THE ANGLICIZATION OF NAMES AMONGST THE 2ND GENERATION OF SRI LANKAN
CANADIAN TAMILS IN TORONTO: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

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THE ANGLICIZATION OF NAMES AMONGST THE 2ND GENERATION OF SRI LANKAN
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Abstract

This paper presents an autoethnographic analysis of experiences related to the Anglicization of

my name as well as those whom I have encountered within the Sri Lankan Tamil community

here in Toronto. Through an in-depth analysis of articles related to the historical Anglicization of

immigrant names as well as an analysis of the autoethnographic piece, I argue that the

Anglicization of Tamil names amongst the 2nd generation of Sri Lankan Tamils living in Toronto

is due to the internalization of deficiency (Y.Guo, 2015) and is done to maintain one's

habitus. This deficiency internalization is experienced through socialization in various social

fields such as academia and the labour market where it can be understood that members of the

2nd generation, as well as immigrants in general, are taught early on that their cultural

dispositions are inferior (S. Guo, 2015, p.11). These will be explored in greater depth throughout

this study.

Key words: Habitus, Linguistic Habitus, Cultural Capital, Symbolic Capital, Deficit Model of
Difference

Acknowledgments

"Matha Pitha Guru Deivam"

Lokah Samasta Sukhino Bhavantu!

May all beings everywhere be happy and free!

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Introduction

A name is one of the first things you learn about a person or a place, yet this is a topic that is often overlooked within academia. Names of peoples and places are significant because they are a "symbolic representation of a person's social identity" (Kang, 1971, p.403) as well as a medium, such as a place, through which one can announce this identity, for example, "I am Canadian". Names and identities have a great cultural significance and help navigate group membership between various ethnic communities (Thompson, 2006, p.189). Naming in general has also been linked to political power and authority (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.223). This is particularly evidenced by the processes through which postcolonial places are in a state of flux, being named and (re)named. In the Caribbean, for instance, various territories underwent name changes when vying colonial powers fought to claim their stake over these lands (Trotman, 2012, p.22). These name changing practices however, did not stop with the landscape. Many of the indigenous peoples who lived in these colonized lands were also forcibly stripped of their cultural identity and were given Anglicized names (Aceto, 2002, p.585; Moyo, 2012, p.12).

Though Anglicization of ethnic names is no longer forcibly imposed, it is interesting to note how many immigrants to North America, who have immigrated from these post-colonial nations tend to Anglicize their names. Canada has a long history of immigration in which immigrants have endured discrimination and xenophobia at the hands of the Canadian government (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p.15) and this has affected all aspects of their lives, especially with regards to the ways in which they have come to construct their identities post-migration. It seemingly has become a normalized practice within the contemporary Canadian society (Y. Guo, 2013, p.35).

Since the 1970s as Canadian immigration policy has become more liberal, immigrants are now arriving from non-traditional source countries (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p.18). Therefore, it is an important issue that must be brought to attention. People change their names for various reasons but the decision to change one's 'ethnic' name can reveal a change in the social relations that accompany the name change (Kang, 1971, p.404). The degree to which an immigrant Anglicizes or adapts to the host society is crucial to understanding the success of Canada's multicultural policy. Colonial times saw the forced Anglicization of ethnic names, however this is no longer the case. It is important to understand why immigrants "choose" to Anglicize and whether they are being compelled by societal factors to opt for this Anglicized variant.

This MRP seeks to understand some of the motivations behind the Anglicization of immigrant names, particularly amongst the 2nd generation of Sri Lankan Tamils living in Toronto. For the purposes of this MRP, Anglicization of Tamil names includes the Anglicization of both first and last names. The examples used in the autoethnography focus particularly on the Anglicization of first names. The MRP is separated into 4 sections. **Section 1** is the literature review and is separated into two parts. The first part will include a comprehensive literature review on empirical studies focusing on the history of Anglicization and name changing practices, as well as the reasons for these changes. The second part is a review on the explanatory frameworks that have been used to analyze the Anglicization/name-changing practices of immigrants. **Section 2** is the research design and methodology. In this section, I will explain my rationale for using autoethnography as the research tool by which to analyze the Anglicization of names amongst the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamil Canadians living in Toronto. **Section 3** is composed of the autoethnography in which I narrate my personal experiences related to the Anglicization of my name and those whom I have encountered in my

life. **Section 4** is an analysis of the autoethnography. It will endeavor to explain using the 'deficiency model of difference' (S. Guo, 2015, p.11) and Bourdieu's theory of habitus (Thompson, 1991, p.12) and capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6), a potential rationale for these name changes.

SECTION 1: Literature Review
Anglicization of Immigrant Names and Name Changing Practices

Introduction

A review of the extant literature on Anglicization of Immigrant Names and Name Changing Practices[1] seems to reveal that research developed along two interrelated themes: first the **historical accounts** of Anglicization of Immigrant Names; and secondly, the **specific reasons** for such name changes. Although most studies that follow these strands of inquiry are empirical in nature, some scholars have also attempted to explain these phenomena using theories, such as Bourdieu's "symbolic and cultural capital" (Thompson, 2006, p. 190; Y. Guo, 2013, p.35) as well as his idea of the "linguistic habitus" (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.223). For this review, an exhaustive search was conducted on the RULA search engine using key words such as "Anglicizing of Foreign Names" and "Immigration" as well as "Immigrant Naming Practices". 40 articles were reviewed as well as 11 books, 6 book chapters. 28 articles were used, 11 books and 6 book chapters. Some articles were eliminated, as they were deemed not relevant to the study.

The Anglicization of immigrant names is not new. It has a long history and is still continuing. As early as the 1880s, there is documented evidence of the Jewish American community in New York, Anglicizing their names in order to avoid the discrimination they faced on account of their

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, Anglicizing/name-changing will mean any act including the choosing of completely new English names, the pronouncing of one's ethnic name with an Anglicized accent or to shorten one's name to make it more English-sounding. This includes the shortening as well as the anglicized pronunciation of both first and last names.

names (Fermaglich, 2015, p.37). Their names would link them to their Jewish heritage, which would inhibit them when seeking upward mobility (Fermaglich, 2015, p.37). Contemporary studies highlight the Korean community who are facing similar issues. They also Anglicize as a preventative measure in order to avoid discrimination and negative treatment, with the hopes of achieving Canadian labour market success (Kim, 2007, p.129).

Research Emergence in Settler Societies

This area of research does not have a very long history in the North American Settler societies such as Britain, the EU, Australia, the US, and Canada. The earliest that considers the Anglicization of ethnic names was from an article published in 1955 by Robert Somerville Graham on the Anglicization of German family names in Western Canada over time. In the United States, the earliest study found was published in 1970 on the name changing patterns amongst French Canadians who moved to Waterville, Maine and were forced to Anglicize in the early 19th century. The next article observed Anglicization practices of Chinese students on an American campus and was published in 1971 by Kang. In Europe this type of literature is limited in scope, focusing solely on the Europeanization or country specific changes to names based on the dominant culture/language or religion of the country. For example, there was an article by Arai and Thoursie (2009) that looked at the earnings of immigrants from Asian/African/Slavic countries to Sweden and the effects of their surname changes to Swedish-sounding or "neutral" names on their earnings.

With regards to Australian literature on this topic, only two articles were deemed relevant. The first of which, was written by Brockhall and Liu (2011) and looked at identity performance of Greek and Cypriot immigrants and the Anglicization of their names over time. The second of which, by Neumann (2004), reviews the history of Australian immigration, including the white

Australia policy. It observes how immigrants Anglicized their names as a part of this process. There is also scholarship present on post-colonial nations in Africa. The first article by Goke-Pariola (1993), focuses on the legacy of colonialism and how language is used as symbolic power. The second article by Moyo (2012) analyzes colonial renaming practices in Malawi. In addition, there is also one study that observed the colonial practices of naming and renaming in the Caribbean (Trotman, 2012).

Most studies came out of the US and Canada. In Canada particularly there is not much scholarship on this topic. The earliest study as mentioned was published in 1955. This article focused on groups from Europe to North America. This was the only article that was obtained from this time period. The next set of articles in Canada looked at educational programs including ESL and language learning programs in Canada for immigrants of multi-ethnic backgrounds. These articles range from 2006 onwards. There is a 50-year gap in the literature, where there is limited scholarship available on this topic. There is also a gap in the scholarship when observing the communities that have been under study. In terms of ethno-specific studies, in the study by Khanlou and Crawford (2006), the students were born in Korea, China, Russia, Taiwan and Macao. Kim's (2007) study focused on Korean ESL students in Toronto. However, there has not been any scholarship linking south Asian immigrants and their issues with the Anglicization of their names, nor has there been any scholarship on the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora and the Anglicization of their names. It is interesting to note the connection between the limited scholarship and the response I received when initially approaching other academics and fellow members of the 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora on this topic. The Anglicization of Tamil names within the community was trivialized and a taken-for-granted phenomenon. This lack of engagement is mirrored in the literature and is both theoretical and

empirical.

