INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN THE LIFE STORIES OF INTERNATIONALLY-TRAINED

IMMIGRANT WOMEN AND INSTITUTIONAL NARRATIVES OF IMMIGRANT SUCCESS

IN ONTARIO

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ABSTRACT

The following dissertation compares the life stories (Linde, 1993) of six internationally trained immigrant women, successful in finding employment in their fields of post-secondary teaching, with video success stories available on a government webpage for bridge training in Ontario and with national and provincial immigration and integration policy. Using Linde's (2009) institutional narrative to conceptualize how these video stories of successful bridge training graduates can serve as templates and tools of socialization for skilled immigrants who are seeking to re-enter their fields in Ontario, the analysis focusses on the representations of the integration process, the role of language learning and teaching in these narratives, and the ways that the six participants' life stories (Linde, 1993) may take up the same discourses circulated in the institutional narrative.

In order to understand the impact these institutional narratives of integration have on the life stories of individual immigrant women, the analysis makes use of Foucault's (1991; 1994) theoretical frameworks of technology of the self and governmentality. Seen through this lens, narrative becomes a tool for the construction of a self that is both in line with dominant discourses of self-responsibility and a self that is morally acceptable to the individual.

The analysis finds that both the video success stories and the life stories of the six participants incorporate neoliberal discourses of self-sufficiency and lifelong learning that emphasize economic over social integration and allow for acceptance of the need for further training, in this case bridge training. Both the participants and the video success story protagonists accept the need to learn higher level professional communication skills and

behaviour that places the burden for successful communication solely on the immigrant. In

addition, both institutional and personal narratives make use of discourses of diversity and

multiculturalism, accomplishing an alignment with established "Canadian values" on one hand,

but also a separation of immigrant groups from the dominant white settler class (Bannerji, 2000;

Thobani, 2007), relegating them to a peripheral position long after they have attained citizenship.

Recommendations are made to include critical multicultural education (Kubota 2004a,

2004b) into the bridge training classroom.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

As an established immigrant-receiving country for many years, Canada has used its

immigration system to address its changing human resource needs. In the past 20 years,

subsequent governments have defined those needs specifically as the imperative to improve

productivity and innovation in order to make Canada a stronger competitor in the global

marketplace ("Achieving excellence" and "knowledge matters" 2002). One result is an

immigration system that focuses on the recruitment and retention of "skilled" immigrants.

Unfortunately for many skilled immigrants who chose to immigrate to Canada, the skills and

professional experience for which they were selected are not necessarily recognized in their new

countries.

As the issue of underemployment is often framed as a problem of communication skills-

deficit amongst these carefully-selected immigrants, a common solution offered by both

provincial and federal governments comes in the form of various training programs that focus on

sector-specific workplace skills and sometimes also involve internship opportunities meant to

allow students to get some "Canadian experience" on their resumes, as well as sector specific

language training and intercultural communication training. However, according to a 2015

progress report on Ontario's immigration strategy which was laid out in 2012, although the

number of internationally educated professionals holding licenses in regulated professions grew

by 22.7 % over a 5-year period (which was attributed to the success of bridge training in the

province), the percentage of internationally educated professionals working in their fields grew

by only 1% (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2015). While still proclaiming the success of bridge training, the report announced a commitment to both promoting the benefits of hiring skilled immigrants to employers and also investigating "alternative career supports for highly skilled immigrants". Thus, this particular framing of the problem of immigrant unemployment and the matching solution do not appear to adequately address the challenges that many skilled immigrants face.

To further complicate matters, employment in a field matching one's abilities/ skills/ training is only one aspect (albeit a very large one) of the process that is both commonly and officially known in Canada as integration. In addition to this economic integration which concentrates on the immigrant's integration into the workforce, there is also an aspect of social integration where the immigrant becomes more socially involved in his/her communities, forming bonds and connections with other individual citizens and organizations. For this reason, when investigating the process of immigrant integration, it is important to focus not just on employment outcomes, but on the entire lived experience of the individual who is in the process of integrating.

1.2 Research questions and context

The following dissertation investigates the process of integration from the perspectives of six individual internationally trained immigrant women, all of whom were successful in finding at least part time employment as instructors in post-secondary institutions in Ontario. The analysis makes use of Charlotte Linde's (1993) framework of life story to investigate how the six participants piece together acceptable and coherent life stories from various different narratives which are set throughout their immigration, settlement and integration. In order to further

examine what makes these stories acceptable and coherent, another part of the analysis focusses on four video "success stories" of skilled immigrants available on the Government of Ontario bridge training webpage. Relying on Linde's (2009) concept of paradigmatic narrative, a type of widely circulated institutional narrative which details the career trajectory of the average successful employee (in this case, the average skilled immigrant), these video success stories allow for the circulation of certain discourses and common events that also find their way into the life stories of the six participants. Thus, the following dissertation, as well as examining the formation of meaning within the individual life stories and the video success stories, also offers a comparison of the two data sources. The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the respective meanings of the integration process as articulated in political, institutional, and newcomer narratives?
2. What role does language learning/ teaching play in political, institutional, and newcomer narratives of integration?
3. In what ways do political and institutional narratives of integration affect the newcomer's experience of integration and vice versa?

Of the six individual participants, four were graduates of a bridge training program for internationally trained post-secondary teachers, a profession in Ontario which is unregulated by an overseeing licensing organization, and one was a teacher and coordinator in the program, as well as being an internationally trained post-secondary teacher in her own right. The remaining

participant was also an internationally trained teacher of ESL in a post-secondary institution who had never taken a bridge training program.

The bridge training program (henceforth to be referred to as the BTP) that five of the six participants have been involved with, is a 33 week-long program offered through a community college in a large urban area in Ontario. Designed to prepare students to teach in post-secondary institutions, the BTP provides instruction in workplace communication, intercultural communication, employment skills, as well as pedagogical skills. The program also mandates that students take several professional workshops available to all teachers/ instructors at the college and advertises the "possibility" of a teaching internship in the second semester of the program. To be eligible for the program, applicants must have the degree assessed at the Masters or PhD level and language proficiency assessed at a Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) 7 for reading and writing and 8 for speaking and listening and must have at least one academic year of international teaching experience at a post secondary level. Finally, although all participants who had been students in the BTP were landed immigrants when they were taking the program, eligible candidates can also be refugees, Canadian citizens, and VISA students.

Tables 1 and 2 on the following two pages provide information about each of the six participants and each of the four protagonists.

