Agents of Change: Diasporic Development Initiatives from and Negotiations of Belonging among the Second-Generation Tamil Diaspora in Canada

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Abstract

Decoloniality has become a buzzword in the Canadian international development sector. The term intends to draw continuities between Canada's colonial past and present and draws attention to the way that the practice of international development perpetuates colonial power structures, specifically what Pailey (2020) has called the “White gaze of development.” When racialized actors in a white settler state like Canada are involved in international development initiatives in their countries of ethnic origin, they are often met with a binary, racist discourse among the broader Canadian community that either praises them as useful "tools" of Canadian foreign policy or denigrates their activities as a posing a potential "risk" to national interests.

As a development actor on the world stage that sees itself as “cultural mosaic,” Canadians and the Canadian government should consider the potential for its diaspora to contribute to its foreign policies and strategies. Diasporic development can help with innovation in the development industry by expanding ideas about development and how it can be done. Reductionist understandings about diasporic transnationalism limit these possibilities, which underline the imperative to better understand diasporic identity and transnationalism.

Using a Bourdieusian (1986) field analysis, Bhabha's notions of (1994) hybridity and liminality, as well as Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualization of belonging, this research explores the negotiations of belonging among the second-generation Tamil diaspora in Canada as they engage in development initiatives focused on communities in Sri Lanka. Through in-depth interviews with 34 participants, this research finds that the diaspora has day-to-day interactions in a number of sites or "micro-fields" which inform

their engagement in international development initiatives that are focused on communities in Sri Lanka, and that their negotiations of belonging and otherness are salient in their development experiences. Members of the diaspora also interrogate coloniality through their hybridity and subsequent positioning in a liminal space. They reject colonial discourse by constructing belonging to the communities at the development sites and valuing localization. However, their interrogation of power structures across different fields as well as their multiple subject positions also contribute to their reflexivity about the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Turtle Island/Canada.

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Chapter 1. Why Diasporic International Development from Canada?

Growing up as a second-generation Tamil Canadian, I understood that I was Tamil and Canadian, though I perhaps did not appreciate the complexity of having simultaneously encompassed both identities. I sang the Canadian national anthem every morning in school, learned to read and write Tamil at the local Hindu temple, danced Bharatanatyam on the weekends, and I considered the political situation in one country while living in another. I took these experiences for granted, not fully comprehending the amount of day-to-day identity negotiation and code-switching with which I engaged as I navigated my life as a Tamil Canadian. As I grew older, my interest in this identity negotiation grew, and I pursued research about diasporic identity, particularly the negotiation of identity among second-generation diasporas.

I have been an actor in the international development sphere for some time, volunteering and working in several non-governmental organizations (NGOs). I have also been a student of international development studies. However, it was only when I joined a development initiative in Sri Lanka in 2017 that I noticed something: many other second-generation Tamil Canadians[1] were also involved in development initiatives geared towards helping people in Sri Lanka. This observation provoked several initial questions: How and why did these other second-generation Tamil Canadians become

[1] Due to the various geopolitical identifications of the Tamil diaspora who emigrated from Sri Lanka, this dissertation will, in the interest of considering these diverse identifications, refer to the diaspora as "Tamil" rather than "Sri Lankan Tamil". However, the reference to the diaspora as "Tamil" is made with the understanding that this particular group consists of people who emigrated from Sri Lanka, as well as their descendants. The decision to use this reference is discussed further in the methodology chapter.

involved in development initiatives geared towards helping people in Sri Lanka? What motivates them to engage in these initiatives? My observations of this second-generation diaspora's engagement in development initiatives merged with my interest in diasporic identity, specifically how day-to-day experiences with transnationalism contribute to the negotiation of identity, leading me to additional questions: How does the negotiation of identity among this diaspora contribute to their transnationalism, but how does their transnationalism also inform their negotiations of identity? Furthermore, what does all of this mean for the theory and practice of 'development'?

In doing so, I aim to decenter the White gaze of development (Pailey 2020). By exploring the Tamil diasporas' experiences of transnationalism, identity negotiation, and development (both small 'd' and big 'D'), my work disrupts colonial notions of development and contributes to a better understanding of racialized actors' experiences.

1.1 Conversations about Coloniality, Here and Now

Focusing on this racialized, often overlooked actor in the development field is timely. Buzzwords such as "equity, diversity, inclusion" and "decolonization" have sparked public controversy across North America and beyond, opening a debate about the way colonialism shapes contemporary experiences of race and racism and what is to be done about it. For example, Ryerson University in Toronto, Canada, changed its name to Toronto Metropolitan University in 2022 after its namesake was revealed to be an architect of residential schools, which played a central role in the "cultural genocide" of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples (CBC News, 2021; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). In 2020, the municipal government of San Francisco

(U.S.), introduced the Caution Against Racially Exploitative Non-Emergencies (CAREN) Act that aims to forbid White people from targeting Black and other racialized people by intentionally calling the police "under false pretenses" (Dubé, 2020). The teaching of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in public schools has provoked backlash in the U.S. with some states introducing legislation that would make teaching these concepts unlawful (Blackwell, 2022). This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but to highlight a few examples of the way that these concepts have emerged from the margins into the mainstream.

While the upswing in public attention to 'race' and 'colonialism' seems to have occurred suddenly, this shift did not occur in a vacuum. Social movements for racial justice have been organizing for decades. Black Lives Matter and Idle No More have helped to frame the public discussion of coloniality and race, introducing these concepts into mainstream public discourse. While the murder of George Floyd in May 2020- along with many, many other Black Americans- at the hands of the police in the United States (Bell, 2020; Boatright et al., 2021; Cooperdock et al., 2020; Pailey, 2020; Pennington, 2020) was certainly catalytic, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement began almost a decade before. The hashtag *#blacklivesmatter* was popularized after a White man named George Zimmerman was acquitted after shooting an unarmed Black teenager named Trayvon Martin in 2013 (Chase, 2018). As Oliver et al. (2022) argue, the BLM movement is not 'new' but rather builds on the work of decades of organizing for racial justice. For example, the police brutality against Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1992 contributed to a growing wave of protests over the next few years, which stalled in the wake of the 9/11 terror attacks in New York City in 2001 but started to re-build in 2005 (Olivier et al. 2022). Building on these efforts, the most recent cycle of BLM protests in

the context of the COVID-19 pandemic "may be the largest movement in U.S. history" (Buchanan et al., 2020). It has had a profound impact on mainstream, public conversations about race and racism in North America and beyond.

Similarly, the long-standing social movements in Turtle Island/Canada have also been reinvigorated in recent years as the country comes to terms with its own colonial history of violence. The Idle No More (INM) movement, an Indigenous social movement, started out in 2012, in a similar fashion to BLM, with a small event that was promoted through social media and the hashtag *#idlenomore* to protest Bill C-45, an omnibus bill introduced by the Harper government that sought to overturn environmental protections and make changes to treaty agreements without consultation with Indigenous groups (Graveline, 2012). Three years later, in 2015, Murray Sinclair, a former judge and senator, tabled the findings of the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC report made a series of recommendations to help repair the damage of Canadian policies that amounted to cultural genocide (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Recommendations included reforms to curriculum such as teaching Indigenous languages in post-secondary institutions and teaching Canadian school children about the history of residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, pp. 314–341). However, during the pandemic, discoveries were made, one after another, of unmarked graves where the children of residential schools were buried, across the country (Al Jazeera, 2021, 2022a; Cooper, n.d.; Dickson & Watson, 2021; Eneas & Song, 2022; Quenneville, 2021; The Canadian Press, 2022b, 2022a; Tkach, 2021). After these discoveries, INM organized a "#CancelCanadaDay" march on Canada Day (July 1st) 2021, to "honour all of the lives lost to the Canadian state" (Perez &

Pringle, 2021) after which cities such as Victoria cancelled their own celebrations too (Cecco, 2021).

The arrival of a novel coronavirus, COVID-19, which the World Health Organization (WHO) declared a pandemic in March 2020, amplified these conversations about racial justice. The pandemic exposed and exacerbated racial inequalities in North American societies. For example, Godoy and Wood (2020) found that Black people in the U.S. were dying of COVID-19 at disproportionate rates. Canada is lagging behind in this regard, with only the province of Manitoba as well as several health units within the province of Ontario engaging in race-based data collection, instead of it occurring on a national scale (McKenzie, 2020). However, the need for this race-based data is highlighted by Chung et al.'s (2020) study which showed that in Canada, rates of COVID-19 infections were higher in communities with more immigrants and racialized peoples. These cycles of protests for racial justice, as well as the pandemic's exposure of racial inequities, exposed the continued existence of colonialism and amplified calls for and moves towards "decolonization" in all sectors, including the international development sector.

1.1.1 Coloniality in the Study and Practice of International Development

"Decolonization" has, for a long time, been a focus of many different areas of scholarship, including critical race studies, postcolonial studies, subaltern studies, Indigenous scholarship, queer feminism, pan-African scholarship, and more (Patel, 2020). In international development studies (IDS), there has been a focus on 'colonialism' since the discipline emerged, including "world-systems theory, dependency

theory, postcolonialism and post-development" with "critiques of imperialism, colonialism and development" (Kapoor 2002; Sylvester 1999; Escobar 2012 [1995] as cited in Patel, 2020, p. 1467). Relatively few scholars, however, have connected these discussions to questions of race and racism in international development (for notable exceptions see Goudge, 2003; Kothari, 2006a, 2006b; Loftsdóttir, 2009; Power, 2006; White, 2002; Wilson, 2013; Patel, 2020; Pailey, 2020). As Patel (2020) observes, there has been a relative "neglect of race in intellectual and practical engagements with development and its study," which is ironic given the "intertwined and inseparable relationship between race and racism and colonialism" (p.1464).

Some IDS scholars have offered explanations for this relative silence. Two decades ago, White (2002) postulated that, "talking about race in development is like breaking a taboo. Concerned with economic growth and the 'war on poverty', development is determinedly colour-blind" (p. 407). This silence is exemplified in an early study by Heron (2007) who found that White development workers were uncomfortable with identifying with their Whiteness, preferring to refer to themselves through hair or eye colour. Similarly, a study by Thomas and Luba (2018) attribute the silence to White fragility, as they found that White students who volunteered abroad in India "neglected to mention race" in their discussions about their development experiences and were uncomfortable with discussing their own whiteness during their interviews (p. 189). Pailey (2020) argues that this silence about race is due to an epistemological lens known as the "white gaze of development." Ultimately, this silence about race and racism reinforces colonial continuities in development and helps to

perpetuate unequal structures, which “helps preserve and reproduce the racist status quo” (D. P. Thomas & Luba, 2018, p. 184).

Thus, one of the central goals of “decolonial” studies is to raise awareness of and interrogate the “White gaze of development.” As Mignolo (2002) puts it in his work, the hegemonic power of Western cultures of scholarship and knowledge-production rests on an “assumption of their universal scope, [that they are] valid for all time and all societies” (p. 70). Decoloniality helps us delink our knowledge and our practices from the colonial matrix of power (Tamale, 2020, p. xiv). Decolonial scholarship also uses the concept of race “as an analytic to unpack the process” (Patel, 2020, p. 1468) of knowledge production.

1.1.2 Coloniality in a Multicultural Canada

Canada/Turtle Island, the territory that is the focus of this study, is a fertile site for discussions about equity, diversity, inclusion and decolonization, due to its diverse demographics, colonial past and present, embodiment of multiculturalism, and strong proclaimed presence in the development sphere. Canada is home to immigrants from all over the world. Additionally, Canada is one of the most racially and ethnically diverse OECD countries: “approximately 20% of all Canadians were born outside of the country, including some 40% of those living in Vancouver and more than 45% of those living in Toronto" (The Mosaic Institute & The Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2011, p. 3). In other words, Canadians born outside of the country come from a more diverse group of source countries compared to most of the other countries of the OECD, which contributes to its ethnic diversity. In addition to the 6 million Canadians who were born outside of

the country, their children and grandchildren make up twice that amount (Carment & Landry, 2016, p. 211). As a result of this history of immigration and settlement, according to the 2016 Census, one out of five Canadians—approximately 7.6 million out of 35 million people—self-identified as members of a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Additionally, conversations about these buzzwords are particularly relevant in Canada because of the federal government's promotion of multiculturalism as "a symbol of Canadian identity" (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009). For example, the Canadian government has marketed multiculturalism as a framework that supports equity, diversity, and inclusion, and promotes the peaceful co-existence of people from different cultures. The model of multiculturalism was institutionalized through the Multiculturalism policy in 1971, which sought,

> [T]o assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society (thus, the multiculturalism policy advocated the full involvement and equal participation of ethnic minorities in mainstream institutions, without denying them the right to identify with select elements of their cultural past if they so chose); to promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the two official languages. (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009)

However, critical race scholars have criticized Canada's multicultural policies, arguing that this narrow, superficial form of multiculturalism is an ideological tool that in fact perpetuates coloniality (Thobani 2007; Fleras 2011, 2015). Such scholars argue that Canada's version of multiculturalism sets narrow parameters on diversity that perpetuate unequal power structures and exclusion. Thobani (2007) sums up the argument as follows: "the adoption of multiculturalism as state policy enabled the state to represent itself as having accomplished the transformation from an overt racial settler state to its

present liberal-democratic form" (pp. 58-59). According to these scholars, Canadian multiculturalism does not go beyond the promotion of diversity in the realms of fashion, food and music, or, as Donald and Rattansi put it, "saris, samosas, and steel bands" (Donald and Rattansi 1992, p.2, as cited in Amarasingam et al., 2016). In other words, Canada's multiculturalism does not readily welcome or aim to foster more profound transnational connections between citizens located in Canada and other countries beyond their cosmopolitan identities, which helps to propagate the idea that there is a generalized "other," rather than embrace deeper forms of diversity. Additionally, as Fleras (2011) argues, Canada's notion of the multicultural "mosaic" conflates "cultures into a singular commonality" and "papers over transmigrant identities and intrasecting differences" (p.17). Furthermore, these notions of multiculturalism are based on territorialized and binary ideas about identity, expressed in notions such as "here" and "there", "us" and them", which contribute to the idea of "an inhospitable national yet the uninhabitable transnational" (Fleras, 2015, p. 312). Such binaries promote the view that deeper forms of transnationalism from diasporas are a potential threat to 'Canadian identity' and might even compromise 'Canadian' values and interests by "hijacking" Canadian foreign policy with foreign interests at the expense of Canadian interests (Satzewich, 2008) or "importing" the conflicts occurring in diasporas' countries of ethnic origin (Monahan et al., 2014).

However, globalization and increased migration have resulted in the "diversification of mobility on an unprecedented global scale", which raises ideas that need to be considered, such as the idea that "people's notions of identity and belonging may be uncoupled (deterritorialized) from place", as well as the possibility of "civic

participation and meaningful belonging against the backdrop of splintered loyalties, multiple identities, and fragmented affiliations" (Fleras, 2015, p. 311). Thus, understanding the experiences of diasporas in Canada, specifically their experience with transnationalism, provides an opportunity to explore these ideas about identity and belonging further.

1.2 Exploring Diasporic Identity through Transnationalism

Prior migration scholarship predicted that immigrants' ties to their countries of origin (the countries from which migrants emigrate) would decline over time because of their incorporation into their country of settlement (Schiller et al., 1995). However, diasporas around the world continue to be involved in acts of transnationalism - acts that link their countries of origin and their countries of settlement (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). Some examples of this diasporic transnationalism are: participating in development projects (Lampert, 2012), sending remittances (World Bank Group, 2018), and even lobbying governments in their settlement countries about issues in their countries of origin (Satzewich, 2008). In fact, in an era of globalization, diasporas are increasingly considered by organizations to be important development actors due to their transnational activities. Some also promote diasporas as development actors due to their linguistic skills, social networks and connections to 'homelands.'

In 2013, the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) encouraged member states and organizations to "engage, enable and empower" diasporas International Diaspora Ministerial Conference, due to the critical roles that diaspora already did and could play in their home countries (IOM, 2013, p. 19). According to the

IOM (2013), the involvement of diasporas in the formulation and delivery of programs could help equalize relations of power between benefactors and beneficiaries since diaspora members living in benefactor communities may have better understandings of the beneficiary communities in areas such as language and culture, and may also have a greater emotional investment in their development. Since 2013, the conversations about diasporas as development actors have been amplified. Objective 19 in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) aims to "create conditions for migrants and diasporas to fully contribute to sustainable development in all countries" (UN, 2018, p. 6). More recently, the IOM and the Government of Ireland held the 2022 Global Diaspora Summit to "to enhance the importance of engaging with transnational communities as agents and accelerators of sustainable development" (IOM, 2022b).

However, whether diasporas are depicted negatively or positively, these simplistic narratives fail to acknowledge the diversity within diasporas (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 197), as well as the ways in which diasporas blur territorial boundaries (Fleras, 2015). In other words, the debate about the role of diaspora in development has been limited by one-dimensional understandings of diasporas as immigrants who are bounded by states. By contrast, literature on migration highlights the complexities of diasporas and their identities, particularly amongst the second and subsequent generations (Berry & Hou, 2017).

In the same vein, diasporic development is an important area of study which can provide context for further considerations of diasporic transnationalism beyond binary notions of diasporas as either "risks" to national security interests or "tools." Thus, as Levitt & Schiller (2004) propose, it is important to understand the way that diasporic

negotiations of identities are complex and not necessarily bound by traditional borders, which echo the idea that diasporic identities are deterritorialized (Fleras, 2015). In other words, the complexity and dynamism of diasporas' roles needs further exploration, in a way that acknowledges the social processes and institutions that contribute to their acts of transnationalism, which are often disregarded in traditional migration scholarship (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1004). As Sinatti and Horst (2015) state, "essentialized understandings limit the potential of diaspora engagement as a means of innovating the development industry" and as such, it is necessary to broaden "understandings of what development entails and how it can be done" (p. 141). Additionally, the importance of diasporic development as an area of study has been acknowledged by the IOM at the 2022 Global Diaspora Summit, who emphasized the importance of studying diasporas "to create more strategic and evidence-based policies empowering diaspora members to contribute and engage thus maximizing their contributions to development" (p. iii).

Both diaspora and transnationalism studies are often connected to questions about identity, with a broad range of literature seeking to explain the identities and identification processes of diasporas (Agnew, 2006; Tsolidis, 2013). In fact, identity has a logical connection to the understanding of transnationalism as a contemporary effect of migration (Lundy, 2011, p. 215), as it often relates to ideas of "home". The IOM (2022a) also acknowledges the importance of identity and belonging as an important area of focus in the study of diasporic development. However, identity is also an important area of interest because of the discourse about diasporic transnationalism more generally, and how it often relates to ideas about identity, such as attachment and loyalty. Considering these connections, an exploration of a diaspora's transnational activities also warrants a

look at their negotiations of identity. The exploration in this thesis thus focuses on this diaspora's development experiences as well as its identity and belonging, and draws from and contributes to various literatures, including international development, migration, and multiculturalism.

1.3 Why Study Second-Generation Tamils in Canada?

The Tamil diaspora in Canada is a rich case to study, as it has become the largest Tamil community outside of Sri Lanka itself (Amarasingam, 2015; Amarasingam et al., 2016; Thompson & Bucerius, 2019). The diaspora is also extremely active in transnational activities (Ashutosh, 2013), ranging from establishing Tamil media outlets and restaurants (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014) all the way to organizing and participating in political protests (Amarasingam, 2015). As such, there is a large literature about the diaspora's transnational activism in 2008-2009, when thousands of its members organized mass protests in major Canadian cities against human rights abuses in Sri Lanka (Amarasingam, 2015; Ashutosh, 2013; CBC, 2009b; Jeyapal, 2013, 2016; O'Neill, 2015; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014; The Canadian Press, 2009). However, othering narratives about the Tamil diaspora in the media after these demonstrations (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014) exemplifies the need to better understand the diversity in diaspora (Amarasingam, 2015: 197), particularly amongst second-generation. Furthermore, there is a knowledge gap regarding more recent initiatives from this diasporic group. In other words, while diaspora studies are extensive in Canada (Carment & Bercuson, 2008; Nobe-Ghelani, 2017; Satzewich, 2008; Chanoine, 2013), there is a dearth of information on the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora and its current activities in supporting international development

activities in Sri Lanka beyond the scope of more contentious forms of politics. Additionally, there is an opportunity to understand how transnational initiatives can be carried out and experienced by a second-generation diaspora in Canada, specifically one whose first generation has been particularly active.

As a Tamil Canadian who is involved in development initiatives myself, I consider my positionality to be that of an insider. In this regard, I consider this research an opportunity to de-center the White gaze of development, by not only viewing this group as a subject of development but analyzing this group through the lens of an insider. I am well-positioned to carry out this research for many reasons. Besides my background in research about diversity, inclusion, racism and colonialism, this research builds upon the findings of my master's research, which explored the hybrid identities of second-generation Tamils in Canada, as well as their perceptions about integration. The research also looked at the influences on their identities and how they felt their identities were instrumental in navigating their Canadian environments. It was through this research that I developed additional insights into the negotiations of identity amongst the second-generation of Tamil Canadians, as well as an understanding of some of their lived experiences in Canada. Thus, this research expands my exploration of these negotiations of identity into a global context, and through the scope of transnationalism, specifically international development initiatives.

1.4 Objectives, Questions and Significance

My research questions are:

1. What development initiatives in Sri Lanka are being carried out by second-generation Tamil Canadians?
2. What relationships and interactions inform their negotiations of belonging throughout these experiences?
3. What are the impacts of these negotiations of their belonging?

The objectives of this research are to:

1. Explore the ways that day-to- day interactions inform diasporic negotiations of identity and constructions of belonging.
2. Examine the ways in which constructions of belonging and negotiations of identity are connected to diasporic development.
3. Analyze the potential for a diaspora's hybrid identities to contribute to colonial or decolonial processes in international development.

In this thesis, I use Bourdieu's (1986) fields, Bhabha's (1994) concepts of hybridity, and liminality or the "Third Space," and Yuval-Davis' (2006) concept of belonging. My approach of using Bourdieu's (1986) fields allows for an exploration of relationships and day-to-day interactions in the context of development beyond national scales, and how they contribute to the diaspora's experiences with identity. While diasporic identity has been theorized in a number of ways, the construction of belonging is a common thread amongst different approaches. Thus, diasporic identity can also be understood as belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

I employ Bourdieu's (1986) notion of fields as a lens through which to approach diasporic transnationalism, while considering transnationalism as that which defines the field, or arena of practice. Framing this research through Bourdieu's fields allows for an understanding of the power structures that exist in a field that transcends national borders and how a diasporic individual can construct meanings from or interpret those structures through their day-to-day interactions as well as accumulate power through different forms of capital. A Bourdieusian field analysis also allows for an exploration of constructions of belonging or negotiations of identity. This exploration includes the concept of habitus, which consists of "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72), and which is often considered in literature referring to diasporic identity (Mu & Pang, 2019; Bannerjee, 2016;). However, I also extend the notion of habitus to consider the agency of actors to engage in a dialogue which interrogates power structures within fields, by considering Akrivou and Di San Giorgio's (2014)"dialogic habitus."

The concept of habitus is conceptualized as a phenomenon that is bounded within a field of practice. However, diasporas are multi-sited agents with multiple social locations. Additionally, transnationalism is essentially the act of merging aspects of these different sites, of "here and there", and of "home and host countries" and it is this blurring of lines that turns multiple physically separate sites into one arena of practice. In this regard, diasporas similarly encompass this merging of sites and experience multiple cultures. As such, a Bourdieusian lens is limited as a tool to analyze the dialogue or "translation" which can occur at the "borderlines" of multiple fields (Wolf, 2007). Thus, I employ Bhabha's (1994) concept of "hybridity" to explore the intersection of cultures, as

well as the “Third Space” to explain “mediation processes between different fields”, which is otherwise understood as “translation” (Wolf, 2007). These concepts highlight the translation that can occur at an intersection of cultures, and the way that the intersection of cultures can then create a new identity, particularly in the context of colonial or decolonial processes. As such, my research also highlights some of the ways in which a diaspora can resist colonial power structures in development, rather than reproducing them, due to their complex positionalities.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis contains eight chapters. The second and third chapters provide a contextual background.

The second chapter provides a look at the Tamil diaspora in Canada: their migration history, including the genocide in Sri Lanka, their settlement experiences in Canada, and contemporary aspects of their settlement, such as the numerous organizations and institutions built by the diaspora, as well as their involvement in the political, social, and economic realms in Canada. This chapter will conclude with a focus on the second generation, and an overview of the current literature about the second generation of Tamil Canadians.

The third chapter explains the theoretical framework upon which this research is based. I first examine the concept of identity, followed by a discussion about the different identity theories, as well as how the concept of belonging is well suited to explore diasporic identity. This leads into a discussion about the relationship between identity and transnationalism. These overviews will set the stage for an explanation of how these

concepts – in the context of diaspora - can be explored through Bourdieu's social fields and the way that this concept helps to explore a diaspora's multiple positionalities, how their capital is used to navigate those positionalities in their social field, as well as the ways in which habitus can be connected to the concept of diasporic identity. This chapter also includes an explanation of why Bhabha's hybridity and liminality are also important to supplement a Bourdieusian analysis of this diaspora's experiences with identity and belonging.

The fourth chapter describes my methodology as well as the methods which I used to carry out my fieldwork, specifically the sampling, recruitment, and data collection, as well as the limitations of this research. This chapter also includes a discussion about my positionality, ethical and political considerations, and experiences with obtaining research ethics approval.

The following chapters discuss the empirical and analytical aspects of this research.

Chapter five describes the fields or sites where the diaspora interacts with other actors, as well as an overview of the various forms of their engagement in development. It begins with an examination of the various sites in which the second-generation diasporic members interact with others, such as their families, schools, community organizations, cultural education initiatives such as language or arts classes, friends, secondary institutions, and social media. This examination will be supplemented with a look at the various "actors of influence" or actors with whom the second generation interacts and/or observes throughout their lived experiences. Of particular focus is how these interactions contribute to the habitus of the second-generation members of the

diaspora, specifically their constructions of belonging. This is followed by a preliminary analysis of the "helping habitus", or various factors involved in the diaspora's decision to engage in development initiatives geared towards helping people in Sri Lanka in the first place. Next, this chapter delves into the various forms of development initiatives with which the second generation chooses to engage, and how they came across these opportunities. This chapter concludes by looking at the relationship between the second generation's various forms of capital and their decisions to engage in development, as well as how they choose to participate.

Chapter six explores the negotiation of identity that occurs leading up to their participation in development initiatives, as they enter the development field, and as they engage in development. Specifically, the chapter begins by looking at the experience of growing up in Canada, with a particular focus on the second-generation Tamil diaspora's constructions of belonging as well as feelings of otherness and liminality that they negotiate within their social fields, as well as the identity narratives that highlight their desire for belonging and attachment. The chapter then examines the second generation's experiences while they engage in their development initiatives and how they negotiate the experiences in which they contend with otherness while also looking at the ways they construct their belonging through development, including the building of different forms of capital. This is followed by a focus on the intergenerational challenges and bonds, by briefly discussing the bonds that are forged through shared trauma as well exploring the relationships between first- and second- generation members of the diaspora in the context of development initiatives, including a look at differences and points of collaboration. The last section includes a discussion about the complementarity of multi-

sited actors, specifically those whose identities consist of social locations that are found in both the Global North and Global south, and international development, and the ways in which the capital of such multi-sited actors can be beneficial in development work. The chapter concludes with an exploration into how racialized diasporic development actors who find themselves in liminal or Third spaces can construct identity narratives that highlight their belonging to the diaspora through development work, as it provides them an opportunity to engage with and construct attachments to other actors with hybrid identities.

Chapter seven discusses the impacts of the diaspora's negotiations of identity and how they engage in decoloniality in the context of development. This chapter begins with a discussion about the ways that the experiences of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora, particularly their experiences with liminality or positions in a Third space, have contributed to a habitus in which many members of the diaspora position themselves laterally in relation to the community in Sri Lanka. These lateral self-positionings inform the diaspora's approaches to development as well, such as the diaspora's deviation away from colonial narratives of saviourism. While members of the diaspora are not the only development actors who value transparency and accountability, it is their lateral positioning which shifts them away from internalizing the narrative that local actors are not credible, and instead, contributes to their gravitation towards local actors while seeking out transparency and accountability. Additionally, while some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora engage in volunteering abroad, they do so in ways that embody allyship rather than engage in some of the problematic forms of volunteering that occur in development. Additionally, through their negotiations within

liminality, they engage in reflexivity about their multiple positions as development actors who seek to help communities in Sri Lanka while at the same time being colonial settlers in a "developed" Canada where Indigenous communities are marginalized and oppressed.

Lastly, in Chapter eight I offer concluding thoughts on how to take this research forward. I contemplate the potential lessons learned from the study in the context of development as well as contemporary migration and the future of diversity and multiculturalism in Canada. I consider the analytical changes that need to be made in order to better capture the experiences of diaspora in terms of identity and transnationalism. I also consider the way in which more information about the experiences of diasporas is needed for Canada to formulate foreign policy that better reflects its diversity, diasporic identity that is not bounded by place, and the potential of diaspora to make significant contributions to international development.

Chapter 2. The Tamil Diaspora in Canada

The lived experiences of the Tamil diaspora in Canada provide context for understanding the second-generation of the diaspora, and sites which they inhabit. The first section of this chapter will provide an overview of the colonial history of Sri Lanka and the conflict turned genocide in Sri Lanka (including the peak of the genocide in 2008-2009). The second section will look at the migration journeys of the first generation of the Tamil diaspora and their settlement in Canada. The third section will explore the diaspora's transnational activities in 2008 and 2009, as well as the gap of information relating to the transnational initiatives from the diaspora in Canada since then.

2.1 Before the Exodus: The Conflict in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island off the coast of southern India, formerly known as Ceylon, and often referred to as the "teardrop" of the Indian ocean, due to its shape (Amarasingam, 2015). It has a population of 21.9 million people (World Bank, n.d.-c). The Sinhalese make up approximately 74% of the population, Sri Lankan Tamils 12% of the population, a Muslim population who makes up around 9% of the population and also includes Indian Tamils who are around 4% of the population (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 15). The Sinhalese people are primarily Buddhist, while the Tamil population can be divided further into Sri Lankan Tamil and Indian Tamil (to be explained below). The Tamil population is mostly Hindu, however it should be noted that the Muslim population primarily speaks Tamil (Ranaweera et al., 2014). While there are differentiations between the groups based on several axes, including religion and national roots, the largest groups, the Sinhalese and Tamils, are categorized by language. Both groups have roots in the

Indian sub-continent (Ranaweera et al., 2014), and common threads in their languages (Alwis, 1865) but maintain distinct ethnic identities. The Tamil population lives primarily in the north and eastern regions of the country while the Sinhalese population lives in the other areas.

Illustration 1 Map of Sri Lanka

Source: (UN, 2008)

Sri Lanka has a long colonial history which significantly impacted the economy and society of the country, including the ethnic relations within it. First colonized by the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, the country was later colonized by the British who ruled it from 1796 to 1948 (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 15). During British rule, there were many more Tamil community members in elite positions of government as well as civil service positions (De Silva, 1997, as cited in Thurairajah, 2011, p. 134). It was also during this time that Tamils from India came as indentured labourers, as India was also a British colony (Guilmoto, 1993). However, as previously mentioned it is important to note that there were Tamil people migrated to Sri Lanka prior to colonialism, along with the Sinhalese.

The conflict in Sri Lanka began soon after its independence from British rule in 1972, as the preferential treatment of the English-speaking Tamil people by the British (Anandakugan, 2020) left behind ethnic tensions that manifested into increasing discrimination against the Tamil population by the majority Sinhalese government (Amarasingam, 2015, pp. 79–80). Discriminatory policies such as the "Sinhala Only Act", which was enacted in 1956 (Anandakugan, 2020), declared Sinhalese as the official language of the country and created new language requirements for many jobs. This act essentially disenfranchised the Tamil community by systematically pushing Tamil people out of their places of employment (Guribye & Tharmalingam, 2017, p. 175). The attack on the Tamil language was also a form of cultural genocide, which is defined as "is the systematic destruction of traditions, values, language, and other elements that make one group of people distinct from another" (Novic, 2016). This destruction was also seen in a major event in 1981, when state-sponsored mobs burned down the Jaffna library

(McCarthy, 2015; Tolliday et al., 2016). This library was the biggest library in South Asia at the time, which "housed a rare collection of books of 97000 volumes" (Tolliday et al., 2016, p. 156), and was of particular importance to the Tamil community, as it was home to numerous archival materials that were of cultural significance, including "precious ancient manuscripts containing irreplaceable artifacts of Tamil cultural and historical heritage" (Tharmathurai, 2019, p. 75). Considering the significance of the items, the burning of this library was seen by Tamils as the burning of Tamil history, and cultural knowledge, and as such, another example of the "cultural genocide" (Amarasingam, 2014, p. 39). Besides being disenfranchised through the Sinhala Only Act (Ashutosh, 2013; George, 2011; Hyndman, 2003; Kumar, 2018) and pushed out of their places of employment, they were also marginalized in the realm of education. Admission policy changes made it so that Tamil applicants to universities were held to a higher standard of evaluation than Sinhalese students, which resulted in lower acceptance rates of Tamil students (Chiriyankandath, 2016, p. 146). As post-secondary education was important for social mobility (Hettige, 2004, p. 122), this highlighted the systematic nature of the marginalization of the Tamil community. Tamils were excluded from public employment, but systemic discrimination in the education system perpetuated a cycle in which they were continually prevented from climbing the economic ladder.

These preferential policies contributed to the Tamil demands for a separate state (Velamati, 2009), which was "first formally proclaimed by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in October 1976 (Kodikara, 1981). As the tension grew, and as successive Tamil political organizations made little difference in the conflict, one group rose to significance through its militant strategies—a group known as the Liberation Tigers of

Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (Amarasingam, 2015; O'Neill, 2015; Thurairajah, 2011; Velamati, 2009). While there were many incidents of violence between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, and riots that occurred in the 1970s with Tamil casualties, one particular event in 1983 became a significant moment in Tamil history. Known to Tamils as "Black July", the pogrom of 1983, referred to by involved state-sanctioned mobs who burned down Tamil-owned businesses and houses, as well as killed and injured numerous Tamil civilians (Amarasingam, 2015; Ashutosh, 2013; Velamati, 2009). Tamil civilians were also tortured, set on fire and publicly humiliated by being paraded naked on the streets (Amarasingam & Poologaindran, 2016, p. 53). It was after Black July that the country found itself embroiled in full-fledged conflict (Amarasingam, 2015; Ashutosh, 2013; Ethirajan, 2022; Godwin, 2012; O'Neill, 2015). After this experience, many members of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka lived in so much fear that they sought asylum in other countries as refugees (Ibrahim et al., 2021; Velamati, 2009).

2.2 Migration and Settlement: The Makings of a Diaspora

While there was sporadic immigration of Tamils from Sri Lanka to Canada before the 1980s, it was after 1983, following "Black July", that Canada saw a mass exodus from Sri Lanka arriving at its borders (Amarasingam & Poologaindran, 2016, p. 54; George, 2011, p. 464; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014, p. 175). During this time, Tamil migrants also settled in European countries such as the UK, France, Germany, Norway and Switzerland, as well as India and Australia, and even countries like South Africa and Botswana (Velamati, 2009, pp. 278–281). Many of the Tamil people who arrived to Canada from Sri Lanka arrived as refugees (Thurairajah, 2017, pp. 121–122); in fact, Sri

Lanka was “the leading source country of refugee claimants to Canada” in 1999 (Hyndman, 2003, p. 2).