*** Lack of Theoretical and Empirical Engagement ***

From an overview of the extant literature, there seems to be very few articles that directly report on the Anglicization of ethnic names in the western context. Overall, there is a lack of both empirical and theoretical research, under this topic. Although there is currently very limited scholarship on this topic, a variety of disciplines (e.g., ethnic studies, education and linguistics studies) have contributed to this specific topic. Within the Canadian context, the immigration and settlement studies field has contributed only in the articles on ESL classes.

Among the few that use a theoretical approach, the geographical focus was not North America. Trotman's (2012) study for instance focuses on the symbolic decolonization of Trinidad and Tobago. Similarly, Aceto (2002) worked on ethnic names and identities in Anglophone Caribbean speech communities and Goke-Pariola (1993), used Bourdieu to understand the naming and renaming practices of peoples and places in Nigeria. It was also interesting to note that the focus is mainly on the first generation immigrants.

Methodologically, though many of these studies have been qualitative in approach (e.g., using interviews), some have used archival data. Keeping the above issues in mind, this literature review is organized under four main subsections. In the first section is presented a review of studies that deal with **historical accounts** involving the Anglicization of immigrant Names; the second section addresses the **reasons** for such name changes; and in the third section is presented some evidence from the literature that suggests that immigrants **resist as well as refuse** name changes. In the fourth section of this literature review is presented some of the **theoretical frameworks/concept**s that have been used by researchers to explain the phenomenon of Anglicization of immigrant names and name changing practices.

(1) Historical Accounts of Anglicization of Names (includes place names)

Under this theme, were reviewed specific literature that deals with immigrant groups that have historically altered their names. It will cover a range of immigrant groups particularly those entering western countries from non-English speaking nations. The Anglicization of ethnic names has occurred throughout history. Within the literature it occurred extensively during the colonial era. In some cases, the colonized people underwent forced name changes (Aceto, 2012, p.585; Moyo, 2012, p.12). This is not unusual as forcible name changes were common under colonial rule in several ex-colonies where the colonizers were constantly engaged in a process of naming and renaming landscapes in order to assert their claim of possession to other colonial powers vying for rule over various colonies (Trotman, 2012, p.22). A good example of this is within the Caribbean as the Spanish, French and Dutch settlers were constantly engaged in the naming and renaming of Caribbean territories as each group fought to claim their stake over colonized land (Trotman, 2012, p.22). These naming practices have been dubbed part of the "ceremonies of possession" that established control over colonies (Trotman, 2012, p.22). In Sierra Leone during the Colonial British rule, names were abolished amongst the indigenous populations and the people of Sierra Leone were given European names by the colonizers as their own names were deemed "heathenish" (Aceto, 2002, p.585). This is similar to what occurred in Malawi by missionaries who were "forerunners of British colonialists" (Moyo, 2012, p.12). They renamed children in schools with English names (Moyo, 2012, p.12). This also occurred amongst employees in Malawi and Southern Africa who were renamed with European names as their names were seen as too difficult to pronounce (Moyo, 2012, p.12). The Anglicization and complete change of names that occurred in these now ex-colonies described

above are not the only ways that names were changed throughout history. In fact, it became very much a part of the immigration process. It was a necessary step to avoid stigmatization and downward mobility amongst immigrants to Western nations. This will be explored in the following sections.

(2) <u>Reasons for Anglicization of Names</u>

Overall there seems to be a few reasons why immigrants may Anglicize their names: (i) to avoid negative treatment and (ii) to negotiate group membership.

(i)   Anglicization of Names to Avoid Negative Treatment

Personal names as mentioned earlier are imperative in negotiating different social identities. In addition to the numerous other difficulties that arise as part of the settlement process in a new country, immigrants are faced with a host of issues, such as finding suitable employment and navigating new social groups in order to facilitate upward mobility. Several studies have reported that immigrants Anglicize their names because they feel that not doing so will negatively impact upon their upward social and economic mobility (Fermaglich, 2015, p.37; Y. Guo, 2013, p.35; Thompson, 2006, p.195). For example, a study on Jewish immigrants to New York City between the late 1880s to the 1900s revealed that many Jewish Americans Anglicized their names to "shed the ethnic markers that disadvantaged them in American society", preventing them from seeking upward social and economic mobility (Fermaglich, 2015, p.37). This specific phenomenon became known as "the vanishing Jew" in which Jewish identity was suppressed and members sought to escape by "evanescence" the prejudice that inhibited their growth (Morawska, 1994, p.84)[2]. More recently, one Canadian study found that it is due to the fear of

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[2] Some petitioners cited that they had faced "ridicule and embarrassment" by members of American society on account of their Jewish sounding names and therefore sought Anglicized alternatives. This was the case with "Lawrence Lipschitz who sought to change his name to Lipson" as he had experienced ridicule on account of his name (Fermaglich, 2015, p.40).

being treated negatively (specifically in order to avoid prejudice and discrimination) that several newcomer female high school students change their names (Khanlou and Crawford, 2006, p.53).

Some studies have reported that newcomers (both historically and more contemporarily,) change their names upon arrival in the host country because the charter group may find their names "difficult to pronounce" (Crane & Schulhof, 1970; Thompson, 2006). For example, Crane and Schulhof (1970) found that French-Canadian settlers who moved to an English speaking community in Waterville, Maine, anglicized their names in order to avoid difficulty in communicating with the Anglophones (Crane & Schulhof, 1970, p.260). Likewise, in his study Thompson (2006) with respect to Korean Americans living in the Chicago area reported that it was common for this specific immigrant group to change their names. About two thirds of Thompson's (2006) respondents also indicated they changed their names because "it would be easier or more convenient for Americans to pronounce or remember" (Thompson, 2006, p.183). Similarly, this was the same issue KyeongSin, a Korean who immigrated to the United States at a young age faced. Due to the difficulties Americans had pronouncing her name, she opted for Kelly in order to make her name easier for Americans to pronounce (Thompson, 2006, p.200).

In the past, **fear of violence against immigrants** seems to have also triggered name changes. In the late 1800s, as a group of French-Canadians settled in an English speaking community in Maine, initially there was tension between the two communities and it was not safe for the French to walk outside their own part of town, because they could be victims of violence (Crane & Schulhof, 1970, p.460). More recently however, in more than one case, it has been documented that immigrant parents rename/name their children Anglicized names in anticipation of the prejudice and discrimination that they will be subject to in schools, and to avoid the self-fulfilling prophecies that come with ethnic names and membership within

particular ethnic groups (Souto-Manning, 2007, p.399). Research done on this particular issue, further highlights that immigrant children with 'ethnic' names sometimes are faced with prejudice and ridicule in school (Thompson, 2006, p.191). This was the case with Ellen and Kelly, where their Korean names were a source of ridicule in their childhood and was therefore linked to psychological feelings of trauma and led to their eventual adoption of an Anglicized variant (Thompson, 2006, p.191). In a 2007 study on Immigration and Schooling, Mariana Souto-Manning reported that there exists these widespread misconceptions about Latino students as resistant to assimilation, resulting in teachers viewing these students through a 'deficit lens', ultimately resulting in these widespread stereotypes where students are seen as lacking certain skills (Souto-Manning, 2007, p.403). This ultimately leads to academic stagnation in immigrant students or students of immigrant backgrounds with ethnic names. This was the factor that motivated an immigrant mother from Mexico who renamed her youngest child on his first day of school in order to counter negative experiences and to circumvent failure (Souto-Manning, 2007, p.309).

(ii)   The functional Benefits of Anglicization including the negotiation of group membership inherent to the Immigration Process

The Anglicizing of immigrant names was also seen as a method of facilitating assimilation and acceptance into society. In the case of the German Settlers to Saskatchewan in the early 1900s, many Anglicized their names, as they believed it was a necessary step towards assimilation (Graham, 1955, p.264). The same was true of the French Canadians in Waterville who changed their names with hopes that they would finally be accepted into the American culture and the American way of life. This created a desire for many immigrants to "Americanize themselves" (Crane & Schulhof, 1970, p.460). In the case of the French Canadians this was rooted in a desire for inclusion and to be a part of American society (Crane & Schulhof, 1970,

p.460). In the USA it has been documented that some immigrants who Anglicize or adopt English names do so exclusively when communicating with English speakers, whereas they continue to use their ethnic names within their own community (Aceto, 2002, p.603). This desire can be related to the parallels seen between being part of the in-group and having access to power. This was what motivated Sun-hee, a Korean who immigrated to the United States at the age of 4 and refused an English name change (Thompson, 2006, p.185). She asserted that the reason that she refused a name change was rooted in the pride and cultural allegiance she felt towards her name (Thompson, 2006, p.192). However, the pronunciation of her name resulted in many calling her Sunny, and therefore the "pronunciation of her name resembled an already existing Anglophone name, though it was spelled ethnically" (Thompson, 2006, p.193). This resulted in her effortless negotiation into American social networks. Her existing name which could be repurposed into an Americanized name provided her with the power to negotiate her identity and to use it strategically to her advantage (Thompson, 2006, p.195). This was the impetus for many immigrants who changed their names. For the Greek and Cypriot immigrants in Australia, changing their names allowed them to avoid being labeled as "Greek, Cypriot or immigrants" by the Australians. By Anglicizing their names they were able to negotiate their membership into Australian society (Brockhall and Liu, 2011, p.19).

