrant mothers settled in Trinidad and Tobago and received “parenting support” from the state and its local communities. However, not enough studies discuss how the supra- and parnational agencies go beyond the nation state and practise the ideology. While the state participates in the globalized economy, it is integrated into “an international capitalist system that undermines the control of any given state” (Muehlmann & Duchene, 2007, p. 98). Muehlmann and Duchene (2007) point out that the new globalized economy brought “emerging tensions between state based and corporate identities, and between modern nation-states and supranational structures” (p. 98).

Within the structure of the nation-state, mothering is imagined as a national identity that involves the nation's social, cultural, economic, and political beliefs and values. At the international level, mothering is an ideology that involves unequal social and power relations between east and west, civilized and uncivilized, “ideal” and “failed,” and local and global. Many so-called “developed countries” bring forth ideas and actions toward educating mothers

from lower-income families and emphasizing a linkage between poor mothering practice and poverty.

To sum up, in the HIPPY program, mothering as an ideology is not only controlled by the state but also practised through supra- and parastatal agencies. The practice of motherhood learning through a multi-level of agencies closely interacts with the globalized economy and neoliberal restructuring. With the expansion of the globalized economy, the role of the private sector has been strengthened. It has become a trend to emphasize the importance of educating mothers in every country through the international agencies.

The Role of the State

Examining the HIPPY program in MOSAIC, I find that the state plays an important role in migrant mothers' learning practice in three dimensions: participating in the globalized economy and neoliberalism, monitoring social justice movements, and practising modernity.

First, the state interacts closely with the globalized economy and neoliberalism through progressively changing the meaning of its immigration policies. There are two major changes in Canadian immigration policy. One is that the goals of Canadian immigration policy have shifted from long-term nation-building to short-term economic adaptation (Root et al., 2014). Another is that multiculturalism has shifted in emphasis toward a neoliberal ideology that focuses on the need for newcomers to quickly adjust to Canadian society. These two shifts bring an ideology of ideal immigrant motherhood that requires immigrant mothers not only to be self-sufficient and hardworking, but also to be engaged in "child-centred, expert-guided, and financially expensive mothering practices" (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014).

The settlement service in Canada is seen as a project that helps newcomers acquire a second language, learn skills of mothering and employment, and build certain networks in order to integrate quickly into the local society and labour market. In the HIPPY program, the home visitors play an important role in that they were once HIPPY mothers in the program themselves and later become HIPPY employees. HIPPY Canada has objectives for the HIPPY home visitors including providing employment opportunities for mothers in the program, providing home visitors with workplace training in essential skills, and providing home visitors with career counselling, goal setting, and job search support. Under the "mothers support mothers" model, the HIPPY Canada program has a goal of helping newcomer mothers quickly integrate into the local market by providing them with "work opportunity" to gain local experience.

When local government-funded settlement agencies inculcate immigrant mothers with dominant Canadian values and integrate immigrants into a unified national identity, they also intend to utilize immigrant mothers to strengthen the nation's economy. According to HIPPY Canada (2016), its goal for the HIPPY parents is not only to help them support their children's success in school, but also to support their integration in Canada. There are two levels. On the one level, the program hopes to support immigrant children's success in school. Since UNESCO emphasizes the strong relationship between parenting and poverty, the state aims to enhance education for parents, particularly those from lower-income families or newcomer families, and to help their kids succeed in order to reach the international development goals as a "developed country." On another level, the program focuses on a practice of integrating new immigrant mothers into the local society. In this sense, new immigrant mothers are utilized to strengthen the nation's economy while migrant mothers' knowledge, culture, identities, and practices of mothering are greatly excluded and ignored.

Second, the state utilizes non-profit and community-based organizations to "[allow] corporations to mask their exploitative and colonial work practices through 'philanthropic' work" and monitor movements for social justice (Smith, 2007, p. 3). ISOs have provided settlement services for new immigrants, and their administrators and staff have also acted as advocates for individual women and the collective rights of immigrant women in Canada. Gibb and Hamdon (2010) discuss how changes to federal funding structures restrict the amount of advocacy work that "not-for-profit organizations can engage in without losing their funding further, subjecting them to compliance in maintaining inequitable relations" (p. 186). They use Nancy Fraser's (1995, 2001) work on the redistribution of recognition and explore ISOs' practice of building alliances for advocacy with immigrant women and their allies. Using Fraser, Gibb and Hamdon (2010) are able to shift their analysis of how the formal and informal learning occurs in ISOs, and how immigrant women learn knowledge and skills in ISOs, from "the bodies of immigrant women" to "the political and economic structures and discourses" (p. 186). In the case of the HIPPY program, the state utilized the community-based organizations to reproduce inequalities within the community and controlled the funding structure, and in the end, the HIPPY program had to seek a new partnership.

Finally, the state practises mothering as an ideology containing a "Westernized" modernity. HIPPY Canada has two major targeted participants: multicultural and Aboriginal families. Training mothers from multicultural and Aboriginal families involves logics of unequal

social power relations between the dominant Western modernity and non-Western civilizations. Immigrant mothers' fluid daily experiences and their transnational experiences have been excluded. The state aims to help them quickly adapt to the local society to strengthening the state's economy without any immigrants' traditional mothering practice and everyday practice.

Coordinating the HIPPY Program

MOSAIC is an organization that provides not only settlement services and language courses for newcomers but also social supports for immigrant mothers. MOSAIC partnered with the HIPPY program and assisted it in coordinating the programs. The coordination of the HIPPY program contains three parts: training home visitors, reporting narratives, and accessing outcomes.

Training Home Visitors and the Curriculum

The training session introduces the HIPPY program curriculum, adult learning theory, and pedagogical theory to home visitors. The curriculum of the HIPPY program in Canada contains a Western logic of parenting through a Western-styled pedagogical practice. HIPPY recognizes role-play as the method of teaching the skills “needed to implement the child-centred curriculum” (HIPPY Canada website, 2016). This curriculum is based on the need for children to “become school-ready” (HIPPY Canada website, 2016). There are three major activities in the curriculum: reading stories, doing activities, and fun-learning activities. The program provides parents and children with storybooks, activity books, and basic supplies (such as papers, scissors, and crayons). During these activities, the program aims to help kids nurture “school readiness skills,” including language development, perceptual and sensory discrimination, logical thinking, and problem solving.

Suzy is the coordinator of the HIPPY program at MOSAIC. Her major work is coordinating the home visiting work, training the home visitors, and reporting on progress. She talked about the HIPPY curriculum.

The curriculum as same as the one at school for teaching the kids from kindergarten. So we have a lot of curriculum, very good, and working with the basic skills . . . for the multicultural [families] . . . about listening, about letting them to be creative. And the most important thing is we want the parents to have the bond, the connection with their

kids. For us, what we tell parents is that if you spend ten minutes working with your child, in something it has to be fun, that it has to have the foundation that they have to be fun . . . for leaning. So we plan the idea that they need to spend the time with their kids and having fun. Let them to be together. This bonding is going to be very good for the relationship in the future. Not only for the relationship, but also . . . one challenge that we didn't have with our kids is that . . . when we come here, some kids come with no English. Some kids from another community. For instance, African community, especially isolated from the [local] communities that we have families that even they don't know how to read and how to chat in a book. So even they have to learn the whole system. For instance, a lot of communities read the characters from the right to left, and some of them from the left to right. So our kids from the immigrant communities, when they go to school, they [will] have the advantage [from the HIPPY program]. Because they don't have the skills. The kids are raised in Canada may have . . . because they have the language and they have maybe they go to schools.

I participated in one of the training sessions. During the training, I observed a discussion about the challenges that the home visitors face in home visiting:

Home Visitor A: "One of the challenges is not only the culture, but also life styled challenges. Previously, we do time out, but now . . . and no, don't do time out now."

Home Visitor B: "And also the challenges . . . what I find especially is that how do you bring a mostly Westernized belief and philosophies to another space, where there's strong beliefs with their practices rooted in generations and generations. How do you kind of immerse that . . . and trying to say that one is better than the other."

Instructor: "Is that because one is better? I think mine is better, but they think they are the better."

Home Visitor B: "Yes, I think this is one of the challenges. What I want to add to that is one of the challenges might be on the child's practice and safety. For instance, we have children in the elementary school level that we see that they are often on their own about between 8–10 ages. They are left in the playground for about one hour. We started to wonder where is the parents, where is the parents. But then, I guess the parents are

comfortable with them just on their own, but I start to question that our comfortable level is different from the parents' comfortable level. So I just question the safety."

Instructor: "At the age of three? Or no . . ."

Home Visitor B: "Between 8–10, but you know . . ."

Home Visitor D: "But even here, you know . . . there used to be . . ."

Home Visitor B: "Or walking to school, sometimes some parents, I know somebody, who's been asked why do you let your kids walk to school on their own. But they insist they are six and nine years old. Mom was right there seeing them, going off the street. And then there are bunch of kids, and then she was asked why she left her kids to do that."

Instructor: "What do we fear . . . what I hear from the group is the common practice."

Home Visitor A: "I think it is a culture fear."

Home Visitor C: "Everybody might be afraid of am I want to take this? I just moved to Vancouver, yeah . . . what I do here is let my son climbing here and there. And people was stand there in the playground, and was like . . . who is the mother? Yeah. . . . He is fine, he is three, but he can climb the tree. But here, people like . . . no, no, no. . . . So, just everyone is different with what the kids can do and what they can't. . . . But here, I won't let my kids walk by themselves."

In the discussion, most of the home visitors considered that the challenges might be from the cultural differences. They identify themselves as "different" from others. Many shared their experiences about different parenting styles. As home visitor B said, the challenges were in "how to bring a mostly Westernized belief and philosophies to another space" and how they could share a "common practice" in mothering and parenting. This shows that there are unequal power relations behind the parenting practices and knowledge of mothering. The home visitors, most of whom are former HIPPIY mothers, are not professionals. They are trained to become a "professional" in teaching other mothers the parenting skills and culture of mothering. While the state provides funding to support immigrant mothers, the home visitors, as former HIPPIY

mothers, are confused about whose knowledge they have to teach and how they should place their own parenting style, which is considered “different” compared to others and the local community.

The home visitors question not only the challenges but also the pedagogical practices. One of the home visitors from the immigrant community said,

I am thinking about whether it is a good idea of . . . because now it is so Westernized that we do have some cultural communities . . . when treating women with emotional things, we encourage that they go back to their cultural communities. Because we have experienced so many [of the same] things. . . . Even the teaching practice is Westernized. Sometimes, we encourage women to go back to their own culture.

Not only the teaching content and parenting curriculum has unequal power relations, but also the ways of practising it. The Westernized philosophical idea of teaching and learning has been emphasized in the local communities. Even though there is a blurred boundary between “Western” and “non-Western” ways of teaching and learning mothering practice, the “better” or “advanced” ways, such as the child-centred curriculum and the emphasis on the bond between mothers and children, are constructed as “Western.” For instance, many Chinese families also emphasize the close connection between mother and children. Thousands of Chinese mothers choose to quit their job in order to spend more time with their children, yet in the Western context, Chinese mothers are sometimes still constructed as “not spending enough time with their children” (Frederick, 2013). Going back to the cultural community might be a good way of understanding immigrant mothers’ actual practice in their daily lives, which could challenge the dominant understanding of mothering practice and the “Westernized” practice of teaching and learning.

Teaching and Learning Mothering at “Home”

Home, as a learning place, has often been ignored and excluded in the discourses of adult education. The literature in adult education criticizes the dichotomization of “public” and “private” spheres in adult learning, especially women’s learning experience in the workplace and homeplace (Gouthro, 2005, 2009; Mirchandani, 1999). A few of them discuss how neoliberal values, ideologies and policies shape the development of educational agenda and gender inequalities in homeplace (Gouthro, 2009). Not enough study examines how home becomes a

site for teaching and learning for new immigrant mothers. By looking at the institutional relations behind the teaching and learning activities in HIPPY mothers' home, I find that "home" as a space with blurred boundaries between public and private sphere strengthened "needs" for immigrant mothers to learn and become an "ideal immigrant mother" that echoes with the neoliberal values and ideologies.

Homeplace has been constructed in different ways between immigrants and the Western world. It contains meanings associated with race, gender, and class differences. For example, according to Gouthro (2009), the home for migrant workers usually has been constructed as "exotic, sensuous locale when gone, but struggle with their homeplace being judged detrimentally as 'underdeveloped' by others when abroad, and being treated as unfairly privileged outsiders when they return" (p. 159). She further points out that the home in the Western world contains images of "successful lives, happy relationship and luxuriously decorated homes presented to all" (p. 159). With the different imaginations, homeplace has been constructed with hierarchical ideas that the home in western world is the "idealized home" whereas the home of migrants contains uncertainty, unsettledness, and unfamiliarity. Many Chinese immigrant mothers settled in Vancouver, and still believe that their "home" is in China. The home here to them is a temporary place for settling and integrating to the host country. For instance, I interviewed a HIPPY mother Zoe who immigrated to Canada under the family reunion class. She lived with her husband in her father-in-law's house. She said, "I didn't like my new home in Canada. Living with my father-in-law brought a lot of problems. He always asked me to do a lot of household works. I had to not only take care of the crying baby, but also do all the household works. I felt very depressed when I first came. I used to imagine Canada as a very beautiful place, but now I am very disappointed. I really miss my home and family in China."

Second, the homeplace may also involve violence that some women experience that may fully interact with their "ability to participate fully in society as citizens and learners" (p. 160). In my research with HIPPY mothers, most of them have to negotiate their mothering practice with their husband, parents-in-law, and the public even at home. Especially not only because many Chinese immigrant mothers came to Canada under the family reunion class, their mothering practice has to be "adjusted" based on their families' needs, but also they have to learn to become a "good immigrant mother" based on the public's interest. In my interviews, two of the Chinese immigrant mothers experienced family violence in their home space. One of the mothers

was forced to do the heavy labour work at home while she was pregnant and experienced a miscarriage. Many of them experience a “re-adjustment” of their mothering strategies under pressure from their larger family-their husband’s family.

Third, feminist scholars criticize the public/private dichotomy in theorizing motherhood, homeplace, and learning. Collins (1994) highlighted that the dichotomous split between “the public sphere of economic and political discourse” and “the private sphere of family and household responsibilities” allows work and family to be seen as separate entities (p. 46). She argues that the public/private dichotomy not only separates the family/household from the labour market, but also segregates gender roles within the private sphere of homeplace. Not only do work and family have been separated, it also distinguishes learning from different places. Homeplace, for example, has been connected as a “private sphere” that is usually excluded with the patriarchal notion of learning (Gouthro, 2009, p. 163). Mirchandani (1999) addresses that this dichotomy fails to “accurately describe the everyday experience of women” and it devalues women’s contribution to the society (p. 87-88). Furthermore, Gouthro (2009) points out that the critiques of neoliberal agenda are inadequate “without any consideration of homeplace” (p. 160), and she explores how the notion of “homeplace” has been constructed within the division of “public sphere” and “private sphere” and simultaneously been shaped by the neoliberal influences.

I find that the dichotomy of “public/private” not only distinguishes the gendered roles and the social constructions between man and women, but also shapes immigrant mothers’ role in learning and settlement in association with the neoliberal ideology of mothering. In HIPPY program, there are two paradoxical but closely related constructions of “home” for new immigrant mothers. On the one hand, home is a place for immigrant mothers to take care of children. It is believed that these mothers don’t often go outside or work outside. They are imagined as “isolated” and they don’t have enough resources in terms of parenting, learning and settling in the host society. On the other hand, home is constructed as a “private place” for learning mothering and parenting that could help immigrant mothers to learn “good mothering” skills for fitting the public interests. Teaching immigrant mothers at home is an effective way of delivering social service and motherhood training to them.

With these assumptions, teaching and learning at home could perfectly strengthens the needs to reproduce the neoliberal ideology of “mothering” and effectiveness for these newcomer mothers to learn at home. The blurred boundaries between public sphere and private sphere

exemplify how home as a space has been utilized for different purposes of learning and strengthening the neoliberal ideology. Here is an example.

In my fieldwork, I find that setting HIPPY as a home-based program could reduce the costs for learning spaces. In a document called HIPPY Program's Evaluation Plan (2013) from MOSAIC, it showed a deduction of the cost for every families for sustainability purposes. It shows that there were funding limitations for settlement service.

However, there are also many difficulties in the everyday coordination of the program for arranging home visitors to visit each family. The program coordinator, Suzy, said,

Sometimes I don't know if the home visitors are really doing what we have trained them to do. I trust them, but sometimes I don't know if they follow the philosophy of the program. One of the home visitors did not do the right thing, but we cannot [get] proof. Even though the majority of them are excellent, the most difficult thing is to trust all of them. I knew at least one of the home visitors lie. She lied to me. She was only visiting one family, but she reported to me that she was visiting five families. So that's the challenges that we have.

Another issue Suzy mentioned she found while coordinating the program is transportation. She added,

Another things is that we have to tell the home visitors that you have to visit the family every week. If they have a car, they don't have any problems in home visiting. But, if they don't have a car, they take bus, it will be very difficult for them. The program said, you choose the families in your area, for instance, if I live in this area, I choose the families in this area. But sometimes, many of families live in different areas. So you have to travel a lot to visit families in different areas. So that is a challenge that most home visitors don't have a car. Even though this program is a very, very good program for helping home visitors to build resume, to find jobs, to earn Canadian experience, but sometimes, you are hiring, you have to tell this person is really, really good and have lots of commitment, and then you have to choose a person who have the car, who the means to go to the universities. Personally, I know we really want to help the poor people who really need help. But because the lack of the car, as I said, it is very inconvenient.

The tensions between funding and coordination might cause issues such as the trustworthiness of the home visitors and the transportation problems that the home visitors encounter. The home visitors, as previous HIPPY mothers, mostly come from low-income immigrant families. Some of them don't have a car and may not be able to get the job. With an influence of neoliberalization, the motherhood learning at home might benefit the program, but not the home visitors or immigrant mothers.

Becoming a Working Mother: The HIPPY Home Visitor

As I discussed in last section new immigrant mothers have been constructed as “taking care of children at home” and do not go out and work. I find that one of the goals of this program is to encourage immigrant mother to go out and become a working mother. One of the strategies is that taking the home visitors as role models. The program provided trainings for the previous HIPPY mothers, taught employment skills for home visitors, and offered them local work experience.

This section examines the story of one HIPPY home visitor and how she became a home visitor after being a HIPPY mother. Shine, a current HIPPY home visitor, immigrated to Vancouver from China, where she worked as a computer scientist. At the time of interview, she was the mother of two young boys. One is six years old and the other is four years old.

Four years ago, Shine met a HIPPY home visitor in a workshop and was recommended to participate in the program as a client. She received one year of program service as a “HIPPY mother.” After that, she applied for the position as a HIPPY home visitor. She mentioned why she choose to apply this job, saying

I really love this program, and I learned a lot. The curriculum includes parenting for three-year-old, four-year-old and five-year-old. There are 30 weeks for each family per year. It follows the school year from September to June. The home visitor came once a week. She taught me one hour in each session. I have to practice what I have learned every day to my kids for 20 minutes to 30 minutes. It's not simply mother teach and kids learn. It requires a lot of interactions between mothers and kids. I really like its internal logics-from the easiest to the most difficult and it requires a lot of reputations for parents to practice. So I really want to become a home visitor to help more immigrant mothers like me.”

Luckily, Shine got the job soon after she applied. The HIPPY program’s model of “mothers help mothers” encourages HIPPY mothers to apply and does not require any local experience. Without any previous working experience in Canada, Shine got her first job as a home visitor at MOSAIC. She found that there was a big training course that happened twice a month. It was a major part of her career as a HIPPY home visitor and was paid for by the settlement organization. Since the HIPPY program signed the contract with MOSAIC for three years (2014–2016), the MOSAIC provided a three-year training plan for each home visitor. The plan offered three levels of training for home visitors including the introduction level, intermediate level, and transition level.