Table 1: Participants

Name	Country of origin	First language(s)	Education	Employment in Country of Origin	Year of landing	Immigration stream	Immigration status	Language training in Canada	Relation to BTP	Other education in Canada	Employment in Canada
Helena	Brazil	Portuguese, English	PhD Linguistics (Brazil)	EFL teacher	2000	Skilled Worker (arrived alone)	Citizen (2005)	no	BTP teacher/ coordinator	TESL Ontario	full time college professor
Sylvie	Brazil	Portuguese	BA Communications (Brazil)	EFL teacher	2003	Skilled Worker (arrived alone)	Citizen (2006)	no	no	TESL Ontario, MEd, PdD (adult education) in progress	LINC teacher, ESL teacher in college continuing education dept
Jade	Malaysia	Chinese	PhD Biochemistry (England)	University professor (biochemistry)	2008	Spouse of skilled worker (arrived with husband and 2 teenage children)	Permanent resident	no	yes	no	part time college professor in biology
Irandokht	Iran	Persian	MBA (Iran)	University professor (finance), financial manager	2006	Skilled Worker (arrived with husband and 3 children)	Citizen (2012)	LINC, College EAP	yes	Certified Mortgage consultant	business owner and part-time college professor
Beatrice	Germany	German	PhD Biochemistry (Germany)	Lab manager/ seminar teacher for medical students	2006	Skilled worker (arrived with husband and young child)	Permanent resident	no	yes	no	research fellow and part time university biochemistry professor
Maya	Moldova	Romanian, Russian (from age 3)	MA Math (Ukraine)	high school math teacher, computer programmer	2008	spouse of skilled worker (arrived with husband and teenage child)	Citizen (2012)	IELTS course, TOEFL course	yes	no	part time college professor in financial math

Table 2: Protagonists in video success stories

Name	Country of Origin	Sex	Profession in country of origin	Bridge training program	Profession in Canada
Clara Patricia Hernandes	Colombia	F	Optometrist	Optometric bridge training program at University of Waterloo, ON	Optometrist
Vikas Keshri	India	M	Social worker	Internationally educated social worker program at Ryerson University	Social worker
Ruth Kambali	Rwanda	F	Nurse	Internationally educated nurses BSc program at York University	Nurse
Naureen Imran	Pakistan	F	teacher	Association of Early Childhood Educators of Ontario's Access to the Early Childhood Education program	Early childhood educator

1.3 Summary of chapters

The following chapters are organized so that the different sources of data (the video success stories and the participants' life stories) are analyzed separately, leading to a comparison of common discourses/ themes in the discussion and conclusion chapter. CHAPTER 2 provides a review of the theoretical framework and methodology, including Linde's concept of life story (1993) and institutional narrative (2009) as mentioned above. In addition to these two narrative concepts, I also make use of Foucault's (1991; 1997a; 1997b) notions of governmentality and technology of the self in order to analyze more closely the connection between widely available institutional narratives and individual life stories. The section that details the research methodology and data analysis clarifies how participant narratives were elicited and collected, as well as my beliefs on how my presence as a listener and analyst result in co-constructed life stories.

CHAPTER 3 provides an overview of immigration and integration policy in Canada from the 1963 introduction of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (as cited in Haque, 2012) which marked the emergence of "multiculturalism" as both official and popular discourses of national identity, to the present neoliberal era and consequent focus on recruiting skilled immigrants who are presumed to be able to begin contributing to the national economy in a shorter period of time. The chapter focusses specifically on how national concerns about language and implementation of language programs have reflected beliefs about the "best" type of immigrant. Thus, the closing of the chapter pays particular attention to the provision of workplace specific language programs, such as Ontario bridge training, as programs tailored to skilled immigrants. The end of the chapter also provides a short discussion of how women's

experiences of immigration and integration have been shown/ portrayed as different from those of men.

CHAPTER 4 provides a description and analysis of the 4 video success stories. The first part of the chapter details how the videos match with Linde's (2009) features of paradigmatic narrative, thus showing how together they provide a framework for the career trajectory of the average skilled immigrant which are in line with dominant institutional discourses. The second half of the chapter focusses on these discourses, as well as common themes observed across the 4 stories. Throughout the dissertation, the 4 people who provide the basis for these success stories are referred to as "protagonists", whereas the interview subjects are the "participants".

CHAPTERS 5 to 8 comprise the analysis chapters of the 6 participants' life stories. CHAPTER 5 begins with my retelling and piecing together several fragments of the participants' life stories. In this way, the purpose of this chapter is to give a less fragmented perspective of each participant before their narratives are analyzed together by theme. CHAPTER 6 focusses on the participants learning experiences, specifically the learning experiences of those who were involved with the BTP. From this starting point comes the common discourse of lifelong learning and adaptation. I argue that "lifelong learning" is both what Linde (1993) calls a common-sense coherence system, a discursive practice that circulates a set of common beliefs which in its deployment allows a given narrative to be accepted by its listeners, and a discursive practice which has the effect of legitimizing a process of deskilling amongst internationally trained immigrants. Thus, the well-worn story of the PhD driving a taxi-cab here becomes a lesson about the importance of adaptation and constant re-skilling amongst immigrants rather than a comment on problems or gaps in the immigration system or settlement services. CHAPTER 7 focuses on

the theme of intercultural communication as it appears in the life stories of all the participants who graduated from the BTP, as well as the participant, Helena, who was their teacher. Here, I also explore the relationship between these notions of intercultural communication, what several participants refer to as "learning the system", and the common and often unexamined notion of "soft skills" in the workplace.

CHAPTER 8 investigates the participants' relationship to and beliefs about the term "integration", as well as their feelings about citizenship and what it means to be Canadian. This chapter ties in with the previous chapter as it deals with the explicitly stated beliefs of the participants, while chapter 7 explores how the teaching of Canadian behaviour manifests itself in the stories of the participants.

CHAPTER 9 provides a discussion of both the video success stories as paradigmatic narrative and the previously analyzed themes from the participants' life stories with the goal of both comparing similarities and differences between the video success stories and the participant life stories as well as considering implications of the analysis findings.

1.4 A short note on the term "immigrant"

Throughout the dissertation, both the video success story protagonists and the interview participants are referred to as "immigrants", even though some of them have achieved citizenship. I acknowledge the fact that my stretching of the term "immigrant" to include those who have attained citizenship and who are therefore technically no longer immigrants can possibly be seen as an alignment with dominant discourses of ethnic/ racial exclusion. However, I argue here that my referral of my 6 participants throughout my dissertation as "skilled

immigrants" or "internationally trained immigrants" is a referral to their history of migration and

acknowledgement the precariousness that most of them still face as well as the feelings that some

of them expressed of being outsiders to Canada, even after attaining citizenship.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

"Social life is not transacted in sentences or even speech acts. It happens in the exchange and negotiation of discourse units: narratives, primarily, …" (Linde, 1997, p. 281)

"Story telling, to put the argument simply, is what we do with our research materials and what informants do with us" (Riessman, 1993, p. 1)

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological framework needed to understand the connections between an individual's life story and a larger, more widely circulated institutional narrative. The present research involves two quite different sources of data. On the one hand, there is analysis of four video success stories made available on the Government of Ontario Bridge Training information webpage (Ontario Bridge Training: Success Stories, 2010), and on the other hand, there are the life stories of six (6) internationally trained immigrant women, collected from 12 one-on-one semi-structured interviews. I use Linde's frameworks of life story (1993) to analyze my interview data and institutional narrative (2009) to analyze the video success story data. As described below, these frameworks do include understandings of how institutional narratives are taken up by individual institutional members. However, their limitations for conceptualizing how these narratives operate in a larger context make it important for me to open yet another analytical toolbox. Thus, I make use of Foucault's (1991; 1997a; 1997b) notions of governmentality and technology of the self to allow me to make

better connections between the management of the population, the discourses transmitted by institutional narratives, the narratives told by individual subjects, and the behaviours that these narratives normalize.

