HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY, ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING AND

LANGUAGE POLICY: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF BRAZILIAN STEM

SCHOLARSHIP STUDENTS IN CANADA

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Abstract

This ethnographic case study explores the language learning experiences of several student members of one cohort of Brazil's *Ciência sem Fronteiras* scholarship mobility programme in Canada, in order to gain a deeper understanding of language policy processes in higher education and the subjectivities that they (aim to) produce. It draws on a wide selection of empirical materials including: national and institutional policy documents; media reports and social media commentary; regularly scheduled and impromptu interviews and observations in the language classroom of the focal group of participants; and also interviews with several language instructors and other key stakeholders and administrators. Using Foucault's concepts of governmentality and technologies of the self (1988, 2007), this study considers not only the ways in which these participants were conducted by the language policies embedded within a larger higher education policy assemblage, but also the ways in which these students conducted themselves. A key finding reveals pervasive instrumentalist perspectives and views of language as a conduit for other knowledge playing a dominant role in the programme design and implementation for this particular cohort. However, while these students appeared to be largely sympathetic to skills-based and market-oriented discourses of English language learning, some rejected an exclusively instrumentalist approach and also cultivated more personal or social and/or intercultural perspectives on the relevance of their language learning and flourishing bilingualism, forging their own paths and coming to value the programme on their own terms, within the scant wiggle room permitted by the larger transnational education policy assemblage and its gatekeeping measures.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"…Esse programa veio para fazer a inclusão de quem tem talento. A língua não será um obstáculo que não possa ser ultrapassado" […This program is based on being inclusive of those with talent. Language will not be an obstacle that cannot be overcome] - Aloízio Mercadante, Brazilian Minister of Education, 2012-2015 (Portugal será excluído, 2013, n. p.)

"Canada can build on its strong foundation as the largest venue for English-language training for Brazilian students in order to make further immediate in-roads" (Canadian Senate Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2012, p. 27)

"Oh I learned English. It was great. I was in a new country and new people, a new culture, but related to my profession I didn't learn a lot of new things" (Clara, 2014-09-12: 11:12)

In 2011 the Brazilian federal government launched an ambitious scholarship programme called Ciência sem Fronteiras (CSF) with the stated aim of sending abroad 100,000 post-secondary students majoring in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) related courses of study for one year sojourns. This target was to be spread over the following four years, and in prospective host destinations in the global North such as Canada, various tiers of government and institutions of higher education jockeyed aggressively with their

counterparts in other nations and one another in order to receive these students. However, it soon became apparent that these enrollment numbers were not being met, in large part due to a lack of students in Brazil with existing levels of proficiency to embark on academic studies in a second language such as English (Após reprovação alta, 2013; British Council/DAAD, 2014). In response to this unexpected setback, a diverse collection of stakeholders and other interested parties in Brazil, Canada and many other nations around the world quickly made adjustments to their involvement in the programme by, for example, relaxing their minimum language requirements, adding or promoting accelerated second language training and offering other incentives. The comments quoted above from the Minister of Education in Brazil at that time, and from a Canadian Senate Standing Committee report present two such responses to these changing conditions, with Brazil pledging to rise to the challenge of the obstacle of the second language, and Canada strategizing for increased domestic economic benefit and other advantages.

These comments provide an entry point into the central concerns of this dissertation. Given the rapid development of a dynamic range of explicit and implicit language policies embedded within the larger CSF scholarship programme, I wanted to gain a better understanding of what this involved for students both in terms of their experiences and their formation. To accomplish this, I set out to explore and map the key features of this emergent language policy assemblage or apparatus composed of multiple heterogeneous elements including: modes of perception, rationalities and discourses; strategies, practices and regulations related to second language training and testing; and other institutional, regional and federal legislations, decisions and recommendations

(Foucault, 2007; Li, 2007a; Rose, 1999). To this end I collected numerous policy documents and media reports on the programme from a wide variety of stakeholders, administrators and other interested parties. At the same time, I followed a group of students from one CSF cohort throughout their experiences studying in Canada, conducting regular interviews with them, as well as observing them in their English classes. As the quote from one of these students named Clara (all names are pseudonyms) included above suggests, this assemblage would produce dramatic and often unexpected effects on the intended education and time spent abroad by many of these students. To greater understand both this policy process and its effects, the animating question that guided my fieldwork and subsequent analyses presented in this dissertation was: What kinds of subjectivities do language policies related to the CSF programme in Canada and Brazil (aim to) produce? Using a framework based in Foucault's concepts of governmentality and technologies of the self (1988, 2007) and recent expanded notions of policy in language policy research (McCarty, 2011; Shohamy, 2006; Johnson, 2013a), this ethnographic study considers the experiences of a focal group of nine participants sojourning in Canada as subjects of these policies. As I demonstrate, ad hoc changes and developments to the programme produced a range of unforeseen constraints and opportunities for the students, which, in the case of the members of this focal group became complex sites of tension and struggle over the aims and subsequent outcomes of the programme. Before I introduce the study in sharper detail it is useful to situate it within the larger context and recent literature on internationalization in higher education, student mobility/study abroad, the rising dominance of

English, as well as Brazil and Canada's participation and aspirations within these global processes.

Orientations

  Internationalization of higher education. In recent years, the term internationalization has seen increased use in discussions of international dimensions of tertiary education worldwide (Knight, 2007). However, this usage has not been without its challenges, and definitions of internationalization in higher education have been frequently contested, with tensions between establishment or dominant perspectives and more critical views (e.g., Khoo, 2011). On the establishment side, Knight has proffered a number of often-cited efforts to define the term and its features, with a recent iteration being "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (As cited by Knight, 2007, p. 214). From the critical camp, Sidhu (2006) challenges this definition on the grounds that it casts too wide of a net:

  Its weaknesses lie in its generality and ambiguity. It does not, for example, preclude a largely one-way transmission of knowledge from West-North to East-South. It is unclear what constitutes an international/intercultural dimension, which is as likely to include the trite and superficial as the profound and complex (2006, p. 3).

  A related challenge is the question of whether to make a hard distinction between globalization and internationalization. A common refrain is that globalization can be defined as "the broad economic, technological and scientific trends that directly affect higher education and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world", while on the other hand, internationalization typically

"refers to specific policies and programmes undertaken by governments, academic systems and institutions" and as such, "accommodates a significant degree of autonomy and initiative" (Altbach, 2007, p. 123). Briefly put in other words, this position is that "globalization may be unalterable, but internationalization involves many choices" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 291). However, many critical scholars denounce this "logic of globalization-as-cause and internationalization-as-effect" (Matus & Talburt, 2009, p. 515), arguing that this discursive move downplays the role of specific policies and programmes as active agents and participants in the production of globalization (e.g., Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Khoo, 2011). At the same time, they express concern that by characterizing globalization in this way, considerable ground is ceded through "accepting the neoliberal definition of globalization as world markets" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 15). This acceptance has serious implications in terms of accountability and responsibility. In light of of this ceded ground, critical scholars argue that a discourse of inevitability in reference to globalization often serves to mask the fact that "much use of internationalization is not neutral, but normative" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 15).

As a way beyond this dominant perspective, several critical scholars have proposed tackling the problems of globalization and internationalization by understanding these notions not as monolithic singularities, but as multiple and diverse logics which are distributed unequally around the world (e.g., Beck, 2012; Ong, 2006). Beck helpfully explains: "recognizing multiple globalizations may also encourage us to recognize a multiplicity of internationalization processes, to provide points of theoretical pathways to resist the influences of

instrumentalist rationales" (2012, p. 135). Following this thinking, in this dissertation I focus on mapping the logics and rationalities of internationalization and their contributions to subject formation (e.g., as described in Foucault, 1985, 2005; Weedon, 1987) in one particular delineated case, that of CSF scholarship students in Canada. (However, given its transnational and multi-sited nature, mechanisms of internationalization involved in this case are necessarily assembled from a wide range of international, national, regional and institutional strategies, practices, regulations, reports and discourses, and the boundaries I am drawing here are decidedly porous.) This case presents an interesting challenge or at least ambivalence to monolithic thinking in that, as I will demonstrate, a number of the policies relating to CSF, particularly on the Brazilian side, suggest complex and at times internally contradictory relations with key discourses of globalization, pitting them against one another. To give one brief example which I explore at further length in Chapter 4, the programme design resists the "privatization of state functions but still contribute[s] to the production of entrepreneurial subjects" (De Souza, 2015, n. p.).

While the purpose of this project is largely to explore and expose the rationalities, processes and practices of this particular case through empirical investigation rather than begin by overlaying it with preexisting models or theories, it is useful to briefly outline those most often included in taxonomies on the internationalization of higher education. Four general incentive dimensions for internationalization are typically cited by both establishment and critical scholars – the political, the economic, the academic and the social or cultural (Knight, 2007; Kubota, 2009). However, where these scholars differ is in the weighting, or concerns about the relative power or influence of each dimension.

Altbach (2007) and Knight (2007) concur that the economic dimension is currently much more prevalent than the other two; however, they seem less perturbed about this than many of the critical scholars, who point out that "increasingly universities have become an extension of world trade" and that this single-minded instrumentalism may diminish the historical role and function of higher education (Ong, 2006, p. 140). Other critical scholars suggest that given the contradictions inherent in many internationalization strategies around the world these models or approaches may present a false sense of coherence (Khoo, 2011). As Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado argue, "Universities are not coherent organizations whose movements can be orchestrated by administrators according to a transcendent logic" (2009, p. 291). These words of caution underscore the need for a grounded empirical approach that accounts for both the plurality of agents simultaneously engaging in internationalization practices (at times unknowingly in opposition to one another) as well as the limits to and points of friction in the governance of higher education more generally (Foucault, 2007; Li, 2007a).

Student mobility and the dominance of English. Student mobility currently constitutes one of the central platforms – either aspirational or actual – of many internationalization initiatives globally. As Altbach notes:

> Not since the medieval period have such a large proportion of the world's students been studying outside their home countries – more than 1.5 million students at any one time – and some estimate that the number of overseas students will grow to 8 million by 2020 (2007, p. 128).

This number had increased to over 4.5 million by 2012 (OECD, 2014). Yet these accelerating global flows of students are largely headed in a single direction,

with around eighty percent of these students hailing from developing countries in the global South and travelling to study in the large metropolitan academic systems of the global North (Altbach, 2007). In the case of Canada, the international student population almost doubled in the years between 2004 and 2014, with a growth rate of eighty-eight percent compared to twenty-two percent for domestic students (Statistics Canada, 2016). These skewed numbers inevitably have profound effects on how internationalization initiatives are conceived at both ends of these flows, with host countries focusing on attracting students, and other nations focused on sponsoring students and creating strategies to ensure they return home after their studies are complete.

Compounding this unidirectionality of student flows is the rising dominance of English as the preeminent language of instruction in higher education today, in the publication of international journals, and more broadly as a language of international and intercultural communication (Altbach, 2007; Lee & Lee, 2013; Park & Wee, 2012). However, despite the fact that some critics such as Phillipson (2008) contend that this dominance may be more wishful thinking than actuality, most scholars concur that the current international status of English "is an accepted understanding which the internationalization of higher education is based on and from which the globalization of knowledge is generated" (Chowdhury & Phan Le Ha, 2014, p. 7). With this status comes numerous concerns about the homogenization of academic culture, the plight of smaller languages around the globe, and inequality between native speakers of English and other languages, among other things. Relatedly, for applied linguists and TESOL practitioners there are also numerous questions about the quality,

extent and duration of the delivery of English language support for international students throughout their sojourns abroad.

  Researching international student experiences. In the emergent conditions of this current phase of globalization, scholars from a range of fields including applied linguistics, education, sociology, anthropology and human geography have conducted empirical research on student perceptions of (typically English) language learning and the international experience in connection with issues such as integration (e.g., Guo & Chase, 2011), human security (e.g. Sawir, Marginson, Forbes-Mewett, Nyland, & Ramia, 2012); alterity and alienation (e.g., Kim, 2012) and academic imperialism (e.g., Beech, 2014). Focusing specifically on students' experiences of pre-sessional English language pathways programs, Copland and Garton (2011) highlight the struggles of these students to use language outside of the classroom through their representations of their own agency in these encounters. Numerous other studies examine the international experience as a site of academic socialization, identity formation and the development of intercultural awareness (e.g., Jackson, 2008; Kinginger, 2004; Morita, 2004). However, seldom do these studies incorporate a language policy dimension into their analyses. Of the research on institutional language policies in higher education, Jenkins (2011, 2014) perhaps goes the farthest in explicitly connecting in-house polices to student reports of their own experiences, but the focus of her research agenda remains the promotion of English as a Lingua Franca as a set of norms for both the linguistic features and pragmatic usage of the language in the face of the ongoing dominance of native speaker norms.

Recent research in applied linguistics on language learning and study abroad (e.g., Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2012, 2013; Block, 2007; Coleman, 2013; Kinginger, 2009, 2013) provides another entry point to thinking about the international student experience. This area has historically been dominated by individualistic and cognitivist approaches to measuring gains in second language acquisition (Coleman, 2013), which may be at least in part due to the influence of policymakers and the general public wanting to know whether investments of time and money are justified (Kinginger, 2009). While a number of researchers in this area such as those cited above have turned to questions of identity and the development of a more holistic understanding of sojourns abroad and their impact on students' lives by striving to take into account "the whole person and the whole context" (Coleman, 2013, p. 36), Kinginger (2013) has noted quite recently that this body of work is still nascent, and is to date mostly based on the experiences of US American undergraduate students abroad, rather than those of students hosted by the countries in the global North. Nevertheless, several recent studies which go against the grain of this dominance stand out as formative for this dissertation project.

In a seminal chapter discussing "personal history, imagination and desire in the organization of lived experience related to foreign language learning" Kinginger (2004) presents several years in the life of Alice, a motivated language learner who overcomes significant personal, cultural, social and material barriers in the process of learning French as a second language (p. 219). Kinginger concentrates in large part on Alices's personal history and her own agency within it, telling a story of foreign language learning that included two years studying abroad in France. The picture that emerges is one of a dynamic process

involving frequent reconstructions of her motives for learning, as Alice grapples with her own developing proficiency and negotiates the "many facets of her identity" while also interrogating social constrains and perspectives on language and language learning as emanating from popular discourses in both France (for example, in terms of negative perceptions of the United States and US Americans) and the United States (for example, in terms of perceptions of French as a language of culture, and also her own social class positioning) (Kinginger, 2004, p. 240).

Relatedly, a similar study by Benson et al. (2012, 2013) provides considerable methodological inspiration in their narrative based account of second language identities of nine students from Hong Kong sojourning in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, which explores the development of second language identities as a variable process operating on three dimensions relating to: second language proficiency; linguistic self-concept; and L2-mediated personal development. While their project centers on personal rather than contextual features contributing to the development of second language identities, nevertheless it suggests several useful lines of inquiry for studies such as my own that take a wider view on identity/subjectivity.

A study that comes closer to linking language learning and study abroad to language policies (broadly understood) embedded within other social discourses is Takahashi's (2013) ethnographic account of five Japanese women studying English in Australia, which explores how gender and desire mediate her participants' approaches to language learning, use and desired outcomes. Drawing on Foucault's (1980a) assertion that desire is always preceded by or situated within power relations, she maps the ways these women negotiate

access to English language learning opportunities through romantic relationships which interact dialectically with media and popular discourses of desire and English language learning in Japan. These nationally situated discourses of language learning thus condition the range of possibilities for these women's experiences in Australia by presenting and reinforcing particular model subject positions.

These three studies open up ways of thinking about study abroad as a dynamic process of subject formation influenced by a range of personal, historical and material factors; yet what is missing from their analyses is extended discussion of the ways in which policies related to both the specific programmes for these students, as well as the wider language policies and discursive representations in both host and sending nations contribute to this formation.

To bridge this gap I draw on recent work in language policy and planning research which takes an expanded view on what constitutes policy (e.g., Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; McCarty, 2011), and foregrounds ethnographic approaches to mapping power relations throughout the language policy process in detail (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, Johnson & Ricento, 2013). However, in contrast to many of the studies in this emerging tradition which foreground the agency (or lack of it) of language policy administrators, teachers and other implementers (Johnson, 2013b; Johnson & Johnson, 2015), in this study I focus on the agency and experiences of students on study abroad as subjects of these policies, and the ways in which policy affects their subjectivities.

Brazil and Canada. Compared to other countries located in Kachru's so-called expanding circle such as Japan and Korea, Brazil has not yet received the

same degree of academic scrutiny in terms of the spread of English, relations with English language learning generally, and more particularly, in terms of attitudes and perceptions towards this spread, learning and use of English (Friedrich, 2000). This is due at least in part to the fact that, from a historical perspective, "the rise of English to the status of Brazil's number one foreign language is a fairly recent phenomenon" (Rajagopalan, 2003, p. 95). Yet this rise in stature has been met with a considerable degree of ambivalence and at times hostility to the spread of English throughout the country in both political and popular discourse (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Diniz de Figueiredo, 2014; Massini-Cagliari, 2003; Rajagopalan, 2003, 2008). For many, English serves as an unpleasant reminder of historical and current US American hegemony in the region (Rajagopalan, 2008).

Brazil faces considerable challenges in the delivery of English as a foreign language instruction in the public school system, with a perennial lack of resources allocated for effective pedagogy (Diniz de Figueiredo, 2014). This lack of investment is perhaps indicative of the long standing assumption that the majority of Brazilians will have little opportunity or reason to use English in their daily lives (Diniz de Figueiredo, 2014). However, these assumptions have faced considerable challenges in recent years, and a need for English has gradually being acknowledged more recently by the media and general public at least in part due to Brazil hosting the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. Within higher education, English has historically held a place of privilege at the graduate level, as reading comprehension in a foreign language is typically a requirement for graduate students, with a strong tendency towards English in the sciences (Bohn, 2003; Paiva & Pagano, 2001). However, for

undergraduates in both private and public universities the encouragement of foreign language learning has not historically been the case.

In terms of internationalization, as a member of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) states, in recent years Brazil has emerged as a desirable trading partner and international actor with rising promise in the global economy community (although this ascendance began stalling during the period that this research was conducted, and the country today currently faces considerable economic and political uncertainty and turmoil). Focusing on the years immediately preceding the launch of the CSF programme however, this rising status as "an emerging economy and regional power has brought the country's higher education system into sharper focus" in the eyes of interested trading partners (Sá & Greico, 2015, p. 1). Yet in terms of domestic response, as recently as ten years ago, Laus and Morosini observed that "at most higher education institutions, the culture of internationalization in only just beginning" with considerably different degrees of investment and planning from institution to institution (2005, p. 144). Around the same time, many countries in the Global North have moved quickly to strategize how to capitalize on this emergent market. As Sidhu described in 2006, "Brazil is considered by the international education export industry to be a priority market" (p. 270). While the US was the most visited study abroad destination for Brazilians prior to the launch of the CSF programme, the UK and Canada have begun to emerge as favored locales as well (Sidhu, 2006).

Compared to other Anglophone nations such as the United States and Australia, Canada has lagged in terms of international education over the last few decades (Trilokelar & Kizilbash, 2014, p. 2). This is due at least in part to the

fact that Canada has no federal ministry of education, and until very recently lacked a central "government-supported agency or body devoted to promoting international education" (Chakma et al., 2012, p. 40). Internationalization activities, or at least their discussion, only began in earnest at the level of the federal government in the 1990s, alongside the emergence of global discourses on the rise of the knowledge-based economy (Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2014). However, despite this late-coming, the number of international students in Canada increased by more than triple in the years between 1995 and 2010 (Axelrod, 2014), with ambitious plans to triple this number again by 2022 (Stein & Andreotti, 2015).

This rapid increase in international enrollment has been described as meeting a number of needs. First, over the corresponding period of time provincial governments in Canada have been pursuing a policy of defunding in higher education, creating a greater dependency on tuition fees as well as private donations to keep universities afloat (Axelrod, 2014; Canadian Federation of Students [CFS], 2013). Second, international education has been championed as a key sector for job creation as a means of stimulating the domestic economy (Johnstone & Lee, 2014). Related to this benefit is the money that international students inject into the local economy while residing in Canada in the form of housing and other expenses. Lastly, and perhaps most often discussed in both political and media discourse in recent years is the role of international education in Canada as a pathway to immigration. The federal government has identified international students as a "future source of skilled labor, as they may be eligible upon graduation for permanent residency through immigration programs such as the Canadian Experience Class" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC],

2013, n. p.). These students are viewed as ideal immigrants due to their Canadian education and training, and the assumption of implicit cultural and linguistic knowledge that comes with the higher education experience (Scott, Safdar, Trilokekar, & El Masri, 2015). In order to achieve at least some of these aims, over the last decade education marketing discourse has emerged presenting Canada as a global leader in second language education (e.g., Languages Canada, n. d.; EduCanada, 2016), with claims often based on Canada's official bilingualism as evidence of extensive experience with adult second language learning.

Research Questions

Within the contextual conditions described above, I conducted an ethnographic case study following and documenting the experiences of Brazilian CSF scholarship students learning English and subsequently studying in regular academic programmes in Canada. As a guiding or overarching research agenda, I sought to explore the different kinds of subjectivities that language policies related to the CSF programme in Canada and Brazil (aimed to) produce. As I quickly found out, specific language policies of the CSF programme were often embedded within the larger policy structure of the programme more generally and emanated from a diverse range of sources and agents. As I collected more and more empirical materials, and my understanding of the situation sharpened, I began to form a more specific set of research questions to help me make sense of the complex interactions of the various policy processes and agents at work.

- 1. What kinds of subjects and subjectivities as learners and subsequent users of English did the CSF programme's language and education policies aim to produce?

- 2. What problems emerged during the dynamic process of putting the programme into practice, and how were they addressed?

- 3. How did the students as target subjects respond to, critique or otherwise take up the guiding rationalities for the programme's language policies and related discourses of English, and what were the effects of the programme on them?

To address these questions I have used an approach combining micro level with macro level analysis. On a micro level I have conducted text analyses of policy documents, media reports, interview transcripts and field notes, using a toolkit composed of a variety of discourse and narrative analytical repertoires. On a macro level I have traced the personal, institutional and discursive narratives which constitute the language policy assemblage embedded within the larger CSF scholarship programme using Foucault's concepts of governmentality and technologies of the self (1988, 2007) as theoretical jumping off points. In this way I have repeatedly followed a path from theory to data and back again, following Hornberger's (2013) counsel that this continual dialectical movement is "essential to the process of ethnographic interpretation" (p. 113).

Organization

In the next chapter, I provide the theoretical grounding for this dissertation research project, introducing these concepts from Foucault and situating them in relation to the history of language policy and applied linguistics scholarship on language learners as subjects. In the subsequent chapter, I describe the methodological motivations, principles and procedures adopted in this study. In chapter 4, the first of four chapters presenting the

analyses of empirical materials that form the heart of this dissertation, I offer a discourse analysis of various policy and media texts from both Canada and Brazil that both traces the emergence and dynamism of embedded language policies within the CSF programme, and also illuminates the governmental rationalities that prompted and promoted these policies. Chapter 5 focuses in on a smaller subset of texts, as presented on the website of one of the key stakeholders of the CSF programme in Canada. Drawing on Linde's (2001, 2009) notion of the paradigmatic narrative, this chapter reconstructs a model of the 'ideal' CSF student from this collection of texts. In chapters 6 and 7, I turn to the narratives of the students themselves, focusing in on four different possible types of trajectories through the programme for the cohort under consideration. These chapters draw on an eclectic blend of discourse and narrative analytic repertoires in order to present these students' stories, and tease out the dominant themes. Chapter 8 presents a synthesis of key features of the empirical materials presented in chapters 4-7, establishing linkages and identifying areas of friction between and within institutional and policy narratives and the stories and experiences of the students. It is in this chapter that I connect many of the micro analyses presented in the previous chapters to the macro conceptual framework of governmentality and technologies of the self, constructing the overarching narrative or themes of this study. A final chapter reviews the major findings of this study, presents implications, and proposes lines of inquiry for future research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Orientations

Introduction

This dissertation research project is situated within the social scientific field of language policy and planning (LPP), which has benefitted from scholarship by researchers from across a broad diversity of academic backgrounds over the last 50 years, a period during which it has also experienced exponential growth (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). Engaged disciplines have included anthropology, education, history, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, policy studies, political science and sociology among others (Ricento, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). This scholarly diversity has resulted in a resolutely interdisciplinary field in which it is impossible to speak of a singular overarching theory (Ricento, 2006), and concomitantly, researchers and practitioners have approached questions and challenges of LPP from a broad range of methodological and epistemological perspectives, as well as with a variety of different notions of the ontology of language itself.

Related to this rich diversity in LPP, this dissertation project also falls under the purview of theory developed in applied linguistics on identity and/or subjectivity in second language learning. The function of this chapter then, is to identify key features of the current state-of-the-art in research in LPP and identity and language learning, and to map out the various orientations, approaches and epistemological positions which buttress the guiding concepts of this dissertation, Foucault's notions of governmentality and technologies of the self (1988, 2007). This chapter is organized as follows: First, I situate this study within the history of research on LPP, including recent definitions and trends. I

also elaborate on the concept of discourse as I employ it here, and contrast it with the related concept of ideology. Second I review some of the key literature on identity in second language learning, in specific work by and inspired by Norton (2013) and others. Lastly, I introduce the key concepts of governmentality and technologies of the self, and where relevant, review related literature in LPP.

Language Policy and Planning

  Beginnings. Although LPP has existed in practice for centuries in language contact situations and social and cultural contexts around the world (Lo Bianco suggests LPP is as old as language itself (2004)), responses to state level language problems in new nations emerging at the end of the Second World War and the colonial era are typically considered as the first overt efforts of LPP which formed the field as it is understood today academically (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). These problems typically involved the selection of (an) official language(s) in nascent states whose new borders encompassed a plurality of previously existing sociolinguistic groups, or whose new citizens had previously practiced multilingualism in some form (often involving colonial languages), as well as the orthographic development and the creation of dictionaries for indigenous and other languages (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). During this era the scale of intervention was typically that of the state itself, and the primary unit of analysis was "the historicized and decontextualized individual" (McCarty, 2011, p. 6). Status and corpus planning, referring respectively to the selection and promotion, and subsequent codification and standardization of a particular language, were largely considered to be ideologically neutral activities (Ricento, 2000; McCarty et al., 2011). Also, at this time LPP activities were thought to be linear or straightforward and as such, solutions to language problems such as

those listed above typically involved rational positivistic and technocratic models (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Thus these early approaches involved (in conception at least) this relatively simple sequential process of identifying a problem, crafting a policy to address it, implementing the policy, assessing its success and finally, making any necessary adjustments until the desired results were achieved (McCarty, 2011). However, this process, which many scholars have come to refer to as the 'neoclassical' model (Tollefson, 1991), has not proved to be particularly successful in achieving its desired outcomes across a range of contexts, nor does it have a track record of sensitivity to the autonomy, material needs and quality of life of many of its target populations.

Given the failure of this model to produce desired changes in so many cases, its inability to acknowledge or account for all the variables of why certain policies succeed or fail, and lastly and most importantly, its history of negative impact on linguistic minority groups in terms of access to political power and economic resources, by the late 1980s and early 1990s a critical response emerged, influenced by similar politically sensitive movements in linguistics and applied sociolinguistics and also by the rise of postmodern thinking in much of the social sciences (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Johnson & Ricento, 2013). This critical turn in LPP was first popularized through Tollefson's historical-structural approach, which, drawing on neo-Marxist thought, challenged the claims of ideological neutrality of previous approaches, problematizing LPP as "a mechanism of social control by dominant elites", and persuasively presented the case that "all language policies are ideological, although the ideology may not be apparent or acknowledged by practitioners or theorists" themselves (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 406). Around the same time acquisition planning was added

to the previously dominant status/corpus pairing, which had the effect of broadening the scope of understanding in LPP studies from the macro social level of state government to include educational planning and practices potentially right down to the micro level of the language classroom itself (Cooper, as cited in Johnson & Ricento, 2013).

An important legacy of the critical model of LPP is that it added to the pragmatic and political interests of governance and the linguistic origins of the field by introducing social theories from scholars such as Bourdieu, Foucault and Habermas (Ricento, 2000). However, despite these valuable developments in the field, by the end of the century, a number of limitations to approaches such as the historical-structural were identified. Davis (1999) argued persuasively that despite enriching the philosophical and social theoretic grounding of LPP, these approaches were methodologically thin. A related concern was that "by focusing primarily on the power invested in policy, they obfuscate agency and perpetuate the reification of policy as necessarily monolithic, intentional and fascistic" (Johnson, 2009, p. 155). As such they are useful for producing macro social deterministic models of historical processes, but not so effective at mapping the complex blend of agents and subjects reacting to policy pronouncements in the present, and the subsequent and often unexpected results of these actions. In response and as a corrective to these limitations, ethnography has emerged as a key theoretical and methodological approach to LPP, particularly in terms of focusing empirically on LPP processes and their effects in diverse contexts around the world.

Definitions and contestations. Throughout these early years of the field of LPP, policy was broadly understood as "something that some governing

entity or polity enacts" or "some kind of regulation that comes down from on high" (Johnson, 2013a, p. 7). For many of the early critical scholars (e.g., Luke, McHoul & Mey, 1990; Tollefson, 1991) this interpretation prevailed, as they maintained focus on policy as a top down manifestation of power that favours particular dominant groups and/or languages and limits the access of others to political power and concomitant economic benefits.

In contrast to this apparent consensus, the relationship between the terms 'policy' and 'planning' was considerably less settled. Language planning is the original term used throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Shohamy, 2006), and there has since been considerable discussion as to whether language policy, which emerged later, is subordinate to planning or vice versa (McCarty, 2011; Schiffman, 1996). Depending on the model used, policy may refer to the general principles and/or attitudes of a community towards its language(s), while planning represents the actual measures taken to affect language use in the community (Schiffman, 1996; Spolsky, 2004). Conversely, as Fishman has always contended, language planning follows from language policy decision making (As cited in McCarty, 2011, p. 7). However, this distinction has become less of an issue in recent years, with 'language policy' or LPP coming to dominate as a sort of shorthand that encompasses the entire range of activities that traditionally fell under the domain of one or the other term (Hornberger, 2006; Johnson, 2013a). In this dissertation I follow this consensus, and use either of these terms throughout, with distinctions between planning and policy made where relevant to specific actions or processes.

The expanding of LPP and the rise of ethnographic approaches. Over the last decade or two, the rising popularity of ethnographic approaches to LPP took

place along side as well as contributed to a considerable broadening and expanding of what can be considered as policy. In 2004, Spolsky described policy as having three components: language practices; language beliefs or ideologies; and finally, "any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning and management" (p. 5). However, historically LPP studies had focused primarily on only the third of these components. Lo Bianco describes this inclusion of language practices and use as part of LPP as a "radical move that takes LPP into relationship with consciousness and social psychology, raising issues about the degree of deliberateness required to classify practices as LPP" (2004, p. 74). Questions of deliberation and intention also challenge traditional approaches to policy as a rational and premeditated activity. While these challenges focus on the mind of the individual agent of policy, Shohamy (2006) raises a number of different but equally important questions about LPP as an explicit and overt versus implicit and covert activity. In response to the existing tendency in LPP research to focus on official declarations and other documents, she argues that many policies are never explicitly stated, and thus knowledge of them can only be acquired through the examination of language practices. An expanded definition of policy thus includes the de jure and the de facto, the overt and the covert, as well as top-down and bottom-up approaches (McCarty, 2011). Given this breadth of processes involved then, and the complex interplay of agents and other moving parts, ethnography as an emic or insiders perspective on these processes within communities and schools has emerged as an effective theory and method for mapping these assemblages of components.

Another important point to consider in relation to this expansion of the field is that, in keeping with invaluable critical perspectives on policy introduced by Tollefson (1991) and others, LPP is never just about language, and always concerns some sort of ideologically motivated larger social control over particular groups identified by way of language, and their access to material resources. To this end Lo Bianco speaks of a need to include discourse planning in the typology of LPP activities, referring to efforts to "influence and effect people's mental states, behaviors and belief systems through the linguistically mediated ideological workings of institutions, disciplines, and diverse social formations (2004, p. 743). While in this case he is referring to the critical project of challenging ideology imposed by dominant classes, considering the term discourse as it is used here in relation to Foucault's understanding of power relations I would argue that all LPP contains some sort of discourse planning, whether its involves plans which take into account social equity and inclusion or not.

This recent rapid expansion of both the field and object of inquiry of LPP to include such seemingly disparate and quotidian elements has led some researchers to call for caution, and to question unreflective support of such inclusive models. As Johnson (2013a) notes:

> It remains to be seen whether they will open the door to newer kinds of creative language policy research that inform the field in substantive ways or whether they, instead, will stretch the definition of "language policy" so far that all sociolinguistic research that examines language attitudes and practices will be considered language policy research (p. 9).

Bearing in mind that this project is situated within this expanded conception, I hope that it will contribute in some way to answering the question that Johnson poses here, namely, whether or not it is beneficial to think of what I am examining here – the subjectification of Brazilian exchange students learning English in Canada – through this lens. However, regardless of perspective on the outcome of this particular case, Johnson's question must ultimately be considered as an empirical one, and requires examination on a case-by-case basis. This foregrounding of the empirical is entirely consistent with ethnographic epistemologies and ontologies which, in the anthropological traditions from which they are borrowed, advocate strongly for the consideration of cultural phenomena contextually both socially and historically before moving on to any sort of comparative analysis across cases.

It is, however, important to note several differences between traditional notions of ethnography in anthropology and the ethnography of language policy. First, the object of these LPP studies is not, strictly speaking, a culture or a people, but rather it is a policy or policy process (bearing in mind the broad definition presented above) (Johnson, 2007). Relatedly, while ethnography has historically involved the observation of participants in a typically bound social space over a long period of time, - examining policy – especially policies related to education – also requires the researcher to consider how they move between spaces (e.g., inside and outside classrooms) and across scales of governance (e.g., locally and nationally) (Blommaert, 2010a; Johnson & Johnson, 2015). But it is precisely this ability to move between spaces and scales that makes ethnography, broadly speaking, a formidable toolkit – conceptually, philosophically and methodologically speaking – for examining LPP problems. As noted above, one

of the key critiques of early iterations of critical approaches to LPP was that they lacked the ability to present thick descriptions of LPP as a site of contestation with constantly shifting power relations between multiple rival agents, and focused instead only on top down models of power relations.

By establishing strong roots or origins in the local or emic levels of analysis, ethnographies offer insights into LPP in the following ways. Primarily, they allow researchers to see policy as a dynamic process or social practice in context rather than a singular or disembodied text (Johnson, 2009; McCarty et al, 2011). As Blommaert describes, it allows us "to distinguish between 'policy' and 'policing'" and recognize "the gap that exists between the stability and predictability of policy [as official laws and decrees] and the relative flexibility and unpredictability of actual policing practices" (2010b, p. 11). Yet in addition, it also provides a bridge between these micro-level practices and macro-level edicts and/or discourses. It should be noted, however, that not all researchers condone this rising prominence of ethnography in LPP studies. Fishman cautions that methods ought to be chosen based on their technical ability to answer specific questions, rather than on what he refers to as "trendy salvational grounds" (As cited in Johnson, 2013a, p. 148). However, in the case of this study, given the focus in this research on questions of student voice and perspective, ethnography presents itself as an appropriate choice.

Discourse, discourse analysis and ideology. Considering the object of LPP as language itself, as well as the nature of policy as largely constituted by texts produced both orally and materially, discourse plays a key role in LPP research. As Johnson (2009) explains, "language policy is, essentially discourse analysis" and as such, "it behooves the field to establish more disciplined forms of

language policy discourse analysis" (p. 151). He elaborates that this is particularly crucial when it comes to research which endeavors to combine micro level observations and accounts in local contexts with macro or statal policy objectives, and to draw connections between these two (Johnson, 2009, 2011). However, within much LPP research and social scientific research more generally, there are numerous competing notions as to what exactly constitutes discourse and discourse analysis, and often only nebulous definitions are provided. For the sake of conceptual clarity, and especially considering this project's grounding in a larger Foucauldian conceptual framework, in this section I provide a brief overview of debate over the concept of discourse and its relations with a related term, ideology, and present the notions of discourse that I favour in this project.

There has been a long standing tension between a basic linguistic conceptualization of discourse as a unit of language in use greater than that of a sentence, and other more expansive views of discourse (Pennycook, 1994). The first of these two interpretations has long been the dominant one in applied linguistics, linguistics and sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis in this sense is concerned primarily with patterns or features of language in use; in other words, the what or the how in relation to linguistic production or the structure of language. The second, takes a wider or macro level scope, and goes beyond the purely linguistic. Moving towards this conception, Blommaert (2005) explains:

> Discourse to me comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use. Discourse is one of the possible names we can give to it, and I follow Michel Foucault in doing so" (p. 3).

Ball further elaborates on this broader meaning of discourse as semiosis but foregrounds the element of power, which is at the core of Foucauldian thinking: "Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority" (2005, p. 48). In Foucault's own words, "Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (1990, pp. 101-102) and as practices they "systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). He acknowledges that discourses are composed of signs; however, he also stresses that "what they do is more than use these signs to designate things", highlighting their concurrent role in material production (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Therefore an important aspect of discourses understood in this way is that they are not simply tactical representations (either true or false) or knowledge of a given subject, but rather are active participants or agents in the production of that subject itself.

In this dissertation, I am often performing analytic procedures that match with the first definition of discourse described here (this is rather unavoidable in that I am dealing principally with linguistic empirical materials in the sense that Johnson (2009) noted in the above quotation); however, while I use the term discourse analysis to describe these procedures I have tried throughout to be careful to note the origins and the practices of the particular procedures I am following. Other uses of the term typically refer to the second of these definitions, namely, that of representations of the social where power and knowledge merge to produce ways of thinking and acting which function to constitute social life (Foucault, 1990).

A term similar to discourse in meaning often appearing in social scientific research is 'ideology'; however, the relationship between these two terms is

somewhat complicated if one takes a Foucauldian approach to discourse. Bacchi notes the puzzling fact of this "continuing use of the term 'ideology' by many policy-as-discourse theorists, despite the fact that Foucault explicitly rejected the usefulness of the notion" (2000, p. 53). This is particularly the case with many researchers in LPP and with applied linguists more generally. It is not my intention here to take other researchers to task and police them on their use of Foucault and his concepts, especially in light of his repeatedly stressing that his books "are little toolboxes" from which he hopes others will borrow what they need, but are under no obligation to take up in their entirety (As cited in Ball, 2005, p. 44). Nevertheless, a brief account of some of the tensions between these two terms will provide a useful explanation of my own position.

Across several discussions of Fairclough, Kress, Wodak and other critical linguists and critical discourse analysts working from a Neo-Marxist perspective and their use of the term, Pennycook (1994; 2001) notes that although these scholars often take an expanded view of discourse which includes both the traditional linguistic conception of language in use alongside a more Foucauldian reading, they retain the concept of ideology to capture what they consider to be elements of larger macro social structures. He notes a number of problems with this position, and suggests that hewing closer to Foucault's thinking provides an antidote to these problems. First, there is a tendency to consider ideologies as "often (though not necessarily) false or ungrounded constructions of society" (Wodak, as cited in Pennycook, 2001, p. 84). This favouring of ideology as falsity posits a modernist belief in a notion of truth that exists beyond ideology (or discourse), and presents the task of the researcher as pulling back this proverbial curtain of falsity and revealing these truths.

However, as Pennycook notes, "Foucault was fundamentally interested not in truth, but in *truth claims,* in the effect of making claims to knowledge" (2001, p. 85). By claiming to retain an adherence to Foucault this creates an awkward tension between the two concepts. A second objection to the usefulness of ideology made by Foucault is that it is epiphenomenal: "Ideology stands in a secondary position relative to something that functions as its infrastructure, as its material, economic determinant, and so on" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 118). In a similar manner to the way that ideology as falsity is positioned as an obfuscation of truth, considering it as secondary to economic and other material features of the world favours a static model of power as solely possessed by dominant groups, in opposition to the more dynamic and productive contestations of power that Foucault characterizes as power relations. As such it provides limited space for the human agency and the voices of subjects of policy such as the students who are the focus of this study.

In linguistic anthropological research the connection to Foucault and his concept of discourse is less strong than in the work of the (largely British) critical scholars Pennycook cites above (Rampton, 2014, cf. Blommaert, 2005). However, for these scholars the concept of ideology enjoys considerable popularity – particularly when partnered to produce the term 'language ideology', the study of which is on its way to becoming an established subfield in its own right (Black, 2013; Nakassis, 2016). Silverstein (1979) provides an early definition of language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use", while Irvine (1989) refers to "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships", providing the important aside that language ideologies are never

exclusively about language (As cited in Kroskrity, 2000, p. 5). In another foundational text, Woolard acknowledges an even broader range of conceptions of ideology in use as a component concept of language ideologies, spanning from critical misrepresentations and/or judgments of truth, to more sociologically neutral models with no negative connotations, but ultimately cautions against the constraint of advocating for a singular or narrow notion (1998).

The notion of ideology as belief echoed in Spolsky's (2004) description of LPP quoted above, while political, does not focus with such exclusivity on ideology as the beliefs, ideas or signifying practices of those in positions of power as the critical scholars mentioned above, whose definition often hinges on the falsity of ideological claims. As such, many linguistic anthropologists using the term language ideologies mobilize it as a neutral rather than as a judgmental term, or at the very least, consider use or misuse of ideologies by those in political power largely as secondary, rather than originary. In application then, their conception has much more in common with Foucault's notion of discourse as described above. In order to acknowledge the tradition that has formed as language ideology studies, in this dissertation I retain the term ideology with this partner term ('language ideology'), but will clarify in each case where on the spectrum of neutrality, negativity or falsity my use falls, rather than presuming one or the other a priori.

Identity, Subjectivity, Agency and Second Language Learning

A related area of research explores questions of identity and agency in second language learning and in part informs the approach taken in this dissertation towards developing a richer understanding of university student experiences with language learning abroad (e.g., Block, 2007; Pavlenko &

Blackledge, 2004; Morgan, 2007; Morgan & Clarke, 2011; Norton, 2013).

Historically drawing on psycholinguistic theories and situated within the field of second language acquisition, early identity research considered the role of social factors such as motivation in successful language learning and typically employed experimental and positivistic approaches (Norton Pierce, 1995). Similarly, research on language learner agency has its origins in second language acquisition research which focuses in large part on static, internal and psychological qualities of these learners (Duff, 2012). These largely positivistic and modernistic approaches to identity were perhaps most significantly challenged by Norton (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Norton & Morgan, 2013), who was inspired in large part by the poststructuralist theories of the subject of feminist scholar Chris Weedon (1987). Heavily indebted to Foucault and other critical theorists herself, Weedon promoted the term subjectivity over that of identity as a means to break with the individualism and essentialism of the modernist paradigm (1987). As Norton explains:

> "Subjectivity serves as a reminder that a person's identity must always be understood in relational terms: one is often subject *of* a set of relationships (i.e., in a position of power) or subject *to* a set of relationships (i.e., in a position of reduced power" (2013, p. 4).

Weedon (1987) stresses that within this poststructural conception, subjectivity is discursively produced and as such is always socially embedded. In addition, rather than being fixed or static, subjectivity understood in this sense is "diverse, contradictory, and dynamic" (Norton & Morgan, 2013, p. 2), or, in other words, "precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (Weedon, 1987, p. 33).

Norton has fleshed out her theory of subjectivity and second language learning with the concepts of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton Pierce, 1995), and imagined communities (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013), which are inspired by the work of Bourdieu and Anderson respectively. Investment and imagined communities serve as alternatives to the previously dominant models of instrumental and integrative motivation, which refer to the desire to learn a language for functional purposes, or with the intention of becoming a member of a particular community (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2013). Investment strives to get beyond a static or fixed model of the language learner in possession of motivation as a characteristic, and "attempts to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world" in a dynamic way (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 17). Similarly, an imagined community, as Norton adapts the term from Anderson (2006), attempts to capture the desire for belonging of the language learner not to static, immutable or even historically constituted social groups, but to more abstract (but no less 'real') communities of the imagination. Thinking of belonging in this way is particularly useful in the case of the students in this study, who given the terms and conditions of their scholarship funding, are not likely to be learning English in Canada in order to 'become' Canadian, but rather in hopes of perhaps becoming members of more fluidly defined and abstract groups such as 'Brazilians who speak English better than their peers' or 'members of a global English speaking scientific community'.

Norton's contributions to theorizing identity in second language learning have had a lasting impact, and numerous studies on related topics have since made frequent use of her concepts as well as refining and extending them (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2005; Morgan & Clarke, 2011). However, despite this apparent

enthusiasm for taking a poststructural approach to identity, a number of scholars have called for caution, typically claiming "an extreme poststructuralist orientation would lead us to the untenable position that there is no subject or actor beyond its discursive constructions" (Stroud & Wee, 2012, p. 53). This reading is often based on an interpretation of Foucauldian thinking of the link between subjectivities and discourses, whether or not Foucault is explicitly cited. The concern expressed in this argument is that a strong poststructuralist approach to identity prevents the possibility for any sort of individual freedom, and thus actors have no agency (Stroud & Wee, 2012). Coming from a linguistic anthropological perspective Ahearn makes a similar argument in a frequently cited survey article on language and agency, expressing worry that Foucault's focus on power relations presents a very weak version of the subject, while allowing that "Even if Foucault's formulations do leave room for agency, his focus is more on pervasive discourses than on the actions of particular human beings" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 117). Foucault himself allows for this criticism with the admission "perhaps I've insisted too much on the technology of domination and power" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 225). However, as I will explain in further detail in the upcoming section devoted to governmentality and technologies of the self, this criticism is based on an equally extreme notion of agency – comparable to the characterization often present in research on language learner agency (Duff, 2012). Political scientist Mark Bevir (1999) suggests this as more aptly characterized as autonomy, in the sense that "autonomous subjects [that] would be able, at least in principle, to have experiences, to reason, to adopt beliefs, and to act, outside of all social contexts" and influence (p. 67). It is unclear whether this ability to make decisions outside of all context and influence is what critics of

poststructuralist approaches to the subject would posit as a necessary component of what they consider as agency.

Coming from the other side, other critics have suggested that Norton's initial presentation (Norton Pierce, 1995) of her concept of investment falls short of a strictly poststructural understanding of the subject, and contend that she retains certain more static subject positions in her analysis as well, making them incompatible (Price, 1996). In her response, Norton makes an important distinction that is also relevant for the current study, arguing that her intention in her research is not for the data to support poststructural theory, but rather, for poststructural theory to assist her in understanding the data (Norton Pierce, 1996). While a certain degree of conceptual fidelity is obviously necessary when invoking the work of other scholars, keeping in mind Foucault's often-cited comments about little toolboxes (As cited in Ball, 2005), in this project I adopt the spirit that Norton (and Foucault) are advocating, and rather than endeavor to elucidate and evaluate the theories of Foucault and others I draw from here in their totalities, I am equally interested in how my data rubs up against the grain of their work, and do not make claims to strict allegiance to all the nuances of their analyses.

Norton's promotion of poststructural perspectives on language learner subjectivities has provided a durable set of concepts that have been taken up by many applied linguists and others, and in addition, in recent iterations of her thinking (e.g., Darvin & Norton, 2015) she has taken up more robust perspectives on power. However, given her relative silence on policy in general and LPP in particular, in the case of the current study with its primary focus on LPP, a bridge or link is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of the relations

between policy and its subjects. Norton's account of how subjects are discursively formed only tells half of the story of policy, and does not really account for the rationalities that form the engine of the policy process. To fill this gap I turn to Foucault's concepts of governmentality and the various technologies by which conduct is shaped, with an additional focus on the technologies of the self.

Governmentality

Despite its origins in lectures at the Collège de France in 1978 and 1979, and its lack of book-length treatment during his lifetime, governmentality has, in recent years, emerged as one of Foucault's most productive concepts across the social sciences and humanities (e.g., Fraser, 2003; Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999; Rose & Miller, 2008 Walters, 2012). These lectures provide valuable insight in Foucault's research and thinking as he made the transition from his earlier work on disciplinary techniques to the research on the emergence of modern subjectivities which would occupy him throughout the rest of his life. This transition constitutes a site of considerable debate over the difference and sameness or compatibility of these two phases of his career and thinking (Allen, 2011). However, despite the apparent absence of the subject in his earlier discussions of power, which has led many commentators to remark on the apparent determinism of this earlier work (e.g., Ahearn, 2001, see above), he himself contends that he has "always been interested in the relationship between the subject and truth" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 289). It is also important to note that nowhere in the lectures on governmentality and subsequent topics does he repudiate his earlier writings on discipline and surveillance. Instead, I contend that it is more productive to see his shifts in focus from sovereign power to

disciplinary power, governmentality and beyond not as substitutions, but rather as supplements which, taken together, produce a broader account of the life of the subject.

In his February 1, 1978 lecture, Foucault describes governmentality as connoting several things:

> First, by "governmentality" I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault, 2007, p. 108).

There are a number of features to unpack in this first definition. Most important is the fact that governmentality entails a rather large and diverse ensemble of governmental components. In addition, this ensemble (or apparatus or assemblage), although focused on population, political economy and their security, is not synonymous with the state: instead it is both broader in the sense that the meaning of government was itself more broad or pervasive in reference to the subject in the seventeenth and eighteenth century time period that Foucault was initially looking at, and also in the sense that it extends beyond the borders of particular nation states (Foucault, 2007). In the second and third definitions Foucault offers in the same lecture, governmentality refers to the fact that this type of power has steadily gained ground in the West, moving "towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power – sovereignty, discipline and so on" (Foucault, 2007, p. 108). He refers to this process of transition of the state as justice in the medieval period to the state as administration in the early modern

period as one of "governmentalization" (Foucault, 2007, p. 109). Elsewhere he refers to government as "the conduct of conduct", drawing on several senses of the verb 'to conduct', including, to lead or direct the actions of others, and also, the behavior, actions or carriage of oneself (Dean, 2010, p. 17; Foucault, 2007). Considering this movement from the sovereign to the governmentalized state, it is important to note that this power, or conduction, operates at a distance through "educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs" where "people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why" (Li, 2007a, p. 275). In this way it stands in stark contrast to the disciplinary power earlier described by Foucault.