As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the transformation of ethnic names into Anglicized ones can be attributed to a variety of factors. One of the main reasons that was emphasized in various studies, is this inherent notion that a change in name was simply part of the immigration process. It was seen as simply a natural step in facilitating integration for immigrants (Thompson, 2006, p.182). For the immigrants described in the study this could be in order to facilitate integration within the workforce. This was the case for several Korean

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students in Thompson's (2006) study who argued that as an American it was "proper to have American names at workplaces" (Thompson, 2006, p.183). For some it was simply seen as an unofficial method of Americanization (Fermaglich, 2015, p.35). This was the rationale provided by many Korean born students and parents who felt that they did not experience any feelings of loss in changing their names, as it was simply "a natural response to living in the United States (Thompson, 2006, p. 182). For Kelly, the Korean American interviewed in Thompson's study, she stated that her name change was key in facilitating her identity construction as an American (Thompson, 2006, p.201).

The push for Anglicization often happens within English as a Second Language (ESL) classes for immigrants. In an article that looks at ESL programs in Canada, the author Yan Guo, uncovers that some ESL language instructors encourage Anglicization of ethnic names as they may be "more likely to find employment in the Canadian labour market" (Y. Guo, 2013, p.35). One administrator informing the students that some take all necessary steps needed to facilitate their integration including, the changing of their names (Y. Guo, 2013, p.35). In this statement, it is exemplified the extent to which Anglicizing one's ethnic name becomes fundamental to negotiating membership into Canadian society. Not all immigrants however, accept the process or practice of name change uncritically. There is evidence that immigrants resist and refuse to change their names as well.

(3) <u>Reasons for Resistance and Refusal</u>

Just as the reasons for name changing vary, similarly the reasons that immigrants have for maintaining their ethnic names vary. In the case of the Korean ESL immigrants in the LINC class study by Tae-Young Kim, ethnic name maintenance amongst certain immigrants was due to the fact that these particular immigrants had limited need and opportunity to participate in the

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new society (Kim, 2007, p.122). In this case, two of the interviewees were senior citizens and did not see the purpose of changing their names so late in their lives, as they did not know how many years they had left, and socialized within their Korean circle of friends and were not attempting to join the Canadian labour market. They did not see how changing their names would have any merit for them (Kim, 2007, p.122). This was similar for Sung-Yeon, the third interviewee in that study who did not change her name. She stated that her name attached her to her Korean identity and family kinship, and in regards to those Canadians who would perhaps have difficulty with her name she stated that, "it's their problem" (Kim, 2007, p.123). The study also emphasized how Sung-Yeon did not really have the need to create Canadian societal connections as she was focused on rearing her children, while her husband served as their "liaison officer to the external Canadian society" (Kim, 2007, p.122). Another instance of name change refusal was in the case of Sun-hee, which was articulated earlier in this paper. In Sun-hee's case, she described her decision to maintain her name as rooted in her cultural pride (Thompson, 2006, p.192). It must be noted that her sister whose name is distinctly ethnic, changed her name. However, Sun-hee herself described her name as allowing her the fluidity to navigate different social groups that were American and Korean. She was known as Sunny for the Americans and Sun-hee for her Korean community. The fact that her name was similar to a dominant American name played a significant role in her decision to maintain her name (Thompson, 2006, p.192). Though there is very little reported on the resistance towards Anglicization, this does not mean that people do not refuse to Anglicize their names nor feel bad when Anglicizing their names.

(4) <u>Explanatory Frameworks used to analyze the Anglicization of Names:</u>

It was mentioned earlier that there has been little research within immigration and settlement studies that has focused specifically on the Anglicization of immigrant/ethnic names

and name changing practices of immigrants. Within this limited body of work, several studies are empirical in nature, and do not offer an explanatory framework. Studies that have used an explanatory framework, have used the following theoretical concepts: Pierre Bourdieu's ideas of "Linguistic Habitus, cultural and symbolic capital". In addition, scholar Yan Guo uses the "deficit model of difference". In the next few paragraphs, I will attempt to explain these explanatory frameworks conceptually as well as describe how they are used by specific researchers.

Deficit Model of Difference

The "deficit model of difference" (S. Guo, 2015, p.11) or the 'deficit/subtraction model' (Y. Guo, 2009, p.51) has been acknowledged in the literature as a way in which the knowledge of immigrants, as well as their names and accents has been constructed as "inferior" and "invalid" (S. Guo, 2015, p.11), and in need of repair (Y. Guo, 2009, p.44). Scholar Yan Guo in her 2009 study *Racializing immigrant professionals in an employment preparation ESL program* observed English as a Second Language (ESL) classes of immigrants to Canada and interviewed both students and instructors from the program (Y. Guo, 2009, p.42). In her study, she recognized that many immigrant-serving organizations employ what she terms a 'deficit perspective" (Y. Guo, 2009, p.42). This perspective conflates immigrant differences with deficiency (S. Guo, 2015, p.11). Noting that difference is discouraged throughout the ESL program, Guo notes that multilingualism is in fact discouraged as it believed to detract from the English learning process (Y. Guo, 2009, p.48). Similarly, through the observation of these ESL classes, Guo noted that the ESL Program also encouraged "accentless proficiency in English" (Y. Guo, 2009, p.48). Immigrants with accents in the class were coached to reduce their accent as they were informed by the facilitators that employers negatively perceive candidates with

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"foreign" accents (Y. Guo, 2009, p.44). Due to their accented pronunciation, they were viewed by the ESL facilitators as inferior and had to acquire the superior native accent in order to be seen as competent (Y. Guo, 2009, p.45). Finally, Guo observed that in addition to the accented pronunciation being seen as unsatisfactory, the ESL facilitators also recommended that students drop their ethnic names in lieu of an Anglicized name (Y. Guo, 2009, p.47). The rationale they provided students was that employers are known to associate ethnic names with negative stereotypes (Y. Guo, 2009, p.47). In this way Y. Guo states that the deficit model of difference can be used to explain the Anglicization of ethnic names. Throughout her study, she notes that any marker of immigrant cultural difference, from the tone of an immigrant's voice to their ethnic name is discouraged by the ESL facilitators (Y. Guo, 2009, p.44). One ESL facilitator informed her that they tell students that they must "think like a Canadian" rather than thinking "like a Chinese, an Indian or Pakistani, or Iranian, or Iraqi" (Y. Guo, 2009, p.49). According to the program, if immigrants think, speak, or possess characteristics such as names of their own ethnic background rather than one that conforms to the dominant "Canadian" culture, they are in need of repair. In this way their own culture is constructed as deficient (Y. Guo, 2015, p.47).

Cultural and Symbolic Capital

In his 1986 article titled, *The forms of Capital* Bourdieu states that capital can exist in various forms including economic, cultural and social capital (p.3). For Bourdieu (1986), "cultural capital can exist in three forms", the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state (p.5). The embodied state is not instantaneous and cannot be gifted, or purchased like money (Bourdieu, 1986, p.5). Instead, it can only be acquired. It can be seen through "the pronunciations characteristic of a class or region" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). "It declines and dies with its bearer" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). Cultural capital is described as

dependent on one's social class and position in society (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). As cultural capital is mostly inherited, its method of transmission is disguised in comparison to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6).

In Riki Thompson's (2006) article *Bilingual, Bicultural, and Binomial Identities: Personal Names Investment and the Imagination in the Lives of Korean American,* she explains that immigrants change their names in order to obtain cultural capital that will allow them to negotiate membership in different social networks (Thompson, 2006, p.190). The idea of investment in a name is important to immigrants as it is seen as an investment in a social identity, which allows for "access into corresponding communities of practice" (Thompson, 2006, p.190). She provides the example of Sun-hee, a Korean immigrant whose English-sounding Korean name gives her the flexibility to navigate American and Korean social circles with ease (Thompson, 2006, p.192).