2.2 Narrative and Life Story

The foundations for Linde's (1993) concept of life story rest on the "canonical" Labovian narrative, which can be defined as a "verbal technique for retelling experience (Labov & Waletsky, 1997, p. 4) through a temporal sequencing of experience which contains some form of evaluation that clarifies why this narrative is worthy of being told. Thus, it is important to note that narrative creates meaning from the perspective of the individual who is involved in telling the narrative within a social context to someone (Elliot, 2005, p. 4). Fundamental to these definitions is the assertion that telling a story is never simply about linking an otherwise random chain of events; it is a construction of perception for and with the help of others, and for the self. It follows, then, that narrative truth is not a clear or objective truth that can be "tested" by referring to "the facts"; rather, it is a version of the narrator's interpretation of the world around her. As Golombek and Johnson (2004, p. 308) assert, "Narratives by their very nature are not meant to describe phenomena objectively, but rather to connect phenomena and infuse them with interpretations. […]Since narratives are social, relational, and culturally bound, they gain their meaning from our collective social histories and cannot be separated from the sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts from which they emerged". As such, even the narrator's personal interpretation and evaluation of the world around them involve an appeal to the audience (based on prior experience/knowledge) that the actions taken are what anyone would do.

According to Linde (1993), life story is a fluid and discontinuous unit, told in pieces throughout the individual's lifetime. To be a part of the life story, the narrative must have an evaluation that shows what kind of person the storyteller is, and it must be reportable (be unusual or remarkable in some way). In this way, the life story usually recounts events that are considered by the narrator to be significant in their lives. In current Western life stories, these could be major geographical moves, meeting/ marrying a partner, or the birth of children. In her own research, Linde (1993) analyzed the life stories of choice of profession. By focussing on one aspect of an individual's life-story, the researcher may build an adequate cross-section of it as it exists at the one moment of telling. In the case of this research project, my participants are recounting their immigration to and professional development in Canada.

Another important feature of the life story is that it is both a tool for constructing one's own sense of self for oneself, as well as a social undertaking for building relationships with others. Linde (1993) draws on developmental psychology in order to explore how narrative allows one to do self work. Specifically, she outlines three properties of the self in Western culture: continuity in one's sense of self, the self as distinguishable from others, and the reflexivity of the self (or the ability one has to reflect on oneself). First, narrative aids in the creation of continuity of self through time through what Linde calls the narrative presupposition of temporal advancement through time, that is, the assumption that temporal markers found in western languages reflect reality rather than a cultural perspective on movement of time. Thus, due to the cultural assumptions reflected in the English language, narrative conventions make it easy to present a stable self across time. Second, to make the self distinguishable from others, narrative allows the narrator to use pronouns to establish and maintain both the difference from and

relationship between self and others. Finally, narrative fosters the reflexivity of the self by providing a tool for separating oneself as narrator from one's past self, thus providing the opportunity for the narrator to reflect on this past self. Linde (1993) asserts that "The act of narrating itself requires self-regard and editing, since, a distance in time and standpoint necessarily separates the actions being narrated from the act of narration" (p. 122). Thus, the process of evaluation is especially important in allowing the narrator to display that "yes, I was a good person". It is important to note that Linde's understanding of the self involves an internal/ private self as well as a more externally articulated self; a non-linguistic sense of self and a sense of self created through language. Linde, of course, is only concerned with the self developed in narrative.

Life story is made up of inter-linked narratives as well as chronicles and explanations. Linde (1993, p. 85) defines chronicle as "a recounting of a sequence of events that does not have a single unifying evaluative point". The structure of the chronicle is made up purely of a sequence of events used mainly to fill in an unfamiliar audience on the trajectory of the narrator's life. Thus, the chronicle may have individual evaluative moments, but these moments do not build into a unifying point. The explanation as discourse unit, on the other hand, does not involve sequencing of events. Rather, it consists of a statement followed by reasons this statement is true and should be believed. Linde asserts that "explanations are used to plug a leak in the account that the speaker wishes to construct, rather than to do the primary work of constructing a solid account" (p. 93). In other words, its social function is to smoothe over a potentially face-threatening inconsistency, so the explanation cannot have logical objective truth on its side.

2.3 Narrative as Technology of the Self

To better understand the relationship between the self-work within narrative and the social forces that help to shape how the individual both regulates herself and interacts with others through narrative, I consider narrative through the lens of Foucault's technology of the self. Similar to Linde's focus, Foucault (1994) is interested in a self articulated in language. Specifically, he investigates how systems of knowledge, through different practices, constitute a particular (type of) subject at a particular time. According to Foucault, techniques of the self are:

the procedures, which no doubt exist in every civilization, suggested or prescribed to individuals in order to determine their identity, maintain it, or transform it in terms of a certain number of ends, through relations of self mastery or self-knowledge. In short, it is a matter of placing the imperative to 'know oneself' - which to us appears so characteristic of our civilization - back in the much broader interrogation that serves as its explicit or implicit context: what should one do with oneself? What work should be carried out on the self? How should one 'govern oneself? (1994, p. 87)

By making this link between Foucault's technologies of the self and narrative, I am suggesting, as Tamboukou (2009) does, that narrative be considered as a technology of the self as it acts as a tool for the construction and proper governance of the self. And as Tamboukou (2009) also asserts, narrative also operates as a technology of power in that the self is subjected to forces of domination through the influence/ adoption of the conventional narrative structure.

Moral codes or prescriptions, specifically to do with one's relationship with oneself, inform technologies of the self. Foucault (1983b) asserts this moral relationship to the self has four

aspects: the first is the part of the self in a given moment/society that is most relevant to moral

conduct; the second aspect is the mode of subjection, or "the way in which people are invited or

incited to recognize their moral obligation" (Foucault, 1983b, p. 239) for example divine law,

reason, an appeal to live a beautiful life, etc; the third aspect is the ways in which we work on

ourselves to ensure that we are ethical subjects; finally, the fourth aspect is the kind of person

one aspires to be as an ethical subject (one might aim to be immortal, pure, free, etc). As is

illustrated in these aspects, morality, moral conduct, and the technologies one uses to ensure

one's moral conduct, are intricately interwoven with not only the belief systems that one

typically associates with issues of morality (for example the protestant work-ethic in the Western

world), but also with institutions and levels of government which promote certain "correct" ways

of living.

In this way, Foucault asserts that to study technology of the self is to look at governmentality

from a different perspective, as it is "the government of the self by oneself in its articulation with

relations with others (such as one finds in pedagogy, behavior, counseling, spiritual direction, the

prescription of models for living, and so on)" (Foucault, 1994, p. 88).

Governmentality, then, is "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and

reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit

complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge

political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security" (Foucault, 1991,

p. 102). In other words, governmentality involves multiple rationalities and techniques wielded

by multiple actors/ institutions with varying goals, which all converge to focus on the population.

It is related to technologies of the self, but not as the extension of a control apparatus emanating

from the state in the form of laws, for example. Rather, governmentality involves the facilitation of techniques, procedures, and calculations which foster certain behaviours and actions within individuals, contributing to the wellbeing of the population as a whole. (Rose, 1999, p. 5). So, these techniques of the self, facilitated by such governmental frameworks, foster the best practices for an individual to govern herself. Thus, technologies of the self comprise of both governmentality, the relationship between self domination and domination of others and the aesthetics of existence, the concern with creating a style of living for oneself which balances between conformity and transgression (Tamboukou, 2003, p. 19).