Attending to another play on words and meanings, governmentality as a term refers not just to government, but instead to "how we think about governing, with the different rationalities, or, as is also often phrased, 'mentalities of government'" (Dean, 2010, p. 24). There are two points to consider with this phrase. Dean is quick to add that mentalities or rationalities in the sense used here do not necessarily refer to the products of any sort of systematic reasoning; on the contrary, one could also parse them as collective ways of thinking, or "bodies of knowledge, belief and opinion in which we are immersed" (Dean, 2010, p. 24). One aspect of this meaning is that these mentalities are "relatively taken for granted, i.e., [they are] not usually open to questioning by [their] practitioners" (Dean, 2010, p. 25). But this is not an exclusive definition, as mentalities may also be drawn from a wide and diverse range of "expertise, vocabulary, theories, ideas, philosophies and other forms of knowledge" (Dean, 2010, p. 25).

Expanding on the notion of plurality, Li notes, that the will to govern, or governmentalities are "not the product of a singular intention or will" (2007a, p. 276) Rather, they form part of "a heterogeneous assemblage or *dispositif* that combines "forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgment, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices, inscriptions, techniques and so forth" (Rose, 1999, p. 52). The concept referred to at different times as assemblage, apparatus or *dispositif* plays a central role in elaborating what governmentalities are and how they function. In the field of human geography, Legg (2009, 2011) has suggested that apparatus captures the stable and purposive aspects of the term and "thus may be thought of as a more constraining concept than assemblages" (2009, p. 239). In contrast, he describes the term assemblage as more unstable phenomena, which apparatuses emerge from. He considers assemblage to be primarily a Deleuzian concept that, while influential in Foucault's thinking, is not the exact equivalent of an apparatus. On the other hand, Li (2007a, 2007b) prefers to treat the terms as overlapping, arguing that "assemblage flags agency, the hard work required to draw heterogeneous elements together" (2007b, p. 264). She further explains that assemblage provides the critical reminder that what is being considered is a process, and a fragile and dynamic alliance of complex phenomena, which is not necessarily manifest as a stable or established system of relations. (There are many similarities between this thinking and a recent exploration of complexity theory in applied linguistics. See, for example, Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008).

In this dissertation I have chosen to follow Li's approach for the reasons she gives highlighted above. Thinking of governmentalities as assemblages is useful because it challenges monolithic or singular notions of state power, and "enables us to recognize the range of parties involved in attempts to regulate the conditions under which lives are lived" (Li, 2007a, p. 276). Moving one step beyond this conceptualization, because of the fragile or impermanent nature of these assemblages, it is also important to note that there are a plurality of governmentalities which take many different forms all around the world, and governmentality is not simply a phenomenon found in democratic Western states. Hoffman (2006) provides a compelling example of this in her characterization of college students in late-socialist China attending job fairs rather than receiving job assignments directly from the state as adhering to a form of neoliberal governmentality that she describes as *patriotic professionalism*.

Related to this last point, governmentality has been proved productive in recent research on neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has exploded as an analytic category in the social sciences generally over the last fifteen years, and is more recently emerging in applied linguistic research (e.g., Block, 2012; Chun, 2009; Kubota, 2011; Park, 2010). An often cited definition proposed by David Harvey describes it as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (2005, p. 2). However, increased use of the term has also led to a proliferation of typological classifications of the term. These include but are not limited to considering neoliberalism as: an ideology, a policy package, an Anglo-American form of

capitalism, a governmentality or mode of governance, or as a more general all purpose denunciation (Brady, 2014, p. 16). Although these conceptions of neoliberalism are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and instead reflect particular ways of making sense of phenomena in particular places and times, in this dissertation I approach neoliberalism as one of several types of governmentality (Brady, 2014) for several reasons. First, taking neoliberalism exclusively as an ideology suggests the mono-causality or singular will of a particular dominant group of agents, and makes it difficult to account for a multiplicity of heterogenous processes and fragile alliances which contribute to the policy process (Dardot & Laval, 2013; Li, 2007a, 2007b). Second, and relatedly, taking neoliberalism primarily as a policy package implies a uniformity that may or may not be present in actual practice. This approach focuses on the (often top-down) intentions of a small group of agents and is less suited to understanding not only the complexities that arise when these policies are taken up by their target populations, but the ways in which these policies interact with other policies and rationalities which are not so easily characterized as neoliberal. As Brady notes for example, it is important for researchers "to acknowledge the presence of non-liberal rationalities and to incorporate these rationalities into their theoretical frameworks" as well (2014, p. 13). Lastly, taking a governmentality approach highlights the productivity of neoliberal (and other) rationalities, which are not simply destructive of rules and rights by means of, for example, the push towards privatization and individual responsibility, but also constitute new kinds of social relations and subjectivities (Dardot & Laval, 2013).

Governmentality in LPP research. Researchers within applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and LPP in particular have been rather late to pick up on

governmentality as part of their theoretical toolkits. Perhaps its first appearance in LPP came from a pair of papers by Pennycook (2002a, 2002b), applying the term to the historical analysis of language education policy in the colonial contexts of Hong Kong and Malaya. He also provides a helpful elucidation of the concept in a chapter devoted solely to postmodern theory and LPP published several years later (Pennycook, 2006). In order to gain a better understanding of how the term has been operationalized in LPP to date, in this section I present a brief summary and analysis of how it has been used by Pennycook, and more recently, by Flores (2014), Johnson, (2013b), Manan, David & Dumanig (2016), and Milani (2009). (Based on a recent search of a broad selection of Proquest databases, these constitute the bulk of articles and chapters listed and connected to LPP that rely primarily on governmentality as a concept for doing empirical research. A handful of others also mention it, but more tangentially, or as a sub-component of other theoretical frameworks.) As Pennycook's work is pioneering in the field of LPP, I use his contributions as a benchmark from which to present and evaluate the others as similar or divergent.

Pennycook (2002a) helpfully introduces governmentality as enabling a shift in focus in LPP studies from the macro level of the state down to the micro level of everyday practices, and simultaneously as moving from the singularity of "the intentional and centralized strategies of government authority toward the multiplicity of ways in which practices of governance may be realized" (p. 92). In order to make this shift, he explains that discourses and discursive regimes, as well as educational practices and language use, ought to be the focus of investigation rather than laws, regulations, and what he refers to as "dominant ideologies" (Pennycook, 2002a, p. 92). An important result of bringing

governementality into LPP studies in this way is that this expanded notion of governance and its rationalities maps neatly onto the expanded notions of LPP which are gaining in popularity as described above.

For Manan, David and Dumanig (2016), governmentality and expanded notions of LPP are virtually synonymous. They defend their rationale for working with the concept in that "it offers an analytical framework that helps to analyze governance at a distance" (p. 6), and allows them to search "for patterns in everyday activity of the techniques of power or governance by which the conduct of citizens is regulated […] also known as the conduct of conduct" (p. 15). They further explain that for them "rationality is closely intertwined with the concept of governmentality [and] it signifies that the governmentality is normally driven by discourse and actions that rationalize and thus perpetuate the existing system" (Manam, David & Dumanig, 2016, p. 16). This last comment about perpetuating an existing system is an important one to attend to, as one of the aims of scholars using governmentality in LPP studies appears to be precisely this: to demonstrate that "increasing modes of governmentality through a greater multiplicity of modes of surveillance" challenge modernist or liberal myths about the greater degree of personal autonomy and freedom under current systems of governance (Pennycook, 2006, p. 65). Government at a distance is thus presented as being a form of coercion by other means, with equal or greater constrains on individuals than previous types of regimes such as feudalism. However, in presenting governmentality in this way, these scholars appear to tacitly subscribe to the criticism of the limited view of agency others see in Foucault's thought mentioned above. As Johnson explains in his critique of Pennycook:

Pennycook's move to the micro level does not insert agency into language policy processes as much as it positions discourse (and therefore discoursers) as perpetuating their own subjugation since they stay trapped in positivistic worldviews. Even though Pennycook places the locus of power in the hands of local actors, they are still acting out larger power relations over which they have little control (2013a, p. 42).

Flores (2014), in his account of early language policy in the United States of America makes a similar appeal to an ever-present constraint on subjects that, within a governmentality model, emanates from discourses or norms rather than a singular top-down state-driven approach to conduct. He proposes a valuable distinction between language ideological research "which tends to focus on the ways that language is used as a tool of repression in hopes of discovering the true nature of language" and a language governmentality approach that rejects the idea of this true nature, and instead attends to the dynamic ways in which language can be viewed by looking at "the productive aspects of language, and the ways that the very meaning of the nature of language changes alongside shifts in political rationality" (Flores, 2014, p. 2). However, despite his recognition of the multitude of institutions, technologies and players involved in the creation and circulation of particular political rationalities and their subsequent production of governable subjects, he describes the end result of all of this labour as rather predictable and settled: "The current political discourse is embedded within a specific language rationality that inevitably privileges the mainstream norm at the expense of those who fail to conform to these norms" (Flores, 2014, p. 10). With a conclusion this bleak, it becomes difficult to see the advantages of a governmentality approach to LPP in terms of understanding

and/or activating individual agency in particular, and social change more generally.

Johnson (2013a, 2013b) makes a similar point in his abovementioned critique of Pennycook, warning that "by focusing exclusively on the subjugating power of policy, and obfuscating the agency of language policy actors, there is a danger in perpetuating a view of policy as necessarily monolithic, intentional and fascistic (2013a, p. 43). Somewhat ironically, this is precisely the sort of outlook that a governmentality approach is charged with overcoming, and if supplemental critical approaches are necessary in order to actualize grassroots activism and actor agency it calls into question the advantages or benefits of a governmentality approach. In his own research Johnson (2013b; Johnson & Johnson, 2015) attempts to challenge this outlook by focusing on the actions of various language policy agents throughout the implementational process: however, the administrators and consultants whose engagement with policies he tracks tend to already "wield a disproportionate amount of power relative to other individuals in a particular level or layer" of analysis (Johnson & Johnson, 2015, p. 221). Missing from these discussions is an account of how, in their own words, the subjects of LPP take up policies and discourses and reject them.

In the last governmentality-driven study of LPP that I look at here, Milani (2009) provides an insightful case study of a political proposal for immigrant language testing in Sweden as an instantiation of knowledge production, mapping how political discourses about immigrants and language are established and legitimized through an assemblage of arguments from a diversity of sources. Using critical discourse analytical techniques, Milani maps out the various pathways through which "values and beliefs about migrants and

their linguistic practices are *rationalized* in discourse in order to shore up a specific policy proposal" arguing that this is a "manifestation of a form of *advanced liberal governmentality*" (2009, pp. 298-299). As such it recasts an exclusionary and disciplinary form of discrimination against migrants as promoting greater personal autonomy and self-determination on the part of potential migrant citizenship language test takers. He suggests that in cases such as these,

> A governmentality approach may be germane to tracking the ways such
> often muddled bundles of ideas, values and beliefs about linguistic
> practices are *streamlined, rationalized,* and *legitimated* through claims to
> knowledge, which, according to Foucault, are always claims to power
> (Milani, 2009, p. 301).

Governmentality and ethnography. The quote above expresses a quality that almost all of the governmentality-based studies in LPP reviewed here possess; namely, that despite their origins in complex assemblages of rationalities produced by and emanating from a broad ensemble of participants, the results that emerge all somewhat predictably describe an end result of domination or repression by traditional bodies invested with power such as the state. Addressing what she sees as a similar phenomenon in the governmentality literature in public policy research, Brady (2011) identifies a tendency to "focus on a limited set of practices" (p. 266). In doing so, this approach often "downplays other sets of practices that are also key to governmentalities, including managing failures and contradictions, [and] linking together the objectives of" both those with ambitions of governing others, and those who are to be the objects of this governance (p. 266). This process of limited selection and

foregrounding amounts to a cleaning of governmentalities to highlight one or two particular governmental rationalities. Brady (2011) notes that there is a tendency in what she refers to as the Anglo-Saxon governmentality literature (e.g., Rose, 1999; Rose & Miller, 2008) to focus on policies presented in official texts and an abstraction of analysis from actually existing conditions on the ground (Note however that this is not the case in all of the LPP studies reviewed here). In this way, there is a danger that "problematizations and practices of governance appear settled and sometimes even complete in way that they are not" (Brady, 2011, p. 266).

The challenges or questioning I have attributed to Brady here highlight a growing rift taking place in governmentality studies between this Anglo-Saxon tradition, which focus exclusively on governmental rationalities detached from context rather than what Rose (1999) refers to as "sociologies of rule – studies of the ways in which rule is actually accomplished, in all their complexity" (As cited in Li, 2007a, p. 278), and an emerging body of scholars exploring governmentalities ethnographically (e.g., Brady, 2011; Li, 2007a; see Brady, 2014 for a comprehensive review of scholars specifically interrogating neoliberal governmentalities). Interestingly, ethnography is also an approach that Foucault rejected in his own research program (but bear in mind again the toolbox quote cited above) (Li, 2007a). Li (2007a) quotes Foucault himself at length explaining that, in his discussion of Bentham and disciplinary approaches to incarceration he is less interested in understanding the complexity of practices and lived experiences of subjects of these prisons (which he famously refers to as "a witches' brew"), but rather only to track the rationalities, or "regimes of jurisdiction and veridiction" which affect reality as historical events (Li, 2007a, p.

278). Indeed this approach to governmentality studies has much in common with the work of Pennycook (2002a, 2002b), Flores (2014) and Milani (2009 cited above. However, Li (2007a) argues against this approach contending that it is in practice impossible to separate one from the other: "The relation of power to its others is not simply a contest of ideas – it is embodied in practices" (p. 279). To accomplish this task of ethnographic inquiry of government she suggests the following schematic of three key terms or sites of engagement. First, she advises the study of programmes, with an eye to tracking not only the rationales that summon a programme into being, but also "how programmes take hold and change things [cf. Milani, 2009], while keeping in view their instabilities, fragilities and fractures, and the ways in which failure prepares the ground for new programming" (Li, 2007a, p. 279). Second are practices, which as a category include not only the technicalization of programmes, but also "practices of compromise and accommodation, everyday resistance or outright refusal" (Li, 2007a, p. 279). Lastly, she calls for vigilance of the effects of governmental interventions, considering the ways in which they "are both proximate and indirect, planned and unplanned, and they can be examined at a range of spatial scales" (Li, 2007a, p. 280).

Technologies of the Self

In order to perform the type of ethnography of governmentality that Li (2007a) is suggesting here, a key area of inquiry is that of practices of the self, or technologies of the self, a conceptual apparatus that Foucault turned his attention towards in the final years of his life (1985, 1986, 1997a, 1997b). As one of the four major types of technologies "that human beings use to understand themselves"

(1997a, p. 224) mapped by Foucault (the other three are technologies of production, sign systems and power), technologies of the self:

> Permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity wisdom, perfection, or immortality (1997a, p. 225)

The dominant trend in governmentality research to date has been to focus on the function of technologies of the self as means of coercion by gentler means at a distance, and what limited use it has been put to thus far in language-focused research has followed this trend. For example, in a discussion of the rise of soft skills as part of neoliberal skills discourses in the new workplace, Urciuoli (2008) defines these technologies as "ways to fashion subjectivity compatible with dominant practices, institutions and beliefs", describes them as "hegemonic" (p. 215), and in a subsequent footnote explains that "Skills discourses nest technologies of self in technologies of power" (p. 225). Foucault himself invites these sorts of claims with comments such as "this encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call "governmentality" (1997a, p. 225); however, more recently a number of philosophers, feminist theorists and political theorists have begun to challenge this limited and dominating view of technologies of the self, reading them also as rich sites of agency and resistance to dominant norms (e.g., Allen, 2011; Bevir, 1999; Davidson, 2011). Recognizing that within Foucault's theorizing of power relations, "practices of the self are not wholly individualistic, but instead are always developed in the context of and through relations with others", rather

than presenting a completely autonomous version of the self they explore the wiggle room that subjects have in terms of their own subjectivity, and remind us that despite their hegemonic and domineering qualities, discourses and rationalities are not monoliths with singular or complete control of particular domains (Allen, 2011, p. 52). As Mills (1997) explains in reference to discourses: "Discourses do not exist in a vacuum but are in constant conflict with other discourses and other social practices which inform them over questions of truth and authority" (1997, p. 17).

Focusing on a few comments in a lecture from 1978, Davidson presents the thus far underexplored notion of counter-conduct as a rich means of capturing "the sense of struggle against the procedures implemented for conducting others" (Foucault, 2007, p. 201, as cited in Davidson, 2011, p. 28). He identifies in Foucault's analysis practices of counter-conduct as both "wanting to be conducted differently" and also the mapping out of "an area in which each individual can conduct himself [sic], the domain of one's own conduct or behavior" (Davidson, 2011, p. 27). It is worth reiterating, however, that in the Foucauldian conception counter-conduct as resistance is "not in a position of exteriority with respect to power" (Davidson, 2011, p. 27). Nevertheless, this immanence does not reduce it to the role of "a passive underside" or a "merely negative or reactive phenomenon" (Davidson, 2011, p. 27). As with all phenomena within the field of power relations, counter-conduct, or resistance necessarily contains within itself productive qualities, to imagine or do things differently, or to be conducted in a different way, or at the very least to be conducted not quite so much (Foucault, 1997c).

A similar line of thinking is explored by De Certeau (1984), who proposes the idea of "*la perruque*" or " the wig" (p. 24). He describes these types of practices in the context of a factory, where workers subvert the machines to their own ends on 'borrowed time', such as, for example "a cabinetmaker's 'borrowing' a lathe to make a piece of furniture for his living room" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 25). Despite taking place within the interiority of the disciplinary order of the factory, "*la perruque*" is not simply a reactive practice, but as the example above shows, it is productive and creative as well. De Certeau suggests that similar such practices are ubiquitous in contexts where governance happens at a greater distance (1984).

Applications in empirical research. A number of scholars have suggested applications for technologies of the self in education and public policy research, highlighting some of the aspects of the term as I have described it here, and identifying several potential advantages and insights it enables. Clark & Hennig (2013) provide an alternate approach to thinking about motivation in language learning research based in the educational psychology tradition, challenging what they refer to as "an individualistic, cognitive orientation" (p. 77). Taking a view of agency as nested in a social context and its concomitant constraints from De Certeau (1984), and drawing on a late Foucauldian approach to the subject through technologies of the self, they provide a compelling case study of a student in Hong Kong learning German called 'Wolfgang'. Clark & Hennig (2013) map Wolfgang's motivation across four axes of ethical formation, including: 1) the axis of ethical function, which they interpret as language learning as "an intellectual challenge, as a practical skill, as an aesthetic engagement, or as a stimulus for feelings and emotions" (p. 82); 2) the mode of

subjection, or "values and beliefs" (p. 84) connected to learning an additional language; 3) self-practices; and 4) the telos, or "the ultimate goal or purpose for which the language is being learned" (p. 86). By looking at Wolfgang's case across these four axis, they are able to present a rich portrait of his motivation that maps across multiple domains and their unique constraints and opportunities without forgetting that at the core of all of this complexity is a subject with the desire "to live differently and to be – and continue to become – a different person" (Clarke & Hennig, 2013, p. 88).

Focusing on recent governmentality research into Australian welfare programmes, Brady (2007) notes a tendency to consider capacity building initiatives targeting welfare recipients almost exclusively "through the lens of dominant normalizing discourses and disciplinary practices" (p. 189). While agreeing that these are important and indeed pervasive aspects of these types of initiatives, she expresses concern that these analyses might be overlooking equally important opposing aspects which "incorporate an imagining and building up of what could be, and a rejection of normalizing and totalizing relations to oneself" (Brady, 2007, p. 189). Ball & Olmedo (2013) suggest a similar approach in education research, using technologies of the self as a tool to "approach power relations differently, following the flows of power in the 'opposite direction'" (p. 86). This thinking of governmentality in reverse prompts them to share an important reminder from Foucault himself, that "power relations are not something that is bad in itself, that we have to break free of" (1997b, p. 298). They are instead an integral component of society that demand constant vigilance.

These two approaches to operationalizing technologies of the self in empirical research highlight opposing tendencies within their respective areas of inquiry. One the one hand, the motivation literature that Clarke and Hennig (2013) challenge underestimates the role of contexts, discourses and their normalizing power, but on the other, Brady (2007) notes a predominance analyses of domineering power relations with little spaces for individual agency in the governmentality literature of her field. In both cases technologies of the self are proposed as part of a larger toolkit that enables the researcher to navigate a path between these two poles.

Putting it All Together

The various concepts laid out in this chapter combine to form the overarching theoretical orientations of this dissertation. Adhering to recently developed expanded perspectives on LPP as de jure and de facto, overt and covert and top-down and bottom-up approaches to managing and impacting on language practices, I adopt an ethnographic perspective in order to focus on the lived experiences of Brazilian Ciência sem Fronteiras scholarship students as they study English in Canada as a requirement of their programme. Taking an emic approach opens up the possibility for greater access to the unexpected and the hidden aspects of policy as described above. In addition, adopting a poststructuralist conception of identity as subjectivity as presented in the work of Weedon (1987) and Norton (2013), allows this work to move beyond a model of the subject as a static or fixed entity subjected to the whims of power exerted from above. It instead allows for a detailed analysis of the different ways in which the subject is productively constituted, and also resists various types of pressures. In order to bring these two lines of thinking in direct contact with one

another, I make use of Foucault's concepts of governmentality and technologies of the self. Thinking about governmentalities provides insight into the rationalities and discourses that assembled together form programmes such as Ciência sem Fronteiras, as well as the emergence in real time in practices of government of instabilities, fragilities, fractures, contestations, contradictions and rearticulations (Li, 2007a). It reveals polices as dynamic temporally bound assemblages, themselves subject to a broad range of pressures, constant development and mutation. Foucault's later concept of technologies of the self allows for a slight shift of focus from the policies to the subjects of policies themselves, and without positing the possibility for a position of exteriority to power, assists me in considering the ways in which these students challenge and subvert features of the program to their own purposes, actively participating in their own subject formation. A compelling argument for employing these concepts in the study of policy and power relations is that they presume neither the absolute domination of subjects through programmes of government at a distance, nor do they fetishize or guarantee the success of acts of resistance, instead determining these things empirically.

Chapter 3: An Ethnography of Language Policy in Higher Education:

Methodology, Context, Setting and Participants

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the methodological motivations, principles and procedures involved in this dissertation research project. I begin by situating this project within a poststructuralist epistemological and ontological paradigm. I then discuss the methodological toolkit I used for exploring, describing, understanding and accounting for the role of LPP in the experiences and subject formation of the Brazilian students in this study, assembled using components drawn from several overlapping approaches to empirical social scientific inquiry, including critical ethnographic sociolinguistics (Heller, 2011), interpretive ethnography (Denzin, 1997), linguistic ethnography (e.g., Rampton, 2006), narrative ethnography (e.g., Gubrium & Holstein, 2008), and case study research (e.g., Burawoy, 1998; Duff, 2008; McCarty, 2015). Following that, I present the narrative of my fieldwork, and describe the specific methodological procedures used in collecting, producing and interpreting the empirical materials that form the basis for this project. I then make a few remarks about the ways in which I coded and transcribed this accumulation of diverse forms of data. I conclude by reviewing the efforts I have made to ensure the legitimacy and trustworthiness of my analyses, revisiting poststructural approaches to validity and/or reliability introduced at the outset of this chapter.

Poststructuralist Qualitative Research

Methodological choices are inevitably based on and influenced by ontological and epistemological positions, making it necessary to identify the

paradigm or tradition of principles and beliefs about the world or reality and the (ability to gain) knowledge of it that a particular researcher or author of a research text subscribes to. As Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue, "questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm" (p. 195). Indeed, these principles inform decisions about method not only in a specific sense, but also more generally how researchers understand themselves, their relationships with the participants they work with, the phenomena under examination, what counts as data, the politics of representation, and the necessary qualities of a trustworthy or valid argument (Heller, 2008). Within mainstream applied linguistics research, Duff (2008) suggests that most qualitative researchers in the field today "fall somewhere on the continuum between postpositivism and interpretivism" (p. 29). I situate my own thinking as leaning towards the interpretivist or poststructuralist end of this spectrum, and thus the research presented in this dissertation is informed by the following principles or beliefs.

First, reality as we experience it is socially constructed; however, this construction does not exist in a vacuum free of material conditions, but rather "is constructed on the basis of symbolic and material structural constraints that are empirically observable" (Heller, 2008, p. 250; Rampton, 2006). In the case of the student participants of this study, the things they do and the beliefs they hold are contingent on particular contextual and historical circumstances that are in large part imposed on them. Yet they also have a certain amount of wiggle room, and it is (at least in part) in these spaces that they construct and interpret their own social realities. This leads to a second principle, that reality is multiple and situated, rather than singular and universal. Based on this principle, poststructuralist thinking is "anti-foundationalist, and opposed to grand

narratives" (Pennycook, 2006, p. 62), and is thus typically more interested in attending to the lived experiences of individuals and the differences between them as rooted in their particular subjectivities rather than the more positivistic pursuit of cross-case generalities or universals. But this is not to advocate for a radical notion of relativity. On the contrary, it presents a challenge to "the relativist-universalist dichotomy, favoring instead a concept of situated knowledge" (Pennycook, 2006, p. 63). Sidestepping this polarized debate, the idea of situated, or local knowledge allows us to better understand how people think, act and express value in their everyday lives. Importantly, this notion of situatedness is also not exclusive to the participants, but applies to the researcher as well, who as a result, must "reject the view that any research can claim to be objective or unbiased", and acknowledge their own subject positions and the ways they interact with those of their informants or participants (Norton, 2013, p. 59). However, the rejection of objectivity, or of some Archimedean or external point from which both the world and reports on it can be evaluated, presents two important challenges for the poststructurally-minded researcher. One the one hand, it requires researchers to undertake considerable amount of reflexivity in terms of the politics of their interpretations and representations of other's actions and engage critically and actively with notions of authority, textual or otherwise (Heller, 2008). As Heller writes of this reflexivity: "I need to take responsibility for constructing an account which is always necessarily rooted in my historically and socially situated subjectivity" (2008, p. 251). Yet on the other hand, a researcher has a responsibility to present a convincing argument to readers, and demonstrate the ways in which they arrived at these conclusions, whether provisional or definitive. Heller's comments on this struggle are also germane:

"This account is not just my opinion, freely formed on the basis of my own private experience. It is an account based on systematic enquiry, conducted according to selection principles which I have to describe and justify" (2008, p. 251). At the conclusion of this chapter I will discuss some of the ways in which this poststructuralist qualitative study demonstrates and justifies itself as systematic, and having validity or trustworthiness.

Ethnographic Research

In the previous chapter I introduced ethnography as an increasingly popular approach to LPP research based on its usefulness for posing a particular range of questions on the impact of policies on populations that many LPP researchers are interested in. But this is not the only approach to LPP issues; indeed, due to its nature as an applied field, LPP is rather diverse, and the selection of appropriate methods in LPP is often conditioned by the types of questions researchers intend to ask (Hornberger, 2015; McCarty, 2015). The overarching question that guided the fieldwork for this research project was to explore the different kinds of subjectivities recent international student mobility and language policies in Brazil and Canada aimed to produce. Given the opened ended nature of this question, ethnography presented itself as a logical choice due to its emphasis on how participants interpret their lived experiences and the search for patterns or meaning among these interpretations (Johnson, 2013). McCarty (2015) notes a number of dimensions to ethnographic problem-posing which are also of particular relevance and advantage in this case. First, the open-endedness of these sorts of research questions are "designed to describe and understand complexity, not reduce it to a yes-no response or to measure cause and effect" (McCarty, 2015, p. 83). Second, these questions are not necessarily

permanent or static, and must be open to change as the researcher's understanding of the phenomena under study develops in the field. This is especially the case in this study, as I describe in the narrative of my fieldwork experiences below. Lastly, despite not providing generalizable results in the positivistic sense described above, quality ethnography inquiry "has the potential to invite praxis" – that is, insights gathered through the ethnographic research process ideally may be used for the benefit and transformation of research participants, the programmes they participate in, and their communities (McCarty, 2015, p. 83). These insights may also provide support for broader theories of social processes (Burawoy, 1998).

With origins in the discipline of anthropology, ethnography is often conservatively defined by researchers in applied linguistics and second language learning as, on one hand, a product, or "a detailed description and analysis of a social setting and the interaction that goes on within it" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 582), and on the other, as a set of research methods, such as participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, audio and videotaping and document collection (Toohey, 2008; Watson-Gegeo, 1988, 2016). But while scholars such as Watson-Gegeo warn against ethnography simply becoming a synonym for qualitative research in second language learning, and advocate for a narrow definition which foregrounds long term field work focusing on culture holistically in bound spaces, others scholars from diverse disciplinary backgrounds argue instead for a broadening of the term in regards to object of analysis as well as the spaces or sites of investigation (Blommaert, 2008; Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Heller, 2011; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Marcus, 1995; Walford, 2002). I applaud the efforts of these scholars, and in this research project

draw from their conceptualizations in a number of interrelated ways described below.

While ethnography is often reduced to a collection of methods and techniques for data collection, it is also much more than that, and similarly to the discussion of poststructuralist thinking described above, involves at its core, a practical stance towards complex phenomena (Geertz, 1973) and a "theoretical perspective on human behavior" (Blommaert, 2008, p. 13) with its own attendant epistemologies and methodologies which may differ from other research approaches (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). (Indeed, in a later text, Blommaert refers to ethnography as a paradigm in its own right.) In contrast to a narrowly prescribed set of methodological procedures, Blommaert argues that ethnography "has always been characterized by eclecticism and bricolage [where] the ethnographer thinks and develops methods in response to features of the object of inquiry" (2008, p. 13). In the case of that scholar's monograph *Grassroots Literacy: Writing, Identity and Voice in Central Africa,* the core data were several sets of documents, and no fieldwork was conducted in any site. However, he argues that this does not disqualify this research as ethnographic, or having an ethnographic 'attitude' (Blommaert, 2008). Relatedly, the object of much LPP research differs from the traditional focus in anthropology on culture in a bound community space, instead examining policies as texts and as practices that take place at multiple sites often simultaneously (Johnson, 2013; Marcus, 1995). Given the fact that policies are produced in different spaces than they are performed, and that subjects move across a range of spaces while governed by a particular policy or set of policies, an ethnography of LPP is thus by nature multi-sited, prompting the researcher to follow and map "connections,

associations, and putative relationships" (Marcus, 1995, p. 97). Yet this multi-sited nature of the research is not without its disadvantages, which are particularly pronounced in a graduate student study of this nature. There is a problem of access and regular attendance, as one researcher can only monitor a single site at a time. By focusing on a range of sites rather than a single one, less time is spent overall at each of the sites, which means that my relationships with certain participants were more superficial than others based on the duration of time I spent with them. A related issue, although not necessarily a disadvantage, is the dynamism of the policy process, which was particularly pronounced in the case of CSF. Writing about education policy research, Walford (2002) questions the value of traditional long-term approach to fieldwork in situations where the object of study develops and changes with frequency. He also calls for what he refers to as a compressed model of ethnography, where the timeline of the research fits with the timeline of the policy, in order to allow for timely feedback in the form of analysis and counsel to various stakeholders and subjects of the policy.

At the outset of this chapter I noted that narrative and case study research models also informed this project. Although historically ethnography and case study have been considered as distinct categories within applied linguistics and other fields, a number of researchers have challenged these category boundaries, particularly as case study research moves away from its origins in psychology and adopts a more interpretive stance (Holliday, 2004; Shohamy, 2004). Holliday contends that "researchers must be able to stand outside traditional discourses of research and reinvent their approaches when they need to" (2004, p. 731). Similarly, Shohamy suggests that research questions should determine the

methods chosen rather than the inverse, and that "researchers should feel free to examine a variety of modes, to mix and blend different methods in the long journey towards answering research questions" (2004, p. 729). In keeping with this more eclectic approach to method, she further argues that "researchers should not be forced to ask themselves whether they are doing critical ethnography or narrative research" but rather the work should be evaluated on the strength of the arguments alone (2004, p. 729). On the topic of the case, while not using the narrower conception of case study as defined in applied linguistics (e.g., Chapelle & Duff, 2003), Blommaert and Dong (2010) explain that the case as an example (i.e. a case of something) provides the means for demonstrating and elaborating on theory (see also Burawoy, 1998). Considering this move towards breaking down boundaries between methodologies and research traditions, I conceptualized this study as an ethnographic case study of the experiences of several Brazilian CSF students in Canada, using narrative as a means of both representation and analysis of empirical materials.

Performing Research – A Methodological Narrative

Beginnings. In the summer of 2013 I traveled to Campo Grande, MS in Brazil, to attend and present a paper at an annual group meeting of the *Brazil/Canada Knowledge Exchange* (BRCKE) partnership project linking scholars and research in Brazil and Canada on the central topic of transformational practices in the teaching of global English in institutions of higher education in Canada and Brazil (Brydon, 2011). At that time I had myself been exploring questions surrounding the role and position of English and learning English as a second language in the recent push towards internationalization in higher education in Canada (Altbach & Knight, 2007). I had produced several papers

and small pilot studies of the websites of a number of universities in Canada which raised questions about the degree to which these institutes were actually embracing multilingualism on their campuses as well as providing the necessary support for English learning international students. While these studies provided me with a valuable entry point to begin understanding the often tacit LPP decision-making that fell under the larger umbrella of the internationalization of higher education, I felt that as textual discourse analyses they only provided limited answers to the questions I was trying to pose, and what was lacking were accounts of how students actually experienced these policies on the ground. As a result of the transnational nature of the BRCKE project, on that trip to Brazil I learned from my Brazilian colleagues of the challenges they had been experiencing as language educators in local universities, and also in many cases, as administrators responsible for the launch of the domestic ISF programme and for providing language testing services for prospective CSF and other scholarship applicants.

One month later, after returning to Canada, I learned that the language institutes at Metropolitan and Kings Universities, (as well as several others) located within commuting distance of where I was living at that time, would be responsible for providing the necessary language training for an exceptionally large cohort of CSF students with low levels of English language proficiency and that they would be arriving almost immediately. This considerable influx of students on the same scholarship presented an attractive opportunity to me, as previously I had been considering focusing on the international student population at one university in Canada, but was struggling with the question of how I would address a potential diversity of student participants in terms of

country, culture of origin and linguistic repertoires, and also their socioeconomic backgrounds and the different financial conditions of their sojourns. Turning my gaze to the Brazilian recipients of the CSF scholarship would thus allow me to narrow the policy frame of my study to one or two host institutions and one mobility programme. Now that I had identified a potential site for my research, I sought ethics clearance for the project from my home university, which I received in December of 2013. Once I received this clearance I immediately contacted the directors at the language institutes at Metropolitan and Kings Universities, asking permission to conduct classroom research observing CSF students, as well as more broadly distributing recruitment materials directly to the students via email. (For a sample of this recruitment email, as well as a poster that was subsequently displayed in the Metropolitan language institute see Appendix) However, as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) note, the process of gaining access to fieldwork sites and participants can involve complex negotiations. After a considerable email exchange with various administrators at Kings University, I was informed that I would not be permitted to access their classrooms as they ultimately decided to keep research on their programming in-house. This reduced my potential fieldwork sites to one. Luckily, the assistant director at Metropolitan agreed to circulate my recruitment materials to the student population, and to pass on my request to observe classes to instructors at the institute.

Primary Site of Research – Language Institute at Metropolitan University. The English language institute is an affiliate at Metropolitan that offers a range of non-credit courses including summer and general programming, bridging programmes for both domestic and international

undergraduate and graduate students, and an eight level academic preparation programme, ranging from content for absolute beginners to a focus on critical thinking and study skills in the higher levels. It is in this academic programme that the CSF students were enrolled, and it normally takes 64 weeks to complete it in its entirely from the lowest level, with students attending classes full-time for 20 hours per week. In the case of the members of the cohort including the participants in this study, a 32 week compressed programme was piloted especially for them, adding 10 additional hours per week; however, one of the conditions suggested in the process of my gaining access to institute was that neither this revised curriculum nor the performance of the instructors whose classes I observed would be the primary object of inquiry in my study. I therefore only refer to these features of the institute and the programme as they relate to my research objectives.

Participants. Following the initial emails sent out in early January 2014, I received numerous positive responses and shows of interest from Brazilian students at Metropolitan, and eager to begin my fieldwork I made appointments to meet as many as I could. Following an initial round of preliminary open-ended interviews, based on their enthusiasm and availability to participate in the project a small group of students emerged as the early focal participants for this study (a list of suggested questions for these first interviews can be found in Appendix C). Only two instructors responded to my request to observe classes with Brazilian students in them (observations were also contingent on the entire class consenting to my being there), and when I was finally able to begin attending classes in late February, I met several more students who joined the

Table 3.1 Thirteen student participants

Name	Gender	Age	Field of Study	Home University	Primary/ Secondary School	Home Region in Brazil	Duration of Sojourn in Canada	Classes Observed at Metropolitan
Ana	F	22	Engineering	Private	Private	Southeast	12 months	Yes
Bruna	F	26	Information Systems	Private	Public	Southeast	8 months	No
Clara	F	23	Health Sciences	Public	Private	Northeast	12 months	Yes
Carlos	M	27	Physics	Public	Public	South	12 months	No
Jessica	F	27	Engineering	Private	Public	Southeast	18 months	Yes
Daniel	M	21	Information Systems	Public	Public	Northeast	18 months	Yes
Fernanda	F	23	Health Sciences	Public	Private	South	18 months	Yes
Júlia	F	23	Engineering	Public	Private	Southeast	18 months	No
João Pedro	M	22	Engineering	Public	Private	Southeast	12 months	No
Lucas	M	24	Health Sciences	Private	Public	South	18 months	No
Miguel	F	23	Health Sciences	Public	Private	Northeast	18 months	Yes
Paulo	M	21	Engineering	Public	Public	Southeast	8 months	No
Thiago	M	22	Computer Science	Private	Private/Public	Southeast	16 months	Yes

focal group. For this group of primary participants then, sampling was based primarily on the two categories of belonging of (a) being a CSF student (b) studying English at Metropolitan (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Table 3.1 presents a summary of some of the basic information about the thirteen students who participated in this study, and Table 3.2 shows the shorter list of nine focal participants whose narratives form the core of Chapters 6 and 7. More detailed descriptions of those participants can be found in those chapters.

Table 3.2 Focal participants

Focal Participant	Institution of Academic Study in Canada
1. Ana	Prairie University
2. Bruna	-
3. Clara	Garden Universlty
4. Jessica	Prairie University
5. Daniel	Lake City University
6. Fernanda	Metropolitan University
7. Lucas	Garden University
8. Paulo	-
9. Thiago	Metropolitan University

Procedures.

Overview. As noted above, I began interviewing the student participants as soon as they responded to my emails, and these interviews began in February 2014, predating classroom observations at the Metropolitan language institute. All student participants consented to participating in the study, and pseudonyms are used throughout this dissertation (with the exception of several public figures

identified in media reports) for both participants and their host institutions. First interviews with new participants were semi-structured, and were based on a list of questions prepared in advance to elicit basic personal and biographical information, as well as knowledge of the programme itself, given the paucity of administrative information about the programme available online. At this time I learned that rather than being conditionally accepted to complete academic studies at Metropolitan subsequent to non-credit language courses, these students were members of an atypical cohort which they referred to colloquially as *Os Reoptantes do Portugal* ("the second choicers of Portugal"), due to the fact that they had originally selected Portugal as a destination on their CSF applications, and were only subsequently offered a placement in another country with enhanced language training. Throughout this dissertation I refer to this cohort as the Portugal Cohort, and will provide much more information on the origins and frequently changing conditions of the programme for this singular group in subsequent chapters.

In light of McCarty's (2015) comments quoted above about the dynamism of ethnographic problem-posing, this development would prompt some of the most dramatic changes to the fieldwork model I had in mind when I first entered the field. As I explain in more detail in chapters 6 and 7, the focal students in this study ultimately were placed at and attended four different universities in three different regions in Canada, and two participants were recalled to Brazil at the end of their English language studies at Metropolitan. As a result, my carefully bounded idea of following the trajectory of a small group of student participant cases at Metropolitan expanded far beyond my original plans, requiring me to enlarge my policy focus to include these other universities, and the

administrative partners in Canada such as CBIE who assisted in these placements. It also required that I adapt my original research procedures to a multi-sited model, and as a result, regularly scheduled interviews with participants who did not stay on at Metropolitan were by necessity conducted at a distance, with me either commuting to the cities where these students were now living, or communicating via Skype or Google Hangouts.

Several weeks after I first began speaking with student participants, I received responses from two instructors at the language institute at Metropolitan, and made arrangements to observe their classes on a semi-regular basis. These observations began at the start March, and lasted through to the end of the semester at the end of April. Although I had initially hoped to observe all of the participants in both non-credit English language courses and academic for-credit courses at Metropolitan, I found my access to courses at the language institute to be limited, and given that geographical issues put me in regular proximity with only two of my participants during the latter part of their sojourns in Canada, I decided against observing any academic courses. As a result, I was ultimately able to observe seven of my participants in their classes at the language institute (five members of the focal group, see Table 3.1). However, during the winter months I observed and spent time with all of the students in this study at Metropolitan several times a week between classes and in the cafeteria, often eating lunch with several of them. In this way was I able to interview a number of them informally on a semi-regular basis, and keep up to date on the latest changes and gossip of the programme. I had also planned on having the participants produce diaries of their English use in Canada to be used interactively during the interview process (Jones, Martin-Jones, & Bhatt, 2000;

Norton, 2013), but found after piloting a diary template with three of the

participants that they were less than enthusiastic about filling it out, and in one

case, informed me that I had already taken up too much of their time already,

and suggested that others might feel the same. In light of these negative

responses, I did not follow through with this additional approach to producing

data with the students.

At the same time as I conducted these interviews and observations of the

student participants, I collected a broad range of policy and policy-related

documents from various governmental and institutional sources in both Canada

and Brazil, including the CSF website itself, the website of affiliate organizations

such as CBIE and CALDO, and host and sending universities for each of the

students. I also collected online newspaper, magazine articles and social media

commentary which mentioned or discussed the programme from major media

sources in both Brazil and Canada from the start of the programme in 2011, until

its cancellation four years later, in 2015. Lastly, I conducted interviews with three

language instructors from the institute at Metropolitan (two of whose classes I

had observed), as well as one senior instructor/administrator at the language

institute, a senior administrator at the Metropolitan International Office, and a

project manager at CBIE who was responsible managing CSF students in

Canada.

Interviews. The value of interviews in qualitative research, and more

specifically in ethnographic and applied linguistic research has recently been the

subject of considerable scrutiny (e.g., Block, 2000; Briggs, 2007; Talmy, 2010).

Once concern is that "interviews (and other forms of elicitation) provide [the

researcher] with accounts, accounts that are situated performances in and of

themselves" and are thus reliant on those situational features for interpretation (Heller, 2011, p. 44). Briggs cautions that researchers and other interviewers typically rely on a set of ideologies of language and communication that tend to treat the interviews themselves as "black boxes", and often fail to interrogate the ethical, interpretive and representational issues which arise from the interviewing process (2007, p. 555). However, as Heller (2011) explains, these challenges do not simply indicate that interviews ought not be used for these types of research, but rather that "interviews need to be understood for what they are and analyzed accordingly" (p. 44). She elaborates that interviews are especially effective for understanding "participants' life trajectories", and are "also important sources of accounts, which allow glimpses in the beliefs and values and ideologies that inform what people do and why they do it" (pp. 44-45). Approaching similar problems from a different angle, Talmy (2010) suggests contrasting conceptualizations of the research interview as an instrument (that is, a relatively problem-free conduit for reports of facts from interviewees) versus as social practice, where accounts are collaboratively produced by interviewer and interviewee together, and requiring at a minimum "some form of micro-analysis" which considers the processes of this situated production (p. 140).

Bearing these tensions in mind, I took an "active" approach to my participation in interviews, attending to both what a participant said and how they said it (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). My interviews can be mapped into two categories: impromptu and scheduled. Impromptu interviews emerged in conversation in and around the language institute at Metropolitan and were recorded after the fact using the fieldnote procedures described under observations below. These interviews varied from a few minutes to a half-hour in

length. Scheduled interviews occurred at a time an a place (whether virtual or physical) predetermined by the participant and the researcher in advance, and lasted on average between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours in length. Frequency of interviews depended on the availability of participants, and over the 12 month period that they were conducted (February 2014 – January 2015) I collected approximately 50 hours of mp3 audio recordings of interviews with the student participants. After the initial semi-structured biographical questioning of the first interviews, lines of inquiry and topics of all subsequent interviews were less structured and were informed by the accumulation of previous conversations that I had with each participant, as well as the events that were taking place in their lives at that time (McCarty, 2015). Because the goal of my project was to gain an understanding of the kinds of subjectivities that international student mobility policies aim to produce, I was particularly attentive to the ways in which the research participants spoke about themselves, and encouraged storytelling and the production of narratives whenever possible (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). With the exception of one round of interviews with Ana, Carlos, Daniel, Fernanda, Lucas and Thiago conducted in June 2014, all interviews were conducted by myself in a mixture of English and Portuguese depending on the preference of each participants. On the round of interviews mentioned above, I was accompanied by my Brazilian colleague Juliana Martinez, a faculty member at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) and a doctoral student at the University of São Paulo (USP) also conducting research on the internationalization of higher education. Significant portions of these six interviews were conducted by Juliana in Portuguese, and she also assisted in the transcription and translation of these passages.

I also conducted formal semi-structured interviews with four English instructors at the Metropolitan language institute (including one senior instructor/administrator), a senior administrator at the International Office at Metropolitan, as well as a programme manager at CBIE. These interviews averaged 30 to 40 minutes in length for a total of around four hours of audio recordings, and focused on the details of the programme and the interviewees' experiences working within its policy framework.

All interviews were first transcribed using a general transcription model or "'play script', where information about conversational overlaps, latching or the timing of pauses has been omitted" (Johnstone, as cited in Stroud & Wee, 2012, pp. 83-84). This preliminary rendering of the data was produced for the purpose of considering the content rather than the form of the talk. Subsequently when key areas of interest or concern were identified in these data, I returned to the mp3 recordings, and re-transcribed these excerpts to a higher degree of delicacy as needed. With the exception of those interviews conducted in tandem with Juliana Martinez as mentioned above, all transcriptions and translations from Portuguese to English included here were initially completed by myself (this also includes all document and media sources, as analyzed primarily in chapters 4 and 5). After I completed a full draft of this dissertation, all translations were proofread and corrected where necessary by my Portuguese professor here in Canada, a first language speaker of Brazilian Portuguese.

An additional aspect of these transcriptions and translations requiring decisions on the part of the researcher concerns questions of representation of features of natural speech such as hesitations and repeated words, and the use of more than one named language in a single utterance (Blommaert, 2010a;

Bucholtz, 2000, 2007; Cameron, 2001; Heller, 2011). On the question of named languages I have chosen to include both Portuguese and English versions of all excerpts from interviews where English was not the dominant language at that moment of interaction. However, throughout I have let stand moments where the participants or I "codeswitched" or "translanguaged" words or phrases, providing explanations or translations is square brackets when necessary (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; Pennycook, 2010; Rampton, 2006). Similarly, I have tried to remain as faithful as possible to the original utterances in terms of features of natural speech, but have cleaned up the occasional excerpt of false starts and/or repetitions when I felt they impeded comprehensibility. In general I tried to retain the natural flavor of speech in the interviews as it happened, to give the reader a better sense of the types of interactions these interviews constituted. To this end I have also included paralinguistic features in square brackets occasionally.

Observations. While the majority of the empirical material capturing student experiences examined and presented in chapters 6 and 7 is drawn from the interviews described above, classroom observations of two classes over the course of a two month span (March – April 2014) served as a valuable supplement to the interview data, providing insight into classroom practices of the seven participants observed, as well as the academic English programme at Metropolitan. These classroom observations totaled approximately 30 hours. In addition to observing the participants in the classroom, I also observed them while simultaneously participating in their breaks between classes, watching and participating in impromptu conversations in the hallways and cafeteria during lunch break. These out-of-class observations were vital for understanding the

emotional experience of the TOEFL testing schedule implemented for these students in early 2014, as well as during the time that successful students were receiving offers of acceptance from various other universities in Canada and others were recalled to Brazil.

Fieldnotes constitute a key source of documentations of observations. Despite their origins as brief jottings often captured on my phone during or immediately after interactions, or on the bus on the way home from the university, I endeavored primarily to capture what I saw or heard rather than my own impressions of what happened during noteworthy events or comments, recording the date, time, purpose of the note, setting, and participants (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2007; McCarty, 2015). I attempted to represent dialogue as well as I could remember it at the time, and also clearly set off my own reflections, stance and commentary from the main body of each fieldnote (McCarty, 2015). In this way I was recording not only what I observed, but also my thoughts on it at that moment in time. This record of my developing understanding of programme and the participants' experience of it proved to be invaluable as my knowledge of features of the programme expanded and my interpretations evolved.

Preliminary Organization of the Data and Coding. Given that my empirical materials were drawn from this eclectic collection of sources, once I had collected the majority of these data, my next task was to organize them in such a way that would help me gain a better understanding of the kinds of subjectivities that the polices in Canada and Brazil directly and indirectly related to the CSF programme were producing. Citing Wolcott, Norton remarks that in many cases "a major challenge for qualitative researchers is not how to get data,

but how to decide what to do with the data they get" (2013, p. 71). Throughout the data collection process and transcription process I had been storing each individual participant's data in a single file, with additional files for field notes, interviews with secondary participants, Canadian and Brazilian media, and official policy documents from both countries' governments and institutions of higher education. As a first cycle coding procedure I manually coded the data producing a broad and diverse collection of units that included opinions, emotions, actions, facts, possibilities, events, roles and relationships (Saldanã, 2013). Through several iterations of this process I produced around 110 codes in all of the data taken together, including documents, fieldnotes and transcriptions of interviews. These 110 codes represented the most frequently emerging phenomena in the data. At this stage I began organizing these codes into categories and subcategories, and I began looking at these categories within and across the individual student cases, as well as in the other documents I had collected and produced (Saldanã, 2013). However, while this second coding cycle helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the features of the common categories across cases, similarly to Norton (2013), I found that "in adopting tis approach, I tended to lose sight of the composite language learning experiences" and in the case of my study, the effects of policy on each of the participants along the trajectory of their sojourn in Canada (p. 72). It was at this point that I considered a turn to narrative as a means to both represent the stories of student experiences in the data, and also as an addition to my analytic repertoire. To this end I added an additional phase of narrative coding (Saldanã, 2013), identifying and exploring the features of the individual small and big stories (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Freeman, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2015) told to me by the

students about their lives in Canada, and also the broader stories of their lives in

Canada and their entire language learning careers (Benson, 2011, 2013; Benson et

al., 2012, 2013). At the same time I subjected the central themes of the policy and

media documents to further scrutiny by means of discourse analysis, and also

considered a small subset of this data through the lens of Linde's (2009) notion of

paradigmatic narratives. Thus, while the categories and themes emerged from a

number of coding cycles of the data in its diversity and entirety, I have chosen to

represent the data from different sources in different chapters, with Chapter 4

exploring policy and media reports as discourse, Chapter 5 considering a small

subset of these reports as a paradigmatic narrative, and Chapters 6 and 7

examining the small and large narratives of four different types or cases of

students. Given this range of different sets of data, I describe specific analytic

procedures at the start of each of the chapters listed above.