Canada is home to the largest Tamil diaspora from Sri Lanka (Amarasingam, 2015; Amarasingam et al., 2016). As of 2018, there were an estimated 200,000 people of “Sri Lankan descent” in Canada, the majority of whom are Tamil origin (Global Affairs Canada, 2018a). While the bulk of Tamil migrants settled in large Canadian cities, the majority of the diaspora resides in the Greater Toronto Area (Amarasingam, 2015; Amarasingam et al., 2016; Godwin, 2012; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014; Wayland, 2004). In fact, in 2003, Tamil was the fifth most spoken language in Toronto (Sandercock, Dickout & Wrinkler, 2004, as cited in A. Sriskandarajah, 2014).

The Tamil community in Canada has established numerous businesses and organizations. It has a dedicated television station in Canada, as well as several radio stations and newspapers (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). There are also many Tamil businesses and restaurants (Ruprecht, 2010), as well as activities in the arts, with schools of dance and music, as well as cultural arts organizations (Velamati, 2009). Additionally, the diaspora youth are “well represented in universities” (George, 2011, p. 465). However, members of the Tamil diaspora are also increasingly present in the political sphere, including holding office in various levels of government, such as Member of Parliament (MP) Gary Anandasangaree (House of Commons, n.d.), and Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) Vijay Thanigasalam (Ontario PC Party, n.d.). Additionally, diaspora lobbying led to Bill-104, known as the Tamil Genocide Education Week Act, which was passed by the Ontario provincial government in May of 2021 (Adler, 2021). More recently, plans to establish a community centre in an area with a large Tamil population,

Scarborough, have been supported by the Canadian government, which has committed over 14.3 million dollars to the project. The centre will include a library, multi-purpose spaces and more (Infrastructure Canada, 2021). While the settlement of the Tamil diaspora in Canada highlight that they are well integrated and contributing to the cultural "mosaic" that is supposedly the pride of Canadian multiculturalism, the 2009 protests carried out by numerous diasporic members highlighted the limits of that multiculturalism, and the precarity of their belonging when they engaged in deeper forms of transnationalism.

2.3 The 2008-2009 Protests in Canada

While there is some literature that points to various aspects of the Tamil diaspora's settlement experiences in Canada, the bulk of the literature revolves around their political activism (Hyndman, 2003), with a significant amount of coverage on the 2008-2009 protests which occurred in Toronto (Ashutosh, 2013; Godwin, 2012; Jeyapal, 2013, 2016; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). This is because these protests carried out by members of the Tamil diaspora in Canada were transnational acts that highlighted the significance of the diaspora itself, in terms of its size (Jeyapal, 2013), its organizational capacities and the social capital, as well as its belonging in Canada.

While violence in Sri Lanka after "Black July" and the exodus of numerous Tamil people continued for decades, with one failed ceasefire after another (Amarasingam, 2015), there was a resurgence of extreme violence in 2008, which put Sri Lanka at the top of the global list of "battle-related deaths" that year (Orjuela, 2011, p. 114). Numerous civilians also disappeared under suspicious circumstances. In fact, the term "White van"

is a well-known term in the vocabulary of the Tamil community, understood to be the often-occurring event of Tamil people being victim to enforced disappearances (Amnesty International, 2017). This violence grew, and thousands of Tamil people were killed. In late 2008 and early 2009, the violence escalated further; ultimately, after many civilian deaths, the government took the last hold of the LTTE in 2009 and killed the organization's leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, marking the end of the conflict (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 142). It is important to note that organizations around the world sounded alarms, particularly in the last stages of the war, sharing that the situation on the ground in Sri Lanka was rife with human rights abuses (Human Rights Watch, 2009a; UN News, 2009). For example, systematic killings and enforced disappearances of Tamil civilians were widespread, and there was evidence that the government indiscriminately fired into "no-fire zones", into where Tamil civilians were moved (Human Rights Watch, 2009b), which highlighted the way in which the civil war had become a genocide (Walton, 2015).

In many countries around the world, the Tamil diaspora engaged in transnational activism during the end of 2008, when, as previously mentioned, the violence had escalated yet again (UN News, 2008). More specifically, these diasporas around world began to engage in protests to bring attention to the genocide that was occurring in Sri Lanka. The global Tamil diaspora participated in demonstrations in cities such as Washington (Kennedy, 2009), Toronto (Godwin, 2012; Jeyapal, 2013, 2016, 2018; O'Neill, 2015; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014), Montreal (CBC, 2009b), Ottawa (The Canadian Press, 2009), Paris (France) (Reuters, 2009), London (U.K.) (Walton, 2015; Weaver & Sparrow, 2009), Oslo (Vincou & Kelland, 2009), Sydney (Jensen, 2009) and more. While

the first protests in Canada were small, they soon grew, with remarkable numbers coming together, as well as movement to core areas of Canadian cities. The turnout of protestors was especially visible at three major demonstrations, two in Toronto, and one in Ottawa. One notable protest that occurred in downtown Toronto involved a human chain (Ashutosh, 2013, p. 199), which included stunning 45,000 protestors (Jeyapal, 2013, p. 559, 2016), consisting of the Tamil diaspora and allies. Another one was the large demonstration which occurred in Ottawa, on Parliament Hill, which included between 30,000 and 33,000 protestors (CBC, 2009a). The most contentious demonstration occurred in May 2009, which was one that led out into a major highway known as the Gardiner Expressway (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 119; Ashutosh, 2013, p. 203; Jeyapal, 2018; O'Neill, 2015, p. 125; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). These protests garnered national and international media attention as well as the topic of academic study.

Some literature explored the protests from a social movement perspective, particularly its successes and failures (Amarasingam, 2015; Walton, 2015). One of the major attributes of the protest that was highlighted in the literature was the strong diasporic network through which information was shared, not only about the protest itself but about ongoing events in Sri Lanka. For example, the violent events of the genocide that were unfolding in Sri Lanka were communicated by Tamil community members in Sri Lanka to their family and friends in Canadian Tamil diaspora (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 6). Information about the genocide was also covered by various Tamil media outlets (Godwin, 2012, p. 171). Another way that information about the genocide was shared was intergenerationally; as Godwin (2012) points out, many of the Tamil-Canadian youth with whom he spoke only knew of the conflict as their families presented it to them,

which is buttressed by O'Neill's (2015) references to the family being a primary source of "social reproduction". Older members of the diaspora also shared information through village associations' [social organizations in Canada whose membership was based on which village they had come from in Sri Lanka] (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 104) and many youth interacted with others through social media communication such as Facebook and Twitter (Godwin, 2012). Literature also discussed more symbolic elements of the protests, particularly the ways in which the protests were framed by the diaspora; for example, despite the "genocide frame" being a part of the "political consciousness" of many protestors, it was also used strategically to resonate with the Canadian audiences of (Amarasingam, 2015, pp. 110–111), and protestors shifted from using LTTE flags to Canadian flags because the former flags, to the Canadian audience, conflated the diaspora with what the government labelled a terrorist organization (Godwin, 2012, pp. 172–176; Thurairajah, 2011, pp. 140–142). While this political transnationalism has been a rich case to study, Sri Lanka as a development site and the Tamil diaspora more broadly as a development actor have also been examples of the migration-development nexus for some time (D. Sriskandarajah, 2003), which warrants further study.

2.4 Sri Lanka as a Development Site

Sri Lanka ranked 72 out 189 countries on the HDI index in 2019, which places it in the "high human development category" (United Nations Development Programme, 2020, p. 2). In fact, Sri Lanka had seen decreasing levels of poverty since the end of the conflict in 2009 (Oxfam International, 2021; United Nations Development Programme, 2020; World Bank, 2021c). However, inequality has also been an issue in Sri Lanka, with

a Gini index of 39.3 reported by the by the World Bank in 2016 (World Bank, n.d.-b), and the government of Canada acknowledging that Sri Lanka included "significant regional pockets of poverty" (Global Affairs Canada, 2018b). Additionally, while the hundreds of thousands of civilians who were displaced during the conflict returned to their homes, the economic fallout of the conflict has created barriers to earning a living (Global Affairs Canada, 2018b).

Sri Lanka has historically been a recipient of aid for decades. For example, the conflict had been an area of focus for aid agencies including the then Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which prioritized "peace-building and other aid measures" (Hyndman, 2003, p. 2). Additionally, on December 26, 2004, a 9.1 magnitude earthquake off the coast of Indonesia formed a tsunami which devastated thirteen countries located around the Indian ocean, including Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka (Reuters, 2019). The global response to the countries impacted by the tsunami included a pledge of over 13 billion US dollars in aid (Hyndman, 2007). In 2005, Canada pledged up to 425 million CAD to the affected countries, including Sri Lanka, which consisted of funding directed towards "international organizations; Canadian non-governmental organizations; emergency flights of relief supplies; and local initiatives in affected countries" (Government of Canada, 2005). Since then, however, Sri Lanka has seen a renewed need for additional aid, specifically in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely impacted the country. Despite being upgraded by the World Bank to the status of upper-middle income country in July 2019 (Nanayakkara, 2021), due to a drop in GDP and GNP, Sri Lanka was downgraded back to

the status of lower-middle income country only a year later (Economy Next, 2020). Among other factors, one of the reasons for this drop was the decline of tourism during the pandemic (BBC News, 2021; World Bank, 2021b). The pandemic has contributed to widespread losses in jobs, earnings and livelihoods, and ultimately a "significant increase in poverty" (World Bank, 2021a, p. 19). In fact, the World Bank (2021b, p. 7) projects that the 3.20 USD poverty rate is now 11.7 percent in 2020, up from 9.7 percent in 2019, which is an estimated 500 000 people plunging into poverty (Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022; World Bank, 2021c). While many countries have faced similar impacts of the pandemic, Sri Lanka is also facing a grim pre-existing economic situation that has now become much worse.

More recently, Sri Lanka has faced its worst economic crisis since independence, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Moramudali, 2022). Sri Lanka's foreign debt has increased to "unsustainable" amounts, to the point where bankruptcy is considered to be on the horizon (Channel News Asia, 2022). Economists and international rating agencies have questioned the country's "ability to make its foreign debt repayments in 2022" (Moramudali, 2022). While foreign debt was a problem before the pandemic (Bala, 2022; IMF, 2022), Sri Lanka's foreign reserves are now lower than ever. Despite Sri Lanka's GDP being 80.7 billion USD in the year 2020 (Macan-Markar, 2022; World Bank, n.d.-a), its GDP to debt ratio rose to 104% in 2021 (Macan-Markar, 2022). This rise is due to the more than 45 billion USD that Sri Lanka has in external debts – 8 billion USD of which it owes to China (Ethirajan, 2022). There is also a continually imminent risk of defaulting, as the country needs to pay an estimated 7 billion USD of its foreign debt in 2022, including a 1 billion USD sovereign bond that matures in July (Associated

Press, 2022; Bala, 2022; Channel News Asia, 2022; Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022). Rising inflation and skyrocketing costs of food have accompanied Sri Lanka's journey to the brink of bankruptcy (Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022; Hindustan Times, 2022; Tamil Guardian, 2022; Wallen & Hewage, 2022). As of January 2022, inflation hit a record high, at 16.8 percent (Channel News Asia, 2022) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports that this rate has been expected to stay in the double digits "in the coming quarters" (IMF, 2022).

Due to its skyrocketing prices as well as country's limited foreign reserves, Sri Lanka has been unable to purchase necessary fuels such as oil and diesel, which have markedly impacted the population (Associated Press, 2022; Macan-Markar, 2022; Moramudali, 2022; Times of India, 2022). This subsequent fuel shortage has impacted the transportation sector in its ability to provide services; not only has this affected workers who require such transportation to travel to places of employment (Associated Press, 2022), but it has more broadly threatened the collapse of public transportation in the country (Ellis-Petersen, 2022). Sri Lanka also depends on fuel to operate its power plants (Srinivasan, 2022). As such, Sri Lanka has turned to daily power cuts, of up to 7.5 hours per day, which are the longest power cuts it has had in almost three decades (AFP, 2022; Al Jazeera, 2022b). The economic crisis has also contributed to shortages of essential items such as wheat, rice, milk powder, sugar, as well as machinery and raw materials (Channel News Asia, 2022), The inflation rates and shortages have led to increasing prices of those essential items which have left families struggling to afford food (Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022; Wallen & Hewage, 2022). The newly enacted laws banning fertilizer and pesticides have further contributed to this affordable food shortage,

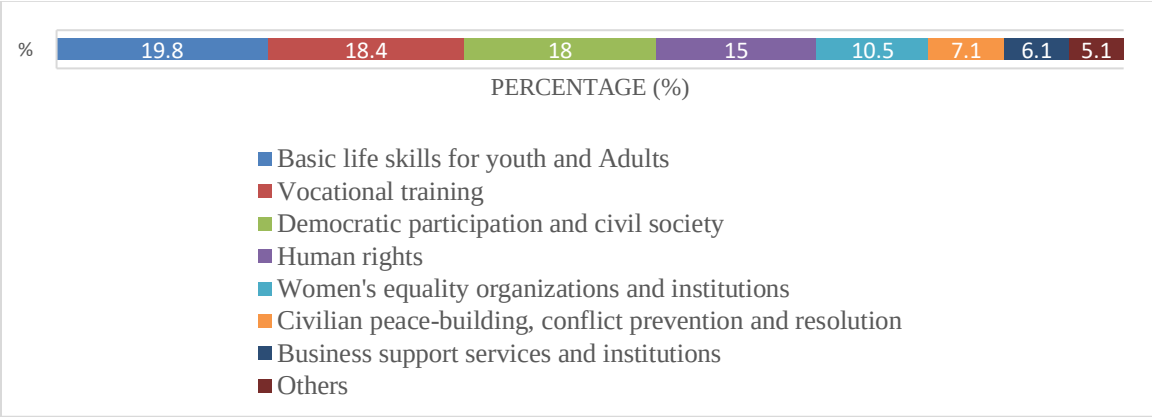
as locally grown staples have been limited. Farmers' abilities to grow healthy crops has been hindered and some have abandoned farming altogether (Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022). Thus, some families have begun to ration foods (Bala, 2022), and are reducing the number of meals per day (Ellis-Petersen & Soysa, 2022; Macan-Markar, 2022), which has led to people being fearful that they will soon not be able to feed their families (Ellis-Petersen, 2022). Most recently, Sri Lanka cancelled school exams for millions of students due to a paper shortage that has stemmed from the inability to "finance imports" (Al Jazeera, 2022c). While this crisis is still unfolding at the time of writing this dissertation (March 2022), it is clear that it has drastically impacted the population's quality of life, from their access to food and raw material, to their ability to earn livelihoods, and that Sri Lanka is facing a serious balance of payments crisis.

2.4.1 The International Development Relationship between Canada and Sri Lanka

Canada has had a long relationship with Sri Lanka. Both countries are members of the Commonwealth and are former colonies of the British empire (Hyndman, 2003). One symbol of this relationship is the "Sri Lanka Canada Friendship Road" in Colombo, the capital city of Sri Lanka (The Mosaic Institute & The Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2011, p. 62). While the government of Sri Lanka does not receive direct funding from Canada (Global Affairs Canada, 2018b), Canada continues to give international assistance to Sri Lanka through its projects. More specifically, Global Affairs Canada (2018b) states that it focuses on providing support in the following areas: "increase skills for employment, develop small agricultural businesses, improve the

business climate, increase women's access to economic assets and jobs, and clear landmines to enable resettlement and the resumption of livelihoods". In fact, a look at project data from GAC in Fall of 2021 shows that there were 16 operational projects in Sri Lanka[2] (Global Affairs Canada, n.d.). There are various sectors in which GAC implements international development projects, which can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1. GAC Project Data - Sectors of Focus of Projects in Sri Lanka



Source: (Global Affairs Canada, n.d.)

2.4.2 Development from the Tamil Diaspora

The international Tamil community has been and continues to be engaged in development initiatives in Sri Lanka. For example, the significance of diasporic remittances to Sri Lanka is well-documented (Guribye & Tharmalingam, 2017; Hyndman, 2003; D. Sriskandarajah, 2003; Wayland, 2004). However, there are other avenues through which the diaspora supports development in Sri Lanka. The Tamil

[2] While all of these projects target Sri Lanka, some of them target multiple countries which include Sri Lanka.

diaspora in Norway supports development primarily through remittances, “charitable donations to development organizations”, “investments in small business and property”, and “voluntary work with development in Sri Lanka” (Erdal & Stokke, 2009, p. 404). Erdal & Stokke (2009) also discuss how the community has used the arts, with students of music and dance classes holding performances to raise money for development initiatives. Additionally, the diaspora uses their linkages to organizations such as their village associations and schools (alumni associations) to contribute funding directly to the communities in Sri Lanka (Guribye & Tharmalingam, 2017). The Tamil diaspora in the U.K., while more known for their more politicized development initiatives, such as focusing on relief efforts and the economic development of war-affected people/areas, as well as advocacy work, also engage in lesser known initiatives such as the procurement of medical supplies for eye clinics and primary health centers through alumni organizations (Van Hear et al., 2004, p. 17).

The Tamil diaspora in Canada has also been active in development initiatives for some time. For example, after the Tsunami of 2004 which severely impacted the island, many Tamil organizations worked to raise money for the victims in Sri Lanka – in fact, a collaboration between a Tamil TV station and three community radio stations to implement a live fundraiser ended up raising 2.5 million CAD for victims (Cheran & Aiken, 2005; The Mosaic Institute & The Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2011). However, much of the literature from the diaspora in Canada revolves around their political activism during 2008-2009, though recently, there has also been some attention to the more democratic strategies of the community as well (Hyndman et al., 2020; Jayasundara-Smits, 2020), since the diaspora has become more involved in development

governance, moving to focus on organizations such as the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) to negotiate "claims to transnational justice and accountability" (Craven, 2021, p. 778).

The international diaspora is also involved in "circulation and alternative models of development"; circulation can be seen in the diaspora's short or long visits to Sri Lanka for whatever reason, during which they engage in development activities, while alternative models of development highlight the diaspora's ability to use their transnational networks to be able to engage in development with little dependence on the state (Cheran, 2004). Circulation from the Tamil diaspora is considered to be important due to the potential for the circulation of "human capital" which can "can play a critical role in relief, reconstruction, rehabilitation and development efforts of the homeland" (Cheran, 2004, p. 12). Members of the international Tamil diaspora have also engaged in political transnationalism, with transnational governments such as the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (TGTE) (Guribye & Tharmalingam, 2017; Jayasundara-Smits, 2020; Walton, 2015), as well as a "transnational civil society movement", called the Global Tamil Forum (GTF), which is a separate organization but has overlapping goals with the TGTE (Vimalarajah & Cheran, 2010, p. 20).

There is abundant literature about the connections made between the Tamil diaspora and the LTTE (Nadarajah, 2018; O'Neill, 2015; Orjuela, 2008; Thurairajah, 2011; Wayland, 2004), as the diaspora has been securitized in Canadian political discourse. Since the Conservative government of Canada labelled the LTTE as a terrorist organization in 2006, this perspective was conflated by non-Tamil Canadians to assume that the Tamil diaspora was also a terrorist group (Thurairajah, 2011, p. 144). In fact, this

label also pervaded political and media discourse when Tamil asylum seekers on boats caught national attention in 2009 and 2010. The "boat people" who arrived on Canada's west coast on the MV Ocean Lady in 2009 and MV Sun Sea in 2010 were described as risks to national security (Balasundaram, 2021). This securitization has extended to the transnational activities of the diaspora as well.

There is substantial evidence of the transnational activities from the diaspora, but there is also a large literature about the ways in which the transnationalism from this diaspora has been or could be problematic, particularly in terms of their role in the conflict in Sri Lanka. Some areas of focus are ideas that the diaspora, rather than be "peacekeepers" were perpetuating the conflict instead. For example, Wayland (2004) states that,

> [T]he combination of greater political freedom, community organising and access to advanced communications and financial resources in receiving states has allowed Tamil separatists in the diaspora to maintain 'transnational ethnic networks' which are in turn used to mobilise funds that have prolonged the secessionist campaign in Sri Lanka. (p. 405)

This sentiment is echoed by the idea that the diaspora's distance from the situation and subsequent distance from the consequences in the country fuelled "their unwillingness to compromise", and highlighted their potential for irresponsible transnationalism (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2005, p.12, as cited in Vimalarajah & Cheran, 2010, p. 16). These ideas are summarized by (Cochrane et al., 2009, p. 696) who states that "it is generally perceived that usually people from the Tamil Diaspora seem to involve themselves more in the international arena as 'distant warriors' rather than as 'distant peacemakers'".

However, Orjuela (2008) states that it is important to avoid painting the diaspora with one brush. The diaspora is very diverse, with differing views "even *within* given

families", and that there is "little, if any, evidence" to indicate that they "import conflict" (Hyndman et al., 2020, p. 15). Monahan et al. (2014) also state that the idea that migrants "import conflict" to their countries of settlement is debunked by their own study's conclusions that migrants want democratic avenues to peace in their "homelands." Additionally, Vimalarajah and Cheran (2010) challenge the idea that the diaspora does not face consequences, and that such a notion overlooks their own personal losses due to the conflict.

While the Tamil diaspora has been a point of focus in various literatures related to development, transnationalism and migration more broadly, there remains the issue of generalizing the attachments of and constructions of belonging amongst its members. Thus, further understandings about the identity narratives of the diaspora are required to better understand their experiences with transnationalism.

2.5 The Tamil Diaspora and Identity

While there has been some literature about the diaspora's experiences with identity and belonging, the bulk of the available research to date revolves around their transnationalism in 2008-2009, which highlights a gap in explorations of their contemporary experiences. The 2008-2009 protests provided a backdrop against which several scholars have studied Tamil diasporic belonging and identity (Ashutosh, 2013; Jeyapal, 2013; O'Neill, 2015; A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). Through these studies emerge the complexities of Tamil diasporic experiences, particularly as they engage in transnationalism. Additionally, the 2008-2009 protests also highlighted the limits of multiculturalism in Canada and showed how certain transnational activities, particularly

those which focused on interests outside of Canada, could reveal the divides between the diaspora and the broader Canadian community, and the positions of the diaspora as "others" (George, 2011; Jeyapal, 2013, 2016; D. Sriskandarajah, 2003). However, questions of belonging and identity are engrained in the history of Tamil community. In fact, many occasions of displacement have "heavily influenced the notions of Tamil identity in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times" (Vimalarajah & Cheran, 2010, p. 12), making it a rich case through which to continue to explore those concepts. While there is some literature about Tamil diasporic identity, there is need for more updated literature that acknowledges the identity construction of the Tamil diaspora in Canada, beyond use of the conflict in Sri Lanka as a "yardstick of their identity" (Pande, 2017, p. 52).

2.6 Second-Generation Tamil Canadians: Areas of Focus

The second generation of the Tamil diaspora in Canada has also been the subject of study. O'Neill (2015) found that some Tamil university students in Canada did not know very much about the conflict, and in some cases, even the Tamil culture until they began to interact with members of Canadian university-associated Tamil Students Associations (TSAs) at events, at which point they not only learned about the conflict and culture but felt a greater sense of belonging to and solidarity with the diaspora (p. 131). On the other hand, for many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora in Canada, their motivations to engage in political transnational activism stemmed from both their disconnect from the host-country as well as a desire to have a role in Tamil society and be a part of the collective Tamil identity (Amarasingam, 2015).

This double sense of belonging is also exemplified in the case of the 2009 protests by the Tamil community in Toronto, after which the second-generation displayed a here-and-there way of thinking, with their retroactive considerations of some of the problematic aspects of the protests due to the ways in which they were perceived by non-Tamil Canadians (Thurairajah, 2011). Similarly, Hess and Korf's (2014) study of the second-generation Tamil diaspora in Switzerland similarly concludes that their diasporic ties to the Tamil community in Sri Lanka motivated their actions, but that their ties to Switzerland informed what those actions or initiatives would be (p. 421).

There are many experiences of the second-generation diaspora which highlight their complex negotiations of identity and belonging. Thus, a critical examination of the interactions through which the second-generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Canada construct belonging and negotiate their identities in the context of development is imperative to understand the migration-development nexus more broadly, as well as to dispel reductionist understandings of diasporic transnationalism.

Chapter 3. Diasporic Identity and Belonging through Bourdieu

As the goal of my study is to explore the development initiatives of the second-generation Tamil diaspora and the ways in which their perceptions about their identities impact and are impacted by their development initiatives, it is important for me to not only have a definition of what it means to be a diaspora, but a clear conceptualization of identity. In this study, I explore the diaspora's experiences in terms of 'fields', a concept that helps me move beyond simplified local or national scales at which diasporas are traditionally analyzed. The concept of 'field' allows for more complex understandings of the diaspora's multiple social locations and arenas of practice. Additionally, I employ an interactionist approach to understand how the interactions and relationships between this group and other actors inform their negotiations of belonging.

This chapter first discusses the question, "what makes a diaspora?" I then explain my use of Yuval-Davis' (2006) belonging by exploring the ways that the concepts of identity and belonging are intertwined. Next, I describe the significance of a study about transnationalism for understanding belonging as diaspora. I then explain why a Bourdieusian lens is appropriate for understanding the different sites at which a group negotiates their belonging and positions of power through interactions with other actors, how those interactions and negotiations of belonging impact their engagement in transnationalism, and how such transnationalism impacts the fields which they occupy. However, I also discuss the use of Akrivou and Di San Giorgio's (2014) dialogic habitus and Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and liminality to address some of the limitations of an analysis through Bourdieu's fields.

3.1 Conceptualizing Diaspora

What is a diaspora? An etymological breakdown of the term provides some context: the word “diaspora” stems from the Greek words “speiro” which is “to sow” and “dia” which is “over” (Cohen, 2002, p. ix). The sowing of seeds certainly holds a likeness to what constitutes a diaspora, as one criterion Safran (1991) describes as that which makes a diaspora is a dispersion from the homeland. Safran's (1991) and Anthias' (1998) work on establishing a set of criteria for determining the diasporic status of a group is referred to by numerous scholars. Some of these other criteria include feeling unacceptance and a perpetual separation from a host population, a desire to return to the place of origin, collectivist views of the homeland, and a “strong ethnic group consciousness” based on commonalities (Safran, 1991). However, Safran (1991) states that not all criteria need to be met in order for a community to be considered a diaspora; in fact, most diasporic groups would not adhere to all of them. Reis (2004) considers the question of what constitutes a diaspora further and explains that some of the criterion would be inapplicable to not only different groups, but different eras as well. In other words, the endurance of some of the criterion as tools for identifying diasporas cannot be guaranteed, especially in contemporary contexts.

Grossman (2019) considers the common criteria found in different definitions, and combines both ontological conceptualizations, to form a contemporary list of criteria that defines diaspora: “dispersal or immigration, location outside a homeland, community, orientation to a homeland, transnationalism, and group identity”, which is the definition I apply to this study. However, it is important to note that Grossman (2019) also acknowledges that “homeland” is an undertheorized concept, and follows Connor’s

(1994) definition that homeland is “a spiritual bond between nation and territory” (p. 205). Considering the separatist movement, the complexities of how different members of the Tamil diaspora perceive a homeland, as well as what they connect to in terms of nation, I further consider nation with a constructivist understanding, which is reflected in both Anderson’s (2006) imagined communities and Mishra's (1996) concept of the 'diasporic imaginary' which define the nation itself as a thing which the diasporic community perceives and imagines.

Studies about diasporas have often been connected to a number of concepts. While a significant literature focuses on the integration of diasporas in their countries of settlement (Couton, 2014; Harles, 2004; Lewin-Epstein et al., 2003; van Liempt, 2011), there is a growing literature on other aspects of diasporas’ lived experiences in the face of globalization, such as their connections to their countries of origin and their transnational activities (Adesote, 2017; Pande, 2017; Sheffer, 2013). However, diasporic identity also has been and continues to be an area of interest in diaspora studies (Agnew, 2005; Bhandari, 2021; Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Hall, 1990).

3.2 Identity and Belonging

What is identity? Identity has been theorized in several ways. Brubaker and Cooper (2005) consider it a term in crisis due its ambiguity and the multiplicity of its use as an analytical concept. Despite criticisms about the concept of “identity”, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) also state that identification as a process “to characterize oneself, to locate oneself vis-a-vis known others, to situate oneself in a narrative” is “intrinsic” to social life” (p. 14). Thus, diaspora studies are often connected to questions about identity

construction, with a broad range of literature seeking to explain the identities and identification processes of diasporas (Agnew, 2005; Stoessel et al., 2012).

From the field of psychology, social identity theory sees identity itself as a construct, through ascription as well as through the self-differentiation between what constitutes an 'in-group' and an 'out-group' (Tajfel & Turner, 1978, 1979). On the other hand, personal identity theory considers identification based upon one or both of two continuities; the physical, such as phenotypes and the psychological, such as religion, trauma and more (Garrett, 1998). While there are other, narrower scopes of identity, such as ethnic, religious, political, and national, social identity takes a constructivist approach to identity and identity construction, specifically boundary-making and being an insider or outsider, which strongly connect to diasporic experiences in multicultural societies. Cultural identity also draws from these diasporic experiences of settlement; as Bhandari (2021) states,

> [T]he cultural identity of immigrants remains a crucial issue. The immigrants living in constant processes of negotiation of the cultural practices of their home and host land. They are not free from their cultural origin from where they along with their ancestors have come from. Their shared historical experience and common cultural codes of their homeland influence their sense of being. At the same time, their present negations and interactions with foreign cultural practices and people of the host land constantly influence their subjectivities. (p. 107)

The focus on interrelations between the concept of social identity and cultural identity is echoed in Jenkins' (1996) definition of identity, which they define as "the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (p. 4). Similarly, Hogg and Abrams (1988) acknowledge the significance of others in the concept of identity, as their definition of a person's

identity includes “how they relate to others” (2). Thus, in line with a social constructivist approach, a socio-cultural identity will be the focus of this study.

It is also important, as mentioned by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), to focus on the actual processes of identification. Identification as a process that occurs in two modes, relational and categorical; while the categorical mode highlights identification based on categories such as gender, class, race, etc., the relational mode focuses on one’s “position in a relational web” (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 15). Both modes have strong parallels to social identity theory as well as the concept of cultural identity, in that they see identity as a dynamic construction, as well as relational to others. This dynamism of identification processes is buttressed by Bhatia and Ram’s (2009) assertion that diasporic identity should be defined “not in terms of fixed, absolute essences but rather as creations of cultural discourses, history and the power” (p. 142). Similarly, Bhandari (2021) states that diasporas “decompose” and “deterritorialize” traditional markers of identity and considers that “concepts of diasporain [sic] response to this complexity should necessarily incorporate fluidity and flexibility in identity” (p. 102).

Identity is also very closely tied to belonging. In fact, Weeks (1990) states that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (p. 88). This echoes the ideas of social identity theory and cultural identity, which, as previously mentioned, focuses on one’s positioning as in-group or out-group. Berry and Hou (2019) support this connection and consider the concept of “sense of belonging” as “a core part of a person’s social identity, which serves to embed an individual in a social group” (p. 161). As Yuval-Davis (2006) states, “belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling ‘at home’” (p. 197). However,

belonging is a complex concept that can be analyzed at multiple levels, specifically: social locations; “identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings”; and “ethical and political value systems” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199). Social locations can be understood as positionalities that are constructed through power structures, such as gender and race. Identifications and emotional attachments refer to the identity narratives through which one constructs their belonging, highlighting “emotional investments” and “desire for attachments” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202). However, Yuval-Davis (2006) also draws from Fanon when acknowledging that ascription, or forced identities can be placed upon people, and that identity narratives highlight the internalization or resistance to those forced constructions (p. 203). Lastly, ethical and political value systems highlight the ways in which these constructions of boundaries are perceived. Belonging, therefore, is not just about social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities and attachments but also about the ways these are valued and judged. As Yuval Davis (2006) states,

> [C]losely related to this are specific attitudes and ideologies concerning where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being/should be drawn, in more or less exclusionary ways, in more or less permeable ways. It is in the arena of the contestations around these ethical and ideological issues and the ways they utilize social locations and narratives of identities that we move from the realm of belonging into that of the politics of belonging. (p. 204)

While Brubaker and Cooper (2000) criticize the encompassing of terms such as belonging, connectedness and more into the term identity as making the concept of identity less meaningful, Yuval-Davis’ (2006) belonging threads “in-group, out-group” boundary-making elements of social identity into the more fluid elements of diasporic cultural identity, which is “far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power” (Hall, 1990, p. 225).

Thus, belonging not only uses tenets of social identity, but also takes into consideration the element of power, and the politics of identity; Hall (1990) defines identity as "not an essence but a positioning" (p. 226), which Bhatia and Ram (2009) interpret to mean that "identity is situated in politics and does not evolve out of some authentic, universal origins" (p. 142). As such, identity in this study will be considered through Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualization of belonging, and both terms are used interchangeably throughout this study.

3.3 Transnationalism and Identity

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the connection between diasporic identity and transnationalism is acknowledged by Lundy (2011) to be a logical relationship, considering the conceptualization of transnationalism as a pattern of contemporary migration and settlement. The study of diasporic identity in connection to the study of transnationalism is significant since diasporic identity as well as transnationalism are strongly tied to ideas of "home." However, diasporas are also actors who take "formerly concrete lines separating home and host society" and make them "blurred, creating a single arena of social action" (Lundy, 2011, p. 206). Thus, this arena is commonly referred to as a transnational social field (Erdal & Stokke, 2009; Levitt & Schiller, 2004), which emphasizes that the arena goes beyond the traditional borders of nation-states.

This emphasis on place (including constructed or imagined places), and the combination of places is important, because "meanings of 'home' are marked by complexities and ambiguities and are related to different aspects of identity" (Erdal &

Stokke, 2009, p. 401). For example, in the case of the Tamil diaspora, second-generation diasporic members who were born in Canada and who had never visited Sri Lanka camped out for days in the freezing cold in 2009, protesting human rights violations in a country which they had never seen themselves (Amarasingam, 2015, p. 169), which raises questions about their attachments to different communities outside of Canada. Additionally, as Erdal and Stokke (2009) observe, the meanings of "home" also derive from everyday activities, which then reproduce traditions; this reproduction of traditions is exemplified by their observation that educational activities such as music and dance classes provided the second-generation a sense of belonging and subsequent motivation to participate in political engagement (p. 405). While Lundy (2011) describes transnationalism in the context of the Haitian diaspora in the United States and their development initiatives, the bulk of the literature about this connection focuses more on the connections between social and cultural forms of transnationalism and identity (Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Mirza, 2013; Taylor, 2014).

However, with a consideration of the connection between transnationalism and identity, as well as contemplations of the second-generation as having an identity based on multi-sitedness and their growing transnationalism in the realm of development, it is important to understand how their development experiences inform their negotiations of identity and vice versa. In its Diaspora Mapping Toolkit, the IOM (2022a) also acknowledges the significance of exploring identity and belonging as a means to understand why a diaspora engages in transnationalism – specifically development – with the idea that explorations of "identity and belonging" can help to "provide insights into

motivations for diaspora engagement that can be used to identify or explain actual engagement behaviours and patterns" (p. 169).

3.4 Extending Bourdieu to Analyze Identity and Transnationalism

The "triad of Bourdieusian reflexive sociology" (Mu & Pang, 2021, p. 9) consists of three concepts: fields, capital and habitus. While Bourdieu's fields were initially intended to explain "the historical differentiation of social activities or functions and the social division of labour" (Lahire, 1999, p. 26 as cited in Hilgers & Mangez, 2014, p. 5), the theory has since been expanded to apply to other domains. Thus, a field is considered "a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning and institutions that are specific to it and which define the relations among the agents" (Hilgers & Mangez, 2014, p. 5). Why is a field so useful for understanding diasporas? Diasporas are transnational communities who transcend national borders. Thus a field can help to address some of the limitations of methodological nationalism or analysis through a national scale that is found in traditional diaspora scholarship (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003).