Rose (1989) also describes narrative as a technology of the self. He describes how the project of confessing, of telling the self, is part of a process of self-regulation in that we use the vocabulary and framework of possible ways of knowing self to discipline ourselves. The articulation of self in telling is shaped by the requirement for constant work on self in specific ways. Describing the use of narratives in self-help books, Rose asserts "thus we learn a language and a technique, a way of selecting, mapping, and interpreting certain modes of interchange as representing psychic needs and fears. We learn to make ourselves manageable not through an experimental technology of awareness, not through a logical algorithm of transactions, but through our identifications with a narrative of the emotions" (1989, p. 253). Conventional or "right" forms of being are reproduced in life story through the use of accepted ways of telling or narrative frameworks.

In her research, Linde (1993) investigates these accepted/ conventional narrative frameworks as coherence systems. In a global sense, a coherence system is a commonly available cultural repertoire upon which to draw when sharing one's life story which makes it acceptable to the

audience. More specifically, it is "a discursive practice that represents a system of beliefs and relations between beliefs; it provides the environment in which one statement may or may not be taken as a cause of another statement" (p. 163). Coherence systems are neither expert systems which require in-depth and specific knowledge unavailable to the general public, nor common sense beliefs that everyone is expected to share. Rather, they involve popular borrowings and interpretations of well-circulated expert systems. One coherence system Linde explores in her analysis is the popular interpretation of Freudian psychology. Linde also considers the use of "common sense" in her research to illustrate how, in the absence of a noticeable coherence system, it would be wrong to assume that a narrator may rely on "objective fact". Rather, the narrator relies on these commonly shared beliefs which are "within a given culture, so obviously true that it is difficult to see them as beliefs at all" (p. 192).

In a more local sense, the narrator creates coherence by establishing adequate causality and a sense of continuity. The narrator achieves adequate causality for an event or sequence of events by providing links deemed "reasonable" by addressees (Linde, 1993). Likewise, she establishes continuity by making a sequence of events appear as a logical progression. So, someone who started their career as a junior accountant would have no problems presenting a narrative of how she became vice-president of finance at her company. If, on the other hand, the narrator needs to present an event or sequence of events that, by the cultural standards of the addressee and the narrator herself, does not appear to contain adequate causality or continuity, such as moving from the accountant position to truck driver, she would need to do repair work in the form of an explanation.

I argue that Foucault's (1983a) concept of technology of the self is suited to Linde's understanding of life story. Viewed as a part of a technology of the self, life story becomes a technique that aids the individual to create and recreate a self that is understandable and justifiable to both him or herself as well as to others. Most importantly, life story as technique of the self highlights the inseparability of narrative from the cultural practices within which the individual resides. The individual thus uses the available coherence systems to construct an adequate life story to present both to him/herself and to others.

2.4 Nation as discourse

Life story is not the only narrative tool one can use to construct a sense of self within a given context. In fact, the very fact that life story relies on pre-existing templates for constructing an acceptable group of narratives indicates the existence of other types of narrative which inform the telling of life stories. In the context of my research, which provides an analysis of the life stories (success stories) of internationally-trained immigrant women, questions of national identity and narrative become highly relevant. Thus, in the following section, I outline my understanding of "nation" as a discursive construct, the problem of referring to a "national" or "master" narrative, and my solution to this problem in mobilizing both Charlotte Linde's concept of paradigmatic narrative and Foucault's notion of governmentality.

In his seminal work, *Imagined communities*, Anderson (1991) argues that the advent of print-capitalism in in the 15th century allowed for the emergence of the modern nation as an imagined community. By "imagined community", Anderson does not mean that the modern nation is in some way false or an illusion. Rather, he asserts that it is a discursive creation by those who

claim membership, a visualization of a cohesive whole by these members who may never meet, but who may feel themselves nonetheless linked through shared circulated discourses, bound together within a sovereign and clearly demarcated land.

Anderson's notion of "imagined community" has been critiqued by a number of scholars. According to Silverstein (2000), Anderson argues that imagined community involves the construction of a subjective experience of group membership, the construction of a "we" that takes its members through calendrical time together. However, Silverstein points out that this trope of "we-ness" needs to be further deconstructed "to reveal its sociocentric constructivity as a cultural concept" (p. 125). He feels that Anderson is guilty of linking nationalist consciousness directly to the advent of print capitalism, taking the trope of "we-ness" as fact and neglecting the exploration of dissent and conflict within standardization. Similarly, in her essay on insider and outsider-status in the Canadian nation, Bannerji (2000) criticizes Anderson for "glossing over" the divisions of race, class and ideology at the heart of the nation-state. Bannerji argues that Anderson "does not ask either whose imagination is advanced as the national imaginary or what this has to do with organizing practical and ideological exclusions and inclusions within the national space" (p. 65). Thus, the most tangible criticism of the notion of "imagined community" is that it does not take into account the many divisions, conflicts, and differing perspectives amongst the members of any given nation-state.

In his analysis of what he calls "the ambivalence of the 'nation' as a narrative strategy", Bhabha (1994) departs from these limitations of imagined community as a "homogenous and horizontal view" and suggests that "the people" who make up the nation are much more heterogeneous, to the point where a national perspective can never be as fully representative as

the notion of imagined community pictures it to be. To illustrate his view, Bhabha describes two

literary accounts, the world views of a prototypical 18th century English gentleman on the one

hand and "the Negro" of the Harlem Renaissance on the other. These two disparate world views,

both alienated in different ways from the production of imagined community, illustrate how the

concept of "the people" comes together from a range of discourses within what Bhabha calls "a

double narrative movement". To explain, Bhabha states:

> The people are not simply historical events or parts of a patriotic body politic. They are also a
>
> complex rhetorical strategy of social reference: their claim to be representative provokes a
>
> crisis within the process of signification and discursive address. (p. 145)

In other words, "the people" are at the same time a heterogeneous mix of living beings and a

historical discursive structure held up as representative of the heart of the nation. Thus, Bhabha

asserts that "the people" of a nation are thought of "in double-time", in two different ways. They

are both historical objects which form a pedagogical function, and performative subjects without

history, recreating and demonstrating the living principles of the nation. The day-to-day life of

the people is constantly being consumed as proof of national culture, and at the same time this

"narrative performance" interpellates more national subjects.

Further complicating the discursive production of nation are the "post-national" processes

and movements that have emerged in the last twenty years. Pujolar (2007, p. 73) maintains that

"post-national processes and discourses are those that question in specific ways the fundamental

ideological architecture of nation-states" (p. 73). This process of questioning touches on issues of

sovereignty (the state's political independence and domination) and national cohesion and is

brought about through external processes (or at least processes that are somewhat external to

state control) that have affected how people organize their lives and understand their affiliations. Examples of such processes are: the internationalization of economies; creation of extra-governmental structures such as the UN; the existence of other institutions that straddle state-borders and thus create multilingual and multicultural work environments; and changing migration patterns.