At the introduction level, Shine received basic training in becoming a HIPPY home visitor. The beginning training is about “how to.” She told me that,

The training time is for three to four hours every two weeks. I learned how to do a home visit. They taught me very detailed manner from the very beginning. For example, they taught me how to greet people after the client open the door. They also helped me to learn how to prepare the teaching materials, how to teach, how to do activities with mothers and children, how to check out, and how to say goodbye to my clients.

The second level of training is called intermediate level. At this level, Shine learned more advanced adult learning theory and more local cultures. In the third year, she was sent to a third level, called “transition plan.” She stated,

After working in HIPPY for two years, we learned a lot. The last year training has two parts. One part is about teaching and learning theories and practice. Another part is about the employment skills, including how to write the cover letter and how to do interviews. We learned some employment skills for helping us develop our career after finishing this program. So I am able to learn advanced skills and to do a transition from the HIPPY program to the local labour market. We also have opportunities to practice. The program offered one-on-one sessions for me to practice, including a mock job interview and a one-on-one consultant.

In this training session, Shine learned the “Canadian culture.” There are certain assumptions that these HIPPY home visitors, as previous HIPPY mothers, need to learn the culture of communication skills, employment, and parenting style. With the model of “mothers

help mothers,” the home visitors were encouraged to go into the community, learn the skills, and become a working mother.

Shine further discussed how she started this job. She mentioned that it is the home visitors’ responsibilities to recruit participants. She explained how she recruits her clients in the community:

Most of the recruitment works were our works. Some of the participants were referred from previous participants. Many people find that the program is very useful. So they recommend their friends to us. However, when I started my job as a home visitor, not so many Chinese new immigrants knew this program. In my Chinese community, nobody knew it and none of them wanted to participate in this program. So I did a lot of work to recruit as many Chinese newcomers to participate. I felt very frustrated in the beginning. I went to almost all of these neighbourhood houses in Vancouver area to recruit participants. Not only the neighbourhood houses, but also food banks, Walmart, and Superstore. I sent flyers to people around these places. Furthermore, I went to many other workshops for newcomers organized by MOSAIC to recruit clients.

I asked why there weren’t many Chinese participants in the beginning. She answered,

Well, I think the first reason is about the language. The HIPPY program is an English-based program. In our program, all these curricula are designed based on English reading, role play, and English story telling. So many Chinese new immigrant mothers couldn’t speak English, and they felt challenges in participating in the program. Another reason is isolation. While new immigrant first landed in this place, they didn’t know anything about the community they lived in. They didn’t know where to get this information.

I further asked Shine what she did for home visiting if her clients, as Chinese new immigrant mothers, had poor English. She told me that,

I basically use English for explaining everything including the role play process. Since we have a standard to recruit mothers with a basic English level. But sometimes the mothers’ English is very poor, so I translated some of the curriculum to her. But I encouraged her to use English and teach her children the English curriculum as well. I find many mothers actually treat the home visiting as an opportunity for learning language. For the children, many of them do not speak English as well. What I did is also

translate and repeat. I translate each reading to them, and repeat in English. I find the children also learned very quickly.

I asked if all of these newcomer clients are mothers. Shine said, “Most of them were mothers, since most of the mothers choose to stay at home and take care of their children. We do help Daddies, but I have not seen any Daddies apply for this program.”

Apparently, there is a threshold not only in recruiting mothers but also in selecting home visitors. English is a basic requirement for the participants and home visitors. The language barrier is a major issue for most new immigrants settling in Canada, but they are required to learn English before they can receive benefits and support. Although Shine could do some translation for them, many new immigrant mothers do not know where and how to get this kind of support and are not able to communicate with home visitors who cannot speak Chinese.

Shine mentioned that many Chinese mothers choose to stay at home and take care of their children. The home visitors were treated as a “role model” or a “successful mother” to influence new immigrant mothers to go out and find a job.

Shine’s contract finished in March 2016, after she had worked in the HIPPY program for three years. Shine believed that the major reason was funding. She stated,

I think the major reason for closing the HIPPY program in MOSAIC is about money. In the beginning, the CIC funded us. But after that, I think it is because of the political changes in CIC that we didn’t get the funding renewed. So HIPPY Canada continuously finds their new partners, which have sufficient funding for running the program.

She also talked about her plan for future, saying “I am now looking for a similar job in the social service area. I really like to work in helping immigrant mothers. I learned lots of employment skills and I hope I could get a new job soon.”

Shine’s story is a typical story of how a HIPPY mother becomes a home visitor. The program is not only teaching parenting skills to immigrant mothers but also trying to encourage them to integrate into the local labour market. Most importantly, HIPPY sets up the learning space in immigrant mothers’ homes and aims to encourage these mothers to go to the community.

Isolation is a term that I frequently heard in my fieldwork. The HIPPY mother is often constructed as an “isolated woman” who is not only isolated from the local society but also from her family, particularly in the bond between her and her children. In contrast, the HIPPY home

visitors are constructed as “successful immigrant women” who have the skills to be able to go outside the home and find a job in the host society. Work and family again have been seen as separate institutions. The mothers who could work have been treated as ideal immigrant women in contributing to the society, a view once again influenced by the neoliberal ideology of motherhood emphasizing a “self-supporting and independent woman.” Immigrant mothers’ experience of being mothers thus has been excluded.

Learning as an Objectified Form of Social Consciousness and Praxis: Stories from HIPPY Mothers

Collins (1994) suggests placing the experience of women of colour in the centre of feminist theorizing about motherhood (p. 46). Understanding immigrant mothers’ experience in the program could not only help to problematize the stereotypes of “immigrant mothers,” but also to challenge the ruling relations behind motherhood learning and ruling ideas of mothering.

In this part, my examination of HIPPY mothers’ experience focuses on the learning practice of Chinese immigrant mothers. I take learning as an ideological practice that involves ruling relations and ruling ideas. I problematize the “common sense” of the ruling idea of mothering and argue that learning as an objectified form of social consciousness and praxis in immigrant mothers’ experience. The relations of ruling and the historical trajectory of their development have to be understood as “an analogous process of differentiation and specialization” (Smith, 1996, p. 175). In this section, I explore how immigrant mothers’ learning is objectified and how the ruling ideas become “common sense” in their everyday settlement and mothering practice. Here I took two Chinese new immigrant mothers’ stories as examples.

Fanny’s Story

Fanny is a HIPPY mother who has participated in the program for two years. She is an immigrant mother who came to Canada in 2011. She has two daughters. One is six years old and the other is four years old. She mentioned her reason for joining the HIPPY program.

I apply for the HIPPY program is because my elder daughter didn’t want to speak English while we first landed in Canada. At that time, my elder daughter just went to pre-school. I really worried [about] her progress in school. Also, I met a home visitor in

HIPPY and she encouraged me to participate in this program. It is free and very good to my kids.

Fanny has been a “full-time” mother for four years. She explained that she stayed at home and did not find a job

Because I have two kids. After I gave birth to my second one, the elder one cried a lot. It was so difficult to go outside. So I chose to stay at home. I went to an ESL program at MOSAIC for one month, but I quit. I didn’t have time because the two kids. . . . I didn’t have a car. Sometimes, I took bus. But in Vancouver, you know, it rains a lot. Especially in spring and winter time, my children get sick so easily.

When I asked why she did not send her kids to daycare, she stated,

The daycare is so expensive and I could not afford the expenses. If I went to work, my income will all go to the daycare. Also, people will say, if your kids go to daycare, they don’t get enough love from the mother. It’s like you are not a good mother.

Fanny talked about the first year when she and her family arrived in Canada. She got pregnant when she first landed in Canada. At that time, she helped her mother to apply for the visitor’s visa but got rejected. She mentioned,

After I delivered the baby, I took care of myself and two kids. At that time, my mother was in China and sick. She worried me so much. And my husband got a mental disease. I did not have any support from my family.

She discussed how the settlement experience affected her kids’ development and her relationship with her children. She further explained,

The period of my first year in Canada was very tough. Even though I finally settled in this city, I felt my settlement experience still had a huge impact on my kids. For example, during that time, I find hard to control my emotion. I was sometimes mad at my elder daughter. If you have one crying baby, and the other one is crying too, I could not control my emotion and sometimes yelled to my elder daughter, “You are too loud! You will wake up Meimei [younger sister].” She cried and said “Mommy, you don’t like me anymore.” I felt very bad for her . . . for both of them.

Finally, Fanny mentioned what she learned in the program.

The most important thing that I learned from the HIPPY program is that you have to keep learning. As an adult, I have to improve myself all the time. As a mother, I have to learn how to communicate with my children. Actually, in the HIPPY program, I find the most useful part is about talking. My home visitor is a Chinese, and she could speak Mandarin. So we could talk, once a week. It's like a healing process, physically and psychologically. I discussed with her about my problem that I faced in my practice of parenting. She provided her suggestions and some related materials. Sometimes, she encouraged me to go attend some workshops for parenting. For example, the cultures of parenting between China and Canada are so different. In China, parents are like authorities. I took care of my children, and the children should obey my rules. But here, I learned to be equal with your children. As a parent, I sometimes make mistakes. I tried very hard to become a good parent in Canada, but sometimes I failed. For example, in Chinese culture, the mother should be very strict to the kids, you know, like tiger mother. But here, you could not do so, because you have to be equal and friendly to your child. I find it is very hard for me to find the balance. I feel like this is the biggest challenge I have.

Fanny's story shows that the learning experience in the HIPPY program constituted complex relations of ruling that "force" her to keep learning. On the one hand, the home visitors have the tasks of recruiting 12 to 15 mothers. Fanny became one of the "targeted" mothers that needed the training and help. Assisting her to parent her children fit the national goal of improving the low-income mothers' ability to teach and parent their young kids. On the other hand, to become a "good mother" in Canada, Fanny needed to learn "parenting skills." During the practice and lessons in HIPPY, she started to reconstruct her identity as an "immigrant mother" who encounters the cultural conflicts and tensions between the Chinese and Canadian cultures of parenting. The loss of family support, depression, cultural conflict, and emotional and physical challenges need to be overcome by these immigrant mothers. As an objectified form of social consciousness and praxis, learning becomes a way of improving these difficulties and has been organized in Chinese immigrant mothers' everyday parenting practice.

Jin's Story

Jin immigrated to Canada through the family reunion class in 2010. She has two children. The elder girl is six-year-old. The second one is a two-year-old boy. Now, she is pregnant again. She did not have any work experience here. She was taking care of the kids at home. She took the HIPPY program for a year. She explained the reasons that she took this program is because she could not find a job here. First, she mentioned that she as same as most newcomers could not afford the high expenses for daycare.

The daycare is very expensive. For our two kids, it could cost over \$3000. We are not qualified with the subsidy, because my husband has work. Even if I send my kids to the daycare, I could not do any jobs. Because after I send them to daycare, it is already 9am-10am in the morning. Most of the companies require a shift between 8am-4pm or 9am-5pm. Moreover, I don't have any work experience here, so if I get a job here, it will be a basic one from the entry level. My income is not enough to cover the expenses of the daycare. As a result, I decide to stay at home and take care of both kids. I don't send them to daycare.

Second, she explained one of the major reasons that she could not find a job here is because of her poor English language level.

I think English is one of the major problems. I don't have any chances to practice English. You know, staying at home, I couldn't find any one to practice my English. In my daughter's school, many of them speak Chinese. I usually go to T&T [the Chinese supermarket in Canada], everyone speaks Chinese there. Even at home, my children sometimes asked me some English questions. I don't understand and cannot answer them. Because my English is so poor, I can only stay at home.

In the interview, I find that a lack of family support and the traditional gendered role in family deeply shape Jin's experience as a mother. She explained her role as a mother and the fact that she is not able to get a job here. She points out, "I was very depressed when I first arrived in Canada. I did not have any family support here. Both parents of me and my husband are not here. Especially after I gave birth to my second one, I felt very frustrated that nobody could help me. If you don't get a depression here, it is because you haven't stayed here long enough." When I asked why she did not ask her husband for help, she said,

My husband worked very hard every day. Sometime, he wanted to help me and take care the kids during the weekend. I did not allow him to do so. They [man] do not know how to take care of the kids. If your husband help you and take care of the children, what should you do? Also, I find that many fathers in our community here take care of the children. I don't want my husband to do this. I want him to rest in the weekend. I love him so much, and he loves me too! He always buys me a lot of things. He earned money for me and the children. Even though, I know, as a woman, we should have our own income and become independent, I could not become a woman like that.

Transportation is a reason too. She mentioned that, "Because I can't drive. After my husband went to work, I could not go anywhere. I have heard that there is a very good parenting program called HIPPY. The home visitors will come to your home and teach you. So I applied. But I was heard that there is a cutting funding for that program. So there is a long waitlist for that. I have to wait until I get in."

"Staying at home" is not these immigrant mothers' choice, but socially structured and regulated. Jin believed that "being a mother" is to stay at home and take care of children. Her story addresses so many reasons that she has to stay at home as mother, such as the financial limitations, daycare problems, cannot find a job, a lack of family support, depression and her poor English level. Different actors including the family, her husband, community, local labour market, the settlement program, and even the state co-shape her experience of "staying at home as a mother."

It becomes a "common sense" for immigrant mothers that they have to take care of children without any choice. The idea of "staying at home" pushes them to apply for the HIPPY program and learn the related skills for settling in the new society. The learning practice comes from their experience as a new immigrant mother that they have to learn related skills of language, parenting, and employment to better integrate to the local society.

Conclusion

Ruling relations, as proposed by Dorothy Smith (1996, 2005, 2011), are forms of consciousness and organization that "are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (Smith, 2005, p. 13). This chapter explores the ruling relations behind Chinese immigrant mothers' learning practice in the HIPPY program. As a

home-based learning program in immigration settlement organizations, the HIPPY program is organized by different actors including HIPPY international organizations, the Canadian state, HIPPY Canada, MOSAIC and its staff, and home visitors and HIPPY mothers.

At the national and international levels, immigrant mothers' mothering practice is closely related to poverty and the nation's economic development. The state echoes globalized neoliberal restructuring to enhance its economic development. It also practises its Westernized "modernity" in immigrant mothers' learning of mothering and excludes these mothers' experience and knowledge in order to control social activism. At the organizational and individual levels, the tensions between the different actors, such as the HIPPY program, the ISO, and the home visitors, make HIPPY mothers' learning practice an "objectified form of social consciousness" that is socially organized to connect immigrant mothers to the local community and encourage them to overcome the difficulties in parenting and finding jobs in the local society. "Home" as a teaching and learning site is studied in this chapter. It has always been excluded in the discourse of adult education. It not only has been constructed with race, gender, and class relations, but also associated with disease, poverty, and violence. In addition, it has been constructed within the dichotomy of "public" and "private" spheres. It has been utilized strengthening the neoliberal ideology of segregate the gendered roles in family and pushing immigrant mothers towards a role as an "ideal immigrant mother." In examining Chinese immigrant mothers' experience in the HIPPY program, I find that their learning practice is socially organized within the patriarchal, capitalist, and neoliberal social institutions. Fanny's story tells us that learning as an objectified form of social consciousness and praxis is regulated by the complex institutional relations. Jin's story reflects that "staying at home" as a "common sense" is socially constructed that shapes her learning experience and settlement practice.

To sum up, through unpacking the ruling relations behind the HIPPY program, I find that complex tensions and unequal power relations shape immigrant mothers' learning practice, and this needs to be challenged through exploring the participants'—immigrant mothers—experience and standpoints.

Chapter 7

The Ideological Practice of “Difference”: Chinese Immigrant Mothers and Gender, Class, and Race Relations

There are ongoing debates in anti-racist feminist and adult educational studies regarding immigrant women’s identity construction. Some scholars argue that immigrant women as “oppressed” women negotiate their identities with the local settlement society through the practice of settlement and “motherwork” (Creese, Dyck, & McLaren, 1999; Dyck & McLaren, 2002). Different from these ideas, some scholars state that immigrant women are dynamic and creative agents in constructing and reconstructing their identities (Ralston, 2006; Zhu, 2015). They claim that immigrant women identify themselves with communities, construct a space for resistance, and challenge the representation by others in the settlement countries (Ralston, 2006).

In studies on “motherhood,” some scholars usually focus on the middle-class white woman (e.g., Marks, Bun, & McHale, 2009) but fail to focus on women of colour, immigrant women, lesbians, and women from the “third world.” By examining black mothers’ experience, Jenkins (1998) describes the meaning of motherhood. She states,

There is no single meaning or given experience of motherhood. The very term “motherhood” connotes a falsely static state of being rather than a socially and historically variable relationship. The experience of motherhood is highly complex and full of contradictions. It is not simply a biological phenomenon or the expression of nurturance and care. Motherhood is often a socially constructed identity. Ultimately, however, what being a mother means will depend upon a number of factors: socialization; the condition under which women become pregnant and give birth to children; the social and cultural context of child rearing; the beliefs and expectations that women hold about motherhood; and the intersection of race, socioeconomic status, age, sexual orientation and culture on these beliefs and expectations. (pp. 202–203)

However, Edwards (2004) challenged Jenkins’s discussion about the meaning of motherhood. He argues that, while criticizing the essentialist and traditionalist views of motherhood, the definitions of motherhood have to be equally understood not only within patriarchal views of “achievement, individualism and personhood, where motherhood is predicated onto and subjugated by other existing identities,” but also with a capitalist view of world.

Following these debates, this chapter examines how Chinese immigrant mothers' identities and experience could be utilized to explore the divergent meanings of motherhood. I view the identities of Chinese immigrant mothers as "imaginings of self in worlds of action," which have been constructed in association with the reproduction of race, gender, and class inequalities (Holland, Jachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998, p. 5). Through my in-depth ethnographic interviews, I argue that Chinese immigrant mothers' identities are dynamic and hybrid. Exploring their identity construction process, the Chinese immigrant mothers could be viewed as carriers to mobilize the social justice theories into practice. Examining the Chinese immigrant mothers' experience and identities could help us not only to reflect on gender, race, and class relations, but also to re-understand the meaning of mothering and motherhood.

In this chapter, I mainly discuss how Chinese immigrant mothers construct their identities and how gender, race and class relations are embedded in immigrant mothers' settlement, learning, and mothering experience. I divide this chapter into three parts. First, I examine the gender relations in Chinese immigrant mothers' settlement. In the second part, I explore the class identity of Chinese immigrant mothers in their settlement and learning practice. Finally, I investigate Chinese immigrant mothers' identity construction and learning practice through their experience of race relations. I conclude that Chinese immigrant mothers' experience has been differentiated. The differentiation process must be understood as social relations that are embedded in Chinese immigrant mothers' discursive and material dimensions of everyday lives.

Gender Relations in Parenting and Settlement

Obviously, gender plays an important role in shaping mothers' experience. Many studies explore how gender roles of motherhood affect mothers' employment, income, and work-life balance. Correll, Benard and Paik (2007) propose a term called "motherhood penalty" to examine mothers' employment issues. They state,

The "motherhood penalty" on wages and evaluations of workplace performance and suitability occurs, at least partially, because cultural understandings of the motherhood role exist in tension with the cultural understandings of the "ideal worker" role. . . . To the extent that mothers are believed to be less committed to the workplace, we argue that employers will subtly discriminate against mothers when making evaluations that affect hiring, promotion, and salary decisions. (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007, p. 1298)

Hoon, Keizer, and Dykstra (2016) discuss how motherhood affects the mothers' income. They argue that the negative consequences of motherhood have to be seen as "an important driving force behind women's abiding lower income" (p. 1). The gender role has also impacted on immigrant mothers' daily life for a long time. There are a number of studies on the gender role in immigrant women/mothers exploring how the patriarchal ideology and the traditional gendered household division of labour affect immigrant mothers' parenting practice (Lin, 2009) and how domestic violence happens in immigrant families (Rhee, 1997). However, these studies do not focus much on how gender roles interact with immigrant mothers' identity and mothering practice associated with their racialized and class identities. This section explores how Chinese immigrant mothers encounter the work-life balance, cultural barriers and family violence, which in turn deeply shape their identity construction.