Symbolic capital is "accumulated prestige or honour" (Thompson, 1991, p.14). Cultural capital can be symbolic in that it is not transmitted like economic capital but can yield material and symbolic benefits (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). Symbolic capital has also been referenced in the literature as a rationale for the Anglicization of immigrant/ethnic names. In Yan Guo's article *Language Policies and programs for Adult Immigrants in Canada*, she references Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital. She states, "an English name serves as symbolic capital" (Y. Guo, 2013, p.35). In Thompson's (2006) article on the negotiation of identities amongst Korean Americans, she also suggests that names can serve as symbolic capital for ethnic minorities who want to reinvent themselves to negotiate inclusion into the contemporary American social sphere (Thompson, 2006, p.184). She invokes Bourdieu arguing that names are social capital and can be used as "social currency" (Thompson, 2006, p.14). In another study, Tae-Young Kim who

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interviewed Korean ESL students in a LINC classroom, determined that the students changed their names as they believed that English names would provide them with the "cultural capital" they sought (Kim, 2007 p.128).

Linguistic Habitus

Bourdieu has written extensively on how the power of language is connected to social institutions, which govern a person's behaviour (Thompson, 1991, p.14). In his 1991 book *Language and Symbolic Power*, Bourdieu argues that language rarely operates as a sole method of communication but rather functions as an economic exchange or a symbolic exchange of power (Bourdieu, 1991b, p.502). He emphasizes that the power of language is enjoyed by the spokesperson, who possesses the correct social position and agency to access this "language of power" (Bourdieu, 1991a, p.109).

Language exerts its power within what Bourdieu calls "a field" (Thompson, 1991, p.17). A field is a "structured space of positions" (Thompson, 1991, p.14). It is a social space in which people live and interact, in order to negotiate different forms of "capital" (Thompson, 1991, p.14)[3]. It is in these "fields" that individuals develop a particular "habitus" which govern their behaviour so that they are able to maintain these various forms of capital (Thompson, 1991, p. 12).

These dispositions can be shared by individuals who are from the same social background, such as those from a working–class background. They may share the same dispositions with each other but have completely different dispositions from those of a middle-

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[3] These forms of capital are interrelated and include economic capital, which can be in the form of money (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 3). It also includes cultural capital, which can be inherited through cultural experiences from one's family as well as cultural goods like books and machines (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 3). Finally, Bourdieu describes social capital, which is defined by the number of social connections one makes and may yield economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 3). These forms of capital are explained further in the following section.

class background (Thompson, 1991 p.12). The habitus orients the actions of individuals so that they behave in a way that is appropriate for the social field in which they are operating (Thompson, 1991, p.12).

Habitus extends to all actions of individuals including linguistic exchange. Bourdieu uses another term "linguistic habitus" to describe the various dispositions that govern communication in different contexts, including the amount of agency held by the speaker in comparison to the person on the receiving end of the linguistic exchange (Thompson, 1991, p.18). It also allows for the negotiation of various form of capital including, economic and cultural capital (Thompson, 1991, p.18).

Abidun Goke-Pariola (1993)[4] uses Bourdieu's concept of the linguistic Habitus to explain the ways in which, under colonial rule, Nigerians were forced to acquire a superior linguistic habitus by acquiring English, as it was the language of the colonizer and therefore provided symbolic power for those who spoke the language and were associated with the culture (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.223). This occurred through the Anglicization of names amongst the Nigerians who began to adopt English names (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.234). This was done in an attempt to demonstrate symbolic power (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.234).

SECTION 2: Research Methods

The main purpose of this research paper is to discover some of the motivations behind the Anglicization of ethnic names within the 2nd generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto.

In this section of the MRP, I will argue why qualitative research methods more generally, and autoethnography more specifically was deemed as the most appropriate research tool for this research project. I will begin by defining autoethnography. I will then elaborate on the various

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[4] According to Goke-Pariola (1993), a scholar who uses Bourdieu to describe the legacy of Euro-American Colonialism in African society, "language is not simply a means of communication, but rather, also a medium of power" (p.219).

types of autoethnographies and the advantages and disadvantages of using autoethnography as a research tool. Finally, I will describe my rationale for authoethnographic use in this MRP. Qualitative research methods involve an "interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world…[and qualitative researchers] study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011, p.3). Several research tools are used in qualitative studies. Among these, case studies, oral narratives, face to face interviews, and document analysis are most commonly used (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.3-4). In comparison, very few research scholars choose autoethnography as a research tool (Anderson, 2010, p.2).

As argued by Ellis (2004) and Holman Jones (2005), "autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)" (as cited in Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). The autoethnographic method involves stories written by the researcher in which they locate themselves and those they encounter as the focus of the study, writing evocative narratives (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Autoethnography combines aspects of both autobiography and ethnography, by using the author's *personal* experiences to highlight broader *cultural* experiences (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Personal narratives allow the researcher to comment on aspects of their personal lives that connect to the broader cultural context in which they live (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011). This is a form of reflexive writing that allows the researcher to analyze their own life through a collection of stories and artifacts (Ellis and Bochner, 1996, p.34). Autoethnography has been used to raise awareness, bringing otherwise silenced issues to the forefront, and to legitimize the author's personal experiences (Anderson, 2010, p.6).

Several scholars have argued that autoethography arose out of the need to resist colonial methods of ethnographic qualitative study (Conquergood 1991, Ellis 2007, and Riedmann 1993), in which the researcher was detached from the community under study. These scholars viewed members of the culture in an almost exploitative manner, solely for "monetary and/or professional gain" (as cited in Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). It is also argued that autoethnography may have resolved some of the problems associated with earlier forms of ethnographic research. In earlier forms of ethnographic research, the role of the researcher as a social actor, one who serves as an agent within the research process with the power to influence the cultural group under study, or the power to be influenced by the group under study, was often downplayed (Anderson, 2010, p.4). In addition, the connections between the readers and the subject matter were often ignored. Autoethnography fulfills these gaps present in prior ethnographic studies. As a meaningful and evocative form of research, it acknowledges the role of the researcher as a social actor as well as allows the researcher to establish an emotional connection between the reader and the subject matter (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011).

There are various types of autoethnographies, based on the amount of emphasis that is placed on the "study of others", "the researcher" and/or the "researcher's interaction with others" (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Accordingly, there are at least 9 types of autoethnographies: indigenous/native ethnographies, narrative ethnographies, reflexive/dyadic interviews, reflexive ethnographies, layered accounts, interactive interviews, co-constructed narratives, community autoethnographies and personal narratives (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). For the purposes of this study I will be using the personal narrative autoethnographic method, where the emphasis is primarily on "the researcher" and/or the "researcher's interaction with others".

Autoethnography has been championed for use in sociology by Carolyn Ellis and Arthur

Bochner (Anderson, 2010, p.3), who have published the book *Composing Ethnography*. In this book is a compilation of autoethnographies by prominent scholars. Some scholars use autoethnography to write about illness as is the case of Lisa M. Tillmann-Healy, who writes about her struggle with Bulimia (Ellis and Bochner, 1996, p.22). Another author, David Payne, writes about the isolation of factory work (Ellis and Bochner, 1996, p.22). Autoethnographies have been used in a variety of disciplines. A good example is the article by Ghosh and Wang (2003) written for a special issue of the Canadian Geographer, which focused on Canada-Asia Transnationalism. This particular article linked transnationalism and identity to geography. This shows the versatility and malleability of autoethnography as a research tool which can be used in a variety of disciplines.

There are several advantages to conducting autoethnographical research. For instance, sharing personal stories about oneself can be therapeutic for authors as they are able to analyze their own experiences and make sense of their own lives (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). It also allows the author to reflect and question their experiences in relation to the broader social context in which they live. In addition, this research tool has the ability to validate the experiences of the readers who may have also endured similar experiences (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Finally, authoethnography can raise awareness about issues that have been traditionally silenced (Anderson, 2010, p.6).

Autoethnographical research however may also have some disadvantages. For instance, some scholars, Anderson (2006), Atkinson (1997) and Gans (1999) argue that autoethnographers use "supposedly biased data" (as cited in Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). Since autoethnographers must rely on their memory in order to recall events and lifelong experiences, they must report their experiences reliably. Tullis Owen et al. (2009), however state that

"memory is fallible" and it is impossible for a person to report on an incident from memory exactly as it occurred (as cited in Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011) and so their credibility is questioned.

This form of research is marginalized by some social science organizations due to their "rejection of traditional social science values and styles of writing" (Anderson, 2010, p.6), with complaints of being "too artful" and less scientific as they typically conduct less fieldwork than a traditional ethnographic study (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). Another disadvantage is that autoethnographies have the potential to become an "author-saturated text" (Anderson, 2010, p.13). This may happen if the author becomes self-absorbed in their story without analyzing the social world in which their actions take place (Anderson, 2010, p.14). If there is a lack of analysis, the study may be at risk of losing its "sociological merit" (Anderson, 2010, p.13).