Not only do such globalizing forces cause nationalist discourses to shift, in some ways, they also cause the sedimentation of traditional conceptions of national identity. Although migration, even on a large scale, is not a new phenomenon, patterns of migration in the last twenty years have changed so that people are moving larger distances to host countries that have fewer cultural traits in common with them. In addition, improved communication technology and transportation options have made it easier for people to maintain both business and personal relationships between countries of origin and host countries. It is for this reason that Pujolar makes the claim that transnationalism, this practice of maintaining relationships across borders, is at such a large scale that there is now a rift in many cases between citizenship and nationality (or sense of national belonging). In other words, anxiety arises over the criteria for national belonging in an era where one can hold citizenship in one country but express strong ties to another. So, traditional markers of legitimate national membership are mobilized as proof of allegiance to the nation-state.

In summary, although Anderson's model of "imagined community" is useful in showing the discursive construction of nation, it is flawed in its description of an essentialized "we-ness". In any serious analysis of the discursive construction of nation and national identity, one needs to acknowledge the contradiction between this historical perception of unity and the multitude of

different perspectives within the national space. Adding to this complexity is the reality of global movement, which both changes the way many people experience the nation at the same time as it creates more anxiety over cohesion. For this reason, it is not analytically helpful to speak of one "national" or "master" narrative. The following section describes the problems with this type of research, as well as how some researchers have been able to avoid the trap of overgeneralization by examining smaller, more specific instances of the communication of a national imaginary.

2.5 The illusive "master narrative"

In addition to the acknowledgement of and focus on the social construction of individual narratives/ life stories, there has also been research in various disciplines into macro-narratives, stories which are told/ maintained by/within groups which have as their subject a family, an informal group, and even a nation. In this way, a number of researchers have mobilized the concept of national or master narrative in order to explore the way common story frameworks are perpetuated and thus lead to the recreation/ repetition of dominant ideologies. However, this concept of master narrative begins to fall apart as the scope for understanding narrative widens.

Wee and Bokhorst-Heng (2005) reconstruct what they call "statal narratives" of Singapore from various policy texts and ministerial speeches. While acknowledging conflicting discourses, the authors nevertheless reconstruct a popular understanding of the Singaporean "national narrative" of the coming together of an ethnically diverse but uniformly industrious group of people. The problems with this way of understanding narrative arise, then, when the researcher is left to cobble together his/her own version of the "national narrative" from a variety of sources, forcing an author-created generalization. Wee & Bokhorst-Heng (2005) outline Singapore's

"statal narrative" without discussing how they accomplished this reconstruction and what they may have left out. Similarly, in a critique of Andrews's use of "master narrative" in the field of psychology, Kolbl (2004) expresses the need to avoid a "simplifying homogenization of expert knowledge" to serve the purpose of the master narrative, echoing Silverstein (2000), Bannerji (2000) and Bhabha's (1994) critique of "imagined community" described above. Hence, as Mihelj et al. (2006) argue, there is a danger in research of neglecting the mechanisms for reproducing national narrative at the local level in favour of a wider sociological analysis.

A number of researchers have paid attention to this local level of narrative circulation in order to illuminate the processes by which larger societal movements get taken up at ground level. King & Defina (2010) use narrative analysis to explore how migrants' experiences in the US were influenced by ideologies of language and integration. Similarly, Barkhuizen & Knock (2006) analyze the narratives of a group of Afrikaans-speaking immigrants to New Zealand for narrator awareness of the language policy context within which they live.

Also, even though discussion of a national narrative may be too homogenizing to be analytically useful, some analysts (Wertsch, 2008; Pavlenko, 2004) have shown in a more tangible way how certain larger, commonly shared, narrative frameworks may exist. Wertsch (2008) uses the example of how accounts of certain historical events in high school textbooks from Soviet and post-Soviet-era Russia to explain how a national collective memory can smooth over narrative inconsistencies by employing what he calls "schematic narrative templates". Such templates, which are such a part of any given society that they are deployed without consciousness, allow its users to make a problematic rift understandable. In this way, he argues, post-Soviet Russia deployed the "expulsion of foreign enemies" template, a schematic narrative

template which casts Russia as an embattled land which must make difficult decisions to defeat foreign aggressors in order to smooth over the revelation that Russia annexed several Baltic nations at the outset of the Second World War.

In a sociohistoric analysis and comparison between early 20th century immigrant autobiographies with more contemporary ones, Aneta Pavlenko (2004) suggests that common plot structures/ events, and even absence of certain features in the early autobiographies can be traced to certain socio-historic events and contemporary government policy. For example, Pavlenko noticed that these autobiographies rarely mentioned language learning as a challenge faced by the protagonists. She linked this absence to the fact that the autobiographies were written before the initiation of large-scale Americanization campaigns due to concern that many newcomers at the time were not becoming citizens. The absence of this public anxiety and policy meant that language was not an issue to be addressed in the autobiographies. In other words, Pavlenko's analysis suggests different socio-historic contexts produce different possibilities for personal narrative.

Researchers have also been able to effectively show how commonly circulated narratives can socialize subjects into normative national ideologies. Griswold (2010) shows how teachers' narratives in an adult language school in the US not only serve the purpose of explaining abstract concepts to lower level learners, they also reproduce dominant national ideologies of individualism. Similarly, Gulliver's (2010) analysis of the narratives of successful immigrants to Canada available in ESL textbooks shows that similar narrative arcs which outline a period of struggle and hardship followed by professional success legitimize similar experiences of individual newcomers/ learners. Gulliver (2010) and Griswold's (2010) studies also open up the

possibility for narrative research to see how subjects take up, resist, or otherwise engage with these socializing narratives.

McDonough Dolmaya (2010) explores the "public narratives" of Canadian national identity articulated on the websites of 25 global brands and 25 Canadian brands. The author defines public narratives as narratives that are associated with institutions which are larger than one individual and are developed and circulated in families, religious institutions, literature, education and media. She finds that the Canadian brands' websites were more likely to reflect a public narrative of multiculturalism with increased images of non-white people wearing non-western attire. Finally, McDonough Dolman draws on Riessman (1993) among others to make the point that narrative is part of identity construction and an important part of taking part in social life. She asserts: "it is not just individual people who construct identities, relate experiences and depict "reality" through narratives" (p. 306), arguing that it is possible to speak of a "corporate identity" that is constructed through the use of stories.

From the examples discussed above, it is evident that careful attention must be paid in research to what one means when one speaks of narrative on a larger scale. Who tells it to whom? How is it circulated? For what purpose is it told? And most importantly, since a larger scale involves more narrators, a wider audience, and more tellings, how is it possible for there to be only one dominant narrative? In order to negotiate my way through these questions, I mobilize Linde's (2009) concept of paradigmatic (institutional) narrative.

2.6 The institutional narrative

In order to avoid falling into the trap of describing an intangible master or national narrative and taking for granted the mechanisms/ techniques needed in order to construct, reconstruct, circulate, alter and resist such a narrative and its various forms, I return to Charlotte Linde's work and make use of her concept of "institutional narrative", specifically the type of institutional narrative she calls the "paradigmatic narrative" (2009).