In this section, I explore four major issues. First, I explore how Chinese immigrant mothers encounter the work-life balance and deal with their employment. The second issue I examine is about the cultural barriers in parenting that Chinese immigrant mothers encounter. Third, I discuss how some Chinese immigrant mothers faced family violence. Finally, I investigate Chinese immigrant mothers' relationships with parents-in-law and other family members. I argue that the gender relations are deeply rooted in Chinese immigrant mothers' settlement and daily experience and need to be understood in association with race and class relations.

Employment and Work-Life Balance

A common goal for immigrant mothers getting jobs is to survive and to integrate into the local society. However, in my research, I found that many Chinese immigrant mothers talked about the different purpose of employment being to become a "role model" for their children. For example, Wendy (#6) was an immigrant mother who came to Vancouver in 2014. She was under the skilled worker class. In my interview, she talked about why she was looking for jobs in Vancouver.

Here, I had more time to take care of my daughter. If I couldn't get a job, I thought myself isolated from the society. In addition, my child would think that I was totally out of date. Now she was a 10-year-old. She had already found that I was out of date. If I didn't work, she might believe that I was always out of touch. That is why we need to

work. I thought finding jobs was a learning process. As a parent, we need to work and keep learning all the time.

Patricia (#2), a Chinese new immigrant mother coming via the business immigration class, talked about her experience of finding jobs. She told me that,

At the beginning of finding a job, there is something like a threshold. It looks like a gate for you to enter. At first, you have to find the entrance, and then there is a threshold for restricting you. Integrating is not that easy. It's not like when you come, you could come to a good company. If you could find a good job when you first come, you will integrate very fast. But people like us, it is impossible.

Similarly with Wendy, Patricia has the same feeling of being unemployed. She pointed out that,

But if I don't work, I feel like I am useless. In fact, I hope I could work. Previously, I worked in China. I felt very depressed, and I said I didn't want to work anymore. After I came to Canada, I am so happy that I don't need to work anymore. However, I quickly find that, I need to work at home! I need to take care of my two kids, prepare the food, cleaning the house. . . . Now, I feel that I miss my previous job very much.

“Being employed” is an identity that shapes immigrant mothers’ mothering practice and their relationship with their children. Both Patricia and Wendy found that as immigrant mothers, they were constructed as “out of date” or “useless” if they couldn’t get a job. As a mother, Wendy took her daughter’s opinion as a priority, which guided her to keep learning and looking for jobs. She and her daughter believed that being unemployed meant that the women were “isolated” from the local society. The image of an “unemployed mother” was crucial to understanding why immigrant mothers were eager to find jobs and integrate into the local labour market. Getting a job meant that their skills, knowledge, and experience had been recognized and valued. As mothers, being employed could also make them good “role models” or “successful immigrants” to influence their children. Therefore, the purpose of getting employed for immigrants was not only survival but also proof that they were a “successful immigrant,” which fits the neoliberal ideology of “becoming a successful person with a job.”

Similarly, I found that work-life balance was a major issue that every immigrant mother faced. Making good work and life balance shaped immigrant mothers’ identity: if they could not

find a job, they were a “failed mother.” However, many participants stated that it was impossible for them to find a job while they need to take care of their children.

Alison (#13) was one of the Chinese immigrant mothers of the skilled immigrant worker class. She told me that,

I had a very good permanent job in a local university in Vancouver. When I gave birth to my first kid, I took a parental leave. After the leave, I went back to the job. But, I was pregnant again. After I had my second baby, I could not work anymore, since I needed to take care of both of them. I really loved my job. I liked to work with the students. But now I had no choice, but quit the job.

Alison had very good English, but she did not have enough time to work while taking care of her two toddlers. Since her husband had a permanent job in Canada, she chose to quit her job to look after her children.

Zoe (#15) was a new immigrant under the family reunion class. Currently she lived with her husband’s big family. She mentioned her experience of being unemployed.

At first, my parents-in-law thought I was lazy, since I did not go out to find jobs. They always said that I only took the governments’ Child Tax Benefit as my income. But you know . . . as I said, when I first came as a new immigrant, it was really not that easy to find a job here. I did not have any friend here. I even did not know how to get some information [of employment] and get a job. Now I had a young kid at home, I have to stay at home and take care of him.

Another mother, Rebecca (#14) shared the same experience:

At the beginning, I found that it was not easy to find a good job here. But eventually I could get one. However, several months later, I found that it was even impossible for me to work here while I have to take care of the child and do so much household work. If I got a job, I could imagine how horrible my home would look like. So I gave up the idea to work here in Canada.

Furthermore, some Chinese immigrant mothers found that finding a job in Canada was closely related to their social class. They believed that working in Canada was almost a dream. Margaret (#1) was a Chinese immigrant mother under the family reunion class. She told me that,

I went to the settlement organization and ask them for help in order to find a job here. But they said, “You cannot speak English, even the basic level of the language. If you are in the workplace and you cannot understand the language, it is impossible for you to get a job here!” Additionally, me and my family need to survive. I need to take care of the family. I don’t have any extra energy to learn language or skills. I have already passed that age. I am not like the other immigrants from the age of 20–30. They received better education than me. If the English teachers taught me one vocabulary. The next day, if she asked me what vocabulary we learned yesterday, my answer would be “I forgot.” That’s it.

The immigrant mothers are constructed as taking the major responsibilities in child care and household labour. While they play a “gendered role” within the family, the race, gender and class relations as intersectionality are reproduced within their mothering experience and identity constructions.

Many studies (e.g., Meares, 2010; Meraj, 2015) pay a great deal of attentions to highly skilled immigrant women and argue that immigrant women are involved in “ongoing attempts to achieve a balance between the practical and emotional obligations inherent in women’s work and home lives” (Meares, 2010, p. 473). Guo (2005) points out that unemployment and underemployment became a serious issue for the professional immigrants because the immigrant skilled workers’ “Chinese qualifications and work experiences were not recognized (2005, p. 43). He (2005) points out that,

Many organizations in Canadian society, including government agencies, professional associations, employers, and educational institutions, play a role in the devaluation of foreign credentials and prior work experience. As a consequence, immigrant individuals and families, along with Canadian society as a whole, have suffered severe impacts (p. 46).

The devaluation and unrecognition of “immigrant mothers” also need to be understood within the patriarchal, capitalist, and neoliberal social system. “Immigrant mothers” are categorized as women with poor employment skills who cannot find local jobs. Not only have their previous skills and knowledge been devalued, but also their labour power at home and the practice of mothering have been ignored. The categorizing process is not simply a one-way impact on immigrant mothers. Instead, it contradicts both the state’s ideological practice and

immigrant mothers' practice. At the ideological level, the state emphasizes an image of an "ideal immigrant woman," who can not only take good care of her children but also find a good job in the local society. Government agencies organized immigrants' learning with the purpose of helping them to become such ideal immigrant women. At the practical level, the unequal gender relations at home may require immigrant mothers to spend more time on childcare and household work. The systematic devaluation of their previous skills, knowledge, and experience denied them the opportunity to become "ideal immigrant women," as the state emphasized. Therefore, the devaluation process could be seen as a practice under patriarchal, capitalist, and neoliberal ideology.

Cultural Differences in Mothering and Parenting

The second dimension of the gender analysis is about cultural differences in parenting practice. Cultural differences in parenting greatly interacted with Chinese immigrant mothers' identity construction. Through experiencing the cultural differences in parenting/mothering, the Chinese immigrant mothers started to rethink their parenting/mothering practice and adjusted their practice to fit into the local culture. Different understanding of the gender role for motherhood led to different practices among Chinese immigrant mothers. The different values regarding mothering and parenting shifted their understanding of childrearing.

Fang (#7) was a Chinese immigrant mother with two children. She gave birth to her second daughter in Canada. She mentioned the cultural barriers after giving birth to her daughter.

I encountered a breastfeeding problem after I gave birth to my second daughter. At that time, I got a Mastitis. As a Chinese, we need to obey the rules for "sitting the month." I had just got a C-section, I needed more rest after giving birth. But the doctor asked me to drink more cold water and walk around. Honestly, I like to drink hot water and stay on the bed. I thought it was a custom, which could not be changed. I really could not walk around.

Fang's experience showed a general idea of the difference between the Chinese and Canadian cultures in terms of what a new mother should or should not do. The Chinese style of "sitting the month" was rooted in the patriarchal family structure, within which women could not walk around after having given birth. From the symbolic perspective, "sitting the month" was a metaphor showing that when women became mothers, they should change their role to stay at

home and take care of their baby. Based on the principles of Chinese medicine, drinking cold water was not good for the healing of the wound. In comparison with the Chinese culture of being a new mother, Western practice of postpartum care was most likely based on the doctor's suggestions. The Chinese-style of postpartum care was perceived by the Western doctor as "unscientific" or "tradition." Chinese immigrant mothers experienced the differentiation between their original culture and the Canadian one. This differentiation process contained a practice of racialization and classification.

Many Chinese immigrant mothers also encountered problems concerning the childrearing style under different educational systems. Lee was a Chinese new immigrant mother. She had two daughters. One of her daughter was in a local elementary school. She emphasized her cultural barriers in childrearing and parenting. Focusing on the differences between the Chinese and Canadian educational systems, Lee (#26) said,

I had a huge difficulties in adapting the Canadian schools for my daughter. In China, our educational system focused more on the knowledge from the textbooks. The teacher asked students to write, practise, and take many exams. But here in Canada, there were not so much things to learn. Last year, my daughter went back to China and took Grade 2 there for half a year. They taught in Chinese. I witnessed that my daughter made a great progress in math and Chinese. But the educational model in China was more likely passive. They had a lot of exams. After she finished all the homework, the teacher provided them an additional Chinese quiz. So she had to take the Chinese quiz at home every day. But here in Canada, there was no homework. If she didn't have homework, I didn't know what she really learned. No textbooks and no homework! She never brought any [homework] back. I had never seen that they had any textbooks before. I felt very worried. Even though she brought back a report card, I did not know what should do and what the problem was. Sometimes, I even could not find any problems in her study, because there weren't any tests or homework. I think this was the biggest difference between Chinese and Canadian educational system. As a Chinese parent, we hope to see some obvious progress that our children made. If I did not understand what they did in school, what they learned and what the educational system looked like, I felt very confused.

Similarly, Wendy (#6) also talked about the differences between Chinese and Canadian schools, which confused her and made it difficult for Wendy to help her daughter to integrate into the Western educational culture.

As a Chinese mother, I paid close attention to my daughter's study. Many Chinese immigrant mothers in Vancouver sent their children to cram schools. In those schools, the children had extra curriculum to learn English, math, and science. Since I did not send my daughter to the cram schools, I felt very worried. I knew that we lived in Canada, not in China. It might be not good to bring the Chinese educational culture to Canada. But as my friends told me, unless you didn't want your child to go to the Ivy Leagues, you could accept the Canadian schools. If you still want your child to go to the elite schools or the best universities, your child had to experience a childhood without any happiness. One of my friends told me in a very straight forward way. She said that "Don't waste your daughter's talent. If you waste her talent, it means you are a lazy mother." I felt very bad after listening to her advice. I had to try my best and helped my daughter achieve her dream.

The different educational systems shape Chinese immigrant mothers' parenting practice and identity construction. In the Chinese educational system, they assisted their children in their studies. After coming to Canada, they felt confused about how to help their children's study in the Canadian schools. Because they could not see any immediate progress that their children made in Canada, they started to doubt if they were doing a good job of mothering. I found that some of the new immigrant mothers still used a Chinese way of supporting their children's study, but some newcomer mothers started accepting the Canadian styles of education. Throughout the process of accepting the different educational systems, the Chinese immigrant mothers reflected their understanding of "mothering."

Gina (#11) believed that the changing conditions of her living environment across countries provided her great learning experience for re-understanding the meaning of mothering. She mentioned,

In China, there was a lot of competition. We felt a lot of pressure in raising a child. We spent a lot of money and time for our children. After I came here, I learned a lot. I find money wasn't the most important thing. My settlement experience forced me to rethink

life and my relationship with the family. As a mother, I really wanted to offer my kids the best environment. Providing the good material conditions for my children was great. But now I changed my mind. I thought that living in a happy family was even more important. So I tried to develop a good atmosphere in my family for my daughter.

In her settlement experience, Gina changed her ideas about mothering. She found that the family atmosphere was more important than providing her child with a good material life. She adjusted her practice by creating a harmonious family.

Wendy and Gina had very different understanding of what a good mother should do. Wendy talked with her friend from China and found out that a good mother should spend much time on her child's study, whereas Gina was more concerned about how to create a happy family for her daughter based on Canadian values and beliefs. The different understanding of mothering brought different parenting practices. This shows us that immigrant mothers did not have a unified or similar understanding of mothering or parenting. Their cultural practice of mothering and identities were very diverse, hybrid and fluid.

The cultural differences also reflected immigrant mothers' learning. Rebecca (#14) was a Chinese newcomer with a six-year-old son. She participated in the parenting workshop for her settlement. She talked about her experience of learning parenting across cultures.

My son liked to eat a lot. In Chinese culture, people thought that it was not good to be fat. He liked to eat candies. If I stopped him, he would be very angry. I explained to him, and told him if he became a fat guy, he would lose friends. But it did not work. After I took a parenting workshop in here, I found myself did not do it very well. In Western parenting, it emphasized the good communication with your kids. I really wanted to learn effective communication skills. I found that it was very difficult to make balance between protecting and restricting. Sometimes, I felt very angry and yelled at him. After that, I felt guilty and could not believe that I was so rude to my child. .

Rebecca talked about how she found herself frustrated in mothering. She particularly found that effective communication was very difficult. Through her learning in the workshop, she found that the Western style of communication was more helpful. As the immigrant mothers experiencing a cross-cultural shift, they might find that their previous parenting did not fit into the local society. They even found out that the previous parenting style was not good, which made them a "bad mother." Alison further said,

To me, I thought I need to learn more from the local parents. I found that the Western mothers usually could easily take care of a group of children. For me, I always worried too much. I think many Canadian parents might not care too much about their children. For example, here in winter, I saw a lot of Canadian children wearing short T-shirts and shorts. In Chinese culture, it was impossible to do so. I had to put enough clothes on my son and even add a hat on him during the winter. I thought one of the reasons that the Canadian parents usually didn't care too much about their children might because they usually had lots of children. In China, we had one child policy. So most Chinese new immigrants came here with only one child. That made a lot of difference.

Rebecca talked about the difference between the Western and Chinese family structures.

Here, most of the child had brothers or sisters. As a parent, if you had too much children, you could not pay much attention to each of them. If a child had sisters or brothers, he or she would learn how to take care of each other. They could learn a lot of things from each other. So it became much easier for a parent. As a mother with only one child, I found a lot of shortcomings. Sometimes, we cared every aspect on our child and put too much love on him. Since my son received so much love from me and the family, he did not really know how to share with others. Especially when he first settling in the new country, he did not know how to play with other children and make new friends here.

Rebecca compared the different cultures in China and Canada and found that different practice of mothering shaped her settlement and learning practice. Moreover, the different styles of mothering practice were rooted in different family structures. For example, in a traditional Chinese family, the family structure is 4+2+1, which refers to the four grandparents plus the couple and plus one child. Within this family structure, the two couples and four grandparents pay much attention on the only child. Many Chinese mothers have to negotiate their mothering practice with their husband, parents and parents-in-law. As a result, Chinese immigrant mothers' practice should not simply be perceived as "good" or "bad" but instead should be understood as a complexed social practice within their family structures, customs, cultures and even the state policies of their home country.

Family Violence

The gendered relations not only affect immigrant mothers' work-life balance and cross-cultural experience of parenting but also create violence against them. In my interview, two of the Chinese immigrant mothers experienced serious family violence. Two immigrant mothers had depression during settlement. There have been a paucity of studies on immigrant settlement and immigrant mothers' experience of domestic violence. The domestic violence within Chinese immigrant mothers' families was caused by not only the unequal gender relations within their family but also an interplay with their class and race relations with the local society. A lack of social support for immigrant families' settlement might cause family violence against the women.

Both of the Chinese immigrant mothers who experienced violence came from low-income families. Cathy (#24) immigrated to Vancouver from Guizhou province in 2012. Her husband was a Chinese-Canadian. They married in 2009, and her daughter was born in 2011. She mentioned that she immigrated to Vancouver through the family reunion class. During that time, she faced some issues in getting her permanent resident status. Cathy told me,

The immigration office thought our marriage was fake. Because my husband was much older than me. During the interview, my husband and I provided the answers almost the same. So the immigration officer thought all the answers were fake. He believed that we had prepared the answers. We appealed again and provided a lot of evidences. Eventually, the sponsorship for my immigration was approved.

Cathy experienced the family violence in 2014. After the violence, she separated from her husband. At that time, she and her three-year-old daughter lived in a shelter. She did not have any income and only received the child benefit as their major financial support. At the time of interview, she and her daughter lived in government housing. She described her experience of family violence as follows,

My husband had a son from his ex-wife. After we got married, we had our daughter. So four of us lived together. His son treated me as his mom. My husband was very male chauvinist. At that time, he had many problems in his jobs. He asked me to listen to him in everything. If I had some opinions different from him, he would be very angry. He

liked to drink. After he got drunk, he went back home and . . . beat me. Now, I still feel scared. It happened all the time, I was beaten black and blue.

Cathy described the last time she experienced the family violence.

I still remembered the last time that he beat me. It was September 8th, the Chinese mid-Autumn day. He was drunk badly. He scolded me after work. I ignored him and brought the two children out. I went to the supermarket with other Chinese mothers and planned to cook some food for the festival. After I bought all the food and went home. He was not there. Several hours later, he was back. He yelled at me and my daughter for no reason. He pushed us outside of the house and locked the door. It was late night. The outside was very cold. My daughter only wore short pants and a T-shirt. I wanted to call the police, but I did not bring my cellphone. I stood in the street and hoped to find some help. I could not find anyone who could lend their phone to me. It was too cold outside. So I brought my daughter back home. After we went back, my son opened the door for us. I helped my daughter to wear more clothes. Then, he appeared. He was very angry and pushed me on the floor. I picked up the phone and dialled the number to the police. He broke the phone. Then he wanted to beat me. My son stood in front of me and yelled at him, he said, “Don’t beat mommy! If you beat mommy, I will call the police!” But he pushed my son away and started beating me. My son opened the window and shouted “Help! Help!” I thought that lots of neighbours heard that noise. So the neighbours came. They did not allow my husband beat me anymore, and asked him to stay away from me. Then he ran away. After that, the police came.

She further described her experience after talking to the police.

I couldn’t speak English, so they provided me a Chinese-speaking policeman. He asked me if my husband had any dangerous tools. I said no. He told me that I was safe now. The next day, the police brought me to a secret place. They gave me a social worker’s phone number and helped me move to the safe place. At that moment, I felt very miserable. My daughter and I did not have any money and did not have a place to live. We could not go home. The next day, one of my friends from the church brought me \$500. I felt very grateful.