One of the main aims of this research project was to shed light on a specific social phenomenon, i.e., Anglicization of names. For this research study, autoethnography was deemed as an appropriate research tool for the following reasons.

As a member of the 2nd Generation Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora, I am what has been described by Patricia and Peter Adler as an 'opportunistic" complete member researcher (CMR), as opposed to a "convert" CMR **(**as cited in Anderson, 2010, p.8). I am able to position myself as an insider as a share "cultural membership with the group under investigation" (Pelias, 2011, p.662). For the purposes of my research, this means that I as a researcher have been born into the community group that I am attempting to analyze, rather than having converted from a researcher into a participant along the way (Anderson, 2010, p.8)[5]. In addition to being a member of the Sri Lankan Tamil Community, I am also a researcher and a member of the social science

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[5] This has been the case for some researchers who through their observation of religious groups have subsequently obtained membership with the group under study (Anderson, 2010, p.8).

community, and so my experiences are analyzed through a social science lens (Anderson, 2010, p.8).

My positionality also allows for personal realizations. This is important because personal realizations expose the reader to the perspectives of the writer. Upon reading about my personal experience with the Anglicization of my name, the reader may also feel that they too share a personal connection to my story. When realizing that this is an issue faced by many, they may then support my perspective, spurring social action (Pelias, 2011, p.660).

As was mentioned in the introduction and the literature review, Anglicization of immigrant names is a "silenced problem" that requires awareness and discussion. I felt that this would be a suitable research tool as personal autoethnographies are a space where an author can "scream" about issues that have been taken for granted, challenging topics that are traditionally silenced (Ellis and Bochner, 1996, p.25) which is exactly what is necessary for my MRP. I chose this research tool because it legitimizes my issue with the Anglicization of 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil names, a phenomenon that I have repeatedly encountered during my life and in my interactions with others. When I initially approached others with the topic for this research project, academics, as well as fellow members of the 2nd generation Tamil diaspora trivialized this topic. Through an autoethnography I will be able to counter this tendency, bringing this issue to the forefront. Through an autoethnography I am able invite readers into my thoughts allowing them to emotionally resonate with my experiences (Anderson, 2010, p.6). Through the self-reflexive nature of an autoethnography I can explore how the anglicization of my own name intersects with broader cultural experiences within the 2nd generation Tamil community here in Toronto. Finally, I believe that my personal narrative will evoke emotions among the readers and propel them into social action (Anderson, 2010, p.13).

This autoethnography consists of several short stories. I have mostly used my own experiences with the Anglicization of my name. I have also drawn upon some incidences that have occurred to those whom I know. I have either witnessed these occur firsthand or have had them recounted to me. Due to the nature of the topic, it is important to understand the specific ways in which names are changed. In order to maintain confidentiality and to protect the identity of those whom I have encountered, I have changed their names to equivalent Tamil names and Anglicized variations as suitable for the short anecdote being described.

SECTION 3: Autoethnography

I don't even remember when it started. When did I begin to have two versions of my first name? Now it all seems so natural. It must have begun when I was in Kindergarten. I was known as Archana (*Are-cha-nuh)* at home to my Sri Lankan Tamil family and friends, but the moment I stepped out of that world and into the realm of school and classmates suddenly my transnational identity would take on a Canadian twist. I would transform into my Canadian self (*Arr-chān-na*). This was not an identity I took on myself but being only four years old and a shy student, I did not want to seem out of place and conformed to the anglicized pronunciation I was given by my teachers and this continued throughout my elementary schooling. At the time, I did not see anything wrong with how it was being pronounced. I had come to believe that my name was indeed (*Arr-chān-na*). It was simple. My parents were (*as usua*l) pronouncing things wrong in their Sri Lankan accent. People knew me as *Arr-chān-na*. My mom would come to school and ask for *Are-cha-nuh* and my teachers would scrunch up their faces and think for a few moments before saying "Ohhh, *you mean Arr-chān-na, she's right over here."* It was almost as if they were trying to translate from her Sri Lankan accent to English. But that was not possible, Archana could not ever be an English name, yet it took on this quality. The ability for it to

change depending on circumstance. Having two different pronunciations did not seem odd for me. It was the same for all my friends. Abirami seamlessly became Abby with almost no one even knowing her full name by the end of our schooling years. Keerthana (*Keer-thuh-na)* became known as (*Ker-thānna),* Sangita (*Sun-gee-tha*) became (*Sān-gee-da),* Bharathi, the name of the famous Tamil poet, and a name that was shared by many of my classmates would morph into (*Ba-wrath-thi) or Buh-ratty* from (*Baa-ruh-thee).*

Looking back on my school days I see many instances where my teachers did not even attempt to pronounce our Tamil names. Taking attendance for a new class was one of the first ways our names would change. I can distinctly remember my teachers coming to a Tamil name and saying, *"Yeah… I'm never going to get that. Can I call you Archie instead?"* and penciling that new name onto the attendance where it would be reprinted for the rest of the year. I would see the terror on the faces of students with ethnic names as soon as a supply teacher walked in. That would mean that the teacher would butcher our names in front of the entire class. Total humiliation. As the teacher moved down the list, we would cringe in anticipation. I would sink lower and lower into my seat. Why didn't I have an easier name to pronounce? Why did my parents name me such a different name? It was always causing problems. *"Wow, that's a tough one*, *Ar-Ar-Ar-CAHN-NA SEEVA-SEEVA…sorry I won't get that*."

I can distinctly remember one teacher I had in the 4th grade. She asked me what my name meant. I said, *"It is a type of prayer or offering"*. She countered, *"No. Don't you know what your name means?! It means spider. It comes from the word Arachnid."* I remember being stunned. My name did NOT mean spider. I was certain of that, even at that age. I remember the numerous trips I took with my parents to the local temple near our home. I would hear the priests call for

Archanai slips for those doing the Archana puja. I knew exactly what my name meant and it had nothing to do with spiders.

As I got older, I became increasingly uncomfortable with being called *Arr-chān-na*. I didn't like how it sounded. It was so nasal. Archana was a beautiful name and I loved it. When I would travel to India on vacations I had seen a sweets shop called *Archana Sweets*. My mom would tell me that I was so sweet and that's why the shop shared the same name as me. I wanted to be known as *Are-cha-nuh* but I had gone so many years as *Arr-chān-na,* that it became my identity. I remember receiving a science award in the 6th grade and on the plaque, which I still have, my name is spelt as *Archanna*. I thought to myself. "*Now I'm Arch-anna. Who was this Anna? That isn't me*". When I asked my teacher about it, she said she thought my name was Arch-anna. This wasn't me. I didn't like it. I wanted them to change it. I wanted them to reprint it. I wanted to once again be *Are-cha-nuh* as I was at home.

When I graduated elementary school I went to a high school away from my friends that was out of my area. I was exhausted with living this dual identity and thought that this was a perfect opportunity to start fresh with a new identity, using the name my parents had given me. I decided that I would henceforth be known as *Are-cha-nuh* everywhere and in all my interactions. I introduced myself to my new friends and teachers with this name. I found it hard at first as my mouth would instinctively begin to pronounce my name in the anglicized way it had for the prior 10 years of my elementary schooling. I had to make a conscious effort. I was a little embarrassed at first of the ethnic pronunciation, extremely conscious of how it sounded, but with each subsequent introduction with new classmates, I gained confidence and soon got over it. Whenever teachers would try to pronounce it differently, I would stop and correct them.

I soon found that this effort was something that I uniquely practiced. Meanwhile, all my Tamil friends would pronounce their names in a different way to make it more English-sounding. I remember meeting this boy in my grade 9 class. He said his name was *Praanavaan*. I had heard this name before. I had other friends who had this name. He said it different. He drew it out long and made it sound like an English name. I remember asking him if his name was *Pra-nuh-vun*. He gave me a look of exasperation and responded with, "*The way you are saying it is the **brown** way. I'm saying it the **white** way.*" I remember feeling irritated with him. He said brown like it was something to be disgusted of. My fourteen-year-old self was enraged at this boy. My best friend still remembers my retort. "*There is no brown way or white way. There is only the right way.*" It was the first time I had heard of people using the word **brown** to describe themselves. My new high school was located in a densely populated immigrant area, flanked by apartment buildings on all sides, where the majority of the population consisted of recent immigrants. I started to understand that being perceived as "brown" was seen as deficient and that was one reason for this Anglicization of Tamil names. It was a way to distance oneself from this deficient culture.