In her book *Working the past: Narrative and institutional memory*, Linde (2009) picks up a thread from her earlier book on life stories (Linde, 1993). Although her life story book focuses on individual stories, it examines specifically how individuals use social resources to create coherence. Thus, she asserts that "An individual's life story is not their possession alone, but rather belongs to those people who have a particular relation to the narrator: they have shared the events, or they have some expertise or authority about the kind of events that happen in the situation being narrated" (p. 5). Furthermore, just as individual narrative functions as a tool to construct identity, it can also work to answer the question "Who are we?" in the case of an institution by allowing the institution's members to "remember" its past (as well as alter or contest it), and "understand the institution as as whole as well as their own place within or apart from that institution" (p. 4).

Before going further, there is a need to unpack what Linde means by "institution" and "memory" or "remember". First, she views institution as a broad term that encompasses "any social group that has a continued existence over time, whatever its degree of reification or formal status may be. Thus, an institution may be a nation, a corporation, the practice of medicine, a family, a gang, a regular Tuesday night poker game, or the class of 1995" (2009, p. 8). Second,

Linde poses the question of whether any such institution can actually "remember" or have a "memory". She argues that memory is fundamental to the creation and maintenance of identity, as for her, identity needs some sense of continuity across time. She envisions memory as "a verb and a task" as it requires constant acts of and occasions for remembering of past events in the form of narratives for members of the institutions to identify with events they may not have experienced.

In order to explore this concept of institutional narrative, Linde reports on an ethnography she conducted over the course of 3 years at a major insurance company in the United States. She had been commissioned by the company to do this study in order to find the reason behind a drop in morale among its agents. Focussing on narratives that are told and retold orally and, in some official capacity in writing (such as in the company newsletter), Linde shows how common narratives involving the company founder which demonstrate in their evaluations the values that are taken to be the company values, are circulated, but not necessarily totalizing or controlling.

My research focusses on one specific type of institutional narrative, what Linde calls the "paradigmatic narrative". Paradigmatic narratives are narratives that follow the career or life trajectory of exemplary members of the institution. "Exemplary" here does not mean an exceptional or special person within the institution. Rather, Linde is referring to the averagely successful member of the institution. She draws on Goffman's (1981) point that it is the responsibility of the narrator to justify holding the floor to tell a story, and one way to accomplish this is to make the story one of "Everyman", what any normal person would do in the same position. Linde (2009) asserts "the paradigmatic narrative represents the work of an entire institution to create such universal relevance for particular narratives, that is, to create the story

of the Career of Everyman" (p. 148). Thus, individual narrative is an ideal technique for the production of the average national/institutional subject due to this common social practice of justification of telling.

Paradigmatic narratives are told in sections, like life stories, and are different from developmental lists of stages. In addition, they also contain discontinuous characters. In Linde's research, for example, she reconstructed the paradigmatic narrative from oral data garnered from a number of agents and managers, paying attention to indications from the speakers when they are speaking about themselves or others that an event in the narrative is something that can generally be expected. From this data, Linde put together a general narrative of a fictional employee/ agent named "Bob" and presented it to a group of managers who agreed that this narrative was a very familiar story of an exemplary agent at the company. Linde thus determined that the problem in morale amongst the agents stemmed from the paradigmatic narrative of "invest then rest", where the agent was socialized to expect to work long hours in the beginning in order to build their business, then slow down once they had established themselves. Such a career trajectory was no longer possible in the new economic climate, and, although management was attempting to push the agents to remain aggressive in their pursuit of business through the entire span of their careers, the paradigmatic narrative still in circulation contradicted this edict. Linde concludes:

Our key finding on motivation was that agents' motivation was to a large part created by imagined and actual career trajectories. Agents are motivated not only by the inner prompting of their hearts, but also by possibilities of what kind of business they want to have, what kind of business they believe they can and should have based on the example of others, and what

others believe they should have. They are also motivated by how they want to be seen by

others and what sub communities of agents they wish to be members of. That is, agents'

imagined career trajectories are primarily social creations: What one sees as possible and

what one is told is possible powerfully shape what one believes it is possible to achieve, and

thus one's motivation to achieve it. The importance of role models is exactly this: They show

existing career trajectories one can imagine as possibilities for oneself. (p. 145)

In order to determine whether a narrative acts as/ contributes to a paradigmatic narrative,

Linde lists six guiding questions. First, the researcher must ask who tells the story, as a

paradigmatic narrative is usually told by someone other than the narrative's protagonist. Second,

she must determine the narrative's intended scope of relevance; paradigmatic narratives are

relevant to a large number of people, so they are usually presented as exemplary of a general

pattern. Third, Linde urges researchers to be mindful of events that are often narrated, as the

paradigmatic narrative is made up of many stories which have similar events in similar

sequences. In this way, she was able to construct the story of "Bob" in her own research, by

picking the repeated events from a number of narratives from her data. Fourth, the researcher

must determine whether the narrative's evaluations articulate the "core values" of the institution.

Fifth, the researcher must determine whether the narrative is aligned with the rewards structure

of the institution. In Linde's research, this means that the milestones noted in the paradigmatic

narrative match the milestones celebrated within the company with the presentation of plaques,

certificates, pins, and golfing trips, for example. Finally, the researcher needs to be mindful of

the occasions where paradigmatic narratives are told, as they are likely to come out at significant

occasions, such as recruitments, interviews, or celebrations.

During the course of her ethnographic work in the insurance company, Linde (2009) did encounter agents who rejected or who just did not follow the course laid out for them by the paradigmatic narratives. Mostly, the paradigmatic narratives did not match the career trajectories laid out for agents who were minorities or women. Women agents usually entered into the company in different ways, as it had not been long at this point that women were actively recruited as agents. Also, the reward structure did not appeal as much to women as it did to men. Minority agents did not follow the paradigmatic narrative because they were more likely to run their businesses in economically depressed neighbourhoods, and thus had to work much harder in order to achieve the milestones set out for them in the reward structure and the paradigmatic narrative. Finally, there were also agents who rejected the paradigmatic narrative, feeling that their income was good enough. Generally, these agents were singled out by management as problematic as they had "plateaued" too early in their careers.

In my research, I draw on this concept of paradigmatic narrative to explore the narratives that are circulated of exemplary "successful" immigrants to Canada. I argue that, as with the insurance company's paradigmatic narrative of "invest then rest", there exists a paradigmatic narrative for "successful immigrants" that shapes what immigrants as well as other members of Canadian society feel is possible, acceptable, and normal and within the "average" immigrant's capacity to achieve.

2.7 Governmentality and institutional narrative

As mentioned above, Linde (2009) asserts that institutional narrative helps to answer the question "who are we?" by providing members with the means to remember a past they may not even have been present for (and possibly also contest or alter it). This act of remembering allows the member to "understand the institution as a whole as well as their own place within or apart from that institution" (p. 4). Furthermore, Linde understands this process of becoming a member of a given institution as "secondary socialization", which she maintains is different and less complex than the primary socialization one experiences as a child because it involves becoming more conscious of one's place within a larger culture and taking on relevant aspects of this culture into one's own identity rather than learning the fundamentals of language and relating to others as with primary socialization. Linde prefers to refer to this process of secondary socialization as "induction" into a textual community because she feels it better represents the voluntary nature of the process she observed.