Power is also a significant element that makes up fields. When defining fields, Bourdieu (2011) says,

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the relative power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies (p. 40-41).

Where is such power found? Actors harness power through different forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Economic capital can be seen as traditional physical resources (e.g. the means of production such as land, labour and capital – in this case, as in money). Cultural capital includes capacities such as linguistic skills, as well knowledge of local cultures and norms. Social capital is the social networks of an actor. Symbolic capital resolves around identity and the prestige certain identities hold in a specific field. As actors who have multiple social locations, the Bourdieusian lens also helps to analyze the multiple, changing positions of power the diaspora holds, and how capital that brings an agent power in one field can be the reason for their depreciated power in another. For example, Mu and Pang (2021) study the Chinese diaspora and find that some capital held by this group such as language or symbolic capital such as "Chineseness" could be considered capital and valued in one field, while those same elements could be the reason why they face discrimination and other challenges in another field (p. 10). Social capital can be seen as "features of social organization, including networks, norms, and trust that may facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p. 36). However, social capital can be broken down further to better understanding the diasporic experiences, specifically through the categories of bonding capital and bridging capital (Putnam, 2000). Bridging capital can be seen as the connections built with actors in other communities, which can often be considered as weak ties, whereas bonding capital can be seen as connections built with actors within one's community (e.g. family), which are considered as strong ties (Hossain & Veenstra, 2017). In the context of an analysis of diaspora, these concepts are useful for understanding the bonding social capital that exists within the diaspora, as well as the

bridging social capital that diasporic members build with actors outside of the diaspora, such as the broader community in the place of settlement.

While actors can use their capital to impact the field, the field itself also impacts the actors. Specifically, the social structures in these fields which contribute to the norms, values and customs within those fields, is reflected in the actors, a reflection which is understood as habitus. Thus, habitus is considered to be a way through which these social structures are reproduced, through the agents in the fields, or as Bourdieu (1977) explains, is a "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (p. 72).

Habitus, then, informs the practice of the agents. Thus, to understand the practices of an agent, it is important to understand their habitus. Bourdieu (1984) considers this sociological equation:

[(field) + (capital)] + habitus = practice (p. 101)

While this equation highlights the essential parts of understanding practice through a Bourdieusian lens, it is also important to remember that, as previously mentioned while habitus is considered a separate element within such an equation, it is also informed by the field itself in a dialogic way. In other words, the structures of the field contribute to habitus, but the habitus also informs practice, which is structuring in that it reproduces or transforms those structures.

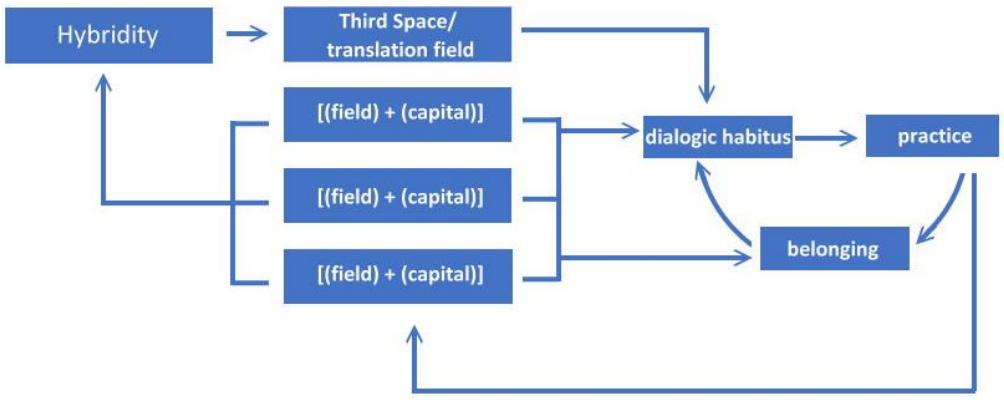
However, there are some limitations to an analysis through Bourdieu's fields. Specifically, scholars have challenged the conceptualization of habitus, as it limits the

agency or freedom of the agent. Thus, Akrivou and Di San Giorgio (2014) propose an expanded understanding of habitus, known as dialogic habitus, in which social structures do play a role, but freedom and consciousness also contribute to the values and beliefs of the agent. For this study, I consider Akrivou and Di San Giorgio's (2014) conceptualization of habitus, and that diasporas experience an internal dialogue through which they interpret and construct meanings of structures. Additionally, understanding the diaspora as comprised of individuals who simply make rational choices to engage in development can "take for granted the fact that remitting is intrinsic to a diaspora lifestyle", and that "remitting is a social practice not just an individual's choice" (Page & Mercer, 2012, pp. 3–4). Thus, the characterization of diasporas as "communities of practice" can help to supplement a Bourdieusian analysis of the diaspora's engagement in development.

Wolf's (2007) consideration of habitus does not suffice as an analytical tool to understand actors who have varying positions within multiple fields, and who engage in a translation of the power structures of those different fields, while between those fields, or in a "mediation space" (Wolf, 2007). Thus, the consideration of hybridity and liminality, or positioning in a Third space can address those limitations. Hybridity is what Easthorpe (1998) defines as "having access to two or more ethnic identities" (p. 342) and which Bhabha (1994) describes as "neither the one nor the other" (p. 25). Additionally, Bhabha's (1994) liminal space, or "Third Space", is crucial for understanding the potential mediation and subversion of dominant cultures which can occur through hybridity, in which different cultures and power structures intersect to create a new space where translation occurs. Considering that the aims of this research is to understand how

the day-to-day experiences, particularly in the context of development and their impacts on the identity negotiations of the diaspora can potentially contribute to colonial or decolonial processes, Bhabha's (1994) hybridity also supplements the field analysis by adding nuance to the explorations of power as explorations of coloniality. Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and Third space draw from Fanon's (1986) seminal work *Peau noire, masques blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*) in which Fanon also addresses an "in-betweenness", positioned between the colonizer and the colonized, having been educated in a White system while being Black (Keller, 2007). Using these concepts, I propose the following theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between transnationalism and identity among diasporas, illustrated in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1.



Source: Akalya Kandiah

Thus, when the previously mentioned limitations are addressed, a field lens can be a useful analytical tool due to its deterritorialization and consideration of power. It is important to explore the experiences of a diaspora without limiting the scope of understanding to a national or subnational level. Thus, a transnational field lens is

"critical to understanding the experience of living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation-state" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1006). Additionally, while the transnational social field spans across oceans, a Bourdieusian lens also helps to focus on the sites, or "micro-fields" within it, such as the family, friends, social media, university and more. The consideration of both the transnational field more broadly but also micro-fields is helpful because through them development can be explored across borders as an arena of practice in itself while also allowing for an examination of the other, at times micro-level, arenas of practice in which diasporas exist and experience the "everyday", which also contribute to their habitus. Thus, exploring spaces as fields of action rather than through the lens of traditional, physical boundaries allows for a more holistic understanding of the diasporic day-to-day experiences with identity and belonging.

Not only does an examination of diaspora through Bourdieu allow for a de-territorialized approach but it brings with it a consideration of power dynamics within relationships and interactions, another element that has also been highlighted in diasporic identity literature. As Levitt and Schiller (2004) state, "people living in transnational social fields experience multiple loci and layers of power and are shaped by them, but they can also act back upon them" (p. 1013), and there needs to be a greater focus on these elements that are often overlooked in traditional migration scholarship. As highlighted in the previous sections, the element of power also correlated to cultural identity of diasporas, which Hall (1990) states is "subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power: (p. 225). Additionally, power is connected to the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006), as well as Bhabha's (1994) Third Space. The politics of belonging not only include the construction of boundaries by hegemonic powers, but also

the reproduction or resistances to those constructions by other agents, who, at the same time, struggle for power as collectives and as individuals (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 205). On the other hand, Bhabha's (1994) Third space consider the space in which the ambivalence that stems from liminality can help to subvert the dominant power structures in those fields.

Thus, a Bourdieusian field analysis is used in this study in combination with Akrivou and Di San Giorgio's (2014) dialogic habitus, Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualization of belonging, and Bhabha's hybridity and "Third Space" to explore the second-generation Tamil diaspora's experiences with development initiatives, how their negotiations of identity contribute to those initiatives but are also informed by them, and how their subsequent habitus contribute to their fields. Specifically, a Bourdieusian field lens is used to approach this study and the exploration of habitus focuses largely on belonging and liminality. This theoretical framework informs the methods of the study, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Methodology and Methods

4.1 Overall Approach and Rationale

As my research is framed by Bourdieu's (2011) fields, Yuval-Davis' (2006) belonging, and Bhabha's (1994) hybridity and liminality, I have taken a social constructivist approach to this research. This approach reflects that Bourdieu's social fields lens focuses on the relational processes between actors, but also that one of the major elements of Bourdieu's social fields is the existence of unequal power structures in fields, and the ability to observe these structures through the interactions of actors within them. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, this combined approach is also evident in Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualization of belonging, as structural elements such as social location are considered in conjunction with more constructivist elements such as identity narratives. Thus, through this research, I analyze the ways in which meanings of power structures are constructed by this diaspora through their interactions with other actors in multiple fields.

4.2 Operational Definitions

I use a number of operational definitions for this study. For the purpose of this research, I employ Grossman's (2019) definition of diaspora, which is a "dispersal or immigration, location outside a homeland, community, orientation to a homeland, transnationalism, and group identity" (p. 1264) which I use with consideration of the idea that a homeland can also be an imagined community (Anderson, 2006). In line with the boundary-making seen in other identity theories and concepts such as social identity

theory and cultural identity, I use Yuval-Davis' (2006) definition of belonging and use the term belonging and identity interchangeably. I draw from Easthorpe (1998) definition of "having access to two or more ethnic identities" (p. 342) and Bhabha's (1994) "neither the one nor the other" (p. 25) to define hybridity as having multiple cultural identities, and subsequently not entirely encompassing either identity. In the same vein, I draw from Bhabha (1994) to define liminality as the in-between space, of not wholly belonging in either cultural space, a liminal space in which translation occurs. I also consider Vertovec's (1999) definition of transnationalism, as "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states" (p. 447). As development is also defined in many ways, it is important to operationalize this term. Thus, I broadly consider development as human development, which "involves enhancing people's quality of life" (Masaeli, 2018, p. 34), which allows for a diverse set of diasporic initiatives to be considered for exploration. Extending this conceptualization, I define diasporic development as initiatives by diasporas to enhance the quality of life of people in their places of ethnic origin.

Theoretically, my research is framed by Bourdieu's (1984) notion of "social fields," to understand the span of influential interactions and relationships beyond the nation-state scale. I also seek to allows for an exploration of diaspora that encompasses the transnational nature of their development initiatives, with the understanding that diasporic transnationalism diminishes the boundaries between the local, national and global. Thus, I supplement my understanding of fields by considering Levitt and Schiller's (2004) definition of a transnational social field, which is "a set of multiple

interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (p. 1009).

4.3 Site or population selection and sampling strategies

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, The Tamil diaspora in Canada significant in size and has been the focus of a large literature related to migration and transnationalism. However, there are far fewer works about the second-generation, particularly in the context of their own transnational initiatives. Thus, with the goal of exploring the experiences of Tamil Canadian actors who could highlight more contemporary patterns of settlement, I focus on the second-generation of the diaspora.

Despite the bulk of the diaspora having settled in Toronto and Montreal, two major cities in Canada, in the interest of reaching out to all potential participants, I broadly considered Canada my research site, and any second-generation diasporic Tamil Canadian an eligible participant, regardless of where in Canada they resided. My consideration of Canada as my research site was feasible as I intended to use technology to employ a variety of communication tools to employ my data collection methods. Additionally, as my data collection occurred during the pandemic, and with the understanding that there were people who could not re-enter the country, I also extended this consideration of participation eligibility to diasporic Canadians who were in other countries at the time of data collection.

While in the early days of the recruitment stage one of the inclusion criteria for the participants in this study required them to have been born in Canada, I soon reconsidered the criterion during the recruitment process. This reconsideration occurred

because during the recruitment process, I came across several people who were interested in participating in this research but who had arrived in Canada when they were very young. The reconsideration was a move away from the traditional definition of second-generation to Rumbaut (1997) who coined the term "second-generation" and conceptualized those who were born in the country of "settlement" before revisiting the term to include those who arrived in the country of settlement before the age of six into the same category. However, while Rumbaut (2002) now refers to them as the 1.75 generation, they also acknowledge that immigrants who arrive at the country of settlement at a pre-school age have experiences that are very close to that of second-generation members of a diaspora, and in the context of their study about immigrants in the U.S., says,

> I have distinguished between preschool children (ages five and younger), who retain virtually no memory of their birthplace, who are largely socialized here, and whose experience and adaptive outcomes are most similar to the U.S.-born second generation. (p. 91-92)

In the same vein, Rumbaut (2002) states, "adolescents and preschool immigrant children are at different developmental stages at arrival and closer to the experience of the "first" and "second" generations, respectively, and can be classified accordingly" (p. 48). Thus, I followed this suggestion to classify immigrants who arrived in Canada at the age of five or younger as second-generation diasporic members and adjusted the inclusion criteria of the study to this operational definition accordingly.

4.4 Positionality

Approaching this research through a social field lens, part of this research has sought to explore the power dynamics between participants and the actors within their

social field. As I, the researcher, was entering their social fields and thus becoming one of these actors, I found it important to reflect on my own positionality and consider it in the context of power, particularly in relation to the participants. The dynamics of power between a researcher and their participants can be complex, and dependent on the positionality of that researcher and that of the participant (Das, 2010; Ganga & Scott, 2006; Reich, 2021; Roer-Strier & Sands, 2015). It is already understood that ethnographic research is highly subjective, and that the epistemological location of the researcher informs the interpretation of data that is collected from participants (citation). Thus, it was crucial to consider my position within the nexus of ethnicity, age, class and gender, and understand how this positioning structured the spatial mapping of my own conscience and worldview, through which I analyzed participant data.

In terms of positionality, I am a Tamil Canadian who was born in Canada and whose parents came to Canada from Sri Lanka, so I fit the inclusion criteria of my participants and am thus an insider. I found this insider status to have positive elements associated with it. On one hand, I found that conducting community research as an insider gave me a strong sense of accountability to the community which I was researching. In other words, as a racialized community with ethnic origins from the Global South, as well as a community who faces systemic barriers in Canada, I believe that as an insider, I was more sensitive to the imperative to research this community in an ethical fashion without engaging in some of the problematic power dynamics that often pervade the research of marginalized communities (Das, 2010). There are arguments that being an insider, or a fellow racialized person, brings with it a research risk, in the sense that it can allow for bias and a lack of objectivity (Harding, 2015). Specifically,

> [O]bjectivity, or the incapacity for it, has been attributed to individuals or groups, such as in uncomplimentary dismissals of women, African Americans, or the indigenous knowers of non-Western cultures as tending toward self-interest and subjectivity. These people are dismissed as being incapable of producing the reliable knowledge claims that supposedly men, Whites, Westerners, or some other elite group can produce (Harding, 2015, p. 32).

However, I acknowledge that this assumption is strongly linked to unequal power structures and processes of exclusion, and echo Harding's (2015) point that regardless of who conducts the research, no sciences are "value- or interest-free" (p. 37). While science then is not void of values or interests, different researchers, and in this case a racialized researcher with insider status can certainly made significant contributions. As Harding (2015) states,

> [C]onsequently, like "the stranger" in the classic sociological narratives whose perspective can identify things invisible to "the natives," researchers "from below" can bring a focus to features of the dominant economic, political, legal, educational, ethical, and family institutions that the dominant groups either can not or refuse to recognize (p. 36).

In the case of this study, I believe that my insider status allows me to immerse myself more clearly into the day-today experiences of my participants, as well as understand code-switching, references to specific cultural elements and more in a nuanced way. Additionally, I believe that as a fellow member of the second generation, participants found me to be approachable and felt more comfortable sharing their thoughts with me during the interviews. One indication of this comfort and confidence was that most of the interviews lasted from one to two hours in length. I was also happy to hear from several participants at the end of their interviews who noted to me that they enjoyed their experience of being interviewed, not only due to them feeling comfortable but because the subject matter allowed them to revisit their own experiences in the context of identity

and belonging, which they appreciated. Thus, I believe that my insider status strengthens my position as a researcher and contributes to this study.

My positionality in an academic sense is also crucial as it informs some of my epistemological assumptions of my research. This positionality is informed by my own academic experiences in Canada and abroad. I first conducted research related to diasporas and identity during my undergraduate program at Wilfrid Laurier University, through a directed studies course which I co-created with my supervisor, Dr. Andrew Robinson. I decided to conduct my own data collection in Ghana, while I was there to volunteer at a women and children's rights advocacy centre, as a part of a program within the human rights and human diversity (HRHD) department at Wilfrid Laurier University. It is important to note that my time in Ghana was my also first experience engaging in development work abroad – my responsibilities at the advocacy centre were closely connected to my research and communication skills, and thus in research and knowledge mobilization through press releases, factsheets, and training manuals. During time off from work at the advocacy centre, I conducted the research for my directed studies course, which explored the integration experiences and perceptions of identity within the Indian diaspora in Ghana. It was during my initial readings for this course that I first delved into the ways in which diaspora has been theorized in the context of identity. This study was also my first time conducting primary research and engaging in reflection about the impacts of research positionality on elements of the research process, such as access and analysis.

I later joined Toronto Metropolitan University, having enrolled in the Masters of immigration and settlement studies program. During my time at Toronto Metropolitan

University, I focused on the scope of my interests in diaspora and identity to explore the negotiations of identity amongst second-generation Tamil Canadians whose parents came to Canada from Sri Lanka, and the relationship between those negotiations and their perceptions of integration into Canada. During this study, I expanded my knowledge about diaspora and diasporic identity. I also developed my understandings of diasporic identity as it related to the second-generation, and the role that the second generation has played in the shift from the idea of identity as static to something much more complex. Additionally, I furthered my understandings of how identity could be connected to power, through my explorations of how colonial power structures such as racism could be resisted and/or internalized by the diaspora.

After my Master's thesis, I travelled to Ghana again for the purpose of development work with a large NGO. It was during this trip that I became more aware of the power dynamics in the development sector, between the North and the South, between the non-racialized and racialized, between men and women, and more. It was also during this time in Ghana that I applied to the doctoral program at the University of Ottawa, intending to explore the lack of diversity in the Canadian development sector, with the hopes that I would be able to unpack one branch of the issues of systemic racism that pervades it. After several years in the program, and a comprehensive exam during which I touched upon the racist narratives which inform some of the bias that exists in the discourse about diasporas and foreign policy in Canada, I ultimately decided to merge my interests about diasporic identity and racism in development and focus on the experiences of a racialized diaspora as they engage in international development initiatives from Canada.

I have also engaged in academia outside of my institution to further pursue my research interests. I worked within the Diversity Institute at Toronto Metropolitan University, exploring a number of topics related to diversity. I also conducted research in Kenya with the Local Engagement Refugee Research Network (LERRN), research which was co-created with a Kenya Working Group. I attended the CASID PhD school in 2019 to learn more about international development research. I also attended training abroad; I also attended a PhD course about migration at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in Norway in 2019, as well as the "Annual Regional Forced Migration Training" by the Kenya School Government and LERRN in 2019.

Thus, my academic experiences informed the research in this study, combining my interests of exploring both coloniality in international development as well as diasporic identity. However, it has also informed my epistemological approach to research, and my use of constructivism to explore the experiences of diasporas.

4.5 Research Ethics

Prior to undertaking this research, I submitted an ethics application to the Office of Research Ethics and Integration at the University of Ottawa. In this ethics application, I described my research, as well as any potentially associated risks as well my strategies to mitigate those risks. The Office of Research Ethics and Integration gave me ethics approval on April 1, 2020, with an expiry date of March 31, 2021 (Appendix). An annual status report was completed and submitted prior to the expiration date of the ethics approval certificate. As this ethics approval was received in the first few months after the pandemic reached Canada, there was much uncertainty regarding the lengths of the

varying lockdowns throughout the country. When it became apparent that the lockdowns would continue to be in place for the unforeseeable future, I submitted a modification request which included alterations to the way consent was received. For example, I initially planned to use a consent form which the participant would sign and return to me. After consideration that some participants would view the virtual submission of a signed form to a researcher as a risk, I submitted a modification request to add the option of verbal consent, which I would record and supplement with a modified consent form that I would date/timestamp when the consent process occurred. I also expanded the options of communication methods for participating in an interview. This modification request was approved on July 20, 2020 (Appendix). Ultimately, I renewed the ethics certificate for an additional year (Appendix) due to delays in data collection which I attribute to the pandemic, and further explain below.

4.6 Ethical and Political Considerations

Some of the ethical considerations that I had to make were related to the potential impacts that my interviews could have on my participants. As this diaspora is one that shares collective traumas, not only due to the treatment of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, but the hardships throughout the diaspora's settlement in Canada and other countries, sensitivity was required throughout the data collection process. As a researcher, I felt accountable to my participants' well-being, and was aware that feelings of anxiety and discomfort could arise during these interviews. Some steps I took to ensure the well-being and comfort of the participants was to explicitly state that participants could end their participation at any time, as well as choose to not answer any

question during the interview. I also reiterated these options if I perceived any discomfort or emotional moments from the participant and gave participants time to collect their thoughts after these events. Reflecting on the interviews, I appreciated my positionality as an insider, as these emotions and discomfort resonated with me on a personal level and held me to a high level of accountability to my participants. However, I also remained aware that as an insider, and thus as someone who would potentially resonate with many elements that were discussed in interviews, that such emotional connections could contribute to potential researcher burnout. Thus, I spaced out interviews and ensured that there would be time to reflect and re-energize before each subsequent interview.

A political consideration that I had not sufficiently addressed when I was ready to recruit was the diversity within the diaspora as it pertained to the distinct self-identification as Tamil, Eelam Tamil, Sri Lankan or others. As I approached this research, I understood that there were Tamil populations in numerous countries around the world, such as Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia, Singapore and even Mauritius. Since I hoped to narrow my scope to development initiatives that were occurring in Sri Lanka by second-generation diasporic members whose parents came to Canada from Sri Lanka, I used the identification "second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil Canadians" as part of the inclusion criteria for my sample population, in order to differentiate them from Tamil diasporas from other regions. Some participants did refer to themselves as Sri Lankan Tamil during interviews; however, prior to their interviews, several participants pointed out to me that they were uncomfortable aligning themselves with this identification, while others indicated to me that they would prefer the identification Eelam Tamil. This discomfort stems from the oppression faced by the Tamil community in Sri Lanka based

on othering, which is discussed in the second chapter of this study. While my actions were purely intended to define the geographic scope of ethnic origin and development initiatives, I acknowledge the political significance of this distinction, as well as the heterogeneity of the diaspora, and the various constructions of the group in terms of their geopolitical identifications. Thus, I kept the inclusion criteria to participants needing to have one or more parent(s) having been born in Sri Lanka, but I changed my reference to this group as the second-generation Tamil diaspora in Canada to be more inclusive of different personal identification preferences and have used this reference throughout this study.

I did not delve into this particularly political aspect of self-identification among participants in my study for several reasons. First, my semi-structured questions were relatively broad to allow for the participants' answers to inform subsequent probing questions, and only two participants mentioned these particular geopolitical aspects of their identity construction, and thus the data was not rich enough to analyze. Second, which I believe my insufficient data exemplifies, such an area of focus would be more appropriate to consider as a study of its own considering the extensive exploration that it warrants, with more focused questions that carefully consider the elements involved in such a nuanced topic. The third reason is that to engage in research on and data collection for learning about such a topic would come with additional ethical considerations, as discussions about politically sensitive topics bring potentially heightened risks such as increased discomfort and anxiety, as well as heightened consequences in the case of revealed identities.

Considering the importance of preserving the anonymity of participants, I assigned each participant a pseudonym. I chose these pseudonyms according to two categories. While I did not assume the gender of the participant, I did select pseudonyms based on gendered names - for example, if the participant had a traditionally gender-neutral name, I would similarly choose a gender-neutral pseudonym, and if the participant had a gendered name that was traditionally a woman's name, then I would pick a similarly gendered pseudonym. The second category is Tamil or Anglo (which could also be a distinction of religion) – so if the participant had a Tamil name, I gave them a Tamil pseudonym.

An additional note that I must make is my use of pronouns in this study. As previously mentioned, I did not assume the gender of each participant. While some of the content of participant interviews discuss gendered dynamics within diasporic development, most participants did not share their gender identification during these interviews. My line of questioning did not include a point at which I would ask each participant to share how they identified themselves in terms of gender either. However, with the understanding that gender is a construct and that it would be presumptive of me to assume each participant's gender identity, I instead use the pronoun they/them in this research when referring to each participant to reflect that lack of assumption.

4.7 Recruitment

As my data collection occurred during the pandemic, my methods consisted of purposive and snowball sampling. My recruitment needed to be implemented online due to the COVID-19 pandemic and this served as a limitation of the research. Thus, while

the initial strategy of recruitment was carried out, recruitment was ultimately an iterative process that was responsive to the ever-changing situation stemming from the pandemic. I was supported by several diasporic Tamil organizations (based in and out of development) in Canada. For example, my recruitment material was posted on a diasporic online magazine website, Tamil Culture. The diasporic development organization Comdu.it also shared recruitment material on their social media channels. Additionally, several diasporic organizations internally distributed the recruitment material to their own members.

As I was cognizant of the limited availability of potential participants due to the pandemic, I considered them to be more difficult to reach and subsequently employed targeted sampling based on publicly available information online. Ultimately, the majority of my participants were recruited through this targeted sampling. Using this information, I contacted potential participants who fit the inclusion criteria on social media channels and professional profiles (i.e., LinkedIn). Specifically, I contacted individuals who I determined to be living in Canada and presently or previously have been involved in any development initiative to improve the quality of life for people in Sri Lanka. If their e-mail addresses were publicly available, I shared the official recruitment e-mail – if they were not available, I used my communication with them over social media to request to share the recruitment letter to them through e-mail, after which they could respond if they were interested in participating. This recruitment e-mail also highlighted the additional inclusion criteria through which participants confirmed their eligibility for participation. Upon confirmation of their eligibility and interest in being

interviewed, they were sent the consent form and informed that they could provide written or verbal consent, according to their preference.

4.8 Data Collection

The data collection for this research consisted of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Qualitative research tools are promoted as that which can "critically and consciously examining diasporas' perspectives" which can then "assist in the design of policies or programmes that respond to diasporas' needs and concerns, which can increase takeup or compliance" (IOM, 2022a, p. 315). The in-depth interviews for this research were conducted with n=34 participants who were all approximately 18-40 years old. Interviews were conducted through a variety of communication tools, with most participants being interviewed through Zoom video-conferencing software, some using Google Meet video-conferencing software, and a few participants being interviewed over the phone. The communication tool for each participant's interview was based on their own preferences as several options were provided to the participants and they notified me of their choice of communication method. While limited time and the schedules of participants - particularly during the pandemic - did not permit multiple interview sessions, the interviews which were conducted were extensive, lasting anywhere between an hour to two hours at a time; in fact, the majority of interviews lasted closer to two hours in length.

These in-depth interviews were semi-structured, to allow for a deeper exploration, as well as to give me as a researcher greater ability to probe the answers from participants. Interview questions could be divided into three broad categories: empirical

questions about the participant's development initiative and their role(s) within it, questions about the influences behind their desire to become involved in those development initiatives, as well as questions about their experiences and their feelings about their identities, roles. There was an overarching focus on the interactions between participants and various actors in their social fields, including their families, colleagues, friends, and anybody who they interacted with throughout their experiences within development. Probing questions followed answers about interactions between participants and others in their social fields, particularly how those interactions influenced their beliefs about their identities and their actions.

One benefit that I had not foreseen in my choice of structure was the increased comfort that it would give participants, compared to structured or other interviews; participants indicated that they enjoyed the interviews in the way that they were conducted because they felt like they were having a conversation rather than being interviewed and thus felt more comfortable. The interviews were also conducted one-on-one to allow participants to share their personal experiences without the potential discomfort associated with having to consider the presence of other participants.

I conducted fieldwork from July 2020 to March 2021. As previously mentioned, data collection was completed virtually due to the limitations of the pandemic, which included various lockdowns across Canada. For participants who consented to being audio-recorded during the interview, interviews were recorded using the TapeACall app. The TapeACall app contained an embedded auto-transcription service. Immediately after each interview, the associated recording was transcribed, and then the audio recording and transcription were transferred to an encrypted drive and deleted from the app.

Recording these interviews was particularly beneficial considering the extensive length of the interviews and my choice to carry out semi-structured interviews with probing questions. These recordings allowed me to better immerse myself in what the participant was saying to form relevant probing questions. However, notes were typed out for the few participants who did not consent to being audio-recorded during the interview.

4.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted through NVivo software. Data was analyzed through both deductive and inductive approaches. The first round of analysis was deductive coding, using a codebook based on Bourdieu's social field lens, into broad categories of fields, capital, habitus, and practice. The capital category also reflected Bourdieu's divisions and contained subcategories of symbolic capital, economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. In terms of incorporating Yuval-Davis' (2006) concept of belonging, I understood that belonging and elements of belonging could emerge in several of these initial categories that emerged through the lens of Bourdieu's field analysis, particularly within the habitus category. Thus, the second round of analysis was a thematic analysis that was based on the codes which had emerged through deductive coding. An additional round of coding with a consideration of Yuval-Davis' (2006) model allowed for me to review and revise these themes so that they could be analyzed in the context of belonging.

4.10 Limitations

A major limitation of this research was that it was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. While the initial forms of recruitment that I used enabled me to connect with some participants, response rates were somewhat low. I attributed much of the response rate to pandemic-related factors, as the arrival of COVID-19 in Canada resulted in major changes to the social and professional landscapes of people's lives. The impacts of the pandemic on my recruitment were even indicated to me by potential participants on a few occasions. For example, one potential interviewee who declined to participate said that they were overwhelmed with trying to balance their professional work as well as their children's remote learning, and thus did not feel as though they could fit such an interview into their schedules at that time. Another potential interviewee candidly stated that they were already having a generally stressful time during the pandemic and while interested in the subject, was hesitant to add more commitments such as a participant interview. While the pandemic did impact the number of participants who were interviewed, I ultimately did recruit n=34 participants and collected rich data.

Another limitation due to the pandemic was the inability to conduct in-person interviews. While I initially considered that participants would be given the option to be interviewed over video-conferencing software as well, I also intended to meet with participants who were willing to be interviewed in person, as in-person interviews are considered to be the gold standard since there are many benefits associated with in-person interviews such as increased rapport, the ability to read body languages etc. (Irani, 2019). However, the pandemic-related closures made in-person interviews impossible at the time, which resulted in the interviews being moved to occur entirely over

videoconferencing or the phone. While online date collection has its limitations, and a few participants opted for the phone interview, the majority of participants opted for the video-conferencing interview, which "more closely resembles the in-person qualitative interview" (Irani, 2019). Additionally, while video-conferencing resembles in-person interviews, it also beneficial in that it "offers scheduling flexibility and provides participants with more options to fit the interview in their busy work schedules and personal lives" (Irani, 2019, p. 4). The use of videoconferencing not only allowed me to schedule interviews with people all over Canada, including those residing in different provinces, but also allowed me to schedule interviews that worked with their time zones. I was also able to interview second-generation Tamil Canadian participants who happened to be visiting or working in other countries at the time of the interview through my use of videoconferencing. Thus, while in-person interviews were not a possibility at the time of data collection, the conduction of qualitative interviews through videoconferencing allowed for the building of rapport and collection of rich data.

Chapter 5. Navigating the Transnational Social Field

To understand the ways in which the second-generation Tamil diaspora negotiates their identities throughout their development initiatives, it is imperative to explore the multiple, overlapping fields in which they are located and how the interactions within those fields contribute their experiences, and subsequently their habitus and actions. This exploration includes not only looks at examples of the various other actors within these fields but the power structures as well. Another important element for understanding the negotiation of identity amongst the diaspora is an examination of how they engage in development initiatives in the first place, including their use of capital to pursue opportunities.

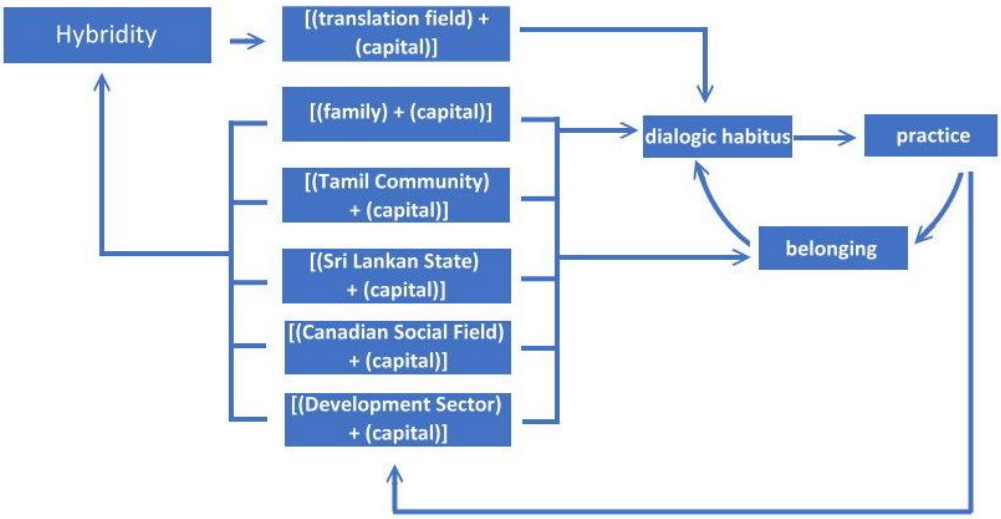
This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section looks at the various "sites" or micro-fields in which the diaspora is located (family, the Tamil community, the Sri Lankan state, the Canadian field, and the development sector), and the actors and interactions that occur within them. This will be followed by a section that includes an overview of some the ways in which the diaspora comes across opportunities to participate in development. The third section will highlight the different types of development activities in which the diaspora engages, as well as explorations of how they use their capital to support their initiatives.

5.1 Sites

As previously mentioned, the second-generation diaspora is located in multiple overlapping fields and have interactions with other actors in those fields, which contribute to their day-to-day lived experiences and subsequently their habitus. They are

also impacted by the uneven power structures that exist in these fields. This research highlights some of these fields and the interactions within them, as seen in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2.



Source: Akalya Kandiah

It is important to note, however, that these fields are not necessarily silos – rather, they overlap with one another, as the actors in these fields can also belong to multiple fields, much like the agents in question. Thus, while these fields are a point of focus in this research, I acknowledge that interactions and power structures can transcend one field and occur across multiple arenas.

5.1.1 Family

The first and most mentioned field by the participants in this study is the family. The family can be considered a "small-scale" field from a Bourdieusian standpoint

(Atkinson, 2014). The fact that the family was the most frequently mentioned site of influence echoes the work of Lundy (2011), who states that family was the primary contributor in identity construction amongst the second-generation Haitian diaspora, as well as the main connection between the diaspora and Haiti itself. This rings true in the case of this study as well, as even the inclusion criteria used to recruit second-generation diasporic participants included a partial identification through their parent(s) migration trajectory from Sri Lanka to Canada. While this field is an inherent connection to their identities as second-generation Tamil Canadians, the interactions that occur throughout the field contribute to the habitus of this group in a variety of ways.