I asked how she dealt with the marriage. She answered,

After that violence, my husband felt very guilty. He did not know where I lived. He found my friends and asked where I was. He was now still lived with his son, because he really liked his son. He always said that his son was too pitiful because he did not have a mother here. In my family, his son usually beat my daughter, and he beat me. When I saw his son beat my daughter, I would stop him. His father came and beat me again. My husband usually liked to use the insulting words and yelling at me. But afterward, he told our friends that he should not hurt me and his daughter any more. At that time, even my daughter learned to beat others in daycare. I took her to see the psychiatrist. I felt very sad. I did not know how I could overcome all of these issues.

Cathy also talked about the divorce.

I wanted to have a divorce. But my father didn't want me to. And I did not know how to divorce him. I asked my social worker. She told me that if my husband did not agree that I get the custody of my daughter, the court would not allow our divorce until a lawsuit was processed. But if he agreed, I could apply for the divorce easily. Someone told me that if we were separated for two years, we could get divorce automatically. But I still did not know how to do it. The government provided me a lawyer before. The lawyer said that they only provided a free time to me for counselling the family violence issue. They did not provide any suggestions for the divorce. I asked them if my husband did not want to divorce, how much it would cost for the lawsuit. They told me that it would be about \$50,000 to \$60,000 Canadian. Oh my god, I did not have so much money to get divorced.

I asked her, "If you found so many difficulties, why didn't you leave Canada and go back to your hometown?" She said,

Yes, I have ever thought that I need to go back to China. I am not Canadian citizen yet, and I really missed my family in China. I wanted to bring my daughter back. I did not have any relatives here. I only had one best friend. It made me even frustrated and I really wanted to go back. However, when I told my family in China about heading back to China, all of them said that the environment in China was not that good. They provided lots of examples of the poor environment in China, such as the educational environment and the air pollution. They asked me to be patient. They told me that no matter how tough it was, I had to insist on staying in Canada for my daughter.

In Cathy's case, the family violence not only involved race, gender, and class relations, but also shaped her identity. The Chinese immigrant mother's body has been imagined as a place for violence. The reason behind the family violence might be not only from her husband's "male chauvinism" and the unequal gender relations within the family but also from the state that did not provide enough support to prevent the violence. Cathy mentioned that she was beaten by her husband many times. She did not know where to seek support. A lack of language skills and informational sources made the tragedy happen again and again. At the end of the story, she said that she could not be divorced, since it required a lot of money to hire the lawyers. This leaves us with questions. How should our legal and political system prevent family violence against new immigrant women by considering the unequal race, gender, and class relations in their settlement practice? How does the state provide more social support for immigrant women as victims to rebuild their new life? At the end of the interview, Cathy told me that it was all for her daughter. The ideology of "being a good mother" again shaped her practice of mothering and identity. If she chose to go back to her home country, she would be considered as a "failed mother" who had not done a good job in managing her family and practising as a mother.

Another story is Jane (#28)'s story. Jane was a friend of Cathy. Both Cathy and Jane took the parenting workshop at MOSAIC. They were not only classmates but also friends. Sometimes, they shared information and brought their children to play together. Jane immigrated to Vancouver in 2009 from Guangdong province. She too was sponsored by her husband. She was 28 years old, and her husband was nine years older than her. Her husband was an engineer with a stable income. In 2013, their daughter was born. They bought a townhouse. She illustrated her family situation.

After we bought the townhouse, we had to pay the mortgage every month. Since my husband was the only person who worked for the whole family, he got a lot of pressure. After that, my mother-in-law came who also bought a condo living very close to my place. But she said she "won't help me and take care of my daughter at all." But they wanted me to do everything including the housework, cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the child. My husband did nothing about the household work. When he came back after work, he usually used the Internet and speculated in the stock market. During the weekend, he went out to play Ping-Pong games. We only had one car. If he drove the car during the weekend, I could not go anywhere but stayed at home.

Then, Jane told me her experience of family violence.

If we had a quarrel, he always used abusive language to me. He threatened me that he would kill me, which made me really scared. I remembered that it was April 3rd, 2015, the Easter holiday. We had a huge quarrel in the morning. In the afternoon, he put away my wallet. There were my credit cards and cash inside. Then he smashed my cell phone and beat me. He kept saying, "I really want to take a knife and kill you!" I was very scared and ran away from the home. I took my daughter together and walked on the street. I really needed some help. My cellphone was broken, so I could not find my friends' phone number and call them for help. I didn't have any money. I felt cold and hungry. I knocked on the neighbours' doors, and eventually they helped me to call the police.

After that, Jane and her daughter waited for the police in the cold street for about four hours. At around 8 o'clock, she called the police again. The police told her to stay there and not to go back home for safety reasons. But she said it was too cold for her daughter outside. She told the police that they could not wait anymore and had to go back home. Twenty minutes later, the police came. They arranged for her to stay at home and asked her husband to leave. The next day, they brought her and her daughter to the shelter.

During the interviews with these mothers, I found that family violence happened in Chinese immigrant families very frequently. The language and physical abuse might be used against these immigrant mothers on a daily basis. Due to a lack of local knowledge and language skills, these mothers could not find support to protect them from the violence.

In addition, in the workshops for immigrant mothers, some other mothers mentioned their experience of violence. They cried and comforted each other. I noticed that although the settlement organizations provided a free psychiatrist for free counselling, there was still a lack of social support to help immigrant mothers rebuild their life of personhood and motherhood. I assumed that more immigrant mothers might experience family violence. Since they wanted to keep their relationship with their husbands, they choose not to mention or report the abusive relationship in order to provide their children with a full family. But the family violence left the immigrant mothers and their children a lasting trauma.

Relationship with Parents-in-Law

The conflicts within Chinese immigrant mothers' families in the new country became a big issue. In my interviews, I found that at least one-third of Chinese immigrant mothers had problems with their parents-in-law. Since many immigrant mothers in Canada were under the family reunion class, most were living with their parents-in-law.

Zoe (#15) is a Chinese immigrant mother who came from Shanghai in 2011. She lived with her father-in-law in Vancouver. She talked about the differences between her imagination of the life in Canada and her actual settlement experience here.

Because I've never been to Canada before, I thought Canada was one of the best places in the world. But after I came here, I was really disappointed. For example, in Shanghai, it was very convenient for me to go out and buy stuff. But here, I lived with my father-in-law. He was over 80 years old. But I still needed him to drive me out to buy stuff. It was very inconvenient.

Then she talked about her relationship with her father-in-law. Her husband's family was from Hong Kong. Her parents-in-law were divorced. She and her husband lived with her husband's father, who owned a house in Vancouver. Since her husband had a job and worked from Monday to Friday, she and her father-in-law stayed at home during the daytime. Zoe told me,

At the beginning, I am very unaccustomed to live with my father-in-law. His living habit was very different from my mom, my sister, and my original family. He was a very traditional Chinese person, and he is very economical. For example, sometimes I bought some food and put it in the refrigerator. If the food got bad, I would throw it away. But my father-in-law was unwilling to throw away the bad food. Instead, he put the leftovers in his personal plastic bags.

Furthermore, Zoe talked about how the relationship with her father-in-law affected her settlement and mothering practice.

Since my father-in-law was over 80 years old, sometimes his ideas were very old and out of date. He did not trust me at all. At the beginning, when my husband went to work, my father-in-law was always following me wherever I went. I did not like this feeling. I need

my own space and time. Even nowadays, he still did the same thing. When I came to MOSAIC, he followed me and tried to see where I would go. In addition, his hearing wasn't very good. So he always turned the TV to a very loud volume. But my son did not like the loud volume, so he cried again and again. I did not want to get angry, but I was depressed for a long time. Sometimes, I could not control my emotion and yelled at my son. I felt it was really bad. I really want to provide a good family environment for my son. Sometimes I even imagined that if we did not live with our father-in-law, I would have a good temper.

She talked much more about her relationship with her father-in-law.

I usually took my son out and played in the park close to our house. If I went back a little bit late, I would see his face turned sour. He asked me, "Where are you going? You are too smart!" I told him that I brought the child to the park. He repeated his word, "You are too smart!"

Zoe told me two stories that she will never forget. The first story is about the use of bathroom. She said,

When I first came to Vancouver, I got pregnant. When I took bath in the washing room, I locked the door. One day, I took a spa for relaxation. So I spend about one hour to do the bath and spa. Then, he knocked the door and asked "What are you doing there? Why didn't I hear any sound of water? Why did you lock the door?" I felt very upset. I think it was very normal to lock the door and use the washing room, especially there were only he and I staying at home. But he always suspected me of doing something secretly.

Another event also happened during her pregnancy. Zoe said,

This happened in the 8th month of my pregnancy. At that time, my belly was really big. I still did a lot of heavy household work at home. For example, I used the old washing machine for cleaning the clothes. The old washing machine was very out of date and it created a very loud noise when it worked. My father-in-law had an idea of stopping the noise. He got a 35-pound bag of sand and put it on top of the machine. When I needed to use the washing machine, I had to remove the sand at the top. After I put the clothes inside the machine from the top, I had to move the heavy sand back again. I told him, it

was too heavy for me to do so, since I was pregnant. He was very angry about me and insisted me to do so. He even used the Cantonese language and told my husband that I was very lazy.

Zoe cried when she told me these stories. She lived in a happy family in Shanghai. She imagined that Canada was a “developed” country. However, after she came here, she found a totally new world that was different from her imagination of Canada. She felt very disappointed. Her husband’s family treated her as “migrant labour,” who not only needed to do all the housework and childcare but also was controlled by the family. In addition, her husband’s father suspected her of doing “something secretly,” which meant her father-in-law also worried that she would “run away” or “escape from the family.” He did not trust her as a daughter-in-law, but rather believed that she immigrated to Canada for other purposes.

Angela (#16) had a similar experience and faced problems with her parents-in-law. She lived with her husband’s parents. Her husband had six older sisters. Since her husband was the only son in the family, she and her husband lived with his parents based on the Chinese culture. She said,

My parents-in-law were over 80 years old. My husband was 20 years older than me. Recently, his family was discussing the distribution of the estate. His parents owned a house in Vancouver, which was the one we lived in now. But his parents and sisters insisted to not distribute a part of the estate to me. Because they are so worried. They assumed that after I got the part of the estate, I would run away. For me, as their daughter-in-law, they were my family in Canada. I did not know where I could run.

Both Zoe and Angela’s stories showed that the Chinese immigrant mothers were constructed as “outsiders” of the family. They were still living in a traditional Chinese immigrant family within the patriarchal structure in Canada. As a new immigrant, their identity had been constructed not only through the interactions with the local society but also through the practice inside their family in the host country. They were imagined as “others” not only by the local people but also by their family members in Canada. Within their families in Canada, they experienced instability of their status, suspension of their behaviour, and exclusion of their everyday practice, which deeply shaped their identities as immigrant mothers and marginalized their settlement practice.

Class in Chinese Immigrant Mothers' Settlement

Neoliberalism is understood as a class-based ideology. In this section, I mainly examine Chinese immigrant mothers' class identity and class relations in mothering, settlement, and learning. This section comes with two parts. In the first part, I explore Chinese immigrant mothers from two different social classes in order to understand how social inequality has been produced and how "class" as a socio-cultural practice is associated with gender and race relations. I particularly highlight that the immigrant mothers from the hierarchical class differences construct their identities in different ways. In the second part, I discuss how class relations shape Chinese new immigrants' experience in employment and work in Canada.

I also find that the class relations are deeply embedded in the labour market, which excludes Chinese newcomers' previous experience and skills in finding jobs.

Class Identities in Settlement

The class identity of Chinese immigrant mothers has often been overlooked, yet it provides a significant dimension for understanding the interactions between immigrant mothers' learning and settlement, their social and economic conditions, and the neoliberalized society. Through the interviews with the mothers from different social classes, I find that their class identities have been constructed in shaping the speed and the quality of their settlement process, which greatly affects their identities of becoming a "good immigrant mother" in Canada.

In my analysis on immigrant mothers' class identity, I provide two areas of focus. First, I look at how unequal power relations are routinely reproduced through immigrant mothers' cultural and social-economic practices. I address this reproduction of the unequal class relations within a larger global and neoliberal context. Bottero (2004) points out that studies on class analysis usually focus on the "processes of culture, lifestyle and taste" (p. 986). She particularly addresses the importance of the examination of cultural identity for understanding social class. She argues that the examination of cultural identity has led to a "focus on how cultural processes are embedded with specific kinds of social-economic practices" (Bottero, 2004, p. 986). In my study, I examine how cultural processes are embedded in the social and economic practice of immigrant mothers' learning and settlement, and how it interacts with the class-based and economic-oriented neoliberal social system.

My second focus is about how “class” is “lived” in “gendered and raced ways to complement the macro versions that have monopolized our ways of envisaging social class” (Bottero, 2004, p. 986). I emphasize that “class” has been socially reproduced in the same way that “gender” and “race” have been produced. The next sections provide an analysis of two Chinese immigrant mothers’ class identities in settlement practice.

A mother from a low-income family

Nara (#3) immigrated to Vancouver in 2010 through the family reunion class. She was unemployed and took an ESL class in the settlement organization. The only income for her family was from her husband. Her husband was a delivery person working for a Chinese restaurant. In my interview, Nara believed that her family was facing a huge financial problem. The first issue she mentioned was housing. Nara mentioned that one of the biggest expenses in settling in Canada is housing. Although she tried the government’s affordable housing, she found that the housing provided was really disappointing. She told me that,

The affordable housing that they provided for us was a two-bedroom townhouse. There were also three-bedroom townhouses. However, the previous owner left the house a mess. Lots of facilities were broken. Everything was in very bad condition. The rental fee was very high. It charged \$700 CAD per month. Except this, we had to pay for the utilities, gas, cable, Internet, and telephone with additional charges. Also, the location was very bad. The affordable housing was located in an area which was very far away from here. The environment there was not as good as here. We needed to find a place close to my husband’s work place and my daughter’s school. So eventually, we did not rent the government housing.

Eventually, she chose to rent a basement from a Chinese couple. She found that the rental price was much cheaper than the market price. She explained to me that,

The current owner was a Chinese couple. They rented out their two-bedroom basement in their house. The location was very good. It was very close to my daughter’s school. The area was so convenient. They asked a rental fee for \$900, all cash, per month. But they did not provide a contract for us. The landlord not providing a contract caused lots of problems in terms of applying for government benefits and welfare.

When I asked her that why her landlord could not provide a contract for her. She seems surprised. She replied that,

You didn't know? Here, many home owners did not provide a contract. Because they did not want to pay the tax....But, this made a lot of problems for us....To some reason, I could not apply for a leisure card without a leasing contract.

She further explained to me about what happened to her application for the leisure card. She said,

I found that there were a lot of expenses for my child's learning. Because we were new immigrants, and our kid needed extra support in her learning and after-school activities. I saw my friends sent their child to learn English, swimming, or arts. My daughter's friends here all took many workshops and courses. I believed that it could help her to quickly integrate. But the expenses were very high. For example, even in the community centre, if your child wanted to play basketball or swimming, it charged money. Last time, I heard that a lot of low-income immigrant mothers helped their children to apply for a leisure card. The card could help to get free access to the workshops, classes, activities, and events in the community centre. So I applied for it. But it was very difficult for me to get it.

When she talked about her experience of applying for the leisure card, she was very sad. She described,

First of all, the community centre asked me to fill out a form with me tax return files. It was ok for me. Then, they required me to provide me home address and rental contract. As to the rental contact, I asked my landlord again and hoped they could provide a contract for me to apply for the leisure card. But my landlord said they could not provide it to me. Then, the landlord wrote a letter for me, and in the letter they mentioned that we lived with them as their relatives. Since I could not read English, I did not know what the letter said. After I brought the letter to the community centre, the person said, "If you lived with them, you must be a family. Your income needed to add their income." I explained to them and said we are not a family. The staff in the centre said, "Here is a word 'family' in the letter, which means you are a family and live together." I really

didn't know what my landlord said in the letter. I told them we rented the two-bedroom with our landlord. But it didn't work.

She told me that she eventually gave up the application.

I called them so many times. But I couldn't speak English. Sometimes they provided a Chinese translator for me. But most of the time, I did not have any translator. So I asked my daughter to do the translation. But my daughter was too young to do that. She just came here and her English was not very good too. So we could not explain well.

Eventually, I gave up.

I further asked her why she did not find a new place to live with a rental contract. Nara mentioned that she had no choice.

Because my landlords were Chinese. As a Chinese new immigrant, we had to rent our house with the Chinese landlord. We could not speak English, and we didn't know how to rent a house with the local non-Chinese people. I didn't really know their culture here. Here was a multicultural city. People were from everywhere in the world. We didn't know the local people's culture and background. For example, if you were in a city in China, people from Guangzhou and Beijing have very different styles and culture. Here, people from different countries. Their cultural background had huge differences. In my mind, I could not distinguish people from different areas. I only knew Chinese people. People were non-Chinese, even from Asia, I really could not tell. . . . Also, the rental price from my landlord was nice and the location was so good. My landlords were a very friendly couple. So we had no choice.

According to the above interviews, I found that the class identities were embedded in Chinese new immigrant mothers' daily experience and mothering practice. In Nara's case, the class identities were reproduced in her experience of settlement. People had assumptions that our social welfare could provide benefits for the people from low-income families. However, while examining Nara's story, I found that some people from the low-income families could not get these benefit since there were certain requirements. These requirements were considered as thresholds that prevent these low-income immigrant mothers from getting benefits from the state. The lack of economic support obstructed her settlement process, which prevented them to share

the equal opportunity with other families, to get access from the social welfare system, as well as to become a “good mothers” in the host country.

A mother from a middle-class family

Miranda (#17) immigrated to Canada in 2009 through the business class. She had a bachelor’s degree in China. Now she was a full-time mother taking care of her two children in Vancouver. Her husband was a businessman running a company in China. She mentioned her everyday life taking care of her children at home.

I thought every Chinese immigrant mother in Vancouver did the same thing. In the morning, I sent my two children to school. In the afternoon, when they came back from the school, they had a lot of homework to do. Four years ago, when I first settled in Vancouver, my younger son was two years old. My daughter was in the elementary school. I had a nanny at home. Nanny took care of the younger one. I took care of my daughter because she needed to learn a lot of things, including piano, swimming. . . . So I took her out and learn many things every day.

She further mentioned that her mothering practice originally came from the Chinese learning culture. Miranda told me,

After I immigrated here, my parenting style was similar to what I did in China. Even though we immigrated to Canada physically, I always felt that I did not really understand the educational system here. I still chose to use our traditional ways. I always thought my kids learned too little. They were not good enough and they needed to take much more extra courses after school. I always had this kind of feeling that everyone was chasing us. Because even my daughter’s classmates in China, everyone studied so hard. I always told my daughter, if you didn’t study, you were behind all of them. So my major everyday work was to chase my children to learn.

Miranda described how she organized her household work.

Now, I sent my two children to the after school courses. My nanny did all the household work. She was not a Chinese, so she started to learn how to cook Chinese food. I downloaded apps of the Chinese recipes and translated them for her to learn. She learned

it step by step, and now she did a good job. With the help from her, I could have more time to look after my children's studies.

She talks about what she did for helping her children's settlement. She mentioned the programs to which she took her son to learn.

I thought it was important for them to learn sports. Although I believed English was also important to learn, I thought sports could enhance their social skills. I saw many children from the Western families participating in many sporting programs. Many Canadian parents brought their children to the complete sporting program lasting for three or four months. They came to the program every week, and they did not think it was a waste of time. Personally, I believed learning sports was good for them to learn communication skills and to make friends. For example, my son took lessons for playing basketball. Now he could make friends there. It was very important for their settlement and integration. As to my daughter, I sent her to learn piano. At first, my daughter learned violin. She really liked violin. My son also liked to learn an instrument. So I bought them a piano. At first, they were very excited. But you know, the practice was very tough. I told them that "I have already spent so much money to buy the piano, you have to keep learning." So eventually, they were forced to learn the instrument. Actually, I did not know if it was good or not. I thought that I had spent so much time and money on it. I hoped they could learn and appreciate it.