Linde specifies that an important part of the induction process of taking on the institutional narrative for oneself is how one learns to narrate one's own story in relation to it. She argues that "Thus, in religious contexts, one must know not only which stories to take as models but how the model is to be used. This requires induction into the community's narrative and symbolic practices in order to learn the appropriate narrative structure" (p. 172). In this way, Linde describes how institutional narrative acts as a tool for the production of identity.

By understanding this process of induction from within a Foucauldian framework of governmentality, we can better understand this construction of identity as a construction of oneself as a subject - someone who is at once subject to technologies of power as well as a

subject who carves out a good life from a repertoire of technologies of the self and is thus capable of resistance. In this way, an analysis of paradigmatic narrative using a governmentality framework allows for a much more nuanced reading of how the paradigmatic narrative influences individual immigrants' life stories as well as what they feel is possible in their own futures.

In the text written later in his career "Afterword: The subject and power" (1983b), Foucault specifies that the general theme of his research is not power; it is the subject. More specifically, it is the way in which human beings are made into subjects. Foucault outlines what he calls the "three modes of objectification" which effect this transformation of humans into subjects. The first is those disciplines which are labelled as "the sciences" which construct the subject within specific discourses. Examples of this mode of objectification are the objectification of the worker subject within the discourse of economics, or the living subject in natural history or biology. The second mode of objectification is "dividing practices" where the subject is divided within, or in comparison to others. Foucault examined this mode in his study of the "mad" in relation to the healthy. The third mode of objectification is "the way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject" (p. 208), for example, the way a subject constitutes him- or herself as a sexual being. In my research, I argue that institutional narrative, specifically the paradigmatic narrative, allows the immigrant subject to constitute herself as a national subject, albeit one permanently at the margins of the nation-state.

Calling for "a new economy of power relations", Foucault suggests the study of power from the perspective of the immediate struggles against specific techniques that carry out the "government of individualization". The important aspect of focusing on these struggles is that

they do not involve the search for the origins of power. Rather, they are struggles against the immediate, practical ways that subjects are acted upon. Foucault outlines 3 types of struggle: the struggle against forms of domination, the struggle against forms of exploitation; and the struggle against subjection, or the fight "against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way" (p. 212). Although the other focusses for struggle have not disappeared, Foucault notes that currently, the struggle against forms of subjection is the most common.

The reason why this kind of struggle is so prevalent now is that we are now in an era where the state's power is "both an individualizing and a totalizing form of power" (p. 213). This means that the target of state power is both the population as a whole, as is measured in statistical analysis, and the individual in her level of psychological and physical health, education, earning power, and other personal factors. Foucault places the origins of this state power in a pastoral model where it is the responsibility of the head of the church or pastor to lead their people to salvation in the next world through an in-depth concern and care for the bodies and minds of each individual member. Foucault specifies a number of changes from this older Christian meaning of pastoral. First, the word 'salvation' means something different now - it is a salvation in this world in the form of health, security, protection, and a comfortable standard of living. Second, the officials of pastoral power are more varied and numerous. Instead of a religious head, the new type of pastoral power's officials include the police and other public institutions.

In this way, the foundations of Foucault's discussions of government lie in a very broad interpretation of the term which includes much more than what we conventionally understand as the conventional management parameters of the state. Rather, it includes the government of the

family, the community, and the self. Extending this broad definition of government to the

management of a population means that:

> Government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the
>
> population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health,
>
> etc.; and the means that the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all in some
>
> sense immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act
>
> either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make
>
> possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing
>
> of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc (Foucault, 1991, p. 100).

So, it is important to note that, in a Foucauldian understanding of government in this day and

age, the most fundamental instruments of government are not the laws that make up the

disciplinary structure. Rather, they are "a range of multiform tactics" which are deployed on

individuals with a variety of different aims. Furthermore, keeping in mind that this broad

interpretation of government involves government of oneself, we must acknowledge that one

primary aim of government of these tactics is to allow the individual to govern herself

appropriately. Thus, Dean (2010) asserts that techniques of the self (mentioned above) are a part

of this "conduct of conduct", although they are also acknowledged to have the possibility for

"counter-conducts".

Foucault's use of the term "governmentality", then, refers to the ways that we think about

governing, about the different rationalities which lead to the "multiform tactics" enacted on

individuals (Dean, 2010). For Foucault, there is no absolute rationality against which all

practices can be measured. Rather, there are multiple rationalities which are bound to specific

historical practices. Foucault prefers to explore regimes of rationality on the basis of two axes, the first being what he calls "codification/prescription", which involves how a given regime of rationality "forms an ensemble of rules, procedures, means to an end, etc"; and the second being "true or false formulation" or "how it determines a domain of objects about which it is possible to articulate true or false propositions" (Foucault, 1991, p. 79). In other words, Dean (2010) asserts that Foucault demonstrates his view of rationality as context-bound, manifesting as rules and procedures as well as domains of truth.

To analyze the connection between paradigmatic (institutional) narratives and life stories from a governmentality/ technology-of-the-self perspective is to show how the transmission of paradigmatic narratives (how the telling and retelling of stories of exemplary immigrant subjects with similar event structures and evaluations in line with normative beliefs, indicating always a general pattern of "what is to be expected") acts as a technique of power. The paradigmatic narrative is a technique of power in the way that it allows for the repetition of dominant discourses, allowing for the immigrant subject to be "inducted" (Linde, 2009) into certain behaviours and expectations about their roles within their adopted nation state and their responsibilities in achieving success. However, there are two things that need to be remembered.

First, it is perhaps misleading to speak of "core values" of an institution transmitted via the evaluations within a paradigmatic narrative as if there is one central goal being pushed on the immigrant subject by the state. Rather, from a governmentality perspective, paradigmatic (institutional) narratives represent the confluence of several rationalities. Thus, the paradigmatic narrative, in its manifestation as many similar stories of exemplary immigrants, initiates the individual immigrant subject into the procedures/ tactics/ techniques that she is to use on herself

to understand her responsibilities in her new home. I argue that the discourses present in the paradigmatic narrative provide the coherence systems with which the immigrant subject constructs her own life stories and envisions her own future. In addition, the logical progression, the event structure within the paradigmatic narrative provides her also with a logical progression of expected events. In this way, the paradigmatic narrative provides a blueprint of sorts for the life story, albeit one that can be contested as it is incorporated, repeated and retold.

2.8 Life story/ narrative in research interviews

One issue that needs to be discussed further is the one of interview as social context for the production of narrative. As Georgakopoulou (2007) points out in her work on small story, the research interview is a specific kind of interaction that tends to produce a specific kind of narrative. The asymmetrical relationship between the narrator and audience/researcher, allows the narrator to hold the floor for longer periods of time, which lets her produce longer narratives that do not tend to get interrupted or challenged. Also, given that the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee is not usually a close one, the narratives produced as well as the structure of the discussion tend to be less dialogic, with the interviewee filling in gaps and frames of reference that she may not share with an unfamiliar interviewer.