The Researcher as Subject/Researcher Reflexivity

Throughout the entire process of preparing for, conducting, and

subsequently writing up this project, I have often considered what contributions

my own subjectivities brought to the research, and the effects that they may have

had on the participants, the types of questions asked, the data collected and my

interpretations (Berger, 2015). As Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, &

Richardson note:

> Researchers cannot help being socially located persons. We inevitably
>
> bring our biographies and our subjectivities to every stage of the research
>
> process and this influences the questions we ask and the ways in which
>
> we try to find answers . . . the subjectivity of the observer should not be
>
> seen as a regrettable disturbance but as one element in the human

interactions that comprise our object of study. (p. 5)" (As cited in

Giampapa, 2011, p. 133).

Earlier in this chapter I reflected on my own epistemological and ontological

positionings as favouring post-structuralist approaches to knowledge and

phenomena in social research. In this section I document some of the ways in

which I practiced researcher reflexivity specifically in terms of my relations and

interactions with the student participants in this study. Discussing the issue of

reflexivity in applied linguistic research, Sarangi and Candlin (2003) suggest a

number of possible researcher role categories. I draw from this list in order to

situate myself as a researcher at the language institute at Metropolitan.

Within my recruitment materials and first interactions with the students in

interviews, I promoted and offered myself as a "resource" to the participants

(Sarangi & Candlin, 2003), and suggested their interactions with me could

present a further opportunity to practice their speaking and listening with a

language teaching professional. Some of them took these aspects of my offer and

of their participation in the study very seriously, (e.g., Thiago) and rarely spoke

in Portuguese even when I encouraged it when they appeared to be struggling to

explain themselves. I also helped several by giving them suggestions and

feedback on writing assignments they showed me from their academic courses,

and continue to serve as an occasional consultant for English matters in some of

their lives. On the other hand, others (e.g., Daniel) opted to speak Portuguese

with me often and were less interested in using me as a resource.

Closely related to my subject position as resource was that of the

researcher as "befriender" (Sarangi & Candlin, 2003). Throughout all of my

contact with the participants in this study I presented myself to them as a peer,

contrasting myself with their instructors by highlighting that I was also a student (albeit a graduate student) and also identifying myself as a fellow language learner. As I had been studying Portuguese both independently and subsequently in weekly classes for over a year at the time that I began fieldwork. Although my classes were not as regular and intensive as theirs, I often remarked in interviews on the similarities in trajectories of language learning that we shared, and the increase in opportunity for either the student or researcher to use the language of the other with greater accuracy as our time together progressed. I also found myself on several occasions in the role of friend and comforter, as some of the students struggled emotionally with the bad news that they or their friends were being recalled to Brazil, or sent to universities they had not applied to or previously known about. At all times I strove to be empathetic, and as these students faced numerous challenges in their time abroad, I always tried to create a level of comfort in which they could talk reflectively or complain about their experiences without fear of judgment.

The complexity and ambivalences of both of these roles highlight what is perhaps one of the biggest challenges of conducting ethnographic research today, which is reflecting and managing the dimensions of the "researcher as outsider/insider" (Sarangi & Candlin, 2003, p. 278). While, as Sarangi and Candlin (2003) note, historically within "the ethnographic tradition, the role of the researcher is either to blend in or to keep a distance, with the aim in either case to least influence the activity under observation" (p. 278) in the case of a project which relies as heavily on interviewing as this one, this notion of distance is impossible to achieve given the participatory collaborative social practice that I take the research interview to be (Talmy, 2010). I was an insider in this project in

the sense that I was an active participant in the production of the majority empirical materials examined here, but was nevertheless far from the position of an auto-ethnographic research subject, who considers their own experience. This dichotomy between my positionings as insider and outsider would reappear frequently throughout the fieldwork of this project and beyond, for example, when the student participants would inform me, the supposed expert analyst of the CSF programme, of some basic features of the programme that I had no awareness of. I also had a number of tense moments with Daniel, who not only repeatedly challenged my understanding of how the programme operated, but also critiqued my research design on one occasion, suggesting that my approach was ill suited to the types of questions he thought I should be asking. The tension between these two roles as insider and outsider thus suggests that although the analyses that follow in large part emerged from "a motivated emic perspective" as "no record is ever neutral" (Sarangi & Candlin, 2003, p. 278), at the same time, I also bring information and other empirical materials to this analysis that are external to, and at rare times challenge the student experiences. In this respect, many of my observations cannot help but tend towards the etic based on my subject position.

Issues of Representation, Validity and Reliability

As qualitative research rooted in post-structural epistemology and ontology becomes more accepted and frequently employed in applied linguistics and other language-focused areas of inquiry, it is necessary to rethink traditional approaches to issues of representation and validity. In this final section I consider some of the representational choices I made during this project, and conclude

with a description of several things I did during the research process to make my
analyses as transparent and reliable as possible.

 Heller (2011) describes the challenge of representation as a series of
researcher choices:

> I have made a number of choices about representation which I need to
> make explicit here […] I have had to make choices about when to present
> some transcription of data (whether of written text or of oral action) and
> when to gloss and how to present those bits of data I do choose to present
> (p. 47).

In this project, particularly in Chapters 6 and 7, I have chosen to include large
chunks of transcription from interviews with the focal participants (I have
included similarly large excerpts from policy documents and media reports
Chapters 4 and 5). By presenting these large portions of the data to the reader, I
hope to provide them with the necessary tools to evaluate my analyses, and to
make their own analyses rather than simply trust my own. In this way I have
sought to provide a thick description (Geertz, 1973) that not only shows these
large portions, but also presents maps (narrative and otherwise) of how topics
and issues are "superimposed upon or knotted into one another" (p. 10).

 Yet it is important also to note here that transcriptions of audio-recorded
speech are not problem-free replication of this talk (Cameron, 2001).
Transcription itself requires numerous choices of what to include and exclude, as
there is no 'objective' standard for representing talk (Cameron, 2001). In this
sense, the transcription process itself already involves a number of analytic and
interpretive decisions. In the analyses of participant talk I have tried to make

these decisions as transparent as possible, and provide the necessary justifications for them.

Lastly, in terms of representation of the participants themselves, I struggled throughout this project with the question of whether or not to perform member checks or some other form of approval from my participants to ensure or establish that they saw themselves in the data I was presenting and the stories I was telling in the final product that is this dissertation. Although I conducted preliminary checks with one of the participants (Fernanda), I ultimately decided against checking the data included here with others for several reasons. First, in the case of some of the participants, they may not have seen themselves in a flattering light, particularly in regards to the emotional turmoil of various phases of their sojourn. In fact, I found this to be the case already in conversations that took place long after events had happened, where previously expressed stances or opinions were downplayed and at times outright rejected when I brought them up. As I was interested at least in part in capturing a longitudinal account of their experiences, I wanted to reduce post-hoc revisions. Finally, although much of what I am presenting here from the participants takes the form of emic narratives of experience, as Hammerlsley and Atkinson (2007) note:

> We cannot assume that anyone is a privileged commentator on his or her own actions, in the sense that the truth of their account is guaranteed […] it may be in a person's interests to misinterpret or misdescribe his or her own actions, or to counter the interpretations of the ethnographer" (p. 182).

Approaching the same representational dilemma from a different angle, Heller (2011) remarks:

In this respect, ethnographies are not about what is sometimes referred to as "giving voice" to participants. It is about providing an illuminating account for which the researcher is solely responsible […] It does not require the researcher to necessarily agree with anyone else about what is going on or why; it only requires us to be able to back up our claims" (p. 251).

In light of these representational decisions, I have endeavored to 'back up my claims' and ensure that they are trustworthy or reliable in a number of ways. First, I have always worked towards providing a thick description of both the policies surrounding the CSF programme, the ways in which the students experienced them, and the types of subjects that are produced in the process (Geertz, 1973). As Holliday notes, a thick description "must be convincing, and it must demonstrate how the connections were made and where they came from" (2004, p. 732). To this end, by using data from policy documents, interview transcripts, field notes and media reports, I have created a "triangulated database", which provides the breadth to both identify recurrent features across these different varieties of sources of data, and to present as complete a picture as possible (McCarty, 2015, p. 89; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I have also engaged in a form of theoretical saturation in attending to, as Crang and Cook, (2007) describe it, the way in which "researchers often find that the accounts they/we are told begin to have the same ring to them and that you have heard the range of stories that people within the community have to tell you about their experiences and explanations of what is happening to them (*sic*)" (p. 15) . In the case of the data collected from interviews with participants, with many of the topics discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, after a certain number of interviews at a

given moment in the policy process, certain discourses and similar ways of speaking about experiences became predictable, and less and less novel perspectives on these topics emerged. Lastly, throughout the entire process of this research project, I kept a research journal (Duff, 2007), which assisted me in developing my interpretations of the changing conditions and policies the students were subjected to. At the same time, I reflected extensively in these pages on my own subjectivity, including not only how I was interacting with and affecting the participants, but also how I came to make my analyses and interpretations. In this way, I was able to keep a constant record of my thinking at any given point in time, which I could then challenge or develop more fully at a later date.

Chapter 4: Higher Education Mobility Programming and Embedded Language Planning and Policy: Official and Unofficial Texts, Media Reports and Representations

Introduction

I begin this chapter by analyzing a number of official and unofficial higher education policy texts produced by a range of governmental and institutional stakeholders in both Brazil and Canada. These texts constitute key components of the CSF programme in its initial and original form in 2011, situating it within the particular political and governmental discourses and rationalities of each country at a specific moment in time. I then consider amendments, adaptations and ongoing adjustments that emerged through the dynamism of the programme, with an emphasis on the case of the Portugal cohort (2013-2014). As many of these changes took place in an ad hoc and often unofficially documented manner, as a means to track them I then shift focus in large part to media reports and representations as a site for both the production and contestation of discourses related to the programme. This emergent discursive field and the governmentalities or governmental rationalities informing the CSF programme in its totality provide the background for developing an understanding of how language planning and policies, both intentionally and unintentionally and explicitly and implicitly are embedded within and emerge from this larger dynamic policy framework. Specifically, I consider the particular ways of thinking or rationalities that oriented the activities of governing the CSF recipient via the production of both neoliberal-inflected and other forms of subjectivity as language learners and as students in higher education more generally. In short,

in this chapter I offer a discourse analysis of policy and media texts that both traces the emergence of various embedded language policies within the CSF programme, and also illuminates the governmental rationalities that prompt(ed) and promote(d) these policies.

Top-Down Versus Bottom-Up Policy Analysis

This research project was initiated as an ethnographic inquiry into the language learning experiences and subject formation of Brazilian CSF scholarship students in Canada, and as such I began the project not by drawing conclusions from formal declarations and decrees, but rather through fieldwork in which I hoped to gain an understanding of the "implicit policy process – the ways in which people accommodate, resist and 'make' policy in everyday social practice" (McCarty, 2015, p. 82). After securing ethics clearance and access to the CSF students at the language institute at Metropolitan University, my first interviews revealed student members of the Portugal cohort as subjects actively engaging with an emergent and fluid set of policies emanating from both governmental and institutional sources, while a range of stakeholders endeavored to move the students through the program successfully (often with very little patience or even consideration for the language learning process). However, rather than beginning with these students' experiences, I have chosen instead to begin the presentation of my analysis with an account of top-down textual policy decrees and media reports. Johnson (2007, 2009) cautions that a top-down approach to policy can be methodologically troublesome, as it has the potential to exaggerate and foreground the power of these types of policies. He also argues that a researcher focused on top-down mechanisms may not be sensitive to or observant of actual practices during fieldwork that have little

connection to these mechanisms. Bearing this in mind, this brief note serves as a caveat and explanation that despite the fact that I have chosen to begin with a top-down analysis, this decision was made for presentation purposes rather than as an analytic strategy. By starting at the state governmental level here I am not privileging it nor granting it exclusive or even equal rights of access to power. I instead aim to achieve two goals prior to presenting the narrative analyses that make up chapters five, six and seven: first, to provide an overview of the official regulations and subsequent amendments to the CSF programme and its embedded language policies for the Portugal cohort; and second, to map the discourses and governmental rationalities which informed both the creation and translation (at various stages) of the programme and its policies into practice.

Ciência sem Fronteiras: Brazil

Higher education and mobility in Brazil: A brief background. Brazil features a higher education landscape that is subdivided into for-profit private and public institutions. Out of a total of 1859 institutions the large majority of these (1652) are private, while the remaining 207 are public (OECD, 2007). Private institutions typically specialize in management and the humanities, while the vast majority of STEM training takes place in the public (state-funded) schools (OECD, 2007). Admission into public schools is highly competitive due to the limited number of spaces, and admission is based primarily on performance on the entrance examinations. Tuition is also free in public post-secondary institutions. As a result of these features of this system, the majority of students in higher education study in private (often but not exclusively for-profit) institutions, the less prestigious of these two options. Also, a key implication of this system is that students who complete their primary and secondary years at

for-profit private schools are better equipped for these entrance examinations, and students from public elementary and private schools are disadvantaged by the admissions process. Out of a population of over 200 million people, about 4.5 million students are enrolled in tertiary education (British Council/DAAD, 2014), with a much lower gross rate of enrollment (approximately 17%) than in countries in the Global North such as Canada (over 50%) (Laus & Morosini, 2005).

In Brazil the federal government serves as the central agency for policy formation, regulation and evaluation for both the public and private higher education sectors (Gomes, Robertson, & Dale, 2014). It also serves as the primary funding body for federal public universities as well as for research and development. Within the federal government several ministries and their agencies play key roles in the internationalization of higher education in the country. The Ministry of Education both formulates and evaluates national higher education policy generally, while the foundation CAPES functions as a sub-agency that principally oversees graduate studies (Laus & Morosini, 2005). Within the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, the CNPq focuses on scientific and technological research as well the training of advanced human capital (Laus & Morosini, 2005). Together CAPES and CNPq shared responsibility in the administration and delivery of the CSF programme on behalf of their respective ministries.

Prior to the launch of CSF, despite leading Latin America in scientific research and having the most developed graduate education infrastructure on the continent, internationalization initiatives in the form of student mobility were virtually non-existent in Brazil, and what limited mobility that did exist stemmed

for the most part from individual rather than institutional initiatives (Laus &

Morosini, 2005). At the time of the announcement of the program approximately

6,000 Brazilians were engaged in graduate studies abroad, but there was little

government support of any kind for undergraduate students (British

Council/DAAD, 2014).

      The programme. The Ciência sem Fronteiras programme launched with

great fanfare by official decree from the Brazilian federal government in 2011

with the stated intention of promoting the consolidation, expansion and

internationalization of science, technology, innovation and Brazilian

competitiveness through international mobility and exchange (Ciência sem

Fronteiras, n. d.a). Over the previous decade numerous federal plans and policy

documents had expressed concern over the national shortage of skilled human

resources in STEM fields (Sá & Greico, 2015) and investment in the quality of

academic preparation was promoted as a key strategy for addressing this

problem and for the advancement of the Brazilian knowledge society (Ciência

sem Fronteiras, n. d.b). The programme was also promoted as laying the

groundwork for numerous longer-term objectives including: increasing the

number of PhDs in relation to the general population, establishing stronger

linkages between academic and the private sector, and increasing numbers of

both academic publications in science and collaborations and patent applications

(Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g). Through the agencies of CAPES and CNPq, the

federal government pledged to fund approximately seventy five percent of the

scholarships with the remaining twenty five percent to be funded by private

industry partners, and in order to establish a focus on STEM fields, a list of

priority areas of study were identified including engineering, earth sciences,

health sciences and computers and information technology. Given that specific technical training was to be a key outcome of the programme, these areas do not correspond directly with academic disciplinary areas (Batista de Albuquerque, 2013).

A range of fellowship streams were presented including: doctoral (sandwich and full), post-doctoral, undergraduate (sandwich) (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.c). (Sandwich is the term used by Brazil and a number of other countries to describe a scholarship programme whereby students alternate between studying or conducting research at their own institution and abroad. In the case of PhD students in particular, their degree thus resembles a sandwich, with the middle year or years completed abroad.) Of the over 100,000 scholarships pledged, the majority (64,000) were reserved for undergraduate students as a 12 month sandwich year abroad open to students who had completed between twenty and ninety percent of their required coursework at their home university at the time of their application. Student recipients of undergraduate scholarships are the focus of this study, and the particulars of their initial offer were as follows. Students were required to select a country from a list of destinations initially including Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom and United States of America (only a selection from the larger list of countries were available at each different call from the start). They were then placed in host institutions with the help of various higher education administrative bodies in their desired destination country. For their time abroad on the undergraduate sandwich scholarship, the programme paid tuition, international airfare, a monthly stipend to cover room

and board, as well as a one-time grant for educational expenses such as textbooks and computers.

In the initial rollout of the programme, a key requirement of these host institutions was that they be among the most highly regarded internationally for their specific area of knowledge and research according to the UK published Times Higher Education and QS World University Rankings (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.e). By sending the students to these prestigious institutions, the aim was revolutionize the domestic research and development system by exposing Brazilian students and researchers to high levels of competitiveness and entrepreneurship (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.f). Related to this focus on R & D and competitiveness, as well as to the aim of the programme to increase interaction between academia and the private sector was the inclusion of an internship in research or technological innovation as part of the 12 month sojourn (Ciência sem Fronteiras/CAPES, 2013, p. 18). These internships were to be carried out during the summer semester as placements in either research laboratories in the host institution, or with local private partners in industry. An additional noteworthy feature of the programme is that all recipients were required to return to Brazil for a set duration of time following the completion of their sojourn. For the undergraduates that are considered in this study this condition was not particularly restrictive, as the majority of them needed to return to their home institutions and complete their degrees for a period of time longer than that set out in this condition. However, for the graduate and post-graduate scholarship recipients, this condition would prevent brain drain via them seeking employment in the host country, and ensure that they were

bringing their newly acquired technical knowledge back to Brazil, if only for a limited time.

On the main webpage in the list of criteria for eligible participants in the undergraduate sandwich programme there is no mention of any required proficiency in the language of instruction in the destination country. This information is also absent in the list of candidature requirements in a more comprehensive manual for potential applicants produced by CAPES (2015). However, a few pages later in the same manual, included in a list of required documents for all applicants is proof of a proficiency test (CAPES, 2015). This is slightly augmented in a different section on how applications are assessed with comments that applicants who do not demonstrate a minimum level of proficiency will be rejected (CAPES, 2015). Further details related to possible language training in the host country are included in a document produced two years after the launch of the program titled *Manual para bolsistas* [Manual for Fellows], which explains that while the length of the sojourn including two semesters of academic study and one of internship is non-negotiable, if necessary, an additional semester of language instruction could now be added, bringing the total length of the sojourn to 18 months (Ciência sem Fronteiras/CAPES, 2013).

For students hoping to study in Canada, although the minimum scores on proficiency tests fluctuated throughout the period that CSF scholarships were offered, an early document prepared by one of the larger and more prestigious universities in the South East region of Brazil to assist students in the application process provided the following numbers. For students sponsored by CALDO, the minimum TOEFL iBT score was 86 points (PUC-SP, 2012). For students

sponsored by CBIE, the minimum score was 61 (PUC-SP, 2012). (The distinction between these sponsoring bodies in Canada will be explained in more detail later in this chapter.) To provide perspective on these numbers, the minimum score on the same test for entrance into most faculties at King's University, which is one of the most prestigious in Canada, is 100; for Metropolitan University the requirement varies from faculty to faculty, but typically falls between a range of 90-100.

Rationalities and Discourses

The brief account above presents many of the key characteristics and requirements of the CSF programme at the time of its announcement and early implementation, and provides perspective on the problem that it identified and was designed to address, namely a shortage of skilled human capital in Brazil in STEM fields. By looking at this problem in the ways it was formulated in these various source documents, it is possible to begin identifying governmental rationalities that inform their proposed solutions. As Li explains in a general description of governmental programs, they are "goal[s] to be accomplished, together with the rationale[s] that makes [them] thinkable" (Li, 2007, p. 279). These rationales are inevitably informed by discursive formations, which further support their logic and assist in rendering their objects as technical and acquiescent to governmental mechanisms (Foucault, 1972). In this section I consider several such discursive formations that shed light on the rational foundations of the CSF programme as it was initially conceived by the various bodies of the Brazilian federal government listed above, and their implications in terms of the types of student and citizen subjects the programme sought to produce.

Competitiveness, entrepreneurship and the knowledge economy. A common thread that runs through all descriptions of the program is the repeated use of the keywords 'competitiveness' and 'entrepreneurship' as desirable outcomes. While in some cases these terms can be read as sought after qualities on behalf of and to the benefit of the entire Brazilian social collective, for example through the promotion of Brazilian competitiveness through international mobility and exchange (e.g., Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.a); in most cases the target is presented as primarily being individual students, with effects on the collective as a secondary phenomena, such as in the following extract from an English language explanation of the motivation for the programme included on the main CSF website:

Excerpt 4.1

> The mobility program proposed here aims to launch experientially the seeds of what could revolutionize the education system in Brazil, exposing students to an environment of high competitiveness and entrepreneurship (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g, n. p.)

In this text competitiveness and entrepreneurship are presented as qualities to be experienced (and hopefully absorbed and acquired) by students in the environment of a foreign institution of higher education, and one implication of this is that these qualities are currently absent in such institutions in Brazil. Given the prominent role and frequent repetition of these terms throughout the CSF promotional literature, they reveal rationalities of responsibilization and individualization of students (Dardot & Laval, 2013; Urciuoli, 2010). Competitiveness can be seen as a valued attribute not only in a student's educational pursuits, but also in their endeavors in the workforce after

graduating. Similarly, entrepreneurship speaks to developing creativity both in the workplace and as a broader ethic of self-management that can be leveraged on return to Brazil. The frequency of the appearance of these two terms throughout official descriptions of the programme and what it strives to accomplish, suggests they function almost as a set of guiding principles.

However, on the surface there is something of a contradiction inherent in a social programme that provides generous funding for students to study abroad, and these desired outcomes that focus on individual self-improvement in these terms. De Souza (2015) proposes reading this friction as a co-existing entanglement involving strategic complicity on the part of a leftist government with, on the one hand, a social justice agenda, and on the other, the neoliberal rationalities of the global knowledge economy. This notion of strategic complicity allows a perspective on the relationship between these two qualities of the program as not an either/or reduction but instead, as a both/and distinction. Similarly, Spears (2014), a geographer doing research on the political economy of higher education in the United States, cautions:

Excerpt 4.2

> …the altruistic nature of the Brazilian Student Mobility Program [as CSF is referred to in the United States for copyright reasons] is mediated by a set of national and local interests […] fundamentally, the launch of the Brazilian Student Mobility Program was intentionally directed to serve both the interests of the Brazilian and American economies. It was not exclusively rooted in transforming individuals with education abroad" (p. 18).

I would argue however, that in approaching the programme from a governmentality perspective, the latter is a key component of the former, rather than external to and in opposition to these interests. The nature of the ways these individuals are transformed is key here.

Related to these efforts to create particular types of subjectivities in the students is the demarcation of the areas where they study and research as involving practice and innovation that is directly connected to private sector activities, rather than simply to academic domains or disciplines. A report prepared in 2013 on behalf of the Ministry of Education on the impact of the programme describes the philosophy or rationale behind this as based in the awareness of a need for human capital development for technical training (Batista de Albuquerque, 2013). Coupled with the role of the internship as a centerpiece of the sojourn this represents a considerable distinction in approach from traditional conceptions of study abroad programmes, where students remain housed under the same disciplinary umbrella as at their home institution, and acquired credits towards their degree at home (This issue of transferability of credits and how it connects to this rationale is discussed by the students themselves in subsequent chapters). This rationale represents a shift in focus from academic to business concerns on the part of the programme designers.

An additional important rationale behind the programme is the ability for stakeholders to measure outcomes (preferably in quantifiable ways), such as by means of specific numbers of patent applications, and international collaborations in scientific publications. The report cited in the paragraph above also advises that any statements of the objectives of the program be

operationalized in such a way as to allow for what is referred to as data compliance.

Excerpt 4.3

> Verbos como estes utilizados - Investir, aumentar, Promover, ampliar e
> atrair devem sempre vir acompanhados de indicadores que possam ser
> quantificados [When using verbs like these - invest, increase, promote,
> expand and attract –they should always be accompanied by indicators
> that can be quantified] (Batista de Albuquerque, 2013, p. 3)

In quantifying desirable outcomes of the program such as entrepreneurship and knowledge production, there is an intention to make these outcomes more measurable, and thus easier to observe. However, given the complexity that is entrepreneurial self-management and even more broadly speaking, self care, this quantification comes at a cost of discarding those qualities that are less tangible and amenable to enumeration (Foucault, 1986, 1997a; Urciuoli, 2010).

Global rankings. Also related to enumeration is the emphasis in early conceptions of the program of sending students to only those foreign institutions that are favorably positioned in the Times Higher Education and QS World University Rankings (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.e). As I describe below, this objective did not prove to be attainable, and only a portion of all of the CSF undergraduates ended up studying in high ranked institutions. I limit my comments here to several common criticisms made of excessive reliance on these rankings, which looked at in relief, reveal the sorts of rationalities behind both the production and the use of these lists.

First, there is very little focus on teaching and learning in these lists, and no ranking or evaluation system is yet able to capture sociocultural knowledge

developed and the experiences that take place during academic study for either domestic or international students (Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007). Despite the fact that there is "no necessary connection whatsoever between the quality of teaching and learning quality and the quantity and quality of research", research continues to be the primary object of measurement in most rankings systems (Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007, p. 319). Second, these lists are often made by for-profit companies in the global north, many of whom such as the QS World University Rankings are themselves involved in international student recruitment and other related activities (Altbach, 2012). Given this involvement it is thus questionable as to whether their reporting is reliable. Equally unreliable are the means of collecting data from self-selected groups of academics and university management. In all of these cases, reliance on these rankings suggests an implicit acceptance of these shortcomings that are inherent to their production. Complex institutions are reduced to enumerated formulas that clean and erase large portions of what they are and what they do. Lastly, these lists can be viewed as part of the apparatus of a colonial rationality, which asserts and reinforces the dominance of the Global North, in particular in STEM fields promoting Anglo-American (i.e., English language) scholarship (Mignolo, 2009; Lo, 2011). This tacit acceptance of English language dominance and normativity in scientific research provides an entry point to gaining an understanding of the language policies that were inconspicuously embedded within the initial presentation of the CSF program.

Language planning, language ideologies and social inequality. Despite the fact that with the exception of students going to Portugal, the majority of CSF recipients would be completing their studies in a second language, the

complexities of both learning and studying academics in a second language are only minimally documented and peripherally positioned within official descriptions of the program from 2011. Considering this positioning as a form of tacit or embedded and likely unintended language planning provides valuable insight into not only the role that the programme designers intended language to play in it, but also the rationalities and language ideologies that informed these policies, as well as their implications.

Given the lack of initial support for language learning in the country prior to departure, when it started, the programme at conception was based on the assumption that students who were applying already had a second language at a proficiency level high enough to begin studies immediately, or high enough that a short session of upgrading at the discretion of the host institute would be enough to bring them up to an adequate level. As a result of uneven access to second language learning at the elementary and secondary levels (see Chapter 2 for more details), this decision results in a replication of previously existing inequalities in the Brazilian education system on the field of language, as those students of means, who studied at private elementary and secondary schools are most likely to have had greater access to higher quality second language instruction. As one of the tacit qualities of potential applicants, second language proficiency thus serves as a selection criterion that favors students who come from middle-class or higher families who have access to language learning, and serves as a greater barrier to students who came up through the public system.

A second aspect of this policy that is not explicitly stated is the dominant role of the English language, with over sixty percent of scholarships sending students to English dominant nations including Australia, Canada, Ireland, New

Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States as well as an undocumented number of students studying in English-medium institutions in other countries in Europe and beyond. There is a connection between this tacit preference for having CSF students study in English medium institutions and the desire to boost the amount of academic publications in the sciences by Brazilian scholars (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g). Speaking of academic publications more generally, Lillis and Curry note that "'international' in the context of academic publishing is often used as a proxy for 'English medium,' and together 'English' and 'international' constitute an important indexical cluster to signal 'high quality'" (As cited in Lee & Lee, 2013, p. 217).

What this general neglect of language and concerns related to language learning suggests is a view of language as a simple conduit for knowledge transference, rather than as a form of knowledge in itself (Clark & Morgan, 2011; Park & Wee, 2012). As Van Lier (2004) describes it, this view involves understanding language as "a fixed code" which is unproblematically shared, received and processed (p. 90). Coming from another disciplinary tradition, Irvine (1989) approaches this thinking as an example of a language ideology, a category which she defines as a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p. 255). As a language ideology, this conduit metaphor avoids much of the complexity and variability of language use in particular contexts such as academic writing, the university classroom and the host country in general. Given the simplified view of language that seems to be operative in this early programme planning, it is not surprising that language proficiency plays such a peripheral role in the initial presentation of CSF – it is seen as something that one

has or not, and not as a core component and site of complexity in the study abroad experience. However, as quickly became evident, even this assumption was rather unwarranted, as it turned out that the designers of the program greatly overestimated the number students in Brazilian universities at that time who were speakers of foreign languages (i.e., English). After a discussion of the rationalities behind Canada's internationalization planning in higher education and initial position and response to the launch of CSF, I move on to an account of the problems that emerged for the programme and subsequent changes to it, largely as a result of this neglect of language in the planning process.

Ciência sem Fronteiras: Canada

Internationalization and Higher education in Canada: A brief background. In contrast to the Brazilian system of higher education, which is a highly centralized affair, Canada's system has to date been highly decentralized, with much of the governmental oversight over institutions falling under provincial jurisdiction. As Jones and Weinrib, suggest:

> Higher education in Canada is not a 'system', but rather the sum of locally regulated activities, often premised on high levels of university autonomy. Canada's federal government does not play a strong role in R & D policy, and the result is a chaotic policy environment (2011, p. 237).

One result of this chaotic approach has been that, compared to other Anglophone nations in the developed world, Canada has lagged behind considerably in terms of international education (Trilokelar & Kizilbash, 2014, p. 2). As recently as 2006, Canada was " the only major receiving country that did not have a government-supported agency or body devoted to promoting international education" (Chakma et al., 2012, p. 40). Internationalization activities, or at least their

discussion, only began in earnest at the level of the federal government in the 1990s, alongside the emergence of global discourses on the rise of the knowledge-based economy (Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2014). A number of researchers have noted that this emergence marked a pronounced shift from traditional models of the role of the university in civil society to a model based on economic rationales, with international student recruitment at the forefront of this planning (e.g., Stein & Andreotti, 2015).

Over the remainder of the decade and into the twenty-first century, international student numbers in Canada increased rapidly, with the number of full time undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in Canadian universities in 2011 marking an almost three hundred percent increase from the number in 2000 (AUCC, 2011). This rapid increase in enrollment has been described as meeting a number of needs. First, over the corresponding period of time provincial governments in Canada have been aggressively pursuing a policy of defunding in higher education, creating a greater dependency on tuition fees from both domestic and international students, as well as private donations to keep universities afloat (Axelrod, 2014; CFS, 2013). Second, international education has been championed as a key sector for job creation as a means of stimulating the domestic economy, with a number of provinces looking to internationalization initiatives in places such as Australia, which moved much quicker to capitalize on the expansion over the previous decade (Johnstone & Lee, 2014). Related to this benefit is the money that international students inject into the local economy while residing in Canada in the form of housing and other expenses. Lastly, and perhaps most often cited is the role of international education in Canada as a pathway to immigration. The federal government has

identified international students as a "future source of skilled labor, as they may be eligible upon graduation for permanent residency through immigration programs such as the Canadian Experience Class" (CIC, 2013). These students are viewed as ideal immigrants due to the fact that they already have cultural and possible workplace experience and Canada, and thus also have acquired a certain degree of proficiency in English (the province of Quebec, with its own official language being French and its own pathways immigration, has opted out of a number of these federal programs).

Despite all of these desired outcomes, rather surprisingly, it was not until 2014 that the government of Canada officially released the first federal international education strategy, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, which was based in large part on a report produced by an advisory panel two years before (Chakma et al, 2012). For the most part this document reiterated the recommendations of the advisory committee, calling for a doubling of the number of international students to over 450,000 by 2022, and providing extensive documentation of the economic contributions of these students to the Canadian economy (DFATD, 2014). The strategy itself focuses on leveraging Canada's brand as a global leader, and developing a regime of performance measurement across a range of goals and variables (DFATD, 2014). At the core of this brand discourse is the assertion that "Canada is a leader in higher education", and consistently appears in the top rankings of global metrics of national performance such as the OECD (DFATD, 2014, p. 7). Although not included in this particular document, on a number of other government websites this self-perceived leadership in higher education is specifically tied to language learning. For example: "Canada is rated as one of the highest quality language

education destinations in the world" (Languages Canada, n. d., n. p.); and "Canada is a bilingual country and is considered a world leader in language training" (EduCanada, 2016, n. p.).

However, as a number of critics have pointed out, this strategy document reflects less an actual strategy in the form of direct action by the Canadian federal government, than a focus in large part on setting "targets for other people", such as the international students who are hoped to enroll in future years, taking the form of a sort of "wish list" (Usher, 2014, n. p.). Given this policy history of limited action of the part of the Canadian government, when Brazil announced itself as fertile recruiting ground with the launch of the CSF programme, it presented the opportunity for maximal gain with minimal output. In the following section I provide an account of Canada's first response to CSF, and early efforts to capitalize on it.

Canada's response to the launch of the CSF programme. At the same time that Brazil announced the CSF programme, the federal government of Canada was already in the process of developing closer relations with Brazil. In 2012, a Senate Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs and International Trade noted that trade between the two countries had increased by over 150% during the previous decade, and recommended education as a key sector for strengthening this relationship (2012). Similarly, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC, renamed Universities Canada in 2015) a national non-profit organization representing institutions of higher education declared that "Canada can't afford to miss the Brazilian boat", arguing that "beyond its economic power and vast natural resources, Brazil's most prized commodity is its talent) (AUCC, 2011, n. p.). The prime minister had also

travelled to Brazil the previous year and signed a number of agreements intended to boost business ties between the two countries (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

In the spring of 2012, David Johnston, the Governor General of Canada, led a unprecedented delegation to Brazil of more than thirty university presidents who collectively signed agreements valuing over $17 million dollars between Canadian and Brazilian universities and colleges (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2012). These presidents left the country having secured promises that an estimated 12,000 of the CSF recipients would be headed to Canada, making it the second largest host country of the program after the United States (Johnston, 2012b). Journalists and higher education industry insiders praised this move, applauding the initiative taken by the universities themselves to secure these students (Clark, 2012). They also stressed that Canada was uniquely positioned to benefit from this influx of students due to its existing reputation both in Brazil and around the world as a top-tier provider of English language education specifically, and higher education in general. As the Governor General described it: "Canada's expertise in education, in innovation and in science and technology make us a valuable partner in learning with Brazil" (Johnston, 2012a, n. p.). Other stakeholders, such as the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE), a not for profit Ottawa-based membership organization, considered the push for recruiting CSF students as an effective strategic move with "aims to create a highly competitive and entrepreneurial environment" for both Brazilian students and their Canadian counterparts (CBIE, n. d., p. 2).

In order to handle the rapid influx of Brazilian students – there were less than 500 in Canada prior to the launch of the CSF programme (Clark, 2012) –

Canada initially enlisted CBIE as the primary manager of students on this program. CBIE would work to liaise with Brazilian funding agencies and participating universities, coordinate placements (second language, academic and internship), and manage tuition fees and health insurance. However, at the same time, a group of four top-tier Canadian research universities that had formed a consortium dubbed CALDO (based on the first initials of each of the university's name) to focus on recruiting students in Latin America a year prior opted out of CBIE's coverage, instead choosing to partner directly with CSF. They branded themselves as a value-added one stop shop service or single point of assistance (CALDO, n. d.). In the implementation of the program by Brazil, a condition had been set that CSF students be permitted to pay domestic tuition fees, rather than the considerably higher international fees; however, in the end Brazil conceded to pay the difference. As a strategy to compete with the other Canadian universities sponsored by CBIE, CALDO offered a discount of graduate student tuition (Clark, 2012). While the majority of CSF students in Canada would be managed by CBIE, those students who chose to attend schools in the CALDO consortium (which was subsequently expanded to include nine universities in total) were managed by CALDO. Several other differences emerged between these two groups' management style of CSF students, including minimum language proficiency test scores. Initially, CALDO required a minimum of 86 points on the TOEFL iBT, while CBIE required only 61 (PUC-SP, 2012).

Rationalities and Discourses

Looking at Canada's movement towards internationalization in higher education as outlined above, a number of operating rationalities as well as the

discourses that inform them can be identified. First, the fact that higher education is a "chaotic policy environment" (Jones & Weinrib, 2011) creates considerable challenges for institutions hoping to move forward with radical or more progressive internationalization initiatives, as for the most part, they are required to make these moves on their own, with little external assistance. As a result, and related to this necessity of going it alone, institutions are more likely to make smaller scale or piecemeal moves, rather than investing greater amounts of capital or effort in the form of adapting curriculum, providing more than the minimum necessary additional student support etc. The general neglect and lack of involvement of higher levels of government is replicated at this lower scale level. It is also not surprising then that attention that is given to these issues has thus far tended to focus on economic outputs of internationalization of higher education in the form of contributions to cash-strapped institutions and the local economies they are situated within, as well as the recruitment of skilled labour to further benefit the domestic economy. These benefits stand in stark contrast to those of a more sociocultural orientation.

Justification for these pursuing these benefits is frequently based on Canada's global position as a leader in higher education by international ranking bodies such as the OECD. Similarly, claims of Canada's position as a global leader in second language education are typically based on arguments of Canada's history as a binational and bilingual state, and previous successes and positive reviews as a global destination for language learning. This evidence is then based in large part on enumerations of positive feedback such as these rankings, rather than on detailed descriptions of actual internationalization initiatives, their intentions and their outcomes.

Looking at Canada's response to the launch of CSF, a similar set of ways of thinking is present. As quoted above from the AUCC (2011), Brazilian human capital in the form of international students constitutes a key commodity of the program as a benefit to Canada and its economy. This economic approach forms the basis of the unprecedented trip to Brazil by Canadian university presidents and other high ranking administrators in order to secure these commodities before their competitors from other countries. Competition thus becomes a guiding principle of Canada's response to CSF at both the level of the state and the institution. Similarly, the fracturing of sponsoring bodies into CBIE and CALDO also represents a further bit of intra-state competition, with the two organizations offered competing deals to their Brazilian counterparts in efforts to secure a greater quantity of the spoils. In short, a chaotic policy environment is shot through with the rationale of competition which functions as an engine that sustains both of these key-defining qualities. Language planning is thus considered an afterthought, or an added value to these broader endeavors to compete institutionally, nationally and globally for economic advantage.

Ciência sem Fronteiras: Assessing Conditions, Emerging Policies

The launch of CSF soon faced the problem that, as early media reports detailed, target enrollment numbers we not being met. For example, in early 2013, of the initial scholarships marked for students studying in United Kingdom, less than fifty percent were filled (Após reprovação alta, 2013). The primary reason for this was due to a lack of students in higher education in Brazil with sufficient mastery of English (or other second languages in other locales) (British Council/DAAD, 2014). A first move to address this issue in the British case cited above led to the Brazilian government agencies and their

respective UK counterparts to agree to reduce the minimum proficiency test scores required for acceptance into the programme. Requirements of a minimum of 72 on the TOEFL iBT were reduced as low as to 42, a dramatic drop of 30 points. (Após reprovação alta, 2013). Other countries and higher education governing bodies around the world quickly followed suit, and limits set by Brazil on periods of foreign language study abroad prior to or concurrent with academic study were relaxed alongside the promise of the provision of funding for these extracurricular language courses (Batista de Albuquerque, 2013).

To begin to address this problem on the home front, the Ministry of Education officially launched the sister program of Inglês sem Fronteiras (ISF) in December of 2012, which working in partnership with the multinational for-profit education services company Cengage Learning, began with the provision of online language courses (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.h; Two million students, 2013). This was later expanded to include classroom hours as well as extensive language testing in Brazil in the form of 500,000 TOEFL tests as a means to diagnose the current standards of English among students in Brazilian universities (Two million students, 2013). The main objective of this new programme was to quickly increase the number of eligible candidates for the CSF programme. In 2014 ISF was more inclusively rebranded *Idiomas sem Fronteiras*, or Languages without Borders; however, by July 2015, it offered only French as an additional language option, remaining focused almost exclusively on English language learning and testing (Vieira, 2014).

One major effect of this trouble in finding students in Brazil with second language proficiency for academic study abroad was that large numbers were signing up for the program and selecting Portugal as a destination. In 2013 the

Ministry of Education reported that to date more than 32,000 students had chosen Portugal, and the volume of demand for this destination exceeded that of the vacancies in all the other participating countries combined (Portugal será excluído, 2013). A related concern was that only one institution in Portugal was included in the initial list of globally top-ranked universities offered as destinations (British Council/DAAD, 2014). This focus on Portugal reveals a post-colonial linguistic complexity, in that while "Brazil has replaced Portugal which was the previous colonial country as currently the major player in Lusitanisation" around the world, for a moment Portugal regained some of its previous status within Brazil/Portugal power relations, if only in they eyes of these students (Severo & Makoni, 2014, p. 103).

As a result of this undesired focus on Portugal, selected by students principally as a means to study in Portuguese rather than a foreign language, the federal government decided to exclude the country from the program and all further calls directed the students to other destinations (Por falta de proficiência, 2014). However, this decision meant that over three thousand applications from hopeful students that the various agencies had already received were now ineligible. In order to keep these students in the running, and to allow the programme to continue to meet its target numbers, these students were given an opportunity to re-select a destination from a list including the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, France, and Germany (Exigência de língua estrangeira, 2013). For this cohort alone, proof of language proficiency in a second language would no longer be necessary in order to participate in the program, and students would have an opportunity to take extended extracurricular language classes abroad for up to six months.

The Ministry of Education provided a number of explanations for making these changes to the program at this time.

Excerpt 4.4

Nós não consideramos neste momento bolsas para Portugal para estimular os alunos na proficiência de outras línguas. Eles têm que enfrentar o desafio da segunda língua [At this time we are not considering scholarships to Portugal in order to stimulate the students to develop proficiency in other languages. They have to confront the challenge of a second language] - Aloízio Mercadante, Minister of Education (Portugal será excluído, 2013, n. p.)

Excerpt 4.5

O problema do programa Ciência sem Fronteiras não é atingir as metas programadas. O nosso problema é orçamento para cumprir as metas, e qualidade ao preencher as metas […] Identificamos excelentes alunos, especialmente da rede pública, que foram muito bem no Enem [Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio], mas que não têm o domínio da língua. Nós não vamos deixá-los para trás, esse programa veio para fazer a inclusão de quem tem talento. A língua não será um obstáculo que não possa ser ultrapassado [The problem of the CSF programme is not that it is not achieving the planned goals. Our problem is the budget to accomplish these goals, and also the quality to meet these goals […] We have identified excellent students, especially in the public [universities] who did very well on the ENEM (National High School Exam), but who do not have command of the language [of the destination country]. We will not leave them behind, as this program is based on being inclusive of those

with talent. Language is not an obstacle that cannot be overcome] - Aloízio

Mercadante, Minister of Education (Portugal será excluído, 2013, n. p.).

These comments reveal a shift in focus of the program. In the initial roll out

language had been largely neglected, and there seemed to be an assumption that

there would be enough students already equipped with language and ready to

go. This resulted in the emergent language plan of sending a cohort of students

with minimal or nonexistent second language ability, and scrambling to provide

ways for them to quickly bring their second language abilities up to speed.

Response to addition of language learning. In Canada and other host

nations, the response to these changes by upper level stakeholders was

immediate and positive. As one administrator in the International Offices of

Metropolitan University described it ""Many countries were quick to get the

business of CAPES students in terms of EAP [English for Academic Purposes]"

(2014-07-04: 7:04). However, everyone who I was able to speak to about this

decision, including the administrator mentioned above, several teachers at the

language institute, and a manager at CBIE, described this response with varying

levels of enthusiasm. The International Office administrator described the

potential problems which ultimately emerged.

Excerpt 4.6

> These students were reassigned to Canada, and the institutions were told
>
> that they had to offer their letters of admission with no conditions […] The
>
> reality is it was sort of dictated to us and the students were not ready to
>
> proceed (2014-07-04: 12:26).

Similarly the manager at CBIE I spoke with noted the issues that this scramble

raised, but presented the decision to take on these students as something that

took place high up, at the level of upper management in the institutions, organizations and participating states:

Excerpt 4.7

> We inherited a cohort of students that was supposed to go to Portugal […] which was quite challenging because these were the students who did not have the language skill necessary to go study in a language other than Portuguese. […] I was not a part of these negotiations, but I know what was agreed at the end was that we could place them in an English language school only for a period of up to eight months" (2014-09-24: 6:36)

The teachers in the language institute at Metropolitan that I spoke with were much less keen at the prospect. As one teacher complained, "I don't know what linguist they consulted with, but that's not a reasonable amount of time to tell somebody at level 1 [the lowest level offered to beginners in the language institute] that you'll go to university in 8 months" (2014-06-04: 11:07). In order to address this highly compressed language learning timetable that was apparently negotiated at the top of the chain of administrative command, the institute scrambled to adapt their curriculum for these students.

Language testing and academic placements. Early into their second semester in Canada, a number of student members of the Portugal cohort were surprised to receive notice that they would be writing the TOEFL test again not at the end of the semester, but instead within the immediately upcoming days and weeks (Por falta de proficiência, 2014). A number of these students reported to the media that not only were they surprised at having to write the test prior to completing a significant portion of their English studies in Canada, but also that they were given very short notice of the test date – reporting in some cases that

they were required to write the test only days after finding out that it was scheduled (CAPES manda 110 bolsistas, 2014). One instructor at the language institute at Metropolitan University reported from the ground:

Excerpt 4.8

> In February, the students at the lowest levels of our program received letters that they had to write the TOEFL exam with 48 hours notice […] they had no chance and none of them got the TOEFL scores they were hoping to " (2014-06-11: 6:01).

As a result in many cases the students were not prepared, and many scored very poorly on the test.

Several months later, as the semester was drawing to a close, about a hundred CSF students (around 80 in Canada, and 30 in Australia) received notice that they would be required to return home to Brazil and would not be permitted to continue academic activities in Canada. Shocked and surprised the students organized a demonstration, which took place in front of city hall in a large Canadian city, and was covered extensively in the Brazilian media (e.g., Bolsistas brasileiras no Canadá, 2014) and not at all in the Canadian media. These students argued that CAPES had not kept its promises to them, and by revising what they saw as the official schedule of language testing based on letters and other documents they had received at the beginning of their sojourn, had 'broken with the contract' (Alunos sem fluência em inglês, 2014).

The subsequent debate about the plight of these students took place in both the Brazilian mainstream media and social media, and overwhelmingly presented that the reason these students were being sent home was a result of their poor scores on these language tests (Alunos sem fluência em inglês, 2014;

CAPES manda 110 bolsistas, 2014; Por falta de proficiência, 2014). Discussions on social media saw commentators blaming the students for not studying English harder while on their sojourn, while the students defended themselves by challenging the fairness of the timing of the TOEFL tests as described above. In this way language testing and language aptitude emerged as the discursive field on which these students' performance as sojourners abroad was to be evaluated, and the predicament of these students was largely constructed as a language issue.

In several rejoinders to articles in the mainstream media CAPES sought to clarify the complexity of the terms of these students' return to Brazil such as presented in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 4.9

Esses bolsistas estão voltando ao país porque não atenderam aos requisitos mínimos estabelecidos pelas universidades para a realização dos cursos acadêmicos. Esses requisitos não são homogêneos e variam de acordo com a área do curso, o histórico escolar do aluno e da proficiência no idioma [These fellows are returning to the country because they did not meet the minimum requirements established by the universities for the achievement of academic courses. These requirements are not homogeneous and vary according to the area of the course, the student's record and the language proficiency] (CAPES manda 110 bolsistas, 2014, n. p.).

While the terms are presented here as less than homogenous, involving the various faculties of the institutions in the host country, as well as the students' transcripts, language is still considered an important variable. In addition to

these comments, statements to the media from CAPES stressed that not only were terms of the recall of these students varied, but they also considered these numbers to be negligible, and within the normal range of individual failure rates on programmes such as this (Bolsistas do Ciência sem Fronteiras, 2014; Domínio de segunda língua, 2014).

However, despite these protestations, the idea that language ability was the key determining factor persisted as the dominant narrative even up to the highest levels of government. An official report (Avaliação de Políticas Públicas Comissão de Ciência, Tecnologia, Inovação, Comunicação d Informática Programa Ciência Sem Fronteiras) prepared by a Brazilian federal senate committee evaluating the programme's performance thus far (at the time) recounted the story of these members of the Portugal cohort being sent home as a problem primarily related to language proficiency (Aziz, 2015, pp. 44-45). Similarly, on the Canadian side, the international office administrator at Metropolitan University I spoke with described the situation as a problem relating to different language requirements by different faculties and for different academic courses of study, explaining that the students who were sent home had been seeking admission to faculties that refused to modify their entrance requirements for language (2014-07-04: 8:01). In sum, the decision to deny these 100 members of the CSF Portugal cohort access to academic courses of study in Canada after completing their English language upgrading solidified almost exclusively into a language-based decision by key participating institutions and bodies in both Canada and Brazil.