Finally, she talked about the housing and school issue,

We bought our house in Vancouver West, where the schools were very good. The private school was usually very expensive. My daughter's school was a Christian school, which was not that expensive. It took about \$7000 a year. But my son's school was more expensive. It took about \$24,000 per year. The private school emphasizes students' abilities in terms of leadership. Their goal was to train elites. If you wanted your child to gain more leadership skills, you had to send them to this kind of private school. They provided very different ideas. In their high school, the goal was to go to the Ivy League.

Miranda lived in a rich family, in which she did not need any social welfare. She could devote more time to her children's study and enable them to go to the expensive private schools. She had a nanny so that she did not need to do the household work and the basic childcare.

Although her children received lots of extra learning opportunities and good education, she still worried about her children's future. She wanted her children to integrate well into the schools and society in Canada. With a rich sources from her family and class, Miranda could have more time and resources to learn and become a "good immigrant mother" in the host country. With the ideology of neoliberalism, the state encouraged new immigrants to be self-support. Miranda was the one who could well support herself and her family. She did not take any benefit for social welfare and sent her children to the public schools. Instead, she raised her children with providing them the best education with her own contributions.

In addition, although Miranda had good economic conditions, she still found that it was very hard for her children to integrate into the local society. Ng et al. (2009) indicate that Class is not simply based on economic status, but social relations that has an objective as well as a subjective dimension (p. 221). The class identity categorized her as new immigrant mothers shaped her daily activities in providing good living and educational environments for her children in order to secure the social resources and to prepare a good future in their host country.

Class Relations in Employment

Many Chinese immigrant mothers were previously professional workers. When they came to Canada, they found that they faced challenges in finding jobs in the local society. Lee is a good example of these kinds of mothers. Lee (#26) came to Canada as a skilled worker. Her major is law. She told me about her experience of finding jobs in Canada.

When I first came to Canada, I didn't realize that my major (law) required a licence or diploma. I wanted to find jobs in law, when I first came. At first, the people from the [settlement] programs arranged for me to take some workshops. They helped me to find jobs. They taught me how to dress properly and how to write cover letter and resume. But I don't think they are very helpful.

She mentioned her experience of taking the lessons in settlement organization in order to find a job in Canada.

Actually I have learned something there. They did help me change some format of my resume, but didn't change the content. They also taught me to write a cover letter . . . you know . . . we usually don't write these kinds of things in China. They even provide a

mentor for me. The mentor helped me find a law firm. He invited me to become a volunteer in their firm. They paid me the bus ticket. The law firm wanted me to work for them as a volunteer every day from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. But I had two kids. They were still young. My daughters had some difficulties in learning English at that time. They needed me a lot. So I chose to go there for three days a week.

She further talked about her experience of working in the law firm.

While I did that work . . . as I first came to Canada, I found it was very different from what I did in China. My major was law, and I worked as a lawyer researching intellectual property law in China. But the work here was like a kind of labour work, and I repeated the work again and again. I found it was very boring. When I was there, one of their employees retired. They hired another person from the market. That person only had a high school degree. The work was very simple, such as arranging the bills for the library. They didn't really consider me. Also I didn't think I would like to take this job, since I had so many work experiences in China. After that, I decided to go back to school in order to get a better job. At that same time, I found doing volunteer was not helpful. I worked for four months for free, and they didn't show any interest in keeping me in that position.

She told me her new plan after quitting the volunteer job from the law firm.

Now I am a mom staying at home to take care of two children. I find that I could get a paralegal licence since I had bachelor degrees in both English and Law. I tried to start the licence program this year.

The experience from Lee showed that although she received a BA degree from China and had been a lawyer for many years, she was automatically categorized into the class of newcomers, the person who had no (or poor) working skills, no local experience, and no recognized educational experience in Canada. Working as a volunteer could help her to gain some local experience, but she was still disqualified when her company opened a position in her field. She mentioned her learning experience in the ISOs and that the programs did provide some support in helping her develop her application materials and gain some local experience, but she still failed in finding work in Canada.

As a professional immigrant, Lee's previous work experience, skills, and knowledge were devalued. She has to take another degree or diploma courses to gain the recognition of her professional skills. Ng et al. (2009) found that the purpose for immigrant women reshaping their skills, experiences, and aspirations was to "secure employment by mobilizing the resources (what Pierre Bourdieu calls "social," "cultural" and "symbolic" capital) they have at their disposal transnationally in order to re-align their class position in Canada" (p. 221). Lee worked as a lawyer in a privileged class in China and tried to take the licences courses to mobilize her previous recourses into the local space.

The Race Relations in Settlement

In my interviews, half of the participants mentioned their experience of being racialized. Race relations occurred not only in immigrants' settlement experience but also in the material and discursive dimensions of immigrant mothers' daily lives. There were two major issues of "race" that I examined in Chinese immigrant mothers' settlement and learning. The first was race relations in schools. The second issue was about their relationship with neighbours. I argue that Chinese immigrant mothers' embodied experience of the race relations as ways of knowing provide a lens into the meaning of "multiculturalism" in the local society.

"Mommy, Am I Chinese or Canadian?" Race Relations in Schools

Kate (#27) and her family immigrated to Vancouver from Beijing. Her daughter Emily was now a six-year-old in Grade 1. One day, after school, Emily asked her, "Mama, am I a Chinese or a Canadian?" She felt so surprised that Emily asked this question. She said, "Well, what do you think?" Emily said, "I am a Canadian." Kate said, "Because you were born in China, and you speak Chinese. Daddy and Mommy are all Chinese. So you are a Chinese." Emily doubted, "So am I a Chinese?" Kate said, "But now you live in Canada, and you speak English. So you are also a Canadian!" Emily was very confused and said, "So I am a Chinese and a Canadian!" Kate asked Emily why she asked this question. Emily told her that in the class, when the teacher taught them to be proud of being a Canadian, one of the white classmates said to her, "You are a Chinese, not Canadian!" She was really confused, so she asked this question.

Many Chinese immigrant mothers found that they and their children were racialized in school settings. The race relations included their relationship with the teachers and their children's relationship with classmates and teachers. Kate's story was happening in a lot of

Canadian schools. In my interview, many of the participants talked about their experience of race relations in their children's school. Most found that "race" is a major issue causing their integration to become even harder. One of the mothers, Coca, mentioned that she saw her son sitting in the classroom. A white boy came and yelled at him, "Stupid Chinese!" Her son did not know what to do, but kept quiet. She felt so sad and did not know how to teach her son about race.

In addition to the racial discrimination among the students, most of the Chinese immigrant mothers in Vancouver experience systemic racial segregation in their children's schools and communities. Wendy (#6) talked about her and her daughter's experience in school,

In my settlement, I think a major challenge for me and my daughter was the race relations in schools. In Richmond, actually, there were more Chinese than any other ethnic groups. It looked like that you could easily get integrated here. But in fact, it was still Canada. We had to learn a lot of rules and cultures here. One of the biggest problems was my daughter's integration. When we just settled here, she could not speak English, and she had no friend here. As girls in Grade 4, you know, they liked to make friends and had their sisterhood. In the first two weeks, I could easily feel how painful she was. She cried a lot. My daughter was a very independent girl. She usually cried behind us. But one day night, I still remembered, before she went to bed. . . . I asked her the question: "Did you have a good time at school today?" She cried badly and told me that because her English was not very good and she was not familiar with the Canadian culture, the teacher sent a Chinese girl as her mentor. That girl was a Chinese-Canadian, who was born and raised here. She bullied my daughter. Sometimes she laughed at her, and sometimes she ignored her. After hearing her story, I felt very sad too. Even though I encouraged her to better learn the Canadian culture here, I felt uncomfortable and helpless as a mother. I did not know how to comfort her.

Wendy further mentioned that since she lived in a community full of Chinese, she found it was very difficult to integrate into the local school,

Before I came to Canada, I assumed that the Canadian school provided a lot of communications between parents and the schools, such as the communication groups among parents. In fact, they didn't have any. I thought the reason was because we had a

large population of Chinese immigrant parents and children in that school. Usually, after school, all the Chinese parents came and picked up their children. They did not want to communicate with the teachers. Sometimes, even myself, I tried to say “hello” to the other Chinese parents, and I could feel that they were not that “open.” They didn’t want to talk too much with you or share their ideas with you. And the teacher did not say much about my kid to me. I guessed it was because my English was not good. . . . I really didn’t know. I felt there was a gap between me and my daughter’s school.

She talked about the race relations in her daughter’s school, observing,

All the teachers were white, and most of them were local Canadians. But a large population of the students were Chinese. Since many students were new immigrants or their mother language was Chinese, the school set up a rule that all the students should speak English only. All the students were not allowed to speak Chinese or their native language. If the teacher found out someone spoke Chinese, there would be some punishment. The punishment was like asking you to read a book or to write something. As a result, in my daughter’s school, they usually spoke English after the class. But, recently, I found that more and more Chinese new immigrants coming. Apparently, the school cannot control all the Chinese students to not speak Chinese, because all the Chinese newcomer children from Grade 3 or Grade 4 couldn’t speak English at all.

Because of the large population of Chinese newcomers coming to her daughter’s school and her community, she found that many Chinese immigrants did not understand the local rules. She believed that this was one of the reasons that most of the local people did not like Chinese immigrants. Wendy told me,

Right now, in my community, I could easily find that more and more Westerners moved out and more and more Chinese immigrants moved in. A lot of Chinese immigrants did not obey the rules here. For example, outside of my daughters’ school, the speed limit was 30 kilometres. Many Chinese who drove a luxury car sped up in this area. They didn’t even stop in front of a stop sign. Also, during the lunch time, the Chinese parents usually liked to deliver hot lunch to their children at that time. The school provided a loading area for parents to park and deliver the lunch box for their children. That area was not allowed to park for more than five minutes. But there were a lot of Chinese

parents parking the cars there for a long time. Some of the parents were even chatting in the lobby and watching their children finish the lunch. Then, the school sent us a letter with both English and Chinese language. The letter said that “Please keep quiet in the lobby and do not park your car in the loading zone for longer than five minutes.” I think it was a very embarrassing moment when I received the letter. I felt like it was a shame that the Chinese parents did this in school.

Living in a Chinese community in Canada provided immigrant mothers a lot of convenience, but it also segregated them from the local community. Within the Chinese community and schools with full of Chinese students, the race relations were between the racialized immigrants and the institutions. The immigrant children and their parents still needed to follow the Canadian rules and culture to integrate into the Canadian society.

Another Chinese immigrant mother, Patricia (#2), said,

I thought as an Asian immigrant, even though you didn’t have any English problem, it was still very difficult for you to integrate into the local society. For example, it was impossible for my son to play with the white boys in his school. Although sometimes they played together, they excluded him from the “white” group. But, if I bought an interesting toy for my son and asked the white boys to play with him, it was ok. Sometimes, they played basketball together. But I needed to spend money and send my son to learn basketball. If he did not play basketball very well, his white friends did not want to play with him at all. So I thought if you wanted your child to integrate into the local society and to make friends with the mainstream groups, you need to pay much more on improving his social skills.

Miranda (#17) talked about how she and her son experienced the “race” problems in their settlement and integration.

As an immigrant mother in Canada, I thought that I spent much more time on my son than the mothers living in China. Race was a big problem. Although nobody told me, I knew it really existed in our life. There was an old saying in Chinese, called “心有余而力不足” (the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak). I tried my best, but really, I could not change much. My son had a huge pressure after he came to the new school. Friends were very important to him. If he could not make any friends in school, he found himself

very isolated. But he wouldn't tell me. As a mother, I tried my best to talk to him and find ways to understand his problems. It was really difficult. I could feel how lonely he was during the first three months. At that time, his language was not very good. His classmates always laughed at him. He struggled a lot. He was bullied by his classmates. So I sent him to learn Taekwondo. After that, nobody bullied him anymore. Sometime, many people thought language might be a problem for integration. But I thought race was a more serious problem. Our children usually suffered the racial discriminations a lot, and they did not tell their parents.

She also talked about her experience of communicating with other parents or the teachers in her daughter's school. She stated,

In my daughter's school, the most communications I made was with other parents. If I went to her school, I met a lot of parents. Most of them were white. My daughter's previous school was a very small school. I found that the white parents were not so friendly. I thought they had bias against Chinese immigrants. Last time, I said hello to one of the parents, and she just ignored me. I didn't know why. With more white people left and more Chinese people come in, I guess they were angry.

When I asked how she felt the "anger," Miranda said,

Sometimes, they looked at me in a weird way. For example, if I talked to a good friend, I can see the acceptance in her eye. But if the person closed his eyes or stopped his eyes on something, it meant a rejection. I don't know how to explain, but I think it is a kind of "anger." Recently, I could feel more "angers" when I walked in the street. Last time, I went to the supermarket buying a lot of stuff. I paid cash. The white cashier looked at me in the same way. The eyes told me about her "anger." It looked like she was saying, "All you Chinese people are rich, but know nothing. Why don't you go back to China and buy things there?"

These racialized experiences deeply shaped immigrant mothers' identity. Many people perceived immigrants' integration practice as "misbehaviour" in the local setting, yet they were not aware of the race relations behind their behaviours. Their nationalities, skin colours, body, language, culture, customs, practice, and behaviours all could be racialized. As immigrant mothers, they did not know how to explain to their children about the race relations in schools.

Sometimes, they even found that it was their own problem with “bad” parenting skills. In both the schools and the settlement organizations, not enough instruction was given in discussing the newcomers’ experience of racial discrimination and raising consciousness of it. The race relations in schools need to be a matter of concern. Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience of racial discrimination needs to be examined in order to understand the unequal race relations behind their mothering practice and settlement experience.

The Colour of Noise: From Race to Multiculturalism

The general acceptance of the exhortation to “love thy neighbour” might have merged when the neighbours led, by and large, much the same kind of life, but the same entreaty to one’s neighbours now requires people to take an interest in the very diverse living modes of proximate people. The globalized nature of the contemporary world does not allow the luxury of ignoring the difficult questions multiculturalism raises. (Sen, 2006, p. 149)

The race relations existed not only in schools, but also in new immigrants’ neighbourhoods. Ms. Sun, a Chinese new immigrant mother with a three-year-old boy, bought a condo in Hudson Street in Vancouver. On the day they moved in, her neighbour, a white woman living downstairs, complained that she and her son made too much noise. She apologized and took some precautions to reduce the noise, including putting thick carpet on the floor and sending her son to bed earlier. However, she continuously received complaints and even tickets from the strata council. In the following months, she was depressed and frustrated by the complaining and eventually chose to sell her condo and move to another place. This is not an occasional situation but a normal issue in immigrant mothers’ settlement experience. In my research, I found that noise as a discursive space played a role in new immigrant mothers’ identity construction and settlement practice. I questioned the notion of “multiculturalism” for “accommodating identity-related difference” (Eisenberg, 2007; Harris-Short, 2007) and argued that the noise as a discursive and material space was socially organized with unequal racial, social, cultural, and economic relations, which participated in the making of “pluralistic white neighbourhood.”

Lisa (#20) was a Chinese immigrant mother with a seven-year-old son in Vancouver. She immigrated to Vancouver under the family reunion class. She and her family owned an

apartment in Burnaby from 2010 to 2013. It is a four-level apartment, and they lived on the top level. In my interview, she explained her experience with her neighbours.

Because my son usually went to bed very late, he was running around and made noise. The neighbours living downstairs complained. After that, our kid was still running around, and maybe our voice of speaking was loud. . . . I think we were used to loud voices. The downstairs' neighbour still couldn't fall asleep. After that, we received a letter from the strata council, which said, if you still keep making noise, you will receive a fine. They also required us to change our wood floor into carpet. It became serious. Even though I knew it was my fault, I felt very sad and uncomfortable. After that, I felt that even in my home, I couldn't speak aloud and my son couldn't run.

I asked Lisa what she did after receiving the complaints. She told me,

After that, I changed my son's schedule. I didn't allow him to nap in the afternoon and asked him to sleep earlier in the night. If he still didn't sleep at around 8 p.m. or 9 p.m., I would feel very nervous. I felt that we lost our freedom. We did everything very carefully without any noise. I felt so bad, very, very bad.

Furthermore, she talked about the neighbourhood and her neighbours.

The neighbourhood was multicultural. Most of them were Chinese. But the one who complained was a white middle-aged woman. One day, my son's friends came and played with him in the afternoon. She came upstairs and said "Your house is shaking!" All the kids were not happy and felt very disappointed. So the kids went out and played outside after that. But my neighbour made noise too. Her kid was crying in the middle of the night! I understood that it is difficult to stop a baby's cry in the middle of the night. So we never complained to them.

People's ways of knowing through experiencing "noise" became a discursive space that reproduced the race relations in society. This discursive space not only contained people's embodied experiences of knowing the society but also enabled people to think about their belonging to the culture. In Lisa's case, her son's noise was constructed as representing her "bad" Chinese ways of organizing the household and parenting style. In Chinese culture, many adults and children have a long nap at work or in school in the afternoon and go to bed later in

the night. However, in Canada, people usually work for a whole day without any naps. The different customs brought conflicts between neighbours. The new immigrant mothers needed to change their customs in order to satisfy their neighbours. The unacceptance of Chinese neighbours' noise and the complaining were a way to exclude Chinese neighbours from the community, which was also a part of the project for keeping the neighbourhood "white." Therefore, the noise was constructed as a racialized space in making boundaries between different cultures and reproducing racial hierarchies.

Noise was a socially constructed discursive space in relation to mothering practice. In the multicultural society, the Chinese immigrant mothers needed to practice "well" in order to behave like "good neighbours" as well as "good mothers" in the neighbourhoods of the new country. The immigrant mothers' experience in the neighbourhood challenged the idea of multiculturalism accepting all kinds of ethnicity and race. On the one hand, multiculturalism emphasized an inclusion of different ethnic and race groups with their cultures, languages, and practices. On the other hand, the people were racialized in the discursive and material spaces, which secretly excluded Chinese immigrant mothers' daily activities and practice of mothering.

Rethinking "Difference": Constructing Identities and Encountering Cross-cultural Mothering Practice

Gender, class, and race are interconnected in that "three particular strands of social relations and ideological practices of difference and power are seen as arising in their own specific social terrain, and then crisscrossing each other 'intersectionally' or aggregatively" (Bannerji, 2011, p. 41). Addressing the importance of reflecting on the notion of "race" as a form of social reproduction, I found that immigrant mothers' everyday experience in settlement and mothering was a complex socioeconomic and cultural formation, which was "brought to life through myriad finite and specific social and historical relations" (p. 41). "Race" could be transformed from an economic form to a social form, in which "race," gender and class are viewed as different forms closely related to each other. Through understanding the intersectionality of race, gender, and class relations, it can be seen that the Chinese immigrant mothers' experience contained social relations within the patriarchal and capitalist system. In this section, I reflect on the notion of "difference" and its relationship to race, gender, and class inequalities. I understand it as an ideological practice. I summarize my findings based on

Chinese immigrant mothers' interviews through three aspects: *experience*, *social relations*, and *praxis*.

The notion of “difference” refers to established processes of social conflict and products of a capitalist society, within which human actors reproduce these unequal social relations (Bakan, 2007). First, understanding “difference” from people’s experience, I find that the “differentiation” process of marginalized people’s experience helps us understand how individuals’ identities are shaped by social conflict in the capitalist, imperialist, and patriarchal world. The concept of “mothering” has been constructed as a “common sense” that only concerns mainstream, white, and middle-class women’s mothering practice. This common sense differentiated immigrant mothers’ experience of mothering and everyday practice. I identify the separation between the meaning of “mothering” and marginalized immigrant mothers’ practice by examining their experience. Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience, culture, logics, and traditional family structure deconstruct the notion of “mothering,” which must be examined using dialectical, dynamic, and diasporic approaches.