Participants reported that conversations with their parents and other relatives about things like life in Sri Lanka, the traumatic events that occurred there, and the challenges associated with their family members' migration journeys to Canada. Many of these diasporic members attributed some of their desire to help people in Sri Lanka to these conversations. Ruban described his experience growing up in his family home, saying

> [T]hat's all I heard. Like the struggle. It's always been about the struggle… and like leaving. It was never about like, all the great times. So that's what really drove me to think the way I do. And I always wanted to do something back home.[3]

Similarly, Thulasi recalled conversations with their parents, "my parents always made sure that they taught us about our identity and our history and our genocide… and my dad was actually a survivor of the 1983 pogroms, and so we knew how much they struggled."

[3] Participant quotes were edited for clarity.

While these direct conversations were impactful and contributed to the perspectives of participants, some participants indicated the importance of "indirect conversations", or overheard conversations. Participants highlighted that in the case of an absence of direct conversations, they also overheard conversations that their parents had with others and learned about aspects of their family histories and identities through this way. For example, Aravinth described the dynamics through which they learned information about the situation in Sri Lanka, saying,

> I think my parents are, I guess you could say more vocal about it, at least with us… they were they were relatively comfortable… at least having that kind of, having to come up around us not necessarily talking directly with us, but at least having conversations with others around us. Or at least playing newsreels and stuff like that around us.

Some participants experienced a family field in which there was an absence of conversations entirely, which was also impactful in its own way. Anne describes the effect that such an absence had on their connection to the situation in Sri Lanka, saying, "that does play a role in terms of how much I knew about or how connected I was, not in my household but with the issues that are going on back home. Like, I didn't really have much of a space to talk about it."

Participants stated that they felt that their parents did not speak about the experiences for various reasons, such as wanting to avoid painful memories and wanting to protect their children from hearing about those traumas. For example, Rohini described their perspectives about the minimal conversation, saying,

> [M]y dad left Sri Lanka pretty young. He was, like, eighteen. And he left before the war really got heavy and unsettling. However, my mom… she saw it all, like she was in a bunker... they were running for safety… her... my uncle was taken away for a period of time… so, I know that she lived through these hurdles, but it was never... she would never elaborate… it was very, like, short… and you would hear snippets. I think they hold back. They're very

> mindful of what they share, possibly because they don't want to bring that to our attention. But I would… I would say they were very, like, they were afraid to show their emotions or their feelings around that, and for me as a psychology student, it was… it was kind of baffling like you know, why don't you want to talk about it… like, I want to know what was going through your head when you were running, right…for your own safety… And so, I definitely wanted to learn more.

In Rohini's case, this absence of conversation motivated them to seek out other family members to learn more about the family's experiences in Sri Lanka.

> I knew that possibly it could be because I knew that I had an aunt and uncle there that… so, someone who lived through that, and now is there in the post-war era. And maybe I could get more information, and I did. Like, they were far more open to talk about it than my parents or the family that are here would talk about it. I don't know if it's just something that they just forgotten. Or they've left and may need to move past it to kind of have a future here. No, you can't really have those feelings fester, maybe that's what it was, but I found that my family members back home, they were willing to share, and they were more open, so maybe that was my thinking… so maybe if I go in person, meet people that lived through some of these hurdles, they'll be able to share more.

Rohini's experience with their family highlights the complexity of the family field. Despite it being considered a micro-scale field, the family field of a diaspora is transnational in nature and extends beyond traditional borders. Thus, their case exemplifies the breadth of interactions that can occur in this field and contribute to the habitus of a second-generation diasporic member.

Their experience is echoed by those of other participants, who describe interactions with family members in Sri Lanka. Abira explains the extensive reach and strong connections that are understood as family for some diasporic members and described their experience meeting their family members for the first time.

> [Y]ou know, back our parents back home, they could just, like, walk straight into the home of their cousin brother. You know, they say, like even if blood-related, if you're from the same village, immediately, you're like this. That's just the way our culture is, right? So, it was nice to meet family. They

> welcomed us with open arms. As if they've known us all their life. I think it's something family members back home are always waiting for. They're just always waiting to kind of re-unite with their family that had to leave the country. So, it was like when we saw… it was like this… like a release, like, okay, finally, like we've been waiting all this time, so that was nice. And it was… I think they were also way more excited to see my mom because my mom has a huge family. She's from Jaffna.

Considering their own trip to Sri Lanka with their parents, Sambavi describes the impact of having family members in Sri Lanka, and its correlation to the connection one has with the community in Sri Lanka, saying,

> [W]hen I went in 2019, a lot of the comments were like, oh, we saw you when you were so small and you're big [now]. That was the majority of the comments… but yeah, like I think it's sad though, because a lot of people have left the country after the war. So, there's very few people that are like our relatives that were still living there. So, I think that's kind of the sad part. I know I have friends who have a lot of family used to live there, and there's friends who don't have much family. And I think that also kind of determines the level of connection that you have, because if you have a lot of family there, it's so natural you live there. You sleep there. You spend weeks or even months there. Like if you don't have much family, a lot of it's kind of more touristy stuff or you kind of go to the temples that are kind of famous. It's a different experience that you have entirely. So, I think that plays a role as well.

Conversations play a major role for participants in terms of their understandings about the history of Tamil people and the experiences of the community. However, participants also described interactions that were about an imperative to help others, and to specifically help the Tamil community in Sri Lanka. For example, Tharani recalled interactions with their mother in which helping the community was outlined as one of their obligations, saying,

> When I was growing up, my mom always used to say, like, you know… when you grow older, you have to, like, you know… you have certain things you need to do, like you need to do stuff for the family, you need to need to do work that takes care of the family. You need to do work that takes care of yourself… obviously, you need to do work that gives back to the community.

Other participants noted similar experiences and found that their parents often encouraged acts of service for the community. Sanjeev attributes their own initiatives to their mother, saying, “I think I always give credit to my own [mother] because when I was in high school, she, like, forced me to volunteer for a couple of things.” However, many participants explained that their parents not only encouraged acts of community service but participated in them as well. Jenna stated, “my dad's really involved. He's on the board of another development organization in Sri Lanka. So, there's just been tons of random things, and my uncle also has one too… so, I've got a lot of exposure.” While Jenna’s experience within the family field included these observations of their family members engaging in development initiatives to help people in Sri Lanka, other participants were brought into the initiatives of their family members. One recurring example was their families’ and their own subsequent involvement in the 2008-2009 protests which occurred in major cities, such as Toronto and Ottawa. Thulasi describes the way in which they became involved in the 2008-2009 protests in Toronto through their family, saying, “it was like a family thing. Like, every day after school, we all get ready, go downtown, come back, go to school... all that. Like, that was our daily routine together.” Jegan had a similar experience, and said, “I was really young, and I don't understand too much, but I remember going to like protests and stuff with him [family member] while he would work around with his colleagues.” Nila also had a vivid memory of their experience at the protest, saying,

> When the protest days started in Toronto, we... our whole life was just protest... I still remember... I was in grade six when we blocked Gardiner Expressway... I remember that...and then I still remember, we'd have to block the street and in order to keep the street blocked, we can't really leave the street or else, like the police will push us back onto the sidewalk, right? So, there were nights, where my mom would find, like a cardboard box and she'd flattened it out and

> she'll be like, okay just sit here or something and that would be my bed. I would just like, sleep on the cardboard box on the street so that like we don't get pushed back onto the sidewalk. So, like I say, our families are like heavily invested with like helping back home.

While several of the participants described the protests as a way their family's involvement in an initiative contributed to their own participation, other participants noted that their own involvement in particular development organizations was similarly due to their own family members being members themselves. For example, Vasaki attributes their own involvement in a development organization to their family's involvement in organization, saying "my cousin was the president of that organization, so I want to support her. And my relatives were the ones that were running that organization. So obviously to support them." For Nila, it was their family's involvement in initiatives (and their own subsequent involvement) that made them more interested in conversations about their family histories. Recalling their own reasons for their involvement, Nila said,

> [F]irst, the thing that kind of sparked my interest would be helping my parents, especially because whenever they participate in something at first it was like, 'Oh, they're participating. I should probably do it as well….' Like, experiencing that idea of my parents going out to these protests, I started paying more attention to their stories. Now it's actually one of my favorite past times to listen to, like, the stories of how they ended up coming to Canada, and like, how their lives were when they were in true… like in the middle of the war.

These experiences of the diaspora highlight the "transferability" of practice (Page & Mercer, 2012). As Page and Mercer (2012) state, "practices are not transferred by being explicitly taught so much as learned through the experience of growing up within a particular community" (p. 9). In this regard, some diasporic members' interactions with and observations of their families highlights the socialization which occurs, through which "motivational knowledge"- such as the significance of the needs of the

communities in Sri Lanka- is developed. Despite the variance within family fields amongst diasporic members, the field impacts their day-to-day experiences in different ways. The other actors in the family field – the family members – exist in a transnational span, within which interactions, such as conversations, as well as observations of the actions of those family members all contribute to the habitus of the second generation.

5.1.2 Tamil Community

While the participants experience a transnational family field which contributes their experiences, the Tamil community similarly extends beyond borders and has actors who interact and impact the lived experiences of the second-generation diaspora. Many participants indicated that they participated in a variety of extracurricular activities within the Tamil community. One example was the arts: several participants sang Carnatic music, played Carnatic music with instruments, and danced traditional Bharatanatyam. Other examples included participation in community events such as competitions and intermural sports. Several participants also described their involvement in their religious institutions, such as temples or churches. Most participants who were involved in these activities indicated that they had been involved in them since they were children. Thus, even at young ages, these participants were interacting with other members of the Tamil community. Rohini described their own experience with classical dance, saying, “my grandma put me in dance when I was like four or five years old, I did my Arangetrum when I was 17, 16 years old, actually.” However, these forms of involvement in the Tamil community have continued for many members, with some

being involved in other Tamil community organizations, or continuing their involvement in the Tamil arts community.

Participants also described the issues faced by the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, and their awareness of the lived experiences of the community. As previously mentioned, some participants were made aware of these issues by their families, however other participants highlighted that their knowledge about the Tamil community in Sri Lanka through other members of the Tamil community in Canada, such as colleagues from their universities.

5.1.3 Sri Lankan State

The second-generation diaspora engages with the Tamil community and other actors in Sri Lankan as well, making it another site at which interactions occur and power structures are observed. Several participants had their own experiences in Sri Lanka; some had these experiences while conducting development fieldwork, but others also had personal experiences such as family trips. Mya described their own visit and their experience witnessing objects that were used during the genocide, saying, “we got to come to visit the site, like of bunkers and the naval ships that they use. So, it was very educational, but it was also very emotional.” Some participants cited a particular event in the Sri Lankan field as the reason why their fieldwork was cancelled or delay: the Easter bombing attacks which occurred in the spring of 2019, which targeted churches and hotels near the country’s capital, Colombo, and killed and injured hundreds of people (BBC News, 2019). This sentiment was echoed by Aravinth who discussed their thought process about the element of safety when contemplating potential fieldwork. Other

participants also expressed an awareness of actors and power structures at the site even if they had not travelled there themselves.

Additionally, participants described political events in Sri Lanka, as well as the genocide which occurred there, with some participants citing these examples when explaining their helping habitus (to be discussed further in the next chapter). Several participants brought up specific events such as Black July and the burning down of the Jaffna library. Whether or not the experience of the interactions between actors or the power structures at the site were experienced first- or second-hand, they inform the habitus and practice of the second-generation in various ways.

5.1.4 Canadian Social Field

The Canadian social field is also comprised of multiple realms and filled with various actors and uneven power structures that contribute to the habitus of second-generation Tamils. Some of the sites in the Canadian field include educational institutions, the media, health care system, and Canadian politics. While there are numerous actors and power structures in a field as broad as Canada, this section looks at some examples of the areas within this field that were highlighted by participants and the ways in which they inform these agents' day-to-day experiences.

Canadian educational institutions are a part of the Canadian field, in which the second-generation diaspora interacts with other actors, including members of the general Canadian community as well as the Tamil Canadian community, such as other students and faculty. This field is not only impactful due to the level of interaction between the second-generation and other actors in the field, but for the length of time that many of

second-generation members spend in this field, from the time that they were children up to young adults, and for some, even longer. It is then no surprise that this site within the Canadian field was the most often mentioned by participants.

While some participants recalled memories of elementary or high school, most of the experiences in Canadian educational institutions that were mentioned by participants revolved around post-secondary institutions. Several participants attributed some of their helping habitus to their experiences in high school. For example, Jerusha shared their experiences with community-driven initiatives in high school, and stated, “I think even in high school, I liked started organizations where I felt like they were, like, I recognized the need in my community.” Some participants even described experiences with volunteering within the Tamil community as well as beyond the Tamil community during elementary school. However, many participants described impactful experiences during their time in post-secondary institutions that would contribute to their habitus as well as their practice. Shalini describes an interaction with a fellow student and member of the Tamil community, through whom she became involved in the Tamil community, saying,

> [S]o I was at [name of university] and this... like a Tamil young person, she came up to me, she was like *hey, are you Tamil?* and I was like *yea!* and I was like first-year university, and you're like... you know... kind of get so lost and to help connect me to something at the university, and she's like, well, why don't you join - and I think at that time [organization] was just forming, they were just starting to recruit volunteers. She's like, *oh, I'm involved with this organization, you should come volunteer*. She got my contact info and then I kind of just joined through there. And it was really... I think that's what really triggered like my community involvement.

Examples like Shalini’s experience highlight the interactions that occur at the nexus of multiple sites with actors who also have multiple positionalities, such as a diasporic Tamil student who is then a Canadian student as well as a Tamil community member.

Similarly, other participants like Laksha found that in the absence of conversations in their family household, it was in university that they began to learn more about the Tamil community's experiences and stated

> I find a lot of my friends grew up with the struggle… and we're like, witnessing their parents, go to meetings and stuff, and so my father would. But there was always this feeling that you can't talk about it in the house because it's painful. And so, I went and left to university… that's when I actually started learning a way more about the struggle than I ever had in my entire life.

While educational institutions were a realm in which some second-generation diasporic members were able to meet other members of the Canadian Tamil community, these educational institutions also contributed to the habitus of the second generation through their broader educational experiences such as classes and extracurriculars. For example, Jenna talks about their experience of meeting international development students and how their interactions impacted their own perspectives about Sri Lanka, saying,

> I think it's so funny, because I think it was in first year where I really... I met other international development students is when I really realized, like, holy smokes like, there's so many... there's such a specific viewpoint, I think that Tamil people have to development in Sri Lanka. I didn't really realize that. I guess I grew up in a in a mindset where everybody thought that way. And then when I met other international development students, I'm like, oh, the first thing you think about is not genocide? Yikes, my bad... like, kind of stuff like that.

Jenna's experience highlights the ways that interactions with other actors in a field can potentially contribute to an agent's habitus. In Jenna's case, they grew up observing their family members refer most often to Sri Lanka in the context of genocide, whether it was the impacts of it or the need to stop it. However, during their time at a Canadian university, their interactions with other students exposed them to alternative perspectives of and priorities in Sri Lanka, specifically in the context of development. Jenna also

explains the contributions of course content on their habitus, particularly in their ideas about development, saying,

> [E]ducation-wise, like with university, how it shapes my thinking or how it impacts it is definitely trying to take a more whole approach… more well-rounded. So, there's looking at it from a political aspect, then looking into economics... looking into health, looking into gender... I think like through school and through peers and teachers, there is this holistic approach... that is being taught through classes. And the classes are also so different compared to how I would say I... I see my uncle and my dad looking at it. I think theirs is a little bit more one-sided. I think theirs is a lot of war impacts. If we're talking about Sri Lanka development in specific, I think that's the main difference. I'd say from how I see my uncle and father look at it as opposed to how I'm kind of taught at school. Let's see, it's just that my parents would definitely have that more specific, like, this is *the war impact on its own, the school was damaged, what can we do?* kind of thing, as opposed to school would be like, alright, now, let's take a big approach. Let's go back to colonialism. Let's go back to where did this all start? Like, why is there a problem, like stuff like that.

Jenna's experience is an example of how not only the day-to-day interactions with fellow students, but the content taught in Canadian schools, colleges and universities can influence an agent's habitus. For Jenna, the content broadened their perspectives about the ways in which to approach conflict. However, Jenna's description is also an example of positioning at the intersection of two fields, with unique actors approaching conflict in different ways, and the experience of the agent as they compare and contrast these differing views.

However, agents' experiences at Canadian educational institutions are not limited to influences on habitus in the context of development and approaches to improving the quality of life in Sri Lanka. Their experiences also include interactions and observations of unequal power structures that contribute to a growth in awareness of their own positions of power and belonging in various spaces. Abira recalled their journey through their undergraduate program in university, saying,

> I started to see myself like this my 3rd and 4th year. I started to meet other people outside of my discipline, and I started to sort of be exposed to politics and governance and starting to learn more about race and identity. And I started to realize that I didn't really have a… like, I didn't feel like I had a voice to share because I kept neglecting that inside of me. I didn't have anyone to relate within my undergrad, and I was kind of trying to conform to their lifestyle, their cultural practices or what was very theoretical on the books. But I never got a chance to really explore who I was and to represent an outside perspective or just like a minority perspective. And only in my fourth year I actually did a restoration course and we had to take any objects we can find that has, like a… a heritage background to it, or some sort of family monument of source that could have been broken apart. And we had to re fix it and sort of like an ecological restoration to it. And I chose one of my mom's very old sarees.

In Abira's case, they not only felt the impacts of the content taught in their course, but the general diversity in their cohort, particularly the lack of representation. Their attempts to assimilate by conforming to various aspects of the majority group with the goal of achieving belonging in that space resulted in their growing understandings of unequal power relations. In other words, they began to understand power of having a voice, and in the representation of minority groups, as they became aware of their own neglected identities in the pursuit of belonging in a space dominated by a "majority." At the same time, the educational institution was also the space which gave Abira an opportunity to explore their own heritage and claim some of that space through representation. Thus, the educational realm of the Canadian field is filled with various power structures and relationships which inform the experiences of these agents, and subsequently their habitus.

There are numerous other areas of the Canadian field that also impact the second-generation diaspora. While there are too many areas for this chapter to provide an exhaustive list, there are several other examples which were mentioned by different participants as influential in their day-to-day lives. For example, Jerusha described their

own experiences with the Canadian health care system, saying, “I've also grown up with health challenges and having the… like, high-quality health care and treatment from health professionals… helped me live the lifestyle that I have. Now, I wouldn't have it if I didn't have access to that type of health care, and just quality health care.” Anne talked about the role of Canadian media in their own knowledge about Sri Lanka, saying, “I would see things on TV like during the height of you know the war and stuff.” On the other hand, Anne also discusses the impact of the Canadian political climate, and the general lack of representation in Canada on their own habitus, saying,

> [R]epresentation is kind of important. In a sense, there's just perspectives and ideas and deeper understanding that… it's hard to resonate with when you're not from that country. I think you know, even just 2020. This is this entire year and kind of seeing, like what companies and organizations and people are doing after George Floyd and kind of just all of that, coming into more attention has really made me more aware of not speaking for somebody else.

Another aspect of the Canadian field that was mentioned by participants was their friendships. For example, Thenuja described how their friendships impacted their time in university, saying, “honestly, in a way, it was one of the best five years in my life… …Like I said you find your group of girls there, and yeah, and we carry that today.” Friends were also impactful for some participants as a source of information about Sri Lanka and/or the Tamil community; Laksha stated, “I find a lot of my friends who kind of grew up with the struggle,” as they described their own desire to learn more about Sri Lanka because they did not feel as though they knew enough due to their own upbringing. Several participants engaged in development initiatives alongside their friends, such as Mya, who, as previously mentioned, created a fundraising with their friends.

There are many areas within the Canadian social field which contribute to the experiences of second-generation Tamil Canadians. These fields, in which the second-generation diaspora interacts with other actors, and where they observe power structures, all contribute to their habitus. However, as agents who are involved in development, they are also impacted by the actors and structures found across the development sector.

5.1.5 Development Sector

These particular second-generation diasporic members are also in the development field, as this research focuses specifically on those members who engage in development initiatives in Sri Lanka. The development sector is an arena itself, with numerous actors, with whom agents interact and observe, as well as power structures which the agents navigate as they engage in their own development initiatives. These actors include NGOs, governments, stakeholders, and communities of focus. This field, like the Tamil community, is a field that goes beyond borders, and is comprised of power structures that are transnational in reach. It is also a field in which agents interact with both Tamil community and non-Tamil community members. For example, while conducting fieldwork, some participants engaged with local organizations comprised of Tamil community members. However, some participants also engaged with other Tamil community members while carrying out initiatives from Canada.

Some participants spoke about their awareness of the power structures in the field and the inequalities that existed at an organizational level. For example, Mya highlighted the power of larger organizations, saying, “I feel like with bigger organizations, they have a bigger say and a bigger, bigger influence.” Tharani commented on the power of

mainstream development organizations versus diasporic community development organizations, saying “they're seen as credible actors, and yet we are not.” Other participants highlighted the unequal power relations that they observed during interactions with other actors, such as first-generation Tamil development actors. Participants also described their awareness of their own positions of power in relation to other actors. For example, in some cases, participants discussed their lack of power compared to other actors in the development sphere. Thenuja shared their perspective about the power of citizenship, and described their feeling as though they have less power than Sri Lankan citizens to effect change and improve the lives of peoples in Sri Lanka, saying, “I feel like I don't know how I can effectively do stuff back home to change the… to get involved in the political, the legal aspects… like… as a I'm not a citizen, right? And that's what citizenship gives you… it gives you that power, that voice.” Tharani discussed their observations of the lack of respect their Tamil colleagues in their development initiatives received from White development actors, saying that some of their Tamil colleagues are “the most aware of what's happening back home, the most able to communicate and defend themselves… and so, like, the positionality is so freaking fantastic. Yet they're not… they're never given the kind of… like, respect that White people are…”. In other cases, participants described interactions which they felt highlighted the power that they had in comparison with other actors in the development field. For example, Thulasi discussed the ways in which the second generation of the Tamil diaspora in Canada had greater power while engaging in development compared to members of the first generation, saying,

> [W]e live here, like and we were born here, like we're not afraid of like getting caught or like making mistakes, because we are… we feel like we belong here.

> We like We feel like we're completely Canadian. And we deserve to speak out. Whereas our parents first generation Canadians might… like our parents and our grandparents might be a little hesitant or scared to speak out, in a sense, so we have that power.

These second-generation diasporic members highlighted not only unequal power structures but also their ever-changing positions of power as they navigated through this field, depending on the actors with whom they interact. As such, the development field is another important arena of exploration when considering the experiences of the second-generation, and how those experiences impact their habitus and subsequent practices.

5.2 Development Practices

The second-generation is engaged in development in several different ways. However, the most discussed types of engagement amongst participants were fundraising and fieldwork, such as working on development projects on site in Sri Lanka or volunteering at local organizations in Sri Lanka. All the participants' engagement in international development based in Sri Lanka was volunteer based, though one participant was also employed by a mainstream (non-diasporic) development organization which focused on other development sites. Participants engaged in development in both professional and casual ways. For example, Jenna, who was part of an organization which contributed to medical programming in Sri Lanka, such as financially contributing to medical and dentist clinics, worked on the website of their organization as well as reports and other dissemination materials. Similarly, Jerusha was responsible for communications and project management in the organization at which they volunteered; they explained, "I did a lot of work on their website, based on their projects, I would provide summary then, do written documentation for posting on their

website and I ran a social media platform." Laksha was involved in event planning for their organization which engaged in advocacy work for equality in Sri Lanka. When describing their role in an organization that supports local organizations [in Sri Lanka] in various sectors, Vaishnavi said, "a lot of it really was like thinking about strategizing and then thinking about different fundraising opportunities. So, I was in charge of coming up with innovative ideas on how we can fundraise and raise awareness." Some participants explained that they engaged in initiatives such as fundraising which was organized by their religious or community organizations. For example, Iniya was a part of a diasporic organization that raised funds to help local medical clinics in Sri Lanka with resources, such as purchasing wheelchairs or helping to build more comfortable waiting areas. Additionally, some of the participants had specific roles in organizations (including religious institutions) such as intern, project manager, board member, executive member, or fundraising team member. For example, Abira stated, "the heaviest project is through my church… …I work as that administrator who sends out letters annual reports, quarterly reports to our various stakeholders." Jerusha was an intern at an organization which worked to support communities in Sri Lanka to have more equitable and sustainable access to healthcare. On the other hand, Nila described the beginnings of their own engagement as a casual outing with several friends, after which they contemplated how their expenditures during that outing could have been spent elsewhere to help people in Sri Lanka; they stated,

> [W]e kind of like… we kind of made a group chat and then I was like, okay, let me reach out to this organization and ask them if they have any projects… and then all of us, like, we made like a whole Excel sheet and we kept, like, tabs of how many, how much money everyone's getting, and like we've collected it and then we are the people who donated into a group chat and like we were able to run, like, two or three projects with that group chat.

Nila further explained that the funds which were raised went to initiatives such as providing schools with supplies as well as building a well for a village. This development initiative that stemmed from a casual encounter in some ways echoes the experiences of several other participants who decided to create their own development initiatives. Sanjeev describes their experience of learning about issues faced by communities in Sri Lanka in places such as the Tamil Studies Conference at the University of Toronto and becoming more aware of the situation in Sri Lanka. With this awareness, Sanjeev deciding to create a sporting event with fellow Tamil students within the local area of their university to raise money and help those communities, saying, "We're all going out to [inaudible] pub events and stuff. Why not put a charitable spin and just raised the money for… kind of two schools that I had personal connections to there." Similarly, Aravinth decided to create a talent show fundraiser which would be open to both their university and the community in the area where the university was located, to raise money for a hospital in Sri Lanka.

Some participants also conducted fieldwork in various regions throughout Sri Lanka and worked with organizations in the country; these organizations ranged from group/girls/boys' homes, advocacy centres, schools and more[4]. For example, Ruban travelled to Sri Lanka for a one-month placement, in which they engaged in consultant work for a local organization. On the other hand, Rakavi travelled to Sri Lanka to engage in counselling work for those impacted by the conflict. Arani spent three months in Sri

[4] In the interest of protecting the anonymity of participants, the specific regions in Sri Lanka, or other identifying details of the participants' fieldwork will not be disclosed.

Lanka conducting research for a local organization. Fieldwork ranged from several weeks to several months, with several participants either extending their relationship with the local organization or continuing to pursue similar development goal through other avenues upon their return to Canada.

In both Canadian and fieldwork settings, participants engaged with a broad range of actors across borders, including development actors in both Canada and Sri Lanka, as well as stakeholder communities and the broader community in Sri Lanka. However, it is also through interactions with actors in these fields through which agents come across opportunities to engage in development in the first place.

5.3 Opportunities

How did these diasporic second-generation Tamils engage in these positions? Participants described several opportunities across different fields through which they became involved in their development initiatives. They described situations where they pursued opportunities as well as situations in which opportunities presented themselves. This exploration into those opportunities highlight the roles of actors in these fields in contributing to situations where agents could translate their "helping" habitus into praxis. One place at which many participants came across opportunities was social media. In fact, several participants explained that they had not seriously considered engaging in development initiatives until they came across tangible opportunities on social media. Others stated that they followed several development organizations and found them to align with their own ideas. For example, Mya stated that their social media connections exposed them to diasporic development organizations, saying,

> I knew people who were part of the organization and I saw the posting online, and I figured this is something that I wanted to do again, like I mentioned it before. It connects back to the community and having to do with the field I wanna work with in the future. This would be the perfect position for me, so I applied, and I got in, thankfully.

Similarly, Jerusha was also following a development organization on social media when they came across an opportunity, explaining,

> I believe I was just scrolling on Instagram, and I was following them initially. So, I was always keeping up to date with the content and I saw that they had a posting for internship positions. So, I thought, let me just apply and went to the interview process and ended up getting a position as an intern. So yeah, that's how it happened.

Some participants were approached by actors such as fellow Tamil community members who recruited them into development initiatives. For example, Laksha explained that while they were volunteering for a Canadian charity event, a Tamil person from a diasporic development organization approached them and suggested that they get involved.

Many participants also indicated that people in their existing networks who provided pathways to enter organizations or initiatives. For example, Sambavi recalled their own introduction to the development organization at which they volunteer, saying, "there's certain friends that I've kept that I've known for a long time as well. She's a friend that actually brought me into the organization." There were also several participants whose family members were already a part of specific diasporic development organizations or initiatives, and thus recruited them to join as well. As previously mentioned, others, like Mya and Aravinth, created their opportunities to get involved with their friends or colleagues. Some were also already a part of non-development

diasporic organization who just happened to engage in development initiatives, in which they took part.

Transitional periods or periods of flexibility in many of the participants' lives also contributed the opportunities being ones that could feasibly be pursued. None of the participants engaged in development initiatives as a sole job or career. As previously mentioned, all the engagement described by participants was volunteer-based. Thus, participants engaged in the initiatives on a part-time basis for both short and long-term periods, according to their schedules. Several of the participants who engaged in fieldwork also indicated that they were able to do so because they were in transition periods, such as post-graduation or in between career changes; the other participants who engaged in fieldwork did so during periods where they did not have work/school, such as summer breaks or vacation time.

The opportunities described by the second-generation diaspora were largely found in social media and their own networks. However, these opportunities were also only pursuable when participants found enough time to volunteer, in situations such as transitional periods, summer vacation and working/school arrangements that allowed for extracurricular activities. While the opportunities that the second generation encountered provided pathways to engagement, the second generation also used their own capital to navigate other aspects of their participation.

5.4 Economic and Social Capital

The second generation also use different form of capital to engage in these development initiatives. While some participants used the social capital that stemmed

from familial connections to join initiatives, others used their networks to create development initiatives. However, there are other aspects of their capital that contribute to their involvement in development initiatives and how they choose to engage in them.

One form of capital that was highlighted by several participants was the use of economic capital. There were overt mentions of money, such as when Sanjeev discussed their experience, and their observation of the ability to fundraise due to so diaspora members working in corporate positions, saying "it was like we definitely raised like a good amount of money… …if we're all working at big companies, you definitely leverage away more." Others highlighted that they were able to engage in part-time roles or travel to Sri Lanka for fieldwork. These statements highlight some of the participants' economic abilities to be able to travel during transitional periods or have the financial ability or support to be able to take on those part-time roles. In fact, Iniya states that having economic capital is an inherent attribute of the diaspora, saying, "if we weren't the diaspora, we would haven't the money to even help them– we wouldn't be the diaspora, we would be them." Iniya's statement certainly applies to the subset of the diaspora who engage in development initiatives, particularly when considering the volunteer-basis upon which many members (and all the research participants) participate in them. While the second-generation uses their economic capital to participate in development initiatives, they also use other forms of capital as well.

The second-generation were able to participate in development initiatives and pursue specific roles because of certain forms of cultural capital. One common example of this cultural capital was the second-generation's knowledge about technology. Both Jenna and Sambavi took on positions which required them to be responsible for social

media activities at their respective organizations. However, numerous participants also approached development initiatives with specific skill-sets due to their education or work experience. For example, due to their own experience with policy-writing, Jenna also engaged in policy-writing at their organization. Similarly, Vaishnavi described their extensive experience as a fundraiser which influenced their choice to use those skills and engage in a similar role at their development organization, saying, “I've always been a fundraising coordinator, or like involved in that fundraising capacity to just be a good way to use those skills.” Another example of this cultural capital is seen in Jerusha’s experience with obtaining a role at a diasporic development organization due to their skills which stemmed from their education. Jerusha explained, “like, one big thing about my program is that I do a lot of like inquiry-based learning, involves a lot of communication and so I guess that's what landed me a role in communications.” Along with symbolic capital, there are other examples of cultural capital that the second generation uses to navigate their development experiences, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

5.5 Conclusion

The second generation of the Tamil diaspora in Canada stands at the intersection of multiple fields. At this intersection, they not only interact with various actors, but power structures at well. However, their positionality and relationships with these actors and structures from field to field, resulting in a dynamic positionality that varies with which they navigate through unequal interactions.

Understanding sites such as Canadian educational institutions, families and even the broader Tamil community in Canada help to understand the complexity of these fields and the ways in which they overlap, and how they can be so impactful on the habitus of second-generation Tamil Canadians. Not only do the interactions contribute to the perspectives of the second-generation diaspora, such as understandings of Sri Lanka or development as a whole but the opportunities to engage in development as well. However, these sites are also places where the second-generation use capital to navigate the interactions which shape their involvement in development.

However, what happens when these second-generation Tamil Canadians then engage in their development initiatives? Participation in development as multi-sited agents is complex like the fields themselves, and through these initiatives, they toggle their multiple positionalities. In other words, their development initiatives bring to the forefront their experiences of hybridity, otherness, and belonging, which contribute to their habitus in the context of development.

Chapter 6. Negotiating Belonging through Diasporic Development

The second-generation of the Tamil diaspora negotiates their identities at various sites, where they interact with other actors and inform their habitus as it relates to identity, and in doing so, also constructing meanings of those unequal power structures. This identity negotiation, or negotiation of belonging, occurs before and throughout their involvement in international development initiatives. In other words, the day-to-day interactions of these agents contribute to a 'habitus,' specifically a habitus that relates to identity, and as such, constructs narratives of belonging, otherness, and liminality - "permeated simultaneously with feelings of belonging and not belonging, of being home and having no home" (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014, p. 175). These negotiations of identity help to highlight the ways in which second-generations diasporas are development actors with unique experiences and contributions to the development field, as well highlight contemporary experiences of migration and settlement in Canada.

This chapter explores those negotiations of identity as the second generation engages in development initiatives and navigates their social fields. It is divided into four sections. The first section provides a background on the experience of growing up in Canada as a second-generation Tamil Canadian, and discusses their identity narratives of otherness and belonging, as well as the desire for attachments which often informs a 'helping habitus'. The second section looks at the diaspora's negotiations of identity throughout their experiences in the development sector, specifically their negotiation and constructions of otherness and belonging in development. The third section looks at the intergenerational differences and bonds within the diaspora. The last section will explore liminality in development and examine the complementarity between liminality and the

development field itself, as well as the importance of belonging for actors with liminal identities in the development field.

6.1 Growing Up in Canada

The second generation of the Tamil diaspora in Canada is, by definition, a group that was born in Canada or arrived in Canada at a very young age. Thus, they have experiences of growing up in Canada while simultaneously having an ethnic identity as a Tamil person, and as such have grown up with multiple social locations. Their lived experiences in Canada as multi-located agents play a significant role in their identity negotiation, particularly through the various interactions in multiple fields and the impacts of those interactions on their constructions of identity, particularly their sense of belonging and feelings of otherness.

6.1.1 Hybridity, Otherness and Belonging

While inherently having multiple social locations as the second-generation diaspora being both Tamil and Canadian, participants illustrate their hybridity, at a nexus of both belonging and otherness. For example, some second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora report identity narratives of feelings of otherness in the Canadian field, despite having been born in Canada or raised in Canada from a young age. Thus, despite their social location as Canadians, some participants construct their identities as outsiders in relation to other Canadians. On the other hand, some participants also described varied experiences of belonging and otherness from the Canadian Tamil community and the Tamil community in Sri Lanka as they grew up in Canada, which was often connected to

their social and cultural capital. At the same time, however, they construct their desire for attachments through their narratives of "home," which highlights a desire for belonging despite other experiences through which they have constructed belonging or otherness. It is this desire for attachment and thus belonging which informs their "helping habitus." However, this upbringing with experiences of both belonging and otherness is also what contributes to their hybrid identities.