One year later, when the majority of the 100,000 scholarships initially pledged were either completed or in progress as per the 2015 deadline of the

programme, a number of documents such as the Brazilian senate report cited above (Avaliação de Políticas Públicas Comissão de Ciência, Tecnologia, Inovação, Comunicação d Informática Programa Ciência Sem Fronteiras), as well as many mainstream media sources presented their evaluations of the overall strengths and weaknesses of the programme. The general consensus was that the programme's implementation was too rushed, and a number of problems emerged beyond the central issue of the students' second language abilities, in the form of difficulties in communication between sending and host institutions, troubles with punctual funding transfers and other administrative issues (e.g., Aziz, 2015; Lira & Balmant, 2014). However, despite these shortcomings, the Senate recommended the continuation of the programme. In June of 2014 the Brazilian President announced a second phase, with an additional 100,000 scholarships pledged, and beginning in 2015 (CBIE, 2014). However, this news would prove to be short-lived, as the program was suspended several months later, with the government citing budgetary issues as the reason (Cruz & Foreque, 2015). [Update: The programme was finally officially cancelled by the Temer government in April 2017 (Jardim, 2017).]

Rationalities and Discourses

Considering this account of how the programme was adapted based on unforeseen difficulties, which arose as a result of a lack of students in country with sufficient second language ability to fill the number of scholarships offered, these interventions reveal a number of ways of thinking and discourses concerning the general running of the programme, the best ways to govern these students as subjects (Li, 2007), and also specifically about processes of adult second language learning and assessment.

Language as an obstacle, not a constituent part of the programme. Based on the degree of unpreparedness that became apparent during the first few calls for participants in the programme, it is clear that language learning was not a priority in the initial planning. This assumption that language learning up to a level appropriate for academic study was either complete or was within easy reach on the part of students appears to be something that was shared by planning counterparts in destination countries as well. However, when Brazil's Ministry of Education finally recognized that this was a going to be a problem, and moved to modify the aims of the program, this assumption remained in place, with the slight modification that language learning from a lower level presented an additional challenge, but one which could be easily overcome. As the then Minister of Education stated, as quoted in Excerpt 4.5, numerous qualified students had been identified in Brazil whose only shortcoming was a lack of second language skill. He presented language in this excerpt and similarly in Excerpt 4.4 as a "challenge" and an "obstacle" that can be "overcome". What is particularly telling about these comments given by the Minister to the press, as well as those by the president of CAPES (Domíno de segunda língua, 2014) after the students were recalled from Canada and Australia, is that English is presented simply as a barrier to be overcome, rather than possessing any other qualities. This includes any neoliberal inflected descriptions of English as an added value, or even as a commodity to be acquired with value in its own right (Heller, 2010). Based on these media reports this perspective was shared by many of the student members of the Portugal cohort initially, which is why they chose Portugal rather than taking on this challenge or obstacle.

Language testing and individual responsibility. During the launch of the programme, as well as during the efforts to address the initial shortage of eligible students in Brazil, language testing functioned as a key site of intervention and management. As noted above in the account of Canada's response to the programme, many institutions and other managing bodies in host countries reduced their minimum scores on IELTS, TOEFL and other recognized admissions tests in efforts to attract more CSF students and compete both intra and internationally. These minimums were further lowered in some destinations to almost half of what they had previously been, as the example from the United Kingdom shows, and ultimately, in the case of the Portugal cohort, minimums were waived completely.

The dramatic changes at this time to minimum requirements reflect a flexibility, or at the very least a looser attitude towards the value or necessity of test scores, however, as my conversations with the manager at CBIE and the administrator at the international office of Metropolitan University suggest, this type of decision-making took place high up the chain of command, and in this case, behind closed doors.

Interestingly, and seemingly paradoxical to the above changes is the fact that simultaneous to this reduction in minimum scores (and the complete removal of them in the case of the Portugal cohort), the Ministry of Education was also involved in making greater investments into testing with the rollout of the ISF programme, and the purchase of 500,000 TOEFL tests for domestic use. However, these tests would be used for a different function, that of diagnosis, in order to get at a better understanding of the national state or current standards of

English language ability among students (and in some cases faculty) at Brazil's universities.

Several months later, when the members of the Portugal cohort were required to write the TOEFL test (no other types of test such as IELTS were permitted and no reason was given for this either to the students themselves, or the language teachers at Metropolitan), testing returned to its previous role of gatekeeping rather than diagnosis. This was evident in statements to the press by programme administrators in Brazil, and successful performance on this test was subsequently taken up by the media and the general public as a key determiner of which students were permitted to continue into academic studies abroad, and which were recalled home.

This repeated shifting of the function of testing suggests a number of possible and not necessarily oppositional interpretations. On the one hand, test scores as they were initially used to determine eligibility for the programme, as well as the subsequent purchase of 500,000 TOEFL tests for diagnostic purposes reflect a drive towards enumeration, and an effort to rely on seemingly objective measures in order to ensure fairness (McNamara, 2000; Shohamy, 1998). However, on the other hand, they also suggest a lack of awareness of what tests can and cannot do. This lack of awareness is also related to the opinion expressed by one teacher at Metropolitan, that it appeared unlikely that language learning experts were consulted as the various changes were made to the programme. It seems that in place of this consultation (which would perhaps have yielded unwanted feedback, such as skepticism that students with little or no prior experience learning English could be ready for academic study after two semesters), the idea of bringing in a testing regime seemed less problematic. In

this way the challenges that could be argued to have existed at the level of planning and organization of the programme could be offloaded onto the individual participants, in the form of their test results.

Competition. As noted above in the discussion of Canada's response to the launch of the programme, throughout these subsequent modifications competition continued to function as a guiding characteristic or model. Host countries and their institutions scrambled to recruit the students in the Portugal cohort in order to provide the additional services of EAP. In both the UK and Canadian cases cited here, this involved considerable negotiation and the relaxation of previous regulations for the programme. Subsequently, when students were recalled this was framed as their personal failing to achieve a certain benchmark score in a challenge that their peers were able to overcome. In this way they were characterized as unsuccessful participants in a fair competition, who were eliminated as a byproduct of a seemingly logical and normal state of affairs.

Language Planning and Policy as Embedded and Emergent: Discussion

The CSF programme thus represents one country's efforts at internationalization of higher education at a particular moment in time, alongside the responses of its partners and interlocutors around the world such as Canada. As such it presents a valuable window into the governmental rationalities of the various institutions and organizations involved, as well as the range of discourses emanating from both national and global sources that work to instantiate a programme such as this. With its focus on acquiring STEM knowledge, language learning is not presented as an integral component of the programme, and yet, as the programme was implemented, repeated decisions

about language ability and language learning were required. In this dissertation I argue that these decisions, taken together, constitute a hidden or de facto language policy that emerged from and is embedded within the larger CSF programme policy.

In her book-length study of the role of high stakes standardized tests in the United States' *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) elementary and secondary education policy (2001-2015), Menken (2008) argues that this testing is a form of "language policy, even though it is not presented as such and is rarely seen in this light" (Menken, 2008, p. 160). Menken draws on previous research by scholars such as Shohamy in Israel to demonstrate how in the absence of official language policy: "language testing policy is the de facto language policy" (Shohamy, 2001, p. xiii). She describes how the NCLB policy considers minority languages as challenges or impediments for majority language acquisition, drawing on the 'language-as-a-problem' orientation from the typology created by Ruiz (1984). Ultimately Menken considers the effect of the testing regime brought on by NCLB as a form of "unplanned language policymaking" (2008, p. 171).

Coming from a conversation analytic perspective of language policy in the immigrant language classroom, Bonacina-Pugh (2012) argues that "policy and practice need not be seen as distinct and that, in fact, there is a policy within practices themselves" (p. 214). Adding to Ball's (2005) distinction between policy as text and policy as discourse, she proposes that we also consider policy as practice as well, building as well on Spolsky's (2004) tripartite distinction of policy into language management, language beliefs, and language practices. Although Bonacina-Pugh's addition to this typology (and Spolsky's

contributions which inspired it) focuses on the micro level of classroom talk, I take a more expanded view of practices to include policies and governmental edicts such as NCLB in Menken's example, which on the surface have no direct bearing on language. Taking this expanded view allows us to see the unexpected language policies that arise from unexpected sources and practices.

Within this expanded notion of unplanned language policymaking that emerges from all manner of practices and governmental edicts, it becomes possible to consider the various adjustments to the CSF programme criteria in the form of reduced minimum scores for eligibility and subsequent rolling out of expansive TOEFL testing both at home and for the student members of the Portugal cohort as an example of this kind of language-as-a-problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984). While not explicitly labeled as such, it has the effects of an official language policy, in that it aggressively promotes second language learning for students in higher education.

In the description of the CSF programme presented in this chapter, I have tried to demonstrate the ways that unplanned language policy emerged from this program, and to identify a few of the dominant governmental rationalities behind the decisions that gave rise to these policies, as well as several of the discourses about language and higher education globally which served to instantiate these rationalities. In subsequent chapters I explore on a more micro level the effects of these policies as promoting particular types of student subjectivity as presented in the paradigmatic narrative produced by the collected materials in the media centre portion of the CBIE website (chapter 5), as well as taking a closer look at the varied experiences on the ground of different types of student members of the Portugal cohort who achieved varying levels of success

in moving through the program (chapters 6 and 7). However, to conclude this chapter I briefly revisit and elaborate on four key interrelated effects of the unplanned language policies of the CSF programme described above.

First, prior to any modifications on the field of language, there was an assumption by programme designers in CAPES, CNPq and the Ministry of Education that there were adequate numbers of students in Brazil with advanced second language proficiency. In actual practice, this initial model of the programme favoured only those students from wealthy families, who would have had access to quality second language instruction in private elementary and secondary schools, as well as subsequently in public universities. Students from the public system and from private universities would have had less access, and thus would be less likely to be eligible for the program. In effect then, the program, in its initial design, favoured the students who needed it the least.

Second, by focusing on high-ranking institutions in the Global North as preferred destinations, the program inherently privileged English as the second language of choice. While this privileging intersects with popular discourses about the role of English in STEM and academic publications more generally around the world, it also invites criticism of a neo-colonial nature (e.g., Phillipson, 2008), and inadvertently contributes to the dominance of global English at the expense of other languages with varying numbers of speakers worldwide (Park & Wee, 2012).

Third, through equating the learning of English with the achievement of high test scores on standardized tests, and presenting this as a challenge or an obstacle to be overcome, the programme erases a range of constraints on individual learners which may have negatively impacted on their test

performance (Park, 2010). This erasure removes barriers that may have originated prior to a particular student member of the Portugal cohort coming abroad, such as the class-based constraints discussed above, or more recent obstacles or handicaps in the host country in the form of the timing and notification of the test taking, such as when students in the lower levels were required to take the test earlier in the semester, as reported by the teacher at the language institute at Metropolitan University, or the fact that some students were given earlier warning of their scheduled test taking time.

Lastly, whether intentional or not, the narrow focus on achieving test scores to gain access to academic study, as well as the frequent use of the conduit metaphor of language by various high ranking members of organizations such as CAPES fails to capture the rich sociocultural complexity of language and language learning, and sidelines the more typical intercultural aims of study abroad sojourns which historically foreground language learning.

Chapter 5: The Paradigmatic Narrative: Adherence and Resistance to Models of the Subject

Introduction

A range of different stakeholders involved in study abroad programming, including government departments, institutions of higher education, non-profit/non-governmental organizations, as well as peripheral players such as homestay host families, project a heterogeneous collection of intentions, regulations and desires onto student participants. Accordingly, these stakeholders focus on differently scaled outcomes given their interests, such as for example, for those operating at the global and national scale levels, networking and the development of transnational partnerships in the global business community, the development of science innovation in Brazil, or increased enrollment of international students in higher education in Canada. However, intended outcomes across all scale levels are ultimately mediated by the practices of the student participants themselves in their day-to-day lives, while simultaneously delimiting these same practices in their projection of particular rationalities and discourses onto the students.

One way to explore how participants in a particular programme understand how they are meant to act is to examine stories describing these day-to-day lives as told by participants where they are the protagonists themselves, as well as those told by others about them. While subsequent chapters will consider stories told by the students themselves, this chapter focuses on stories told by others, which offer elaborate models for prospective students to follow, outlining appropriate trajectories and identifying and approving of certain

activities while disapproving of others. They also point to the larger objectives at play in terms of how these student practices are seen to corroborate (or not) with the promotion of higher scale level outcomes such as those mentioned above. Drawing on Linde's (2001, 2009) notion of the paradigmatic narrative, this chapter explores a small corpus of these stories told by others as presented on the website of one of the key stakeholders of the *Ciência sem Fronteiras* (CSF) programme in Canada, the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE). CBIE is a national non-profit bilingual organization which serves as the largest of several CSF scholarship managers working in Canada on behalf of the federal government and is closely aligned with two partner organizations in Brazil, the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Cientifico e Tecnológico* (National Counsel for Scientific and Technological Development, or CNPq) and the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nivel Superior* (Coordination for Improvement in Higher Education Personnel, or CAPES). Given the central role that CBIE plays in the implementation of the CSF programme in Canada, taking the stories they promote on their website pages devoted to the programme as their version of the paradigmatic narrative for participant trajectories thus provides valuable perspective on their desired vision for and outcomes of the programme.

Paradigmatic Narratives

In her ethnographic study of a major American Insurance company, Linde (2009) proposes the idea of the paradigmatic narrative as a discourse unit that emerges not from a single or coherent text, but rather as a "discontinuous unit, consisting of narratives told on a variety of occasions within a particular institution, which collectively constitute the model for a career within that institution" (Linde, 2009, p. 142). It is "never told in its entirety in a single

telling", but instead emerges from the accretion of stories told over a period of time by a plurality of tellers, which distinguishes it from a myth or folktale, which typically has a singular telling (Linde, 2009, p. 148). This discontinuity can also be applied to the component parts of the stories themselves, with different exemplary actors playing the role of the protagonist in the paradigmatic narrative at different points within the narrative.

Linde and her research team employed the concept of the paradigmatic narrative on behalf of the company's upper management in order to gain insight into whether improving the poor performance of novice agents was a motivation or a learning issue. Arguing that the paradigmatic narrative reveals the range of "existing career trajectories that one can imagine as possibilities for oneself" (Linde, 2009, p. 145), it enabled her, in the case of this company, to identify a misfit between the imagined or idealized career trajectory that has been historically sedimented in the company since the 1950s, and the changing realities of the insurance business within the global market in the late 1990s, which was the time she conducted her research. She was then able to explain to management the ways in which the traditional narrative of subjectivization and the trajectories of novice agents in the company ran contrary to the current objectives of management.

It is important to note that although paradigmatic narratives function as "instructions how to behave, by a later generation" (Linde, 2009, p. 77), they leave room not only for variation in terms of how they are enacted, but also in terms of whether they are taken up at all. In the case of Linde's insurance company a number of agents (typically women and minorities) found that the model did not work for them, and developed their own counter-narratives or

models for success instead. I demonstrate in subsequent chapters the importance of this idea of the counter-narrative in the cases of several CSF students.

In the field of language policy and planning, the notion of paradigmatic narratives has been explored by Wee and Borkhorst-Heng (2005), in a study of language policy and citizenship in Singapore. To my knowledge this is the only study in the field to engage with this concept to date (however, see King, 2017). In their analysis they describe nationalist ideologies as taking the form of paradigmatic narratives (renamed statal narratives) that function as an integral component of the nation-building process (p. 162). There are two important points in their study that resonate with my own. First, they elaborate on the notion of narrative induction (taken from an earlier text of Linde's) as "the process by which people take on an existing set of stories as relevant to the shaping of their own story" (As cited in Wee & Borkhorst-Heng, 2005, p. 161). There is often something of what Althusser (1971) refers to as interpellation at work here as well, with subjects "recruited" by these stories, thus causing them to become the subjects of them (p. 174). However, in the case of their research, Wee and Borkhorst-Heng stress the agency of citizen subjects in taking up or rejecting the narrative (or aspects of it) in their own formation of self, yet they are careful to note that policies based on the paradigmatic narrative – and even the narrative itself - can only endure or achieve traction if enough incoming agents subscribe to them. Second, and relatedly, they highlight that "the desire to pursue a particular policy might require the state to revise aspects of the statal narrative" in order to smooth out real or imagined contradictions with other policies, discourses or actualities (Wee & Borkhorst-Heng, 2005, p. 162). This smoothing out is an important part of the maintenance and cultivation of the

narrative. Wee and Borkhorst-Heng helpfully identify these revisions as often involving the semiotic processes of iconization, recursivity and erasure, as identified by Irvine and Gal in their seminal study of language ideologies (2000).

These two points share similarities with two key processes performed by policy as identified in the recent literature on governmentality. The first is the historical move away from discipline as a technique of power on the body of the subject to a governmental model "through which subjects are encouraged to conduct their own conduct through processes of persuasion and enticement rather than more straightforward subjugation" (Brady, 2014, p. 20). Thinking of paradigmatic narratives as a tactic of governance allows us to attend to "the ways in which subjects are differently formed and differently positioned in relation to governmental programmes with particular capacities for action and critique" (Li, 2007a, p. 276). These different forms and positions account (at least in part) for a range of possible variations on successful or sanctioned movement through the trajectory laid out in the paradigmatic narrative. At the same time however, it is important to remember that the subject does not have full autonomy to do whatever he or she wants, but instead possess an agency that is operational within the limits determined in large part by the narrative (Bevir, 1999). This is particularly true in a case such as the CSF scholarship programme, where failure to act within the limits of this framework results in the triggering of a disciplinary mechanism – i.e., the scholarship is revoked and the student is required to return home to Brazil.

The second process described in the governmentality literature refers to the ongoing tensions or frictions between different policies, their desired outcomes, and the ideologies that inform them. As mentioned above, Wee and

Borkhorst-Heng (2005) refer to the ways in which policy managers address or negotiate these tensions through revisions. In a discussion of the assemblage of a technical field as an object of governance, Li (2007b) presents a more elaborate taxonomy of possible revisions that is sensitive to the contingency and fragility as well as the complexity of these assemblages. She refers to practices of government that among other things, render technical, authorize and reject particular knowledges, work at "smoothing out contradictions so they seem superficial rather than fundamental" and perhaps most importantly re-pose or reformulate "political questions as matters of technique" (Li, 2007b, p. 265). By supplementing Wee and Borkhorst-Heng's model of the paradigmatic or statal narrative with Li's model of governmental assemblages, it becomes possible to account for a much wider range of ways in which paradigmatic narratives are formed in a top-down fashion by "policy managers", while also paying close attention the input of all the other actors involved (to varying degrees), included the subjects of the policy themselves.

A Note About The Data And The Analysis Process

The data examined in this chapter are drawn from approximately forty "listing of CSF news announcements, student accomplishments, testimonials, a photo gallery and list of activities involving Brazil in which CBIE played a leadership role" in the media room of the CSF pages of the CBIE website (CBIE, media room, n. d.), as well as from entries in the CBIE International Student Centre blog (both of which are/were curated by CBIE). These listings include web links to blog entries, photo essays, and other articles in a wide range of online publications including: Canadian and Brazilian university websites; local and national media in both Canada and Brazil; university newspapers, bulletins,

blogs and reports; and YouTube videos uploaded from university and media sources. The CBIE media room includes listings in English, French and Portuguese.

While many of these texts take the basic form of a narrative of a single or several CSF students' experiences across the entirety of their sojourn, others only present fragments of these experiences, describing a particular event or accomplishment. In order to arrive at the paradigmatic narrative, it was thus necessary to work through all of these materials and identify and compile key common elements.

Linde presents a breakdown of the typical features used for the identification of a paradigmatic narrative into six categories (2009, pp. 150-151). In order to draw out the key elements from the corpus of texts and videos compiled by CBIE I used these six categories as a guide for preliminary coding, and then constructed the paradigmatic narrative of the CSF experience from the various component parts that emerged from this coding. These six categories are posed as questions here: 1) Who is telling the story? In this case the answer to this question is rather complex, as multiple voices are present, including the actual students, the journalists or bloggers who in turn organize and select from the students' words to form their narratives, as well as that of CBIE itself, tacitly sanctioning/sharing the content of these texts in their selection of them; 2) What is the intended scope of reference? This is the process where idiosyncratic events or experiences are differentiated from those that produce/follow the general pattern of the paradigmatic narrative. (Note that sometimes this differentiation is flagged with linguistic indicators of shared experience, sometimes it is flagged by frequency; at other times it is recognized through my own ethnographically

acquired knowledge of the 'culture' of CSF in Canada); 3) What are the events? What happens? Is there a typical temporal sequence?; 4) What are the evaluations? What sorts of values, qualities or actions are promoted? Likewise, which of these are discouraged? What does the counter-example of an unsuccessful CSF student look like?; 5) In the case of the insurance company, Linde examines how the paradigmatic narrative is related to "the promotion and reward structure of the organization" (2009, p. 151). She provides the examples of regional awards in the form of "pins, points and plaques" as recognition of successful performance. Similarly, promotions or awards for CSF students may take the form of rapid advancement through English programming and early entry to academic programming, or it could include, for example, a co-author credit in an academic journal article or an award for a paper or poster at an academic conference; and 6) Occasions for telling the paradigmatic narrative (in this case recruitment is typically the primary occasion or purpose of this telling).

Drawing additionally on the work of Benson (2013) and Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott and Brown (2012, 2013), I synthesized this data to produce "a sequentially organized story, written in the third person, and covering certain specified phases in the study-abroad experience" (Benson, 2013, p. 250). Benson describes this process of synthesis as "a strategy for analyzing data and representing findings in applied linguistics research", arguing that rather than serving only as a waypoint in the analysis process, these narratives may be taken as analyses or interpretations on their own (2013, p. 244). This approach thus corresponds with the first of Polkinghorne's two approaches to narrative inquiry, described as narrative analysis, rather than analysis of narratives (As cited in Benson et al., 2013, p. 11). This distinction between these two approaches can be

summarized as follows: narrative research involves the use of storytelling as either a means of data analysis or presentation of findings; on the other hand, analysis of narratives involves the use of narratives as data, specifically, where "the analysis itself does not necessarily involve storytelling" (Benson et al., 2013, p. 11). Benson (2013) warns however, that presenting narrative as data is decidedly more experimental, and may challenge conventions of ontology and epistemology in the field of narrative research and applied linguistics research more generally. In light of this caution, and similarly to Benson et al. (2013), I have chosen present further analysis of the dominant discourses present in these narratives and incorporate both approaches in my study, but for different reasons than these scholars suggest in the case of their own presentation of their research.

Whereas Benson et al. aim to explore aspects of second language identity in a manner consistent with "more conventional qualitative data analysis techniques to case study narratives" (2013, p. 12), my study incorporates an added layer of ethnography to the examination of LPP (Johnson, 2009; McCarty, 2011). In order to accomplish this, I situate this study at what Gubrium and Holstein describe the (at times) problematic border of narrative and ethnography. Rather than creating a synthesis of the two approaches I set the two in dialogue with one another in a form of "representational interplay, as analytic urgencies that constantly keep one another in check (Gubrium & Holstein, 1999, p. 565).

Thus, the subsequent analysis of common elements that emerge both in and in relation to the paradigmatic narrative should not be read simply as analysis of narratives, but also as a way of positioning these narratives within the

larger ethnographic study of the subject formation of CSF students examined here. While some of these notions are consonant with key features of the paradigmatic narrative, others challenge it, or even explore internal contradictions within it. This distinction will become apparent in subsequent sections where narratives and themes generated from empirical materials collected from student participants are discussed using a similar method of presentation.

Rafaela's Story

Following Linde (2009) and Benson et al.'s (2012, 2013) models, I present CBIE's paradigmatic narrative here as a composite narrative, titled 'Rafaela's story'. I chose to use a female name here to highlight the fact that, although this is not an exclusively gendered story, the number of female voices in the CBIE data is slightly greater than the number of male voices. Given that women are historically underrepresented in the fields of science and engineering globally, I considered their dominant presence here a marked feature worth reproducing. This narrative is a composite of stories, events and experiences described in the CBIE website data. Specific details and quotations are drawn from particular stories; however, obviously the experiences of individual scholarship recipients vary in terms of, for example, types of internship placement, and the geographical affordances of the host city they have been sent to. A number of these details are included here for stylistic reasons (Clough, 2002), but "it is the overall structure and stages of the story which is common to the paradigmatic narrative" (Linde, 2009, p. 152).

Application and arrival. Rafaela had no intentions of study abroad as an undergraduate, but when she heard about the CSF programme and spoke with

past participants about their experiences, she knew she had to apply. As a fully funded programme, the opportunity was too good to pass up. She was initially concerned about her English language proficiency, as she considered what English she had acquired in elementary and secondary school in Brazil to be minimal and inadequate for studying abroad, especially given the fact that she had almost no experience speaking with native speakers in her life.

When she first arrived in Canada her lack of ability with English was a problem for her. She found herself smiling and nodding when people spoke to her, but often didn't understand what they said. However, after a while she gained confidence and found that she was able to understand more and more and began responding to what people were saying to her. In general, she found the language barrier to be the most difficult challenge to overcome on her sojourn.

During these first months in Canada Rafaela studied English for academic purposes in an intensive programme housed in her host university. She enjoyed this time especially as she made many friends from many other countries who were studying in the intensive programme as well. She was surprised to find that these other international students would be the ones that she would spend the most of her time in Canada with, rather than the Canadians that she had dreamed she would be socializing with prior to arriving here.

Academics. After moving from the intensive English programme into academics, Rafaela was surprised at how difficult her classes were compared to those at her university back home in Brazil. She found the classroom hours here to be much shorter than those at home, but found that homework was much more complex and time consuming. She also had to adjust to having less support

from her professors than she was used to. However, despite these challenges in adapting to this new model of learning, she was very happy to be studying in a globally top ranked school in Canada. She was excited to be exposed to state-of-the-art technology and innovation in her field, and looked forward bringing this knowledge back home to Brazil.

Internship. Rafaela completed two terms of academics at her Canadian university, and was then placed in an internship at a company in the same city she had been living in whose product was related to her field. She considers this internship to be the most important part of her time in Canada for several reasons. First, it gave her an opportunity to develop her skills in the real world of the workplace. This included not only working with the state-of-the-art technologies she had been first exposed to in the classroom, but also improving her language and communication skills. Working for this company required her to speak in English more than she had ever done before. She quickly found her vocabulary expanding, and also found she was getting more comfortable in a wide range of social interactions in the workplace. Second, she was also excited because her manager at the company told her they were thinking of expanding to Brazil. If this happened, she would be well positioned to help them with her practical knowledge of the Brazilian marketplace, and this may prove to be a future job opportunity for her. She is also considering the possibility of returning to Canada after she completes her studies, as she thinks there are many opportunities for her to work here in her field.

Culture and leisure. Beyond the academics and internship, Rafaela took advantage of many other aspects of life in Canada that differ from Brazil. Living in a large multicultural city, she was excited by the diversity among the people

she met and socialized with regularly, including students from the Middle East and East Asia. She also went of several sightseeing excursions to famous Canadian tourist destinations such as Niagara Falls and Quebec City. In her final weeks before returning to Brazil she went on a short hiking trip in the Rocky Mountains with several other Brazilian friends, visiting the town of Banff in Alberta.

Rafaela's Story – Key Topics

A number of topics in the paradigmatic narrative that I have presented here occurred frequently and consistently throughout the corpus of texts from the CBIE media room. In the following section I take a closer look at each of these, presenting exemplary excerpts from the corpus, expanding on how each of these topics is articulated, and also suggesting, where relevant, some of the discourses and rationalities surrounding language, language learning and higher education more generally that these excerpts index.

English language learning. The first topic relates to English language learning and can be broken down into three phases or aspects. The first of these is historical, and pertains to access to and the quality of language instruction available in Brazil to these students in elementary and high school, as well as in the private language schools that many of them studied in prior to coming to Canada. In each of these cases, language learning is Brazil is contrasted with language learning and use in Canada. As a student named Bernardo describes his experience in a YouTube video, "I think the language is a barrier that every Brazilian goes through because learning English in Brazil is not the same as living with it every day. I think that no barrier is hardest than this one" (Mauro, 2013). Similarly, a student named Tiago remarked that "Aqui o ingles é a língua

oficial então é um pouco além do ingles que aprendemos no Brazil [Here English is the official language so it is a bit beyond the English we learn in Brazil] (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, n. d.). In both cases these students highlight the differences between learning a language in a L2 versus an L1 environment. It is also possible, however, to read a gentle criticism of the English language learning available in Brazil in Tiago's comment if the qualifier "a bit beyond" is understood as a playful understatement (given the amount of good humor and joking in the entire piece featuring Tiago, this is not unlikely). Based on these two brief excerpts then, there is an acknowledgment of Canada as an authentic place to learn English through daily living, as opposed to the (tacitly suggested) limitations of exclusively classroom learning and limited opportunity for use in Brazil. Bernardo also stresses the degree to which this L2 experience is a serious challenge.

The second and third phases or aspects of English language learning in Canada according to the paradigmatic narrative can be seen as pragmatic or practical solutions to the problems posed by this perceived historical lack of access to authentic language learning experiences. Tiago's narrative continues, describing the English programme at his host university:

Excerpt 5.1

O bom é que a Kwantlen oferece cursos de inglês antes que você começe suas matérias acadêmicas e isso melhora a fluência 100%. Você aprende as expressões locais e a maneira como se comunica com eficiência [The good thing is, Kwantlen offers English courses before you begin your academic study, and this improves fluency 100%. You learn local expressions and

how to communicate with efficiency] (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, n. d.).

A student named Layla at another university praised a similar opportunity: "During my first term at Brock University, I had English classes in the intensive English language programme, which really helped me understand how the university works here, as well as get used to the 'Canadian rhythm'" (Brock University, n. d.).

Intensive academic English programmes in Canada are identified by Tiago as excellent for building fluency, developing awareness of local norms, and honing communication skills, while Layla highlights the more social and cultural assets of understanding the workings of the university and Canadian life more generally. Given that both of these excepts are taken from confessionals on the websites of two different universities, it is not surprising that they are glowing reviews, as these sorts of comments are typically solicited from willing participants to serve as promotional materials and reassurances that the instruction available is comprehensive and effective, and previous students are satisfied with their learning experiences.

However, the paradigmatic narrative also presents a more immersive approach to language learning that can be contrasted with these accounts of classroom experiences. A student name Artur at a different university describes his first months in Canada:

Excerpt 5.2

I think in Canada, the language was the first problem. For the first three months, I could not speak with almost anyone. I was just smiling and

agreeing with everything! But after some time, I started to understand

what people were saying and could respond (Hernandez, 2014).

Rather than attributing his developing proficiency to direct instruction, in this excerpt Artur presents it as something that comes in time, through repeated exposure in authentic communicative encounters. Referring to their internship experiences in particular, several other students describe a similar process of learning and improvement in or through work. A student in British Columbia named João makes these comments in a blog post from a website produced by a crown corporation in whose focus is internationalization efforts in that province:

Excerpt 5.3

> Working with all kinds of people and dealing with different situations has
>
> been rewarding […] my English language skills have improved
>
> immaculately [sic]. I'm definitely more accurate in recognizing the
>
> nuances of the English language. Simply by talking with others, I was able
>
> to improve my verbal communication" (Correa, 2013).

More specific than Artur above, João qualifies this acquisition as the result of 'simply talking', a perspective which challenges the need for classroom instruction, instead focusing on immersion in real world situations as an ideal method for learning. Relatedly, a student called Guilherme focuses on local idioms acquired in these situations when he describes his experiences doing fieldwork with a group of classmates:

Excerpt 5.4

> It was very nice to improve my English by observing and talking to the
>
> new friends I met during the field course [sic]. The best part about talking
>
> to Canadian people of my age was the slang that I learned (Silveira, 2013).

This mention of slang or local forms of the language echoes the excerpt from Tiago above, who also spoke of learning local expressions in the classroom. However, in this case the learning takes place in the field, and the slang, or natural language of authentic users is privileged. Guilherme also ranks this as one of the best parts of his experience, rating it a high degree of importance.

Reading though the portions of the CBIE corpus which address these aspects of language learning a pattern emerges where these two possible domains or spaces of learning (the classroom and the world beyond) can be seen as not in opposition to one another, but rather as complementary, or in some cases, as presenting the particular approach to learning or learning style embraced by the student reflecting on his or her experience. In sum then, these different possibilities for learning English can be seen as part of the promotional campaign that is a key objective of so many of the texts in this corpus. Canada as a learning destination is presented as having multiple possible approaches to language learning, with a slight favoring of authentic forms of language such as slang or local expressions, and with 'real' communication in the internship workplace based on frequency of occurrence in the corpus. As these discourses of what is or what isn't authentic language are always tied to particular spaces, and thus index who 'belongs' in or to particular spatial groupings, such as a nation or a region. I discuss the implications of discourses of authenticity around forms of language in Chapters 6 and 7.

Although the process of learning is presented as difficult, or at the very least, as a problem on first arriving in Canada, in no cases is this problem presented as insurmountable. On the contrary, Canada is promoted as a place where adequate instruction is on offer which all but guarantees successful

language, learning, and in addition, there is plenty of opportunity for real world language use and the development of authentic local forms by students who chose Canada as a destination. The only requirement for success suggested, is for the students to show up, and have a willingness to work hard.

University rankings and comparisons of higher education systems. Another common feature of the paradigmatic narrative consists of highlighting Canadian universities' positioning in global rankings, and the related practice of making comparisons between the systems of higher education in Brazil and Canada. One link to promotional materials on the website *Estudo no Exterior* includes the following as number one in a list of of five reasons to study in Canada:

Excerpt 5.5

> Muitas das nossas instituições proeminentes são destaques em rankings mundiais, como "Times Higher Education" (Educação Superior Times) e "Rankings of World Universities" (Rankings Acadêmico de Universidades do Mundo) [Many of our preeminent institutions are featured in global rankings such as the Time Higher Education and Rankings of World Universities] (Estudo no Exterior, 2015).

These types of claims made by promotional materials were echoed by many of the student voices as well. For example "I chose UBC because I've heard that this is one of the best universities in the whole world" (Student Profiles – Lucas's Story, n. d.) and "I chose U of T because it's the best university in Canada" (Au-Yeung, 2012).

This emphasis on ranking dovetails in an interesting way with numerous comments comparing universities in Canada and Brazil with the former

featuring larger class sizes (at the undergraduate level) and greater emphasis on home study as opposed to classroom collaboration. One article in a local newspaper clearly highlights this distinction:

Excerpt 5.6

> The biggest difference that [he] has noticed between Brazilian and Canadian universities is the amount of class time. He feels that courses in Brazil require students to spend many more hours in sessions, while courses at the University of Windsor involve more study outside the lecture hall (Chen, 2014).

> One would expect this to be an issue, with students unhappy about the reduced hours of contact with their professors. However, nowhere is this greater independence on the part of the students seen as a liability. It is instead framed as an advantage. In one excerpt from a promotional video produced by the University of British Columbia, a student named Stephanie explains her perspective on this comparison:

Excerpt 5.7

> The school system here is more flexible than in Brazil and it really fits with my personality. Within my major I can pick my own courses and make my timetable the way I like it. Even within huge classrooms the professors would always encourage us to email him [sic], call him or set up a meeting if we needed help (UBC Prospective Undergraduates, 2012). (This English translation is taken from the subtitles provided by the authors of the video.)

> Within the paradigmatic narrative then, larger classes with reduced contact hours are promoted as having the advantage of greater flexibility rather

than a deficiency. Yet this deficiency is tacitly acknowledged by Stephanie when she reassures potential applicants that Canadian professors remain completely accessible to students. One noteworthy feature that is missing from these comparisons of educational delivery is the requirement of CSF for the number of hours of study abroad to equal the numbers of a typical semester at home, which as I will describe in greater detail when looking at the student narratives, required many students to take more courses than their Canadian counterparts.

Culture, knowledge and the directionality of exchange. A third feature of the paradigmatic narrative focuses on both the objective and directionality or mutuality of the knowledge exchange that happens through the students' study abroad sojourns. One student named Bruna presents her understanding – a typical articulation from the corpus of desired outcomes of the programme both for the students as individuals as well as for Brazil as a social collective:

Excerpt 5.8

> I think this is a great opportunity for the Brazilian students to know a different culture and improve their knowledge […] It is also a good deal for Brazil too, because this experience will (allow us) to bring new technologies and new information back to Brazil (Mayer, 2013).

Here both culture and knowledge are identified as objects to be acquired on the sojourn. The students come to Canada and gain cultural knowledge, as the first part of this excerpt identifies, as well as a more general knowledge that is not directly elaborated on (presumably however, this refers to the content knowledge of their various academic courses and programmes). The second part of this excerpt clarifies this, referring more specifically to the new technologies and related information these CSF students are here to acquire. What is

interesting to note is that throughout the corpus the directionality of these flows is reciprocated in the case of cultural knowledge, but not in the case of knowledge that is associated with science, technology and innovation. The following excerpts demonstrate this bidirectionality of cultural knowledge as an object of exchange. From the Brazil side, a student named Diego commented:

Excerpt 5.9

> I was surprised by all the lovely people I have met and how accepting
> they were, not only of me, but of my culture. I even got to teach a little
> samba. This is a huge benefit of being in a multicultural country like
> Canada (CBIE, testimonials, n. d.).

Coming from the Canadian side, an administrator at one university expressed a similar experience, highlighting the bidirectionality of this exchange: "SwB provides a wonderful opportunity for Brazilian students to engage with their Canadian counterparts and Canadian culture, but it's definitely a two-way street" (School of Arts, Media, Performance and Design, York University, 2013)

In contrast, this bidirectionality was not shared in the case of scientific knowledge as an object of exchange. This particular type of knowledge is presented in the paradigmatic narrative as only travelling in one direction from Canada, or the Global North, to Brazil, in the Global South as in the following comment from a student named Aline, who describes the programme in a news feature on another university's website as "an excellent opportunity to get in contact with new knowledge and technologies and bring it [sic] back to our home country" (Mayer, 2013).

Several students provided further details which include implicit explanations for this unidirectionalty, describing Brazil's current situation in

terms of scientific development further from a perspective of deficit. A graduate student named Ednei commented that "Brazilian science has shown great improvement over the last decade but we face many challenges" (UWeekly, University of Lethbridge, 2013). Similarly, an engineer named Tuani remarked: "It is very important for Brazilians to go abroad and get the expertise from those who have the know how" (student profiles – Tuani's Story, n. d.). Noteworthy is the fact that these challenges or this need Ednei refers to is never articulated on behalf of the Canadian social collective in the paradigmatic narrative. The only benefits to Canada that are presented in the corpus speak to the value that Brazilian interns bring to individual companies in the private sector in Canada in terms of their labour, and also their potential for providing these particular (often already multinational) businesses with access to culture knowledge of the Brazilian market. In the case of Tuani's comments, Brazilians are clearly positioned as 'have nots', and Canadians as 'haves' in terms of scientific expertise.

The situation described in the paradigmatic narrative in terms of the directionality of flows of cultural and scientific knowledge echoes Walter Mignolo's (2009) articulation of the geopolitics of knowledge, where citizens of the Global South are seen as tokens of their culture, and are in possession of and often required to share their cultural knowledge. This tokenism is something that citizens of the Global North may opt to perform, but in contrast to those in the south, they are not necessarily expected to. On the other hand, scientific knowledge (as opposed to cultural wisdom) only originates in the north, whose citizens may choose to share it or not. As such, it only flows from north to south.

Multiculturalism and tourism. Moving beyond this contrast between cultural and scientific knowledge, taken on their own, cultural interaction and related tourism activities are favorably presented throughout the paradigmatic narrative. In terms of tourism, numerous descriptions of extensive travel and leisure itineraries such as this one are present in the corpus:

Excerpt 5.10

> In addition to their studies and internships, the Brazilian students are taking the opportunity to explore their host country. Their individual travels have taken them to Niagara Falls and Montreal, cottages in Northern Ontario, and Jasper and Banff in Alberta (School of Arts, Media, Performance and Design, York University, 2013).

Stephanie in Vancouver describes her leisure activities, and engagement with the local environment: "My friends and I go to Whistler and spend hours skiing and snowboarding. I'm very connected to nature and feel like I have a handful of it here" (UBC Prospective Undergraduates, 2012). As mentioned above in reference to the positioning of universities in global rankings, given the promotional and recruiting intentions of the various texts gathered in the CBIE media centre, it is not surprising that tourism and outdoor recreation are strongly featured as an added value for students who chose to complete their CSF sojourn in Canada, with different universities and locales promote their particular touristic attributes.

Many of the students also spoke glowingly about the exposure to cultural diversity or multiculturalism that Canada provides with comments such as "Being able to live with people from all over the world and learn other cultures is a unique experience" (Student Profiles – Tuani's story, n. d.) and "I made friends

from all parts of the world" (Mayer, 2013). One student even went as far as praising this diversity as creating a safe and welcoming space for language learners:

Excerpt 5.11

> A região de Vancouver é muito cosmopolita e as pessoas já estão acostumadas com os mais diferentes níveis e sotaques de ingles [The Vancouver area is very cosmopolitan and the people are already accustomed with many different levels and accents of English] (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, n. d.)

> Yet a qualifier was often attached to all these conversations about

Canada's cultural diversity. Several students explained that their contact with students from a wide range of countries around the world took place at the cost of contact with Canadians. Márcia, a student from the University of Toronto describes it:

Excerpt 5.12

> Toronto is a very multicultural city. I thought I would be meeting a lot of Canadians, but most of the people are actually not from Canada […] I wouldn't have a chance to meet all these people if I weren't here. It makes it easier to adapt; when I go to Little Italy, I feel like I'm with my family (Au-Yeung, 2012).

This excerpt clearly captures an interesting bit of complexity in how the cultural diversity is handled in the paradigmatic narrative. Márcia begins by expressing her surprise that things had not turned out the way that she had expected them, but later in the quote, she avoids elaborating on a potentially negative response to these changes. Whereas she could have expressed disappointment in not

having things happen as she anticipated them, she instead turns towards the positive outcomes of this unexpected turn. The ambivalence that is suggested but never fully articulated in this excerpt reveals an interesting feature of the paradigmatic narrative. Because it is produced by a plurality of tellers on numerous occasions rather than from a single teller or authoritative source on a single occasion, the possibilities for such ambiguities exist. The fissures provide valuable entry points into the contradictions that are almost inevitable in the production of these types of narratives, and as such, reveal noteworthy problems that various tellers try to smooth away or erase completely. This issue of whether having exposure to diversity in Canada means having contact with 'Canadians' rather than people 'not actually from Canada', as well as the complexity of who belongs to which group and by what authority is something that I explore at greater length in the narratives of my participants that follow in chapters 6 and 7, as the idea of who is and isn't a Canadian or more generally a citizen of any particular nation often plays a key role in legitimizing certain languages, accents or levels of proficiency.

Leveraging the experience. The last topic consistently presented in the paradigmatic narrative that I report on here concerns the various ways that the CSF programme is seen to benefit a range of agents and players, including the students as individuals, Brazilian and Canadian companies and institutions, as well as the broader social collective in both countries.

In terms of individual benefit, several aspects are suggested by the students themselves. One line of reasoning explores how the sojourn provides access to content knowledge in their particular scientific fields, which makes the students better qualified for employment in Brazil, and is characterized here by a

student named Hívio in a testimonial: "Here I have a chance to work with great researchers in hi-tech labs that will certainly increase my knowledge and increase my chances for good jobs when I go back to Brazil" (Student profiles, n. d.). In Hívio's case here, he specifically identifies the scientific knowledge he is acquiring here in Canada as the key to better job prospects back home. For other students, these benefits were articulated as linked to knowledge acquired from networking with particular companies on the internship, like Lucas, a computer science major who spoke of "discovering new, international perspectives that he can bring back to Brazil" based in particular on his opportunities or "chances to get in touch with big companies from my area like IBM, Microsoft, Capcom, and others" (Student profiles, n. d.). In Lucas's case, later in his profile he also suggested that he considered these opportunities as a possible means to return to Canada – "the social networking will allow me to maybe come back to Canada in the future to work or study once again" (Student profiles, n. d.).

Other students discussed their English language learning, and their time at a foreign university more generally in terms of how it would help them in their future search for employment back home. A student name Yuri put it this way: "A experiência com as universidades e com a língua estrangeira também abre portas no mercado (brasileiro)" [the experience with universities and with the foreign language also opens doors in the Brazilian market] (Alunos cearenses irão ao Canadá, 2014). Providing more details, Hívio described the specifics of how he sees the role of English operating in the Brazilian job hunt: "An English language test is usually mandatory when you are looking for a job in a multinational company. This way, putting my English in practice here in Canada will help me to be more fluent" (Student profiles, n. d.). Focusing more on

university study abroad, a student called Conrado adds some other more general details:

Excerpt 5.13

> Além do desenvolvimento que terei no meu ingles durante esses 16 meses, poderei também ter em meu currículo o nome da universidade canadense deste tamanho para me orgulhar quando chegar no Brasil [Besides the development of my English during these 16 months, I can also have on my resume the name of a university in Canada of quality to be proud of when I return to Brazil] (Student profiles, n. d.).

He is suggesting here that beyond the advantage provided by English, the study abroad experience understood more generally would help his resume in the form of the name of a foreign university. Perhaps the most general expression of this sentiment comes from Lucas, who argues that his experiences studying abroad will "make my actions and intentions unique back home, which will give me the 'something else' that employers are looking for" (Student profiles, n. d.). What in being referred to here is the role of CSF on his resume which, rather than describing any sort of specific knowledge acquired, frames the sojourn only in terms of how it helps to distinguish him from other applicants.

Statements and comments from government and other institutional sources corroborated a number of these perspectives, but with an emphasis on benefits for businesses rather than individuals. As the international office director of one university notes in a report on the website of the Canadian trade commissioner:

Excerpt 5.14

> As for the companies, many are eager to have interns help them
>
> understand the Brazilian market. Some even plan to hire the interns when
>
> they return to Brazil […] you get insight and you make connections; it's
>
> the best of both worlds (Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, n. d.).

The same report also features a quote from the human resource office of a large

multinational corporation which is excited to be "developing the talent pipeline

through internships" which provides considerable benefit to the company's

Brazilian operations (Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, n. d.). A statement

from the President and CEO of CBIE herself stresses that the programme

provides more than just individual benefit: "These placements offer more than a

fundamental learning experience for individual students […] they build

connections between Canadian and Brazilian institutions and businesses which

lead to exciting opportunities" (CBIE, 2013, n. p.). She stresses here the benefits to

both nations stemming primarily from these social connections between

universities and businesses in both countries.

The Paradigmatic Narrative in Sum

In this chapter I have considered Linde's (2009) concept of the

paradigmatic narrative as a way of looking at how the stories told about the CSF

function as an elaborate set of suggestions or model for future students to follow.

In this case I have focused on a corpus of texts collected on the website of CBIE,

one of the key administrators of the CSF scholarship in Canada. What emerges

from these various student voices and from Rafaela's story, and the deeper

exploration of a number of key topics that follow it, is a set of temporal

benchmarks to be reached, as well as a number of observations of and preferred

outcomes of the programme. From a governmentality perspective, this narrative operates as an exemplary form of 'government from a distance', providing a template for what is considered to be the pathway of a successful student through the programme in the form of a series of suggestions rather than explicit admonitions. In this way it gently and tacitly delimits an appropriate frame of experience to prospective students, presenting to them a set of tools with which to imagine their future experiences. A pair of other features of this narrative also reveal governmental rationalities at work. First, despite being selected and grouped together on the CBIE website, the features of this narrative are collected from a wide range of sources, including publications from local and national media, as well as university promotional materials. Rather than being "the product of a singular intention or will", this narrative is constructed from a heterogenous assemblage of voices (Li, 2007a, p. 276). However, in order for this assemblage to adhere together as a delimited frame of possibility and knowledge, ambiguities and contradictions that emerge require smoothing or at the very least, explanation. One example of this sort of fissure discussed above relates to intercultural contact and questions of who is a speaker of authentic Canadian English.

In the following chapters I take a closer look at narratives of the actual experiences of four different types of participants in the CSF programme and consider the ways in which they reflect or inhabit the frame of imagining presented by the paradigmatic narrative as I have described it here, as well as the frictions between these stories and the students' own stories, and the strategies they take to explain the both the choices they make and the situations and/or subject positions in which they find themselves.

Chapter 6: Student Narratives of Experience – Part 1: Bruna and Lucas

Introduction

As a contrast to and/or reflection in practice to the paradigmatic narrative presented in the previous chapter, the following two chapters explore several narratives of actual student experiences on the CSF scholarship program in Canada. Each chapter is subdivided into two sections. Each of these sections begins with an extended personal narrative of one of four particular types of student's study abroad experience and focuses on their second language learning and use throughout their sojourn. This broad narrative is then followed by further finer grained discourse analyses of key interactions and critical moments or themes in the data for both this student and others of the same type. Each of these interactions or moments highlights aspects of their sojourns that either function as or interact with explicit and implicit language policies in these students' lives abroad, as well as the ways in which the students engaged with these policies. As such, these data are analytically considered from what can be characterized within the current field of narrative inquiry as both big story (Benson, 2013; Freeman, 2006) and small story perspectives (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), while drawing simultaneously from post-structuralist, conversation, discourse analytic (e.g., Blommaert, 2005; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Prior, 2015; Wetherell, 1998, 2015) and linguistic anthropological analytic repertoires (e.g., Agha, 2007; Wortham & Reyes, 2015) when relevant. Each section concludes with a discussion and summation of the central themes that emerge in relation to policy from these different analytic perspectives on the data for the particular type of student under scrutiny.

The identification of the four types of students examined here is based on differences of trajectories: simply put, each type of student moved through and/or was governed by the CSF program in a slightly different way. Table 6.1 presents these four different types visually. The first type includes those students who completed eight-month sojourns in Canada, but were subsequently not successfully placed in academics in Canada by CBIE and were thus recalled to Brazil. The second type includes students who were accepted into academics in Canada contingent on their completing an additional semester of English programming. This group spent eighteen months in Canada in total, including twelve months of ESL followed by four months of academics. The third type includes students who were accepted into academics following eight months of English instruction, but ultimately chose to quit the program and return to Brazil during or following their first semester of academics in Canada for reasons explored below. The fourth and final type of student considered here includes those who were accepted into academics following eight months of English instruction, and who subsequently completed eight months of academics for a total of sixteen months studying in Canada in total. Following a brief introduction of the various analytic repertoires employed here, the remainder of this chapter focuses on two of these different students' stories.