Second, Chinese immigrant mothers’ identity in mothering practice, learning, and settlement is shaped by the interconnections between their everyday activities and their relations to the social institutions. Referring to “mothering” as social relations, in a dialectical sense, reminds us that “mothering” contains unequal power relations. Not only in the local society, but also within their families in Canada, Chinese immigrant mothers have been imagined and constructed as “lazy women,” “failed mothers,” or “free labour.” Their experience of unequal race, gender, and class relations and the social construction of them stimulated the “differentiation” of immigrant mothers, which eventually became violence against them.

Finally, I understand immigrant mothers’ identity construction and mothering practice *as praxis*. The notion of “immigrant mother” has to be understood as dialectics between the ideology of mothering and their everyday practice. Ollman (2003) pointed out that our society as a vehicle is moving and changing and proposes several philosophical questions: Where is it travelling? Who is driving it and controlling its speed and direction? How could we drive it? Chinese immigrant mothers, as dynamic agents, could become the “driver” for driving our society moving. The study of Chinese immigrant mothers’ identity and experience is a praxis that is a vital step leading to a needed social change.

Chapter 8

A Pathway to Motherhood: Taking Chinese Immigrant Mothers' Experience as a Standpoint

Motherhood learning happened not only in the settlement organizations, but also in immigrant mothers' everyday practice. It happened in Chinese immigrant mothers' practice in all kinds of discursive areas, including learning to parent, learning to drive, and learning to have a healthy lifestyle. This chapter mainly illustrates Chinese immigrant mothers' discursive learning experience and transnational practice and aims to utilize immigrant mothers' experience as standpoints to challenge the mothering ideology in the global capitalist system.

I treat the learning process in immigrant mothers' settlement as a "pathway," which has two meanings. On the one hand, I find that immigrant mothers' learning as a pathway could help them to become "good mothers" for integration into the host country. On the other hand, it is also a pathway to modernity. Because the "mothering" that immigrant mothers learned has been imagined as more "professional," "advanced" and "scientific," Chinese immigrant mothers become carriers who participate in the process of becoming a good Canadian citizen.

This chapter first examines my research data on Chinese immigrant mothers' learning practice in discursive dimensions. It then examines Chinese immigrant mothers' transnational practice in settlement. Finally, it discusses how to take Chinese immigrant mothers' experience as standpoints to rethink motherhood learning and Canadian immigration settlement organizations.

Learning to Become a "Good Mother" in Another Land

Since the neoliberal ideology incorporates the free market, empowers capitalist elites, and minimizes support for marginalized groups, it requires immigrant mothers to be self-supporting and quickly integrate into the local society. Chinese immigrant mothers faced a lot of pressure to maximize their learning activities in order to become "good mothers." Most of them not only took workshops, but also learned through their daily mothering and settlement experience. This section discusses how immigrant mothers learn to become "good mothers" through their learning experience of parenting, language, driving, and reorienting their lifestyles.

Learning to Parent

Data showed that a variety of immigrant mothers were anxious about their mothering practice and wanted to learn more parenting strategies. I discovered that most Chinese immigrant mothers did not believe they were “good mothers.” It was because they easily got angry about their children’s behaviours. They found that it was challenging to control their emotions in parenting.

Rebecca (#14) told me that her son always made her angry.

My son was only a six-year-old. Sometimes he made me very very angry. For example, in the morning, he was finishing his breakfast. But he was thinking things and could not focus on his eating. I asked him to finish it quickly. He said, “You are not my boss!” I felt so angry. I did not know what to do with him.

Kate (#27) talked about how she dealt with her six-year-old daughter.

If I felt angry about my daughter’s behaviour, my daughter also would be angry about me. Both of us felt so sad. This feeling was not very good. But I could not control my emotion. If something happened, I would be very angry. My daughter cheated me twice, which made me mad. Once, she told me that she finished her dinner. After that, I found that she threw away all the food. I felt very very angry. I educated her. But it happened again! I was wondering if my parenting had some problems.

Bonnie (#19) had a teenaged son. She described her experience of getting angry in parenting her son.

People know me always said I had a very good temper. But only in communicating with my son, I could not keep a good temper. I think this is one of my shortcomings. I was very impatient. For example, when we arrived in Canada, my son always played the computer games. He did not play these games when he was in China. But after came to Canada, maybe he lacked friends and did not know what should do, so he played. I felt very worried. One day, he played the games till 12 o’clock at night. I was very very angry. I told him, yes you could play, but you have to limit your time for playing. But my son argued with me. He said, “This game could not be stopped, otherwise there were be a

lot of punishments.” I could not control my madness. I just felt I was a really “bad mother” and even did not know how to deal with this.

She then told me how she learned to control her emotion:

Yes, I learned hard. I took many workshops and also learned from other parents. After that, I learned that if I get angry, I can leave that room. When we first arrived in Vancouver, we lived in a family hotel. Me and my son shared one room. So if he kept playing games, I could not have a good sleep. So it was not be able for me to leave that room. Now we moved to a townhouse, we have more spaces. If I felt angry, I will leave his room. Another method I learned from another mother was I could take notes. Before I never thought that taking notes could help to calm down. So I learned to use my cell phone’s App to write down my feeling. If I felt very angry, I would take notes and reflected on my emotion at that moment, what I said to him and what happened during the quarrel. Sometimes, I found it was really helpful. I started to find myself was not good enough. As a mother, sometimes my parenting strategies were still irrational. Finally, I learned how to parent from the church. I really believe go to the church was a good way of being patient and not losing my temper. The church even provided some parenting workshops for us. I could share my experience with other people there. I felt much happier after I went to the church.

Miranda (#17) illustrated her experience of parenting her daughter. She mentioned that she took the settlement programs for learning parenting skills.

In childrearing, I found that there were different ways of treating your children when they made mistakes. In our Chinese culture, the relationship between parents and children is very different from the Canadian way. For example, in Chinese culture, if our child made a mistake, we would scold our child. While I took the parenting course, I found that in Canadian culture, there was more respect. My teacher told me the Canadian way of dealing with this. She said, if you felt yourself really angry, you’d better leave. As a Chinese parent, I found it was really difficult for me to do. Sometimes, we did not really care about our children’s feeling. But here, they really focus on the feeling of our children, and they usually do not want you to pass your negative emotion to your children.

The Chinese immigrant mothers above found that it was very difficult for them to keep calm while their children did something wrong. With these anxieties and concerns, they found their own way to learn parenting. According to Bonnie, she not only talked to other mothers and learned from them but also went to the church and took some parenting workshops there. Miranda learned parenting skills from the parenting workshop in settlement organizations. They learned the different ways of controlling emotions. They also believed that if they could not control their emotion, they would pass the negative energy to their children. The good practice of mothering was imagined as respect for their children. As a result, they found emotional control would be a major issue for them to learn in order to become a “good mother.”

Learning Language

Language is one of the major difficulties for the Chinese immigrant mothers. Over 60% of my interviewees talked about their language problems and addressed their language learning experience.

Margaret (#1) thought one of the biggest problem of settlement is language. She mentioned that,

My biggest problem is language. Sometimes, I did not understand what the people said. In addition, I could not express what I meant. For example, one day, I went to the dentist. The dentist could not speak Chinese and I could not speak English. I was there and felt very embarrassed. Another example was in my ESL class. I even could not understand what the teachers talked about. Especially the teachers only speak English. I was so worried when I was outside by myself. Although now my English had a little bit progress, I still could not understand the language from the radio, TV and films.

Sue (#5) talked about her desire to engage with the local communities, but she found language to be one of her biggest problems in communicating with people. She told me,

I really want to participate in the local activities from my community. I took part in some of the events held by the community. However, most of the time, the local people were all English-speaking. I could not communicate with them freely in order to build a closer relationship. Maybe my time of staying in Canada was too short, or maybe my English language skills were really poor. I could not become a member of them.

Coco (#29) also talked about the language problem. She said,

I lost my confidence in speaking English. I was too ashamed to speak English. If I did not speak with them, I could not make any progress in my language skill. For example, in my son's school, I could not communicate with his teachers and other parents.

Most of the mothers participated in the ESL programs provided by the settlement organization. They found these language learning programs had good and bad outcomes. For example, May (#3) talked about her learning experience.

I think the ESL program is very good to our new immigrants. But now, the structure and policy were changed. The programs and the times offered for you were changed based on your levels of English. The program provides a test for testing your levels of the English language skills. Then it offers you different types of ESL classes. The time for taking different types of the ESL classes was different. If the newcomers' level was low, they got more learning time. Since my English level was very low, I think I need more time for learning English. However, after I taking the test, I was sent to the advanced class. I think the learning was too short. I could not learn English very well through the program.

Coco (#29) talked about her learning experience in the ESL program.

To be honest, I think the ESL program could not provide any help in my English language learning. The most effective way of learning English is self-directed learning. I find talking with people is effective for learning English, but taking the ESL class is not helpful at all. Environment is very important. Self-confidence is also important for learning English.

Some mother found that a lack of language skills prevent their children's learning in school, which made them uncomfortable. They believed that they could not become a good mother in supporting their children in schools. Oliva (#8) discussed her problem with language and her experience of supporting her children. She said,

I did not communicate with my daughter's teacher, since my English level was very poor. I really wanted to talk with the teacher. But I was so worried. I did not know how to communicate with them. So I have never talked to her before. The teacher did not find me, so we never communicated until today (laughs).

Language learning, closely related to learners' identity construction, plays an important role in immigrants' integration for settlement (Norton, 2001). It contains social relations that distinguish newcomers from the local community. Language learning not only relates to immigrant mothers' confidence, settlement practice, and employment, but also interacts with their mothering practice. The immigrant mothers believe that being a good immigrant mother means having good language skills.

The mothers learn language skills through various approaches. Some mothers learned language through the settlement organization's ESL class (e.g., Margaret & May), and some learned language through the self-directed approach (e.g., Sue & Coco). The learning process not only enabled them to become "good mothers" in the host country but also shaped their identities of being a member of the local society.

Language learning is a social practice. Norton (2001) illustrates that when language learners speak, they not only exchange information with the target language speakers, but also constantly organize and reorganize a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Holland et al. (1998) emphasize that language learning is closely related to becoming a member of the society. Through the practice of learning language, most of my participants felt that they were hardly accepted by or included in the local community. More specifically, they failed to access social networks, including making friends or communicating with school teachers. As a result, the mothers believed that they were isolated from the local society and not be able to mother their children well.

Learning to Drive

Immigrant mothers were socially constructed as mostly staying at home and not being able to drive. Because of these ideas, almost half of the Chinese newcomer women did not drive and did not even want to learn driving. There were different reasons for not learning driving. Some mothers thought that their living environment was very convenient, and they could go by bus very easily. For example, Patricia (#2) said, "My place was very close to everywhere. There were a lot of shopping stores in the street. I did not need to learn driving." Another mother, Karen (#10), was concerned about the expense, saying that she did not learn to drive "because driving required a lot of money. If I took buses, it was very cheap. It took about \$3.50 for me to travel within 1.5 hours. If I learned driving, I might get a ticket for even more money." Some mothers said that they spent most of the time staying at home. Coco (#29) said, "When I first

came here, I did not have any friends. My husband went to work every day. I was afraid that I might get lost. So I chose to stay at home.” Cathy (#24) said, “My daughter was easily to get sick. So I did not take her outside frequently. I used to stay at home.”

However, half of them did want to learn driving. Diana (#23) told me her experience of learning driving:

At the beginning, I refused to get a driver’s licence. Because I heard about that it was very difficult to pass the road test, especially for newcomers. In addition, I thought the driving speed here was much faster than China. It seemed so dangerous to me. But my family encouraged me to take the lessons and tried to pass the exam. I was not so confident. I took the writing test for driver’s licence. Fortunately they provided a test with Chinese language. But I tried several times to pass. After that I took a road test. I did not want to spend too much money on the lessons for passing the exam. I took five courses with a private coach. I failed the first road test. I tried again and finally passed.

Another mother, Sandra (#30), explained her reason for learning to drive.

I learned driving for my son. I didn’t know how to drive when I was in China. Because every place was very close to my home. After I came here, I found that our house was very far away from the shopping malls and my son’s daycare. My husband worked from Monday to Friday and was very busy, so he could not send and pick up my son. I really wanted to learn driving, because I thought it was an important skill for taking care of my child. If you don’t know how to drive, you are not be able to send your child to the daycare and other places. After I got my driver’s licence, I always drove my son to the parks, gyms, swimming pool, playgrounds, and science museums. I was so happy that I could bring him to so many different places.

I found that some Chinese immigrants had already driven in China for many years. After they came here, they needed to relearn the driving skill. Fang (#7) said,

I drove for so many years in China, but I still need to relearn the skill in order to pass the exam. Sometimes, we had very different culture in driving, so I was treated as a “bad” driver here.

Moreover, during their driving, these mothers had experienced racial discrimination about their driving behaviours. Wendy (#6) mentioned,

It was several days ago. I experienced a scary moment in my life. I learned to drive in China for many years. After landing in Canada, I quickly got my driver's licence. Several days ago, I took my daughter to school. In that day, I stopped in front of a red light. There were another black car stopping in my left. The driver in the black car was a white middle-aged guy. After the red light turned into the green light, I passed him and suddenly I saw a big truck in front of me, so I turned on left light and changed my lane to my left. So I was in front of him. Suddenly, he horned me and kept following me till I arrived in my daughter's school. Then I saw the guy parked his car on the opposite side of the street. He came out of his car, and looked at me. Then the scariest part happened. He did not say anything, but put his hand on his neck. Using his body language to tell me he wanted to kill me! I was very scared and brought my daughter inside the school immediately. After I came out, he was gone. But this made me so scared for many days. I understood that many people hated Chinese newcomers' bad driving manners. But I guaranteed that I did not do anything wrong during this time. I thought it was totally a racial discrimination.

While they settled in Canada, most of the mothers were treated as “bad drivers” or “rule-breakers,” even though they had driven for many years in China. “Driving” has been constructed as a way to leave home to another place, which means you have the freedom and ability to move. “Immigrant mothers” are thought to stay at home and not be able to go anywhere. In this sense, driving is not suitable for immigrant mothers. However, many people, including immigrant mothers, believe that driving could help them better mother their children. They could send them to schools and other places for learning. They could also become independent; for example, they could drive for shopping, go to work, and meet friends. Driving becomes a contradiction to immigrant mothers. On the one hand, they really need to learn driving to assist their children and themselves to travel around. On the other hand, they face the bias, stereotypes, and violence against their driving practice, which increases difficulties for them to learn driving.

Learning to Live a Healthy Lifestyle

A variety of data showed that immigrant mothers learn to be healthy in their settlement and mothering practice. While enjoying the healthy food and clean air in Canada, most of the mothers started to focus on learning a healthy lifestyle and trying to be healthy for both themselves and their children. Almost 90% of immigrant mothers agreed that the clean air and healthy food were among the major reasons for them to immigrate to Canada. Among them, 50% of the mothers chose to settle in Vancouver because of the warm weather and good living environment. As a result, they learned a culture of “healthy” in Canada. They were eager to learn to be healthy. They changed their lifestyle through (re)learning how to prepare healthy food, how to do more sport, and how to take their children outside and enjoy an outdoor life.

Susan (#21) talked about the challenge of preparing food and providing nutrition to her son.

Before he was in a daycare. The daycare did not provide any lunch for him. So I have to prepare every day. This is one of the most challenging part for me in Canada. As I know, in Chinese schools and daycares, they usually provide food or lunch for children. As a mother in China, I did not have any experience of preparing lunch box for my son. In addition, not only the lunch, but also breakfast and dinner, we need to prepare every day. I found it is very challenging in my settlement.

She further talked about why she thought it was challenging.

My son’s daycare had a lot of rules. Many food that you should not bring. For example, nuts. Once I prepared a lunch with nuts. I was told that nuts were not allowed to bring to school. It would cause a lot of problems. Sometimes, the daycare had some requirements for special events. They required us to bring salad. So I have to learn to prepare salad for him. Most of the time, I was concerned about both his nutrition and what kind of food that he would eat. Sometimes, I prepared Western food for him because I found it was healthier.

Susan mentioned her experience of preparing food.

I prepared food for my son to daycare, but he never ate. What he brought to school, he brought back. So I felt very worried. He usually eats a little, and eats very slow.

Whatever I prepared for him, he didn't eat! So I decided to learn some cooking skills. I tried to prepare good looking, yummy and healthy food for my son. I was still trying and learning.

Some mothers mentioned that they liked to do some sports in their leisure time. Sandra (#30) liked to do some walking with other immigrant mothers in the neighbourhood.

I really liked to do some walking with other mothers here. We had organized a walking group and we did the walking every afternoon. We discussed a lot in the walking activities. Sometimes we discussed our children's education. Sometimes we discussed where we could go for learning. I thought this was really a good opportunity for me to learn not only the useful resources, but also keeping my body healthy.

Coco (#29) used to do swimming and tennis during the weekend with her sons. She said, "I hired a coach for training me and my sons to do tennis. We really enjoy this sport. We found that through learning tennis, we had more connections than before."

These mothers believed that after came to Canada, they started to change their lifestyle and became "healthier" than before. The learning practice in parenting, driving, and lifestyle became a pathway for these newcomers to become "good mothers" in Canada. I found that Western-style parenting, good driving behaviour, and the "healthy" lifestyle were treated as "modern" and "advanced" knowledge in immigrant daily lives. Learning to become a "good mother" remained a long way for immigrant mothers to "integrate." Through this process, they constructed their identities between Chinese and Canadian culture and reoriented their practice for the purpose of being recognized. The discursive and myriad daily activities greatly shaped immigrant mothers' identity construction and their learning experience, which challenged the ideology of "mothering" as knowledge from the white middle-class mothers.

Chinese Immigrant Mothers' Transnational Practice

The purpose of this section is to locate Chinese immigrant mothers' transnational experience. I aim to understand how global inequality and capitalism marginalize immigrant mothers' lives. In my study, not many immigrant mothers were living apart from their children, but most of them had transnational relationships with other family members, including their husband, parents, and parents-in-law. Using the framework of "transnationality" (Carling & Erdal, 2014; Levitt, Kristen, & Barnett 2011; Taylor 2015; Xiang, Yoeh, & Toyota 2013) and the

notion of “transnational motherhood” (Crawford, 2011; Cohen, 2015), I address the importance of taking “transnationality” to study immigrant mothers’ experience and motherhood learning. I find that this theory could not only help researchers to study the diasporic practice of immigrant mothers, but also assist scholars to locate immigrant mothers’ practice and the ideology of mothering within global, transnational, and institutional contexts.

The impact of globalization and the practice of transnational mothering shape people’s imagination of the binary of “good” and “bad” mothers. The first section below examines how Chinese immigrant mothers took their children back and forth between China and Canada and discusses the notion of “transnationality” in mothering. The second section explores how Chinese immigrant mothers deal with the transnational family relations with their parents or parents-in-law. I ask how they balance their duties in taking care of both the young child and old parents. Finally, I explore how Chinese immigrant mothers learn to become good mothers in transnational spaces.

The Transnationality of Mothering

In my research, I found that some mothers left the children in their original country for their family members to take care of. For example, Sandra (#30), a Chinese new immigrant mother, has two children. Her daughter was 17 and her son was 5. She gave birth to her son after she immigrated to Canada. At that time, she was over 40 years old. She mentioned that she had a very hard time when she raised her second child in Canada.