As I navigated high school, I started to learn that almost all the Tamil kids changed how they pronounced their names. I found it so odd that amongst ourselves we would refer to each other using these mangled names that completely changed the meanings of our names as well as our identities, especially when we had such beautiful names to begin with.

When I got into University, I became even more cognizant of this phenomenon. As I made more friends and interacted with Professors, I noticed how my friends changed their names even more in the presence of non-Tamils. They would introduce themselves using these Anglicized names that often left me shocked. These had become their identity. In my biology

lab, I met a Tamil girl and she introduced herself to me like this, "*My name is Sah-han-naa…like Banana.*" Sahana is such a popular and easy name. I couldn't believe she would make it sound like Banana so as to make it easier for others to pronounce.

Many people distinctly remember how I correct others when they mispronounce my name. I remember in the 3rd year of my undergrad, I was in a meeting with a Professor, and she was introducing me to the team I was to work with. She kept pronouncing my name as (*Arr-chān-na*). I respectfully told her that it was actually pronounced *Are-cha-nuh*. She tried again, "*Arr-chān-na*". Again, I responded slowly "*It's Are-cha-nuh.*" I remember the look of shock on her face as I corrected her. Later my research team laughed at me in the lab saying that I should have just left it. They were also Tamil and used anglicized variations of their name. Why had I tried to teach our Professor? Why was this so important for me? I just felt like I did not want to give up on my identity for the convenience of others. In a way my resolve to pronounce people's names as they were intended, based on their wishes, even influenced my Tamil friends around me to relax in the company of friends and to refer to each other using their non-Anglicized names.

I do a lot of community service with young Tamil Youth and I notice that this is a problem that is not going away. As in school, many Tamils become embarrassed by their experiences with teachers and authority figures changing their names in front of the entire class and so many young Tamils just don't care. When I ask young people their names, they say it once and when I ask them whether my pronunciation is correct, they say things like "*close enough*", "*it doesn't matter*" and in many cases "*call me whatever*". There is this complacency—I thought. They settle. They don't want to suffer through the embarrassment of their long last names and "unusual" first names and so they simply give up and do not care about their names

anymore. Many of my friends resent the fact that their last names are so long, some going as far as shortening it for the purposes of social media and resumes.

On several occasions in the past several years I have spoken to my Tamil friends regarding this topic and they have shared so many experiences with me, many highlighting this inherent power imbalance between those who anglicize the names of Tamils, creating this space in which those who are Tamil feel as though they cannot correct the other person, often finding it easier to simply go along with the new name. One of my friends recently related a story to me about her experience with one of her Professors. Whenever he gets to her name on the roll call, he begins to laugh and much to her annoyance cries "*God help me with this one!*" before calling out her name. This has happened for several classes. She is also conscious of the fact that he does indeed attempt to pronounce everyone else's last name except for hers. She finds this slightly disrespectful as his name is "not the easiest to pronounce either" but she does her best to say his name.

This happens within the workforce as well. My friend Lakshmi has a co-worker who continually pronounces her name incorrectly. On one occasion he decided to call her *Luscious*. This made her feel very uncomfortable but she felt as though she could not say anything because he was her superior at work and she was new to the job.

Another friend of mine, her name was Janani and whenever she introduced herself to new friends at school, she would get responses from other students asking to refer to her as Jessica. I remember her annoyance. She felt insulted by the fact that people just thought they could re-name her. However, when she later began to work at a fast-food restaurant, I remember her telling me how one of her co-workers approached her nicely and explained that he was genuinely

very bad with names and asked if he could call her J. Since he had asked her so nicely, she consented.

This is not unique to the 2nd generation of Tamil youth. As I was growing up many of my friend's parents who ran businesses or were involved in real estate would change their names so that it was more English sounding. In some cases, they would adopt completely new English names. In the same way, many of my friends that are entering the workforce now change their names so that they are more English-sounding. In fact, another friend of mine purposely anglicizes his name at work and when I inquired as to why this was the case, he stated that he noticed a significant difference when using his anglicized variant. At sales jobs he would have, his co-workers would greet him with increased warmth and enthusiasm when he used the shortened anglicized version of his name. In this case, he chose this name. In some cases, they aren't even chosen. A friend of mine told me of his colleague at work who is Tamil. His name is fairly short but since his boss does not want to bother with learning his name he refers to my friend's colleague simply as the first letter of his name 'A'.

All of these incidents, as well as my own experiences have made me question this normalization with regards to the Anglicization of Tamil names amongst the 2nd generation. Why does this occur? Why do people feel the need to anglicize their names? In the words of my disapproving grandmother whenever she encounters other Sri Lankan Tamils with anglicized versions of their names, *"It cannot be that our names are long. We pronounce plenty of long European names. Why can't they pronounce a Sri Lankan name? Why do our people shorten their names?"* This is a question that remains unanswered, a question I ponder regularly whenever I meet or interact with other Tamils. It is something that has become so commonplace and normalized that it is not even given a second thought. This question has propelled me into

exploring this issue through an in-depth analysis of the available literature in order to better understand the potential rationale behind these name changes as this is not a phenomenon unique to our community, but one that has happened historically to various other immigrant communities in North America (Crane and Schulhof, 1970; Thompson, 2006 & Souto-Manning, 2007).

SECTION 4: Analysis and Discussion

In this section of the paper, I will attempt to present an analysis of the autoethnography (see section 3). The reader may recall that the autoethnography began as I attempted to recollect instances where I first encountered someone from the "outside", someone who was in a position of power, addressing me by a different name. Even though I was a young child at the time, I was aware that our teachers "*did not even attempt to pronounce our Tamil names*". It seems as though either consciously and/or unconsciously, I began to accept this reality.

> *This was not an identity I took on myself... I did not want to seem out of place and conformed to the anglicized pronunciation I was given by my teachers and this continued throughout my elementary schooling.*

From that awareness also came this realization that there was a need for me to "*change depending on circumstance*". Despite my apparent acceptance of this normalized practice of name change, it hurt, especially when educators (people whom I was socialized to respect and perhaps even revere) insisted on telling me that my name meant spider when it most definitely did not. As I recall,

> I can distinctly remember one teacher I had in the 4th grade. She asked me what my name meant. I said, "*It is a type of prayer or offering*". She countered, "*No. Don't you know what your name means?! It means spider. It comes from the word Arachnid.*

Perhaps it is from here there grew a desire to oppose such external imposition, and I began to question the various anglicized versions of my name, "*Who was this Anna?*" as I had been

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imagined by my teacher. *"That isn't me"*. I began to mull over these changes and this resulted in a conscious decision I made once in high school, *"I decided that I would henceforth be known as Are-cha-nuh everywhere and in all my interactions"*. To my surprise however, I found that *"all my Tamil friends around me would pronounce their names in a different way to make it more English-sounding"*. In an attempt to make sense of it all, I embarked upon a journey to understand the processes and practices of Anglicization with regards to immigrant names. In doing so, I ask reflexively: *"Why is this so important for me?"*

While analyzing my autoethnography, both explanatory frameworks (please see section 1 of the MRP) seem appropriate albeit in different yet relational ways. I will first discuss how parts of my own experiences and those of my friends and fellow community members can be understood using the "deficiency model", and then I will attempt to discuss these experiences using Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'Social and Cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.3) and 'Linguistic Habitus' (Thompson, 1991, p.18).

Multiculturalism Creating an Inherent 'Deficiency Model'

It has been pointed out earlier (see section 1), that despite the conscious adoption of a multicultural policy, anglicization of immigrant names especially in the Canadian educational system seems to be a normalized practice. Observing anglicization of student names in ESL classes, scholar Yan Guo (2015) argued that this practice is a deliberate process in order to create a deficiency model of difference (Y. Guo, 2015). A process through which the innate knowledge and cultural dispositions of immigrants (such as their own language, accents and names) are constructed as inferior (S. Guo, 2015, p.11) and therefore in need of replacement, repair and adjustment (Y. Guo, 2009, p.44).

As it has been highlighted throughout the autoethnography, while operating "within a bilingual framework" (Y. Guo, 2015, p.44) with the assistance of its well-oiled institutional machineries (e.g., schools, universities) and agents (e.g., teachers, professors, people in position of power and control), this practice enables to maintain a "fundamentally British [societal] character that is regarded as Canadian" (Y. Guo, 2015, p.46).   For them to ensure the maintenance of a collective Canadian identity, and in the name of 'integration', it is expected that the immigrant will somehow substitute their own mother tongue with either English or French.

The deficiency model is however not unique to adult ESL classes in Canada. As has been highlighted earlier in section 2, Myer (2008)[6] noted how through various socialization practices adopted in schools, children of immigrants soon accept that their culture is inferior. In Covello's story, when his father protested his last name change, young Leonard "sided with the teacher and responded, "It's more American"" (Meyer, 2008, p.22). In that instance, Covello begins to see himself as Covello rather than his given name Coviello. He begins to internalize this idea early on.