Table 6.1 Trajectories of different student types

Sept - Dec 2013	Jan - Apr 2014	May - Aug 2014	Sept - Dec 2014	2015
ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES			ACADEMIC STUDIES	
Type 1 Bruna, Paulo				
Type 2 Lucas, Jessica, Daniel				
Type 3 Clara, Ana				
Type 4 Thiago, Fernanda				

TIMELINE OF STUDIES IN CANADA
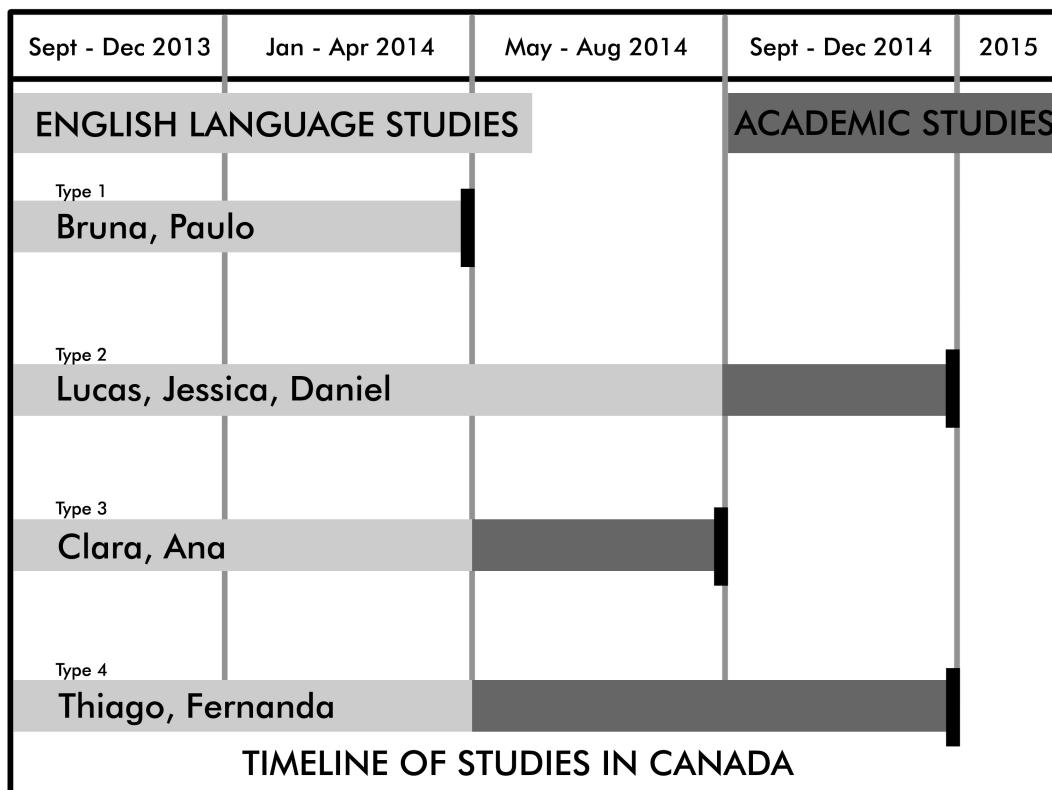
Narrative as Analysis

Across several recent publications, Benson and a number of co-authors have presented a detailed methodological approach to big stories in narrative inquiry (with important theoretical and analytical implications) which I have adapted here in order to examine the what, why, when and where of these students' experiences studying in Canada (Benson, 2013; Benson et al., 2013). This approach involved first compiling what are typically understood as non-narrative data in the form of interview transcripts, blog entries, participant observations etc. (Benson, 2013, p. 251). These data were then arranged and written "up as a story with a beginning, a middle and an end" (Benson, 2013, p.

257). This story was formed through a holistic and reiterative process of reading and rereading the data for a single student, working at clustering extracts together into themes, and finally producing an account of their experiences which, while attempting to maintain a fidelity to the participant's voice and language, also acknowledges both the presence of the researcher in the texts, and the interpretation that is an inevitable and necessary part of this process of the generation of a narrative. As such, this phase of analysis and data presentation is rooted firmly in a post-structural epistemology, which "distrusts assumptions of omniscience, generality and authority", and acknowledges the partiality of interpretive local and historical productions of knowledge (Benson, 2013, p. 261). A key contrast between this approach and more modernist or structuralist approaches to narrative analysis which often tend towards omniscience, generality and comprehensiveness, can be found in the subsequent status of these stories or narrative texts. Rather than simply constituting texts as units of cleaned data, which then require further interpretation and elucidation in order to be converted to research texts proper, each of the four types of narratives I present here should be seen as "already a research text – an outcome of the analysis to address questions of interest to a research community through the act of narrative writing" (Benson, 2013, p. 258). Put simply, these stories presented in this way are already able to "speak for themselves" (Clough, 2002, p. 6), offering the reader an opportunity to make their own interpretations and draw their own conclusions from them without necessarily requiring further mediation.

Analysis of Narrative

However, as a means of enhancing and building on these interpretations as well as presenting multiple and alternate perspectives on the multifaceted

experiences of these students, these narratives as big stories are presented here concurrently with analyses drawing on several other approaches (listed above) to the empirical materials collected through interviews and fieldwork observation. These other approaches function as a form of both methodological and analytical triangulation. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) note in describing the role of triangulation as it is understood in the ethnographic qualitative tradition (as opposed to more quantitative or positivist conceptions of the term) that "besides providing a validity check, it also gives added depth to the description of the social meanings involved in a setting" (p. 183). These complementary approaches fall into two (at times overlapping categories). The first attends to smaller narrative-like activities that occurred principally during interviews. These interactional small stories exemplify the different "ways of telling" that emerge during the interviews that often introduce "contradictions, dilemmas, and tensions on the part of the tellers" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 263). In contrast to the larger scope and often reflective nature of the longitudinal narratives of experience described above, the smaller stories considered here attend to matters of the positioning and subjectivity of interviewees in relation to both the researcher as interlocutor, as well as to the topics under consideration themselves. As such they have the potential to function as "counter-stories, the stories that are not encouraged or allowed in specific environments [and] that do not fit the expectations of who the tellers should be and what stories they tell" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 263). An additional perspective on these empirical materials employed here draws more generally from repertoires of discourse analysis, with an aim to connecting the themes and topics that emerge in both the big and small stories to more durable and perduring discourses as well as the

particular historicities of the various contexts at play (e.g., Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2010a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015). In brief then, the larger narratives present holistic big stories of the student experiences over the duration of their language learning careers to date with a focus on their time in Canada (Benson, 2011), while the small stories probe at contradictions, tensions and questions and other noteworthy features that emerge through the telling of these stories. Lastly, a linguistic anthropological analytic repertoire considers discourses, language ideologies and localized histories as well as other often but not exclusively relevant macro-level considerations indexed throughout the empirical materials that together form the various texts of the narratives presented here.

Bruna's Story

Bruna is an information systems student from an industrial city neighboring the capital of her state of residence in the southeastern region of Brazil. At the time of her sojourn in Canada she was 26 years old and was halfway through her degree at a recently established local private university that specializes in engineering, information systems and industrial design. She comes from a modest background; her father is a tradesperson and her mother is a homemaker.

Application and preparation. Bruna first heard about the CSF programme from a television advertisement and applied for it online. At the time of her application her college was not included in the list of eligible home institutions, but luckily for her, while her application was being processed it was added. As with all the students whose narratives are presented here, Bruna initially chose Portugal as a destination. A self-described monolingual, she lacked proficiency in the languages spoken in any of the other destinations on offer. When she was

informed that Portugal was closed as a destination, and she would have a chance to choose an English-speaking country instead, she chose Canada largely because she imagined Canadians were less snobby than Americans and were "more receptive towards immigrants" (FN, 2014-02-03). She was never interested in going to the United Kingdom or Australia, as she didn't like the way their accents sounded.

Prior to having this opportunity presented to her, Bruna did not have much desire to learn English, or any other second language. At times during her youth she had dreamed of learning Spanish because the language sounded sexy to her, in contrast to what she characterized as the 'hard' sounds of English, but she never got around to studying either language beyond what was compulsory in primary and secondary school. However, despite not working to acquire the language herself, she believes that currently in Brazil, English proficiency is of very high value, particularly in the labour market. She thinks that in the labour market in her region of the country, in a job interview English proficiency has the same or even a greater value than a general undergraduate degree.

To prepare for her imminent departure to Canada after she was notified of her acceptance, Bruna enrolled in a private (for-profit) language school in her hometown, attending classes several weeks. While she felt these classes 'warmed her up' for her stay in Canada, she did not feel that the methodology and approach differed much from the English learning she had done in public middle school and high school, which she describes as spending many years on the verbs 'to be' and 'to do'. Prior to her departure she was required by the CSF administrators affiliated with her college to take the TOEFL PBT as a benchmark assessment of her English ability. She scored 417 (on a scale of 310-677), receiving

almost no points in both the listening comprehension and structure/written expression skills. She related to me that she was told by various administrators of the scholarship and professors that it was very difficult to have a lower score on this test. She considered her English proficiency at this time to be basically non-existent.

Arrival and stay. When she arrived in Canada, Bruna was diagnostically assessed and placed in pre-academic English courses at the language institute housed inside Metropolitan University. These classes are designed for students with exceptionally minimal English language skills who are not ready to begin at the usual entry level. However, given the modified curriculum piloted specially for her CSF cohort at the institute, this still placed her on a trajectory to complete all seven of the levels required for completion (plus the pre-academic courses) in eight months, provided she passed the assessments for each level successfully as she moved through the system. When I first spoke with her she was already halfway along this path, and was optimistic about her ability to continue successfully. Shortly after she arrived Bruna was also asked to select three Canadian universities to apply to for academic study after she finished her English programming. She chose Metropolitan University, as well as the two top ranked universities in the country, both of which also consistently are ranked within the global top forty. These rankings were her main reasons for making these choices.

During her time at Metropolitan University, Bruna lived near the school in a homestay with Filipino host parents, who spoke English around the home most of the time. She was the only student living in this house, and when she wasn't doing homework or socializing with her new Brazilian friends at the university

before and after classes, she spent the bulk of her free time watching movies in Portuguese on Netflix. On Sundays she attended services at the local branch of a large Brazilian Pentecostal church, also in Portuguese, although she told me that the church offered services in English and several other languages as well.

Bruna moved smoothly through the levels, although given the weather (it was a particularly harsh winter with constant sub-zero temperatures) and the heavy workload of the accelerated curriculum designed for CSF students to move quickly through the program at the language institute, she says she felt isolated as she passed between the two domains of her room at the homestay house and the school, with little other opportunity or access to leisure and social activities. In February she wrote the TOEFL iBT and achieved a score of 58 (out of 120). She was not overly concerned with this score as she thought that she was writing the test only for diagnostic purposes, to track her progress, and the real assessment would take place at the end of the term in April. As it happened however, this would be the only time she would write a TOEFL test while in Canada.

Period of uncertainty. Over the course of the month of March – the seventh month in country for the CSF students studying English at the language institute at Metropolitan University – they began to receive news of their academic placements and host universities. Early reports caused considerable confusion, as many of the students first notified were accepted in universities that they had not chosen in their ranked lists of three as they had been asked to do in the fall. Many of these universities were less prestigious, smaller in size and located in rural areas and smaller towns. There were also rumors and fears circulating that a number of them were going to be sent home to Brazil. As the

month progressed Bruna did not receive an acceptance letter, and finally around the first of April she received official notification that she had not been accepted into academics at any Canadian university, and would be required to return to Brazil at the end of the month. Bruna was devastated, and was very angry about both the lack of transparency and what she perceived as their lack of communication on the part of CBIE and CAPES. She told me that she sent many emails to both organizations over the last few weeks of her sojourn which were either not answered for days, or received form responses that did not directly address the questions that she had.

Central to the questions she and her peers had were details about the selection process. As they had been asked to choose and rank three universities that they wanted to apply to on arrival in Canada, they were surprised to find that most of the students who were accepted to stay on did not end up in any of these institutions. In many cases, these students ended up in universities they had never heard about before, in towns they had trouble locating on maps initially. Frustrated with the lack of explanation from the various bodies that were managing their scholarships, Bruna and several other students attempted to contact the universities that they had selected directly, to find out what had happened with the applications, and why they had been rejected. They were shocked to find out that for many of them, these universities, particularly the prestigious and highly-ranked ones, had not received applications from them, and had no record of their names or files. An additional question they searched for answers to concerned the role of their TOEFL scores at the language institute at Metropolitan University in the admissions selection processes at the universities that had received their files. Bruna and her colleagues had been

studying under the assumption that their learning of English and achieving scores of a certain level on the TOEFL was the sole barrier to them directly entering academic programming in Canada. However, as the acceptance and rejection letters continued to pour in, they found a number of cases where two students with the same academic major and the same TOEFL IBT score were not both accepted to Canadian universities. Bruna and her friends also told me stories of some students with considerably lower scores on the iBT (in the low 40s out of 120) than others who had been accepted to stay. (I should note here that although I heard about these students and they were identified to me by name, I was never shown documentation demonstrating this, but rather only heard this information by word of mouth. Two students I approached who may have been in this situation declined to discuss their situation with me.) Disappointed and dispirited by this situation Bruna traveled to and participated in a demonstration in front of Toronto's city hall on April 10th, which received significant coverage in the mainstream media in Brazil, but no coverage that I could find in the Canadian media (this coverage is considered in greater detail in Chapter 4).

Return and future plans. Bruna returned home at the end of the month of April devastated and embarrassed. She told me that as a result of stories in the media coverage in Brazil, she has constantly had to explain to her friends and family that she was not among the students who didn't study, and who used the scholarship as a chance to travel around North America and party with friends while only rarely attending classes. This frustrated her to no end, as she believes that she held up her end of the bargain and studied very hard, advancing through all of the levels required of her at the language institute. She mentioned

that a number of other students who were also sent home were exploring their legal options; however, she didn't think they had much chance given the nature of the contract that they had all signed.

Back at home Bruna is still very disappointed that she was not able to take courses in her field Canada – even though she has heard from students that remained here that they often were not able to take courses directly relevant to their majors, she would have preferred to study anything at all rather than returning empty-handed, at least in terms of the optics with her peers and family. Despite this she is determined to remain positive about the experience, and to be thankful for what she did acquire, largely in the form of English proficiency. Although it is a long way off in her future, she is now able to dream of studying abroad in English again and possibly completing an advanced degree. She is also now comfortable with and knowledgeable about the experience of living abroad, and also understands that the TOEFL as an admissions requirement can be prepared for in specific ways, rather than simply treating the test as a snapshot or measure of one's current proficiency.

Bruna's Story – Critical Moments and Other Themes

Other participants – Paulo. In order to explore several critical moments and other themes in the data from Bruna, in this section I also draw on data generated in collaboration with a student named Paulo, who was also sent home at the same time as her. Paulo was twenty-one years old at the time of his sojourn in Canada, and comes from a rural town in an agricultural region in Southeastern Brazil. He studies Engineering at a federal public university in a slightly larger town nearby and is two thirds of the way through his degree. Paulo lives with his grandparents, and attended public elementary school and secondary schools.

This trip to Canada was his first time outside of Brazil, and prior to being selected by the CSF programme he had given little thought to learning English as a second language.

Uncertainty in testing and academic placements. For Bruna and other students who were not permitted to stay on in Canada after eight months of English instruction, one key aspects of their sojourn that they struggled to make sense of was the role of language testing in the form of the TOEFL iBT, and their performance on this test in determining whether they would be permitted to progress from language instruction to general academics. A central claim they made about these tests is that they had always understood their function (at the time of writing them) as broadly diagnostic or as a measure of current learning achievement and as a result having low stakes in terms of consequences of the outcome, rather than as a gatekeeping mechanism with much higher stakes. Bruna explained this thinking.

Excerpt 6.1

> B: They said that the first one is just to know is the TOEFL.
>
> J: So you thought you were going to write it again in April?
>
> B: Yeah, because they said the second one is the real. So the first one I did without preparation. Just to know how (2014-04-17: 3:05).

From this perspective the TOEFL iBT test she wrote in Canada at the beginning of March, not unlike the PBT test she wrote prior to her arrival in Canada was understood as an opportunity to familiarize herself with the test and test taking processes and to consider developing strategies, in preparation for an actual high stakes test that was to be taken subsequently at the end of the term. Paulo also described this promise of the second writing of the test.

Excerpt 6.2

> According to the government, when we went, before we went when I was
>
> in Brazil, they said we would do the test two times, the final of December
>
> and the final of April. But the April test didn't happen (Paulo, 2014-04-09:
>
> 24:11)

In Paulo's recollection this promise was long standing, and had been laid out in

the initial design of the program prior to departure from Brazil. (While Paulo

was unable to provide documentation of this promise to me, Thiago, whose story

is discussed in the following chapter, provided it to me.)

In addition to the questions the students had surrounding this promised

subsequent writing of the test that never happened, a number of issues emerged

around the conditions and scheduling of this first (and only) writing of the

TOEFL iBT that took place for these students in Canada. Paulo reflected at length

on his own experience shortly after he was notified that he would not be staying

on in Canada.

Excerpt 6.3

> P: Because first of all the TOEFL exam. The CBIE were responsible for the
>
> students in Canada. Asked for students at the lower levels, like level two
>
> and three, they were the first to make the test, the exam. It was in January,
>
> January twentieth. And I, for example, I was in level three in the second
>
> week [of the session]. I didn't start the new topics with the level – the real
>
> level three - because [at the language institute] the first month you review
>
> the previous level. After, we do the mid-term, after you learn about the
>
> new level. So I made the TOEFL with the level one and two. So how can I
>
> make and exam like the TOEFL? It takes 80 or 90 points [typically for

acceptance into a Canadian university]. It's too hard. So the government

didn't say for us that the TOEFL will be realized [i.e. take place] at that

time. The CBIE sent the email to us two days before the test.

J: That's not much time.

P: No. I can't prepare. If we know one month before of course [the

language institute] will help us to prepare, but I did – my first essay [in

English] was in the TOEFL! (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 0:51).

Several questions emerge from this description of events that the students never

received satisfactory answers to. While Bruna wrote the test at the beginning of

March, Paulo and other students in the lower levels wrote it in January. This

placed the students who had started the program, or were having trouble

moving through the accelerated programming at a disadvantage to those in the

higher levels. Thiago (who appears in one of the narratives in Chapter 7)

suggested that perhaps the decision had been made by CAPES to sequence the

testing based on current level of enrollment as a strategy to achieve the best

possible results on their investment, and to give the testing advantage to those

students (i.e., those in the higher levels) who seemed more likely to be ready to

stay and study in English in Canada. An unfortunate side effect of this was the

perception that the students in the lower levels were essentially set up to fail, or

as losses to be cut. Paulo also described the conditions of the writing of the test,

how they were given short notice, and how the testing schedule interacted with

the curriculum of the level he was currently in. He bemoaned the lack of

preparatory training and development of test taking strategies that he and his

classmates in the lower levels had access to. This lack of training also speaks to

their perception of the test at its scheduled time as a diagnostic of current ability, rather than a gatekeeping device to be prepared for and approached strategically.

As documented within both mainstream and more critical streams of language testing research, these testing conditions described here challenge standard notions of fairness (Bachman & Palmer, 2010; McNamara, 2000; Shohamy, 1998). As Bachman and Palmer write (2010), "All test takers [should] have equal opportunity to prepare for the assessment [and], for example, giving an achievement test that is based on the content of a specific course to students who have not been taught this content would be unfair" (p. 128). For Paulo in particular, it appears that he was considerably constrained in his ability to prepare for the test that he wrote, and it would be difficult to argue that he wrote the test under the same conditions and pressures as a student from a higher level at the institute, who ended up writing the test several months later, and after having received dedicated instruction in TOEFL iBT test preparation. As Paulo continued:

Excerpt 6.4

> It's one question for the government. Why did you choose this form of evaluation? It's not correct. It's wrong. If everybody made the test in the same day, everybody would know that they were evaluated in the same manner. But instead, when the people - the level four and five – made the test, they were finished the level. And they know that one month *antes* [before] that they would take the TOEFL. They were prepared and a lot of the scores of these people stayed around 70-90. It's a big difference. (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 4:40).

Related to these troubles with the testing scheduling and process was the role that the test scores ultimately played in their admissions into academic programming. While students were initially certain that the test scores played a central role in determining who stayed and who went home (and this was supported by the Brazilian media's one dimensional coverage focusing on language and failure to learn language as a key cause of being recalled, as described in Chapter 4), as time passed and the students sought to get a better understanding of what was happening to them they found evidence that challenged this theory. Bruna reported:

Excerpt 6.5

> I have a friend with the same major as me, and the same level of English [at the language institute] but her [TOEFL] score is lower than mine. She went to Brock. The same major! They said no, it's not just the score […] each reason that they say we prove that it's not true and they give another one (2014-04-17: 3:50).

> A number of students complained that the representatives at CBIE who they were in contact with seemed to be less than knowledgeable about the determining criteria, and as the students began to question the role of certain criteria after comparing scores, they reported that other criteria such as grades on transcripts from home universities were then suggested by CBIE as the determining factor in their application's lack of success. As with the issues around test scheduling, a common response to this conflicting information in terms of the criteria used was also to make moral appeals to notions of fairness.

Bruna mentioned that several other students and their families were interested in taking legal action but she was not optimistic that they would make any headway.

Shame, helplessness: Emotional responses and reported speech. As one teacher described it, the entire language institute was on edge during the period of time late in the second semester when some of the Brazilian students were receiving their acceptance letters, while the others were still waiting to learn of their outcomes. This was a dramatic change in emotional weather from the previous semester, which this same teacher described as a having been very positive time with CSF the students as a group displaying exceptional (to him in his experience teaching at the institute) motivation, working very hard and happy to be doing so. He described this shift:

Excerpt 6.6

> It went from a one hundred percent attendance rate to less then forty
>
> percent at one point. And people were openly **hostile** to me in class, and
>
> I'm like guys, I'm just a teacher" (2015-01-13, 18:32)

As a result of the tense conditions that had developed, my final interviews in Canada with those students who were sent back to Brazil were very emotional conversations. With students such as Bruna and Paulo, who were not successful in staying on in Canada, these conversations often oscillated between anger and tears.

A recent turn towards emotion within the field of applied linguistics, discourse studies and the social sciences more generally (e.g., Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990; Benesch, 2012; Pavlenko, 2005; Prior, 2015; Wetherell, 2012) has begun to explore the possibilities that theories of emotion (and/or affect) open up for

researchers. As Wetherell describes this emotional turn in relation the field of identity studies, "researchers are increasingly turning to analyses of feeling practices to better understand people's allegiances and investments, and the activities of categorizing, narrating, othering, differentiating and positioning" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 10). These aims of the affective turn overlap with current interests of small stories narrative and other researchers (e.g., Baynham, 2011; Bamburg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), who are also interested in mapping the stance taking and subject positioning practices of narrators both in so-called natural settings as well as during research interviews in which the primary focus is not necessarily the elicitation of narratives. In the analyses that follow I consider a small corpus of the most frequent explicit and implicit references to emotions within the transcripts of the final interviews with Bruna and Paulo. Prior's recent research provides the rationale for this referential approach, arguing that "A primary linguistic means by which people communicate emotionality and communicate emotionally in daily life is through emotion-indexing descriptions and categories" (Prior, 2015, p. 33). In particular, I am interested in the nexus of these (descriptions of) emotionally fraught moments and the various subject positions these students consider as available to them and take up, interrogate, or reject, bearing in mind the fact that "emotions are not independent phenomena but are tied to people, events and so on" (Prior, 2015, p. 35). In order to do this I draw on an analytic toolkit from narrative research as well as from recent developments in discourse analysis and theories of indexicality in the field of linguistic anthropology (e.g., Blommaert, 2010a; Wortham & Reyes, 2015), with a focus on reported speech as a common means or site of emotional expression in these data (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012;

Rampton, 2006; Vološinov, 1986). Ultimately, how these students engage with these available subject positions as reflected in their emotional response provides clues as to their perceptions of their own agency in these events.

Shame (vergonha). Towards the end of my final interview with Bruna prior to her return to Brazil she related the following small story:

Excerpt 6.7

> The **positive** point is that I came here. I got to know a new culture, and I knew, [got to learn] English in the better way. Of course, CBIE and CAPES tried to explain this for us, and we know. Of course. But I wanted to go to the university because I came here to do this. And now when I go back to Brazil people will ask me, 'oh did you study in the university?'. 'No, I just did the English course'. It's like, I don't like this. For me there is *vergonha* **(shame)** (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 44:17).

To briefly summarize this short excerpt in terms of narrative form and content in the conventional or Labovian terms of narrative analysis (as cited in De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), Bruna begins with a summary of the moral or evaluation of the events of the story (i.e., her sojourn in Canada on a CBIE scholarship) as presented to the students by the various administrative bodies. She acknowledges her partial acceptance of this position, noting that this is a positive experience and she knows that there were benefits for studying English in Canada in an immersion setting. She reiterates this acknowledgement with an emphatic "of course" to the recounting of these benefits is ascribed to CBIE and CAPES. However, the complication begins after this, as she reiterates her original objective of academic study in Canada, which turns out to be also the assumed objective of her colleagues and family back home. It is here that we reach the

complication, in that these people back home will judge her, which is a fact she doesn't like and that makes her feel shame.

Approximately fifteen minutes later Bruna told a variation of the same story, which began from a line of conversation about one of her classmates at the language institute, but then switches pronouns and subjects more generally to the group of students who were sent home early from the sojourn, and finally to herself.

Excerpt 6.8

> My friend, someone from Brazil asked her 'Oh, don't tell me that you are among the students who didn't study'. 'What?'. Because the news said this, 'we didn't achieve because ah[trails off]'. When we came we said for everyone 'Oh, I'm going to Canada, I will study, I will come back just in September [in a squeaky voice]'. And now we are going back [pause] [...] it is not my fault. I did what I needed to do (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 1:00.17)

In the case of this small story she did not explicitly mention shame or a related keyword; however, as an emotional response it is evident in several features of her voicing and speech production. In this excerpt Bruna speaks slowly comparative to her usual speech speed, and two other features in particular index feelings of shame. First, when describing what the news reports had provided as the reasons for her failure, she trails off rather than completing her voicing or impersonation of a media figure. This may indicate a reluctance to repeat the claims that she considered to be false in terms of the reasons for sending a selection of students home earlier. It could also indicate resignedness, or an embarrassment to repeat these false media talking points yet again. Second, in her conclusion and implicit evaluation of these events, she shifts to the

language of personal blame, reiterating, "it's not my fault, I did what I needed to do". Here Bruna appears to be pushing back at the shame that she is feeling, and is perhaps calling into question the legitimacy of the popular media narratives and justifications by program stakeholders that are the source of this shame. Throughout both of these extracts Bruna makes extensive use of reported speech which complexifies the telling of these short stories. As De Fina and Georgakopoulou explain, "When speech is reported […] tellers (and listeners) thus shift from one world to another, creating multiple relations between themselves and the story world they are evoking" (2012, p. 169). This multiplicity of relations can be teased out to highlight a range of positions. For example, between the original time of telling and the present time of telling, between different ethical or truth positions, and of course, to present the subject positions of the various characters in the stories themselves in a way that include an impression of each character's authorial or emotional stance. As reported speech runs through a number of the excerpts that highlight emotion in this section, I discuss its relevance in more detail below below.

Sadness. Closely related to shame for Bruna was a sadness at being sent back to Brazil under these conditions.

Excerpt 6.9

> It's **sad** because we made plans here. 'Oh, I will study in a university. I will stay here more time. I will do many things. Even though I will not study the basic courses of my major, OK, I will study something' (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 46:15)

Excerpt 6.10

> My **sadness** is just about the reason that they give. In Brazil we are seen
> by Brazilians like tourists. Just to enter another country and travel and
> didn't study (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 59:46)

While neither of these excerpts qualifies on its own as a narrative either big or small, in both cases Bruna explicitly refers to a sadness that she is feeling and relates it directly to a cause. In the first case she is sad because the plans that she made for academic study in Canada will not happen, and in the second case she is sad because she feels that she has been deceived. In the second instance she is also lamenting on the way that she feels that her and her colleagues who are going home are perceived in Brazil. This is part of this feeling of deception that she considers to emanate from what she sees as an inaccurate media narrative.

Anger. Another emotion that appeared several times throughout both Bruna and Paulo's versions of recent events as presented in the final interviews was that of anger. Bruna had previously confided in me that she was very angry when it became clear that the students were not being accepted into the universities that they had applied to, and that some of them might be going home. This was prior to when she found out that she herself would not be permitted to stay on in Canada. Bruna was also the only one of the participants of this study who traveled to Toronto's city hall to attend a demonstration in protest to the treatment of CSF students in Canada on April 10, 2014. She reported first hand that there was some tension between the students from various schools at this demonstration in terms of what the different groups hoped to achieve by demonstrating as each group was studying under slightly different conditions. She also reported that this tension between students was

also growing both in the language institute itself (similar to the tensions between students and instructors as noted above), as well as online. (Given the paucity of information that the various administrative stakeholders were providing the students at this time, they spent a lot of time using other channels, such as online social media groups and forums.) Bruna complained to me:

Excerpt 6.11

> Everyone is **angry** […] even Brazilians are **fighting** us. Brazilians in Brazil are saying 'oh yeah, they are correct, you need to go back, come home' and students who are in the university are saying 'oh, you are not capable to enter the university because you don't have English' (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 41:31)

She laments that students who had previously been colleagues had now turned against one another, and had lost much of the empathy that they previously had as a result of their shared plight.

Paulo, referring to his own anger at the situation, chose to direct it at the stakeholders who he believed to have created the conditions for his lack of success in securing a place studying academics here in Canada. Returning to the topic of the TOEFL test, he related:

Excerpt 6.12

> My teacher [at the language institute] said in an interview in the mid-term. I told here that I came from level 3 but she didn't believe me. 'Oh, your writing is better and your listening is good'. So this difference made me more **angry** because if I made the test now it would be completely different (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 20:48)

In this excerpt his anger is focused on what he perceived to be the unfair testing conditions for students in the lower levels as described above. However, for Paulo, his anger was also connected to his feelings of helplessness, which is the last emotion from this small corpus that I will consider here.

Helplessness. Describing the (at the time) conditions of the students who would shortly be returning home to Brazil if they had not been accepted at a Canadian university, Paulo complained:

Excerpt 6.13

> People are **trapped**. The behavior of the government with one part of them was different from with another part and I think this was completely wrong. You need to make the same thing with everybody (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 17:02)

As the interview continued this feeling of being trapped, or helplessness was extended beyond the current conditions to the terms of the entire sojourn itself for this cohort.

Excerpt 6.14

> **We didn't choice** the change of Portugal to another country. They asked for this at that time. You need to choose one of these countries. 'OK, this country'. I didn't ask the government 'I want to go to this country without proficiency'. But if I was this way I would say no. I would not go now. I came here with doubts about English (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 18:00)

This small story bears a similar structure to the small story about shame told by Bruna related above. It begins with a challenge to the terms of the sojourn as initially laid out for this cohort by CAPES, that they could choose to go to a country and learn and subsequently study in a language which they did not have

proficiency in at the time. Paulo reiterates that this choice, to send students abroad without prior language preparation was not his, but he recognized at the time that it was the only choice that he had if he wanted to go abroad. Now, given the events that followed, he has second thoughts about whether he would do it again, based on doubts that he previously held but suppressed. Then, as now, he describes being trapped in conditions created by decision making that was beyond his control. While he entertains hopes of challenging the outcome in his case through legal channels, he is doubtful that it will produce any results.

Excerpt 6.15

> I will ask **how I can complain** this to the justice. It's a collective action. But nothing will happen (Paulo, 2014-04-19: 9:40)

As mentioned above, throughout the stories and comments presented in the excerpts included here, both Bruna and Paulo frequently employed reported speech and often styled exaggerated voices as a feature of their telling (Rampton, 2006). As Bauman notes, stories are "forms of discourse in which the concern with and use of other people's words takes on a special and heightened quality, in which these words become especially prominent as the object of interpretation, discussion, evaluation, rebuttal, support, further development and so on" (as cited in Wortham & Rhodes, 2015, p. 162). This double voicing (i.e., presenting the speech signs and styling the sounds of others) in reported speech thus calls attention to itself for a range of reasons and purposes, including for example irony or mockery, or as enabling "Tellers to present themselves as moral selves by allowing them to activate scenarios in which they can highlight their own ethical positions" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 169). As part of this process of ethical positioning, De Fina and Georgakopoulou also note that

"Reported speech has also been related to agency inasmuch as it has been shown that narrators mobilize this strategy to emphasize or de-emphasize their own role, involvement and accountability in the reported situations" (2012, p. 169). Lastly, and particularly salient to the current discussion, "Quoted speech can illustrate a quoted character's emotional stance on an issue", the tellers emotional stance towards the topic of the utterance or for presenting an evaluation of the authenticity of the utterance (Wortham & Rhodes, 2015, p. 163).

Across these excerpts reported speech is mobilized in what can be interpreted as the following ways. In excerpts 6.7, 6.8, and 6.11 Bruna uses this double voicing to presents questions and statements of an accusatory nature, such as "oh, did you study in the university?", and "Oh, don't tell me that you are among the students who didn't study" (note that the grammatical structure here both interpellates and foregrounds this supposed group of students who didn't study), "oh yeah, they are correct, you need to go back home" and "Oh, you are not capable to enter the university because you don't have English". The effect of this presentation of these challenges is that Bruna is distancing herself from these opinions both in terms of their truth value, as in the second two cases, and in these antagonistic sense of them us versus them, with 'them' being those who see Bruna and the others being sent home as deserving of this, and 'us' being these students like Bruna who are attempting to defend themselves. This defense comes through at times in responses also produced in reported speech, such as "No, I just did the English course", but more often Bruna responded to these challenges in the first person, directly at me, her interlocutor in these interviews, as in "It's not my fault, I did what I needed to do".

Paulo's use of reported speech in excerpt 6.14 produces a different effect. In this excerpt he revisits the selection process and decision by CAPES to send students to Canada with minimal English, and presents a favorable view of himself as a willing subject. He reports himself as having said "OK, this country" and selecting Canada based on a set of options presented to him rather than as an active move on his part – "I didn't ask the government 'I want to go to this country without proficiency'". In this case Paulo is foregrounding the agency and role of the various administrative bodies in creating the current situation, and presenting himself as a passive body or model student that is acted upon, rather than a troublesome student making unreasonable demands.

Lastly, in excerpt 6.9 Bruna uses reported speech to present an interior monologue or dialogue in which she rationalizes with herself about the changes that are being made to the program. In this monologue she talks herself into accepting that she will not study academics directly relevant to her major at home. There is also a sense of desperation to her words, as she is explaining how she is accepting of any academic placement, after the fact that she has been denied entry. In this way her monologue resembles begging, or pleading as well.

Modified goals for sojourn and for English language learning. As Bruna and Paulo's time in Canada drew to a close, I was interested in hearing if and how they had modified their goals for the sojourn, and where developing mastery of the English language was now positioned or ranked within this list of objectives. Unsurprisingly, English was now being touted as the chief benefit, as Bruna noted above in excerpt 6.7, "The positive point is that I came here. I got to know a new culture, and I knew [got to learn] English in a better way". Given the emotional weight of the moment, Bruna was struggling to remain positive about

the benefits of the sojourn after she had been denied admission to academics, and learning English seemed to provide the necessary antidote. But she continued several moments later:

Excerpt 6.16

> I want to continue because I want to study more. Something like this. In another country too. For this I need to continue to study English. Not just study TOEFL because the TOEFL doesn't show how good you are (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 53:20)

Removed from the negativity surrounding the conditions of being sent back to Brazil in the previous conversation, she now spoke more openly about the future, her plans to keep studying English, and her future possibilities in terms of another sojourn abroad. However, within this excerpt she also demonstrates an additional bit of knowledge that she has acquired in the form of doubt about the contributions of TOEFL testing and preparation to what she considers to be successful language learning.

Paulo also spoke at length about what he had acquired in terms of language, although contrary to Bruna, as he had not take any TOEFL preparation courses at the language institute, he still saw better preparation and performance on these tests as an important part of his future learning. What he did share with Bruna was a conviction that language learning happens more efficiently and effectively in a study abroad context than back home:

Excerpt 6.17

> In Brazil […] English for two hours for week. But it's not good for public school. Because you only learn verb to be [laughs] […] It's totally different

when you study in Canada, in one culture with English speakers' (Paulo, 2014-04-09: 23:32).

Yet despite his gains in proficiency made in Canada, Paulo was cautious about overstating his level in English, and told me that he still had a lot of work to do if he was ever going to become what he considered to be fluent. Bruna expressed a similar sentiment, explaining it like this:

Excerpt 6.18

Our English is like intermediate. I think that to Canada we are intermediate but to Brazil we are advanced (Bruna, 2014-04-17: 53:20)

Alongside the skepticism she has gained in regards to language testing, another view of language learning and language use emerges from these comments: the idea that linguistic resources such as English are mobile resources, which take on different values and the mastery of which accrue different benefits in different spaces around the globe. Considering her mastery in the Canadian context, she recognizes it as unremarkable (or even deficient), and indeed, as she told me months later in a Skype conversation from back home in Brazil, she wasn't sure if she had been linguistically ready to enter academics in Canada if she had been accepted at the time. However, in the Brazilian context, and more specifically, as she related in the same Skype conversation, in the context of her state and city, her level of English now exceeds that of most teachers at private schools accessible to her. What Bruna has gained here is insight into the shifting value of her English proficiency in terms not unlike what Blommaert (2010a), when referring to sociolinguistic scales, describes as "different patterns of normativity" as instantiated by "orders of indexicality" (p. 37). This notion of orders of indexicality refers to the ways in which linguistic or

semiotic features perform indexicality as a structured, or ordered phenomenon, rather than as random. Thus different features of English (e.g., accent, vocabulary etc.) index different kinds of speakers, constructing "systemic patterns of authority" (Blommaert, 2010a, p. 38). These patterns must then be understood as situated in different spaces, or within the range of particular real or perceived centres of authority. Bruna's comments here reveal a sensitivity to this process of linguistic valuation, when she considers the different affordances of her English in Brazilian context as contrasted with the Canadian academic context.

Summary

Looking over these stories and other discourse data from students who only studied English in Canada and were not successful in entering academics, it is possible to make a number of observations about the ways in which Bruna, Paulo and other students of their type were both subjected to and engaged with implicit and explicit polices related to their English language learning. Bruna's big story begins with the offer of a significant opportunity, given the fact that she came to Canada with a level of proficiency very close to that of an absolute beginner. As she moved through the levels according to plan it appeared that the measures that the various stakeholders had taken would ensure that her sojourn would be a success. Indeed, in the early months she assumed that her ability to follow this plan indicated that she was doing everything right. However, when the TOEFL test was conducted, many of these certainties became uncertainties. As the small stories, critical moments and other themes presented here explore, as her time in Canada passed it seemed less and less likely that she would be able to continue on with academic studies.

Bruna and Paulo's narratives tell a story in which many of the outcomes are determined by decisions made by CAPES, CBIE and the language institute at Metropolitan University that they as students had very little control over. This is also in no small part due to the shorter length of their sojourns. As a result, compared to the other students whose experiences are presented in the next section and in the next chapter, within the Foucauldian taxonomy of power relations, their trajectory through the programme bears a closer resemblance to the docile bodies he describe in his work on the birth of the modern prison (1977), As subjects they found themselves in situations of relatively greater domination, with limited opportunity for altering their position within the power relations of the programme assemblage (Foucault, 1997b).

Lucas's Story

Lucas grew up on a farm outside a small village in the pampas in the southern region of Brazil. His mother is an elementary school teacher and his father is a farmer. He regularly worked on the family farm while growing up. Both sets of his grandparents were born in Italy, but neither his parents nor him speak Italian, although his parents have a certain amount of passive knowledge. At the time of his internship he was 22 years old.

Lucas went to a public elementary school and high school, and with the help of a PROUNI scholarship (*Programa Universidade Para Todos* – University for All Program), currently attends a private university in a small city approximately an hour's drive away from his family farm. (PROUNI is a federal program created in 2004 by the PT Government to provide greater access to higher education to the children of lower income families.) Lucas receives a full scholarship from PROUNI, which means that his family has a very limited

collective income (less that approximately 390 Canadian dollars per person per month). His academic specialization is within the health sciences and at the time of his departure for Canada, he had completed three out of the five years towards his degree.

During elementary school Lucas began to study English as his first foreign language. He describes the process as following a very traditional translation and rote memorization-based model:

Excerpt 6.19

Eles ensinavam então o básico do verbo 'to be', a conjugação do verbo to be ali, alguns professores, eu me lembro ainda, que eles davam textos, eram textos simplesinhos sobre algum assunto ali em inglês, então a gente traduzia aquele texto e ele ajudava a traduzir [They taught the basics of the verb to be, the conjugation of the verb to be. Some professors, I still remember that they gave texts that were very simple on random subjects in English, so we translated that text and he helped us translate] (Lucas, 2016-06-02: 35:37)

During middle school his local school stopped offering English as the foreign language component of the compulsory curriculum, and instead began to offer Spanish. He studied Spanish for several years, and preferred it, as he has always loved Spanish-language popular music and culture. On entry into high school he was given the choice to return to English or continue with Spanish. At the time he would have preferred to keep studying Spanish, but his mother pressed him to switch back to English, arguing that English is the first language of the world, and he might need it someday for his career.

Application, preparation, arrival. Lucas was very excited when he first learned about the CSF program, as he had always dreamed of doing an internship in another country. After the first few calls to register his field was added to the list of those eligible and he applied for Portugal. Several months after he was denied admission into the program in Portugal (along with the other members of his call who had made the same selection), he received a letter from CAPES offering him language study as a component of his sojourn to another country. While he initially would have preferred to have gone to England or Italy for cultural and heritage reasons respectively, he ultimately chose Canada, in part following his parent's wishes (due to the proximity to the United States), and in part due to his perception of the prestige of his field in Canada. In order to prepare, he enrolled in the local branch of a private national English language school and studied there in the evening for the one month prior to his departure. For the most part this study consisted of completing various grammar handouts with a teacher circulating and giving feedback to students individually in Portuguese.

On arrival in Canada and at the Metropolitan University language institute, Lucas moved into a homestay with Eastern European host parents involving somewhat unusual circumstances. Rather than living with the host family, along with two Chinese, a Japanese and a Korean student, Lucas lived in one half of a duplex house, while the other half of the house was occupied by the host family. Although he rarely saw his hosts, he considers this to have not been a loss, as he didn't think they spoke English very well or often anyways. In contrast, living with a group of other international students with no shared language other than English required him to speak English almost all the time, in

contrast to many of his Brazilian colleagues in the Language Institute at Metropolitan University, who lived in houses with other members of their cohort and spoke Portuguese exclusively at home.

Period of uncertainty. Lucas wrote the TOEFL iBT test in late March of 2014, and received a score of 61. In his placement application he selected Metropolitan University, Cold Lake University and Northern University. The latter two are smaller universities with good general reputations, but are not among the highest ranked institutions in Canada. Lucas chose them primarily based on online research he had done into the reputations of the specific departments of his area of study. He received a letter of full acceptance to Metropolitan University before many of the other students found out their placements and was relieved to know he was not returning to Brazil yet. However, two weeks later, he received notification from Metropolitan University that his acceptance had been rescinded. This was followed by several weeks of stress and worry, as he did not receive immediate notification as to what his status was, despite regular attempts at communicating with CBIE and CAPES. At the end of April he was offered a conditional acceptance at Garden University, a university he had never heard of before, with the following caveats: he would be required to complete an additional four months of English study in the in-house not-for-credit language institute concurrently with his academic program of study; and would he need to relocate and be ready to study the following week. Garden University is located in a smaller city several hours away from Metropolitan University.

English at Garden University. By the time of his arrival at Garden University, Lucas was devastated to find out that the internship had been

cancelled for all of the members of his cohort, as this was what he considered to be the greatest asset the program offered. In addition, he found that due to his late acceptance and arrival the school, he would not be able to take any academic courses over the summer, as the small selection of the courses that he was eligible to take were already full. He wrote an in-house diagnostic assessment and was placed in the highest level of Garden University's English programming (He considered the material in this class to be comparable to the mid levels at Metropolitan University). Over the next few months he was very frustrated as he considered himself to be trapped in English classes that were beneath his ability. He fought often with his teachers – especially his writing teacher – about what he considered to be a lax environment, where he felt that not a lot of work was required or expected of the students, and about issues he had with how the classes were conducted methodologically. One of these battles he related to me involved his refusal to write an essay on what he perceived to be a banal topic. He instead turned in a research essay which explored an aspect of his field that he had been reading up on, but his teacher refused to accept it, citing that kind of specialized writing as inappropriate for the context of language learning. By the end of the summer he considered that his English ability had in fact regressed, and he was eager to move on to academics after an unexpected year of full time English study.

Academic study at Garden University. Lucas was again frustrated to find that he had been placed in the Faculty of Mathematics and Sciences rather than the Department of Health Sciences at Garden University, but armed with his transcripts and sense of indignation, he was successfully able to persuade the administration to allow him to switch departments. However, despite this small

success, he was unable to gain access to classes in Health Sciences that he had not previously taken in his home university back in Brazil. As a result he would not be able to count these courses taken abroad as credits towards his degree. Aggravated by what he perceived as yet another drawback to making good on his plans to acquire knowledge and practical experience specific to his field abroad, Lucas resolved to take matters into his own hands and sought out a research internship on his own. Using the faculty directory at Garden University he sent emails to all professors whose work related to his own interests however slightly, and volunteered his services as a research assistant. He eventually found one professor who was willing to take him on, and he worked intermittently for her over the course of the fall semester, doing various tasks such as coding data. He also applied and was accepted to present a poster at a conference in a city several hours away based on his clinical internship back home in Brazil. He travelled to the conference alone, and while only two conference attendees spoke to him about his poster during the display hours, he considered the trip to be a success that provided him with great insight into the differences of research and practice in his field between Canada and Brazil.

Return and future plans. Speaking days before his departure and return to Brazil, Lucas told me he had made largely his peace with the uncertainties and modifications to the program, despite the fact that many of aspects that had been removed, such as the internship, had been his primary interest at the time of his first coming to Canada. He was sanguine about his experience, and while he felt that English proficiency was not enough of a prize for the time he had spent in Canada and he was worried that he had fallen behind his peers in content knowledge back home, he was proud of the progress that he perceived he had

made in terms of language fluency, as well as the sense of independence he had developed and the initiative he had taken to salvage the sojourn. Despite these ups and downs, he refused to speak poorly of the program, stressing the fact that it provided opportunities to students from modest backgrounds like his own that would otherwise be far beyond their reach. He is now committed to continue improving his English so that he will be able to continue his education abroad after he is finished his undergraduate program, hopefully with the help of another domestic scholarship for international study such as CSF.

Lucas's Story – Tensions, Critical Moments and Other Themes

Other participants. In order to explore several tension, critical moments and other themes in the data from Lucas, in this section I also draw on data generated in collaboration with two other students who were also conditionally accepted into academic programs contingent on their completing additional English courses. I introduce them briefly here.

Jessica. At 27, Jessica is the oldest student on a CSF scholarship I spoke with for this project. She is an engineering student from the capital city of a state in the southeastern region of Brazil. She studies at a private university in her hometown and comes from a modest background: her father works in the service industry and her mother is a housewife. Along with a number of other students from her cohort, after completing eight months of study at Metropolitan University, Jessica was accepted to Prairie University, located in a small town in central Canada, provided she complete four additional months of English instruction. She then went on to complete a single semester of academic courses prior to returning to Brazil in December 2014.

Daniel. A student from a public university in a small city in a largely rural state in northeastern Brazil, Daniel is 19 years old. He also comes from a family of limited means, and studied in the public system at the elementary and secondary levels. After completing the TOEFL iBT and scoring a 76, Daniel was accepted at Lake City University, where he was permitted to take two courses related to his major, information systems, alongside intensive English and university preparation courses over the summer semester. In the fall semester he took a full load of academic courses.

Response to the internship cancellation. At the time that Lucas received his letter from Metropolitan University offering him an academic placement (which was later rescinded), he was still unsure whether or not there would be an internship over the summer months. However he did have his doubts, and had already been thinking about this potentiality when he suggested earlier in an earlier interview: "If I not have [internship], I will try the volunteer in the hospital. Take more information about the hospital this way" (Lucas, 2014-03-21: 27:13). Around the time he started his English studies at Garden University he was notified that the internship had indeed been cancelled for his cohort. He saw this decision as mystifying as he considered this to be the key component of the sojourn not only for himself, but also as part of the general design of the program in terms of Brazil as a nation acquiring scientific knowledge abroad, explaining:
Excerpt 6.20

> Isto era o foco do estágio porque na questão de tu fazer um estagio, você
> veria, você levaria o conhecimento, a pesquisa aqui para a pesquisa no
> Brasil, que eu acho que é o foco maior o sistema, que o governo tem, que o
> programma tem isso, a pesquisa daqui para a pequisa no Brasil para

continuar o conhecimento. Eu não tenho, não vou ter esta pequisa, não

vou ter essa parte de fazer o training na minha area, pórem eu acho que os

outros editais têm essa vantage que é o maior foco, o maior, na minha

parte o que eu vou levar para lá é o que eu posso ajudar no outro sistema

[This was the focus of the internship, because in terms of your doing an

internship, you would see, you would take knowledge, research here for

research in Brazil, which I think is the major focus of the system that the

government has, that the program has, so that research is going to Brazil

to further knowledge. I have not, I will not do this research, I won't have

this part of doing the training in my area, but I think the other cohorts

have this advantage which is the major focus, the biggest, to my mind,

that I will take there and I can help the other system] (Lucas, 2016-06-02:

49:51)

This excerpt is revealing of Lucas's thinking about the central position of the

internship amongst the various features of the program, as well his perception of

the governmental rationale behind this positioning. As he describes it here, in a

very similar manner to the paradigmatic narrative, he sees the internship as the

key site where knowledge can be acquired from Canadian research and

researchers, and considers the primary purpose of the program to be exporting

and applying this knowledge in the Brazilian context in a developmental sense.