I had good birth experience of my second child. But after I gave birth to him, I found that it was very tough. Because at that time, I was over 40. When my son was 10 months old, we bought a three-bedroom condo here in Vancouver. After we moving home, I felt extremely tired. I became very forgetful. I lost my keys, wallet, iPhone, and everything during that time. My son was very active and energetic, and we had a teenage daughter. At that time, I felt very frustrated. So my husband made a decision. He took my son back to China for my parents-in-law to take care of and asked me to stay in Canada with my daughter. On the first night without my son, I cried. I missed him very very much. Three months later, I decided to go back to China to see my son because I really missed him. When I met him three months later, he could not recognize me. I cried again. I felt very guilty and I made a decision that I would never leave my son again.

Eventually, Sandra brought her son back to Canada and stayed with him. She then talked about the solutions for the childcare support in her family. She said, “Finally, my husband helped my mother-in-law to get a visa. She came to Canada and stayed with us for two years. She helped me to take care of my son.” In Sandra’s case, her transnational experience shapes her fluid identity as a new immigrant mother. Facing barriers of a lack of family support for taking care of her younger son, she sent back her son to China for her parents-in-law to help. Beyond the feeling of guilty in being separated from her son, she reconstructed her identity and adjusted her mothering practice to stay with her son and bring her parents-in-law to Canada.

Bonnie (#19) also had transnational experience of mothering. She had a 16-year-old son, who went to high school in Vancouver. After she and her family got Canadian Permanent Resident status, she sent her son to Vancouver and lived with a home-stay family. At that time, she still had a job as a principal of a daycare in China. She said,

I felt very worried about my son. As a teenager, he had a lot of problems. He was not so independent. I also heard that he played a lot of computer games. I really wanted to know about his actual situation and learning progress in Vancouver. One year later, I decided to quit my job. I owned two daycares in China. If I went abroad and still kept the positions, it might cause a lot of problems. So I quit my job. Me and my husband believed that in this stage, our child really needed my support, both physically and psychologically. So both of us believed that we made a good decision.

Many immigrant mothers have jobs in their home country. After they get immigration status, they have to choose between living separately from their children and family or quitting their jobs. In order to conform to the ideology of “being a good mother,” the woman usually is the parent to quit the job. The transnational experience was constructed as a lack of “bond” between the immigrant mothers and their children. The distance between the mother and child makes these mothers worried if they do not do a good job as a mother. They have to quit their jobs in their original country and came to Canada to stay with their children. After they came to Canada, they started living apart from their husband. In Canada, they did not think about to find a job here. In Bonnie’s case, she said her job is to take care of her son and learn more in the new country.

As to my life in Canada, I am very busy. I took the English class from Monday to Friday. Each afternoon after the class, I do some walking activities with other mothers. During the weekend, I go to the church. I think I need to learn so many things, so I don't have time to find a job here. For example, I think I need to learn English, especially the speaking skills. In China, I did not get any chances to speak English, but here, I have to lots of opportunities to speak English. So I can make a lot of progress in my English learning. In addition, I want to learn more about Canadian culture and other skills. I often went to the workshops for learning all kinds of information. I also did lots of volunteers. Since I was a principal working in Chinese daycares before, I could get some opportunities to do some volunteer works in the local daycares.

The transnationality of mothering deeply marginalized immigrant mothers, who had to leave their original work and come with their children. In many settlement service programs, they do not focus on immigrant mothers' transnational experience, since these experience looked like very "normal." Living between China and Canada, these immigrant mothers are constructed as the people who have to consider the risks of living apart from their family and the barriers from the transnational mothering experience.

Transnational Family Relations

In addition to the transnational mothering experience, many Chinese immigrant mothers have transnational family relations, which also affect their settlement practice. Most of my participants found that the most difficult part of living between different countries is balancing their relationship with their parents. Patricia (#2)'s parents are over 70. She told me that,

My parents are all over 70. They lived in Hangzhou by themselves. I am the only daughter at home. They had a good health now. But I did not know what will happened in the future. I always asked them to come to Canada and stayed with us for a period of time. But they didn't want to. I felt very worried about how to take care of them after they are getting older. After ten years, my son will become a teenager, and my parents will get older and older in China. It will become a serious problem for me. Oh, I don't want to think about it. It's called 上有老下有少 (There are old and young at home).

In Chinese culture, the old saying “上有老下有小” means there are old parents and young children in your home for you to take care of. Due to the China’s one child policy, many Chinese who were born between the 1980s and 1990s were the only child in the family. This group of Chinese called 独生子女(the only child). Their spouse may also be the only child. Living within the 4+2+1 family structure, the couple have to take care of 4 parents and 1 child at home. The 孝 (filial piety) is an ideology that is often mentioned in Chinese culture. The adult child has the responsibility to take care of their old parents. With this ideology, the state could reduce its responsibilities for providing social support and welfare for the aged group.

While Chinese immigrant mothers came to Canada, they have to not only face the challenges of settling here and taking care of their young children, but also the pressure from their parents. In my interview, one immigrant mother mentioned the conflict between her husband and her parents. Sabina (#18) is the only child in her own family. She immigrated to Canada in 2011 and married her husband, a Taiwanese, in Canada. After they married, they had a son. Sabina’s parents lived in China and they did not have any status in Canada. They travelled to Vancouver once when their son was born. Four years later, Sabina’s parents retired in China. They planned to come to Canada for a year and stay with Sabina’s family in Canada. However, her husband refused. Sabina said,

My husband grew up here and he received the Western idea about what a family means. He insisted that our family is only three people, including me, my son and himself. He did not allow our parents to stay with us, since he was worried about the cultural conflicts and different parenting styles between us and my parents at home. He suggested that my parents could live in a hotel once they came here. From my parents’ perspective, their purpose of coming to Canada is to stay with me, their only daughter, and to see their grandson. If I did not allow them to stay with my family, they would feel disappointed and believe I must be a deed of impiety. They did not want to stay in a hotel or rent an apartment beside us. Their purpose is to live in the family with us. From my own perspective, I grew up in China and was the only child in my family. I really wanted to take care of my parents, since they were getting older. As an immigrant in Canada, I could not do anything in terms of taking care of them. They provided me a lot of money for me to study abroad and immigrate here. But I was living apart from them for years, and now I could not allow them to live with us. I felt very despairing. On the other hand,

I had a very good relationship with my husband, and I did not want to break my family in this way. If my parents insisted to come and stay with us, my husband may decide to move out with our son. I did not want this to happen.

Eventually, Sabina refused their parents to come and stay with her family. Her parents were disappointed, and decided to stay in China. Sabina talked about the dilemma that most immigrant family may face.

I found many family may have the same situation. One of my friends met the same thing, and she chose to allow her parents to come and stay with her family. However, there were a lot of conflicts happening. Her parents liked to take care of everything as they are the owner of the house. They even took her husband's right to take care of their child and did not allow her husband to do anything including playing with their child. I understood that all the old parents wanted to help out to reduce their adult child's pressure. But sometimes, the different culture and different life customs might affect the family relationships.

Sabina's story refresh my understanding of the transnational relations of family, which is not simply a family living between different countries, but the family that encounters cultural differences, cross-generational conflicts, and different understandings of family/family structures. What happened in Sabina's family was not simply a conflict between her husband and her parents, but a conflict between different imaginings of family, country, and culture. According to her husband, who grew up in Canada, the family was a "small family structure," with just the three of them. Sabina and her husband are the hosts of the family and could make decisions about their family issues, including their son's education and childrearing. However, to her parents, who lived in China and had never lived in Canada, the family was a "traditional big family structure" with five of them. The parents are the leaders of the big family, and their daughter and son-in-law should listen to their instructions and obey their rules. This separation between immigrant mothers' original families and their new families in different countries shaped their local practice. On the one hand, they received the culture and practice from the host country. On the other hand, their previous relations from the original family still interact with their lives in the local setting. This becomes one of the difficulties in their identity reconstruction.

Moreover, many immigrant mothers experience a separation from their parents in China. These mothers hoped their parents could come to Canada and stay with their children, but they could not come due to medical, political, and economic conditions. Alison (#13) helped her mother to apply for a visa to come to Canada but was rejected.

I think my settlement was smooth except my mother's visa. We applied for it, but it was refused. I think the reason might be the financial problem. I really did not know why. Then, my mother had a serious illness in China. She did not even tell me about this. My sister told me this. At that time, I just gave birth to my younger daughter. I have to take two young children at the same time. Meanwhile, my husband got a serious depression and in hospital. I could not go back to China and take care of my mom. It was the darkest period in my life. Fortunately, my mom was getting better and my kids were grown up. Now, my life got much easier. But I still do not have a chance to go back to China or bring my mom to Canada.

For different reasons, many immigrants have to separate from their family members. They cannot get support from their parents in another country or support them because of the transnational relations. The transnational relations of family are an issue in immigrants' settlement practice. Some immigrant mothers were living in Canada while their husband worked in China. Winnie (#12) is an immigrant mother with two sons. Her husband worked in a company in China. She told me that,

My husband is working in China, and all of my family members are in China. I take care of my sons in Canada. Since my husband got a permanent job in China, so he went back and worked there. I took my sons and visited him in China for a while. After that, me and my sons came back to Canada. We are in the situation of coming back and forth. In summer, we all come to Vancouver. In winter, we go back to China. So it's almost like this throughout these years.

These families lived in an unstable situation. They travelled back and forth and lived in two different countries. The experience challenges our understanding of "settlement" or "migration," which are usually understood as a one-way mobility from one place to another. The transnational experience reminds us that "settlement" and "migration" are fluid concepts that

must be understood from immigrants' hybrid transnational and living experience of being back and forth in different countries.

Transnational Learning Space

In this study, I find that Chinese immigrant mothers learn mothering and parenting skills not only through the workshop in settlement organizations, but also through transnational learning spaces. These spaces include a variety of online learning materials, such as the Chinese mothering website, the Chinese wechat, and Chinese weibo (similar to Twitter). These high technological tools and the Chinese social media provide immigrant mothers a transnational platform for sharing and learning skills. There are transnational encounters with the global/local nexus of culture in mothering practice, which I call "a cultural nexus of transnational encounters." Immigrant mothers, to some extent, become the carriers of the cross-cultural and transnational exchange of the ideas of mothering. For example, Rebecca (#14) worked as a journalist and a writer in China. Now she became a writer of a personal Chinese Wechat public platform (a Chinese kind of blog) that provided information about the mothering practice in Canada. She shared her stories in her cross-cultural parenting practice, learning as a mother and her lives as an immigrant. She told me that,

I began to write this blog five months ago. I immigrated here many years ago, and I found it might be interesting to introduce my personal experience as an immigrant mother in Canada. So I started to write my story. My Wechat quickly attracted over 2,000 fans in China. Most of them were mothers. They eager to learn the Western parenting skills and want to know more about how Canadian mothers parent their children. So I shifted my ways of writing from introducing my personal story to discussing the Western theories and philosophies in mothering.

She further mentioned the benefit that she could gain by introducing the Canadian way of mothering.

Through writing the blogs, the number of my fans increased dramatically in the past five months. I had got a lot of opportunities to sell many Canadian products for mothers and babies. Most of the Chinese mothers believe that the Canadian products were much better than the Chinese one. They bought Canadian textbooks, the English picture books,

Canadian formula, diapers, and toys through my platform. I felt very happy to introduce these wonderful products for the mothers in China.

She explained what she understood as a Canadian mothering practice and why Chinese mothers want to learn it.

In my blog, I usually introduced the Canadian “free-styled” parenting and mothering activities. I found that the Canadian mothers are more open to children’s learning. They did not require their children to learn what kind of knowledge or take much time in studying. I really like to become a mother like this. I did not have lots of requirements to my children. I called it “free-styled” parenting.

Rebecca used social media and introduced the “Canadian way of mothering” and her personal story as an immigrant mother in Canada, which attracted 2,000 Chinese mothers. Mothering has become a global commodity concreted as a “product” for sale. The Chinese immigrant mothers became ambassadors for Canadian culture and Canadian mothering strategies and practice. Meanwhile, they adjust their practice to the Canadian mothering as the “authentic” mothering practice. The learning and exchanging activities through transnational spaces are alternative ways for these mothers to compare and understand their own practice and reconstruct their identities as immigrant mothers.

From Chinese Immigrant Mothers’ Standpoint: Rethinking Motherhood Learning and the Best Practice for Settlement

This chapter explores Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience of learning to become a “good mother” in Canada and practising mothering in transnational relations. It aims to take their experience as a standpoint to rethink motherhood learning and the best practice in immigration settlement organizations. In this section, I provide a discussion about the best practice of settlement service and summarize my finding about how Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience could help to reframe the immigration settlement organizations. I analyze four aspects including motherhood learning, best practice for settlement, state policy, and globalization by taking Chinese immigrant mothers’ standpoint.

The Canadian National Settlement Service Standards Framework Best Practice Guidelines highlight a series of core values including “Access, Inclusion, Client empowerment, User-defined services, Holistic approach, Respect for the individual, Cultural sensitivity,

Community development, Collaboration, Accountability, Orientation towards positive change, and Reliability” (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000). In addition, the guidelines provide a series of suggestions, such as “services are accessible to all who need them” and “services are offered in an inclusive manner, respectful of, and sensitive to, diversity” (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000). However, during my fieldwork in the settlement organizations, I found a dilemma in applying the best practice guidelines within the current funding system.

In my fieldwork, I interviewed the program director, Jason, and discussed the funding dilemma and the distribution of funds. Jason said,

That is a very big question, because depending on who the funder is and depending on what part of money, it is different for each one. For us in BC, in Vancouver, we have a contract with the Ministry of Children and Family Development, so MCFD, and they fund us money to do family support programs. And in the family programs, which also include domestic violent support services, the family drop-in program, Mother Goose and Nobody Is Perfect, Summer Time in the Park, the field trips, the parenting programs and education, like all of the projects, is funded out of that. But we also do settlement, so under the settlement program, do we have some funds to help immigrant mothers? And with settlement, it’s also different contract responsibilities as well, and currently settlement is funded by the government federal CIC [Citizenship and Immigration Canada], so that’s usually for permanent residents, and some other categories. If they are naturalized Canadians, like they’ve been here or they are Canadian citizens, they may not get the funding. But sometimes, even the Canadian citizens still need some help in settlement, because they haven’t adapted to the language or they started here but then moved away and came back, then we’ll do that under the BC Settlement and Integration Program, so BC SIP we call that for short. That’s how we serve that community.

Based on my understanding of Canada’s complex funding system and distribution methods of the settlement services, I find that although the core value of the “Best Practice” emphasizes inclusion and diversity, the funding criteria might not include everyone that needs the help. In addition, what kinds of new immigrants need to be supported might be a big question. Not only who could be funded and how to distribute the funding for settlement, but also how to best understand the unequal social relations within their settlement practice might be significant in reframing immigration and settlement policies and practice. In the following part, I

summarize my finding through the interviews with Chinese immigrant mothers. I take their experience as a standpoint to re-examine the “Best Practice” for immigration settlement. First, I find that Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience showed an unequal power relation behind their daily practices. For example, their lifestyle, parenting, living place, experience of driving, and food are all constructed as “unhealthy,” “noisy,” “disordered,” or “uncivilized,” whereas the local people believed the “authentic Canadian-styled” mothering seemed more advanced. These unequal relations behind the mothering ideology shaped the motherhood learning practice as a one-way learning practice that ignored immigrant mothers’ experience and knowledge production. I argue that motherhood learning for newcomers should pay more attention to immigrant mothers’ experience and recognize their practice of mothering to challenge the idea of an “authentic” knowledge of mothering.

Second, there were many discussions on what is the best practice in immigration settlement organizations. Many program organizers or coordinators tried very hard to develop programs for new immigrants while at the same time fitting the government’s funding criteria. Taking immigrant mothers’ standpoints reveals that the mothers’ goal was very different from the goal of the government and settlement organizations. While immigrant mothers need more support for childcare and family support, the organizations based on governments’ funding criteria emphasize their goal of helping immigrants quickly integrate into the local labour market. Immigrant mothers’ practice at home and knowledge of mothering are unrecognized and devalued.

Third, the nation-state’s immigration policy and social welfare system are shifting and focusing more on immigrants’ employment and self-support rather than immigrant women’s family and child benefit. Although the government tried to develop some child benefits, such as the Universal Child Care Benefit, there was not enough support for immigrants’ health care, mental health, family support, and work-life balance. In addition, many immigrant mothers experience racial discrimination in the neighbourhood, community, and public spaces. There was little policy regulating the aggressive discrimination against immigrants. Instead, some politicians legitimized these racial discriminations and did not focus on the newcomers as a racially oppressed group. Taking the standpoint of the immigrant mothers could problematize the current immigration policies and welfare system and could help to raise people’s consciousness in terms of race, gender, and class inequalities.

Finally, addressing immigrant mothers in the larger global, neoliberal, and transnational context, their settlement, learning, and mothering practice have to be understood as local–global interactions. Immigrant mothers’ settlement, mothering, and learning practice is an integral part of globalization, in which a global inequality between the Eastern and Western civilizations socially constructs and abstracts Eastern civilizations as “barbarian,” “uncivilized,” or “unprofessional.” Moreover, the requirements for immigrant mothers to learn through these workshops, their neighbours, the Internet, and other materials to become a “good mother” were associated with the neoliberal ideology of mothering. By taking immigrant mothers’ experience as standpoint, we could clearly find out the “global regime of ruling” in shaping Chinese immigrant mothers’ daily lives in the local society.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

On June 16, 2015, Bill S-7, the Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act, had passed its final parliamentary hurdle in Canada. The Conservatives and Liberals voted for it, and the New Democrats and Green Party opposed (Government of Canada, 2015). This law prevented the practice of polygamy, forced marriage, and the so-called “honour killing” by immigrants. It also established a new national absolute minimum age of 16 for marriage. This law had a purpose of “protecting women” from violence, yet it labelled and stereotyped immigrants’ practices as “barbaric cultural practices” (Government of Canada, 2015). It racially distinguished immigrants’ practices from the local people’s practice and values. This law created an imagination of immigrants’ practices as “barbaric,” which separates the immigrants’ actual activities and daily lives from the local people’s practice. It had profound impacts on not only the Muslim community in Canada, but all immigrants across the country. It alerted us to the fact that the movement for social justice and social change still needs to be achieved.

During my fieldwork in Vancouver, I have witnessed a series of racial protests against immigrants. I saw in the news that anti-Chinese flyers were distributed in the city of Richmond targeting Chinese residents in Canada. I witnessed the “Trump era” in which anti-immigration has become a movement and racial discrimination and violence against immigrants, women, refugees, illegal immigrants, Muslims, Aboriginals and other marginalized groups have been justified and legitimized. There were fears, hates, and tensions all over North America and around the world. I chose to work on Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning as an ideological practice associated with neoliberal restructuring because it is an integral part of the ideological war in which different cultures, values, and beliefs clashed and “mothering” becomes a battle for the oppressed fighting for social justice. I used the feminist and anti-racist framework as my research approach, which helped me to examine the ideology as a method of inquiry, unpack the ruling relations behind the mothering ideology, and take Chinese immigrant mothers’ experience as standpoints to challenge the patriarchal, imperialist, and hegemonic ideology of mothering.