Similar to Covello's experiences, in the autoethnography I have mentioned my experiences in elementary school, where my teachers would take the liberty to Anglicize and shorten student's names. Also, under the influence of my teachers, I had begun questioning my parent's pronunciation of my name. This is despite the fact that I knew that my parents

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[6] Myer (2008) examined the story of Leonard Covello (cultural pluralist advocate and educator) who arrived in the United States from Italy at the age of 9. He went through the American educational system and upon reflection of his school years, he felt that he could not recall any mention of his culture. His teacher took the liberty to Anglicize his first name from Leonardo to Leonard and his last name from Coviello to Covello without consulting his parents (Meyer, 2008, p.22).

themselves had been the ones to name me and therefore would be the only ones who truly knew the correct pronunciation of my name[7].

When students witness their immigrant parents being questioned on their knowledge like this repeatedly, by their educators, whom they respect and revere, we can understand how students begin to develop the idea that their parents are consistently pronouncing things wrong in their inferior accent. It is due to these sorts of experiences within the educational system that, Covello states that "we were becoming Americans by learning how to be ashamed of our parents" and their culture (Meyer, 2008, p.22). Similarly, through socialization within the Canadian educational system, as 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamils, we learned to be ashamed of our parents and our culture from a very early age.

In the autoethnography, I describe the experiences of one of my friends whose Professor mispronounces her name without even attempting to correct himself despite making the attempt with other students. As has been highlighted in the narrative, he even calls out the phrase "*God help me with this one!*" every time he comes to her name on the roll call. It seems quite evident by implying that the name was "too difficult", the Professor, who is in a position of power and authority, is in fact practicing the "deficiency model".

 I argue that it is through this denigration of the immigrant identity by the indirect assimilatory practices present within the 'multicultural' educational framework that socializes young 2nd generation Canadian Tamils that this process of deficiency internalization begins.

Social, Symbolic, Cultural and Economic Capital as Benefits of 'Anglicization'

As defined in (Section 1) of my MRP, Bourdieu states that capital can exist in various forms including, cultural/symbolic, social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.3). Cultural

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[7] When my parents would use my name in front of them, my teachers would shake their heads in confusion trying to understand my parent's ethnic pronunciation. Finally they would realize who my parents were referring to and would say things like "*Ohhhhhh….you mean Arr-chan-na?*"

capital[8] depends on one's social class and position in society (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). It cannot be gifted like money but is usually inherited through family (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 6). Cultural capital can be symbolic in that it may not be transmitted like economic capital but can yield material and symbolic benefits (Bourdieu, 1986, p.6). Social capital is described as the number of social connections that one makes that can ultimately result in economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.3). Bourdieu argues that each of these different forms of capital are interrelated and can ultimately yield economic capital in the form of money (Bourdieu, 1986, p.3). These different forms of capital exist within the "social fields[9]" in which we live.

This internalization of deficiency described above, also comes about through the interaction of individuals within the institutions or 'social fields' in which they live. It is within these various social fields such as academia, the labour market and community spaces that 2nd generation Tamils either consciously or unconsciously begin to accept their difference as deficiency. They realize that in order to exist within the different social fields in which they operate, they must alter themselves in order to ensure economic success. In other words, they accept that they must alter their social dispositions and behavior down to the most minute detail in order to dress, speak, and sound like Canadians. This is in order to survive and succeed within Canadian society.

One of the social fields that immigrant's encounter is the educational institution which can mould and encourage certain behavioural dispositions that will ensure their success. Through Yan Guo's study she finds that the students are encouraged through ESL programs to adopt Canadian qualities that will aid them in achieving labour market success, such as "Anglicizing

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[8] Cultural capital exists in three forms, the embodied state, objectified state and the institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1986, p.5). Cultural capital can include cultural experiences, cultural goods like books and machines and educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986, p.3).
[9] Social fields, as defined in (Section 1) of the MRP is a term used to describe the various social spaces and institutions in which people associate, all whilst negotiating the different forms of capital (Thompson, 1991, p. 17).

their names", with one facilitator even stating that they must "think like a Canadian" (Y. Guo, 2015, p.47). The very notion that one must "think like a Canadian" suggests that if one is to think like their own culture they are being "un-Canadian" and through interaction within this field, they begin to see their own culture as deficient (Y. Guo, 2015, p.47).

In Guo's study she states that the ESL facilitator that championed the phrase "think like a Canadian" was themselves an immigrant but had "internalized a colonial mentality" attempting to "colonize the minds and practices of new immigrants" (Y. Guo, 2015, p.47). The ESL program functions as an "assimilation tool" trying to mould immigrants into the 'ideal compliant worker" (Y. Guo, 2015, p.47). By encouraging Anglicization of names, the ESL program is placing the onus on the immigrants to assimilate rather than encouraging strategies to mediate the "systemic marginalization faced by immigrants based on their names" (Y. Guo, 2013, p.35). Students internalize this idea that their culture is deficient and must be suppressed in order to facilitate upward mobility. In this way, there exists this current deficit model of immigrant's cultures that views them as different and inferior (Y. Guo, 2013, p.38).

The quest to obtain the necessary social and cultural capital to facilitate labour market success is a consistent theme seen within the literature and one that can be reflexively analyzed using the autoethnography. In a study on Korean ESL students in a LINC classroom, Se-Jin, Hyun-Jae and Young-Mi, changed their names as they are young and desired to be employed in the Canadian workforce. They believed that in order to obtain "legitimate old-timer membership" in Canadian society they must make symbolic investments (Kim, 2007, p.128). To the Korean immigrants this is seen as a way in which they can lessen their anomie and assimilate within mainstream society (Kim, 2007, p.118). The idea of investment in a name is important to immigrants as it is seen as an investment in a social identity, which allows for "access into

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corresponding communities of practice" (Thompson, 2006, p.190). This idea that one must make symbolic investments in order to gain access into the "corresponding communities of practice" (Thompson, 2006, p.190) is key in understanding why and how the 2nd generation of Sri Lankan Tamils anglicize their names. As described in (Section 3), I mention how several of my friend's parents anglicize their names in their professional lives. They do so in order to appeal to a broader client base. They feel that they must anglicize in order to facilitate economic and social growth by obtaining the necessary cultural capital through possession of English-sounding names.

I argue that this is an additional motivating force for the Anglicizing of Tamil Sri Lankan names in the 2nd generation. When witnessing adults within the community Anglicizing their names in order to navigate various cultural circles with ease, it becomes apparent that they must also anglicize in order to facilitate labour market integration. They come to construct their names as inherently deficient. This is not a phenomenon that is unique to the 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil community here in Toronto. As described in (Section 1), the notion that one must anglicize in order to obtain the social capital necessary in order facilitate economic growth is one that has been deemed necessary by various immigrant groups to North America.

Name changes were seen as a method by which to obtain 'cultural and linguistic capital' (Thompson, 2006, p.190) that would allow for the restructuring of one's group identification (Kang, 1971, p.411). In Kang's (1971) study, Chinese students anglicized their names[10] (Kang, 1971, p.403). He argues that the change of a person's name as mentioned above is symbolic of an identity change (Kang, 1971, p.411). In the case of the Chinese students, the name change correlated with an actual restructuring of a person's identification in a social group, their

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[10] This was the case with the Chinese students at the University of Minnesota, where it was discovered that out of the 262 registered Chinese students at the time, 95 of the students had made the choice to Anglicize their first names (Kang, 1971, p.403).

relationship to their culture, and their patterns of interaction (Kang, 1971, p.411). Through this study it was also determined that those who Anglicized their names, were also able to have increased access to power in the host community, than those who did not change their names (Kang, 1971, p.411). This power associated with group membership.

Anglicization to Maintain One's Habitus

Within the literature as well as through an analysis of the autoethnography we begin to understand that the shedding of ethnic identities according to several immigrants was seen as necessary to access better opportunities and employment (Thompson, 2006, p.201). In these situations, in which immigrants changed their names, out of their desire to negotiate group membership within the host society, and to facilitate their upward mobility, it can be argued that the 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil Youth Anglicize their names in order to maintain their "habitus" within this Canadian "field" that privileges Canadian identity construction in lieu of their own.

Habitus as described by Pierre Bourdieu, is a set of cultural dispositions that individuals develop as a result of the social fields in which they socialize themselves, ultimately in order to maintain the various forms of capital described above (Thompson, 1991, p.12). These dispositions can appear in several forms, the one described in (Section 1) of this MRP is linguistic habitus[11]. Individuals may have several different habitus' depending on the social fields in which they operate. For example, I (Archana Sivakumaran) may have been born and socialized within a Sri Lankan Tamil household and the community ('social field') in which that operates, but when I step out of that sphere I must also operate within several other social fields. This can include academia and the workforce. All of which require different social dispositions.