He took it upon himself to remedy this unexpected shortcoming in his own

sojourn by finding his own internship, as he had already suggested he would try

back in March. In a later interview he told the story of how he went about doing

this, and the ultimately positive response and experience he received.

Excerpt 6.21

> I saw some professors in [Garden University] and I have asked so many
>
> professors if I can go participate and volunteer in some project. [Garden]
>
> has a page from the professors saying the names so I did email. And I
>
> tried to take more specific areas that I like. And all the professors say 'No,
>
> sorry, I don't have now'. After I sent for another professors and this
>
> professor said 'No, please come to my office, in the office and let's talk'. So
>
> I went and explained all my points and she said 'No, I will ask my group
>
> and if they approve you can come'. So after a week she sent an email and
>
> said 'Please come'. So in this process I began to learn how worked and do
>
> some stuff for her […] I did some literature review, and now […] I read all
>
> the points, so I am coding…(Lucas, 2014-09-22: 40:46)

Looking briefly at the transitivity choices made by Lucas in this short narrative, a

strong pattern emerges of him presenting himself as an agent performing

material processes with his own benefit in mind (Eggins, 2004, p. 215). These

include structures such as 'I saw', 'I tried', 'I sent', "I began', 'I did', and 'I read',

and this telling in this way features Lucas as a decisive agent acting in the face of

resistance (e.g., 'All the professors say 'No, sorry, I don't have now'') and

responding accordingly.

While this proactive approach to changes to terms of the sojourn was not

unique to Lucas among the students I spoke with (Clara, one of the students I

consider in Chapter 7 also made efforts to procuring internship –type

arrangements with various practitioners and manufacturers in her field in the

private sector), for others it had a much different and negative effect. Jessica

describes her own experience coping with this adjustment to the program as demoralizing.

Excerpt 6.22

> For the usual, the normal edital [cohort, call] people can make like an internship and blah blah blah. And when I came here, when I knew that I was coming to Canada the first thing for me was English. And the second was the internship, because it's really useful for us. And when I knew that I won't have the internship because of our edital I was like, aw. And then I just. They said that you cannot do it so I gave up to try something and then. But I knew this one girl, she tried to get the internship and she got it. She went to work for Unilever" (Jessica – 2015-01-07: 41:46)

In contrast to Lucas's taking matters into his own hands, in Jessica's case she considers the cancellation of the internship as causing her to give up on that aspect of the program, and as I will discuss below, taking a diminished perspective on the program more generally and putting less effort into her studies both in terms of language and academic programming. But she is also quick to note that for some other students, this setback was surmountable – in this case she speaks only for herself. However, although for Lucas and Jessica their personal response to the cancellation was different, what they do share is a similar sense of the value of the internship as a key site for knowledge acquisition on the sojourn.

Challenging language learning curricula and methods. For Lucas, Daniel and Jessica, the fact that they studied English in Canada at two different sites provided them with a broader perspective on language learning in Canada compared to many of the other members of their cohort. However, for a number

of the students of this type I spoke with, including Lucas and Daniel in particular, the requirement to continue taking English classes was considered as an affront (despite the fact that both readily acknowledged their own weaknesses need to keep developing aspects of their English). For these students this likely colored their perspectives on the English programs at their new universities negatively. Yet their comments on these experiences also reveal a number of language ideologies specific to language learning. In a joint interview in June with both myself and my Brazilian colleague Juliana Martinez, Lucas made a number of comparisons between the programs at Garden and Metropolitan:

Excerpt 6.23

> L – […] Então meu nível de burrice é um pouco maior, então, eu continuo aqui, então.
>
> JM – [laughs] Isso não e verdade, não, não fale assim!
>
> JL – [laughs]
>
> L – Porque assim, eu tenho que me adaptar na verdade, me adaptar no sistema deles (the language institute at Garden), continuar aqui, mas estou vendo que tem algumas coisas que a gente está vendo um pouquinho mais fundo que não tinha lá na [Metropolitan], que não tinha tão fundo, mas no sistema aqui, todas as coisas da [Metropolitan] estão sendo revisadas, então, o que eu vi lá, estou vendo aqui de noveo, só revisando em si.[L – So, my level of stupidity is a bit higher, so I'm still here. JM – That's not true, don't talk like that! L – Because, I have to adapt, actually, to adapt myself to their system to continue here. But I see in their system some things that we are seeing a little deeper here than at Metropolitan, that weren't as deep there, but the system here, like this, all the

> Metropolitan things are being reviewed, and what I saw there I am seeing
> here again, I'm just reviewing] (Lucas, 2016-06-02: 16:19)

This excerpt is quite telling in its presenting the ambivalences that Lucas had towards the language programming at Garden at the time. He is quick to acknowledge is own shortcomings and as a result requiring of further remedial English language instruction, and he includes in this account of Garden the acknowledgment that certain topics - he further elaborated these *coisas* (things) as grammatical structures a few moments later – were addressed in greater depth and with greater attention at Garden (he also suggested later that this was perhaps a result of sessions at Garden being one week longer than those at Metropolitan). But he also characterized the program as in his case being primarily a review of things he had previously been introduced to or learned. This is accented by his characterization of himself as stupid, suggesting that stupid people require remedial review and more time in language programming, while others are able to progress more rapidly on to academics. It is also possible to read in this comment echoes of previous experiences learning English in Brazil. Because the classes at Garden appear to have been more grammar focused, they perhaps remind him of those previous experiences.

Similarly to Lucas, Daniel also described his language learning at Lake City University as remedial and unnecessary. As he explained it:

Excerpt 6.24

> I think more English courses is not so useful for me because now the
> knowledge I have I can improve by myself. And some things that the
> teacher teach me is only for practice. Is not like you need to, OK, now you
> need to learn the rules (Daniel – 2014-03-21: 11:08)

In this comment Daniel also invokes grammar-based approaches, and suggests a distinction between explicit knowledge of the language in an abstract sense in the form of rules, and accuracy in performance, which he allows requires greater practice in order to improve. He explained this point in more detail later in the same interview.

Excerpt 6.25

> For me if I learn English in such a level that I can speak very fluently and have a high proficiency with my English skills I will be successful. But I am. To achieve this objective I know that I need to practice rules I already know. I know how to write but I know the mistakes. If you say, "Oh, you have a lot of mistakes, here, look again" I will see. Because when I write now I make a lot of mistakes, not a lot but some. For example, I forgot to erase one letter when I'm typing an email" (Daniel – 2014-03-21: 1:00:49)

At this stage in his learning Daniel seems convinced that he is finished learning of the grammatical rules of English and that the mistakes or errors that he makes are not a result of a lack of knowledge, but of a lack of practice. In both of these excerpts he strongly iterates his belief in his possession of this knowledge, and at the same time reveals a perspective on the English language learning classroom as an place to acquire this grammatical or rule based-knowledge, but not necessarily as so essential for continued practice after this acquisition is achieved. As he is keen to get on with his studies and the knowledge particular to his academic field, he argues that he can continue to complete this practice in his own way, or on his own time.

While Lucas does not explicitly articulate this distinction between knowledge of rules and performance accuracy, he reports of similar frustrations

related to classroom activities he felt beneath his ability and maturity in his English classes at Garden, and how they led to repeated fights with his teachers there – particularly with his writing teacher.

Excerpt 6.26.

> L – The writing for me was the terrible point because I have difficulty to write and I don't like to write. In the same time. At this point the professor only give specific topics, and for me the topic was totally kind of stupid. A kind of high school topic.
>
> JL – Give me some examples.
>
> L – For example, write about one animal you like to be. This kind of thing. It was the most terrible writing I did. And another kind, what can be a good ecological system. So kind of for high school academic levels from my view. So I did some fight with the professor because I tried to have some look for the health science. Try to make it more easy for me and I like to write on this point. But the professor never agreed. So it was not so good. After I finished for this point I needed to write a research paper. So the topic was open and I took a topic very specific for [his area of health sciences]. And was a really problem because the professor could not understand this kind because it's only for [practitioners in this field] and it was a big fight because he said 'OK, I can't understand this' and I said 'OK, I know this point, but it's an open topic and I know this and I am writing for my professors, not for you'. So it was a challenge (Lucas, 2016-09-22: 6:41)

Frustrated to find himself stuck in what he perceived to be a high school level of classroom rather than moving forward to gain the knowledge of his academic

field, Lucas attempted to rebel against the assignment that he was given, and tried to integrate his own personal research into the English language curriculum. But in this case he was not successful, and the result was a fight between him and his teacher where he refused to concede to and or trust the professor to teach the class in the professor's way, or even to acknowledge that the professor had expertise in language learning that he didn't. He ultimately described their relationship as devolving into a standoff that was mutually acknowledged, but in a manner than placed both actors on equal footing.

Excerpt 6.27

> In my view we have kind of the personality don't match, so 'OK, I don't like this student', 'I don't like this professor'. This kind of thing. But we tried to be polite and respectful after this point. 'OK, go away' [laughs] (Lucas, 2014-09-22: 8:25)

> Speaking of his time and teachers in English programming at Lake City University's Language Lab, Daniel took a much harsher approach, complaining often about what he perceived to be his teachers' inadequacies, and describing arguments he had with them about the grammatical feedback they gave on his writing.

Excerpt 6.28

> The teachers, they don't even have a degree in English. They are just native speakers with a certificate in second language teaching. They don't have Master's degrees in English (Daniel – 2014-06-27: 28:38)

Daniel reveals his thinking here about accreditation and different types of legitimacies that come with certain levels or types of training. Curiously, in these comments, contrary to much popular discourse about second language learning

and language mastery, Daniel does not consider native speaker intuition to be of adequate value in this situation. However, when I pressed Daniel to elaborate on language teacher accreditation, why he perceived a certificate to be inferior to a Master's degree, and to clarify what type of Master's degree he was referring to here (i.e., a degree in English language and literature or in English as a Second Language pedagogy) he evaded the question and changed to topic quickly, in what I took to be a tacit admission of his lack of knowledge on the topic in the face of myself as the interviewer, someone who, as an insider in this field, was no longer an ally or fellow student at this moment in our conversation.

In stark contrast to the aggressive and at times confrontational positions that Lucas and Daniel took towards their requirement to continue studying English, Jessica spoke glowingly of her time studying English at Prairie in comparison to her prior experiences at Metropolitan. And while she appeared to take a similar perspective as the two young men did in terms of equating classroom language learning with grammar, she was quite happy to spend more time explicitly focusing on this area of language study.

Excerpt 6.29

> J – One thing that I want to do is study more grammar. I want to study more because I didn't see all of the grammar [at Metropolitan]. And I study just the first level, after that I didn't study grammar in the class anymore. Just like adverbial clause.
>
> JL – What do you mean you didn't study grammar?
>
> J – We saw just a few things to grammar, like this. Present perfect. Things like that because I think I can do better essays when I have the control of the time (Jessica – 2014-04-16: 26:51)

At the time of this interview I was confused by these comments as Jessica had successfully moved through all of the levels at Metropolitan (as had Daniel – Lucas only made it to the second last level) and I found it hard to believe that she had not gone through any grammar instruction. In a subsequent interview she provided more information.

Excerpt 6.30

> I like it because in this level [the second highest level at Prairie] we study a lot of grammar. And I really like grammar [laughs]. And I like it because I didn't study [at Metropolitan]. Just writing (Jessica – 2014-07-22: 9:36)

So in contrast to Daniel and Lucas, who were eager to get on with their academic studies, Jessica appeared to be happy to continue practicing grammar and to continue to develop her accuracy as an end to itself, rather than as the inconvenient aspect of language learning the two young men characterize it as. She attributes this to her personality, and her desire to work slowly in order to produce higher accuracy in her production, a complaint she had made in a previous interview in a discussion about writing the TOEFL test, which she suggested again in Excerpt 6.29. She also seems to be expressing an aversion to practicing writing, which is a key feature of most language programming that focuses on academic preparation. Here is a more explicit description and explanation of her preferences in terms of content and pace of language learning programming.

Excerpt 6.31

> J – Everything is better here. It's my style.

> JL – What's your style?

J – [At Metropolitan] they do things like hurry up all the time and I feel like the main idea is not to learn but to finish. And [at Prairie] they worry about how we learn. The level is three months so they have more time" (Jessica – 2014-07-22: 7:09)

As in Excerpt 6.29, Jessica values a slower and lower stakes pace in the classroom. I asked her for more information on several occasions on what it was in particular she enjoyed about studying grammar rather than other skills such as writing, listening or speaking.

Excerpt 6.32

JL – So how do you study grammar. What kinds of things do you do?

J – They have a book, and we do the book's lessons and they give us a small handbook and we do the activities in the book. A lot of exercises, you know? (Jessica – 2014-07-22: 10:18)

Excerpt 6.33

JL – I remember because you said you like studying grammar. What do you like about it?

J – because it's more [pause] it's already there. When you are writing you have to think and express your ideas. This is hard for me. And grammar is there. I just have to learn and memorize, which is easier for me" (Jessica – 2014-10-16: 3:09)

The last comment I have included here perhaps describes the most telling difference between Lucas and Daniel on the one hand, and Jessica on the other. While Lucas, and to a slightly lesser extent Daniel both also expressed an aversion to writing and practicing writing, citing it as difficult (e.g., see Excerpt 6.26) and requiring painstaking attention to detail (e.g., see Excerpt 6.25), neither

of them see rote grammatical exercise as a productive use of time in the way Jessica does. Both instead prefer to jump ahead to their academic studies, and make their mistakes in the process of actual practice in their respective fields, rather than retreating to practice and memorizing grammar in the safety of the language classroom. It seems then that all three students favor certain types of study based on their own personal preferences. In this way, their strategies could be said to emerge from a similar place or impulse, with their variations in style, or sense of self, plays a key role in conditioning each of their trajectories.

Emotional response. Looking at the small corpus of transcribed interviews with Lucas, he rarely uses language that describes his emotional state with the exception of two particular periods in time. The first of these was the several weeks spanning from when his acceptance into Metropolitan was rescinded to his subsequent offer of acceptance at Garden. Describing this period he spoke of how stressful it was, and how nervous he was. There was very little he could do about his situation and he was unsure of his future, and as a result he couldn't make any plans. When I asked him why he didn't take this opportunity to take a short vacation as classes at Metropolitan were finished by then, he replied that he couldn't relax, and preferred to sit at home being anxious.

On his arrival at Garden, and his required English language study there, this anxiety was quickly replaced by a new set of keywords in his accounts of how he was feeling, frequently including words like 'frustrated', 'no happy', 'terrible' and most of all 'fight' (See Excerpt 6.26).

Excerpt 6.34

> Eu tive brigas […] […] I have a big fight […] I've been fighting, like
>
> estresse [stress] with them […] I fight a lot […] the biggest fight […] my
>
> parents said keep calm, relax, and do it, so OK, let's go, keep calm, wait,
>
> because August is coming] (Lucas, 2014-06-02: 6:55-15:02)

All of these mentions of fighting occurred within one ten minute stretch of an
interview which took place roughly in the middle of Lucas's time studying
English at Garden. But even at this time he was aware that this period was finite,
and had an end in sight, as he quoted his parents as reminding him. When I
spoke to him next this period was over, and he had started his fall semester. I
asked him again about his summer experiences and he replied that they were
behind him and he was very happy now.

Excerpt 6.35

> I was not happy in the whole four months of English [at Garden] and I
>
> tried to keep moving because my goal was to come to the university. I am
>
> here. Thanks. So I was trying to keep this point. My focus is the university
>
> so let's do this. […] Now I completed the English courses so I'm happy
>
> because really I make this goal (Lucas, 2014-09-22: 2:47)

And once this second period of turbulence was over Lucas rarely mentioned his
emotions again. It is interesting to note, however, that in contrast to the
helplessness and embarrassment that runs through Bruna and Paulo's emotional
responses, as with Lucas's response above to the cancelled internship, here his
response takes an active form. He describes himself reacting to negative stress
and anxiety as a stimulus to fight against.

Summary

Compared to Bruna, the way in which Lucas moved through the programme described in this section reveals a much different experience. Despite scoring only three points higher on the TOEFL iBT than Bruna, based on his score and other variables suggested above, Lucas was permitted to continue in Canada, provided he take additional English language courses. During this period of time he revealed a proactive and at times very aggressive stance towards what he considered to be the unfairness in the way the programme was implemented for the Portugal cohort. Drawing on his frustrations, Lucas repeatedly advocated for himself and sought out opportunities that were denied to him by changes to the programme. In particular, he pushed back against the requirement to continue studying English, and did his best to replicate the internship, and other aspects of the sojourn that he felt had been promised to him. Although Daniel and Jessica did not make the same kinds of aggressive moves, they adapted to the circumstances at their second university placement, and in describing (and in Daniel's cases complaining about) these experiences, revealed aspects of their thinking around effective and successful language learning.

Chapter 7: Student Narratives of Experience – Part 2: Clara and Thiago

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the stories of Bruna and Lucas chronicled various ways in which CSF students from the Portugal cohort were conducted and constrained by the dynamic language learning and academic policy assemblage of the CSF programme, and also presented some of the ways in which they engaged with these policies. In addition, in the case of Lucas (also drawing from supplementary commentary from Jessica and Daniel), I explored language ideologies and other discourses of language learning as described by these students and examined how they paralleled and diverged from discourses and rationalities favored by policy agents across scale levels in both Brazil and Canada. In this chapter, drawing on the same narrative and discourse analytic repertoires as used in Chapter 6, I turn to the experiences of two other students, Clara and Thiago, and consider the very different ways in which they navigated the policy terrain of their CSF sojourns in Canada. While on the surface, these two students could be said to have been more successful with language learning in that they received some of the highest TOEFL scores of the participants I spoke with for this study, they also found themselves to be challenged and constrained by the policies and regulations of the programme. Because of their relative success in language learning, and the fact that they were neither sent back to Brazil prematurely, nor required to complete additional English language training, many of the features of this programme discussed in this chapter have, on the surface, less to do explicitly with language than in the previous chapter. However, given the fact that language training and testing is arguably embedded

at the core of the CSF programme, many of the challenges the students describe in this chapter feature tacit LPP dimensions or at the very least, have implications for future mobility (and language) policy making.

Clara's Story

Twenty-three years old at the time of this study, Clara is a Health Sciences student from the capital city of a state in the Northeastern region of Brazil. Her mother is a secretary, and her father is a mechanic specializing in heavy machinery. When she arrived in Canada, Clara had only one semester of study left to complete at a public federal university in her state, which is considered to be one of the most prestigious institutions of higher education in the country according to recent rankings from both media and governmental sources.

As a child and adolescent, Clara attended private elementary and secondary schools, and during this time she was also enrolled in a number of specialized technical courses at her local CEFET (*Centro Federal de Educaçao Tecnológica,* or Federal Centre of Technological Education). CEFET are federally administered institutes for vocational training in a range of technological areas. They are difficult to gain entry to, requiring an entrance examination and charging no tuition, and as a result, they are quite prestigious. Having courses from a CEFET on one's resume is considered to be a great asset in the job market in Brazil.

Clara began learning English in elementary school, through what she describes as a method focusing on rule-based learning of grammatical features by rote memorization. She also studied for two years during her time at secondary school at a national chain of private language schools, attending classes twice a week. However, in hindsight, she considers none of these studies

to have made much of an impact on her progress in language learning, given the poverty of the methods, and the minimal hours involved.

Application, preparation and arrival. When the call was made for the first cohort of CSF students, Clara was very excited about the idea of the programme. Travelling abroad and studying at one of the most prestigious universities in the world had always been something of a dream for her. However, she had to wait for several more calls before her area of specialization was included in the list. As soon as this happened she applied for Portugal – because communication is so integral to the practice of her field she did not even imagine the possibility of being able to study in a foreign language at that point in time. However, when given the option several months later, she decided to go for it. As a member of the Portugal cohort Clara chose Canada as a first alternate destination, primarily because her current undergraduate supervisor had completed a sandwich year of her Master's degree at Kings University and she hoped to connect with some of her supervisor's old professors and colleagues. She was also influenced at this time by her ideas about English as the global standard in scientific publication today.

In the weeks prior to coming to Canada, despite the fact that she scored a very low 430 on the TOEFL PBT pre-departure test required by CAPES, Clara assumed that she would work hard for the four months of the first semester, and quickly bring her English up to a level necessary for her to begin her academic studies, taking courses in her field in the winter semester. However, on arrival in Canada she was shocked to learn that she could not understand what people were saying to her at all, and her sense of confidence in the little knowledge of English that she thought she had was shattered. She found this very upsetting,

and was further discouraged by the fact that she only placed in level 2 in the language institute at Metropolitan University by their diagnostic entry test. Despite these setbacks, she studied diligently, and within a few months found that her language ability rapidly improved. Over two semesters she completed all of the levels at Metropolitan University, including repeating level 6 in order to fill up the final session of the second semester. She received a score of 84 on the TOEFL iBT written in the winter of 2014 – the highest of any participant involved in this study – and this was despite the fact that she wrote with only three days warning. One advantage she did have over many of the other CSF students at Metropolitan, however, is that that she was among the few students who were able to take an optional module focused on TOEFL preparation (other students who moved through the system at Metropolitan chose electives on topics such as IELTS preparation, unaware at the time of selection which test would be required of them and when). When CBIE asked her for her university choices, after four months in Canada Clara selected King's University, Garden University and Royal University.

During her time at Metropolitan University, Clara lived in a homestay with Filipino host parents, and international student roommates from China. Although she rarely spoke with these host parents on account of what she considered to be their shyness and low levels of English ability, she did spend a fair bit of time with her roommates, particularly in the kitchen, as they each prepared their own meals. Clara also attended services in English regularly at a nearby Roman Catholic Church, but rarely had opportunities or made the effort to speak to the local parishioners. She focused the majority of her social energies during these months on classroom activities, as well as the interactions with

other students and teachers that immediately preceded and followed classes, such as coffee and lunch breaks, preferring to spend her time in the evenings and on weekends working on her studies at home alone. She was well liked amongst the Brazilian student body at the language institute at Metropolitan, and other students reported to me that she emerged as a role model and de facto leader during the period of uncertainty towards the end of the second semester. When I asked her about this she suggested that this was perhaps due at least in part to her comfort in English at this point in time relative to many of her peers, and her developing self confidence in the second language.

Garden University. In contrast with most of the other students whose experiences I have examined so far, Clara did not face nearly as much uncertainty and accompanying anxiety due to not knowing her future destination after she completed her language studies at Metropolitan. In fact, she was one of the first students to receive an acceptance letter for academic study in Canada, and was also in the minority of all the CSF students at Metropolitan in that the university that accepted her was one of the three that she herself had selected, Garden University.

Upon arriving at Garden, she moved into a shared house with other Brazilian students, rather than find another homestay. The uncertainties of the programme were taking their toll on her, and she preferred to negotiate these changes with fellow nationals in similar circumstances, rather than isolating herself from them as a strategy to develop her English, as she had attempted for the previous eight months. In order to deal with the loss of the internship portion of the sojourn, Clara acted swiftly. Prior to leaving Metropolitan and the large urban area where it is located, she cold-called a number of practitioners and

clinics in her field based on internet searches, and by good fortune made contact with a Brazilian woman who had emigrated to Canada a decade previously. Although Clara was ultimately unsuccessful in securing an internship either at this woman's clinic, or through her connections, she was provided with invaluable advice about seeking out other opportunities. Through this contact she was able to visit a medical device manufacturing facility of a company she had known of before she came to Canada. She was very surprised to find there that the production line was of a much a smaller scale than she had imagined from Brazil.

On arrival at Garden University Clara was given a very short list of courses that she was permitted to enroll in. Unfortunately, absent from this list were any courses related specifically to her field, and the list consisted only of courses on general topics such as microbiology, anatomy and physiology and bio-medical statistics. Indeed, for Clara and other Health Sciences students, differences in curricula in Health Sciences between Brazil and Canada mean that their areas of specialization, which they study as undergraduates at home, are often only studied at the graduate level in the Canadian education system. Clara reluctantly enrolled in several of these courses – most of which she had previously taken at her home university – and while she tried to remain optimistic about her Canadian academic experiences, she began enquiring into whether she was required to remain in Canada for the full 18 months currently scheduled for her cohort, or if she could return to Brazil at the end of 12 months. As she only needed a more few credits before graduating, largely comprising her undergraduate thesis or research project, she hoped she might return to her studies in August in the Brazilian higher education calendar, and thus not be

required to wait until the new school year began at the end of the following February.

Early return to Brazil. Clara contacted CAPES shortly after arriving at Garden University to let them know that she was hoping to end her CSF sojourn early. This process was quite frustrating for her, as the only way she could initially contact her scholarship administrators was via email, and her emails went unanswered for several weeks. She also spoke with the programme administrator in her department at her home university, in order to make sure that they would allow her to enter classes a few weeks after they started if she was able to receive permission from CAPES. After a few weeks she finally located a telephone contact number of a representative at CAPES she could speak with, and began the process of getting permission and doing the necessary paperwork for leaving early. As part of the process she was required to write a Report of Activities explaining her reasons for wanting to do so. In this document she explained that she considered the fall semester in Canada to be an extension on the original 12 month plan for the sojourn, and expressed her concern with gaining access to courses and graduating in a timely manner back at her home university. This request was finally approved, and she returned to Brazil in the first week of August 2014.

Reflections on the experience and future plans. Clara and I spoke via Skype shortly after her return to Brazil, and she seemed very careful not to speak ill of the programme, given the experiences it had provided her. She spoke at length about the academic literacy she had developed during her time at Metropolitan University, and the positive influence she felt that it had on her Portuguese reading and writing. She also spoke favorably about the entire

sojourn as a character-building activity, and about the many ways it had opened her up to cultural differences both between Brazilians and what she characterized as 'real' Canadians, as well as with more recent immigrants to Canada and other international students. While she values this experience greatly and is happy she had the opportunity to come to Canada, she also can't help but be a little disappointed by the fact that she did not get a chance to do an internship, or to take courses specific to her field that are not available to her in her university at home in Brazil. She feels that both of these things were core promises of the programme when she enrolled in it. She is also a bit disappointed about the optics for her cohort, and feels self-conscious explaining to friends and family that character-building and intercultural knowledge replaced the promised scientific knowledge acquisition.

Clara's Story – Positions and Critical Moments

Other participants – Ana. In this section I take a closer look at the development of Clara's subject positions in regards to the programme and her desired outcomes, as well as a number of critical moments over the course of her sojourn in Canada. I also draw from data produced in collaboration with another student called Ana, who also chose to end her sojourn early and return to Brazil.

Ana is a twenty-two year old Engineering student from a mid-sized city a few hours drive from the state capital in Southeastern Brazil, where her parents own and operate a small retail store. She attended private elementary and high schools, and at the time of her sojourn Ana was exactly halfway through her degree at one of the highest ranked private universities in the country. After completing eight months of English instruction at Metropolitan University she was accepted into Prairie University, where she completed one semester of

academics in general courses in her field. She hopes one day to work for a large multinational corporation in their Brazilian operations.

The value of the cancelled internship. For both Clara and Ana, as well as almost all of the other students whose stories were told in the previous chapter, the internship was to be one of the most important features of their sojourns. Ana explained her hopes and rationale for wanting to do an internship after we first met, when its cancellation for her cohort was still just a rumor.

Excerpt 7.1

> I did the internship in Brazil [before I came here], and for me it was the best part of the university because it was the place that I learned more so I thought that when I come to here it is a better experience because it is in another country. [A] developed country and very good for the future. But nothing has happened as I thought it would happen. (Ana, 2014-03-07: 14:02)

Based on her previous experiences, Ana reported having a positive outlook on internships as opportunities for accelerated learning in her field. She was looking forward to a similar experience during her time here in Canada. Yet this excerpt also reveals an additional tacitly expressed perspective she holds on the global relationship between Canada and Brazil. In her speculation included here, she implies that completing a second internship in Canada would be a better or richer experience than her previous one in Brazil simply due to its taking place in Canada. This is based on a notion of a hierarchy in the knowledge exchange between these two countries, with Canada identified as developed, in an unspoken comparison with Brazil as inferior (Mignolo, 2000). Several months later she repeated a similar sentiment in a letter written at the request of CAPES

explaining her reasons for wanting to leave the programme early. This writing

took place after it was known that the internship was cancelled.

Excerpt 7.2

> Os meus principais objectivos ao me inscrever no programa Ciência sem
>
> Fronteiras era aprimorar o meu conhecimento na língua inglês, já que é
>
> algo muito importante atualmente para o mercado de trabalho e realizer
>
> um estágio ou pesquisa no exterior para ter outra visão do mercado da
>
> [minha disciplina] em um país de primeiro mundo [my principal
>
> objectives for entering the CSF program were to improve my English,
>
> which is something very important for the current job market, and to do
>
> an industry or research internship abroad to gain a different perspective
>
> on the market of my field in a first world country] (Ana, Relatorio de
>
> Atividades [Report of Activities] – 2014-08-08)

In this excerpt Ana again highlights the contrast between Canada and Brazil

when she characterizes Canada as a 'first world country', and positions an

internship within this first world imaginary as an indispensible component of the

programme. Additionally, her letter reveals a number of other ideas that Ana

has in terms of her goals for participation in the programme. Given her desire to

return home immediately, it appears that she considers her objective listed here

of improving her English to be completed to her satisfaction (note her use of the

past tense). Working on English for her thus involves explicit classroom

language instruction, and within this characterization of the programme she does

not consider English-medium academic courses, or additional time spent in an

English-dominant national context as necessary for her and her further

development in English. I discuss Ana and Clara's perspectives on where and when English learning takes place in further detail below.

Clara's response to the cancellation of the internship portion of the program was slightly different than Ana's. Explaining her rationale for leaving to me she stressed her efforts to find an internship and engage with local businesses in her field on her own, explaining "Yes, I am disappointed, so I am trying to do it by myself [laughs]" (Clara, 2014-05-16: 38:24). Nevertheless, she did not mention the cancellation at all in her own Report of Activities written at the request of CAPES, choosing instead to foreground reasons related to poor access to classes relevant to her field here in Canada, as well as scheduling conflicts in terms of the different start and finish dates of semesters of academic study in Canada and Brazil.

Relevance of courses available in Canada to field of study in Brazil. Over the period of several interviews with Clara both shortly before and after her early return to Brazil, she returned repeatedly to the issue of limited courses available to her in Canada, as well as her concerns that she was falling behind her peers in terms of her development as a practitioner in her field.

Excerpt 7.3

> Apesar de tudo, da confusão que foi toda de estar aqui, de tudo o que aconteceu em termos de aprendizagem foi muito bom, em termos de aprendizagem assim para minha profissão eu não tive muito, eu tenho que admitir, eu passei 8 meses estudando só inglês, eu estou aqui na faculdade agora e não estou estudando nada muito relacionado e diferente em relação a minha profissão, eu não estou acrescentando muito em relação a [minha disciplina] [After all, the confusion being here,

everything that happened in terms of learning was very good, but in terms of learning for my profession I did not do much, I have to admit, I spent eight months studying only English, I'm here in college now and I'm not studying anything closely related and different about my profession, I'm not adding much in [my field] (Clara, 2014-06-02: 31:50)

As noted above in Clara's narrative, when she arrived at Garden University she very disappointed that she was only permitted to enroll in general courses. Relatedly, and in part a result of this limitation, her falling behind in her projected timeline for herself and her own career development was a frequent source of concern in her conversations with me as her time in Canada progressed. Additionally, in this excerpt she acknowledges the value of learning English, but, similarly to Ana, also appears to consider the process of learning English to have come to an end with the completion of her formal classroom language learning.

On returning to Brazil, Clara spoke at greater length about her timeline concerns in terms that, while largely related to the logistics of matching the two semesters, also reiterate her position on the value of the courses she was permitted to take at Garden to her career development.

Excerpt 7.4

"I didn't want to stay in Canada, because I didn't want to take classes the same courses that I had already taken here [in Brazil]. So I called CAPES and they said to me "If you want to go back you can go back earlier". And I said, "Please, let me get back home". And I talked to my department here and they said "OK, you can miss the first weeks, and after that you can start and catch up". So I am here and I am working hard because I

have to study more. Because I wasn't studying things related to my field I

kind of forgot a lot of things. [Now] I'm studying a lot and I have to write

my big research paper and then I graduate" (Clara, 2014-09-12: 1:45)

Rather than constituting a period of academic development, she characterizes the

sojourn here as an adjournment of her academic studies, during which she forgot

details of her discipline, and which she considers as a setback that she needs to

work hard to overcome in order to get back on track academically.

Shifting positions, changing outcomes. Despite these concerns about the

relevance of the academic courses CSF students were permitted access to while

in Canada, and the issue of the programme staying true to its stated STEM-

related knowledge acquisition purposes, at other times Clara expressed a

different outlook showing sensitivity to the fact that her sojourn only takes on the

appearance of a failure if it is evaluated using these narrow criteria.

Excerpt 7.5

It was very interesting because everybody was like "Oh, what did you

learn in Canada?" And I was like "I didn't learn a lot of things about [my

field] and I don't have a lot of things to share with you". My professors are

like "Oh, what did you learn, tell us about the new things that you know".

And I said "Oh I have study much more again the old things because I

didn't, I wasn't in touch with the things related to my field and related to

my profession". And I told them that I was a little frustrated, disappointed

about that, and they were like "Oh, what did you do there? And I told

them "Oh I learned English. It was great. I was in a new country and new

people, a new culture, but related to my profession I didn't learn a lot of

new things". But I feel like I am different here [at home now], when I was

in Canada I was just one of foreign students. Kind of different. All of my
friends ask me to read something for them in English. Or asked me about
the experience in the new country because here is something that is not
too common yet. I'm kind of still different.

(Clara, 2014-09-12: 11:12)

In this brief account, Clara moves through a number of subject positions,
highlighting some of the tensions involved in attempting to evaluate the
programme using only a STEM lens. She begins by acknowledging the
shortcomings of the programme academically, and admits that this was a source
of frustration for her. But she then moves on to present some of what she
considers to be unexpected or previously undervalued gains. She learned
English, and had rich intercultural experiences, and she reports that she made it
clear to her interlocutors that she values these things ('it was great'). However, in
the last portion of this excerpt she shifts from explaining her experiences in
Canada to her professors and colleagues, to explaining to me, her interviewer,
her experiences in Brazil since she has returned home. Whereas in Canada she
felt she was simply one of many international students at Metropolitan and
Garden, on her return she has felt unique, and different from her peers. She tries
to describe this difference, and in this telling produces two explanations. First,
her peers want to know the details of her experiences in Canada because, as she
explains, prolonged foreign travel is not something common amongst them (yet).
But most importantly, they are now coming to her to make use of the language
skills that she acquired abroad, and asking for help reading various documents.
She appears to be suggesting here is that she is enjoying being treated with
distinction from her peers, but this distinction is coming from a different place

than the original aims of the programme. For Clara, English has emerged unexpectedly as the key outcome of her time in Canada.

Ana made a similar discovery, but as her comments in excerpt 7.2 suggest, she was perhaps somewhat more prepared for the outcome of returning with improved English language skills, connecting it directly to her future plans. As she wrote in her Report of Activities shortly after her return to Brazil, one of her "principal objectives for entering the CSF program [was] to improve my English, which is something very important for the current job market" (see above). As a result, she cultivated a sense of the minimum the she needed to do to achieve these things. As early as April, prior to departing Metropolitan for Prairie University, she was already thinking of her departure.

Excerpt 7.6

> A – If they offer me more English until September, I will not stay here because I think it's too much time just to study English. Like one year I think that's too much.
>
> J – Why?
>
> A – Because I stopped my course in Brazil and I need to finish here and my life will be there so I think that I can't stop everything just to stay studying English because my English it's good now to have a good job in Brazil (Ana, 2014-04-10: 17:55)

When I pressed her in a subsequent interview to explain what she meant by her English being good enough to get a good job in Brazil she elaborated as follows:

Excerpt 7.7

> Like for me the most important thing to learn English is to get a good job in Brazil. Because, for example, a big industry there that I would like to

work [at]. The interview is in English. And I couldn't apply to this job before so it's one of the most. Because in Brazil I won't speak English everyday in my life or something like that. I just need to get a job and if I need to travel from the industry I need this to travel because if I don't speak English they couldn't get me this job, you know? I think the most important thing for me to learn English it's to get the job I need (Ana, 2014-07-14: 26:13)

These comments from Ana are very revealing of not only her general perspective regarding her desire for English as a means to distinguish herself in the competitive job market (a different sort of distinction than the one that Clara was commenting on above), but also of how she defines for herself what it means to know English. In the first of these two excerpts, she suggest that there is a limit to how long she should study the language in order to achieve her objectives, conveying that what she is after is far from the ultimate attainment that often dominates language learning aspirations (however difficult to achieve). Additionally, by explaining that she needs English primarily for job interviews rather than everyday use her desire for English seems to be less for regular communication, and more for symbolic reasons (see also, Kubota, 2011). Daniel from the previous chapter expressed a very similar sentiment, explaining, Excerpt 7.8

> If I stay in Brazil I will not use English at all. Not for speaking. Only if I get the field of management. But I doubt I get this field. Because I will not use English in my life in Brazil (Daniel – 2014-02-07: 56:47)
>
> **Problems of access to language learning and the limits of effort.**

Throughout their time in Canada both Clara and Ana made decisions related to

their daily exposure and use of their developing English; however, at the same time, they were not immune to the constraints that their status as international students placed on them. Upon her arrival in Canada Clara made efforts to keep her Brazilian classmates at a distance in order to accelerate her learning: "I chose to live in a homestay to try to improve my English faster, but it's not happened actually [laughs]" (Clara, 2014-02-06: 2:26). Her homestay turned out to provide less opportunity for her to practice with her host parents on account of their shyness and what she perceived as their low levels of English proficiency. Clara had expected her homestay parents to be native speakers of English – what she describe in another conversation as "real Canadians" - but found that as an international student her access to this population was limited. As she explained in this sad but comical exchange with my Brazilian colleague Juliana Martinez in our joint interview:

Excerpt 7.9

> JM – É as suas amizades foram mais próximas de canadenses? ou de alunos internacionais?
>
> C – Ah, canadense eu acho que eu nem conheço assim canadense para dizer que eu tenha...
>
> JM – O Jonathan [laughs]
>
> C – É, o Jonathan, (laughs), porque a pesquisa acabou levando a isso.
>
> JM – Mas no dia a dia você não tem amigos canadenses?
>
> C – Não, não tenho não
>
> JM – Vivendo no Canadá sem amigos canadenses (laughs)
>
> C – Não, eu não tenho... eu era estudante internacional, então só tinha estudantes internacionais comigo. A gente, os brasileiros acabam se

aproximando naturalmente [JM – And are your friendships closer with Canadians? Or with international students? C – Oh I think that I don't know any Canadians to say that I have... JM – Jonathan! C – Jonathan [laughs] because his research brought us together. JM – but in your day to day life you don't have Canadian friends? C – No I don't have any. JM – Living in Canada without Canadian friends [laughs]. C – No I don't have. As an international student we only had international students with us, so us Brazilians end up naturally coming together. (Clara, 2014-06-02: 34:25)

When queried about whether she had made friends and had sustained access with Canadians, after almost a year in Canada Clara could only identify me as a Canadian she knew and spoke with regularly. This segregated experience of international students has been remarked on repeatedly in research on language socialization and sociocultural adjustment (e.g., Morita, 2004; Spencer-Oatey & Xiong, 2006) and also in topics in international education more generally (e.g., Sawir, Marginson, Forbes-Mewett, Nyland & Ramia, 2012). In Clara's case the situation worsened on her arrival at Garden University, where she initially lived in a house with Brazilian roommates she met.

Excerpt 7.10

I'm not speaking English anymore because I have Brazilian roommates. And at [Garden] I meet every time my Brazilian friends because we just recognized each other. Even though I don't know most of the people here because I am new here. Just recognized other Brazilians and we just start talking. And Canadians are not very [pause], how can I say, [pause] I'm just speaking Portuguese most of the time. When I was studying English, speaking English in class because the instructors encouraged us to do this.

But now you just sit in your chair and that's it. Nobody talks (Clara, 2014-

05-16: 13:51)

She found it easy to make Brazilian friends at Garden, and although she began to

put forward an explanation of why this was not the same with Canadians, she

moved on instead, perhaps out of sensitivity to me as a member of the group

which she was about to make a critical comment of. She also notes here that

given the lecture format of her academic courses, there is little need or

opportunity for her to practice speaking. Luckily for Clara in this regard, her

living arrangement fell through and she was forced to move again due to

troubles with the landlord. She happily reported from her final apartment in

Canada: "I'm living with a Canadian girl now, and I can practice my English"

(Clara, 2014-06-02: 1:00:27); however, she left the country only a few weeks later,

and had only a very little time to make use of this opportunity.

In contrast to Clara, Ana lived in houses shared with Brazilian classmates

the entire time she was in Canada, at both Metropolitan and subsequently at

Prairie University. However, similarly to Jessica in the previous chapter, Ana

acknowledged that she recognized the limitation that this placed on her language

learning and her experiences, but considered it a choice that she freely made. As

she frankly told me over a few conversations: "I didn't learn English so much

yet, because I stay with Brazilians all the time" (Ana, 2014-03-07: 14:49); "I don't

practice my English a lot and I think that if I spent more time with foreign people

trying to learn and focus more my English would be much better than now"

(Ana, 2014-04-10: 9:15). She confessed her rationale for this behavior:

Excerpt 7.11

> In the end of the day I don't want to speak English anymore. I like being
>
> here because of the opportunity to speak English outside the class but I
>
> almost don't speak it (Ana, 2014-03-07: 32:19)

An interesting aside to these comments is that Ana appears sure of her ability to

have found interlocutors in English had she chosen to. However, as Clara's

experiences show, this may likely have not been the case.

Intercultural experience, personal growth and subject formation.

Despite all of the difficulties negotiating the modifications of the programme

ultimately leading to her early departure, Clara found her time in Canada to be

an enriching experience, particularly in terms of intercultural contact and

interactions that she had not expected.

Excerpt 7.12

> I was very surprised when I arrived here and then I saw much people
>
> from different countries. I think beyond the English the most interesting
>
> experience is new different cultures. For example, I have never seen Saudi
>
> people in my life. I thought that some things about their culture was some
>
> things from a soap opera, but no it's true! And people from Turkey,
>
> Russia, let me see, more different from me. And Chinese and Japanese
>
> also. (Clara, 2014-02-06: 26:31).

Clara appreciated that fact that her experiences with students from other

countries during her time studying English at Metropolitan challenged

stereotypes that she had previously encountered in popular culture, and

reflecting on this exposure, now considers it, particularly in terms of bilingualism

and language contact, to be a valuable model that Brazil should make efforts to emulate.

Excerpt 7.13

> ...Mas foi bastante válido como experiência de vida, hoje eu vejo como é a experiência num país diferente, com culturas totalmente diferentes e aprender inglês estando imerso no inglês, eu vejo como é diferente tudo isso e como o Brasil precisa avançar nesse sentido, todo mundo aqui é bilíngue [...] aqui é um país de imigrantes então todo mundo aqui fala duas línguas pelo menos [But it was quite valid as a life experience, and now I see how the experience is in a different country with completely different cultures and learning English by being immersed in English, I see how different all of this is and how Brazil needs to move in this direction, everyone here is bilingual [...] this is a country of immigrants so everyone speaks at least two langauges] (Clara, 2014-06-02: 31:50).

In this excerpt Clara is grappling with an image of Canada that she maps onto her own country. In this way she engaged with notions of cosmopolitanism or transnational belonging and diversity at home in ways that she had not previously experienced or considered (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002).

Ana also reflected on the sojourn as a valuable life experience. When she was not highlighting the importance of English for her in the competition of job market, she spoke of her personal growth and sense of becoming a more responsible and autonomous individual.

Excerpt 7.14

> The main thing was the English. That it's much better than when I came and it's very good for me because I was searching for some internship in

Brazil and many interviews are in English, so I could apply to this job that

I couldn't do it before I came here. And another thing is the interpersonal.

I think it's very good for me because I didn't live with my parents but was

different because I was living near my parents. The city was very near so

everything that needed I could come to them and talk to them and call

them that they could solve to me or have them do some. And here was

totally different because I needed to solve everything for myself and about

I never stay a long time alone and never did anything alone and here I did

a lot of things by myself and it was very good to know myself better. I

think that it's very good. A broad experience. It's very very nice and now I

have another thought about me, I don't know [laughs] (Ana, 2014-07-14:

22:10).

Summary

As stated at the outset, explicit LPP in the form of testing and extended

periods of compulsory language study played less of a role in the students' lived

experiences recounted thus far in this chapter. But this is not to say that Clara

and Ana were not exposed to these policies; rather, they seemed to have less of a

challenge in meeting their official requirements and moved on to later stages of

the programme with relative ease. However, these students chose remarkably

different practices both in and out of the classroom in their individual trajectories

through English language programming at Metropolitan and beyond. Adhering

to discourses that promote homestays as a source of advantage in proficiency

gains for students studying abroad (Kinginger, 2009), Clara chose to live with a

host family and attempted to sequester herself away from her CSF colleagues as

a strategy for increasing her exposure and dependence on English. But based on

her partial accounts of failure in this regard it is difficult to know the complete story of her relationship with her host parents, as her reports focused on her own perceptions of their linguistic and cultural differences. Her comments are inflected with a disappointment in their being non-white non-native English speakers, which reflects prevalent discourses of racial and linguistic identity amongst language learners worldwide (Kubota & Lin, 2006). Ana took a much different path, preferring to retain an active social life in Portuguese with her Brazilian colleagues, and ultimately choosing to keep her English language learning, and indeed Canadian and other international students, at arms length. This choice was based at least in part on the fact that she was pursuing a narrow set of outcomes or benefits from her language learning, and did not feel it was necessary to immerse herself in the study abroad context either linguistically of culturally. However, had she done so, she would have perhaps been exposed as Clara was, to the challenges for international students of gaining access to domestic linguistic and cultural experiences. The same is true of these students' different responses to the cancellation of the internship portion of the sojourn.

Both Clara and Ana reported that committing themselves to the language learning process within the language classroom at Metropolitan, but felt that when they moved to academic study their access to regular practice, especially in speaking, was limited at best. Based on an examination of their respective websites, both Garden and Prairie universities provide minimal support of this nature for ESL students beyond official ESL courses, instead offering services such as conversation partner pairing programmes, which offload much of the incentive and administrative responsibilities on to the students themselves. In

addition, these services are reduced during the summer months, compared to the fall and winter semesters.

The explicit policies that Clara and Ana foreground in their narratives presented in this chapter are academic in nature, and include the cancellation of the internship by CAPES, and the restrictions of access to classes by the respective universities these students attended. And Clara and Ana both cite these shortcomings of the programme in their Report of Activities letters as the key reasons they asked to return home early. Somewhat ironically, in this way their rationales for early departure are congruent with the initial stated aims of the programme of revolutionizing STEM research and development, as opposed to those of more traditional exchange programmes, as discussed in detail in chapter 4. Because of these policy changes, for the Portugal cohort English emerged as the de facto primary outcome, rather than the promised STEM knowledge and experience. For this reason, and in response to these changing conditions Clara and Ana follow the programme designers in tacitly privileging STEM knowledge over language knowledge, and in treating language as a conduit for this STEM knowledge, and placing limits on their need of English (Park & Wee, 2012).

Thiago's Story

In the second part of this chapter I turn to the story of Thiago, the last of the four different CSF student types documented in this study. Thiago grew up in a small industrial city in the interior of a densely populated state in the Southeast region of Brazil. His mother is currently an esthetician, but she was employed previously as a teacher. His father also worked as a teacher in the past, but has worked numerous other jobs in a range of fields since then. When Thiago

was a small child he attended a private elementary school, but when his family became unable to afford it, switched to a public school for his middle and secondary school years. He was first exposed to the rudiments of English grammar while in elementary school, but describes the English education at the public schools that he subsequently attended as very poor. According to him, at the start of each school year the curriculum would begin anew, as though the students were starting to learn the language as absolute beginners each year (although this may have been the actual case for some of his classmates). Subsequently, he reports that he never acquired much more than a handful of verb paradigms during these years.

At the time of his application, Thiago was two years into his degree in Computer Science at a technology focused university centre in the capital city of his state, where he had been lodging with his aunt and uncle. He receives a full PROUNI scholarship (similarly to Lucas) which he is quick to describe as being based not only on his family's financial situation, but also on his own strong performance on the ENEM, the standardized national exam for secondary students, which also functions as an admissions test for many federal universities and other educational institutes in Brazil. At the time of his arrival in Canada he had just turned twenty-two years old.

Application, preparation and arrival. Unlike most of the other students in this study, Thiago aggressively involved himself in the process of being placed in a specific Canadian university prior to leaving Brazil. He initially had reservations about going abroad to study English without having secured a placement for academic study. In particular, he persistently lobbied both CBIE and CAPES in order to be among the group of students selected for English

programming (and subsequent academic studies) at King's University, and he was quite frustrated when he was ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts. His desire to go to King's was based on his own Internet research on the status and ranking of universities in Canada, as well as of the specific professors and departments relevant to his own field and interests.

When Thiago finally received notice that he would be placed at Metropolitan, and his departure was in only a few weeks time, he immediately hired a private tutor to help him with his English, to give him some basic survival language and to get him started on the process of language learning after so many years of inattention. He worked with this tutor for several hours every day for these weeks. Almost a year later, he reflected that prior to this moment he had never really given much thought or effort to learning English or any other languages. He did not recall having any experience speaking or listening to English outside of compulsory language classes, so when he was certain that he would be departing to Canada in several weeks time, he realized that he would have to work very hard and learn the language quickly in order to succeed.

Thiago scored poorly on the diagnostic entrance test at Metropolitan's language institute, and was placed in the lowest level. However, he took to heart the descriptions of the programme that he read in the promotional and orientational literature provided by both CBIE and CAPES, making particular note of the timeline, that students would complete a minimum of four months of language training, and would only continue in language classes if necessary on a case by case basis. Beginning in September he set both short and long term goals for himself in terms of daily study of English, and began to prepare himself for

some sort of standardized test in December (he wasn't yet sure which one it would be), in order be among the students who began academic studies in January. Over the course of the autumn semester Thiago worked hard to meet these goals. Although he lived in a house with a number of other CSF students from the Metropolitan language institute – he considers himself to be a very social person, and he thought he would be too lonely living on a homestay – he worked hard in the evening and on weekends in order to complete his assigned homework, as well as other language learning tasks using materials he was collecting from the Internet and other sources.