Participants described feelings of otherness from the broader Canadian community despite acknowledging their social locations as Canadians themselves. For example, Abira described their observations of the exclusion of racialized communities in the Canadian labour market, saying,

> [Y]ou could be the most educated person from another country. You could be an engineer in the Middle East and be one of the best known… and as soon as you come to Canada, I feel like there are these invisible, racist, sort of laws or policies where they're like, oh, you are not of our heritage or you didn't get your education from a Canadian certified institution, so, you're not educated or smart enough in our eyes.

In Abira's case, they felt that such xenophobia and racism exposed the othering sentiments of the Canadian community in response to her social location as a racialized Canadian, more specifically a Tamil Canadian. For Priyanka, this awareness of racism behind the narrative of multiculturalism in Canada only became more evident in their adult years, highlighting the othering that occurred in subtle ways. Priyanka stated,

> [I]t took me actually until my late twenties and probably just a few years ago, to understand like, oh, I'm a part of diaspora, right? So, growing up in the Canadian environment, we are fed this narrative that, oh, it's so multicultural, and we're so accepting right? That... you know, we're only... you know, in a place now, where we're really acknowledging the systemic challenges and issues of racism.

Priyanka's experience highlights the ways in which previous interactions had informed their interpretations of multiculturalism as a structure of equality rather than unequal power, and how later interactions informed the changes in the way they construct meanings from the power structures and to interpret them as issues of racism. Thulasi similarly described a moment which they observed in the Canadian media that they felt highlighted the otherness with which they were labelled in the media after the previously mentioned 2008-2009 protests related to the ongoing genocide in Sri Lanka. Thulasi specifically found that the language used in that coverage illustrated the ascribed otherness of the Tamil diaspora, saying,

> [S]ome journalists or some reporters on like CP24[5] for example, like, they would speak so low of us. And I thought that was like… that was such a heartbreaking moment to me, 'cause I was just like, we're doing the best we can, and we're not…. we're trying not to even, like, disrupt traffic. But all you can see when you see us…. you just call us terrorists… this is how you view us. And so, I thought that was really heartbreaking.

In Thulasi's experience, they observed the media's ability to ascribe, or force constructed identities upon the Tamil community, in this case, as terrorists. This observation informed Thulasi's interpretation of existing unequal social structures such as racism within Canada, which constructs racialized people as the "other," despite their efforts to consider the everyday lives of the Canadian community. A. Sriskandarajah (2014) similarly found that while their Tamil Canadian participants who engaged in the protests "viewed demonstrations as an assertion of "Canadian" identity and an opportunity to exercise their rights as Canadians" (p. 187), the responses to those demonstrations brought to light the way that they were deeply othered by the broader Canadian

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[5] CP24 is a local news channel in the city of Toronto, Canada.

community. Thulasi did not just feel that ascribed otherness when they observed the media coverage of the 2008-2009 protests, but also when they had direct interactions with passersby from the broader Canadian community during their attendance at those protests. Recalling those interactions, Thulasi said,

> [E]specially White folks when they saw us and they're just kind of like, yeah, just go back to your country. I'm just like, damn! Like I really thought Canada was this diverse country. But then you think about it. You're just like, yeah, like some people view you differently, regardless of what happens, I guess.

In Thulasi's experience, their interactions with other actors, particularly non-racialized actors made them more aware of their own positionality as an agent in a social location that perhaps had less power than White Canadians within the matrix of racial stratification, and thus, their unequal relationships with these other actors within the field. Thulasi's experiences also informed their own reconciliation of what they previously believed to be multiculturalism with racism and othering in the country, similar to Priyanka's disenchantment in relation to the narrative of multiculturalism.

Thulasi's experiences surrounding the protests echo the experiences of many other members of the diaspora which highlight the precarity of the diaspora's belonging in Canada. For example, peaceful protests are described as a very "Canadian act" and the city of Toronto has seen its fair share, including the Idle No More, Occupy Movement and more (Jeyapal, 2013). However, even though the protests by the Tamil diaspora were peaceful, they were seen as "un-Canadian" (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). Media coverage painted the diasporic protests in a negative light, illustrating the various ways in which diasporic belonging was precarious. One element of this precarity stemmed from the ways in which "spaces are organized to sustain unequal social relations and how these relations shape spaces" (Razack, 2002, p. 1). On one hand, space became racialized as

demonstrations moved into more "White" spaces, which were then considered to have been taken "hostage" by demonstrators who predominantly resided in lower-income areas (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014). On the other hand, racial constructions of space to protest dictated who belonged and who was the "other" – the space for protest was thus not one that welcomed racialized communities, or in the case of the Tamil diaspora, whose bodies represented an "other" (Jeyapal, 2013).

The limits of multiculturalism were seen in the questions of citizenship and loyalty that arose in the face of the diaspora's transnational protests (Leung, 2015). In other words, beyond the occupation of unwelcome physical spaces, the belonging of diasporas was threatened by the securitization and politicization of their transnationalism. For example, the transnational networks of the diaspora were questioned and the actions of the diaspora were securitized in the media, with the term "hijacked" used in one newspaper column to describe the movement of the demonstration onto the highway (A. Sriskandarajah, 2014, pp. 182–183). Thus, in the case of the Tamil diaspora during the 2008-2009 protests, it was the diaspora's interests in a situation occurring on a land other than Canada that sparked a strong "otherness" in the eyes of the broader Canadian community (George, 2011; Jeyapal, 2013). However, it was not only during acts of transnationalism when some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora have felt otherness.

While participants grew up in various locations in Canada, and some grew up in places where there were Tamil community members, others grew up in less diverse settings which also contributed to feelings of otherness. Thenuja described the impacts of that lack of diversity, and the desire to minimize any sense of otherness as a child, saying,

> [W]hen I was a kid, where I was… it was… it must have been when I was, like, six or seven. My godmother brings it up. Now it's like a joke because I'm so different now. But I went through this weird thing. I'd be like, Oh, I'm not Tamil. I'm Canadian, right? And I just want to punch myself in the face.

In Thenuja's case, they felt that this assertion of their belonging in the Canada meant a rejection of their Tamilness. Thenuja's experiences also highlight the power dynamic that they interpreted at such a young age, realizing that their own social location as a racialized Tamil Canadian within an unequal matrix of power positioned them to have less power than their fellow Canadians. In other words, Thenuja's experience is an example of how ascription or forced identities – in this case as a 'lesser' racialized other – could result in an identity narrative which internalized such ascriptions (Fanon, 1986). However, this internalization of a lesser racialized other informed their constructions of identity in terms of a desire for attachment to the dominant, normative community, which was expressed through a constructed identity narrative that asserted some sense of belonging to this dominant community by rejecting a connection to an ethnic identity such as Tamilness.

While some members second generation described otherness that was felt in relation to the broader Canadian community or a lack of bridging capital, they also described these feelings of otherness within the Tamil community, or a lack of bonding capital. Some participants shared their struggles with being labelled as outsiders by fellow Tamil community members. Thus, while within the broader Canadian field, it was non-racialized people who held a hegemonic power that could force certain constructions of identity upon this group, within the Tamil community, it was other Tamil people who could construct participants' identities as outsiders. For example, Thenuja did not just internalize the otherness felt from the broader Canadian community but also described

their own experiences with being called slang-terms for racialized people who "acted White," saying, "we were constantly called coconuts, for sure. Yeah, and it actually did kind of stick with me." For Thenuja, this label was a label of otherness that they often encountered within the Tamil community, and which contributed to their habitus of internalizing such constructions of identity. Thus, in Thenuja's case, they attempted to assert their Canadianness at a young age to feel belonging to the dominant community but in so doing they were othered from Tamilness and the Tamil community. Thenuja's experiences highlights the complexity of such identity negotiation, and the difficulty of constructing narratives of belonging in both spheres. Thenuja's case is also an example of how symbolic capital of either Tamilness or Canadianness could promote belonging in one field while at the same time promote otherness in another field, similar to how Mu and Pang (2021) found that Chineseness was a source of symbolic capital in one field but that the same Chineseness could be seen as a depreciation of capital in another field (p. 10).

However, not all second-generation diasporic members feel otherness within the Tamil community. Some participants indicated that they felt a sense of belonging in the Tamil community. For example, Sambavi highlights their strong emotional investment and feelings of belonging in the Tamil community, saying,

> [H]onestly, I've always had a sense of belonging. Maybe it's because of my parents have taught me in a very kind of… brought me up in a very cultural environment…whether it's my grandparents, perhaps that played a role. I was very involved with the temple. You know, the whole Kula Deivam, so we have… we always go to the temple. We always spend time with families for all the different, you know Hindu festivals. So that kind of brought an identity and then obviously being involved with, like, learning the Veenai or Carnatic music, that also kind of brings the cultural aspect to it. And even… for example, I go to [name of religious class], so, I go to the [name of religious institution] so even that community is majority Tamil, so being surrounded by them. So, I

> feel very immersed in feeling that sort of belonging in the Tamil community. And I think also on, in addition to that speaking Tamil also helps. Because I think when you have something in common with elderly individuals, there might not think you have anything in common speaking and bring that sort of connection back. So those are kind of the factors that helped me feel that sort of belonging.

Sambavi's experience highlights the significance of social capital in the experiences of the second-generation, more specifically in their feelings of belonging in Tamil community when they discuss the time spent with other families and the frequency at which they were surrounded by Tamil community members. However, their case also highlights the importance of cultural capital to constructions of belonging, as they describe knowledge of and skills in music, dance, religion and other areas in their identity narratives. In fact, participants who felt both otherness and belonging highlighted the correlation between cultural capital and those feelings in the Tamil community. For example, Abira highlights the impact of limited cultural capital as they described their feelings of otherness due to a lack of Tamil language skills, saying,

> I always felt like sort of the joke or like the black sheep of the family, like we would go to family parties and, like everyone be laughing and having a great time. And I have to look around and be like, can someone explain the joke to me? I always like the one left behind, sort of. So, I think in the language department, I felt like a failure in upholding cultural practices and norms.

Thus, in terms of constructions of belonging, many members of the second-generation diaspora interpret some aspects of belonging in the Tamil community through the possession of cultural capital. In other words, the more cultural capital one has, the more likely they are to feel belonging, and the less cultural capital they have, the more likely that they would feel like an outsider. However, despite these second-generation diasporic members reporting varying experiences of otherness or belonging in the Tamil

community as they were growing up, many, including those who felt otherness, displayed notions of home when referring to places or communities in Sri Lanka.

6.1.2 Narratives of Home

Narratives of home were a frequently occurring event through the participant interviews, with many participants often using the term “home” or “back home.” It is important to reiterate that, in line with Anderson’s (2006) imagined communities, the term “home” for diasporas has constructivist elements. For example, while “the notion of ‘home’ encompasses a range of meanings, revolving around the ‘double consciousness’ of being in a ‘new place’ but connected to an ‘old place” (Mohan, 2002, p. 88), this “old place” need not be a physical setting with traditional boundaries that have often permeated ideas of more dated migration scholarship. Instead, “meanings of ‘home’ are marked by complexities and ambiguities, and are related to different aspects of identity, not only ethnicity or nation” (Erdal & Stokke, 2009, p. 401), and that home can be a pluralist concept that is differently defined based on who is doing the defining (Mohan, 2002, p. 101). Thus, it is important to understand that when each participant uses the term “home”, it can mean a variety of things, such as the physical nation of Sri Lanka, or the constructed area Eelam, or even the imagined community itself, either as a broader Sri Lankan community or more specifically the Tamil community. It can even refer to specific areas or villages towards which they attribute feelings of “home”.

Whichever way they choose to define the term, “home” is used often by many participants when they would describe their development work. For example, when explaining their reason for engaging in development work, Vaishnavi simply says, “I

want to help people back home." Similarly, when Thenuja describes their trip to Sri Lanka, they state, "my parents brought me there so I could see the whole hometown, right? But for me, it was more like my home people." Shalini, on the other hand, refers to sites in Sri Lanka as home even while they describe their feelings of otherness during their time at those sites. Shalini says, "it was like... I felt like a tourist in my own home... probably one of the reasons why I don't want to go back because of that feeling of being a tourist in my own... like my parents' homeland, my homeland." Thus, this notion of home is not only a habitus that stems from interactions with other actors, but a habitus that transcends even otherness. In other words, this habitus of what constitutes "home" is a construction of identity that not only highlights an emotional investment but also a desire for attachment, and a desire to belong in the Tamil community. For example, in the cases of Thenuja and Shalini, both participants connect their own conceptualizations of home with that of their parents; however, they refer to these sites as home despite their feelings of either belonging or otherness, respectively. These intersections of otherness, belonging and notions of home amongst the second-generation Tamil diaspora members illustrate their hybridity and multiple identities within both the Canadian and Tamil communities. However, these feelings of belonging, the desire for attachment and belonging, and an emotional investment which can be seen in their notions of home can also contribute to their 'helping habitus.'

6.1.3 The Helping Habitus

Despite their positions in a liminal space, and thus of feeling both belonging but also otherness, the second-generation Tamil diaspora displays a "helping habitus" that

has led to their engagement in development initiatives. This helping habitus can be described as a desire to help improve the quality of life for people in Sri Lanka, and while some focus their development work on the Tamil community, others are focused on the broader Sri Lankan community. Despite the variation, this "helping habitus" is an expression of their emotional investment and desire for attachment, and more specifically highlights the way that 'helping" is deeply intertwined with their constructions of belonging. This habitus stems from a variety of day-to-day interactions and lived experiences of the second-generation diaspora.

Participants described their helping habitus in a myriad of ways. As Rohini explained, "it was always a plan of mine to go and support our… our people, or I should say 'our children' back home." This habitus was echoed by Siva who said, "since the end of the war and conflict in 2009… I was really struggling to figure out how do we support people… that will have some long-term impact?" Siva's determination to find ways to help and Rohini's long-term goal to engage in development fieldwork illustrate this engrained helping habitus in members of the second-generation, but the reasons for this helping habitus are diverse and depend on the experiences of each person.

Some participants described a helping habitus that stemmed from the comparisons between day-to-day experiences in their Canadian field and their perceptions of day-to-day experiences in the Sri Lanka. For example, Jerusha shared the desire to help others have the same access to healthcare as they did, saying,

> I am Tamil Canadian myself and just growing up, I've also grown up with health challenges and having the... like, high-quality health care and treatment and health professionals to help me live the lifestyle that I have... Now, I wouldn't have it if I didn't have access to the type of health care and just quality health care. And so, I know health care is one of many things... and that's just one of many things in areas that... especially in Sri, Lanka and vulnerable

> communities, they don't have those kinds of sustainable health care systems going- not everywhere. And so... I guess that realizing the value of that in my life and realizing that not everybody gets that chance, and if I could do... if I could do my part in helping create that for someone and help contribute to another area where someone could have that... if I just did my part in giving back... knowing that I could do- that I can make an impact in that way, is why I was more likely to be part of [organization] because that's a lot of what they do.

Jerusha highlights the unequal social structures which they see when they reflect on their own positions of power as they relate to the ability to access healthcare. Specifically, Jerusha's interactions within the Canadian healthcare system in conjunction with their knowledge about access to healthcare in Sri Lanka informs their perceptions about inequality in healthcare around the world. In other words, Jerusha's positioning in the different fields allows them to see the contrasting structures between those fields, and thus informs a dialogic habitus which values an initiative abroad that would provide healthcare to vulnerable communities rather than simply reproduce their own positions of power. This sentiment was echoed by Vaishnavi, who compared their own privileges to the quality of life for some communities in Sri Lanka when discussing the reasons why they felt their helping habitus. Vaishnavi stated,

> [T]he reason that I was interested in... I feel like for me personally, like everything with the war and like all the history with it... I feel like I've been privileged, not experiencing that, and just growing up here in Canada and not having those issues to think about... where it's like even like in any type of health care, education, like everything is just so available here. I mean, obviously there are issues here as well. But if you went comparatively at least, I've always felt like I just had... I don't know if owe it is the right word, but I felt like there's just something I had to do to help the people who didn't have that privilege that I did growing up and then yeah, so for me I was already interested in, like humanitarian work. And I just had that connection to my identity and like my parents growing up in Sri Lanka as well.

While Vaishnavi discussed their awareness of the different positions of power between themselves and local communities in Sri Lanka as one of the reasons for their helping

habitus, Vaishnavi also acknowledges that in conjunction with this awareness is their inherent connection to communities in Sri Lanka that stem from their parents social locations, and thus their own social locations, echoing Lundy's (2011) assertion that family members are crucial actors in the establishment of such a transnational tie. Other participants also highlighted this significance of family members in their establishment of the transnational ties which informed the geopolitical focus of their helping habitus. These diasporic members discussed their observations of family members in their fields engaging in development work, which inspired them to engage in the work themselves. For example, Jerusha also described watching their father engage in development initiatives as they were growing up, and identified that as one of the reasons for their own engagement, saying,

> I think it seems always like from within, but I feel like it must have been my dad. I think growing up he was always doing like charity work and always doing like volunteer work and running initiatives and fundraisers to help people back home too. And yeah, just engaged the Tamil community in Toronto. So yeah, I think a lot of it might come from my dad, just watching him...

Jenna had a similar experience with observing the development initiatives of their family members, and stated, "my dad's really involved in involved in… he's on the board of another development organization in Sri Lanka. So, there's just been tons of tons of random things, and my uncle also has one, too. So, I've got a lot of exposure." These examples not only highlight the ways in which the first-generation so regularly engages in development that they could be seen as a community of practice, but also the ways that "practice" can be transferable (Page & Mercer, 2012). For example, having observed their parents engage in development as an intrinsic part of their lifestyles contributes to an element of socialization that "transfers" this practice of development to the second-

generation. Additionally, this socialization or these interactions and observations can also contribute to the "motivational knowledge", or an internalization that this development in Sri Lanka is important practice which should occur (Page & Mercer, 2012), what can be seen as the helping habitus.

While many participants shared their observations of family members' engagement in development, these observations were not limited to members of diaspora. Some second-generation members found influence from actors at other sites. For example, Aravinth explained that some of their motivations came from their experiences at a Canadian university, and from their observations of their lecturer in class. Aravinth said,

> [O]ne of the lectures we had last year, actually… [it] was at the very end of the year in second year for in that school… [it] was about doing global work… and global development, especially in the position of a doctor, what can you do. And I found it super engaging. I found it to really fall in line with a lot of the values I built up over the years in a way that no other lecturer I've had did. And it had me thinking, oh, maybe this is something I wanna do moving forward. So, now, my… in my head, I think, once I graduated, I could work as a staff position for a few years. I'd like to … maybe not only just to visit other countries that are in similar positions and sort of see what kind of work I can do with them and how I can help out.

While the indirect interactions or observations of other actors were impactful, so were direct interactions with them. Members of the second-generation highlighted interactions with actors across various sites in their transnational social field, and how they contributed to their helping habitus. One example of these interactions is conversations that occurred between participants and other actors about the importance of helping communities in Sri Lanka. For example, Aravinth, also discussed the shift from a direct interaction that was an external push to help, to an internalized helping habitus, saying,

> [M]y dad made sure to sit down and say, like, I want you to one day go back home and, like, help the people there volunteering and whatnot. And I thought this [opportunity] would be so cool. Like it's kind of in line with that and

> everything. And so, when I applied for it, I thought okay, this is maybe something that was just engrained me that I'm continuing... should I re-evaluating that? Is still something I wish to do? And just do for myself? And I think my answer right now is, now that I've kind of thought about it, it is optional to me. I think it is... it is my duty… not because now my dad and my mom told me, but because I think it's a part of who I am, in various other ways.

This encouragement from family to "help" people "back home" was a recurring topic in participant interviews, and it is another example of how growing up within a community can implicitly teach a practice (Page & Mercer, 2012).

Some participants believed that it was their belongingness that contributed to their helping habitus; however, others believed that it was their otherness which influenced their desire to help. For example, Sambavi shared their perceptions on this helping habitus and stated that it was dependent on the connections between themselves and actors such as a community in Sri Lanka, saying,

> I think, like, the only way you can wanna help people is if you have that sort of connection… you have to feel you have a connection such that you feel like you have an obligation to help. If you don't have that connection in the first place, you don't feel the obligation to help. So, it really depends on how, I think, how you've been brought up… experience that you've had that results in whether you feel obligated or not to help. So, I can't fault someone if they feel like they have no connection to their history or their background, because maybe their parents don't feel that way. Maybe they fully identify themselves as Canadian and don't have any sense or sort of a sense of a connection back home, then I can't… I can't fault them if they don't feel the obligations. So, they have every right to not feel an obligation. But for someone like me, or like, even my friends, because our family is very connected to back home, we're always thinking of back home. We naturally feel an obligation to help.

In other words, Sambavi perceives a correlation between the attachments felt between agents and other actors such as the Tamil diaspora or communities in Sri Lanka, and an emotional investment, or motivational knowledge to try to help those communities in some way. Sambavi indicates that a helping habitus is an identity narrative through which members of the diaspora highlight their belonging to the community. However, a lack of

connection and a desire for attachment has also contributed to the helping habitus of some participants. These participants believe that helping the community is also a way that they can act on their desire for attachments and develop a sense of belonging to the community. For example, when explaining their reasons for engaging in development, Arani explained that they felt that they lacked cultural capital – specifically, knowledge about the Tamil culture and current issues - and felt that they could strengthen their feelings of belonging by building cultural capital through development work. Arani said,

> I just thought it was a good opportunity to also just explore my heritage… my roots… and to spend some family and just understand what's happening in the country more since I wasn't too aware before that moment… So yeah, that was kind of motivation for entering that space.

Priyanka also resonated with the way that otherness, along with a desire for attachment and emotional investment in learning about their community, contributed to their engagement in development work. In fact, Priyanka described a shift from volunteering and helping people in general to a focus on communities in Sri Lanka and development work, saying,

> I've always cared about just helping people in general volunteer since I was like in grade seven, but I think as you get older, you think a lot about your… your own Identity or place in the world feelings of the belonging or lack thereof, especially being a colonial settler. I think about, you know… you really think that… for me personally, was thinking about why, why don't I feel like I belong? You know, why do I feel left out of this space, where does this come from… and off from there stems the feeling that, okay? If I'm…. and it was a transition in my life where I had just left a job, and I was like, you know what, what is the next step in life? Like, what am I trying to do and I'm like alright, this is something I care about, this is something you want to do and at that point in my life, I was deeply thinking about my own identity and heritage… and the relation to both home… what is home, what is physical home? What is concept of home? And my own experiences here… and it just made sense.

In Priyanka's case, development was a site in which they could explore their sense of belonging, notions of home, as well as negotiate their constructions of identity.

Priyanka's statement also echoes the idea that home is not necessarily a physical place and can also be an imagined place or community, defined by the one defining it. This notion of home and the way that it is intertwined with feelings of belongingness speak to the relationship between transnationalism and identity or belonging and explains why development work in Sri Lanka is chosen by some participants as they seek to explore an identity towards which they feel a desire for attachment. In other words, development work, particularly at a site which is often referred to as "home", helps to provide some diasporic members with those attachments and allows them to build an emotional investment that is expressed when constructing a sense of belonging.

While the reasons for the helping habitus among participants are diverse, it is a habitus that they share, as they have all engaged in development initiatives to help people improve their quality of life in Sri Lanka. However, as they engage in development, their experiences contribute to additional negotiations of belonging.

6.2 Identity and Belonging in Development

As previously discussed in Chapter Five, the second-generation Tamil diaspora engages in development in a variety of ways. While their methods of engagement vary, they lead to experiences which contribute to their negotiations of identity. This identity negotiation includes their navigation of constructions of otherness in development, as well as belonging.

6.2.1 Negotiating Otherness in Development: Do I have the Right?

Feelings of otherness contributed to diasporic members questioning their right to carry out development work, or their credibility as development actors. Specifically, these feelings of otherness or of being outsiders connected to questions about whether they had the right to speak or make decisions on behalf of the communities in Sri Lanka. Anne described their own experience of questioning their desire to help, saying, "do I have a right to be feeling… like, why do I feel like… why do I have all those feelings? Like, I just didn't have like information or personal experience like that's attached…" In Anne's case, they felt as though they were not justified in engaging in development because they did not have enough of a personal attachment to or knowledge about the community, specifically the lack of social and cultural capital that came with their social location as a Tamil Canadian who was born in Canada and thus did not directly experience the issues to be addressed in development work.

Other participants also felt as though their social or cultural capital limited their right to engage in development, as well as informed their feelings of otherness in development work. For example, Shalini described the shift from belongingness to otherness when communicating with local community members during fieldwork, saying,

> [W]ell, it's really interesting because... looking at me, I was the one, like dressed like the most traditional- I was in my Punjabi top and stuff. So, when people looked at me, they saw me as being the most like... like more local than my other cohorts that were with me... and I have the darker complexion, so it was like, I felt like I felt like people saw me as a local... until I opened up my mouth.

For Shalini, the symbolic capital that stemmed from their appearance was depreciated by the lack of cultural capital they possessed in terms of knowledge of the Tamil language. Similarly, Jenna felt that their lack of Tamil language skills made them feel as though they did not 'belong' in development work in Sri Lanka, saying,

> I think it's sometimes the… for lack of better words, the Whitewashed aspect… I think I'm pretty Whitewashed just because I, you know… just 'cause I grew up here, and so I think some of that, like language barrier… like it's, you know... I don't speak any Tamil, so I feel like little things like that, sometimes play as factors like, oh, no, I'm not really qualified to do this, as much as you know, somebody else who quote unquote fits the bill better.

Jenna's experience, like Anne's, associated their sense of otherness with their social location as well as their capital. Jenna interpreted their social location as a Canadian-born Tamil to be, in the context of development work in Sri Lanka, too close in proximity to a White person. Thus, Jenna considered this proximity in constructing their identity as an outsider when considering their positionalities in the Sri Lankan field overlapped by the development field. However, another way in which a construction of otherness was based on participants' social location revolved around citizenship. For Thenuja, their lack of Sri Lankan citizenship was a part of their identity narrative through which they asserted an otherness that would limit their abilities to affect change. They stated,

> [I]t feels like… it feels like… it's just like you can't do anything, like, it feels like you're in this climate, right? In this climate that we've been in and even the era before in Sri Lanka wasn't much better. It just feels like a huge, impossible kind of task. I feel like I don't know how I can effectively do stuff back home to change… to get involved in the political, the legal aspects, like as a I'm not a citizen, right? And that that's what citizenship gives you. It gives you that power, that voice.

For Thenuja, the lack of Sri Lankan citizenship brought about a hesitancy to engage in development work, due to the fear that as outsiders, they would not be able to get involved. This sentiment echoes the previously mentioned concerns of other second-generation diasporic members, that their otherness paints them as outsiders, and thus uncredible development actors who could not do effective work.

While these participants believed that their social locations, as well as lack of cultural capital contributed to their own identity constructions as outsiders and thus

stripped them of their right to engage in development, some participants also described experiences which highlighted the ways that their social locations contributed to the local community in Sri Lanka ascribing them as outsiders.

For some participants, their social locations, and thus their symbolic capital, also played a role in the outsider identity which was ascribed to them by members of the local community during their work abroad in Sri Lanka. Specifically, their strongly perceived 'Canadianness,' by local people constructed their ascribed identities as outsiders, because their Canadianness in the Sri Lankan field limited their potential strength of their symbolic capital of 'localness' or 'Tamilness' to be able to construct their own sense of belonging. In other words, some participants' social locations impacted them in two ways: first, their social location as Canadians made them feel as though they could not justify their own constructed identity narrative as insiders, and second, their social location resulted in others ascribing their identities as outsiders. Vaani experienced this ascribed otherness based on their social location during the first days of their fieldwork, and described the local stakeholders' reactions upon meeting them, saying,

> [T]hey were like, very, very deliberately, like, like reading me like, like, obviously, they're like, treating me a bit different. Like they were like, okay, you're a visitor great, that's one thing off. Like you're from Canada and it was a bit of interesting treatment there... like, when I got there initially, which was... it kind of felt... it just felt very weird. It's a very weird feeling.

For Vaani, it was in an interaction with local members of a development organization in Sri Lanka which indicated that they were perceived as outsiders which thus informed their own habitus of otherness. It was also due to their symbolic 'Canadianness' that Iniya felt self-doubt in their development work when they interacted with local community members in Sri Lanka, who more bluntly expressed their perception of Iniya

as an outsider when they asked Iniya questions about their reasons for doing fieldwork, saying, “Why are you here? Like, you know what I mean. You're born there, like, why do you care?” Ruban similarly experienced an ascribed otherness despite being able to speak the Tamil language, saying,

> “I struggled from this identity Lankan… being born Canadian... You know, you're technically a visible minority. When you're filling out job applications, they ask, are you [a] visible minority? Okay, so if I'm being framed as visible minority here and I'm a foreigner… technically foreigner if I when I go back home for… like, a I'm still considered a foreigner, even though I speak the language and this, like… so, like, I kind of had this situation where I think this is very, very… this is very much why I… I didn't participate too much because I was still trying to figure it out in a way”.

Ruban’s experience highlights the ways that multiple forms of symbolic capital can lead to otherness; in their case, they were too Tamil in Canada, and too Canadian in Sri Lanka. For Ruban, this otherness as a “foreigner” in Sri Lanka led them to limit their participation in development.

As these participants illustrated, this “right” to engage in development is strongly intertwined with ideas about identity. They echo existing questions in development about “who has the right to speak for whom?” and “who knows best?” Spivak et al. (1988) discuss the issue in the context of the subaltern not being able to speak because there are other voices who speak over it. While in the case of White development or community workers, it is clear, the way that race positions them to “know, evaluate, and intervene in the collective lives of racialized bodies” (Todd, 2011, p. 118). However, as Grosfoguel (2011) discusses, it is not as clear amongst racialized diasporas who live in the Global North. According to Grosfoguel (2011), it is not the colour of their skin per se, but their epistemological locations that resonates with the Global North. In the case of the participants, their feelings of otherness in relation to communities in Sri Lanka and

subsequent self-questioning of their credibility as development actors highlight their beliefs that it is insiders, or the subaltern who should speak on behalf of the community. However, there are other ways through which participants foster a sense of belonging in the community and in development space, particularly through social and cultural capital.

6.2.2 Constructing Belonging through Development

While some participants encountered feelings of otherness during development work, many second-generation Tamil diaspora members indicated that their involvement in development initiatives was also a way through which they constructed a sense of belonging. There were various interactions and experiences which contributed to this perception, and participants also highlighted that many of them involved an application of capital as well as a building of capital through development work. This significance of capital on second-generation members' constructions of belonging echoes their experiences as they grew up in Canada. For example, while a lack of language skills contributed to some participants' feelings of otherness, using their fluency in the Tamil language in the context of development encouraged feelings of belonging for others. For example, Sambavi was deeply impacted by their fieldwork, particularly because of the connections that they could make with the local community through the Tamil language. When asked for the reason why they felt such a connection to the local community during their fieldwork, Sambavi stated,

> 100% I think like language, I think, is the biggest factor. I feel like even just entering into the northern region and just seeing Tamil everywhere and hearing Tamil, it's a different, entirely different feeling. It's a sense of belonging. I think it's language. I can't believe that language can have that sort of power… and I think hearing someone… like, again, that looks like your grandparents, but also speaks like your grandparents or acts like your grandparents, like, there's a

> certain kind of way or behaviors that they have that might be more culturally related or what not. So, I think that definitely kind of helps you have a more deeper connection with these individuals because, yeah, you see, again, your loved one in them as well.

Other participants also indicated some feelings of belonging through their exercise of cultural capital. For example, Ruban received post-secondary education and was trained in a technical profession but stressed that it was their knowledge about cultural norms in the Tamil community in combination with those professional skills that made them the right candidate for their development work abroad. Ruban said,

> [E]very [Tamil] Canadian understands that, because when you grow up in a Tamil household, you automatically know exact what those nuances, what those traditions, what those norms look like… applying that, and coupled with that… that level of professionalism and expertise.

Thus, Ruban understood their work as being located at a nexus of both the development field and the Sri Lankan field, and so acknowledged that both their professional capacities but also their local cultural knowledge was what constructed their sense of belonging. For Jerusha, it was their symbolic capital through which they constructed a narrative of belonging, saying, "I feel like I was able to understand… like, relate with people and it almost made me feel more comfortable and like, in my own, and just being around people that were the same as me… look like me". In other words, for Jerusha, it was their symbolic capital of Tamilness which allowed them to interact with the local community in a way that highlighted their emotional investment.

Development work not only provided opportunities for the second-generation to construct their sense of belonging in the Tamil community through their existing capital but also through their building of cultural capital. For example, Rohini discussed their growth in language skills due to their fieldwork, saying,

> By the time I got back, my parents were pretty impressed. I was able to hold a conversation, I was able to have like briefings with the… with the facilitators and teachers at the home, to be able to break down lessons and how they should move forward.

Rohini's experience echoed the relationship between capital and belonging, as this building of capital contributed to their constructions of belonging with not only the local Tamil community in Sri Lanka but their parents in Canada. While Rohini built their cultural capital through their improvement in Tamil language speaking skills, participants also built other forms of capital. For example, Sinthu described not only a growth in project management skills as well as increased knowledge that they had about the conflict in Sri Lanka due to their development, saying,

> [W]e just volunteered. So, we got to see how things are done. And…I just… like, both my own skills in terms of talking about projects, recruiting people, and trying to explain things and even just increasing my understanding of what's going on. Because the most I've heard about back home is just through my parents and a couple of times that I visited.

For some, it was a way to connect with other actors in the Tamil community and find belonging amongst them despite their differences. For example, Jegan explained that they did not share the same religious beliefs as their family but that their joint involvement in something like development work allowed them construct belonging despite those differences. Jegan said, "this let us help. Now it's made me feel like there's still a tie that I like. There's a way for me to still be part of the community, even if I don't… you know." For Jegan, this development work was interlinked with the interactions that strengthen their social capital within the family field, or bonding capital, which ultimately played an important part in their relationship dynamics and Jegan's subsequent construction of belonging. While Jegan's experience might, according to Page and Mercer (2012), simply be an example of an individual motivation – in this case,

belonging – it is also an example of the Tamil diaspora, specifically the first generation, being a community of practice. As previously discussed, numerous participants describe day-to-day experiences as they grew up where they observed their parents or other family members regularly engage in some sort of development activities or discuss its importance. Thus, while Jegan's motivations include a sense of belonging to the community, it is because development is such an intrinsic part of the first-generation diaspora's – and in this case Jegan's family's – lifestyle that it is a practice through which Jegan is able to construct that sense of belonging.

Thus, despite hesitations to become involved in development work due to their social locations as Canadians, for second-generation members, development work allows them to both exercise and build capital, both of which contribute to their constructions of belonging. However, as the second generation, these constructions of belonging also impact and are impacted by their interactions with the first-generation diaspora while carrying out development work.

6.3 Negotiating Identity as the Second Generation: Intergenerational Bonds

Interactions with the first generation have impacted many second-generation diasporic members and the way that they construct their belonging to the community. As previously discussed in Chapter Five, several participants highlighted the significance of their interactions with various first generation diasporic outside the realm of development, such as their parents, and how those interactions informed their decision-making as it related to development work as well as their identity narratives. However, many of the participants also indicated that the diasporic initiatives with which they were

involved also included first-generation members of the diaspora. Some of these participants joined organizations that were created by the first generation while others were a part of organizations which simply included first-generation members. Several participants also observed or interacted with first-generation members in other development organizations. Ultimately, many members of the second-generation shared that these various interactions with and observations of first-generation development actors impacted their experiences in development as well as their constructions of belonging.