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[11] Linguistic habitus can be used to describe the various dispositions governing communication depending on context. This includes language structure and the power held by those involved in the linguistic exchange.

These dispositions can be shared by those of the same socioeconomic status (Thompson, 1991, p.12). It orients the actions of an individual so they act accordingly in order to maintain their capital within the social fields in which they operate (Thompson, 1991, p.12).

The maintenance of their habitus is seen as essential to the success of an individual. Without the maintenance of their habitus they will be unable to access various forms of capital. Therefore, linguistic habitus is embodied by the 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamils as they Anglicize their names. In the autoethnography (Section 3) we see how those of the 2nd generation utilize the power that is associated with the maintenance of their linguistic habitus, through the Anglicization of their names. These youth have been seen to Anglicize their names for resumes, as they believe it will aid in their labour market success. This phenomenon is not only present within the 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil community but the idea that there is differential treatment based on names with white names receiving 50% more callbacks for interviews than ethnic names, has actually been observed within a study that linked race to differential treatment in the U.S. labour market (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004, p.991)[12]. Although this study does not look at the rates of immigrant employment for immigrants with non-Anglicized names in North America, it drives home the message that names are racialized and are significant in the hiring process (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004, p.1011).

It is through the real experienced repercussions that arise out of non-maintenance of one's habitus that it becomes necessary for those of the 2nd generation to maintain their habitus for the resultant social and possible economic benefits. This fits in with Bourdieu's idea of cultural and linguistic habitus formulation. Through the systemic valuing of certain identities

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[12] In this study, Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan applied for jobs using resumes with similar qualifications but randomly assigned them either African-American sounding names or White-sounding names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004, p.991). The paper suggested that White names received 50% more callbacks for interviews (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004, p.991).

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over others, comes the creation of social norms that privilege and reward certain identities and languages as superior which is why language and names can be used to display "the social structure that it both expresses and helps to create" (Goke-Pariola, 1993, p.222). In the end they rationalize their name changing as it is seen as the only way to facilitate their upward mobility, because they will be less like the inferiorized 'other', and more like the superior host society. This is the exact scenario described in the article by Shahram Khosravi in which immigrants with Muslim names in Sweden rather than Anglicizing their names, change their names to one of Swedish or European sounding origin, with the expectation that "bearing a 'white' name will be 'rewarded with white privilege'" (Khosravi, 2012, p.78). It is due to these real effects that students in a study that looked at Canadian Newcomer Youth Anglicized their names. They did so in response to cues they received from the "dominant Canadian society about belonging as it relates to citizenship and cultural identity" (Khanlou and Crawford, 2006, p.53). They were able to sense differences in engagement with the Canadian population due to their "newly assigned status" of immigrant and so opted to Anglicize their names in order to cope and minimize their differences, thereby silencing their own identity (Khanlou and Crawford, 2006, p.53). This minimization of difference and lessening of anomie is what motivated the students in my University as well. I argue that that it is through the anglicizing of their names, in order to absorb themselves into the dominant habitus within society, with the hopes of accessing cultural and economic capital, that they affirm their difference and deference to the dominant Canadian culture, in that their own "self-identity" and cultural background "do not belong in Canadian culture" (Khanlou and Crawford, 2006, p.53).

Habitus Maintenance Resulting in Cultural Complacency

The adoption of Anglicization techniques has become so commonplace and normalized within societal institutions in which we operate. Immigrants are encouraged to change their mode of dress, behavior, accent and more. When one must make changes that are this drastic, the slight Anglicization of one's name may seem trivial. This may explain why cultural dispositions such as the pronunciation of a person's name or their ethnic names in general are being Anglicized without even a second thought amongst the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Toronto, particularly amongst the 2nd generation. This struggle to maintain one's habitus does not come without effects. According to a study by Halcón (2001) that looked at the renaming of immigrant children within the American educational system, it is said that this deficiency rhetoric becomes internalized by parents and children who "embrace it, subconsciously and uncritically, without understanding it", the result being that these children and parents begin to develop an "ambivalence toward one's language and culture, and at worst, a self-hate that hinders learning" (as cited in Souto-Manning, 2007, p.403). This perhaps can be used to explain the phenomenon described in my autoethnographic piece in which many Sri Lankan Tamil Youth of the 2nd generation when asked for clarification about their name, respond with an indifferent attitude. Many of the youth I have encountered, upon questioning of their name, instinctively begin to recoil. I recognize this behavior. It is similar to how I felt when I was younger and meeting new people. You have gone through this many times before as teachers and authority figures mispronounce your name again and again, so you begin to dread this linguistic exchange. This is perhaps why many of these youth casually respond to me saying *"call me whatever"*. The Anglicization of their names over their entire lifetime has created this complacency amongst the youth as their culture is positioned as deficient. They have come to experience a loss of their

cultural identity through the deficiency model and now adopt an ambivalent attitude towards their own name, as it is not perceived to yield the sufficient capital necessary for their upward growth. I argue that it is through this deficiency model and subsequent habitus formation that the 2nd generation have now become ambivalent, therefore lacking any interest in their own Tamil names. This is why Anglicization is seen as a non-issue amongst members of the community and academia alike despite the fact that a name is one of the first and most significant aspects of a person's identity.

Conclusion

Names are significant in that they represent a person's social identity and are closely linked to power. Through the scope of articles analyzed for the purposes of this paper, as well as an analysis of the autoethnography, it can be argued that the Anglicization of Tamil names amongst the 2nd generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto arises out of the internalization of deficiency (Y. Guo, 2015) and is done to maintain one's habitus. Through the educational system, as evidenced by the experiences described in the autoethnography, as well as in the study by Guo (2009) in which she observes ESL classes in Canada, it can be understood that members of the 2nd generation, as well as immigrants in general, are taught early on that their cultural dispositions are inferior (S. Guo, 2015, p.11) and must be replaced with that of the superior Canadian host society (Y. Guo, 2009, p.44). Through socialization in various social fields such as academia and within the workforce, 2nd generation Tamils come to see the realized benefits that accrue when Anglicizing their names. A clear example of this is seen in (Section 3) when my friend upon Anglicization of his name at his workplace notices that he is greeted with a heightened level of enthusiasm amongst his colleagues. In this way, they see their culture as inherently deficient. This is what scholar Shibao Guo (2015) describes as this "deficit model of

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difference" (p.11).   Therefore, in order to obtain this social capital that is perceived to yield benefits in terms of labour market integration and success, they shed their deficient ethnic markers in order to attain/maintain this capital. Bourdieu calls this set of dispositions that individuals attempt to maintain as their habitus (Thompson, 1991, p.12). This can include the maintenance of their linguistic habitus through the Anglicization of their names. I argue that it is through the repeated socialization within these fields that construct 2nd generation Tamils and their cultural dispositions as inferior that this additional phenomenon, which is the normalization and complacency towards these Anglicization practices, is constructed.

Within the scope of this MRP, I was unable to gain the firsthand accounts of Anglicization through interviews. However, this topic is one that has been trivialized and taken for granted. Through this autoethnography I hoped to create a space where I would be able to legitimize my issue with the Anglicization of 2nd generation Sri Lankan Tamil names in Toronto. I find that this issue is one that is particularly important to explore as the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Canada are a unique group for the reason that almost of all of the migration for the parents of the 2nd generation youth was due to a struggle that began post-independence and gradually escalated into a civil war that lasted 26 years. The majority of this group fought for a separate ethno-cultural identity. When the children of a community such as this, feels the need to Anglicize their names, it makes us question the idea of Canada as a pluralist nation. Through this autoethnography I want the Anglicization of ethnic names to be pushed forward and into the minds of academics and community members alike, so that further necessary research involving first hand experiences of 2nd generation Tamils can be conducted through interviews and questionnaires in the near future. This can help us to understand the specific effects of Anglicization amongst the 2nd generation. Through this research we may be able to create new

educational policies that champion inclusion and acceptance amongst employers and educators so that members of the 2nd generation do not feel that they must alter their identities in order to attain the social capital necessary for upward mobility.

These topics are critical in understanding the Canadian settlement experience as they can help us to understand the social identity changes that immigrants and the children of immigrants contemplate in order to feel full inclusion in Canadian society. It can also aid us in understanding how integration is facilitated or hampered within Canada. Perhaps it could spearhead new equal hiring policies that ensure more minority representation in higher paying jobs, therefore eliminating the preconceived power imbalance that exists between immigrant communities and charter Canadian communities. Ultimately allowing immigrants and the children of immigrants to feel comfortable within their socio-cultural identity, not having to sacrifice their identities in hopes of better opportunities within Canada.

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