Period of uncertainty. December came and went without any news of language testing for Thiago and the other students at Metropolitan. A select group of students who had been placed in the higher levels at the language institute, and who had also arrived with conditional acceptance letters from Metropolitan in hand moved on to academic study in their respective departments. Meanwhile, the other students including Thiago, began wondering what the revised timeline for the programme would look like, especially considering they felt they had been promised and internship organized by CBIE to take place from May to August of 2014.

When a few students began to receive emails in early January from CBIE notifying them that they would be writing the TOEFL iBT shortly, Thiago began preparing in earnest for his own test, despite the fact that he had received no notification of his own. He finally received an email in late February advising him that he would be writing the TOEFL test in two weeks time, and he increased his home study routine even more for the remainder of his time before writing the test. The score he received was 80. He was initially happy with the

score, because he felt it reflected his progress and the hard work he had put in.

However, he was worried that it was not high enough to gain entrance to King's

University, as all of his research on that university's webpages suggested that a

minimum score of 100 on the iBT was necessary for entry. The two other

universities that he selected in his list for CBIE were Metropolitan, and the

University of Western Canada.

Placement and academic study at Metropolitan University. Despite his

persistent lobbying, Thiago was not accepted into King's University. In fact, he

later discovered after speaking with the admissions office at King's that an

application had never been submitted by CBIE on his behalf, as was found to be

the case for a number of other students in his cohort including Bruna (See

previous chapter). Instead, he was offered a place at Metropolitan, and he set

about selecting his courses.

The first challenge Thiago came up against in this process was the fact that

although CAPES required that he take three classes in the summer semester, the

academic advisors in his department at Metropolitan counseled against this

heavy workload, suggesting he take only two courses instead, as this is the

departmental norm. In addition to this problem of workload discrepancy, Thiago

also found out that all of the lower level courses had already reached their

maximum capacity. However, unable to convince either CAPES to allow him to

take a reduced course load, or the department to make space for him in lower

level courses, he began his academic studies at Metropolitan in May 2014.

By the time he reached the mid point of the semester, Thiago knew that he

was struggling in his courses, and he received poor grades on midterm tests in

two of them. Thiago tried one last time to get a waiver from CBIE to drop one of

the courses but he was not permitted. Subsequently, he failed two out of the three courses he took this session. In the autumn semester Thiago enrolled in four courses: a first year introductory class in his field; two second year classes in his field, and, an introductory courses in the Department of Mathematics and Statistics. For this last course he was required to go outside of his department because the limit of number of courses per student during the regular semester was three.

Disappointed by the fact that the internship had been cancelled and that he had been pressed into taking courses by Metropolitan, CBIE and CAPES that did not fit with his previous expectations, Thiago finished out the semester looking forward to his return to Brazil. He was also a bit disconcerted with the style of instruction he was exposed to in his academic courses in Canada. In Brazil he was accustomed to having both lectures and tutorial sessions and he felt that given the small numbers of students in each course and that the professors were usually the ones who conducted the tutorials, he had direct access to them if he had a question or a problem. On the other hand, he felt his professors in Canada to be far away and out of reach, with limited office hours. He also related several stories of inattentive graduate student teaching assistants working as tutorial leaders in the courses he took. Among other things, these issues prompted him to reevaluate his previously held notion that Canadian universities were superior to institutions back home in Brazil, given their location in a more developed country. He now considers Metropolitan and his home university to be of equal quality in terms of educational delivery.

Return and future plans. In our last conversation prior to Thiago's return to Brazil, he confided in me that despite the fact that he had studied hard to

develop his English, and had largely achieved his personal objective in terms of target language proficiency, he wished that he had not stayed so much within the bubble of his cohort of CSF students. In the context of the language institute, looking back, he feels that this prevented him from developing friendships with other international students also studying English. He made some effort to address this shortcoming while taking his academic courses, but found the lack of interaction built into the pedagogical style of his courses made it difficult for him to strike up conversations with other students. Additionally, for his entire sojourn he felt particularly distant from what he described as Canadians – when I asked him to clarify what he meant, he laughed and spoke of native speakers.

Despite these shortcomings and disappointments stemming mainly from changes to the programme, Thiago considers his Canadian experience as invaluable. In particular, he now sees his mastery of English as indispensible for his resume and his future prospects in the employment market. He also feels he has acquired a fresh perspective on cultural difference, even though he is quick to admit that this is based in large part on observing people rather than talking with them.

Thiago's Story – Critical Moments and Other Themes

Other participants – Fernanda.

In this section I also draw on data produced in collaboration with another student called Fernanda, who was also accepted into academic study at Metropolitan, and stayed in Canada for the full 18 month duration. Fernanda is mid-way through her degree in a discipline of applied health science at a high-ranking health-focused public university in the capital city of a state in the southern region of Brazil. Her elementary and secondary education all took place

at private schools, and she also spent eight months studying English at a national chain private school during her first year of university. However, she quit this school when she realized that the advertised promise of full fluency within a year and a half was not attainable, and she preferred to focus on her other studies at this time. Fernanda scored 76 on the TOEFL test after seven months of study at Metropolitan's language institute, and was accepted into Metropolitan University where she remained for the duration of her stay in Canada. Fernanda describes herself as a shy person, and as a result, was very reluctant to speak in English, preferring to stay with her Brazilian colleagues as much as possible. However, when she found that she would not be able to take the courses she had hoped, Fernanda took courses and pursued accreditation in a related practice from a private institute in the same city as Metropolitan, as a supplement to her formal academic studies.

Controversies of TOEFL tests and internships. Because of the active role that Thiago played in lobbying for himself at the various stages of his time as a CSF scholarship recipient, he was able to provide significant insight into what was happening to him and his peers based on the most current information accessible. During the period of uncertainty, when I arrived in the morning at the language institute at Metropolitan I would look for him first, as he was the most likely to know the latest news and gossip about what CAPES and CBIE were planning. He was also very eager to editorialize on this news, and to candidly share his opinions. Here are some selections from his retrospective account of the timeline.

Excerpt 7.15

> We got a letter from CBIE to explain. So it says, oh you are going to do
> four months of English course from September to December, and then you
> are going to be tested. And if you need more English you are going to do
> more English from January to April, and then from May to September you
> are going to do an internship organized by CBIE and that's it (Thiago,
> 2014-10-10: 43:34)

Thiago later emailed me a copy of this letter to verify that this report was indeed accurate. Nevertheless, the December deadline came and went with no new notifications.

Excerpt 7.16

> In January, in December we weren't tested. We didn't have the test. So in
> January we started to receive the mails from CBIE that we were going to
> do the test the TOEFL (Thiago, 2014-10-10: 46:22)

The first group of students to receive these letters were those still in the lower levels at the Metropolitan language institute such as Paulo, who had not been successful at moving through the levels at the pace specified by the curriculum modified for CSF students. Thiago described his response to this news.

Excerpt 7.17

> Before I got mine, when I saw that people were receiving the email I
> started to study hard in the TOEFL to get a higher mark. I got some
> content specific for TOEFL exams from the library. And I got a CD for
> TOEFL here [at the Metropolitan language institute] and after class, the
> English class, I was like here in [the language lab] doing tests and I also

downloaded this other package to my laptop and I did this in my house

(Thiago, 2014-10-10: 47:36)

Thiago's stories about how these events unfolded can also be considered not just in terms of the content of his utterances, but also in his habitual ways of speaking and positioning of himself in the grammatical features of these utterances (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Miller, 2010). Extract 7.16 serves as a useful exemplary case. Throughout this except he repeatedly relies on subject predicate utterances (Miller, 2010) which place him in the unambiguous position of agent, e.g., "I got some content", I got a CD", "I was here", "I also downloaded this other package", and " I did this". These ways of speaking about himself and the events surrounding the TOEFL test strongly present him as an agent responding to these events in a proactive and deliberate manner.

However, although he was quick to describe his actions in this way when it came to things he felt he had control over, similarly to Bruna and Paulo, Thiago was also very indignant about issues of fairness in the way changes were being implemented to the programme. He was particularly bothered by what he saw as an inequality in the way students at different schools were assessed.

Excerpt 7.18

For example they warned us like fifteen days ago and some people a little longer. Some people twenty days that we are going to do a test. Nobody was prepared to do a test but they said no it's only a placement. And we have this email it's only placement. OK, everybody went in like fine to do the test. Not worried. And we did the test – I got a lower mark than I wanted but I know that I couldn't complain that I'm here now because I got a very low mark. I didn't care. And OK we did the test. And then

[King's University] started to do an interview for who didn't have the test. And I said to [his contact at CBIE] it was not fair to compare an interview to a test and for example in an interview you prepare. For example, you know half the things the people will ask you, about your family, about why you come to [university in Canada], what you are expecting about here, about your major (Thiago, 2014-06-05: 19:39)

While I initially considered these comments to reflect Thiago's single-minded focus on King's University, a little later in the same interview (39:06) he elaborated that he considered that students at several other universities who were permitted to write the IELTS test had an unfair advantage as well.

Surprisingly, in contrast with Clara and Ana, Thiago was not as bothered by the fact that the internship was cancelled. He explained his thinking in a manner than is consistent with his pragmatism about success in language learning and in academic courses:

Excerpt 7.19

I don't complain so much because I didn't feel I was prepared to do the internship. But they said that they were going to do the internship so if they said they have to" (Thiago, 2014-12-05: 42:03)

For him the issue of fair treatment and respect for consistent application of the parameters of the programme was a more important issue, rather than any actual gains the internship would have provided him.

Selecting academic courses. When it came time to register for his first academic courses Thiago was cautious, but immediately found himself in a difficult position as he had received his letter of admission only a few days before classes were scheduled to begin.

Excerpt 7.20

> The [summer] courses are from the third year. I took them because I got
> the letter late so I didn't have so many to choose for courses. And it was
> my first semester in the university so I didn't want to take like courses
> from third year because it's my first experience and my English wasn't so
> great and I didn't know is this the approach that professor used here. It's
> totally different so I didn't want to go so hard in the first semester but I
> didn't have a choice (Thiago, 2014-10-10: 1:38)

By the middle of the term it was clear that Thiago was struggling with the
complex content of these upper year courses, and after he received failing grades
on his midterm tests, he met with one of his professors who advised him "To
keep studying [for one course] and not for the others because he knew that I
couldn't go with these three together" (Thiago, 2014-10-10: 2:40). He followed
this professor's advice, and managed to receive a passing final grade in the
course he had continued to do the homework for. In the other two courses he
continued attending the lectures, but failed their final exams and thus received
failing final grades. He blames CAPES and CBIE for not having clearer lines of
communication with the host universities, resulting in incompatible expectations
for students.

Excerpt 7.21

> I went to the coordinator [at Metropolitan] and he didn't allow me
> to take more than two courses but CBIE told me to take three […] so they
> send me another one and that's why I failed. So I took three but I wasn't
> prepared. So they [the department at Metropolitan] know better than
> CAPES and CBIE. They know better and didn't allow me to take three

because they know that in one semester it's too hard. So now I have failure

in my transcript and it's because of them. Because of CAPES and CBIE. It's

not the university's fault at all" (Thiago, 2014-12-05: 55:06)

When the same scenario repeated itself at the start of the autumn semester,

similarly to the professor who suggested he focus his home study on a single

course, he was counseled by advisors at Metropolitan to circumvent the

requirements by taking a low stakes course (i.e. first year) from a related

department that CAPES recognized. He found this very frustrating.

Excerpt 7.22

If you want me to take four courses let me take one from another

department I choose, one that I can get some information that will be

essential for me for my life. But they said [in a nasal voice] "you have to

take four courses! You have to take four courses!" And my advisor here

said me "Oh we don't allow you to take more than three courses so take

one from math, and from first year". OK. And I think like seventy percent

of Science Without Borders took math class […] I'm taking a math class

now because the Computer Science department doesn't allow me to take

more than three courses, but the CBIE requires me to take four. So for me

it's a waste of money because I'm doing math and I'm done with math in

Brazil" (Thiago, 2014-10-10: 14:53)

Comparing university experiences in Canada and Brazil. There was one

unexpected positive outcome of their experiences in Canada that Thiago and

Fernanda both commented on after they had became acquainted with studying

in their respective disciplines. Prior to their departure to Canada both all

assumed that the quality and content of education would be far beyond what

they had been exposed to in their home universities. Almost all of the other students I spoke to for this study who completed more than just English programming in Canada shared a similar sentiment with me. As Fernanda explained to my colleague Juliana:

Excerpt 7.23

> F – Acho que o nosso ensino no Brasil, superior, é muito bom
>
> JM – Você achava que ia ser...? Quando você veio para cá sua expectativa era outra?
>
> F – Eu achei que seria mil vezes melhor, as coisas, achei que também, eu não sei se é por causa do meu edital também, a gente não está tendo muita prática, eu esperava isso também, daí a gente só está tendo mais aula, mas em termos de conteúdo e aula e explicação de professor é o mesmo
>
> JM – Dá para dizer que há qualidade, que você considera que há qualidade, dá para dizer que lá, que tanto aqui quanto lá tem qualidade?
>
> F – É o mesmo, isso [F – I think our higher education in Brazil is very good. JM – What did you think it would be? When you came here were your expectations different? F – I thought it would be a thousand times better, the things, also I thought well, I didn't know because it's my cohort as well, We're not having many internships. I expected this too, so we're just having more classes, but in terms of the content and the professor's explanations it is the same. JM – Can you say that the quality, when you consider the quality, that both here [in Canada] and there [in Brazil] there is quality? F – it's the same] (Fernanda, 2014-06-05: 7:51)

Thiago reported having similar expectations, and looking back home at Brazil from a different perspective has allowed him to see things in a new light.

Excerpt 7.24

> T – I don't think that [Metropolitan University] is so much far in terms of
> like education, good education, compared to my home university. I think
> my home university is like the same nivel [level]. The same level.
>
> JL – But you didn't expect that?
>
> T – No, I expected like really amazing things. But I don't think they, it's
> not bad, I'm not saying this. But I'm not saying like I expect to see
> everything better than Brazil. But it wasn't like this. Now I appreciate
> many things in Brazil too" (Thiago, 2014-12-05: 1:01)

Thiago and Fernanda's subjective experiences as reported here challenge the discursive construction of Brazilian institutions as inferior to those in the Global North as perpetuated by promotional materials from institutions of higher education in Canadian universities and elsewhere, that advertise their national context as the most advanced in the world (Beech, 2014; Sidhu 2006). As these discourses are also implicit in much of the literature from CSF itself in terms of accessing STEM knowledge from abroad, these students' reassessments of the quality of instruction and course content at their home institutions raise a number of important questions about the lived experiences of international students on scholarship programmes within a global imaginary of hierarchy in higher education (Beech, 2014).

Summary

As an aggressive gatherer of information, during his time at Metropolitan Thiago served as an indispensible source of current news for both teachers and students alike on many of the developments of the dynamic language testing regime and subsequent processes of academic placement for his cohort. As a

seemingly tireless advocate for himself, he also fought (however unsuccessfully) for what he perceived as fairness for students in terms of placements and both required numbers of courses and restrictions on course offerings. In order to do this, he repeatedly engaged with administrators at several universities, CBIE and CAPES like no other student I spoke to, despite power and language imbalances between him and many of these interlocutors. But Thiago's story as he told it to me also shows him acting with the same tenacity to successfully move through language training at Metropolitan and subsequently write the TOEFL iBT. In this way he actively works on himself as a subject, attempting to preempt the ways he imagines he is about to be conducted by the assemblage of LPP and academic policies that constitute the CSF programme, and resorting to measures of counter-conduct whenever possible (Davidson, 2011; Foucault, 2007). Relatedly, but not specific to language-related issues, Thiago's (and Fernanda's) reconsiderations of the parity of quality between universities in Brazil and Canada have unexpected effects on themselves in terms of their own confidence as students, but also more broadly on the Brazilian social collective in challenging the prevalent discourses of unequal positions in a hierarchy of value between the two nations.

Chapter 8 – CSF and Language Policy as Governmentality and Technologies of the Self

Introduction

In chapter 4, I explored official and unofficial higher education policy texts produced by a range of governmental and institutional stakeholders in Brazil and Canada as well as numerous media reports from both countries. Chapter 5 took a closer look at how media reports and other stories of the CSF programme collected on the website of CBIE, one of its key stakeholders in Canada, functioned to produce a paradigmatic narrative of the CSF experience (Linde, 2001, 2009) presenting a model pathway through the programme. In chapters 6 and 7, I turned from these administrative measures, edicts, regulations, ideals, accounts and stories told by others, to narratives of actual student experiences presented as four possible trajectories that my participants as members of the Portugal cohort ended up taking through the programme. Taken together, all of the chapters described here provided detailed, thick description (Geertz, 1973) from both the top down and the bottom up of the programme and student experiences of it, revealing a range of different perspectives on language and language learning embedded within the larger CSF programme education policy and its implementation. In this penultimate chapter I assemble a number of those perspectives and elements relating to LPP that appeared most frequently throughout the data, mapping the connections and sometime tensions between them, and articulate in greater detail how taken together, they form a complex and heterogeneous LPP apparatus or assemblage that the Foucauldian analytics of governmentality and technologies of the self allow us to better represent.

These robust representations reveal a number of valuable insights in terms of the immediate context and the lived experiences of the population that is in principal focus in this dissertation, as well as for scholarship in LPP and research on study abroad identity or subjectivity and the global spread of English in applied linguistics more generally.

Language Policy and Governmental Apparatuses Revisited

As discussed in chapter 2, in this dissertation I have taken an expanded view on LPP that goes beyond declarations, regulations, or other official efforts to plan, modify or manage language acquisition or usage, to also include language practices, language ideologies and any other actions or discourses which may contribute to controlling or conducting the ways subjects approach, acquire and or use language (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2007). This expanded definition incorporates explicit and implicit, de jure and de facto, intentional and unintentional as well as top-down and bottom up contributions to the formation, implementation and response to policies, and as a result, necessarily originates or emanates from a plurality of sources (McCarty, 2011; Shohamy, 2007).

Given this diversity of participating and contributing parties and elements operating at a range of different distances from subjects and with different degrees of influence and power or domination (overt or otherwise), I turned to Foucault's concept of governmentality as a means to account for the assemblage of these diverse elements, as well as to explore their relational arrangements. As Foucault explains, assemblages or apparatuses are highly complex collections of technologies of government that aim to shape the conduct of subjects in particular ways in efforts to achieve particular effects (as well as to avoid others).

Their composition may include (among other things) "discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid" (Foucault, 1980c, p. 194). Between these elements, often there is "a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely" (Foucault, 1980c, p. 195). Foucault provides a helpful hypothetical explanation of these movements:

> A particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or making a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality (Foucault, 1980c, pp. 194-195).

In addition, it is important to remember that as these apparatuses are heterogenies composed of a diversity of elements in their relations with one another, they can have no singular essence, and "they are not simply realizations of any simple will" of one individual or an exclusive set of agents (Rose, 1999, p. 52). I also note an important proviso here that, given this complexity and dynamism it is of course impossible to map an apparatus comprehensively or in its entirety. Rather, the elements and their interrelations and appearances throughout the empirical materials that I have chosen to highlight in this dissertation form a decidedly partial picture of the phenomena under investigation, and I acknowledge that a different researcher may have chosen to focus on different aspects of this assemblage. But the unachievable task of comprehensive description is not my aim here. I have instead endeavored to provide detailed descriptions of key elements and their interrelations in various

spaces and at various points in time, and to demonstrate their effects both individually and as an ensemble on the subjectivities and subject formation of their target populations. In this way I aim to gain a greater understanding of CSF as a complex technology of educational governance with the function and aim of subject formation, focusing in particular on the role and position of language learning within it.

This chapter is the result of a reexamination or meta-coding of the empirical material considered in the previous four chapters, while also including, when necessary, additional data drawn from those same sources in order to reinforce or extend on my prior interpretations. The criteria or procedures that I followed throughout this process are as follows. Looking at the elements presented in the previous chapters I identified a number of those which had the greatest potential to police, influence, direct, regulate, monitor, check, or otherwise encourage the actions of the student subjects, as well as to provide or limit their access to particular resources (Foucault, 1980c, 2007, 2008; Li, 2007a, 2007b; Rose, 1999). I also considered the frequency and ways or degrees to which these elements appeared in similar (or different) forms across, for example, government regulations, media reports and student narratives, and in mapping some of the connections between both different elements and different forms of the same elements, always bearing in mind that within the fragile and temporary stability of an assemblage, relations are not always intuitive or linear, and are only sometimes explicitly or obviously causative (Li, 2007b; Legg, 2009). As Spolsky counsels, in LPP research "one is dealing with a complex and chaotic non-hierarchical system" (2012, p. 3). In order to assist me in this mapping, I have organized this discussion across six key areas or fields of inquiry, which

refer variously to temporal phases as well as physical domains where language learning, assessment and use took place for these student members of the Portugal cohort, noting that these categories also overlap and bleed into one another at times. They include: first, the origins and launch of the CSF program and the creation of the Portugal cohort; second, intensive English language study at the language institute at Metropolitan University; third, TOEFL iBT test-taking; fourth, academic studies at various universities across Canada; fifth, internships and language learning and use outside the classroom; and lastly and sixth, the students' return to Brazil and their (imagined) futures.

After outlining the key features of this policy assemblage across these six areas or fields, I then take a closer look at how the technologies of the self employed by these students functioned variously as mechanisms of compliance, acquiescence and resistance within this milieu (Foucault, 1997a, 1997b).

Six Areas of the Governmental Assemblage

The CSF programme and LPP – origins, and the Portugal cohort. One of the most striking aspects of early proclamations from CAPES and other governing bodies related to the CSF programme in Brazil was the limited documentation of the role of proficiency in a second language as a key criterion required for participation. The early design of the programme with its deliberate and initially quite narrow focus both on and within particular STEM fields suggests that language was not really considered as an important issue at this time, and reveals an assumption that prospective students would either be ready to depart for their sojourns already in possession of adequate proficiency in a second language, or they would be easily accommodated by brief language training or bridging sessions already in place for international students at host

institutions around the world. At this time Canada's engagement with the programme both at institutional and federal levels followed a similar pattern, with a small variation being that, given a historical experience as a second language education provider, this expertise was explicitly promoted as an added value in the recruitment competition with other prospective host nations. Yet in the various press releases and media reports on the delegation to Brazil led by the Governor General of Canada in 2012, there was no mention of a need to modify or expand on existing language programming; rather, it appears the intention was instead to capitalize on existing infrastructure.

This seeming lack of initial concern given to second language proficiency and second language learning implies a "mode of perception" which fails to take seriously the need for bilingual or multilingual applicants, and does not adequately appreciate the needs for and challenges involved in language learning (Rose, 1999, p. 52). Looking at the early phases of the implementation of the programme, this perception (or lack of it) dominates, and can be described as a discourse and/or act of *neglect*. This initial lack of interest in language learning is echoed in the accounts of all of the participants in this study, but with a slight variation. As members of the Portugal cohort, each of these students initially chose Portugal as a destination, with the deliberate intent to sidestep the requirement of learning a second language. This variation on the discourse of neglect could perhaps be characterized as a tactic of *avoidance.*

It was only when low enrollment numbers revealed a lack of applicants with sufficient mastery of a second language that Brazil moved to secure lower minimum proficiency test scores for CSF students in a number of countries, and launched the ISF programme. It was at this moment that the Portugal cohort was

created as well, as a means to kick-start enrollment, and in order to stay on track with the original timeline for reaching target numbers. However, despite these moves to increase language support for future applicants and the creation of this singular cohort, the role of language in the programme was only marginally increased from its previous peripheral status. With increasing talk about language as the regulations and requirements of the programme shifted came a movement from the previous mentioned discourse of neglect to a discourse of language as an *obstacle*. While second language learning was now being acknowledged as a necessary challenge and barrier in the path to their studies in STEM, it was not typically being characterized in media reports and official government statements as having value of its own, or of being a valuable goal in and of itself (e.g., Portugal será excluído, 2013).

This treatment of language as an obstacle dovetails neatly with a related language ideology or perception of language as a *conduit*, which can be described as "a very widely shared commonsense view embodying general ideologies about the way in which language works", whereby knowledge taken as an object is conveyed from sender to receiver via a conduit or container that is language (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 114). What is missing from this characterization of language is an appreciation of the complex interpretive interaction that is a vital and necessary component of communication. Instead, the notion of language as a conduit posits a relatively problem-free process whereby language serves as a simple tool for the transmission of knowledge (in this case preferably STEM knowledge). As I demonstrate below, the simplicity and ubiquity of this conduit metaphor contributes to it interacting with and even often enabling discourses of language as indexing numerous other sorts of value, rather than being

considered as a value in itself. Although this discursive chain that follows language through phases of neglect, and on through the recognition of how its absence functions as an obstacle in the pathway to the conduit model of communication constitutes only one of the elements that make up the larger apparatus of LPP in the early design and implementation of the CSF programme, given the paucity of directly competing perspectives on language, it served as one of the dominant organizing principles. As such, it operated as an integral de facto policy as discourse (Lo Bianco, 2004) providing key aspects of the working definition of the nature of language and what language does for the programme, and in doing so, also established and limited the terms of any possible or subsequent debate on the topic (Li, 2007b).

Beyond these discursive representations of language learning understood broadly, within the initial planning and subsequent modifications that laid the foundations for the Portugal cohort, there appears to be a tacit endorsement of English as the preferred second language. Tapping into globally-circulating discourses of *English as the dominant global language* (Park & Wee, 2012), from its inception the programme endeavoured to send students to the most high ranking institutions around the world, which amounts to an implicit partiality for English-medium institutions in English-dominant nations as well as several other countries predominantly located in the Global North. As Marginson & van der Wende (2007) argue, the most popular ranking systems used today have an excessive "reliance on English-language research literatures" and "are loaded in favour or some universities and systems at the expense of others" (p. 308). Even more establishment or structuralist scholars such as Altbach (2007) acknowledge the dominance and exponentially growing reliance on English in higher

education, and express concern that nations that already use English will continue to benefit from its widespread use, and potentially place all other languages and their users at a disadvantage.

Related to the issue of ranking is the emphasis in the initial programme design on increasing numbers of academic publications in science as well as international collaborations with STEM scholars, institutions of higher education and the private sector (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g). As noted previously, "international" in the context of academic publishing is often used as a proxy for "English-medium", and together "English" and "international" constitute an important indexical cluster to signal "high quality"" (Lillis & Curry, as cited in Lee & Lee, 2013, p. 217).

This initial preference and partiality towards English was continued with launch of the ISF programme as *Inglês sem fronteiras* in 2012, with an exclusive focus on English until 2014, when the name was changed to *Idiomas sem fronteiras* and a handful of other European languages were slowly added. The concurrent purchase of 500,000 TOEFL tests for use as a diagnostic tool to measure then current standards in English among students in private and public universities in Brazil further corroborates this vision (Two million students, 2013). Over the entire duration of the programme a tacit preference for English continued, albeit in different or modified forms, considering that many of the top-ranking English-medium institutions that were the initial targets of the programme ultimately proved to be inaccessible to members of the Portugal cohort. However, by the end of the first phase, over sixty percent of all CSF scholarship recipients would travel to and study in English-dominant nations.

Given the scarcity of detailed descriptions in the official documentation from CAPES and CNPq of how the English language learning was meant to fit in with the larger CSF programme prior to the launch of the ISF programme, the paradigmatic narrative presented in chapter 5 provides valuable insights into how at least one administration-level stakeholding organization in Canada (CBIE) imagined this process would take place. These perspectives can be divided into two components, focusing on the 'how' and the 'what' of English language learning. Testimonials and other student stories which make up the paradigmatic narrative warn prospective candidates that language learning is a *difficult and challenging task* - e.g., "I think that no barrier is hardest than this one" (Mauro, 2013, n. p.) - explaining that it is best conducted through a combination of intensive classroom language study, as well as extended daily immersion in the second language context. In regards to the first of these two approaches, a student from a previous cohort at a west coast university website describes of the university, "Kwantlen offers English courses before you begin your academic study, and this improves fluency one hundred percent" (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, n. d.). Testimonials such as these are meant to provide reassurance to incoming students that the universities they attend will take care of their language learning needs. Other student voices in the paradigmatic narrative stressed the value of *immersive* aspects of the sojourn, presenting a popular perception of language learning as a *natural* process taking place with minimal effort through exposure, for example: "simply by talking with others, I was able to improve my verbal communication" (Correa, 2013, n. d.).

A number of comments also elaborate on the desirability of specific object(s) of learning for these students in Canada, referring favourably to "local

expressions", "Canadian rhythms", and "slang" and thus promoting and

privileging local linguistic norms as ideals. Yet although there is a clear favouring of

local norms as a target and of learners striving to develop their Canadian English

in these comments, these exist alongside acknowledgments that other forms of

English do exist within the Canadian milieu. As another comment points out,

"The Vancouver area is very cosmopolitan and the people are already

accustomed with many different levels and accents of English" (Kwantlen

Polytechnic University, n. d.). However, the reference to levels and accents made

by the student in this remark suggests a number of possible interpretations.

While he or she may be describing an accommodating atmosphere, where

interlocutors are habituated to adapting to different norms and varieties of

English, there is also a less charitable inflection in that the existence of levels

suggests a hierarchy, and the speakers that are being accommodated are learners

using deficient forms and thus are not language users of equal status. In this way

the accommodation that is described as taking place here is a one-way rather

than a bidirectional process, based less on mutual regard and instead dependent

on the generosity or goodwill of the higher-status language users.

A similar imbalance in directionality appears in the paradigmatic

narrative on perceptions of knowledge and cultural exchange. Exposure to

Canadian culture and the importing of "new technologies and new information"

in STEM to Brazil are presented as key platforms of the programme and the

study abroad experience, and yet beyond the establishment of networks, and

providing Canadian businesses with future insider connections to the Brazilian

marketplace, there is no mention of Brazilian knowledge travelling north to

Canada (Mayer, 2013). On the topic of culture, exchange is acknowledged, but it

is limited to tokenism, such as teaching "a little samba", requiring very little commitment on the part of Canadian hosts compared to the substantial tasks such as English language learning that these sojourners were engaged in (CBIE, testimonials, n. d.).

English language learning at Metropolitan University and beyond. For the student participants in this study, language learning in EAP programming at the language institute at Metropolitan University occupied a minimum half of their time in Canada (for Bruna and Paulo it constituted all of their time, and Lucas, Daniel and Jessica were required to complete an additional four months of English study at their respective subsequent institutional placements, totalling three quarters of their time). This EAP programming thus served as a key site of conduct and management of students as subjects both directly through curriculum and other administrative and instructor decision-making processes and indirectly through the facilitation of particular conditions and as a site for the circulation of discourses.

Due to reasons of confidentiality, I cannot elaborate on the specific features of the accelerated EAP programming implemented exclusively for the CSF cohort at the language institute at Metropolitan. I can, however, make a few general comments on the effects and implications of this modified design for the students as an example of explicit LPP. While several of the students had high hopes (perhaps unreasonable expectations) that they would finish their English training in the first semester and begin academic study after four months in Canada, in actuality the modifications that were made to the programme (e.g., compressing what was typically twelve months of instruction into a much shorter period of time), presented a significant challenge that was far beyond

what is typical for international students in programmes of this type. As a result it placed an additional amount of pressure on the students to succeed in these conditions. Depending on their individual learning styles and academic habits, certain students are more likely to succeed in such environments, and as Thiago noted, when he was initially offered a chance to study in English, he was not sure if he was up for the challenge. However, in terms of the specifics of the programme adaptations, given that these were designed and implemented at the last minute, none of the students were aware of the exact details until after they arrived, and as a result were not given all of the information to make an informed decision as to whether they were suited to what the programme was offering and vice versa. Of the participants in this study, both Paulo and Lucas struggled the most with the pace of modified timeline, and failed several key assessments that slowed their progress through the levels. Park (2011) describes a phenomenon that sheds light on these modifications. In his analysis of the rise and fall of the TOEIC test as a test of choice for South Korean corporations, he notes that rising scores over time were not met with an acknowledgment that the language competence of applicants was increasing, but rather with the belief that the test was no longer suitable, as test takers had found a way to game the system. In this way a "recalibration of the linguistic market" (Park, 2011, p. 445) was met with suspicion, but at the same time, the benefits of this recalibration was enjoyed by the same corporations, who paradoxically declined to acknowledge that this was the case. A similar logic appears to be at work with these language learning programme modifications, or *recalibration of the curricular demands*, in that the necessary performance benchmarks were altered, but there was not enough acknowledgment in the wider CSF programme that these

alterations may have negative effects for the students. Instead shortcomings in performance were ultimately attributed to the students themselves, in a process of *responsibilization* (Davies, 2006) that was further naturalized in the comments made by CAPES to the media that a certain number of failures are inevitable due to the competitive nature any programme (Bolsistas do Ciência sem Fronteiras, 2014; Domínio de segunda língua, 2014).

Throughout my interviews with the students – in particular with Lucas, Daniel and Jessica, all three of whom studied English at more than one language institute here in Canada – their accounts of daily life and topics of study in these classrooms all revealed them grappling with norms for spoken English for use, as well as with different approaches to language learning. In my fieldwork attending a number of their classes at Metropolitan I also observed these phenomena. While pronunciation received minimal coverage overall in the English programme at Metropolitan, towards the end of their time there, students in the upper levels were able to choose a course on pronunciation from a larger selection of elective courses. Of the focal participants in this study, Bruna, Daniel, Clara, Jessica, Ana and Thiago all selected this course and I had the opportunity of observing them in the classroom on a number of occasions. It was in this context that the *privileging of local linguistic norms* as presented in the paradigmatic narrative as discussed above reappeared. This class took the students through a range of pronunciation and discourse features including word stress, rhythm, pausing and linking, with the instructor stressing the important of reproducing local native speaker norms as an essential requirement for communication with these native speakers. While there was a certain amount of focus on hearing and identifying these features, the primary aim, on which

they were assessed, was the accurate reproduction of these linguistic features, with, for example, the teacher not accepting substitutions of /f/ for /v/ or /s/ for /th/ sounds (FN: 2014-03-31). What appeared to be absent from this pronunciation course was any discussion of English as a lingua franca in higher education and elsewhere for use among both native and non-native speakers, or of any strategies for ensuring successful communication in these types of encounters (Jenkins, 2011, 2014). Lucas reported on a similar course he was required to take at Garden University, where the object was, in his words "to help us sound more like Canadians" (Lucas, 2014-09-22: 46:23).

Lucas and Daniel also complained that at Metropolitan and subsequently at language institutes at Garden and Lake City universities respectively they felt constrained by the *lack of integration or direct connection between the content material of upper level EAP programming and the content of their subsequent academic courses of study*. Lucas reported fighting with one instructor over his choice of topic for a research paper, with the instructor wanting him to write on a more general topic, rather than the specialized paper he wrote for an imagined professor in his field. Relatedly, Daniel spoke approvingly of being required to audit lectures in academic courses and prepare reports on them for his English instructor, but grumbled that the only courses that they were allowed to attend were in the social sciences and humanities, and this not in STEM areas, requiring him to learn vocabulary he did not see as relevant for his own course of study and future (Daniel, 2014-11-05: 21:44). One of the instructors from Metropolitan I spoke with made a similar point:

Excerpt 8.1

> I had several students who were biology majors who found this was a
>
> tedious exercise. It was a waste of their time to sit through a lecture that
>
> had no connection to their major. "Why are you wasting my time learning
>
> about […] when I need to learn terminology that is relevant to my major
>
> to help me succeed when I start in my programme?" And I think that was
>
> really valid because they called us out on that. Maybe they shouldn't have
>
> been streamlined into this general programme. Maybe they should have
>
> focused on specifics (2014-07-15: 26:05).

Lucas and Daniel were also vocal about what they saw as an

overemphasis on rote learning of grammar and the privileging of the assessment

of grammatical accuracy rather than on communication. Daniel in particular

resented having to continue English language studies in EAP at Lake City, when

he considered that he had already learned all the "rules" of English grammar,

and all that was left for him to accomplish was mastery through practice in

authentic situations, echoing the discourses of *immersion* as a key site of *natural*

language learning as mentioned above. Yet these opinions were not shared by all

of the students. In contrast, Jessica enjoyed her time in the language institute at

Prairie precisely because she felt more attention was given to grammar, and there

were aspects of the grammar that she wanted to consider more closely and

explicitly. She attributed this preference to her personal learning style, and

explained that as it was easier for her, it helped her confidence as a learner as

well.

My reason for relating these preferences or arguments made by the

students for or against a curricular focus on grammar or a greater integration of

language and content is not to wade into debate about the merits or effectiveness of EAP as a branch of English for specific purposes (ESP) versus, for example, sheltered content instruction or recent European approaches to content and language integrated learning (CLIL), or even more generally the communicative approach to language teaching (e.g., Benesch, 2001; Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2014; Fortanet-Gómez, 2013; Hyland, 2006; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). Instead, I merely wish to highlight that decisions to implement (or not) approaches such as CLIL are acts of policy, which within recent literature from Europe in particular are frequently connected directly to institutional, national and supranational rationales and objectives for increasing multilingualism (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013). The case of CSF students in Canada is slightly different, given the fact that the host institutions are not situated in the students' country of origin, and as a result are embedded within an arguably different set and context of national objectives. However, the decision was made to stream the members of the Portugal cohort through a slightly adapted version of general EAP at Metropolitan, rather than piloting a STEM-focused EAP curriculum for these students. This was despite the fact that, as the instructor quoted above related to me at a later point in our conversation, this had been done in the past with different specialized science-based scholarship programmes from other countries given the fact that the broad EAP programme at Metropolitan favors social sciences and the humanities as the target fields, and the five paragraph essay as a central genre or target text form. The same instructor went on to suggest that if Canada, or Metropolitan specifically hoped to maintain a steady stream of students such as those in the Portugal cohort, "we will have to put more money

into developing programmes and curriculum that will keep the students here"
(2014-07-15: 44:59).

A final element I note here of these students' time learning English at
Metropolitan is related to Foucault's inclusion of architectural forms in the
composition of governmental assemblages. In the case of these students, both the
physical and spatial conditions (i.e., the location of the language institute within
the Metropolitan campus) as well as the student body composition of the classes
in the institute created conditions that limited their *exposure to what they referred
often throughout the interviews as "real Canadians" or "Canadian students"*. Although
housed on the campus of Metropolitan University, students attending the
language institute are not necessarily official students of Metropolitan. This was
the case with the students in the Portugal cohort, who did not have letters of
conditional acceptance to the university. Located in the basement of a building
on the edge of campus away from other buildings where Metropolitan students
in STEM programmes study, the institute constrained their access to potential
future peers in their field. As a result, the colleagues and friends that the
members of the Portugal cohort reported making during their time spent at
Metropolitan (and for Lucas, Daniel and Jessica at their subsequent language
training placements) were overwhelmingly fellow international students at the
language institute, rather than members of the general population of the
university.

There are several implications resulting from these conditions. As Clara
noted in perhaps the greatest detail, student access was limited when it came to
"Canadians", so that the only "real Canadians" they considered that they had
regular contact with during these months were their teachers, and for the

participants in this study, myself, the researcher. While Clara characterized this exclusion as a drawback of the programme, she was however quick to articulate the corollary positive effects of intercultural exposure and exchange that took place with the other international students enrolled at the language institute at the same time. Along with several other participants, she described this daily contact with students from Turkey, Russia, China, Japan and Saudi Arabia as a valuable cultural experience that greatly expanded her personal horizons and helped to explode stereotypes and discourses which she had previously acquired from popular culture growing up back home in Brazil. In addition, her exposure to this cultural diversity encouraged her to think more generally about bilingualism and biculturalism/multilingualism and multiculturalism as an aspirational idea in terms of citizenship, which she mused of bringing home to Brazil. Despite the fact that that these ideas were not a priority of the programme, the conditions at the institute at Metropolitan created an opportunity for these sociocultural reflections, and for her to begin to engage with *discourses of cosmopolitan or transnational belonging and participation* as "an attitude or disposition" (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 10).

Yet beyond these favorable representations of multicultural and linguistic diversity among international students is the question of what exactly the students meant when they lamented that at the language institutes at Metropolitan and elsewhere they had limited access to "real Canadians" as well as who exactly they were referring to with phrases such as these. Thiago gave an explicit explanation when asked for clarification, stating that he was referring to "English native speakers" (Thiago, 2014-12-05: 32:33). This idea or *discourse of nativeness* and its linkage with that of national belonging sheds light on some of

the discursive representations both of nation and of language that that students are drawing on with comments such as these. Shuck (2006) describes how language intersects with race through this notion of nativeness, creating "an Us-versus-them division of the linguistic world in which native and nonnative speakers of a language are thought to be mutually exclusive, uncontested and identifiable groups" (p. 260). Furthermore, she argues that the linkages between social categories such as language, nationality or race are often "so tightly linked that one category of social differentiation comes to stand for another" (Shuck, 2006, p. 263). Looking through this lens, the students' repeated invocation of "real Canadians" thus indexes a number of social features, including most essentially, whiteness, and nativeness in English (see also, Kubota & Lin, 2006). Nativeness in English also often clusters with notions of the authenticity of *local norms*, in the sense that native speakers produce correct, accurate, or normatively preferred natural forms of the language such as those championed in the paradigmatic narrative.

Shuck's (2006) study describes how the native/nonnative dichotomy is at times so deeply entrenched in US American native speakers in that it remains in place, even if the labels are reversed, as is the case in her example of two students attributing blame for communicative difficulties in Spanish on a trip to Mexico on native Spanish speakers, who they reported as having incomprehensible accents. Interestingly, Clara and Jessica both made similar observations about speaking with "real Canadians" later on in their time in Canada, but rather than expressing the chauvinism or cultural superiority of the students in Shuck's study, they appeared also to be appealing to a notion of accommodation. Clara described the international students at the language institute using a way of

speaking involving limited slang, appropriate speed and attention to one's interlocutor as something she appreciated from her time there, and identified it as a practice that she thought ought to be applied elsewhere (Clara, 2014-06-02: 40:08). In this way, while retaining much of the idea of a native/nonnative dichotomy, she also seems to be hinting at values not unlike those championed by advocates of lingua franca approaches to English (e.g., Jenkins, 2014). To conclude, focusing on the particular architectural or physical features of this space provides insight into a number of norm-based or regulatory ways of thinking about language and its speakers that these students both brought with them and acquired in their time at the language institute at Metropolitan.

TOEFL tests taking and the admissions process. Perhaps one of the most powerful and overt administrative measures directed at the student members of the Portugal cohort was the use of TOEFL standardized tests. These test functioned as a key mechanism of LPP, and students were required to write these tests at two different times: they first wrote the TOEFL PBT test as a diagnostic prior to coming to Canada, and subsequently wrote the iBT test after being in the country for between four to seven months, depending on the student. Shohamy (2006) describes tests such as these as an example of "easy policy implementation" in that they present a seemingly effective means of demonstrating whether or not a subject has particular qualities, and perhaps most importantly, "they make use of "objective" formats that make tests seem reliable and trustworthy" (p. 102). Part of this claim to *objectivity* is based on the quantification of these particular qualities, and this drive towards *enumeration* produced a number of important effects on this aspect of the CSF programme. Test scores functioned as a mechanism for narrowing criteria, describing these

students in terms of both what they had achieved in their language learning up to the point that they took the test for a second time, and also by simplifying the selection processes at Canadian universities in terms of who would be granted entrance to academic programming, and who would be denied. Indeed, as recounted in chapter 4, performance on the TOEFL iBT became a crucial measure of worthiness or adequate performance in both the media and in much of the commentary provided to the public by leading administrators and assessors of the programme in Brazil. As a result of this narrowing process, various questionable aspects of the testing process were downplayed. A number of the students at Metropolitan complained to me that the very fact that they were only permitted to write this test and not to choose another test such as IELTS or participate in a placement interview, resulted in their assessment experience not being comparable to those students who had been placed in other language institutes and universities in Canada. But perhaps the most problematic aspect of the language testing mechanism as it was applied to these students was the lack of *transparency* and *fairness* in terms of both scheduling and the amount of time provided for preparation, as well as how these scores were ultimately used to determine their subsequent placements. As I described in chapters 6 and 7, students were given varying degrees of short notice that they would be writing the TOEFL iBT, and as a result had very little time to prepare for these test. Given the fact that students writing standardized tests for admissions purposes typically prepare for several months or longer, taking preparatory courses and working from test preparation literature tailored to the particular test, in this timing they were placed at a considerable disadvantage. Inexplicably, students from different levels at the language institute at Metropolitan were required to

write the test in a rough sequence beginning with those in the lower levels. This would have an effect of placing those students at an additional disadvantage to those who had already progressed farther through the levels in the institute.

By relying on the apparent objectivity of these test scores, administrators of the programme also tapped into a number of other discourses that had been circulating throughout it. The notions of *competitiveness* and *entrepreneurship* that had initially been raised in relation to STEM education, in efforts to revolutionize the education system in Brazil in terms of international competition (Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g), were now inflecting the discussion about language testing for individual student scholarship recipients. Erasing, or leveling out variations in the preparation for and experience of writing these tests allowed them to be discussed in terms of *competition*, and *responsibilization* (Davies, 2006; Park, 2010). As a result, any failure to succeed was thus offloaded onto the students themselves, without accounting for the questionable conditions under which the test scores had been acquired.

Academic studies in Canada: Conditions and opportunities for language use. The students in this study who successfully progressed to academic studies in Canada were subsequently exposed to a range of *conditions* created by the CSF programme and the institutions they attended, through both the limited *strategies* employed in those spaces in terms of accommodations and assistance for international students, as well as through Canadian classroom culture more generally. These conditions and strategies would have considerable effects on their developing subjectivities as recent and ongoing language learners, and also as undergraduates in STEM areas of study.

Although all of the students in this group reported of frustrations with class selection and access, Clara and Thiago were the most vocal in explaining the difficulties they had with both being admitted into classes that were relevant to them and their majors at home, and also in terms of the numbers of courses they were required to take. As Thiago explained in his case, the CSF programme administrators at CAPES required him to take one more course per semester than his corresponding department at Metropolitan recommended. Due to the lateness in which he was notified of his offer of acceptance at the university, not only was he required to take more courses than were advisable, in addition, the only courses that were available to him were from upper years. While registering he tried to explain this predicament to administrators at Metropolitan and CAPES, as he was concerned that this *heavy high-level course load* would be too much of a challenge for him as his first experience studying in English; however, he was not granted an exception by either, which ultimately resulted in failing grades on his transcript (Thiago, 2014-10-10: 1:38).

In Clara's experience at Garden University, she found herself to be not permitted to enroll in any classes related specifically to her field, and was instead forced to choose from a short list of entry level/first-year courses in general topics in her field, many of which she had already taken at her home university. She had initially hoped to use these classes as an opportunity to further practice her developing English language skills, but found that compared to the classes at the language institute, undergraduate lectures in lower-level courses in Canada provided her with *few opportunities to speak* or otherwise practice skills other than listening and reading. As she described in Excerpt 7.9, "When I was studying English, speaking English in class because the instructors encouraged us to do

this. But now you just sit in your chair and that's it. Nobody talks" (Clara, 2014-05-16: 13:21). Jessica, Fernanda and Daniel all reported similar experiences, recounting their days on campus as involving a considerable amount of isolation with little opportunities for classroom participation either due to structural design, or to their own personal comfort levels or shyness. Fernanda went so far as to joke that her English began deteriorating the moment she left the language institute (Fernanda, 2014-09-18: 0:35). Unsurprisingly, as the year progressed her and I spoke in Portuguese more frequently during our interviews (although this could also have been due to my own increasing proficiency in the language).

In particular, the limited opportunity to speak in classes, and limited contact with professors and with other student peers was the most frequently noted difference between undergraduate study in Canada and Brazil by the participants in this study. While this difference was also described in the paradigmatic narrative (e.g., Chen, 2014; UBC Prospective Undergraduates, 2012) in that context it was promoted as a freedom rather than a liability, granting students a greater opportunity to tailor their experience independently and responsibilizing them to take charge of their own learning.

Cancelled internships, and language outside the classroom. Initial descriptions of the programme and policy declarations promoted the internship portion of the sojourn as an important means for students to engage with research and technological innovation in their respective fields. In particular, based on the experience of previous cohorts, the paradigmatic narrative presented the internship portion of the sojourn as an integral site for students to also develop their English language skills. It repeatedly identifies these workplaces as key *sites for naturalistic acquisition of local norms such as slang and*

local interactional cues (Correa, 2013; Silveira, 2013). Based in part on these two qualities (as sites for the acquisition of STEM knowledge and for language learning), a number of the voices in the paradigmatic narrative described the internship as the best and most important part of the study abroad experience. The students in this study who were affected by the internship cancellation all echoed the first of these two claims, but not surprisingly, since they did not have their own internships and thus did not experience their day-to-day activities, did not remark on internships as sites of language learning and development. The only student who did secure an approximation of an internship on his own terms was Lucas; however, the work that he did was largely solitary, so his circumstances did not provide him with significant access to the *local norms* described favorably in the paradigmatic narrative.

Although the internship portion of their sojourns in Canada was cancelled, the student members of the Portugal cohort ostensibly still had plenty of options when it came to exposing themselves to and taking advantage of opportunities to practice their English with members of the local speech community in other sorts of spaces outside of the classroom. Returning to Spolsky's (2004) tripartite conceptualization of language policy, he refers to the language practices of a speech community as "the habitual pattern of selecting among varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (p. 5). These practices thus contribute to the policy assemblage in exposing the students to a particular repertoire, and providing them with both the opportunity to receive input as well as work towards joining the speech community. However, as was the case with so many other aspects of the sojourn for these students, the speech communities they were exposed to were not those they anticipated prior to

departure. As a result, they ended up adapting their practices and in some cases changing their perceptions. In the section that follows I focus on language practices as de facto language policies affecting the students' experience in living spaces.