6.3.1 Bonds through Trauma

While the second-generation have vastly different lived experiences than their parents, who migrated to Canada from Sri Lanka, members of the second generation share unique bonds with their first-generation counterparts. These unique bonds often arise out of shared trauma, as many of the first-generation Tamils immigrated to Canada to escape the genocide in Sri Lanka.

Some participants were visibly moved when recalling the experiences of both their parents and the Tamil community in Sri Lanka and explained they how they felt bonded to them through a collective sense of trauma. For example, while describing certain experiences of oppression faced by the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, Sambavi stated,

> [I]'m already affected by it. I can't imagine having that be a reality all the time. And then you take that and compare it to, like, what your family has experienced and all the barriers that they had to overcome… even when I talk, I feel like… I feel a sense of like, I feel so sad... like I wanna cry. Or like, I feel very… like… like, it hurts. It hurts to feel that you have to live like that. It's really sad.

Expressing an identity narrative which highlighted such an emotional investment in the community's oppression highlights Sambavi's sense of belonging to the community, particularly in those moments. Similarly, other participants highlighted the strong sense of compassion they had for the first generation's experiences with trauma and their desire to show solidarity. Jenna described this yearning to support the first-generation in their development work, saying,

> [T]here's, like, a whole different, like trauma element that comes with first generation people that I don't think…. well, I know I'll never fully get or grasp or understand. And I think that becomes even more apparent in development work, 'cause I feel like it's such a motivation for these people. So that kind of layer of like, deep hurt and trauma is definitely something that I was like… alright, I'm never, like, fully in it with you. Like, maybe I'm not down there in the trenches with you, But… like, if I can somehow help or be around, I would I definitely want to.

While acknowledging that their social location is different from those of the first generation, and thus acknowledging that they do not have the same personal experiences as them, Jenna nevertheless constructs a sense of belonging to the community by highlighting their desire for attachment, in this case, through solidarity. This identity narrative acknowledges that the first-generation has a unique experience of oppression and unequal interactions with other actors that they themselves have not experienced, but, at the same time they are emotionally invested in being a form of support for the first generation, through which they highlight their construction of belonging. Similarly, Abira described the reasons for their own development work and the strong connection that they make between their own parents' trauma and their desire to engage in development work. Abira stated,

> I want to fulfill what they have sacrificed their lives for, I want to rebirth what was once taken away from them. If I'm part of that… I know a lot of our parents are still fixing so much trauma and little things trigger them. Even the sound of

> planes over their household, and it could get them so nervous. But they don't know how to talk about it. They don't. They never had those resources or society wasn't so open to anxiety and PTSD, or maybe because of the language barrier. They didn't know that it was available for them. So now, being second-gen… and I understand that those are very, very valid situations of feelings for them to feel when I hear them cry out and pray… and they're like, so happy with the work that I'm doing or that I've stuck by.

For Abira, their parents' trauma not only informed their decision to engage in development, but they believe that their development work has impacted their parents, in a way that helps their parents heal from their trauma. Thus, Abira constructs their belonging through highlighting not only the emotional investment that they have in their parents, but the relationship between their parents and the work that they do.

Thus, the interactions between the second-generation agents and first-generation Tamils actors contribute to bonds through trauma, which further informs not only the second generation's helping habitus but their constructions of belonging through highlighting their emotional investment in the trauma and well-being of the first generation. This bond echoes the notions of Lundy (2011) who states that family members contribute to the 'ties' through which second-generation diasporic members engage in development. However, these with the first-generation also extend to practice as some members of the second-generation diaspora to engage with the first-generation to carry out their development work.

6.3.2 Collaboration with the First Generation

While some second-generation members of the diaspora engaged in strictly second-generation initiatives, most worked alongside first-generation members of the diaspora. Despite some intergenerational differences, participants highlighted a mutual

respect between generations of the diaspora. Participants acknowledged the significance of the first generation as development actors, and the respect that they deserved. While some participants shared that they felt that the first-generation respected their efforts and existing capital, other participants described their own respect for the plight and the work of the first generation.

Some participants felt that the organizations of the first-generation tended to be comprised of more men than women, with the term "uncle organization" often being used to describe such organizations. Tharani explained that the gendered dynamic that existed in some first-generation organizations posed a challenge to women who wanted to take on more central roles,

> [S]o many of the background work is done by women, but not any of the leaders are woman. Anytime, like, we try to have coalition meetings as part of [organization's], like, demands we're having these meetings. Or if we're all gonna work on this together, like, you need to have women that are in speaking roles at these meetings like and that's something that they're not always 100% behind… but, like, they say that they are, and sometimes they do it. But it's like often I'm very young and I'll be like the youngest woman speaking at, like at an event. So, you know what I mean? Or attending a meeting.

Abira felt a similar experience, and described challenges even when taking on a leadership role in an organization, saying "but then when I'm put in that position, why am I not heard? Or why am I being overpowered?" Despite this challenge, participants found that they strived to be understanding of the positionality of the first generation as well as their attempts to shift such gender dynamics. For example, while Tharani identified issues of representation amongst the first generation, she also acknowledged that the cultural perspectives of the second generation varied from many members of the first generation, saying,

> [I]t's just, like, really different, and it's more critical and maybe like… and I understand that a lot of that comes from… because we're educated here. Maybe we have access, like critical theory and, like, language and stuff in ways that Uncle organizations may not. So, I'm cognizant of all of that.

In their statement, Tharani acknowledges that the social location of the two generations varies, and that it is particularly evident in the type of education that each respective generation received, and the different foci that a Canadian education might have compared to an education in Sri Lanka. Thus, Tharani acknowledges that these differing social locations can inform different perspectives but also constructs their belonging by highlighting their emotional investment of empathizing with the reasons for the perspectives of the first generation. On the other hand, Chithra acknowledges the shift in gender dynamics that is currently occurring within first generation or multi-generation diasporic organizations and stated that their first-generation organization founders have acted on strategies to promote gender diversity in the organization's leadership structure. There are also some generational differences in terms of approaches and strategies to achieve organizational goals. For example, when discussing their own experiences at a diasporic development organization, Thenuja described differences in the way the first and second generation approached their goals, saying,

> [A]round them [first generation] was much more of a like, diplomatic kind of we got to, like we don't want to offend people, and we want to maintain relationships and stuff like that, and the younger gen, I suppose not… and this wasn't divided along Tamil people, this is that generational thing. We're more of a like... no, like... let's, like, yeah, that's this issue. That statement publicly.

However, Thenuja also indicates that despite their differences, they strongly value the perspectives of the first generation due to their cultural capital, their social locations and their lived experiences at the sites where their development work was occurring. Thenuja states,

> I think honestly, because to their credit, they. they're actually… they've actually lived there, right? They've actually lived there. They know what the climate is back there. Either they've had parents that worked in government there [and/or] are involved and know a bit more about how the political mindset is back home and stuff. So, I think they're coming from that background. So… and that has to be acknowledged, right? They're trying to balance the realities of how these things play out for people back home. So… and that's the background that we didn't have, right?

Echoing this sentiment, Janani explained that the first generation has a perspective that the second generation simply does not have, saying, "I think it's important to have the first generation guide you and give you that perspective that you would probably miss. As much as I say I'd like to understand, would I ever fully understand? Probably not, right? So, there's that." Similarly, despite their issues with the lack of women being represented in those first-generation organizations, Tharani commended the first generation for navigating the political sphere in Canada and building social capital. Tharani states,

> [T]hese uncle organizations. They've been doing this for a long time, too. Like they've been in contact with these MPs. Like, they have a lot more connections than we do, actually. Like I was just talking to this, like uncle from Quebec, that's like best friends with all the ministers, and they wouldn't attend our event. And then he messaged them. He's like, *yo, you should go*. And then they all showed up, like, they… like, they got their shit".

Tharani also describes the support that the first generation gave to them. They said,

> I am grateful for certain organizations because they did, like, take me under their wing and, like, give me access to the libraries. And like, when I needed to question them or, like, interview them for my papers and stuff like that in grade nine, like they would sit with me and, like, read through stuff or give me material.

Thus, in line with the constructed connection between cultural capital and belonging, some members of the second generation, view the first generation as a group that has a

stronger sense of belonging to the local community due to their cultural capital, and thus look to them for knowledge and advice in the context of development.

While some members of the second generation highlight their own respect for the first generation, participants also indicated that they felt that the first generation appreciated them as well. Sambavi described their own experience participating in a multi-generational diasporic development organization and the respect that they felt even when they did not speak the language fluently. Sambavi explained,

> I think a lot of the first [generation] do have an appreciation for second-gens who try to learn, are attempting to speak Tamil in some way. So, I think, yeah, there is a bit of legitimacy, but I think even if we weren't, I feel like they still do respect the fact that we are trying to give back to our community.

Sambavi's experience highlights the appreciation that the first generation has for its second-generation counterparts in their efforts to engage with the community. Sanjeev echoes this sentiment, saying "I think they recognize the value and the fact that the torch needs to be handed to the second generation. So, they are eagerly… you know, they're like, we want more young people." In other words, for Sanjeev, they feel that the first generation is ready to pass on their initiatives to younger people, as second-generation members of the diaspora. Thus, despite an identity narrative that emphasizes the relationship between cultural capital and belonging, the experiences of the second-generation diaspora highlight the ways in which, despite their varying levels of cultural capital, their belonging is also constructed through the first generation's acknowledgement of the second-generation members' emotional investments in the lives of the local communities in Sri Lanka.

Ultimately, these members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora appreciate their first-generation counterparts, and at times, despite their differences, include them in

identity narratives through which they construct their belonging. For example, some second-generation Tamil diasporic members acknowledge the traumatic and local experiences of the first-generation, as well as their journeys in navigating the Canadian field as immigrants. This appreciation of first generation's local experiences highlights its significance to their own identity narratives, particularly the importance of cultural capital in belonging. However, second-generation members also feel that their belonging is constructed through the first-generation members' appreciation of their commitment to the local communities and their value as development actors. While the second-generation then negotiates their identity outside and inside the diaspora in the context of development, the development field itself is also a space of negotiation which highlights the potential benefits of their liminality as Tamil Canadians.

6.4 Hybridity in Development

Many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora highlight their multiple social positions as well as their liminality from that hybridity. While the diaspora's multiple social locations help them contribute to their development initiatives, the development initiatives help them construct belonging as actors with hybrid identities.

6.4.1 Complementarity between Hybridity and Development

Development initiatives from Canada, with its transnational scope involves interactions between actors in different spaces and of positionalities. Members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora highlight the ways in which this space allows actors to exercise their multiple social locations or hybridity. Specifically, the development sites

themselves not only benefit from elements of hybridity such as transnational cultural capital and the ability to engage in cultural and linguistic code-switching, but the second-generation benefits from opportunities to meet and engage with other actors who have hybrid identities.

Some participants describe development as being a site where actors with multiple identities are valued. For example, Abira highlights that development is not only a site where their hybridity or multiple positionalities could comfortably exist but be beneficial and celebrated. Abira states,

> I've always longed for something that makes me say I'm Canadian and I love being a Toronto person, but I also respect and love my culture. And where is that sort of space that I want to celebrate, and I finally found that in this project. I feel like being a young person who celebrates the hybridity inside of me.

Abira's case illustrates how the sites of development initiatives are spaces where agents such as the second-generation diaspora can simultaneously engage their multiple identities as part of the work itself.

For the second-generation Tamil diaspora who have felt otherness in relation to the Tamil community, this development work allows them to make connections and construct their belonging through those connections. For example, as previously mentioned, Arani saw development work as an opportunity establish belonging through building cultural and social capital through volunteering abroad in Sri Lanka to learn more about their cultural as well as to connect with family members. Similarly, Priyanka saw opportunities to be a unique development actor through the merging of different aspects of their unique, multiple identities as a member of the second generation. Priyanka states,

> [I]n terms of unique contributions, I think because diaspora members who live in multiple spaces, we're able to calibrate a lot better and bring a lot of that knowledge that we have and the skill sets that we have around, like, we have a whole bunch of teachers and networks and like I used to be a [technology profession], we have a lawyer with the [organization]. So, we're able to bring any skills that we've learned as members of the diaspora or like growing up in a western context. But I think... and I think that, in combination with that passion that we still have for connecting to the homeland and just like search for belonging, almost, and it just puts us in a really good place of like being really passionate and fired up to do work.

This sentiment was echoed by Aravinth, who, when explaining their unique role in development, says,

> [O]ne, I can personally identify with a part of the culture there. And two, I've had the privilege to go to a foreign country… go to what I think you know, might be one of the best schools in the world… to have a very high-quality education, and then to bring that back. And I think the coupling of those two would be my role.

In both Priyanka's and Aravinth's cases, they consider the combination of capital and belonging as a major reason why they believe that they are uniquely positioned as development actors. Moreover, they both consider the economic capital that stems from their social locations as Canadians, specifically their education, as well as their constructions of belonging which they highlight through things like cultural capital and an emotional investment in the local communities in Sri Lanka.

As previously mentioned, there is a strong complementarity between multi-sited or transnational actors and the transnational nature of development work. One example of this complementarity is the importance of transnational cultural capital in development work, which diasporic members build extensively through their multiple positionalities. Thus, another way through which these development actors can better function in the development field through their hybridity is through not only their use of cultural capital in terms of the local community's culture, but also their cultural capital in the context of

the Global North, and more specifically, the combination of the two which could be seen as transnational cultural capital, which contributes to their abilities to engage in cultural code-switching. In other words, due to their liminal identities, many second-generation diasporic members can easily engage in code-switching, a skill that participants indicate is particularly useful in development work.

While code-switching was initially a term used to refer to the back-and-forth use of multiple languages, Vogt (1954) acknowledged that the reasons for code-switching were indeed "extra-linguistic" (p. 368). Its definition has since expanded into other aspects of identity. For example, Molinsky (2007) defines cultural code-switching as "the act of purposefully modifying one's behavior in an interaction in a foreign setting in order to accommodate different cultural norms for appropriate behavior" (p. 624), and Krasas (2018) states that code-switching consists of "shifting the use of language, interactions, appearance, and the body in all areas of social life" (p. 190). These definitions all include a common theme, which is the modification of one's construction of identity in order to adapt to unequal power relations and adopt normative elements of the dominant group in a particular site. In fact, Krasas (2018) discusses the categorization of code-switching as "soft skills" which people use in their places of employment. Similarly, some members of the second-generation used code-switching to negotiate their outsider-insider status depending on the actors with whom they were interacting. For example, Kajani highlighted a use of cultural code-switching, where they used their knowledge of cultural capital to present themselves as an insider to local community through their appearance, saying, "I made a very conscious effort to kind of blend in as much as possible. So, like, when I was in traditional clothing, I braided my hair." Ruban also described a use of

cultural code-switching in their interactions with local community members during fieldwork, saying,

> I was literally being like a chameleon, and I would hear some of the conversations and I would just step in, and I was just like… I didn't have any fear or anything because I could tell from their body language, I could tell from the interactions that they felt comfortable with me.

Ruban's experience is an example of how their cultural code-switching helped them construct their belonging as an insider, and thus build rapport with the local community, which is an important component of development work. However, Ruban also engaged in linguistic code-switching, describing their role as a translator between local development organization members and White development workers, saying, "I was always a messenger between them." While being multilingual is a clear advantage in development work, Ruban's cultural capital, and thus understanding of nuances such as body language further strengthened their unique capacity as a development actor to build relationships with the local community.

Several other participants also indicated that they engaged in linguistic code-switching and acted as buffers between English and Tamil speakers as well. For example, Abira described their translating role at their organization, saying, "I'm sort of like taking all that my dad says as that overseer and kind of translating that for our other non-Tamil speaking stakeholders." While some of these examples illustrate the importance of code-switching for relationship building with local communities, they also highlight the importance of code-switching to bring different communities together for the purpose of collaboration in development work. Just as importantly, these examples from the second-generation illustrate the significance of not only traditional linguistic code-switching but

a broader, cultural code-switching in a field such as development work, which is inherently transnational in nature.

The complementarity between hybridity or multiple social locations and development means that development actors with multiple identities such as the second-generation diaspora can use the capital that stems from their multiple positionalities to make unique and effective contributions through their development work. In the case of some members of the second-generation, the group's upbringing in Canada within a Tamil family and community has allowed them to not only have an emotional investment in help communities in Sri Lanka but build cultural capital in multiple fields to use while navigating development work. In other words, this transnational cultural capital helps them navigate the field, but also helps them be more effective as development actors and build relationships with various stakeholders.

Hybridity helps the second-generation be more effective actors in the development field. However, the complementarity of hybridity and development is not only influential on the space in which the development work is carried out but also on the belonging of development actors who have multiple positionalities. Development is then also highlighted as a unique space in which actors with hybrid identities can find additional opportunities to construct their belonging in a transnational community such as the diaspora.

6.4.2 Fostering Belonging through Development

One of the most frequently mentioned sentiments by participants was that through their development initiatives, they were able to find greater comfort with their own

positions as actors with hybrid identities. As actors with hybrid identities, members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora feel varying levels of both belonging and otherness in relation to the Canadian community and Tamil community. However, through their activities in the development field, and a common experience of having hybrid identities, these members of the second generation can construct belonging to the second-generation Tamil diaspora specifically.

One way in which development work helps the second-generation construct belonging in the second-generation Tamil diaspora is through the relationships that are built with other second-generation Tamil diaspora members when they are involved in diasporic development initiatives. As many other second-generation Tamil diasporic members also find themselves with hybrid identities, this hybridity is a commonality through which emotional investments are made. For example, Shalini described the strong sense of belonging that they felt when they were around other second-generation Tamils, specifically why hybridity was such a significant part of this particular construction of belonging and how important it was to meet others with similar experiences of hybridity. Shalini states,

> I really enjoy just being around like a lot of Tamil young people that were… that grew up here, right? Like they may not have been born [in Canada] like I was, but they grew up here. So, they kind of had the same challenges I did about balancing those identities. So, they weren't like... necessarily... not that… not that being a newcomer is like anything negative. But the challenges... and there's a lot of challenges, right? But… but, that identity of like having grown up here for so long and not like…you know what I mean? I like being able to identify with people that kind of went through the same thing that I did, like exploring identity, right? …Being like I was born in Canada, so, it was very different like never really fitting in with the Tamil community but not fitting in with the Canadian community... it's just like one foot in one foot out you know, didn't know where I belonged really and to some extent. I still don't feel like I belong in the Tamil community because I don't speak Tamil. So, I'm just like, you know… so, that's lifelong… like, it's going to be a tug-of-war with me".

For Shalini, the experience of being able to meet others who constructed similar combinations of belonging and otherness, specifically those in the same social locations - other second-generation Tamil Canadians, helped them find belonging amid otherness from both the Tamil and Canadian communities. Laksha echoed the significance of interacting with others who have similar positionalities, to be able to share the unique experiences of hybridity, and to be able to find belonging in a community that transcends traditional borders in the same way that they do, saying,

> I find that your place in space define the ways that you look at belonging and so… like, for the generation above me, belonging a lot of times felt like belonging within their country and belonging within their family - and community factored into that family as well. But it was almost like already a given for, like my parents, who were born there and born into a community. Here, it felt like I already belonged in a family, I already belonged in - this *belong* in quotation marks because that can be kind of weird, saying to this country - but I didn't really feel like I had a community of that sort. So, it's kind of like doing the reverse work and trying to find that transnational community, and also realizing that we share similarities, about how we struggle with navigating Tamilness while being… like, settlers and citizens of a country that… like you also experienced different forms of oppression under as well. So, it was interesting to connect with people solely based off… like, your belonging to a diaspora, rather than like, your belonging in a country or your belonging in a neighborhood, or like a school and whatnot?

Thus, for many members of the second-generation diaspora, it is their hybridity as multi-sited actors which is highlighted in their identity narratives as they go beyond traditional borders to construct their belonging to a transnational group such as a diaspora. The significance of finding a sense of belonging in a transnational community for actors who find themselves to have hybrid identities is echoed by Jenna, who explains that the feeling of being understood by others who share the same, complex identities is hard to describe, saying,

> [H]onestly, I just really loved the opportunity to work with other second-gens. I had never had that before, other than, like my brother. But that was… that was really fun for me, that it's kind of a broad moment, but I just… it was really fun to be with second-gens who, like we kind of all had the same interests. Like, we all wanted to apply to this. So, it was just… I don't know. I've never had a, like, a work team experience like that. So, I really enjoyed that aspect of it. That's kind of general, but, yeah, and I think that is one of those really funny things that is hard to verbalize or communicate. It's kinda just like a… I don't like saying a vibe, but like, it's kinda just a vibe. It's kind of just like a mutual understanding and a feeling".

However, as hybridity is not necessarily limited to the experiences of the second-generation, some participants constructed their belonging through their highlighting of common experiences with other members of the diaspora that they previously thought that they faced alone. For example, Anne stated,

> [S]o, it was nice to have like other first-generation or second-generation Tamil people in the organization, who I kind of identify with… and they're like, oh okay, like this is... like my experience isn't weird or it's not like... it is normal for a lot of Tamil people... or at least it's more common than I thought it was.

Thus, the transnational nature of development allows these development actors to find belonging within their hybridity, through their engagement with other actors in similar positionalities. For participants, meeting and interacting with other second-generation Tamil Canadians, and even other first-generation Tamil Canadians, helped them construct their belonging to the diaspora by highlighting their shared experiences of hybridity. In other words, development work and its inherent structure as a transnational field allows transnational actors to not only simultaneous exercise their multiple constructions of identity to carry out their work but experience more opportunities to interact with other diasporic Tamil Canadians, connections through which they also construct their belonging in the diaspora.

6.5 Conclusion

The second-generation Tamil diaspora find themselves in a liminal space, at a nexus of identities, and at an intersection of belonging and otherness. However, it is through this hybridity and subsequently transnational cultural capital that they are unique development actors with distinct experiences, and it is through development that they find additional opportunities to construct belonging within the diaspora. It is clear, that the transnational nature of development work means that the sites of such work benefit from the transnational cultural capital which stems from multiple social locations. However, how does this hybridity, or this nexus of identities contribute their liminality, and subsequent shifts in their development-related habitus and practice?

Chapter 7. Decoloniality in Development through Diaspora

The previous chapters have highlighted ways that the interactions between the second-generation Tamil diaspora and various actors and power structures within fields, as well as their capital, have informed their participation in development initiatives, as negotiations of belonging and hybridity throughout their development experiences. However, their experiences of hybridity and negotiations of belonging are also translated through a liminal space, or "Third space," where they interrogate the power structures in their multiple sites. The development-related habitus that stems from those interrogations contribute to decoloniality in development.

Coloniality has pervaded international development since its inception. More broadly,

> [C]oloniality is a concept related to colonialism but goes beyond the mere acquisition and political control of another country. As an ideological system, it explains the long-standing patterns of power that resulted from European colonialism, including knowledge production and the establishment of social orders. (Tamale, 2020, p. xiii)

These social orders can be seen in hierarchical organizations of race, class and more. Some examples of these patterns of power include the discursive colonial narratives which dehumanize the Global South, and more broadly racialized people as the "Other", and the way that "racialized assumptions continue to underwrite the discursive constructions of the space of the 'Third World,' notions of the North as more advanced, and so on, and as such inhabit the very concept of development as seen from the North" (Heron, 2007, p. 150). Coloniality can also understood as an "invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of direct colonialism" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). These definitions highlight the emphasis of the

term on the discursive power of an ideological system that helps to preserve the status quo, that is, unequal power structures which perpetuate the legacies of colonialism. Decoloniality is thus a "a specific type of decolonization which advocates for the disruption of legacies of racial, gender and geopolitical inequalities and domination" (Tamale, 2020, p. xiv), which Mignolo (2011) also refers to as "delinking from the colonial matrix of power" (p. xxvii). In other words, decoloniality goes beyond simply address the symptoms of colonialism in practice and considers the disruption of the roots of those symptoms, particularly discursive narratives, norms and knowledge systems.

One example of the impact of coloniality is the lack of visible ethnic diversity in development, particularly amongst upper management in organizations. While there is little data that highlights the lack of ethnic diversity in international development organizations specifically, there is some evidence of diversity issues in the data that has been collected on charities more broadly. For example, in 2014, Third Sector (2017) conducted a diversity survey of the fifty biggest fundraising charities in the UK at that time and found that "found that only 12 per cent of chief executives, 6 per cent of senior managers and 8 per cent of trustees were non-white". In the Canadian context, this underrepresentation of racialized people is an issue that exists in all sectors. For example, a study by Cukier et al. (2020) that looked at diversity across eight large and mid-size Canadian cities found an underrepresentation of racialized people on the boards of large companies, agencies, boards and commissions (ABCs), the voluntary sector, and the education sector across Canada. In the context of the voluntary sector, Cukier et al. (2020) found that only 11.4% of the boards of directors in the voluntary sector were made up of racialized people (p. 14). This underrepresentation becomes particularly evident if

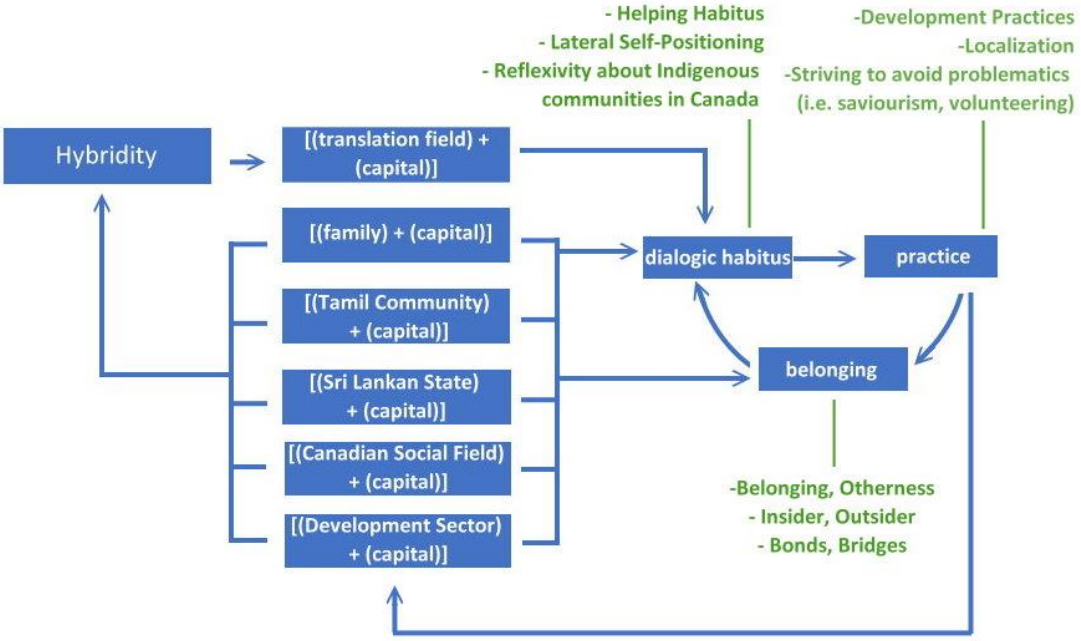
one considers the disproportion of this representation to the racialized population in these cities. For example, in the city of Toronto, racialized people make up 51.4% of the population but only 16.2% of the boards in the voluntary sector, in the city of Montreal they make up 22.6% of the population and 7.5% of Montreal's voluntary sector boards, and in Calgary they make up 33.7% of the population buy only 7.2% of Calgary's voluntary boards (Cukier et al., 2020, pp. 17–21). However, there is a unique irony in the lack of representation which exists in a field that is largely focused on countries that are often comprised entirely of racialized communities. This lack of representation also maintains the status quo, with racialized and local voices not being considered in discursive conversations about development (Bruce-Raeburn, 2019). In this regard, diasporic development initiatives from this diaspora are evidence of an increase in initiatives that are carried out by racialized groups, and as such are inherently increasing the representation of ethnic diversity in the sector. However, beyond their representation in the development field, how does the habitus of the second-generation Tamil diaspora contribute to their engagement in decoloniality?

In this chapter, I seek to illustrate Akrivou and Di San Giorgio's (2014) concept of dialogic habitus by drawing from Bhabha's (1994) concept of liminality, as well as the "translation field" (Wolf, 2007). While dialogic habitus indeed considers an agent's internal dialogue that occurs and interrogates power structures, liminality highlights how this can occur from outside the field in question, from a Third space, in between different fields with different power structures. This third space is where the different experiences and positionings within different fields can inform an agent's habitus in relation to one or more fields. In other words, my research demonstrates not only that dialogic habitus can

be transformative and disrupt social structures rather than reproduce them, but, through liminality, that hybrid positionings in multiple spaces and exposures to different power structures within those spaces can inform an agent's translation of those structures from a Third, in-between space. Thus, this negotiation that stems from multiple social locations in different fields have contributed to this diaspora having a habitus and praxis that seek to disrupt colonial hegemonies and ultimately de-centre the White gaze of development.

This chapter is organized into several sections which further discuss the dialogic habitus and practices which are highlighted in the Figure 3 below:

Figure 3



Source: Akalya Kandiah

The first section discusses the interactions and experiences which contribute to the lateral self-positioning of the second-generation diaspora in relation to the local communities in Sri Lanka, which is followed by a discussion about how this lateral self-positioning de-centres the White gaze of development and thus is an act of decoloniality.

The next section will explore how this lateral self-positioning is reflected in the diaspora's perceptions about development, particularly their approaches to valuing agency, accountability and transparency which informs their decisions to engage in localization practices, and how their reasons for engaging with local actors challenge colonial ideas that act as barriers to localization. The next section explores the heightened reflexivity amongst many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora as they approach authentic allyship to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island/Canada, particularly as they contemplate their own simultaneous positionalities as development actors and colonial settlers in Canada while they reflect on its treatment of Indigenous communities.

7.1 Lateral Positioning

While the social location of the second-generation Tamil Sri Lankan diaspora living in Canada is in the Global North, their interactions and exposure to varying and contrasting power structures in different fields informs their positionality. In other words, their constructions of community, hyper awareness about the precarity through which they arrived at their social location (which brings access to higher levels of economic and cultural capital) and "what could have been", as well as their liminality while holding a simultaneous positionality as both an object and subject in development has contributed to the second-generation diaspora's negotiation and interrogation of power structures, which informs their dialogic habitus. Thus, instead of adopting the traditionally pervasive colonial narratives of the Global North being the powerful saviour for the Global South, or the ones to make decisions for or speak on behalf of the Global South, in line with the

White gaze of development, members of the diaspora engage in identity narratives which position themselves laterally from the communities of focus in Sri Lanka.

7.1.1 Constructions of Community

Many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora highlight constructions of community which link their family members, often their parents, to the local communities in Sri Lanka. This construction of community varies as they consider their own positionalities, with, as previously discussed in Chapter Six, some constructing feelings of belonging, and others highlighting their desire for attachment, even if they feel otherness. However, despite their differences both identity narratives contribute to a lateral self-positioning in relation to the local communities in Sri Lanka.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, the primary source of either knowledge about and/or personal connection to the Tamil community in Sri Lanka was most often the families of the participants. Participants described direct and indirect transmissions of knowledge from family members, such as parents, aunts and uncles, and other extended relatives. Many participants also stated that the protests which occurred in Toronto in 2009 were a turning point in terms of their knowledge and/or personal connection to the local communities in Sri Lanka, including those who were as young as elementary school ages (7 years and up) during those protests. Some participants attended the protests with their families, with a few participants accompanying their families without understanding the reasons for the protests and learning about the reasons at the rally sites.

While building cultural capital certainly contributed to some second-generation diasporic members' constructions of belonging to the Tamil community as well as the

local communities in Sri Lanka, their families also play a role in their connections to those local communities. Many members' families being a direct resource of information or link to these transnational activities which concern people in Sri Lanka contribute to their identity narratives in which they connect their families to these local communities. However, there are also interactions through which they built an emotional investment in these local communities through linking the experiences of the local communities to that of their own family members. As previously discussed, the family is not only a source of information, but a site with actors whose trauma is observed and shared by members of the second-generation diaspora. In fact, another way through which participants described their growing understanding about the severity of the plight and connection to the Tamil community (desire to learn more about it) was through their observations of that trauma. Jenna describes the first time their parents went back to Sri Lanka on a family trip,

> [S]hook both of them a little bit, seeing military. I remember, like, vividly. I look at my dad and he was just, like, so different… it was a different aspect. So, I think a lot of just seeing it, definitely didn't happen until, like, later when I was older and I looked back, but I can kind of see that they were really re-living a lot of traumas.

Laksha shared their own observances of their mother's trauma, and understanding why their mother did not share her experiences with them, stating,

> I was never allowed to talk about it at home because my mom, my mom's a Black July survivor… and she has a lot of difficult memories, like the war and displacement. And talking about it at home just wasn't a thing, like, I don't think I started talking about it until I went to university because it was just a difficult topic and one that my parents kind of thought about but argued about a lot...

Thus, the trauma of the second generation's parents and family members underwrites some of these constructions of community in Sri Lanka, due to their family's shared traumas with them. This echoes the work of Ibrahim et al. (2021) who find that the

interactions between the second-generation diaspora and the first-generation as well as the media is how they consumed the conflict in Sri Lanka, which informed an affective response, specifically second-hand trauma. Ibrahim et al. (2021) also find this trauma to be significant, as it lends itself to "the process of identity construction and the moral imagination of a homeland" (p. 1).

However, as mentioned in Chapter Five many members of the second-generation diaspora also acknowledge that their parents and other family members use or have used their economic and cultural capital to engage in humanitarian and development initiatives for communities in Sri Lanka. For example, seeing the activism of their family members, and the Tamil diaspora in Canada for the rights of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, such as the activism of the transnational community in 2008-2009 protests, participants have also grown up watching their families and community members engage with the Tamil community in Sri Lanka and try to help them by sending remittances and organizing humanitarian endeavours and development projects. Mya described the development practices of their parents, and their own subsequent interest and participation, saying "first, the thing that kind of sparked my interest would be helping my parents, especially because whenever they participate in something, at first it was kind of like, oh, they're participating, I should probably do it as well." Not only do these strong transnational connections that their families and Tamil Canadian community have with the local community in Sri Lanka extend their own constructions of community, but also their notions of home. Thus, it is not only the trauma through which they further build an emotional investment but also socialization, through observing the way that the emotional investment of their own families in the quality of life for communities in Sri

Lanka has translated into practice such as development initiatives, and a maintenance of community bonds. The desire for attachment is not only reflected in a desire to learn more about the community, but to engage in development initiatives and be emotionally invested in the wellbeing of the people in Sri Lanka, like their parents and other family members who they see as already belonging to the community.

These constructions of community among many members of the second-generation, which connect the first generation, and more specifically with the local community in Sri Lanka play a significant role in their own constructions of home. In other words, through the diaspora's interactions with the other actors in their family fields, specifically their parents and other family members, they strengthen their emotional attachments to and sense of belonging in the local community, as family members, as Lundy (2011) states, are significant linkages between the second-generation and the community at "home". While the parents of members of the second-generation are quite literally physical linkages between the second-generation and the local community in Sri Lanka, traditional migration scholarship presumed that immigrants' constructed linkages to "homelands" would weaken through assimilation (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). However, as previously mentioned, many members of the second generation continue to use the term 'home' whether describing experiences of othering or belonging. In other words, many second-generation diasporic Tamils engage in a construction of one facet of belonging that even transcends experiences of othering through the highlighting of what constitutes "home".