In this conclusion, I organize my summary into four sections. In the first section, I summarize the findings of this research. I mainly indicate my findings on the revision of the meaning of motherhood and mothering, the social organization of motherhood learning in Canadian ISOs, and the race, gender, and class relations in Chinese immigrant mothers’

everyday learning, mothering, and settlement practice. In the second section, I address the research and methodological contributions of this dissertation in the field of adult education and feminist studies and discuss its implications for policy-makers and practitioners in social service and immigration policies. I particularly address the further exploration of the hierarchical discourses of ideology, identity, migration, and mothering. In the third section, I discuss three areas for future research on this topic, including the future examination of Chinese immigrant mothers' birth experience; identity construction and transnational experience in different contexts (e.g., the United States, Europe, or Asian countries and regions other than China); the interactions of racial, gender, and class relations in immigrants' daily experience and the increasing trends of neoliberalism; and mothering as a commodity and fetish in the global practice of motherhood learning. In the last section, I address the limitations of my study and provide my final comments.

Summary of Findings

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. From Chapter 1 to Chapter 4, I discussed my research scope, research questions, theoretical framework, and methodology for this study. In Chapter 5, I challenged the ideology of mothering, which is based on Westernized and neoliberalized ideas of “intensive mothering” (Vandenbeld Giles, 2014). By taking a dialectical analysis of the tensions between the imagined motherhood and the learning practice from Chinese immigrant mothers, I show how some of curriculum and learning activities provided by the Canadian ISO socially construct new immigrant mothers as “isolated,” with a “lack of skills and self-esteem” and “without and local knowledge and local experience,” and I argue that the social construction of “new immigrant mothers” greatly shapes the social organization of immigrant mothers' learning in their settlement. Chapter 6 examined a home-based program for immigrant mothers. I explored the social organization of immigrant mothers' learning in Canadian ISOs. Through unpacking the ruling relations of Chinese immigrant mothers' learning activities in this home-based program, I provided an account of how Canadian immigration settlement organizations play a role in-between the state's policy and immigrants' actual settlement practice to ensure immigrant mothers' learning is associated with the state's neoliberal immigration policy.

In Chapter 7, with an exploration of Chinese immigrant mothers' experience in learning, settlement, and practising mothering in Canada, I find that race, gender, and class relations were

embedded in their practice. I show that the discursive and material practice of Chinese immigrant mothers' learning contains unequal social relations, hierarchically structured by race, gender, and class differences. In Chapter 8, I investigated Chinese immigrant mothers' experience as standpoints to understand how motherhood learning as an ideological practice has been produced in the era of neoliberalism. I outlined how these Chinese immigrant mothers learn to become "good immigrant mothers" in order to fit into the neoliberal ideology of mothering.

My findings are summarized in relation to three themes: 1) revisiting the meaning of motherhood and the ideology of mothering; 2) the social organization of motherhood learning in Canadian ISOs; and 3) gender, racial and class relations in Chinese immigrant mothers' learning and everyday experience.

Revisiting the Meaning of Motherhood and the Ideology of Mothering

Through examining the motherhood learning programs at MOSAIC, I find that "immigrant mothers" are socially constructed as a category throughout MOSAIC's curricula, textbooks, learning materials, program policy, and learning programs. By taking immigrant mothers' experience as a standpoint, I argue that motherhood learning has to be understood at both the global and local levels. At the global level, motherhood learning is an ideological practice that is associated with the global capitalist system, the unequal power relations between the West and East and the Global North and South, and the neoliberalized sociocultural, political, and economic conditions. At the local level, immigrant mothers' knowledge of mothering and daily experience are unrecognized and devalued. The learning practice became a pathway for them to "become" "good immigrant mothers" who fit the imagination and categories of the local people. Examining immigrant mothers' experience, identity, and practice provides a standpoint to revise the meaning of motherhood and the ideology of mothering from local to global.

There are three arguments I made in examining mothering as an ideology from the standpoint of Chinese immigrant mothers. First, I argue that the social construction of "immigrant mothers" is a process of "becoming" in order to become a "good immigrant mother" in another country. I find that there is a separation between the imagination of "mothering" and immigrant mothers' actual practice. The program curricula, textbooks, and materials demonstrate that the program has constructed immigrant mothers as women who stay at home, cannot find jobs, and need to learn more parenting strategies for mothering their children. The immigrant

mothers were considered has social, cultural and linguistic burden that they had huge demands to fit into the local society. Yet, not many studies addresses how these barriers have been created and how the race, gender, and class relations are embedded in immigrant mothers' daily practice. The process of creating these barriers and unequal social relations becomes a crucial element in the making of "immigrant mothers."

Second, I argue that there is a systematic devaluation of immigrant mothers' experience and knowledge production in both the household and the local labour market. There was a lot of discussion of the devaluation and lack of recognition of Chinese immigrants' previous skills, but not much attention was given to their knowledge production, everyday experience, and mothering practice. Immigrant mothers' practice and knowledge production process provide valuable resources for helping researchers to gain a new understanding of the meaning of motherhood and the knowledge of mothering.

Finally, I argue that the material and ideological devaluation of migrant mothers' labour, knowledge, and skills happened not only within a patriarchal, racial, and capitalist structure, but also in a global, neoliberal, and imperialist system. The process of devaluation engaged with global trends of marginalization and racialization associated with the neoliberal restructuring. The ideological practice of motherhood learning has to be examined through its hierarchical local–global relations, including individuals, local organizations, states, and global factors.

The Social Organization of Motherhood Learning in Canadian ISOs

In this dissertation, I conducted a critical ethnography in an immigration settlement organization with a purpose of examining how motherhood learning has been socially organized. I not only examined the settlement programs for motherhood learning but also interviewed different participants, such as Chinese immigrant mothers, community and social workers, MOSAIC's program coordinators, and its director. I find that the social organization of motherhood learning contains multi-layered participants and social relations. In this study, I unpacked the ruling relations and examined the complex social relations behind the motherhood learning based on the HIPPY program at MOSAIC.

I use the notion of "isomorphism" to understand the dynamic structural relations of the organization both internally and externally. I map the complex institutional relations behind the HIPPY program and find that the shared values, mission, objectives, and principles of HIPPY

Canada and MOSAIC come from HIPPY USA and HIPPY international. These shared values, mission, objectives, and principles present ideas from the global regime of ruling, which are an integral part of the global neoliberal restructuring and interact with the hierarchical organization of motherhood learning in the HIPPY program.

I examined the motherhood learning program and Chinese immigrant mothers in Canadian ISOs at three levels. The first is the international level. Mothering is imagined as a national identity that involves the nation's social, cultural, economic, and political beliefs and values. Chinese immigrant mothers' mothering practice interacts with their identity construction in terms of not only their belonging, but also their transnational encounters. At the state level, I examined how the state and its immigration policies, welfare system, and social services interact with settlement programs for immigrant mothers. I find that with the influence of neoliberal ideology, the state shifted its focus from nation-building to economic development, which applied in its funding system for the local settlement organizations and required new immigrants to become self-supporting and quickly integrated into the local labour market. At the local level, learning is an objectified form of social consciousness and praxis in the social organization of motherhood learning. I problematize the "common sense" of the ruling idea of mothering and argue that the ruling relations, as forms of consciousness, are constituted in immigrant mothers' everyday learning in their settlement.

I took Chinese immigrant mothers' experiences as standpoints to understand the complex social relations in immigration settlement and motherhood learning. I challenged a previous top-down understanding of the organization. I problematized the unequal power relations and highlighted how immigrant mothers' everyday learning and living are regulated and shaped.

Learning and Experiencing Gender, Class, and Race Relations

Immigrant mothers reconstructed their identities to become self-supporting mothers and learned to mother their children in the host country. Examining the Chinese immigrant mothers' experience and identities could help us not only to re-understand the ideology of mothering, but also to reflect on gender, race, and class relations. While Chinese immigrant mothers constructed their identities through the learning practice, they had their own ideology and engaged with the social relations. It is important to understand how their identities were constructed between themselves and others and how the unequal power relations were produced. I took the examination of Chinese immigrant mothers' identities as a way of understanding their resistance.

In this study, I find that the gender, racial and class relations, which were interconnected, were deeply embedded in Chinese immigrant mothers' learning and everyday experience. I argue that Chinese immigrant mothers are dynamic and creative agents in constructing identities, which could help us to reflect on the gender, race, and class relations in their everyday experience of learning, settlement, and mothering.

This investigation of Chinese immigrant mothers' work-life balance, cross-cultural parenting practice, experience of domestic violence, and relationships with parents or parents-in-law showed that gender relations in immigrant mothers' experience within the patriarchal institution play a crucial role in the process of assimilating, differentiating, and marginalizing immigrant mothers in Canadian society. In addition, I explored Chinese immigrant mothers from different social classes and provided a class-based analysis of their identity. I argue that the class identity, like race and gender identity, is associated with the class-based neoliberal ideology and practice. I also point out that the immigrant mothers from the hierarchical class differences construct their identities in different ways with their social and cultural practices. Finally, I investigate the race relations in immigrant mothers' everyday lives, including their children and their own race relations in schools and in the neighbourhood. I find that there are "appropriate logics" between immigrant mothers' practice and the social order in local schools, neighbourhood, and community. As unequal social relations, the race relations shaped Chinese immigrant mothers' identity construction of themselves and others.

Finally, I explore Chinese immigrant mothers' learning experience and how they constructed their identities within the race, gender, and class relations in order to become "good mothers" in Canada. I find that their learning practice in parenting, driving, and lifestyle and their transnational lives as an ideological practice contained the ruling idea of "good mothering" coming from the imperialist and hegemonic ideology of mothering. I take Chinese immigrant mothers' learning experience and daily practice as a standpoint to understand the multi-layered organizers of motherhood learning from local to global. I highlight the exploitation, alienation, oppression, and all kinds of "ideological forms of racism" that were not only products of capitalism, imperialism, and neoliberalism, but also of the unequal social relations within the discursive and material dimensions of Chinese immigrant mothers' everyday lives.

Research Contributions, Implications, and Limitations

This study makes three research contributions and has three implications for policy-makers, social service providers, and the participants. The three research contributions lie in the study's contributions to the field of adult education, studies for immigrant women, and theoretical and methodological implications. The implications for immigration policy and settlement service involve a reframing of Canadian immigration policy and suggestions on transformative practice in local immigration settlement organizations.

Research Contributions

My study enriches learning theory in studies of adult education and lifelong learning. While adult education emphasizes preparing individuals as adult learners to play their full part in the world, lifelong learning focuses on how learners keep on learning “in order to keep abreast with the developments in contemporary society” (Jarvis, 2008, p. 5). Learning changes its meaning in the new condition of neoliberalization and globalization. How is learning socially organized under the new social, political, and economic conditions? Whose knowledge need to be acknowledged? Who is learning whose knowledge? This study highlights motherhood learning in the field of adult education and addresses how motherhood learning becomes an ideological practice that is embedded in immigrant mothers' daily practice. It challenges the ideology of mothering and reconceptualizes the notion of “immigrant mother.” Motherhood constitutes women as paradoxical subjects of citizenship: women's “political duty (like their exclusion from citizenship) derives from their difference from men, notably their capacity for motherhood” (Pateman, 1992, p. 19). Motherhood is not only central to “reproducing the state” (Stevens 1999) but, more specifically, mothering—alongside schooling—constitutes a “dominant ideological apparatus” for producing ethnicity as a core element underpinning the nation-form (Erel, 2011, p. 696). Migrant mothers are commonly recognized as playing a significant role in reproducing Canada's next generation and progressively changing Canadian culture, economy, institutions, and society. This study challenges the ruling power behind the knowledge of mothering and maps the social relations in the social organization of motherhood learning in immigrants' settlement.

Second, this study contributes to an exploration of Chinese immigrant mothers' stories, including their settlement, learning, mothering, identity, and everyday practice. It acknowledges

the importance of understanding Chinese immigrant mothers' mothering practice, previous experience, and knowledge production process. It shows these immigrant mothers' voice and takes their experience as a standpoint to challenge the dominant ideology of mothering and existing hegemonic and imperialist power. It particularly analyzes the gender, class, and race relations in the discursive and material dimensions of immigrant mothers' daily lives. One of the contributions of this study is to argue that immigrant mothers' experience provides an excellent window for observing how social, cultural, and race relations in educational setting are regulated and constructed.

Finally, this study takes a feminist and anti-racist theoretical framework and a critical ethnography approach to explore motherhood learning and Chinese immigrant mothers' practice. It enriches the methodological and theoretical exploration in immigrants' settlement and learning in the field of Adult Education. By using the feminist and anti-racist theoretical framework, I take the learning practice as an ideological practice of inquiry. I am able to use the dialectic approach of thinking to problematize the separation between the imagination of "mothering" and "immigrant mothers" and the actual practice and experience of immigrant mothers. By taking a critical ethnography, I not only position myself, as a Chinese immigrant mother and a researcher, in challenging the "common sense" and power relations in motherhood learning but also explore the complex ruling and institutional relations behind the daily practice and knowledge production in immigrant mothers' activities. Both the theoretical framework and research methodology contribute a possible way of studying and reasoning the unequal power relations behind the marginalized and oppressed people. I have treated this study as a process of practising social activism to deliver a message on social justice and social change.

Implications

This study has three implications for policy-makers, social service providers, and participants. As to immigration policy-makers, I suggest that they should raise consciousness on race, gender, and class issues in evaluating and making policies related to immigrants. I argue that the immigration policies or regulations have to be understood from immigrants' standpoints, particularly those who experience oppression, exclusion, and violence. I highlight the racialized immigration history in Canada and North America, which continuously affects immigrants' life. The current immigration policy and practice must be understood as a historical moment that needed to be developed for the purpose of social transformations.

This study provides a second implication for the immigration settlement organization and its social service providers. During my fieldwork at the ISO, I found that the programs faced funding and staff cuts. There were real challenges in not only supporting immigrants' settlement, but also securing funding from the government and the ISO's other partnerships. Heated debates on how to distribute the funding and how to provide best practices for immigrants' settlement had been undergone over the years. My research indicates the unequal power relations behind immigrant mothers' learning in Canadian ISOs and suggests that social service providers develop a transformative program rather than simply teach the "knowledge" or "skills" for newcomers.

Finally, as to my participants, this study explores their voice and stories and highlights the value of their knowledge production and previous experience in both China and Canada. I suggest the immigrant mothers should not treat themselves as simply a "learner" or a "mother"; rather, they need to treat themselves as an agent in mobilizing their knowledge and experience into action for social justice. I suggest that they may need to build certain networks for supporting each other and promoting their identity and experience in the multicultural society of Canada.

Limitations

This study challenges the conceptualization of "mothering" by taking the standpoint of Chinese immigrant mothers. It highlights that the meaning of "mothering" is always fluid, hybrid and dynamic. Immigrant mothers are not a monolithic group of people but rather individuals with hybrid and diverse identities and experiences. This study may have limitations in terms of inclusiveness. There are immigrant mothers from other different countries and regions, such as immigrant mothers from East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Even Chinese immigrant mothers are from different regions of China, such as Zhejiang province, Beijing district, Guangdong province, and Hong Kong. Their different cultural backgrounds and identities may interact with their settlement and learning in different ways. Moreover, there are various types of immigrant mothers who could be single mothers, gay mothers, and queer mothers. My study may have limitations in discussing the full range of immigrant mothers' experiences in Canadian ISOs.

Areas for Future Research

There are three areas for future research. The first is an expansion on Chinese immigrant mothers' diasporic experience in different countries and regions. The second area is about embodiment and biopolitics of Chinese immigrant mothers. The third area is the fetishism and commodification of mothering ideology.

After I finished writing my research proposal for this study, I was very interested in examining Chinese immigrant mothers' learning and settlement in Canadian ISOs. During my fieldwork in Vancouver, I was able to talk to different participants and people in settlement programs. I found that there were many mothers who were neither immigrants nor Canadian citizens. Some of them were visitors with a tourist visa, some were workers with a work permit or without any permit, and some were international students. There were three kinds of mothers that I was most interested in. One group of mothers came to Canada with a tourist visa and planned to give birth to their child in Canada. Another group of the mothers had a tourist visa and came here to take care of their children, who went to either elementary school or high school in Canada. The third group lived in different countries and regions, including Canada, the United States, Asia, and Europe. They practised mothering and settlement in various transnational and cross-cultural spaces. These mothers' diasporic experience of mothering, living and settlement could be further explored in reconceptualizing the notions of "mothering," "identity," and "citizenship."

The second area for further exploration is the embodiment and biopolitics of Chinese immigrant mothers in settlement. In my research, I found that the image of the Chinese immigrant mother's body has frequently appeared in the program's website, flyers, and course materials. The body image delivered a message of race, gender, and class relations in the constructing of "Chinese immigrant mothers." Not only the constructions of these images from the program, but also the constructions by Chinese immigrant mothers need to be further discussed. After giving birth, many immigrant mothers' body shape has changed. Many of them were trying to do exercises, keep to a diet, or find other solutions to reshape their body or keep a good body shape. Not many studies explore how Chinese immigrant mothers are embodiments of race, gender, and class that interact with their identity and actual practice. The social relations behind the bodies of these immigrant mothers need to be explored.

As I addressed in this dissertation, mothering is an ideology, practised not only from local to global but also within transnational and cross-cultural spaces. “Mothering” is a commodity that involves the flow of “information, culture, financial, physical and human capital that ‘move along various global highways’” (Takseva, 2012, p. 135). My research interests include further study of mothering and motherhood and how mothering has been fetishized as a global commodity consumed through immigrant mothers, as carriers, from local to global.

Final Comments

This dissertation has explored the complex interplay between mothering, learning, and settlement by focusing on the motherhood learning in a Canadian ISO. It examines the gender, class, and race relations within Chinese immigrant mothers’ learning in their settlement practice in Canada. These unequal relations were embedded in not only the motherhood learning programs in the Canadian ISO, but also the discursive and material dimensions of Chinese immigrant mothers’ everyday experience, including their parenting, driving, the making of noise, lifestyle, preparing food, and their relationship with parents-in-law, transnational family, school, and the local community.

By taking a critical feminist and anti-racist theoretical approach, this dissertation demonstrates how immigrant mothers’ learning practice, as an ideological practice, has been socially organized by various actors. Moreover, it shows the roles of different actors, including the state, the ISO, and immigrant mothers in organizing immigrant mothers’ learning. It states that the complex relations between different actors involve a relation of ruling with ruling ideas between the ruling class and the ruled. Finally, it addresses how the unequal power relations such as gender, class, and racial inequalities have been constructed and practised through Chinese immigrant mothers’ mothering, settlement, and learning.

This study on motherhood learning and immigrant mothers’ settlement in Canadian ISOs demonstrates two significant dimensions in adult education and learning: on the one hand, it reveals that motherhood learning plays a crucial role in global Westernization and modernization. On the other hand, it demonstrates Chinese immigrant mothers’ participation in the making of “immigrant motherhood” in the cross-cultural and transnational practice of learning associated with the neoliberal ideology. As a result, this study argues, immigrant mothers’ learning, which has been socially organized by different actors, is not only a product of neoliberal ideology of mothering, but also a cultural nexus of transnational encounters.

Last but not least, there are some questions for further consideration. While most scholars perceive the meaning of “mothering” in relation to the division between “traditional” and “modern” and “good” and “bad,” how has immigrants’ motherhood learning as a diasporic, fluid, and dynamic practice been shaped and contrasted in order to distinguish between self and others? How does immigrants’ motherhood learning help us rethink motherhood and migration? Furthermore, how should the study of motherhood learning diversify adult learning practice? As this dissertation points out, previous studies in adult education focus more on adult learners’ vocational training and lifelong learning practice, and few studies pay attention to the discursive learning practice in immigrant mothers’ settlement and everyday activities. This dissertation argues that examining immigrant mothers’ learning could help us to rethink the meaning of learning, which as an ideological practice involves unequal social and power relations. All in all, this critical ethnographical research contributes to the understanding of migrant motherhood, immigration settlement, and settlement services, which formed a new thinking on ideology, ruling relations, identity, and knowledge.

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