One aspect of the international student experience that can have considerable impact both on the nature and success of the second language learning process is lodging (Kinginger, 2009). International students are typically houses in residential facilities, independent shared apartments or houses, or on a homestay with a host family. In the case of the students in the Portugal cohort, given their status as students at the language institute at Metropolitan, and also given the accelerated timeline of their placement processes, residential facilities were not an available option for them. Of the core four participants in this study, Bruna, Lucas and Clara all chose to live in a homestay during their time at Metropolitan. Thiago lived in a house rented with a number of other students from the same cohort. Of the supplementary participants, Daniel and Fernanda began their sojourns living with a host family, Paulo lived in a rooming house with a shared bathroom with a dozen other international students and Ana and Jessica lived in houses shared with other Brazilians.

In my initial meetings with them, the students described their various rationales for their respective lodging choices. Most commonly cited with the opportunity for exposure to English, as Clara explained: "I chose to live in a homestay to try to improve my English faster" (Clara, 2014-02-06: 2:26). When Jessica moved from her shared house to a homestay at the end of the first semester, she gave a similar explanation: "The most important reason is the English improvement" (Jessica, 2014-02-07: 13:13). However, even looking at this

small group of students, their experiences on homestays were quite diverse. Perhaps the most extreme was the case of Lucas, who lived in a homestay in name only, where in practice the host family rented half of a duplex to international students and lived by themselves in the other half, having only limited and infrequent contact with their tenants. Bruna also reported that she had little contact with her host parents, and spent the majority of her time at home in her room alone. Clara described a similar experience.

The identification of race and linguistic background was a common feature in the students' descriptions of their host families, with almost all of them staying with first generation immigrant families in Canada. In these accounts, the host families did not quality as "*real Canadians*" or expert users of *local norms* as per the racial and linguistic categorization described above. Yet in contrast to those discussions of the absence of "real Canadians" in the language institute at Metropolitan, on the homestay this was not necessarily identified as a key source of the problems or shortcomings in terms of English exposure and learning, both for those students who were disappointed by their experiences and those who reported more positively. Jessica, for example, described the cultural and linguistic background of her host parents as follows:

Excerpt 8.2

> They are from Trinidad and Tobago and they speak a strange kind of English. But I practice my English and they are very friendly and it's a family environment. It makes me comfortable there. They are vegetarians and I am too. It has been a very good experience. (Jessica, 2014-02-07: 13:32).

This mention of food was also a common topic among my participants living on homestays, and negotiating different diets and food preferences often shows up in the literature on homestays as well (Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002). In this case it is also interesting to note that although Jessica found their English 'strange", this was superseded by her social comfort in a friendly family environment where, as per the example she gave, the food served matched her own preferences. This is perhaps a demonstration of the limits that can be placed on the importance of a particular desire for language learning, which has a lower hierarchy on a ranking of basic needs.

Those students who chose to live on their own or with other CSF students similarly explained their choices in terms of emotions and comfort. For Thiago, the prospect of living in a homestay worried him for several reasons including his self-perception and imagined self-consciousness practicing his limited English on arrival.

Excerpt 8.3

> I'm a very affective person. I don't like to be alone and I thought that if I lived in a homestay I'd be very very lonely. And I didn't know how to speak very well so I wouldn't have conversation with the family (Thiago, 2014-06-04: 11:54)

As cited in Excerpt 7.10, Ana explained that "in the end of the day I don't want to speak English anymore", and as a result she deliberately chose to live with fellow Brazilians for social and reasons as well as for her own personal comfort.

Yet because of the complexities involved in the dynamism of the programme, which resulted in only several of these students remaining at Metropolitan University for the duration of their studies in Canada, most of

those that were not recalled to Brazil were required to move to different cities or towns. At this phase of the programme many chose to live with fellow Brazilians rather than find a new homestay, often explaining that the uncertainties of the programme were taking a toll on them emotionally and socially, and they were comforted by being close to their fellow nationals.

These choices of access to English in both homestays and shared accommodations often came with unexpected outcomes in both cases. While Bruna and Clara reported minimal contact with their host parents, despite their initial plans for the home to be a key site of language learning, others such as Lucas and Daniel described subsequent shared accommodations with other international students, contrary to their prior imaginings of them, as providing a constant opportunity to practice speaking English, while also enabling them to tap into similar *discourses of cosmopolitan or transnational belonging and participation* as described in Clara's experiences above.

One way to understand these language practices connected to living spaces as instantiations of policy is to look at them through the lens of the emerging subfield of family language policy (e.g., King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Spolsky, 2012). Researchers in this area have begun to explore ways in which parents and other members of extended families engage in explicit and overt language planning in terms of language use in the home, including "how parental language ideologies inform the application, realization, and negotiation of family language policies over time as well as the short- and long-term impact of such policies on child language outcomes" (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 909). Indeed, the homestay experience is overtly designated as a key space for international student second language learning, and many host families and

homestay booking agencies engage in explicit policy work in regards to which languages are permitted to be spoken in living spaces, by taking care to place students in homes where the host family does not speak the same language as the student, and making language rules and prohibitions in cases where several students from the same origin country live together. But this LPP work is not limited to the host families and these booking agents. In choosing to live in one kind of space or another the students engage in "personal language policy" in which they actively seek out or avoid opportunities to increase their English use (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006, p. 03.13). The choice to live in a particular space for an extended duration of time is not a decision that is necessarily entered into lightly, and as such typically requires deliberation and conscious engagement in a similar manner to larger scale LPP, albeit on a personal level.

Before and after in Brazil. In this final subsection section I take a closer look at the features of the assemblage related to English language learning and use in Brazil both prior to the students' departure for Canada, and subsequent to it, exploring the ways in which they hope to mobilize English in their future lives and careers.

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges for the student members of the Portugal cohort is the fact that they arrived in Canada with proficiency levels in English near to those of absolute beginners. Yet this was despite the fact that the majority of them had been enrolled in English as a foreign language classes from a very young age back home in Brazil. Several features of these classes which impeded their progress were identified by nearly all of them, with the notion that language learning as they had previously experienced it had been limited to memorizing verb paradigms of 'to be' and 'to do' repeated so often that it

became something of a discourse feature in our conversations, where the simple phrase 'verb to be' indexed a broad range of shortcomings of their English language classes to date which I was supposed to understand without a full description of these issues. Coming in a close second in terms of frequency were complaints about a focus on translation with little or no speaking and listening taking place. Thiago perhaps took the strongest line here, arguing that his public school English language curriculum simply reset and started from the beginning with each new school year, with no appearance of progress or change over a multi-year span. Although there appears to be very little literature in either English or Portuguese which critiques or analyzes the quality and delivery of English language instruction in Brazil (compared to other countries such as South Korea or Japan), what literature that does exist echoes these claims made by the CSF participants in this study, noting an overemphasis on reading and grammar translation at the expense of all other skills, as well as serious issues in terms of teacher training and qualifications, and more general budgetary constraints in the public system (Bohn, 2003; Diniz de Figueiredo, 2014).

Given this history, which echoes the *neglect* of language training initially by the programme designers noted above, it is unsurprising that the students arrived in Canada in many cases at a serious linguistic disadvantage compared to many of their international peers from other sending nations. This aspect of their history as language learners can thus be characterized as a pre-existing policy condition that had lasting impact on both the CSF programme for its various managers, who had to frequently account for and adapt the programme to address this shortcoming, as well as on the experiences of the students themselves.

Jumping to the end of their time in Canada, on returning to Brazil the students continued to have their actions assessed and examined by means of propositions and discourses circulating in the popular media and beyond. In addition, despite the drastic changes that had been made to the programme in the case of their cohort and in some cases, extreme divergence from the originally intended outcomes, they themselves endeavored to make sense of their time abroad in terms of what they had acquired and were now expected to or able to do as Brazilian subjects. To do this they drew on a number of discourses, statements and other notions that had been circulating through the programme since its inception, as well as from other external sources.

For Bruna and Paulo and other students who had been recalled to Brazil early, on their return they found themselves confronted by a hostile public in the newspapers and on social media, where a dominant narrative circulated that they had failed to learn English due to laziness, lack of motivation and other individual factors, despite the apparent provision of ample opportunity and support to do so. *Individual responsibility* in the face of a *challenging* yet supposedly achievable task thus solidified as a key explanation for what had happened in their cases, and they tried, for the most part unsuccessfully, to circulate and popularize their own version of events as an alternate narrative.

Despite not being explicitly described or encouraged in either the policy literature on the CSF programme or through the voices in the paradigmatic narrative, the majority of the students in this study spoke of a desire to study abroad again in the future, and of completing a Master's or Doctoral degree in English at a foreign university. Bruna and Lucas described that having studied abroad a first time and acquiring a solid foundation in terms of learning English,

they now had the experience necessary to succeed. Thiago added to this discussion his observations of how he had learned to better understand the differences between classroom dynamics and university cultures in Canada and Brazil. However, even though a desire for these students to repeat their study abroad experience was not discussed in the policy documents and other reports on the programme that I have examined here, it is interesting how the terms in which the programme was initially designed are carried over into these speculations about the future. Thus, Lucas's tentative plans to complete his Masters abroad are entirely congruent with the objective encouraged in the paradigmatic narrative of acquiring new knowledge and technologies and bringing them back to Brazil for both his own career plans, and for the benefit of the Brazilian social collective. When I heard these students making these comments, I couldn't help but think that what they were saying is that they wanted to have a second chance to do their sojourn right, as it was initially designed, and producing those desired outcomes. In this way their future desires and the rationales behind them are remarkably congruent with those of the programme that they had just completed.

Yet several of the participants also made comments that diverged from these more instrumental STEM-oriented objectives. In particular Clara, spoke again of the experience in terms of *cosmopolitan or transnational belonging* and described a desire to bring this new (to her) way of thinking back to Brazil. She was impressed by her exposure to a different culture and language in a context that she perceived to be a cultural and linguistic plurality, and argued that it would be beneficial for Brazil to move towards these ideals as well (Clara, 2014-06-02: 31:50). On a more personal level, Ana spoke of becoming a more

responsible and autonomous individual, and described her experience as a rite of passage, whereby she acquired a greater sense of her own independence. However, although these discourses or modes of perception did not emanate from this particular programme design, they have a long history in both academic and popular discussions of the benefits of study abroad and language learning abroad (Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2013; Kinginger, 2009, 2013). In this way they form part of a larger ensemble of ways of thinking about language and study abroad, or tacit discursive language policies embedded within the culture of study abroad, which these students took up or engaged with on their own.

A final cluster of components of the language policy assemblage within the CSF programme addresses the more instrumentalist and STEM-oriented functions of English in these students' lives after they return to Brazil. Throughout my conversations with them the students frequently spoke of the current position of English as a global language, both in relation to academics and academic publications, as well as to the hiring practices of multinational corporations in STEM fields. Expanding on statements made in the programme literature about the desire to increase the numbers of international recognized publications in science by Brazilian nationals (e.g., Ciência sem Fronteiras, n. d.g), with the implication being that these publications would ideally be done in English, the students explained they ways in which current knowledge and high quality research in their respective fields circulated in a global English speaking community. For example, Daniel clarified his perception that "as a programmer we have a lot of material on the internet is almost all in English. The good material is in English" (Daniel, 2014-02-07: 54:37) and Thiago, who studies in the

same field, echoed virtually the same sentiment: "because like all of my stuff, for example programming stuff, all about computers and these things is in English" (Thiago, 2014-12-05: 5:37). On her return to Brazil, as she began conducting her honors independent research project, Clara remarked that "When I try to bring articles about something, I try to bring international articles because they are more reliable […] my professors are used to reading international articles. Articles in English" (Clara, 2014-09-12: 15:53), making connections to both the tacit indexing of international as English and English as quality mentioned in the quote from Lillis and Curry above. In all of these types of comments, of which there were many, only Daniel showed an awareness of the process of publication in English by academics who come from countries where English is not a dominant language, or who do not typically write in English themselves.

Excerpt 8.4

> In our world the best researcher, the best articles are in English […] in India they may have an article that I want but I can't read the Indian language. But if it's a good article it will be translated for English (Daniel, 2014-03-21: 46:14)

Yet even in this acknowledgment of scholars from outside of the Anglosphere, he notes that their participation in the global academic community is contingent on the quality of their work, again buying into the discursive representation that English indexes quality.

Throughout all of my conversations with these students I tried to push them to say more about this global dominance of English; indeed, one of the things that I imagined when I embarked on this research project was that they would describe a complicated personal relationship with the English language,

especially considering the history of American hegemony in the region. Yet to my surprise, and despite my efforts they did not reveal to me any sort of critical stance vis-à-vis the global spread of English, and the potential inequality and unfairness it was leaving in its wake, nor did they express any concerns of the threat of English to other languages such as Portuguese. This last point perhaps indicates something about their age and lack of awareness of recent history in Brazil, as they are perhaps too young to remember that during their childhood a lively debate was fought in both the Brazilian media and federal government about precisely this –the spread of English within the country, and its potential dangers to the "purity" of Brazilian Portuguese (e.g., El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Diniz de Figueiredo, 2014; Massini-Cagliari, 2003; Rajagopalan, 2003, 2008).

Related to this seemingly noncritical acceptance of English as an important aspect of academics and academic publication in STEM fields is the notion of the role of language in the global STEM workplace. The paradigmatic narrative describes this role from a number of angles. From the perspective of private sector business interests in Brazil and Canada, interns and students with experience in the workplace in both countries play a key role in networking and expanding the market connections between the two countries (e.g., CBIE, 2013). On a more individual level, English is touted in the narrative as a means to open doors for recent graduates in the Brazilian job market, particularly for those students (such as Jessica) who hope to work for a large multinational company (e.g., Alunos Cearenses irão ao Canadá, 2014). The student participants in this this study largely agreed with these beliefs, which function as instantiations of a "*discourse of linguistic instrumentalism* (Wee, 2008), which underscores the usefulness of language skills in achieving utilitarian goals such as economic

development and social mobility" (Kubota, 2011, p. 248). Yet their understanding of this instrumentalism also took on an unexpected nuance. Ana and Daniel in particular problematized the assumption that this instrumentalism referred to the regular use of English by most employees in these workplaces. They instead considered their English proficiency as an essential feature of the interviewing and hiring process, but beyond this point, English - in particular in its spoken form - is rarely used below the level of management (Daniel, 2014-02-07: 56: 47). Ana adopted a strategic approach where, given the fact that she considered that she would only need enough English to stand out amongst her peers back home, she limited the effort that she made in her learning to ensure this *distinction*, but did not work hard beyond that, in contrast to the self-reports of most of the other participants in this study (Ana, 2014-04-10: 17:55).

LPP and Technologies of the Self

In the previous section I identified a number of the key features of the CSF governmental assemblage that functioned to conduct the actions of the student participants and promote the development of a particular type of subject. In this section I take a closer look at a smaller selection of features of this assemblage that can be characterized as technologies or practices of the self in that they focus in particular on how the students:

> Effect[ed] by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1997a, p. 225).

Technologies of the self remain an underexplored facet of governmental assemblages that provide valuable insight into the practices and perceptions of the subjects directed inward, towards their self-conduct. While these practices have been often understood as a gentler means of coercive government at a distance, whereby forms of subjectivity are developed in a manner "compatible with dominant practices, institutions and beliefs" (Urciuoli, 2008, p. 215), other scholars have recognized them as rich sites of agency and resistance to dominant norms (e.g., Allen, 2011; Bevir, 1999; Davidson, 2011). Yet it remains important to recognize the limits on these acts as instances of counter-conduct (Davidson, 2011) to dominant norms, as they do not occupy a position of exteriority to the power relations of the governmental assemblage, but rather are developed and performed within the wiggle room that is permitted by other modes of conduct. As Brady (2007) explains, the concept of technologies of the self in relation to Australian income support policy:

> Allows us as researchers to ask if some programmes incorporate an imagining building up of what could be, and a rejection of normalizing and totalizing relations to oneself […] without losing the important insight that such programmes may involve practices of normalization and discipline" (p. 189).

In what follows I revisit each of the four focal participants' narratives, and highlight a number of those technologies and/or practices whereby the students appear to reject the normalizing tendencies of the programme, while at the same time also bearing in mind the larger discursive, historical and social contexts within which these practices are situated.

Bruna. As subjects who were the least successful of all the students in this study of achieving a high enough score of the TOEFL iBT test to gain admission to an academic programme in Canada (despite in Bruna's case only scoring three points below Lucas, who was successfully placed), Bruna and Paulo had their sojourn cut short, and were recalled to Brazil after eight months of language training. Unsurprisingly, these two students appear to also have been the least successful in challenging the language policy requirements that were pressed on them in the form of the curriculum at the language institute at Metropolitan. Their emotional and practical responses to their circumstances as explored in chapter 6 reveal a consistent scarcity of wiggle room on their part in terms their capacities to push back against the methods of the programme. While this lack of response can certainly be traced back at least in part to their own dispositions as well as to their individual learning styles, they were also constrained in terms of the responses that were available to them. As Brady notes: "creative practices of self-constitution need to draw upon material that is already available within one's own society" (2007, p. 200). Given their placement in the lower levels and in Paulo's case the struggle to advance through the accelerated curriculum, and as students who wrote the TOEFL iBT test prior to many of their peers, they were limited in terms of what they could do to affect change in their circumstances. In an explanation of the complexity and dynamism of power relations, Foucault explains that:

> One sometimes encounters what may be called situations or states of
> domination in which the power relations, instead of being mobile,
> allowing the various participants to adopt strategies modifying them,
> remain blocked, frozen […] in such a state, it is certain that practices of

> freedom do not exist or exist only unilaterally or are extremely
>
> constrained and limited (1997b, p. 283).

This notion of blockage appropriately describes the situation Bruna and Paulo found themselves within, and even on their return to Brazil, they reported having little luck in revising and challenging the media narratives of language policy which presented them as lazy and as not having given their best efforts while studying abroad.

Lucas. The first eight months of Lucas' sojourn closely resembled those of Bruna and Lucas, with the exception that he was scheduled by CAPES to write the TOEFL iBT over a month after they did, in effect giving him an extra month of English study and time in country prior to his sitting for the test. Similarly subject to the whims of the programme, he saw himself accepted into academics at Metropolitan, had this letter of acceptance subsequently rescinded several weeks later, and was only offered a conditional acceptance at Garden University several months after that, contingent on him completing additional English study.

It was at Garden that Lucas began to consistently push back against the regulating language policy frameworks of the programme that he was being pressured to conform with. Frustrated to find himself in what he considered to be remedial English classes covering what he had already studied at Metropolitan, he repeatedly challenged his instructor, leading to the showdown described in chapter 6 over the appropriacy of the topic he had selected for an essay. Yet throughout these times of friction with this instructor it is interesting to note that he considered himself to be behaving within the limits of acceptable

behavior, and he described his relationship with the instructor to me in a way that suggested that he considered them to be on equal footing.

Excerpt 8.5

> In my view we have kind of the personality don't match, so OK "I don't like this student", "I don't like this professor", this kind of thing. But we tried to be polite and respectful about this point" (Lucas, 2014-09-22: 8:24)

In fact, many of Lucas's other descriptions of his actions while at Garden University also reflect this strong sense of footing, and his own self-perception of his entitlement to be there, and to advocate and negotiate for himself. When he was initially denied acceptance to courses in the Department of Health Sciences he met with administrators and argued his case, and was ultimately permitted to access those courses. Similarly, when he discovered the internship was cancelled he relentlessly sought out his own opportunities, securing a position as a research assistant for a professor in his department. Of all the students in this study, he was also the only one who submitted a proposal for a poster at a conference in his field, was accepted, and successfully attended the conference alone in a city several hours away from where he was living in Canada at the time. These practices all demonstrate Lucas's ability to push back against the role as a student that was on offer to him from the programme, and take advantage of what he considered to be valuable experiences that being in Canada presented for him.

Clara. Also pushing back against the cancellation of the internship, Clara likewise endeavored to seek one out on her own. Although she did not have the same success as Lucas, she was able to visit the medical device manufacturing facility of a company that she had known before she came to Canada. In this way

she was able to approximate at least a small portion of the internship experience that she had been denied.

Perhaps the most significant challenge or act of resistance to the programme and what it offered after moving through numerous revisions was the decision made by Clara, Ana and a number of other members of the Portugal cohort to end their sojourns early and return home. Citing the limits on courses available to them at their respective universities in Canada, as well as the fact that they had not expected to spend the bulk of their time here studying English, Clara and Ana requested that CAPES allow them to return to Brazil after the summer semester, rather than stay on for one more semester until the December holidays. Ana described her rationale to me in detail, citing that she had already learned enough English to achieve her goal of distinguishing herself in a competitive job market. In addition, she reported that while here in Canada, she had strategically engaged with English only as much as she felt she needed, ignoring the advice of her instructors and more generally circulating discourses about the benefits of immersion. She explained that she instead decided when and where she would practice her English, and as a result chose to surround herself with a group of Brazilian friends and housemates at almost all hours outside of the classroom (Excerpt 7.10).

Thiago. Of the four different student types represented in this dissertation, based on his reports of his own actions and the reasoning behind them, Thiago appears to have been the most proactive in challenging what he perceived to be limitations of the programme, and in confidently advocating for himself. Beginning prior to his departure, when he received his final notification that he had been accepted to the programme, Thiago hired a private tutor to help

him with his 'survival English' and met with this tutor almost daily for several weeks. His plan was for this to kick-start his language learning after years of *neglect* and at best cursory attention. While Bruna and Lucas also engaged in predeparture language learning, for financial and other reasons both opted for more traditional approaches to second language learning in Brazil, enrolling in pre-existing classes at private language schools. Bruna reported that while these classes 'warmed her up' for her stay in Canada, she was disappointed that they drew from the same grammar-focused methodology and approach she had encountered in the public school system. In contrast to her experience, Thiago explained that by hiring a tutor he was able to receive one-on-one attention tailored to his specific needs and his desire to work on his speaking and listening rather than reading. Thiago was also the only student in this study who lobbied to CBIE and CAPE to be placed at his preferred destination, Kings University, although he was ultimately unsuccessful in achieving this result.

Describing his time at the language institute at Metropolitan, Thiago gave an account of himself working hard in the evening and weekends not only at assigned homework, but also using language learning materials he was collecting from the internet and other sources. This home study reached what was perhaps its peak during the winter semester of 2014, when other students began to receive notification that they would be writing the TOEFL iBT exam. Without receiving a notification of his own, Thiago began studying specifically for this test as well, collecting test preparation materials from the language institute study lab and the university library and implementing an intensive schedule of preparatory measures.

After successfully securing a placement at Metropolitan (despite his continued efforts lobbying CBIE for a transfer to Kings University) Thiago found himself in the position of being required by the programme to take three upper level courses in the summer semester, while the department recommended a maximum of two. Although he was not able to convince CAPES to allow him to take a reduced course load as per this recommendation, he ultimately followed the advice of one of his professors, focusing all of his attention on one course to ensure that he received a passing grade in at least one of the three.

Technologies of the self as practices within broader discursive frames. As I demonstrated in greater detail in chapters 6 and 7, throughout these students' accounts of how they engaged with the streaming and norm-promoting tendencies of various phases of the programme, their narratives all feature multiple occasions in which they describe themselves mobilizing particular practices of the self in order to achieve their desired ends. However, it is important to understand that these practices can often only be understood as made possible and articulated by the discourses and regulations of a much broader frame of reference. As noted above, these practices and the decisions to employ them in the context of the CSF programme do not emerge from a place of absolute autonomy within the individual, but rather are conditioned and draw from material available within the wider social context and the scope of their trajectories (Brady, 2007). In other words, while several of their choices appear on the surface to challenge or otherwise push against the regulations of the programme (even if in spirit they are congruent with some of the earlier rationales of the programme), they are ultimately made permissible and

constrained by a larger-scale set of norm-promoting measures and recommendations.

In this way, although Lucas's confrontations with his instructors at the language institute at Garden University appear on the surface to challenge the methodologies and approaches to language learning preferred and employed in that particular space, they are also simultaneously acts in agreement with other discourses circulating throughout the larger CSF policy assemblage. In particular, while these confrontations involve challenging the authority of his instructor, they also suggest his adherence to the *conduit* approach to language perpetuated by CAPES and in much of the Brazilian policy and media discourse. It can likewise be argued that his resistance to continued language study (alongside Daniel and several other students) follows through with the *obstacle* perception of English noted previously. In a similar manner, while Lucas's search for and procurement of a research assistant placement, as well as his submission and presentation of a poster at a conference go above and beyond what the various agents and administrators coordinating the programme prepared for or authorized for members of the Portugal cohort, his seeking out of these opportunities represents a logical follow through of the initial rationales for the programme. Not only was it entirely in keeping with these rationales, it also follows the model trajectory through the programme provided in the paradigmatic narrative.

Earlier I characterized Clara and Ana's decisions to quit their sojourns prematurely as a significant challenge to the programme; however, I should be clear here that this decision has less to do with disagreeing with the rationales behind the programme as initially laid out by its designers and administrators in

Brazil and Canada, and more to do with problems at the implementational level. There is a certain irony that, in particular in Clara's case, her decision to leave the programme is based on it not being successful in what it had purported to provide, namely, the internship, access to relevant academic knowledge in her field, and the possibility of networking and making connections with professors, including the decidedly rare yet possible opportunity of being a contributing author in an academic publication. Ana's reaction draws more from the *language as obstacle* and *linguistic instrumentalism* discourses, in that finding herself to have studied English for almost a year, she felt she had put in a sufficient amount of effort, i.e., surmounted a significant obstacle, in order to achieve what she characterized as her principle of objective for the programme. This was to improve her English to a sufficient degree that it would make her a valuable candidate in the Brazilian job market. In both of these cases then, their decisions to leave the programme should perhaps not be read as a rejection of its stated aims and language policies, but rather as a more literal adherence to them.

Another important factor influencing Clara and Ana's decision-making was the misfit between the Canadian and Brazilian academic school years. Eager to complete their degrees and enter the workforce, both students explained that to continue on with one more Canadian semester of studies would result in a gap of several months before the start of the next semester on their return to Brazil. In both cases the students were required to request permission from their home universities for late entry to the second semester beginning in August 2014. Thus, while their decision to leave the programme can be understood on the one hand as an act of resistance against the shortcomings that arose through planning and implementation, on the other had, it was also influenced by this conflict between

academic schedules, and their perception that staying on in Canada would result in them falling behind their peers back home on this front.

Thiago's narrative relates a similar tension between features of the programme as it happened and his personal planning for his own success academically and beyond. His repeated lobbying on his own behalf was always for the purposes of securing his own academic advantages, in the form of his initial desire for admission to Kings University, and subsequently, in terms of access to appropriate classes at Metropolitan and a fair course load. Thiago's efforts to perform well on the TOEFL iBT reveal a determination and a strong sense of his own intentions for himself, as well as the self-discipline to follow through with his planning. However, this planning all took place within the regulatory context of this test, and his acknowledgment of its function as an integral gatekeeping mechanism standing between him and his academic desires. He was also ultimately constrained by the regulations that he tried to push back against regarding the number of courses he was required to take. Although he adopted what he considered to be a successful strategy in order to pass at least one of the three courses he took in the summer semester, this was at the expense of the other two courses, and he received failing grades for them on his transcript. Thiago's case demonstrates that adherence to, and indeed, even a high level of success at meeting language policy requirements for these students did not necessarily translate to success in subsequent academic studies, at least in due to the unique constraints of additional education policies which governed these academic studies.

Discussion: Thinking about Subjectivity, Assemblages and LPP

The stories of these students presented above demonstrate some of the tensions, frictions and concurrences between "technologies of domination of others and those of the self" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 225), as well as the diversity of components by which governmental assemblages such as the CSF programme come to be formed. By focusing on language policies as one part of the assemblage of governmental processes of subject formation working on and through these students in these case studies, I have endeavored to offer new perspectives to the field of LPP by foregrounding the function of power relations at all levels and during all phases of the policy process, and also by adding to the expanded notion of LPP by paying closer attention to the participation and contributions to this process by subjects themselves. I conclude this chapter by highlighting several key features of these new perspectives, and by suggesting their relevance for future LPP scholarship.

In his overview of the state-of-the-art in LPP, Johnson (2013) describes the ways in which "'language policy power is differentially allocated among arbiters and implementers", helpfully explaining that arbiters typically wield a significantly larger portion of power than implementers, but noting that the assignment of these positions to language policy agents within an institution or a community varies from case to case (p. 100). For example, instructors may wield an arbiter's portion of power in one institution or situation, but be relatively powerless in another. Menken (2008) proposes a similar model, paying homage to Ricento and Hornberger's ubiquitous onion metaphor of LPP (e.g., Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and noting how polices are not simply implemented from the top down exactly as higher level policy agents

envision them, but are interpreted, negotiated and sometimes contested at each level. These recognitions that power relations are variable is a valuable addition to thinking in the field of LPP studies, but what is often missing from these more developed or scaled notions of policy is an accounting of where students are situated within these dynamic hierarchies of power relations. Indeed Menken, in her case study within the US American context, emphasizes the peripheral role of students to the process, explaining "it is worth noting that students are not considered language policymakers here [...] they are mainly recipients of the complex array of policies that come down to them from above" (p. 174). While this may be somewhat accurate in terms of many aspects or cases of LPP as it implemented around the world, in this dissertation I have demonstrated the ways that in this particular case, students do participate in power relations, albeit to greater or lesser degrees of success. By focusing on the student as subject, I have shown that an approach such as this keeps its focus close to the ground of experience, and is thus more effective and compelling in terms of describing and documenting policy effects. By understanding many of the students' actions through the lenses of technologies or practices of the self, it also becomes possible to map their roles and participation and many of the sources of influence over them throughout the process.

Related to this shift in focus to the subject of governance, in this study I have also endeavored to consider language policy not as a discrete category of policy that can be easily differentiated from all other sorts of education policy (e.g., Shohamy, 2006), but instead have sought to acknowledge that distinctions may be rather unclear between various types of policies circulating in a particular space and sharing a group of subjects as their object (Menken, 2008).

For example, while the selection and number of academic courses Thiago and Clara required to take while at Metropolitan and Garden universities did not appear on the surface to have anything to do with language policy or policing, as they described their experiences in more detail it becomes clear that these requirements did significant impact on their experiences as recent language learners, whether intentional or not. Viewed in this way, it became important to consider language polices as embedded and interwoven with other policies and discourses on preferable ways of being subjects. This interrelationship is further highlighted and clarified when collections of seemingly diverse policies such as these are views as assemblages, or fragile and dynamic alliances of complex phenomenal as I have demonstrated here (Li, 2007b). What emerges then, from a Foucauldian approach to LPP governance as an assemblage, is a more nuanced understanding of LPP outcomes at the level (or layer of the LPP onion) of the subject.

Chapter 9 – Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

In this dissertation I have documented and analyzed the experiences of 12 Brazilian international students on state-funded study abroad sojourns in Canada through the CSF programme. At the same time I have also brought together and analyzed a wide range of policy documents, governmental declarations and media reports relevant to the programme from both Brazil and Canada spanning from the level of the state to the level of the institution. My intent was to take a closer look and gain a better understanding of the dynamic range of explicit and implicit language policies embedded within the larger policy assemblage of a programme such as this, with a particular emphasis on what was involved for student scholarship recipients in terms of their subject formation. To this end I took an ethnographic case study approach, and considered the data through the tools provided by various repertories of narrative and discourse analysis. In order to gain theoretical purchase on the processes of subjectification at work within these data, I approached them through the lenses of governmentality and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1997a; 2007).

As is typical of ethnographic research, I began collecting data and entered the field with a wide range of questions about the programme and how it functioned, with only a guiding agenda to explore the different kinds of subjectivities that polices related to the CSF programme sought to produce. As I collected more and more empirical materials, and learned that the students I had access to were members of the so-called Portugal cohort, I developed a more

specific set of research questions to help me understand the policy processes at work in their particular case. In this final chapter I first revisit each of these research questions, summarize my findings and discuss how they contribute to the study overall. Following this I address the implications of this study, in terms of theoretical implications for the study of language policy and applied linguistics more generally, as well as in terms of more practical applications of study abroad programming and language learning within the context of the internationalization of higher education. I then describe several limitations of this study, and propose several future lines of research inquiry both as a corrective to these limitations, and more generally to advance knowledge on the topics addressed in this dissertation. I conclude with a brief postscript describing the end of the CSF programme, and recent policy shifts in Brazil in regards to politics and international student mobility.

Research Questions Revisited

      Subjects and the programme. In my first research question, I asked what kinds of subjects and subjectivities as learners and subsequent users of English the CSF programme's language and education policies aimed to produce. The analyses presented in chapters four and five probed a number of official and unofficial education policy texts and media reports from Brazil and Canada as well as the paradigmatic narrative curated by the media centre on the CBIE website to this end. What emerged was a picture of CSF candidates in Canada as competitive and hardworking entrepreneurs of the self (Urciuoli, 2008), who were independent and self-directed in the management of their own learning and futures. These students, who had received valuable education at some of the highest ranked universities in the world, would become highly qualified workers

in STEM fields. While not immediately explicit, this last set of qualities was based on the assumption that they would either already possess or would quickly develop fluency in a foreign language in order to become members of the global research community in their respective fields. What this meant in practice for the majority (and for all of the students in this study) was that they would learn English and would strive towards participation in the publication of research articles in top tier publications. There is a tacit understanding that the language of these publications would largely be in English as well. Students were also meant to leverage their experiences on internships working for private businesses in terms of developing networks and establishing connections between the two countries, providing both with valuable insider information to increase trade. In addition, they would potentially prove to be valuable assets for large multinational corporations hoping to expand in the Brazilian marketplace.

Data collected from various Canadian stakeholders and administrators of the programme showed that CSF students in Canada would join the ranks of increasing numbers of international students in the country, taking advantage of some of the highest quality language training in the world (according to these stakeholders). In addition to providing Canadian institutions of higher education with much need funding due to shrinking funding from both federal and provincial governments, collectively international students also make a considerable contribution to the local economy in the form of living expenses. Due to their acquisition of local linguistic and cultural norms during their time studying in Canadian institutions, as well as through their expertise in STEM fields, these students may also be eligible for permanent residency through immigration incentive programmes. While this last quality is slightly

complicated by residency requirements placed on students by CAPES to prevent brain drain, for the undergraduate student members of the Portugal cohort these requirements were negligible, as they overlap with the completion of their degrees at their home institutions. In fact, two of the participants in this study have already contacted me about assisting them with their paperwork in the immigration process after they graduate.

The programme in practice. The second question focused on the problems that emerged during the dynamic process of putting the programme into practice, and the ways in which they were addressed. These practices played an important role in delimiting the role and scope of CSF. As Li (2007a) explains, "the practices that constitute an area of intervention […] are crucial to the formulation and implementation of a governmental programme" (p. 279). The Portugal cohort itself emerged out of a domestic problem in Brazil, that there were not enough students in the country at the time of the launch of the programme with adequate proficiency in a foreign language to be able to study abroad without considerable language training. Language learning thus became a key component of the sojourn for this cohort, and language moved from a status of neglect to one of an obstacle and a challenge standing in the way of securing the STEM knowledge that was the mandate of the programme.

This shift in the role of language resulted in a scramble on the part of administrators in Brazil and Canada to obtain and create adequate English language programming for an entire cohort entering the country with extremely low levels of language proficiency. Metropolitan University was established as one of several key destinations for members of the cohort, and the language institute moved quickly to modify their curriculum to accelerate these students

through the language learning process. In addition, as these students had not yet been issued offers of acceptance to academic study at Canadian universities due to their lack of language proficiency, CAPES, CBIE and others were required to hastily put in place processes creating applications for these students to be submitted to various institutions. A key component and central requirement of admission being language proficiency, students were required to write the TOEFL iBT test as part of these files in the middle of the second semester of English study. However, the conditions of this test taking were marked with a lack of transparency. A number of students received very short notice of their scheduled tests, and students in the lower levels were required to take the test prior to those in the higher levels. For students such as Bruna, the purpose of the test taking was unclear, which had considerable impact on how they prepared for the test in the little time they were given.

After studying English for eight months in Canada, CBIE and CAPES were unable to secure academic placements for approximately 80 student members of the Portugal cohort, and as a result they were required to return to Brazil immediately after the end of the semester. For those students who had been successfully placed, the internship portion of their sojourns, which was meant to be the centerpiece in terms of STEM knowledge acquisition in the field as well as the development of language and cultural proficiency in a 'natural' setting was cancelled.

Progressing beyond the language learning classroom, the students in this study encountered numerous problems at their new host institutions in terms of the courses that were made available to them, as well as misfits between departmental requirements for maximum numbers of courses permitted and the

requirements of the programme set by CAPES. In addition to these administrative setbacks, students also experienced dramatic differences between the delivery styles of education at their host universities and home universities, reporting minimal contact with professors and other students. As a result, several of them lamented this lack the opportunity to continue to develop as English language users, while at the same time, not being able to acquire the STEM knowledge that they had initially planned to be studying.

Effects and responses. The third research question I posed asked how the students as target subjects of all of these polices responded to, critiqued or otherwise took up the guiding rationalities for the program and related discourses of English, and also how they sought to understand the effects of the programme on them. In other words, I sought to document the ways in which they exercised their own agency within the framework of the programme, and also the ways in which the programme enabled, encouraged, limited and constrained this agency. In chapters 6 and 7 I presented narratives of the experiences of four different types of student members of the Portugal cohort. Some of these students, particularly Bruna and Paulo, had limited control over their status within the programme due at least in part to the TOEFL testing process. They were subsequently recalled to Brazil after eight months of English study. Discourse analysis of their narratives revealed them as constrained in their performance of agency. Other students were able to secure more wiggle room within the structure of the programme, finding their own internships in Lucas's case, or like Thiago, adopting unorthodox strategies to circumvent restrictions surrounding academic courses. Clara and Ana perhaps made the boldest move in

quitting the programme prior to its completion, opting instead to return to Brazil and complete their studies at their home universities.

A number of effects of the programme in terms of subjectification of the students by the students themselves in relation to English language learning were identified as well, including their intentions to use the proficiency they had acquired for a range of future purposes. These include securing advantage in the competitive job market post graduation (e.g., Ana), and also engaging with diversity at home through fresh eyes (e.g., Clara). More generally the students reported favorably on their sojourns as a period of personal development and growth, despite all of the dramatic changes that took place over these 12-18 months. In fact, regardless of these adaptations and problems, on an aspirational level, their rationales for and perceived benefits of the programme did not stray too far from the objectives of the programme as it was originally designed.

Contributions/Implications

Beyond practical concerns of the immediate institutional settings and population that are the main focus of this dissertation, this study also contributes more generally to the developing literature in LPP on poststructural approaches to expanded notions of policy, as well more generally to research on language learner identity and study abroad in applied linguistics.

While a number of researchers have recently taken up the notion of governmentality to shift the focus in LPP studies from the macro level of the state down to the micro level of everyday practices (e.g., Manan, David & Dumanig, 2016; Pennycook, 2002a, 2002b), to date these studies have remained preoccupied with a model of governmentality as domination by other means or, at a distance, and they have had little to say about the ways that local actors and agents

participate in the power relations of policy beyond acting out discourses and policies whose modification or/or rejection is beyond their control. Johnson (2013b; Johnson & Johnson, 2015) represents an exception to this trend; however, in his scholarship to date he has focused on the role of administrators, teachers and other locally situated language policy actors, and has not considered contributions of the subjects of policy themselves. This study is unique in that it presents a view of policy that spans from more macro or traditional forms of policy implementation and analysis such as is presented in chapter 4, to narratives of actual student experience as such subjects of policy as presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Foucault's concept of technologies of the self (e.g., 1997a) provides a meaningful ballast to the totalizing tendencies of critical and governmentality approaches to LPP, in ensuring a central position for the self as subject or agent in policy studies. Specifically, as the findings revealed in this case, Bruna and Thiago found themselves trapped in a state of domination in terms of the regulations of the programme and the TOEFL testing regime, and had difficulty finding wiggle room within which to negotiate some of the aims and rationales of the programme. On the other hand, Lucas, Clara and Thiago all found ways to challenge and adapt the programme and their time abroad to their own needs both as language learners and scholars. These negotiations of policy by its subjects warrant further attention, in that they complexify our understanding of the policy process and the dynamism of policy power relations (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007).

As a methodological contribution to achieving this objective, this study is also distinctive in that it borrows from narrative studies in applied linguistics (e.g., Linde, 2001, 2009) to describe a paradigmatic narrative of student sojourner

experience as a model subject of policy (but see also King, 2017 for a parallel treatment of paradigmatic narratives in policy studies). It also borrows from recent research on narratives of study abroad, language learning and language learning careers (Benson, 2011; Benson et al., 2013) as a means of producing and representing subjects' accounts of their experiences. While Johnson (2013b) proposes ethnographic methods as a means to "strike a balance between structure and agency in language policy" research" (p. 133), as I have shown here, a narrative approach provides a helpful and logical means for representing ethnographic data is such a way as to attend to individual subject voices, and in this study I have employed narrative analytical repertoires alongside more traditional discourse analytical and language ideological repertoires often drawn on in LPP studies to date. In addition, the sometime discrepancies between rationales and outcomes of the programme as presented in the paradigmatic narrative and those in the student narratives presented here highlight the dynamism and complexity of the implementation processes, and these narratives provide the tools to assess the programme's success and failure in terms of actual LPP practices and experiences.

Yet this dissertation research project is not only directed at scholars currently working under the ambit of LPP. This study also provides insight to the more general body of work in applied linguistics that deals with learner identity, by demonstrating the ways in which identity or subjectivity is bound up with external contextual constraints and opportunities in the form of LPP (Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1987). The concept of governmentality as I have employed it in this study provides a valuable addition to the arsenal of researchers working in the tradition of identity research popularized by Norton

(Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013), who are already sensitive towards the role of social power relations in language learning. By bringing governmentality on board these researchers would be able to account for policy as a key player in these relations, bring a greater nuance to their analyses. In addition, by drawing on Foucault's notion of technologies of the self (1997a) this study also contributes to related conversations on language learner agency and neoliberalism without either falling back on a reductive binary choice between agency and structure, or focusing exclusively on or implying that neoliberal governmentalities do not share space or duties with other modes of governmentality in often complex ways (Brady, 2014).

An additional body of scholarship that this study contributes to is that of language learning and study abroad. This emerging field lags behind many related areas of language learning research in applied linguistics in that it has only recently begun to acknowledge the social and cultural dimensions of study abroad, rather than narrowly focusing on proficiency gains (Kinginger, 2013). In doing so it is finally moving away from comparing current experiences with those that took place decades ago, and has begun to take into consideration the impact of recent global changes, such as the impact of innovations in global communications technology and the rise of neoliberalism (Kinginger, 2013). In order to expand toward a "fuller, more qualitative investigation of the complex dynamic system which is the study abroad experience for language learners" (Coleman, 2013, pp. 35-36), in this study I have proposed a methodological and theoretical model to adding to this developing body of literature, in order that study abroad research may begin to confront the LPP dimensions of their object of study. In borrowing methodologically from study abroad research at the same

time, I hope to have demonstrated the mutual interests of these two lines of inquiry.

Lastly, Rizvi & Lingard (2010) note that "the location of the policy analyst is significant" and that analysis carried out by an academic researcher in relative solitude "is likely to adopt a different approach from someone working with a team of evaluators within an organization, such as a large bureaucracy" (p. ix). Given my own positioning as such, beyond the contributions to LPP and scholars in other fields, the insights gathered in this dissertation are perhaps less directed at the range of administrators and other agents responsible for overseeing programmes such as CSF, and more to the individual language instructors who find students such as those whose stories are told here in their classrooms. In telling these stories I have tried to share with these teachers and other interested readers the complex forces of subjectification working on students as language learners, so that they may adapt and fine-tune their own practice accordingly based on the features of their own contexts.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

As members of the Portugal cohort, the experiences of the 12 participants in this this study were much different than those of all other cohorts of the CSF programme. This was a surprise even to me, the researcher, as I only learned about and began to understand what this cohort was, and exactly how the conditions of their sojourn differed from those that came before them after I began to meet with these students regularly. As a result of their being members of this exceptional group, it is important to stress that their experiences are not representative of the programme, and what I have laid out in this dissertation should not be generalized to the programme as a whole.

Yet I should also stress again that as a poststructuralist ethnographic case study, the goal of this dissertation was never generalization, but rather, it was my endeavor to create a thick and detailed description of the situation in this particular case (Geertz, 1973). Citing Guba and Lincoln, Talburt (2004) refers to transferability as "the degree to which what is learned about context may be applied to another" (p. 91). In this spirit of transferability I have attempted to provide as thorough a description as possible so as to aid in this process, while also keeping in mind Talburt's caution that by transferability I mean only the application of "tentative ideas drawn from one context to another", rather than generalizability by some other means (2004, p. 91). In other words, this text provides an invitation for the reader to discover their own parallels with another text or with another context, rather than attempt any sort of organized schema of identifying or mapping direct connections between the two.

Another limitation built into this project, given the timeline of a PhD dissertation, is in the lack of longer-term data. My period in the field lasted for a twelve-month period, which, by some traditionalist standards may be considered too short a period of time for ethnography (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Had I been able to continue to follow these students back to their home institutions and into the workforce (at the time of this writing of several of them have graduated and begun working in their respective fields), I would have potentially acquired valuable data about, for example, whether Ana's sense that her English would provide her an advantage in the job market was indeed the case. Future research that adopted a systematic longitudinal procedure would be able to consider the impact of these language policies and their uptake over a longer time frame. (Follow-up research could perhaps perform the same function.)

One last limitation and area for future inquiry can be identified in my primary focus on Brazil in this particular study, despite the fact that many components of the assemblage also came from Canadian sources. A future study could take a closer look at the LPP governmentalities involved in Canada's role in hosting international students, through for example, its relationship with various other states and their respective incentives for study abroad, for example, including Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah Scholarships programme (Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Education, 2015), as well as in the case of the self-financed students from around the world.

Postscript

Throughout this dissertation research project I was never interested in vilifying the actions of particular governments, institutions or agents, nor the political allegiances which influenced their actions. Rather my intention was to map the logics, rationalities, processes and practices in the case of this particular internationalization initiative in order to gain a better understanding of the types of subjectivities that it produced. This is especially worth reiterating in light of the fact that in the year and a half since the suspension of the CSF programme in the summer of 2015, Brazil has suffered considerable political and economic turmoil, with a substantial economic crisis coupled with the impeachment and removal from office of president Dilma Rousseff, whose left-wing Worker's Party (PT) government was responsible for the planning and launch of the CSF programme. The unelected nominally centre-right president and his government which has succeeded her has to date made drastic and significant cuts to education, and recently passed a controversial constitutional amendment to limit public spending, including on health and education, for the next twenty years

(Álvares & Carvalho, 2016), and it is uncertain at this time what sort of programming (if any) will take the place of CSF. These severe austerity measures that the incumbent neoliberal government has invoked to date stand in stark contrast to the generous funding coupled with a strategic complicity with neoliberalism described by De Souza (2015) in his assessment of the PT's design and implementation of the CSF programme.

Student mobility currently constitutes one of the central platforms of internationalization initiatives around the world at all levels of administration from individual institutions up to national and transnational governments and organizations. Host nations compete to attract students and increase their enrollment, and sending nations strive to send greater amounts of students abroad. The large majorities of these students are travelling in a single direction, hailing from developing countries in the global South and travelling to study in the large metropolitan system of the global North (Altbach, 2007). In addition, English is also rapidly expanding as the dominant language of higher education, academic publication and the sciences more generally, making second language learning of English a key component of many international student sojourns (Lee & Lee, 2013; Park & Wee, 2012). While scholars from a range of fields including applied linguistics, higher education, sociology, anthropology and human geography have conducted considerable research into student perceptions and experiences on study abroad programmes, to date very little of this research considers the LPP dimensions of this programming and their attendant power relations. Conversely, scholars of LPP in higher education have historically focused on the actions of policy agents such as school administrators and instructors, and have rarely considered the subjectivizing nature of policies from

the perspective of the students themselves as subjects of policy. In addition to the practical implications of this study, in this dissertation I have endeavoured to fill these gaps by introducing LPP and several theoretical tools drawn from Foucault to the conversation on student mobility and study abroad, while at the same time providing suggestions for future directions and fine tuning in governmentality studies in LPP.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Policy Documents, Government and Media Reports and Other Texts Produced by Stakeholders in the CSF Programme (Chapter 4)

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Appendix B

CBIE Media Room – Texts Producing Paradigmatic Narrative (Chapter 5)

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Appendix C

List of Possible Areas of Questioning Used to Guide First Interviews With

Participants

Biographical

- Name

- Age

- City, state

- Parent's jobs

- Languages, ethnicity

- Work history

Joining the Programme

- How did you hear about it?

- How does the process work?

- Application

- Visa

- Language testing

- Housing

- Timeline

- Difficulty

Language Learning History

- Primary/secondary

- Public/private

- Afterschool programs

- Methods and outcomes

English in Brazil

- TV, radio, pop music, internet

- Tourism, business

Language Learning in Canada

- Metropolitan University

- How did you get placed here?

Language in Canada

- Homestay, housemates

- Friends

- Job

- Gym

- Social life

- Service encounters

- Bilingualism in Canada (French/English)

The Future

- Career

- Other languages

- Travel

Globalization

- English as a lingua franca

- Business

- Politics

Appendix D

List of Abbreviations

AUCC – Association of University and Colleges of Canada

BRCKE – Brazil/Canada Knowledge Exchange

BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

CALDO – Calgary, Alberta, Laval, Dalhousie, Ottawa (Consortium of Canadian universities later expanded to include Queen's, Saskatchewan, Waterloo and Western)

CAPES – *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nivel Superior* (Coordination for the Improvement of Persons in Higher Education)

CBIE – Canadian Bureau For International Education

CEFET – *Centro Federal de Educaçao Tecnológica* (Federal Centre of Technological Education)

CFS – Canadian Federation of Students

CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning

CNPq – C*onselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development)

CSF – *Ciência sem Fronteiras* (Science without Borders)

DAAD – *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (German Academic Exchange Service)

DFATD – Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development

EAP – English for Academic Purposes

IELTS – International English Language Testing System

ISF - *Inglês sem fronteiras*, later *Idiomas sem fronteiras* (English without Borders,

later, Languages without Borders)

LPP – Language Policy and Planning

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PROUNI – *Programa Universidade Para Todos* (University for All Program)

PT – *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Worker's Party)

PUC-SP – Pontifical Catholic University – São Paulo

STEM – Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

TESOL – Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TOEFL iBT – Test of English as a Foreign Language, Internet-Based Test

TOEFL PBT – Test of English as a Foreign Language, Paper-Based Test

UFPR – Federal University of Paraná

USP – University of São Paulo