On the other hand, this construction of community echoes the othering that some second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora feel in the Canadian field. While many

members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora highlight an identity narrative of belonging and/or desire for attachment that transcends feelings of otherness, as discussed in Chapter Four, some members of this group also highlight their otherness in relation to the broader Canadian community.

7.1.2 "What could have Been" – Precarious Journeys to Social Locations

These constructions of community which link their families to local communities as well as their subsequent notions of home contribute to their lateral self-positioning in relation to the local community. While these constructions of community and notions of home that stem from interactions, observations and even shared trauma, there is another major reason for many second-generation members' lateral self-positioning in relation to the community in Sri Lanka. As previously mentioned, most second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora acknowledge their varying positions of power across their fields, particularly the power they have in relation to the local communities in Sri Lanka, particularly when they discuss their access to education, healthcare and more.

While many participants acknowledge that they have more privileges than members of the local communities in Sri Lanka, their identity narratives construct their belonging in the community by highlighting the precarity through which they came to be positioned in these social locations. In other words, many members of the second-generation diaspora feel that it is important to highlight that the only difference that separates them from the community in Sri Lanka is the migration of their parents. These descriptions of their parents' migration journeys emphasized the precarity of migration, particularly for refugees. In fact, some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora

refer to the migration journeys of their parents and their subsequent lives in Canada as sheer luck. Ruban, who completed development work abroad, described their thought process for their lateral self-positioning as they interacted with a member of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, saying,

> [S]o, this villager who s the same age as me, he was telling me how I had the opportunity to get on a boat and go to Australia, but I didn't take it. And he's like, I wish I did, it's tough for me and my family. I just work odd jobs and like, it's so hard. The moment when I was having that conversation, [I thought] I am so, so lucky for my position. Like I'm literally looking at a person in the face of this guy, literally the same person as me… and he is… we're both in two different worlds and two different situations in life.

For Ruban, their difference in social locations did not change their construction of their belonging to the same community as this local person in Sri Lanka. Instead, their difference in social locations was simply a reminder of how different events could lead to different outcomes in life, and how precarious those life-changing events could be. This sentiment was echoed by other interviewees; upon reflection about their own privileges and the precarity of migration, some second-generation members have contemplated the alternate reality that would have been, had their parents not migrated to Canada. These considerations of "what could have been" give them an appreciation for the possibility that they could have very easily been the community in Sri Lanka. Janani described the position of privilege and relative power that comes with their social location as a Canadian as a simple comparison of luck to people in Sri Lanka, saying "those are your… those are people like you. Those are like… you could have been me in that situation where it was my family life, but you know we got lucky."

This consideration of precarious migration informs the reflections of many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora on their own social location and relative

power, and more specifically how migration contributed to their ability to since accumulate the different capital that contributes to that position of power. For Sanjeev, their reflections focus specifically on economic capital such as education, how the capital that was obtained from within their social location was based on a migration-related decision by their parents, and how such a decision altered their life. Sanjeev says,

> [T]hat's the power of education, makes you think you can do anything… and just realizing that if I was on the other side of the coin, I'd probably be dead or something else... if things had gone another away and if my parents hadn't left when they did. You just never forget, how fortunate and blessed we are, so it's kind of like in the backyard, you always need to remember to give back and try to level the playing fields, for the other me that happened to be born there.

Sanjeev's statement highlights more specifically how this focus on precarious migration and subsequent lateral positioning is expressed in the context of development work. For Sanjeev, their lateral self-positioning in relation to the local community in Sri Lanka permeates their ideas about development work, so much so that even while describing development work, they express it as "leveling the playing field" or an equalizing of power for "the other me."

7.1.3 Racism in Development

In addition to these constructions of community, the experiences of many second-generation Tamil Canadians highlight their otherness not only in the Canadian field but the development field as well. Specifically, through their development-related interactions in the Canadian field, some members of the second generation have observed unequal power structures which not only inform their habitus about the inequality in development, and their beliefs that racism contribute to it, but how these power structures specifically ascribe them as the "Other." In other words, meanings of power structures

are constructed and interpreted through interactions with other actors in the development field, which highlight to some second-generation members of Tamil diaspora that their own positionality, and more specifically, position of power, is more complex in the field of development, where they simultaneously exist as both a subject and object within international development. Tharani described their experiences with racism in development, and how the diaspora, as a racialized community, is discredited in development discourse, saying,

> [T]here is a certain gravitas that comes with being a White person, I think, doing this work, versus like someone from the community… and I used to rail against this when I was in peace and conflict studies… this whole like, oh, you need to be impartial, you know what I mean? Like the impartiality of somebody, to be the one that can actually make, like, say something good… because your partiality, makes your observations or the theory that you come up… it's not as, like, valuable. I hated that. I was just like heck, no, the people that are from there, they know what…. that place needs. They know the history. They know where it's coming from. Then there's a connection. And so, whenever I write something, I always talk about, like being routed back home and here, too… and that adds to my perspective, it doesn't take away from it. It makes it better, actually.

Tharani's statement about their perspective stemming from two locations and how that adds to their cultural capital echoes the previous chapter that discusses the diaspora's multiple social location at the nexus of different fields. However, Tharani's experience also highlights the unequal power dynamics between racialized groups and those who are not racialized, or White, in the development field and more broadly in the Canadian field. For example, Tharani's experience echoes the othering that has been experienced by some second-generation Tamil Canadians while growing up but also while specifically engaging in transnational activities such as the protests of 2008-2009.

In the context of development however, this othering is even more complex. The hegemonic relationship that forms the basis of international development is between the

'developed' and the 'developing' which has largely been perceived as similar to the Global North and the Global South, respectively. While the social locations of the diaspora include the Global North, as Tharani stated, they do not bring the same "gravitas" as a White person, which contradicts the very narrative that depicts the North as the developer of or the decision-maker for the South. In other words, the symbolic capital of the second-generation as Canadian or as a part of the Global North is diminished by their social location as racialized Tamil people or as part of the Global South. Thus, while potentially being viewed as part of the Global North by actors in the Global South, within the development field and the Canadian field, their social location as part of the Global South supersedes any symbolic capital of Canadianness that stems from their social locations in the Global North.

Tharani's statement does not only point to the fluctuating positionality of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora, but other elements of racism in development. Specifically, Tharani's experience highlights one specific element of coloniality that is found within the conceptualization of objectivity as well as its use in the subjugation of that which is outside of Western knowledge. As Tharani exemplified, Western knowledge is touted as "objective", while Eastern knowledge is considered to be "biased." Tharani's observation of the perceived objectivity of White development actors in this sense is what Grosfoguel (2011) describes as "point zero", which is "the point of view that hides and conceals itself as being beyond a particular point of view, that is, the point of view that represents itself as being without a point of view" (p. 5). In other words, objectivity can be viewed as a concept which in itself conceals bias and erases the notion that all knowledge is bias in some way. However, Tharani's experience

exemplifies the way that some knowledge is categorized as such, while other knowledge is touted as beyond bias, which disproportionately impacts groups such as racialized people. This echoes the narrative that Harding describes about objectivity, and the way that objectivity can only be produced by elite groups such as White people (Harding, 2015). Thus, this narrative of objectivity is an example of one facet of Said's (1978) Orientalism, specifically Said's consideration that a racialized person is assumed to be unable to represent themselves- it is Europeans who decide how the "Orient" is represented. This sentiment echoes Tharani's experience with being discredited as an actor who could possibly represent the community of which they are part. In the context of development, this experience is an example of a systemic issue that permeates development, where it is more often "White societies with ample resources [who] determine what poor black and brown people need" (Bruce-Raeburn, 2019).

7.1.4 Decoloniality through a Habitus of Lateral Positioning

Colonial narratives are weaved into international development. Some of these narratives include the binary notion of "us" and "them", of otherness, and of a superior Global North versus an inferior Global South. However, through the multiple positionalities that contribute to their hybridity, many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora interrogate the power structures of which they construct meaning through their day-to-day interactions. More specifically, Bhabha's (1994) hybridity, and more specifically the concept of the liminal space, or Third Space, highlights the ways in which the multiple positionalities of the diaspora, and the different power structures across different fields can be interrogated, negotiated and translated through yet another space,

an in-between space of not wholly being in one position or another. As previously mentioned, in the context of development, members of this diaspora at the border of the Global North and Global South, and a subject and object of development. As Bhabha (1994) explains, it is in this space of interrogation, of subjectivity, where colonial discourses can be subverted by the colonized. In the case of many members of this diaspora, this interrogation results in their attitudes about the politics of belonging, specifically the colonial narratives "us" and "them", which they subvert through their habitus of lateral self-positioning.

The lateral self-positioning among many members of the diaspora as they relate to the local communities in Sri Lanka can be described as an identity narrative through which sameness is emphasized, rather than otherness. How does this laterally self-positioning habitus challenge coloniality in international development? Through lateral self-positioning, many members shift their own parameters through which one is labelled either "self" or "other" from their position in a Third space, constructing identity narratives with connections to the local communities based on sameness, which resists the colonial politics of belonging that construct those parameters in the first place. As previously mentioned, mainstream development has used symbolic violence, through its depiction of communities in developing countries as "backwards", "primitive" and "the objects of missions to civilise and develop" (Wilson, 2013, p. 186), as well as "socially and biologically inferior" (Kothari, 2006a, p. 11) in order to justify the need to develop the "Other" while perpetuating unequal social structures. For example, Escobar (2012) highlights the way that "the lethargic South American child to be 'adopted' for $16 a month portrayed in the advertisements" is a "violence of representation" (p. 103-104).

Dehumanization through the ascription of the racialized ‘Other’ as the “White man’s burden” has also helped to perpetuate the hero/victim binary (Razack, 2004) which remains to be a dominant narrative that is often associated with the bourgeoisie or White goodness saving the ‘Other’ from themselves (Razack, 2002). Thus, the coloniality in the making of self, particularly the making of self in binary opposition to the “Other” is resisted by the diaspora through their lateral self-positioning in relation to the community, based on sameness and belonging.

While colonial narratives of otherness are used to justify the intervention that is development, they are also used to explain their predicaments in the first place. More specifically, Orientalism, or the painting of these communities as the inferior ‘Other’ has been used to explain the circumstances of these communities, as that which exists because of themselves (Said, 1978). However, the lateral self-positioning of the diaspora informs its dialogic habitus of interrogating Othering power structures, and decolonial processes of resisting them. For example, the diaspora challenges this narrative of the Orient due to their hyper-consciousness about the experiences of and strong connections to the actors their fields as well as the belief that precarious migration is the basis upon which they have built their own capital. This habitus of sameness or lateral positioning in conjunction with the cultural capital of knowledge about the experiences and trauma in the community moves the diaspora to understand that external power dynamics have contributed to the circumstances of the local community, rather than believe in a hierarchical structure through which the suffering of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka is attributed to the traits of their community itself as well as their culture. These dispositions

help to de-centre the White gaze of development through which "inequality was explained by race now by difference of culture" (Kothari, 2006a, p. 11).

In the case of the second-generation diasporic Tamil Canadians, many display an interrogation of the power structures to which they have been exposed for long periods of time, as well as a habitus that challenges coloniality in development through their lateral self-positioning. As Bhabha (1994) states, "hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other "denied" knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority—its rules of recognition" (p. 114). While the members of the second-generation engage in international development initiatives, what has been referred to as a "colonial project" (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2021) or "colonialism in disguise" (Escobar et al., 2019), their perception of the local communities challenges traditional narratives in development that perpetuate marginalizing images of the "Third World Others" (Cook, 2008). In other words, rather than positioning themselves in a hierarchical way that echoes power dynamics that are in line with colonial narratives of international development, these members, despite engaging in international development itself, enter the development discourse with their concept of lateral self-positioning.

Many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora also encompass a dialogic habitus which stems from their positions within multiple social locations, and their subsequent positioning in a liminal space, at the doorway between both Canadianness and Tamilness. In other words, many members of this group who exist in this liminal space consider their positions as both Canadians from the Global North and

as racialized Tamils with ethnic origins from the Global South as they engage in an internal dialogue through which they construct meanings of and interpret power structures. Being in this liminal space, a space which Bhabha (1994) describes as the beginning of one culture being the end of the other and vice versa, a space that is at the border of being both the subject and the object, and being both the colonizer and the colonized, raises an ambivalence amongst those who occupy it. More specifically, these members feel an ambivalence towards existing colonial structures that manifest in dominant discourse, which the colonizer uses to perpetuate the unequal power dynamics between the more powerful Global North and the less powerful Global South. In other words, their ambivalence towards these power structures occurs within a liminal space, and, more specifically, as these members of the diaspora are simultaneously in different positions of power, on both sides of the power dynamic.

Thus, their simultaneous, multiple positionings as both the Global North and the Global South creates a friction that informs some members' ambivalence towards the discursive power structure that determines the latter as lesser than the former. For example, one point of ambivalence among many members of the diaspora towards colonial power structures that perpetuate the narrative of the "Other" from the Global South stems from the day-to-day experiences of the diaspora as they negotiate and renegotiate their constructions of belonging to the Tamil community, which includes their own families as well as the local communities abroad in the Sri Lankan field. In other words, their constructions of belonging, or constructions of "self" within the very community which is the ascribed Other in development creates an ambivalence in response to the normative discourse that others it in the first place. On the other hand, this

ambivalence is furthered by the othering experienced by some members of second-generation Tamil diaspora themselves within and beyond the context of development, especially that which contests their social location in the Global North. Thus, the division between the Global North and the Global South which is often drawn in development is much less clear for many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora who, despite acknowledging the accumulation of capital that has derived from their location in the Global North, experience interactions which also ascribe them as the 'Other'.

While the constructions of community, reflexivity on the precarity of migration (or transition between social locations) as well as racism in development all contribute to the lateral self-positioning of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora, these experiences can all be traced back to the social locations of the group, particularly their locations in both the Global North and the South. More specifically, despite being in the Global North, it is the diaspora's simultaneous social location in the Global South that is particularly significant in the context of decoloniality in development. For example, the experiences of the diaspora, particularly as it relates to liminality within international development echo that of the participants in Heron's (2007) study, who were White women in development. Heron (2007) describes these White women in international development as also occupying a liminal space, though for their participants, this liminality was as both inside and outside of bourgeoise subjectivity. For Heron's (2007) participants, their liminality, and more specifically their simultaneous positions as "subjects and non-subjects" referred more to their positionality in relation to the most concrete example of a bourgeoisie subject, which is White, middle-class men. In other words, for the women in Heron's (2007) research, while their gender ascribed them less

power in relation to White men, their Whiteness nevertheless gave them power which perpetuated an unequal power dynamic in the development field. Additionally, the development work from White women related strongly to their constructions of identity narratives as well, though in the case of these participants, development work provided an opportunity for some White women to "enhance their hold on bourgeois subjectivity through the performance of 'goodness'" (Heron, 2007, p. 7).

However, there are several ways in which the experiences of this diaspora in a liminal space differ from the participants of Heron's (2007) study. While Heron (2007) often describes this liminality and identity construction of their participants in relation to a bourgeoise subjectivity, they also stress the salience of race in development. Thus, as previously mentioned, while the participants of Heron's (2007) study exist as both subjects and non-subjects, the social locations of the diaspora contribute to their positions as subjects and objects, which informs a major difference in their experiences, as the White women in Heron's (2007) navigate complex, multiple positionalities within the Global North but a clearer, singular, more concrete relationality to the Global South, but participants in the second-generation Tamil diaspora experience these complex, multiple positionalities throughout a transnational range of fields, and more specifically, within both the Global North and Global South.

Another way in which their experiences differ is through their identity narratives which they construct through their engagement in development. While the participants of Heron's (2007) study utilize their day-to-day experiences conducting development work in the Global South to stake their "claims to 'true' bourgeoise identity" (p. 7), the diaspora, while also constructing identity narratives through development do so by

constructing their belonging, not to the Global North but to the Global South. While "goodness" is an aspiration of Heron's (2007), many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora have had day-to-day experiences within a community of practice, and thus development activities are strongly correlated to membership within this particular transnational community. As previously mentioned, some participants described conversations with family members who iterated the importance of "helping back home", while many others observed them engaging in development activities to support communities in Sri Lanka. Additionally, many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora met other members of the Tamil community who engaged in development as well.

Thus, the liminal space where ambivalence occurs is also the place where the meanings of unequal power structures are constructed and interpreted using the amalgamation of cultural capital that these agents have developed from their positions in multiple social locations, which are then interrogated and modified to inform a dialogic habitus that, in this case of development work, does not reproduce but resists colonial narratives in international development. As previously mentioned, Bhabha's (1994) liminal space, or "Third Space" is the space of hybridity, the location of cultural difference, where the creation of something new occurs, rather than reflection of either the colonizer or the colonized. As such, the idea of a transformed habitus through internal dialogue is in line with Bhabha's (1994) ideas about transformation which occurs in a third space. While dialogic habitus speaks to unequal structures in a broader sense, Bhabha's (1994) ideas about liminality and the resistance which occurs there speaks specifically to the dismantling of colonialities. Thus, many members of the second

generation of the Tamil diaspora embody this particular liminality and resistance to coloniality, by engaging in development discourse through which they challenge discursive relationships between the Global North and South by position themselves laterally in relation to the local communities in Sri Lanka.

Grosfoguel (2011) contests the potential for decoloniality while working within a colonial epistemic; this argument could be extended to working in international development, specifically the idea that because since development is a creation based on an epistemology that is rooted in coloniality and cannot ever be decolonial. However, the habitus of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora is an example of how decoloniality can occur, if one considers that decoloniality consists of de-linking from a "colonial matrix of power" which contains many threads (Tamale, 2020), specifically in terms of de-linking from discursive colonial knowledge systems. For example, Bhabha, influenced by Fanon, discusses the mimicry that occurs among colonial subjects (Bhabha, 1994). This mimicry is referenced in relation to the colonial powers pushing the colonial subject to mimic the colonizers in order to become the "recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

In some ways this mimicry can be witnessed in the organizational approaches of the diaspora. While remittances, which are also considered a form of development, were used by this diaspora for a long time, the remittances of the Tamil diaspora were called into question, particularly in terms of the diaspora fuelling the conflict in Sri Lanka (Wayland, 2004) as discussed in Chapter Three. Thus, this shift towards official diasporic NGOs with volunteer opportunities and fundraisers certainly, at its face, highlights an integration into the mainstream international development that has been rooted in

coloniality. This mimicry also connects to ideas of Bourdieu's (1986) symbolic capital, and how some symbols are perceived as more prestigious or credible than others, which parallels the narratives of mimicry. However, through their habitus, they challenge some colonial patterns that have perpetuated unequal power structures.

In the case of these members of the diaspora, despite engaging in international development, they show that they have de-linked from the colonial narrative that has often been used to justify international development, more specifically the representation of the "Third World Other" who is painted as passive and incapable of representing themselves (Cook, 2008). Fanon (1986) discusses this particular way through which the oppressed can dismantle the power structures of the oppressor. More specifically, Fanon (1986) highlights the resistance that can occur from those enslaved peoples who, in the process of "mimicking" the "master", ultimately end up threatening the very structures propped up by the oppressors in order to perpetuate the power dynamics which keep the Others oppressed (Fanon, 1986). In this case, mimicry can be seen in engagement in development initiatives; however, the liminality of many members of the diaspora informs their perspectives in development which disrupt the traditional norms that dictate the relationship between the Global North and Global South, which, as Heron (2007) states, includes "representational processes" in which "the differences between Northerners and Southerners are markedly racialized" (p. 4). In other words, through this group's location in a liminal space, many members of the diaspora develop a habitus which de-centre the White gaze in development, and in so doing, challenge the coloniality which not only exists in international development discourse but is translated into praxis.

These constructions of community and notions of home that arise when an agent's family fields are deeply connected to the community who are at the site of development initiatives, reflexivity about "what could have been", as well as experiences of othering in development in relation to their own positionality can inform a habitus where many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora position themselves laterally in relation to local communities in Sri Lanka. These are examples of how cultural hybridity, and positioning in the Third Space, or a liminal space, can inform a dialogic habitus, and more specifically, an ambivalence towards colonial power structures, through which they can be interrogated and transformed.

In this case, as agents whose social locations include Canadianness and Tamilness, they could, as a group who was educated in the Global North, engage in a reproduction of colonial narratives of the "Third World Other". However, many members of this group who were born and raised in Canada consider themselves laterally positioned in relation to the local communities in Sri Lanka, rather than perpetuating the traditionally colonial narratives of development and viewing those local communities as the Other. This challenge to the colonial structure occurs as their existence in a liminal space place them into simultaneous positions of power, on both sides of a binary relationship, of self/other, colonizer/colonized and subject/object of development, which informs their own dialogic habitus or contestations of what is self, and what is other.

7.2 Values in Development: Localization and Allyship

While the liminality of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora have informed their lateral self-positioning in relation to the local communities in Sri

Lanka, this positioning has subsequently informed their perceptions about development. More specifically, lateral self-positioning informs many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora's habitus, which values the agency of local communities in Sri Lanka, as well as accountability and transparency in development. These values are reflected in their concerns about mainstream development and as well as their preferences to engage in localization through their involvement in diasporic initiatives.

7.2.1 Localization

International development is still in line with Orientalism, in that "the West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of Oriental behavior" (Said, 1978, p. 109). In the same vein, colonial narratives perpetuate these unequal power dynamics between the Global North and Global South, with popular terms such as the "West knows best" (Menocal, 2012), which reflects a major issue in mainstream development is the concentration of decision-making in the west. As Bruce-Raeburn (2019) says,

> [I]nherent in the very concept of aid is race and racism because only in this system can majority white societies with ample resources determine what poor black and brown people need, how much they need, set up the parameters for delivery of what they need, and of course create an elaborate mechanism for monitoring how well they have managed the donated funds to meet their needs.

However, many members of the second-generation diaspora challenge this dynamic and prioritize the agency of the community at the other end of development initiatives, with some participants specifically highlighting their concerns about the issues relating to decision-making in development initiatives. As Arani pointed out, "you don't really want to tell people in their own country how to run their countries." Jenna echoed this

problematization of decision-making from the West, saying, “I think development can't be like one sided this whole idea cause then that's kind of like a colonialism vibe. It's like someone just showing up and saying alright, here's your problem and let me try to fix it.”

These value systems, as well as their specific concerns with the unequal power dynamics in decision-making within international development have contributed to the diaspora’s gravitation towards localization and community-based practices. While localization is broadly defined, most definitions include an increase in the engagement of local actors, as well as a shift towards increased decision-making from those local actors in development initiatives (Green, 2018). Many participants engaged in this localization. For example, Sambavi was on the executive team of their organization, the initiatives of which Sambavi described as ever-changing and being entirely dependent on what was communicated by the local communities in Sri Lanka, stating that they had an open line of communication and that they pivoted based on what they heard from local community members, and so that their work ranged from supporting local community through addressing medical needs all the way to provision of community centre resources. Kajani highlights the connection between a habitus that values agency and the practice of localization when explaining their decision to engage in localization as being related to community agency, saying,

> I mean I think for one, like it's very much about working with local partners on the ground and kind of having them kind of dictate what kind of projects they find most useful or more relevant to them. So, it wasn't ever us imposing these projects, its very much coming from the community.

Kajani highlights the sentiments of several members of the second-generation diaspora, who consider the politics of belonging as it relates to the boundaries that have been drawn in terms of the active and passive actors in development. Specifically, the Global

North has traditionally been at the epicentre of decision-making with developing countries often being marginalized to have minimal or no involvement in the development initiatives; as Goudge (2003) says, “the decision-making is rarely in 'local' hands” (p. 183). Similarly, despite their apparent support of localization, some Canadian ministers continue to call for sharing “Canadian expertise” with the world, rather than drawing from local expertise and local priorities (Munro & Brown, 2022). However, the otherness of the diaspora in relation to the local community in Sri Lanka - both self-constructed and ascribed - and its impact on the hesitance of the diaspora in asserting a “right” to participate in development highlights the shift away from a traditional relationship in international development, specifically where the Global North knows what is best for the Global South.

As Heron (2007) says, the dilemma that arises for the participants in their study - White women development workers - is “living out the distances between the rhetoric and the reality of the Northern development project in the South, and between their/our own moral commitments and complicated positionings in relations of power vis-à-vis the “Third World” Other” (p. 17). While the participants in Heron’s (2007) study found their more powerful positions “troubling”, these participants reconciled this power dynamic by constructing themselves as “good White people” or denial of Whiteness itself (p. 97). While the diaspora does not see the local communities in Sri Lanka as Others, as previously mentioned, some members of the diaspora found similarly conflict with their social locations potentially making them outsiders, and as promoters of localization, doubted their right to engage in development work, despite being from the Global North. In other words, these members of the diaspora did not necessarily acknowledge an issue

in terms of holding more power within unequal power structures; instead, they considered themselves within the Sri Lankan field, and as described in Chapter Six, hesitated to claim that they had enough cultural, social and symbolic capital in that field in order to be considered an insider who could speak on behalf of the community.

Thus, from an ethical standpoint, this prioritization of localization and the agency of local communities to engage in decision-making exists among many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora. Shalini described their choice between engaging with a mainstream organization and a diasporic initiative, saying,

> [S]o I felt a connection with these organizations because they were helping like they were working with the Tamil community in Canada and home. They were also very grassroots so I felt like my role would make an impact, it would have like a direct impact, that may be working at like UNICEF or whatever. I feel like I would… it's just like, it's just so big. I mean, they do great work, I'm not saying that they don't, and they do very localized project, but I think I just felt that this would help my community more directly or locally. And I did feel that connection, I grew up hearing about the plight of Tamils and I felt like this would be a way that I could connect with my community, help uplift the community, because its focus was solely on Tamil community development.

For Shalini, their choice to participate in a diasporic initiative also included a consideration that it was localized and grassroots. However, Shalini also preferred to work with a diasporic initiative not only because it was community-driven but due to their beliefs about bureaucratic red tape in larger organizations because of a difference in impact on the communities in Sri Lanka. When probed about the possible reasons why they felt that mainstream organizations had a different impact, compared to local organizations, Shalini referred to their first-hand observations while they were in Sri Lanka at the time of the tsunami that caused destruction the country in 2006, saying,

> [M]y guess is that with the other organizations like the bigger development organizations, there's a lot of bureaucracy that made things a little bit slower... and so it's harder to get things done. So, in terms of the tsunami, they had [sic]

> the organizational resources, but the deployment of stuff was not as quick as the local organizations that were able to, kind of and then the tsunami was like, you needed to act a little bit faster, right? So, I think that was one of the challenges or like one of the issues, right? Was with the, with the large organizations is that they weren't able to deploy as quickly and more, the local organizations were able to work."

Shalini's description of their experience during the 2004 tsunami is an example of some of the benefits of localization that have already been documented in the literature. Specifically, local organizations are known to be the first on the ground in disaster situations due to the geographic proximity of their staff and volunteers to sites (Roeperstoff, 2020) and generally have better physical access to impacted regions compared to international organizations (Geoffrey and Grunewald, 2017). Mya echoed this sentiment, explaining that the impact was also visible sooner when there was less bureaucracy slowing processes down, "I could see you know, with the changes that I was contributing to, which is not to say that like the mainstream organizations, you can't see the changes, it's just that there's a longer chain of command than there is with a smaller organization like [ours]."

These perceptions about processes amongst mainstream organizations is echoed in the values expressed by some participants about transparent funding. More specifically, some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora express concerns about the potential expenditures of funding, particularly as it relates to transparency in the funding pipeline. In other words, these participants value the ability to see the impact of funding, to establish the credibility of the initiative, as well as the effectiveness of the funding itself. For example, Sanjeev explained that their decision (and their friends) to act as their own diasporic initiative themselves was based on a prioritization of transparency and accountability of which they could be assured, saying "I was like, yeah, I know the

money will go be used wisely because accountability, everyone was like. alright, cool. Better than going to the United Way." What is particularly important about Sanjeev's statement is not that they believe that a diasporic initiative would be more accountable than a mainstream NGO in some way. What is significant in the context of decoloniality is that Sanjeev's statement exemplifies the way that the sentiments of some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora shift away from traditional narratives related to credibility, specifically narratives that consider such risks to be associated with local organizations in the Global South (Usen, 2019). Instead of immediately perceiving the local actor as a risk in terms of credibility, and accepting larger mainstream NGOs as automatically more credible, these members of the second-generation diaspora show that they prioritize their own ability to see the impacts of funding, and, due to their own networks with the local actors and subsequent ability to maintain communication, prefer to work with these local actors.

Thus, for many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora, lateral self-positioning informs their engagement in localization practices in primarily two ways. One, from an ethical standpoint, they value the agency of the local community in development, particularly as it pertains to decision-making, and thus directly communicate with local communities and organizations to understand their needs. Second, from an effectiveness standpoint, they challenge traditional narratives that depict local actors as uncredible, and instead engage in and highlight the benefits of direct funding to local actors who are otherwise overlooked or dismissed. However, lateral self-positioning does not only contribute to ideas about localization in development. It also

informs the perceptions of many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora as it pertains to saviourism and volunteering.

7.2.2 Saviourism and Volunteering

Growing up in Canada, a social field unto itself while simultaneously constructing belonging to transnational and local communities has also contributed to a habitus that sees development as having problems of saviourism, and racism. Many second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora are determined to engage in development initiatives that do not embody saviourism. Laksha suggested that saviourism was connected to the prolonged dependency that local communities had on development organizations and indicated that their organization was not only against saviourism but this dependency as well, saying, “it was never like we are going to *save your day*. A key thing is that we don’t want them to be dependent on us… something could happen to our organization, so sustainability is key”. Participants such as Jenna echoed this sentiment against saviourism and highlighted that their work abroad was done in a way that avoided it, explaining, “

> I think being with my like, my dad because, like, this was the school he kind of grew up at… and it gave you a little bit of a different perspective because it just felt more like, okay, like, I'm just here helping my dad out, as opposed to, like, I am here to change this whole country.

For Jenna, their volunteering had a personal, familial connection; however, it is their emphasis on helping their dad rather than doing life-changing work that challenges the ideas of saviourism. More specifically, their self-positioning in proximity to the Tamil community in Sri Lanka counters the hero/victim binary, as they do not paint the local community as victims, nor themselves as a hero. This particular narrative of the

hero/victim binary is part of the larger colonial narrative that is Orientalism, as it requires the victim to be painted as a passive sufferer (Wilson, 2013), to be saved by the hero in the West. When discussing their accountability to the Tamil community in Sri Lanka Prashanth stated,

> I will still have a greater sense of accountability to the Tamil people in the homeland than any White organization ever will… and that's mainly because we see ourselves and our own people as human beings, rather than as objects to manipulate…. that is the White savior approach. We're not human beings.

Prashanth's statement highlights the ways in which racialized populations can be subjugated in the name of development, in ways that dehumanize them. For example, the narratives regarding population control subjugated racialized peoples in the Global South; as Wilson (2013) states, they "were not simply devalued as members of poor and powerless groups whose potential suffering as individuals could be outweighed by the benefits to 'humanity' of reducing their fertility: racism dehumanized them" (p. 90). Prashanth also emphasizes that they take issue with the Global South being the objects of development and iterates that they challenge this relationship dynamic by their lateral self-positioning in relation to the local community in their reference to "ourselves and our people". Thus, for many members of the second generation, their habitus of lateral self-positioning also contributes to their judgements regarding the politics of belonging. More specifically, being positioned in a liminal space informs some members of the second-generation diaspora's attitudes about these "categorical boundaries" which are drawn, such as, in this case, that between the hero and the victim. For many members of the second generation, they emphasize the notion that they are not heroes or saviours, and more broadly, that such categories are unethical.

Many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora, in line with their beliefs about saviourism, also strive to avoid the problematics of volunteerism. Volunteerism "refers to undertaking work for altruistic reasons, where there is no expectation of remuneration or other immediate and tangible personal benefits accruing to the volunteer" (Yea et al., 2018, p. 110). Voluntourism, on the other hand, "may be distinguished from volunteerism more generally in its specific focus on organised and facilitated travel for the primary purpose of engaging in short-term volunteer work stints" (Yea et al., 2018, p. 113). However, there are ethical implications that can accompany volunteering and voluntourism. For example, voluntourism is criticized as being an extension of the extractive colonial process – while at one time, it was raw materials in the south, accompanying this is the extraction of cheap labour and exotic holidays (Goudge, 2003). In fact, Goudge (2003) says development is "allowing the West to look like it cares and is helping by 'doing the South a favour' . . . whilst it carries on doing what it has long done best - extracting from the Southern countries precisely what it needs to sustain its own way of life" (p. 19). Volunteerism has been criticized in the context of international development due to problematic patterns such as volunteers who travel to international development sites to take on roles for which they have insufficient or no relevant skills. For example, Pailey (2020) describes their experience of working with young White men in Liberia who had adopted the roles of "special assistants" or "special advisors" to cabinet ministers, and their confusion about how these young men with "no post-war managerial expertise" felt that they could advise those ministers (p. 731). A more drastic example of this pattern of volunteering without relevant skills is the case of Renee Bach, a young, White, American woman who opened up a center in

Uganda, who saw 105 Ugandan children die under her care (Aizenman & Gharib, 2019). Renee would often make medical decisions for the children and even conduct invasive procedures like blood transfusions - with zero medical experience (Aizenman & Gharib, 2019).

Some members of the diaspora highlighted their commitment to avoid such issues. For example, after speaking about their participation in development initiatives from Canada, when asked if they would ever want to carry out development work abroad in Sri Lanka, Laksha replied,

> [I]t depends like what the development work would look like. There's a lot of capacity building work, which looks like workshops with students from Jaffna University talking about different mechanisms for international justice when it comes to development, work like buildings --that's how I define it-- obviously not the only definition of development work, but building schools, are like, work. In that sense. I'm not sure if I'm too comfortable doing that because of the idea of like volunteerism and also knowing like what organizations I'd be working with, and I'm not sure if I'd be aligned with that.

Laksha highlights this problematic of mismatched skills as one of the major issues in their statement about their preferred avenues of involvement if they were to engage in development work abroad. As previously mentioned, this issue can have a range of consequences, on other actors such as local development actors as well as local communities at the sites of this work. In the same vein, Laksha also indicates legal areas in which they would feel more comfortable carrying out development work, as their professional skills are more aligned with the area of law.

The avoidance of this problematic participation that is prevalent in volunteer development work is echoed by many other second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora who also feel inclined to avoid engaging in roles that they do not feel they have the skill sets or prerequisites to carry out. Vasaki describes an opportunity which they

declined due to their own perception that they did not carry the appropriate skill sets at the time, saying,

> I was like… I'm, like, how come I'm not able to provide this service. I really, really wanted to, though. And I told them like I would be more than willing to do it, like, once I gain more knowledge on this topic and whatever. Whatever it is that you want me to do, I just need to become licensed, certified first, before I can provide that support… and letting them know that they shouldn't just get anyone, they should get somebody who's qualified and who can provide that support and in a professional manner.

This hesitancy to engage in work which did not align with their existing skill sets was further exemplified by many other participants who purposefully matched their skill sets to the development practices with which they were involved, like Laksha hoped to do. For example, students in medical school sought out development initiatives related to health care, while law students took on roles related to policy and writing. Another way in which skill sets were often tied to development activities were seen in the many participants who also specifically engaged with roles that they would hypothetically carry out as careers in Canada with their educational and skill backgrounds (i.e., having a degree in architecture and taking on the role of an architectural programmer within the development initiative/organization)[6].

While the liminality of the diaspora has contributed to their own positioning in relation to the Tamil community in Sri Lanka and local development actors, as well as their value systems within international development, their experiences within liminality also make them reflect upon their multiple positions in relation to other actors in the Global North. Specifically, the diaspora's liminality and subsequent constructions and

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[6] This is a hypothetical example, to protect the anonymity of participants with specialized careers/roles in their development initiatives.

interpretations of unequal power structures in the Canadians field contribute to their reflexivity about the treatment of Indigenous peoples in Turtle Island/Canada as well as their own multiple positions in Canada as victims of coloniality as well as colonial settlers.

7.3 Approaching Allyship towards Indigenous Communities in Turtle Island/Canada

In that space of negotiating their multiple positionalities, many members of the diaspora engage in reflexivity about several issues in the context of Indigenous communities in Turtle Island/Canada. For example, some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora grapple with the complexities of their multiple positions as they engage in transnationalism by showing support for land reclamation abroad while also trying to support Indigenous communities as colonial settlers who are fighting for their own land in Canada. Others question their development work abroad from Turtle Island/Canada while contemplating the need to address issues faced by Indigenous communities. In both cases, they exemplify their potential to engage in authentic allyship to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island/Canada through hybridity and interrogation from a liminal space.

The country that is now known as Canada has a long colonial history and continues to exist within a structure of coloniality. Colonized by the British and French, Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities were subject to oppression, oppression that was justified by the same dehumanizing hierarchy that occurs in development. These communities were seen as culturally inferior and filled with people who would not

capitalize on the land as they should; these narratives would fuel the displacement of Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities, as well as the cultural and physical genocide to which they were subjected. For example, despite being on the land, Turtle Island/Canada was considered "terra nullius" or an empty land, as these Indigenous communities were "consigned to an earlier space" (Razack, 2002, p. 3). Occupation by these colonial settlers was followed by laws meant to disenfranchise and marginalize the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities. I must also note that this cultural genocide also targeted the languages of these communities, with attempts to push them to extinction. One of these attempts occurred through the practices in residential schools, which housed Indigenous, First Nations and Métis children who were abducted from their parents, and who were cruelly punished for speaking their native languages. Thus, these practices to "kill the Indian in the child" highlight the importance of language as an intricate part of cultural identity. Another way through which the colonial powers sought to exterminate the culture of the Indigenous communities was by outlawing cultural practices such as Potlatch ceremonies (Cole & Chaikin, 1990).

While these practices are often referred to as history, the oppression of these communities continue, fuelled by the colonial structures that are still in place today. In fact, Nobe-Ghelani (2017) refers to Canada's nation-building project as an "the ongoing colonization of Indigenous land, people and history" (p. 51). Indigenous women continue to go missing and are murdered at a disproportionate rate, and displaced communities continue to live without basic services such as clean drinking water. Additionally, Indigenous communities have had to protest to protect the lands which they live on from being further exploited for resources by the government (BBC News, 2020; Beaumont,

2021; Ljunggren, 2021). While a Truth and Reconciliation Commission produced a final report and calls to action in 2015 (Government of Canada, 2015), actions have been slow and uneven. I will not attempt to go into detail about what was endured by the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities at hands of the colonizers, as it will surely be insufficient and incomplete, but, at the risk of a strongly reductionist description of their experiences, these communities have and continue to endure extensive trauma and oppression due to coloniality.

As previously discussed, many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora are aware of the oppression that the Tamil community has faced, through their interactions within overlapping fields. They have also developed emotional attachments to the community through shared trauma and a growth in understanding of the human rights violations, as well as the cultural and physical genocide that occurred in Sri Lanka. However, through various avenues, they also learn about the colonial history of Canada and the ongoing treatment of Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities, specifically through interactions within Canadian fields, such as their friends, Canadian education institutions and the media/social media. Sanjeev talks about learning this information in conversations with actors in their Canadian educational institution, saying

> I have been looking into more and more, and chatting with other, like, alumni from [university in Ontario] and stuff about like the Indigenous situation in Canada. So, like that's another thing I find crazy. Just, we're doing all this work outside, but in our own backyard, there's a huge issue there. So how can I, as a Canadian, also work to… you know…

For Sanjeev, it is not a matter of their identity narrative as a Tamil, but as a Canadian, Thus, as Sanjeev mentioned in their description about the treatment of Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities in Canada, they specifically engage in reflexivity about

their own positions as settlers in a colonial settler state. In other words, their understanding about the needs of people in other countries is a point of contrast when they learn more about the colonial legacies of Canada, which have not fueled their empathy towards the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities of Canada, but also made them negotiate their perspectives about development from Canada and their own roles as Canadians and development actors. In particular, they consider the paradox of overlooked needs for communities within Canada while Canadian development actors work to improve the quality of life for people outside of the country. Thus, through these reflections, some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora consider the privilege of settlers, including themselves, at the expense of Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities.

However, some participants also consider their position as a racialized person in Canada. For example, Priyanka reflects on the silence around conversations related to the lived experiences of racialized people in a predominantly White environment as well as the ways through which Canada has come to be home for numerous colonial settlers today, saying,

> [S]o, growing up for the Canadian environment, we are fed this narrative that, oh, it's so multicultural, and we're so accepting right? That we're only in a place now, where we're really acknowledging that the systemic challenges and issues of racism, And the patriarchy and all these really deeply rooted systemic issues that are rooted in violence are very much alive and well. And even now, like it's just now... that, you know... where it's like, anti-black racism, more like being anti-racist it as opposed to not racist, is entering our vocabulary and like our consciousness, but up until this moment there was no conversation about what it meant to be a person of color in a predominantly White environment, that doesn't even acknowledge their own history. Really, you don't see White people acknowledging that this land is stolen land. That, actually, the way that this has all come to me the through means of violence and through taking, and through imposing and coercing the First Nations people into a way of life that they never asked for…

As Priyanka described, there is an in-between or liminal space outside of their simultaneous positions as settlers who were able to build capital through Canadian institutions and racialized people who are often ascribed as "migrants" (despite being born in Canada), through which the diaspora observes an erasure of not only the colonial history of the country but the diaspora's own experiences as racialized people in Canada. In other words, from a liminal space, some participants interrogate their own understandings of erasures experienced by the Tamil community in Sri Lanka which contributes to their perspectives of Canada's treatment of Indigenous people, but their own experiences as racialized people, despite being settlers, also contributes to their reflections about the Indigenous communities' experiences. The acknowledgement of the absence of conversations about their own experiences from this viewpoint, and the way in which it echoes the minimal conversation about Canada being stolen land are additional observations of the colonial matrix of power, through which unequal power structures rooted in colonial legacies are perpetuated (Mignolo, 2014). The silence about the violent roots of Canada which Priyanka discusses is also indicative of knowledge hegemonies and their discursive power. The minimal attention to Canada's colonial past and present for so many years is an example of coloniality, which perpetuates the Canada's image of "goodness" (Drohan, 2011; Kizuk, 2020). However, while the second-generation of the Tamil diaspora was born and raised within in Canada, and as such raised within these unequal power structures they move between positions of power – in this case, the dominant colonial power and the subjugated minority. Thus, Priyanka's multiple social locations, poised at the nexus of Canadianness while also being racialized, contribute to their experiences outside of those faced by Indigenous communities, but being a part of

groups who also faced discrimination which was silenced until recently. Priyanka considers their own day-to-day experiences, and from within their liminal space, they inform an interrogation of patterns of power such as silence about the historical and current experiences of Indigenous First Nations and Metis communities in Canada.

While Priyanka interrogates unequal power structures through reflections upon their positionalities as a racialized person and a Canadian, some participants consider other aspects of their social locations when reflecting on the Indigenous communities of Canada. For example, Laksha considers their own constructions of belonging to Tamil community which includes people who feel strongly about lands in Sri Lanka for many different reasons, such as land sovereignty, separatist states, self-governance, displacement and more. More specifically, Laksha discusses their own thoughts about the need to make more connections between those experiences of the Tamil community to the experiences of the Indigenous communities in Canada, saying,

> I think reading a lot about the link that can be made between Indigenous sovereignty and land reclamation in Canada and the Sinhalisation or colonization of Tamil land back home, I realized that maybe we're not making enough connections as we should be having the same emotions, their attachment to land, thanks back home. But being settlers here, I feel like perhaps I'm not doing justice to the work that I think I'm doing because I'm not having those hard discussions about what it means to be a settler on stolen Indigenous land, and what it means to be a settler, but also fight for land at is not here. It's like in a different place.

While Laksha describes the potential for more connections to be made, they also emphasize the importance of those connections to contextualize their own positions, and the complexities of having land attachments while living in a space where unequal power structures prevent communities from reclaiming their own land. Thus, within liminal space, despite being colonial settlers who were able to accumulate capital in Canada, they

negotiate meanings of these unequal power structures by contesting their social location and capital with their direct and transitive experiences as displaced members of the Tamil community. In other words, some members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora consider the need to negotiate their own positions as colonial settlers who themselves have hopes of land reclamation for the community abroad while settled on stolen land, to better understand the experiences and the oppression of Indigenous, First Nations and Metis communities in Canada.

Considering their own positions in relation to the Indigenous communities of Canada also includes some participants comparing the attitudes of the Canadian government towards the Indigenous communities as well as towards racialized people and/or immigrants. Some second-generation diasporic Tamils feel that the Canadian government's treatment of Indigenous communities is indicative of their unwillingness to fight for transnational justice on behalf of racialized communities as well. As Nila says, "I'm just like… your government, our government, turned a blind eye on the Indigenous people, what makes us think that they're going to do something for you?" Nila described this sentiment in the context of the protests which occurred across major Canadian cities in 2009 (described further in Chapter Three), and as one of the reasons why diasporic transnational initiatives are necessary. However, Nila's statement is also an acknowledgement that despite being the original inhabitants of the land, that the Indigenous communities of Canada are also similarly ascribed as the "Other". This acknowledgement echoes Razack's (2002) observation that the Indigenous communities of Canada are "consigned to an earlier space" while racialized people are considered to be both "late arrivals" and "handily forgotten in an official national story of European

enterprise" (p. 3). Thus, from within a liminal space, translating their hybrid social locations as a Canadian and a racialized person, Nila contextualizes their own experience as an "Othered" Tamil person and uses it to construct meanings of the power structures which contribute to the marginalization of Indigenous communities in Canada. This observation echoes Nobe-Ghelani (2017) who states that Canadian state has created a mechanism to incorporate and manage differences by constructing Indigenous peoples and immigrants as Others in relation to the White Canadian" (p. 51).

Other second-generation Tamils have made different observations, feeling as though the Canadian government treats racialized communities better than they do Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities. For example, Thenuja considers the erasure of the Indigenous communities of Canada when considering the Canadian government's response to the destruction of a Tamil war veteran monument which was destroyed in Sri Lanka.

> [T]he Mullivaikal monument was taken down back home. You know, politicians here were outraged. They were so outraged. Got John Tory and Patrick Brown and everybody expressing how enraged they are *that how dare they? How dare they not allow Tamil people back home to remember their genocide*? And I'm just thinking, oh, okay. And then, yeah, so, Patrick Brown announced that they were gonna build their own monument… Yeah, they're gonna do it in because it's wrong. And we love diversity, right? And I'm thinking, as far as I know, I don't think there's any monument to Indigenous war veterans".

While there is indeed a moment dedicated to Indigenous war veterans called the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, which was unveiled in 2001 in the Canadian capital city of Ottawa, on National Indigenous Peoples Day (then known as National Aboriginal Day) (Veterans Affairs Canada, 2019), what is significant here is quick action taken in response to an event that occurred abroad which indicated an erasure of the experiences

of one immigrant group in Canada. This response, however, is in stark contrast to the erasure that the Indigenous peoples of Canada have experienced for many years. Thenuja adds to their statement of a disconnect in treatment of immigrant communities and Indigenous communities in Canada, explaining that this focus on immigrants was another erasure of Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities. Thenuja says, "it's kind of like Canadian… the Canadian political narrative. They want to embrace the new minority or the new immigrants, the new diverse communities. And all of it really is still very much a suppression of Indigenous identity." In this regard, Thenuja highlights Canada's focus on immigrants, exhibited by the narrative that has been woven into the fabric of its identity, often summed up in the motto "Diversity is our strength" (Bach, 2018). In fact, Canada has a history of absorbing Indigenous communities into the "immigrant category" (Bohaker & Iacovetta, 2009), highlighting its practice of marginalizing Indigenous communities from dominant discourses.

These examples highlight how the translation that occurs within the liminal space occupied by many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora challenges the coloniality that exists within the discourse about Canadian history, particularly the erasure of the genocide and oppression faced by the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities. The diaspora's experiences with intergenerational trauma that stems from a genocide their parents fled, as well as an understanding of the attempted erasure of that genocide by the Sri Lankan government heighten their awareness of the discursive impacts of unequal power structures. Thus, while they are taught Canadian history and exposed to a narrative of multiculturalism, there is a struggle, an ambivalence, which leads to an interrogation of those power structures that perpetuate such erasures. It is

through this interrogation that these members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora construct meanings of and interpret the oppression faced by the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities as well as the contradiction between the dominant narratives and the realities of those communities.

The members of the Tamil diaspora are the victims of colonization and coloniality in that the growth in the resentment for the Tamil community in Sri Lanka and the establishment of laws meant to discriminate against Tamil people were partially in responses to the experiences that were cultivated by colonial rule (Anandakugan, 2020). The conflict contributed to the experiences of the diaspora in terms of facing intergenerational trauma due to their parents' traumatic experiences. However, coloniality has also negatively impacted them as racialized people in Canada. Models of settlement such as assimilation have contributed to the diaspora's loss of culture and language due to their own experiences with integration, and, as previously mentioned in Chapter Six, many members of the second-generation Tamil diaspora have experiences of discrimination and racism in Canada. Through these experiences, the second-generation diaspora shows solidarity to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island/Canada through the connections that they make to their own experiences of being victims of colonialization and coloniality.

At the same time, the second-generation diaspora acknowledges the ways in which they benefit from the unequal power structures in Canada which are rooted in coloniality, as colonial settlers themselves. For example, many members of the second-generation diaspora have built cultural and economic capital due to their upbringings in Canada, which is evidenced by the many participants who held university degrees or who

had the finances to travel abroad to engage in volunteer work. They acknowledge that they are building capital because of their parents' immigration journeys to Canada- which they acknowledge to be stolen land - particularly as they reflect upon the differences between their own lives and the lives of members of the local Tamil community in Sri Lanka, as discussed in Chapter Six. Additionally, participants who conducted fieldwork in Sri Lanka described their reflections about their privilege after they returned to Canada; many of their reflections included elements in their Canadian field, such as access to healthcare and education, as well as freedom of speech and freedom from persecution. However, as previously mentioned, they also describe examples where they perceived the Canadian government to pay them (immigrants) more care and attention than the Indigenous communities. Thus, in their liminal space they experience an ambivalence where they make connections between the trauma endured by the Tamil community with those experienced by the Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities- at the hand of unequal power structures in Canada – while acknowledging that they are benefiting from those very structures. In other words, they interrogate their positions as a group that is a victim of colonization and at the same time a beneficiary of the colonial structure that continues to oppress Indigenous, First Nations and Métis communities.

Thus, these members of the Tamil diaspora, at the nexus of subjectivities, interrogate their simultaneous positions as the subjects and objects of development, as well as victim of coloniality while also being colonial settlers with capital and some privilege. This commitment to avoiding saviourism and the problematics of volunteerism, as well as their localization practices highlights that the decolonial habitus of the diaspora

informs an engagement in development that revolves around allyship. Allies are "individuals who belong to the dominant social group who intentionally and actively resist oppression and take action against discrimination and social injustice" (L. Thomas & Chandrasekera, 2014, p. 92). However, the liminality, and the interrogation of their own positions of power embody tenets of authentic allyship.

An authentic ally "understands, acknowledges, and engages in self-reflection regarding the power and privilege that they wield in the world", and "not only acknowledges but validates others' experiences of marginalization and oppression" (L. Thomas & Chandrasekera, 2014, p. 103). An authentic ally differs from an apathetic ally, who still believes that they are true allies but fall into problematic categories of allyship, such as "the socially innocent" who does not understand or acknowledge their own positions of privilege within coloniality, "the passive backlasher" who denies any current existence of coloniality, and the "guilty" whose discomfort with the idea of themselves having privilege or being an oppressor hinders their ability in critical conversations about their positions (L. Thomas & Chandrasekera, 2014). The participants in Heron's (2007) study highlighted a socially innocent approach to allyship in which they did not acknowledge the privilege which stemmed from their Whiteness while believing that they were being true allies to local people at development sites. Similarly, Thomas and Luba (2018) and Heron (2007) describe the way that development workers abroad understand their White privilege but highlight their discomfort with acknowledging that privilege through their preference to refer to themselves through their hair colour, which is an example of a guilty approach to apathetic allyship.

However, in the case of the second-generation diaspora, it is their multiple positionalities and their critical approach to their own positionalities from a liminal space which emphasizes their approach towards authentic allyship to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island/Canada. While acknowledging the oppression faced by these Indigenous communities, many members of the diaspora acknowledge their own positions as colonial settlers, and the understanding that, despite their own experiences of oppression within Canada, that they also benefit from structures which oppress Indigenous communities. Similarly, they consider their own positions as agents of development from the Global North who hope to help local communities in Sri Lanka, by contemplating the problematics of focusing on communities abroad while not focusing enough on the issues faced by Indigenous communities within Turtle Island/Canada. While participants did not describe their own initiatives during the interviews to support Indigenous communities in Turtle Island/Canada, they show signs of moving towards authentic allyship, through their awareness of the oppression faced by Indigenous communities, and their acknowledgement of and discussions about their own positions within the coloniality which oppresses these communities.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

Recent events in North America have not only reiterated the continued existence of coloniality and at the same time there is a growing emphasis on the need to make decoloniality a priority within the international development sector of Canada. However, decoloniality goes beyond addressing the impacts of colonialism in practice and focuses on the roots of those practices, by shifting away from colonial knowledge systems and hegemonic discourses which uphold colonial power structures in the first place. Thus, decoloniality includes a shift away from the discursive "White gaze of development" (Pailey, 2020) and understanding "the power of whiteness and specifically how authority, expertise and knowledge become racially symbolized" (Kothari, 2006a, p. 9). However decoloniality is particularly complex within the international development sector, as race has always been intertwined with development (White, 2002). Thus, this dissertation is one avenue through which the White gaze of development has been de-centered, as it is not only researched by an insider in the community, but the research centers the experiences of a racialized community, moreover as development actors.

Understanding racialized diasporas in Turtle Island/Canada requires a theoretical framework which addresses the intricacies of their experiences, particularly as they relate to transnationalism and identity. Considering that diasporas are transnational actors who exist in arenas that transcend national borders, and that methodological nationalism would limit the understanding of this aspect of the diasporic experience (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003), Bourdieu's (1986) fields can help to examine the various sites in which diasporas exist and interact with other actors. Additionally, Bhabha's (1994) hybridity highlights the embodiment of different cultures and identities, Yuval-Davis' (2006)

concept of belonging shows the ways through which constructions of belonging can be highlighted through identity narratives, which combine social locations, attachments, and attitudes about the parameters of belonging in different groups. Thus, while Bhabha's Third Space helps to contextualize the occurrence of Akrivou & Di San Giorgio's (2014) dialogic habitus as an internalized dialogue that interrogates power structures due to the ambivalence towards colonial structures that stems from different positionings in multiple fields.

Through in-depth qualitative interviews and the above-mentioned theoretical framework, this research explored the ways that day-to- day interactions inform diasporic negotiations of identity and constructions of belonging, the ways in which constructions of belonging and negotiations of identity are connected to diasporic development, and the potential for a diaspora's hybrid identities to contribute to colonial or decolonial processes in international development.

8.1 Research Contributions

This research addresses several knowledge gaps that exist despite global agendas to improve diasporic engagement for sustainable development, (UN, 2018; IOM, 2022b). One knowledge gap that is found in migration literature is the underrepresentation of explorations into transnationalism from the second-generations of diasporas. Another knowledge gap that is found in development literature is the relative silence in terms of racialized voices, particularly their perspectives as development actors. Lastly, despite being a significant group as the biggest Tamil diaspora of Sri Lankan origin outside of Sri Lanka itself, as well as being a diaspora that is active in the international development

sector, there has been a lack of updated explorations into its transnational activities since its major protests of 2008-2009. These knowledge gaps hinder the potential for diasporic development (Sinatti & Horst, 2015) and addressing them thus helps to reduce barriers to diasporic development by providing more information about diasporas and their experiences with development to stakeholders who seek to engage and empower diasporas. However, beyond the functional imperative of maximizing the engagement of actors who can contribute to development, there is also a moral imperative to make the development sphere a more inclusive space that shifts power towards racialized/local actors.

This research contributes to diversity literature by providing a case for Fleras' (2015) considerations of diasporic identity as a "diasporic world of 'here,' 'there,' and 'everywhere" (p. 311), by highlighting the way in which belonging for diasporas can be deterritorialized and considered beyond physical places and borders, and that these constructions of belonging are dynamic and ever-changing. This research also exemplifies the relationship between transnationalism and identity, and how transnationalism is often connected to identity narratives and constructions of belonging. In line with these notions about the connections between transnationalism and identity, this research also highlights how theories of practice, such as Bourdieu's fields and a community of practice lens can help to highlight the decision-making of a diaspora as they engage in transnational activities such as development, as they are rooted in everyday experiences and are related to larger social structures. Additionally, this research shows how transnationalism can occur within contemporary settlement patterns, such as development initiatives from the second generation of the diaspora. It also

provides empirical data about the transnational activities of the Tamil diaspora in Canada beyond the protests of 2008-2009. However, in the context of international development, this dissertation also highlights the potential contributions that second-generation diasporas can make as development actors, in both practical and normative ways.

8.2 Decoloniality in Diasporic Development: Dialogic Habitus from a Liminal Space

In this dissertation, I have explored several areas within the second-generation Tamil diaspora's experiences with development initiatives. First, I find that that the second-generation Tamil diaspora is involved in a variety of initiatives which range from fundraising all the way to volunteer work on site in Sri Lanka. Members of this diaspora are engaged in development through both formal and informal roles, and through existing initiatives or initiatives that they have created themselves. Many members of this diaspora also engage in roles that are highly relevant to their own education, careers and/or skill sets. Additionally, it is often through their own social networks or social capital through which they come across opportunities to become involved in development initiatives. The diaspora also uses other forms of capital to engage in these initiatives, such as their relevant skill sets, education and economic resources.

The day-to-day experiences leading up to the diaspora's involvement in development initiatives occur in different fields, some of which intersect and overlap. These day-to-day experiences include interactions with other actors in the various fields, interactions which inform the second-generation Tamil diaspora's negotiations of belonging and otherness. For example, otherness in relation to Canadian society is

negotiated by some second-generation diasporic members based on their interactions with the broader Canadian community as well as Canadian media. In terms of belonging and otherness to the Tamil community, I find that constructions of belonging, for many members of the diaspora, are often associated with interactions that require cultural capital, particularly knowledge of the Tamil language and culture which informs their own feelings of belonging, while interactions that highlight their lack of such knowledge contributes to their feelings of otherness. I find that there is a level of socialization that occurs in the family field, which promotes the practice of development as a trait of the diasporic community. This socialization occurs through conversations about the conflict and the obligation to "give back", as well as observations of family members regularly engaging in their own development initiatives. These interactions promote the idea that development, and helping people in Sri Lanka more broadly, can also contribute to feelings of belonging as they are constructed as aspects of membership in a community of practice.

However, there are also interactions with other actors in the fields of the diaspora which inform the diaspora's decisions about engaging in development initiatives, such as the broader Tamil community, the Canadian community, Canadian educational institutions, friends, and even social media. Regardless of their negotiations of belonging and/or otherness, the concept of "home" is often used by the diaspora to describe the communities who are the focus of their development initiatives or "helping habitus". In other words, through the interactions with the various actors in their fields, they experience both socialization as well as intentional learning, through which they develop

their “helping habitus”, which is connected to constructions of belonging as well as a desire for belonging or attachment.

I also find that the international development experiences of the second-generation diaspora themselves are intertwined with many of their constructions and negotiations of belonging and otherness. These acts of transnationalism inform their constructions and reconstructions of their belonging and otherness in different ways. Some diasporic members construct their belonging through further building their social capital as well as using their cultural capital while others feel otherness due to the ways that their development experiences highlight their lack of cultural capital. However, some members who feel that otherness build capital through their development work, and in doing so, reconstruct belongingness. While their hybrid identities provide practical benefits to their development initiatives, with skills such as cultural or even linguistic code-switching, their hybrid identities also contribute to their positioning in a Third Space, at the margins of both Tamilness and Canadianness, which can contribute to their feelings of otherness. In this regard, development work gives the second-generation diaspora opportunities to connect with other second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora, find others who share positions in a Third Space, and thus construct belonging to the diaspora in this way.

This dissertation shows that the positioning of the diaspora in a Third Space, contributes to a dialogic habitus that specifically derives from liminality – an ambivalence towards dominant power structures that stems from being positioned as both the subject and object, while existing within different fields. This dialogic habitus holds elements of decoloniality that are then seen in the decolonial habitus and practices of the

diaspora. One way in which many members of the diaspora exhibit a decolonial habitus is through their lateral self-positioning in relation to the communities of focus in their development initiatives, rather than reproducing hierarchies between the Global North and Global South, or the West and the East. This habitus of lateral self-positioning then contributes to the practices of the diaspora as they do not engage in the Orientalism that informs the denigration of local, racialized development actors which paints the local actors as uncredible. Thus, many members of the diaspora engage in various levels of localization practices. Some second-generation members of the Tamil diaspora also highlight their rejection of saviourism and the hero/victim binary as well as their issues with volunteerism, opting to engage only in initiatives where they have the relevant skill sets needed to carry out the work. However, their decolonial habitus and practices are not limited to development itself. The diaspora's experiences working in development initiatives while also feeling otherness as a Canadian inform the ambivalence they feel towards dominant narratives that paint Canada as a "boy scout", "good guy" or "peacekeeper of the world" (Drohan, 2011; Kizuk, 2020), as well as discursive power structures that erase the history and experiences of Indigenous communities in Turtle Island/Canada. This ambivalence contributes to their interrogations of their own simultaneous positions as victims of coloniality and colonial settlers, through which they begin to approach a potential to be authentic allies to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island/Canada.

8.3 Future Research on Migration, Development and Diversity

What do all these findings mean for development, studies of migration and transnationalism, and for an ever-diversifying Canada? For development, it highlights the continuance of coloniality, and the significance of not just focusing on the way that coloniality plays out in practice, but the way that discourse can be colonial and be used to perpetuate colonial power structures. While no development actor is perfect, and not one single actor can solve all the problems which exist in development, particularly coloniality, the second-generation Tamil diaspora approaches some aspects of decoloniality in highly nuanced ways that can provide insights about not only racialized peoples as development actors, but the need for all development actors to reconcile their own positions of privilege and potential roles in coloniality. In this regard, further research is needed to continue to unpack the often invisible coloniality in international development with the understanding that centering the perspectives of otherwise marginalized groups can sometimes help to bring those colonialities to light, which is crucial for the purpose of decoloniality, and which focuses on not just problematic practices such as barriers to localization but dismantling the production of knowledge which leads to such practices in the first place, such as colonial narratives and ways of understanding development. Additionally, diasporas should continue to be studied beyond binaries of viewing them as either "tools" or "risks". On one hand, diasporas are engaging in their own initiatives, with their own capacities and resources to carry out development work. On the other hand, as this study highlights, for diasporas, the meanings of identity, belonging, and even "home" can no longer assume to be bounded

by physical places, which have often been the premise of reductionist understandings of diasporas as risks to the national interest.

In terms of migration and transnationalism, this study shows that the scales and analytical tools through which to understand diaspora need to be de-territorialized to explore the full scope of their experiences. In other words, research highlights the need to de-territorialize understandings of migration, particularly as more and more descendants of immigrants are born in Canada and have complex attachments to imagined communities and notions of home. Thus, for migration, this research further reiterates the way in which a transnational lens to understand diaspora can prevent limitations that lead to problematic binaries that are bounded by nation-states. Thus, this research adds to the existing literature that calls for modes of analysis which acknowledge the impacts of globalization and look beyond the binaries of "home" and "host" to understand diasporas as the embodiment of the transnational. Additionally, in the context of migration, additional research about the experiences of second-generation diasporas can help to further highlight the contemporary patterns of settlement in Canada. Immigration is the reason for a large portion of Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 2017) but the descendants of immigrants are growing in number, which warrants further explorations of their experiences. These explorations can contribute to better understandings about the diversity that can be found within diasporas, and how complex their day-to-day experiences are in terms of their negotiations of belonging and identity. These understandings can also help to understand the ways in which diasporic transnationalism may occur in the future, particularly with subsequent generations of diasporas being born and raised in Canada.

At the beginning of this dissertation, I consider the need for Canadian governance and more specifically foreign policy to reflect the changing demographic landscapes of Canada due to increased migration, but I also iterate that such considerations require better understandings of the diasporas who live in the country, including their experiences of belonging. As Sinatti & Horst (2015) state, reductionist generalizations about diasporas stifle the potential contributions which diasporas could make to the development sector. Canada prides itself on its actions on the world stage, and so there is a strong incentive for it to consider the great potential for Canada to innovate its development sector and even foreign policy more broadly, partly by encouraging the participation considering the perspectives of diverse individuals such as diasporas. Thus, while understanding the perspectives and experiences of diasporas as they engage in transnationalism as well as negotiate their constructions of belonging, future research should consider how foreign policy—particularly foreign aid policy—contributes to their experiences with transnationalism as well as belonging, with the intention of exploring the ways in which policy can become more inclusive while moving to frameworks that are better for "managing complex and diversifying diversities at local, national, and global levels" (Fleras, 2015, p. 311). In other words, using deeper understandings about diaspora to formulate foreign policy can not only benefit from more accurately reflecting the diversity that can be seen within Canada, but beyond Canada as well. Thus, future ideas in Canadian foreign policymaking should focus on including more diverse voices in the formulation of its strategies and approaches.

Considering the prevalence of development activities among diasporas, the migration-development nexus is relatively understudied. It is clear, that with deeper

understandings of diasporic development initiatives we can shed more light on the migration-development nexus, as well as bring nuanced understandings of migration as well as the potential impacts that this form of diasporic transnationalism can have on a global scale.

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Appendices

Appendix A Ethics Approval

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

S-02-20-5481 - REG-5481 - Certificat d'approbation éthique / Certificate of Ethics Approval

(English message follows)

Cher/Chère Akalya Atputharajah,

Veuillez trouver ci-joint le certificat d'approbation éthique pour le projet intitulé «Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ».

Le certificat est valide jusqu'au : 31-03-2021

In considering the University of Ottawa guidelines against in-person research due to the current COVID-19 outbreak, please note that no in-person interviews may be conducted. Rather, these can take place virtually (Skype) or by telephone. For University of Ottawa guidance during COVID-19 Outbreak, see https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/

Recherche financée : veuillez faire suivre une copie du certificat au Service de gestion de la recherche.

Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec le Bureau d'éthique à ethique@uottawa.ca ou en composant le 613-562-5387.

Vous pouvez voir votre demande en vous connectant à votre compte eReviews.

Cordialement,

Kim Thompson
Responsable d'éthique en recherche

Ceci est une réponse automatisée, merci de ne pas répondre à ce courriel.

Dear Akalya Atputharajah,

Please find attached the certificate of ethics approval for your research project titled "Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ".

This certificate is valid until: 31-03-2021

In considering the University of Ottawa guidelines against in-person research due to the current COVID-19 outbreak, please note that no in-person interviews may be conducted. Rather, these can take place virtually (Skype) or by telephone. For University of Ottawa guidance during COVID-19 Outbreak, see https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/

Funded research: A reminder that you must provide a copy of this certificate to Research Management Services.

If you have any questions, please contact the Ethics Office at ethics@uottawa.ca or by telephone at 613-562-5387.

You can view your project at any time by logging into eReviews.

Best regards,

Kim Thompson
Protocol Officer

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada

550 Cumberland Street, Room 154
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

613-562-5387 • 613-562-5338 • ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie | www.recherche.uottawa.ca/ethics

Appendix B Modification Request Ethics Approval

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

S-02-20-5481 - MOD1-5481 - Modification approuvée / Modification Approved

(English message follows)

Cher/Chère Akalya Atputharajah,

Merci d'avoir soumis une demande de modification pour votre projet de recherche intitulé «Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ».

Ces modifications ont été approuvées et sont assujetties au certificat d'approbation éthique (voir la version révisée du certificat en pièce jointe), valide jusqu'au 31-03-2021.

Consent form:

Prior to the interviews, participants will be given the option to provide verbal consent, which will be audio-recorded. A revised copy of the consent form and a script for obtaining verbal consent have been appended. The participants will still have the option to send back a signed form through email, which will be provided via email by the researchers before the interview .

Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec le Bureau d'éthique au ethique@uottawa.ca ou au 613-562-5387.

Vous pouvez voir votre demande en vous connectant à votre compte eReviews .

Cordialement,

Marc Alain Bonenfant
Coordonnateur de l'éthique
Président(e) : Barbara Graves
CÉR : Comité d'éthique de la recherche en sciences sociales et humanités / Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board

Ceci est une réponse automatisée, merci de ne pas répondre à ce courriel.

Dear Akalya Atputharajah,

Thank you for submitting a modification request for your research project titled "Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ".

These modifications are now covered under the certificate of ethics approval (see updated version attached), valid until 31-03-2021.

Consent form:

Prior to the interviews, participants will be given the option to provide verbal consent, which will be audio-recorded. A revised copy of the consent form and a script for obtaining verbal consent have been appended. The participants will still have the option to send back a signed form through email, which will be provided via email by the researchers before the interview .

If you have any questions, please contact the Ethics Office at ethics@uottawa.ca or 613-562-5387.

You can view your project at any time by logging into eReviews .

Best regards,

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada
550 Cumberland Street, Room 154 Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

613-562-5387 • 613-562-5338 • ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
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Appendix C Renewal of Ethics Approval

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

S-02-20-5481 - ANN1-5481 - Certificat d'approbation éthique renouvelé / Certificate of Ethics Approval Renewed

(English message follows)

Cher/Chère Akalya Atputharajah,

Merci d'avoir soumis une demande de renouvellement pour le projet de recherche intitulé «Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ».

Veuillez trouver ci-joint le certificat d'approbation éthique renouvelé, valide jusqu'au 31-03-2022.

Recherche financée : Veuillez faire suivre une copie du certificat renouvelé au Service de gestion de la recherche.

Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec le Bureau d'éthique à ethique@uottawa.ca ou en composant le 613-562-5387.

Vous pouvez voir votre demande en vous connectant à votre compte eReviews.

Cordialement,

Ethics Coordinator
Coordonnateur de l'éthique

Ceci est une réponse automatisée, merci de ne pas répondre à ce courriel.

Dear Akalya Atputharajah,

Thank you for submitting a renewal request for your research project titled "Agents of Change: Development Initiatives and Negotiations of Identity from the Second-Generation of the Sri Lankan Tamil Canadian Diaspora ".

Please find attached the renewed certificate of ethics approval, valid until 31-03-2022.

Funded research: A reminder that you must provide a copy of this certificate to Research Management Services.

If you have any questions, please contact the Ethics Office at ethics@uottawa.ca or by telephone at 613-562-5387.

You can view your project at any time by logging into eReviews.

Best regards,

Ethics Coordinator
Ethics Coordinator

This is an automated message. Please do not reply directly to this email.

Attachement(s) / Attachment(s)
approvalLetter1616628188779.pdf

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