Given these limitations of the research interview, can it still be a good method for collecting life story data? Are the narratives told in my research interviews representative of life stories that my participants might tell in casual 'natural' settings? Linde (1993) notes that one small difference between interview narratives and 'naturally' occurring narratives is the more frequent use of historical present in performed narratives outside of the interview setting; also, she notes

"the form of evaluation in elicited narratives may differ from that in spontaneous narrative, since spontaneous narrative may include a component of negotiation between the primary speaker and the other interlocutors - a negotiation that an interviewer may be unwilling to engage in, since it involves a direct effort to bias the data the speaker may give." (p. 61) Thus, Linde concludes that interview data can be used and generalized to be declared as representative of someone's life story, because life story, "as a major means of self-presentation, occurs naturally in a wide variety of contexts (including interviews) and is thus quite robust." (Linde, 1993, p. 61).

Still, it is important to take into account the fact that life story is only one type of narrative, and that a researcher may be missing something important if she is only to focus on this one type. Moreover, other types of narrative, such as small story (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Vasquez, 2011; Wilson & Stapleton, 2010) also present in my research data may be considered alongside the life story as technologies of the self/ power.

2.9 Big and small story

The term "small stories" was created as a research response to the perceived bias within research toward canonical narratives, the focus of Labov and Waletsky's (1997), Linde's (1993; 1997, 2009), and many others' research, which display coherent progression in past time, showing a beginning, middle and end. So, "small stories", as an antidote to this rigidly defined narrative, represent "a gamut of underrepresented narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, and shared (known) events, […] allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 381).

Thus, "small stories" name events within interaction which may "feel" like narrative, but somehow do not fit into the Labovian paradigm.

Proponents of small story research point out that the so-called "big stories" of the Labovian tradition tend to be subject to "narrative smoothing", discussed by Linde as the fabrication of a sense of coherence. They claim that "big story" presents identity as more cohesive and unitary than it really is, and also tends to erase the presence of the interviewer as well as the social context (Vasquez, 2011), whereas attention to small story opens up new possibilities for analyzing social context and co-construction of narrative. In addition, attention to small story may alert the researcher to moments of transgression and divergence from this fabrication of coherence. These possibilities are said to arise from the three core themes underpinning the small story perspective: call for naturally occurring data, "emphasis on the interactional production of stories as forms of discursive practice", and "the use of social theoretical perspectives to assist in explaining 'small story' data (Wilson & Stapleton, 2010).

However, there has been a certain amount of criticism of small story for being too open a term that leads researchers at the same time to be too invested in making distinctions between "small" and "big" story. Wilson and Stapleton (2010) note not only that "small story" can happen in the "big story" context of the research interview, but also that so-called "big stories" can show elements of the "social theoretic motivation" that some researchers claim to be unique to small story. In this way, the following analysis considers the research interviews as social interaction which benefits from careful consideration of context that may usually be outside the context of traditional "big story" research.

In addition to the use of small story, I also consider Reissman's (1997) expansion on the definition of narrative with what she calls "narrative genre". Narrative genre here "refers to types of narrative that are distinguished by a definite style and are constituted by specific conventions and codes of speech, including verb tense, temporality, sequencing, discourse markers, and other linguistic elements" (p. 156). Riessman identifies and describes "habitual narratives" as narratives that show recurring events which blur time at the same time that they show its passing; she also describes "hypothetical narratives" which employ the subjunctive in order to show things the narrator feels should have happened while evaluating what actually did happen, and "emotional narratives" which detail the sequencing of changing emotions. This opening up of understanding of narrative allows for a more robust analysis of narrative data.

In the following analysis, I make use of both a small story and "big" life story framework to investigate the interviews with my participants. By viewing the research interview process as a social process, and by allowing the small story perspective to inform my analysis, it is my hope that the contradictions, transgressions, and breaks will reveal themselves among the conventional, coherent, and expected "big stories" to create a less stable, more "impressionist" picture (Blumenreich, 2004).

2.10 Research structure

2.10.1 Video success story analysis

It was by browsing the Government of Ontario website that I found the topic of my dissertation. Looking for information about Bridge Training programs in Ontario, I came across a link that directed me toward the "success stories" of immigrants who had graduated from these

programs. As a student of narrative, I was immediately interested in how these stories were told, how they were produced, and who they were for. I was also interested in how (or whether) they might shape the expectations of people who would be the main target of these bridge training programs. As a former teacher in one such program, I knew that most students in my class had very high expectations for the program and for themselves, and these expectations often translated into high tensions in the classroom, as students worked hard to make a good impression on teachers who could act as Canadian references, and attain good internships that would help launch them into their chosen careers in Canada.

To analyze these video success stories, I first measured them up against Linde's (2009) questions for distinguishing paradigmatic narratives. Next, I reviewed the videos several times, finding common features, and identifying common discourses.

2.10.2 Participant narrative analysis

To find participants for my research, I contacted Helena, the coordinator of a program for internationally trained teachers at a college where I used to teach in an Ontario city. Previously, we had not known each other well, so when I met her again face-to-face in the summer of 2012, she only barely recognized me. Helena was not only willing to be interviewed as a participant, she also connected me with a number of her ex-students who had gone through the bridging program as well as a colleague, Sylvie, who was also an internationally trained teacher.

I composed the interview questions (APPENDIX A; APPENDIX B) in the summer of 2012 and piloted them with a fellow PhD student (who was also an internationally trained immigrant) before my first interview in August 2012. I conducted the first round of interviews in August and September 2012, suggesting to each participant that we conduct the interviews in a place that

was comfortable and convenient for them. For that first interview, two participants (Sylvie and Maya) invited me into their homes, while three participants (Beatrice, Jade, Irandokht) chose to meet me at coffee shops or restaurants close to their places of work or their homes. The second interviews took place in December 2012 and January 2013. This time, three participants (Sylvie, Maya, Helena) chose to conduct the interviews at home, while two (Irandokht, Beatrice) chose coffee shops. One participant, Jade, chose to have her interview in the cafeteria of her workplace.

In terms of the structure of the interview questions, the first interview (APPENDIX A) for each participant started with short questions that elicited basic questions such as their date of landing and country of origin. The body of the interview, however, involved more open-ended questions meant to elicit their experiences of settling in and living in Canada, as well as the changes they had gone through in their professional lives. These questions were influenced by Linde's (1993) concept of life story as a collection of narratives of significant events that tell the audience what kind of person the narrator is. After the first interview was complete, I made a rough transcript by listening to the audio-recording and notes I had made during the interview. From all six rough transcripts I made up a list of general questions for the second interview (APPENDIX B) based on common themes I had noticed. I further personalized the lists of questions for the second interview by including questions for individual participants. These individualized questions were posed to clarify elements of their life stories, or simply pursue topics we had only touched on in the first narrative. After the second round of interviews, I made in-depth transcriptions of both the first and the second interviews and emailed them to my participants, inviting feedback. At that time, I also asked each participant to suggest a

pseudonym for themselves. Of the 6 participants, only Maya did not reply, so I chose her pseudonym for her. None of the participants contacted me with feedback on their transcripts.

2.11 Data analysis

It is important to note that the presentation and analysis of the following narratives involves a multi-layering of interpretation which Riessman (1993) divides into five levels of representation. The first level is that of attending, the subject's primary experience, sensation, and noticing of events. The focus of this attention to experience depends on the subject's previous experience of the world as well as her current agenda. The second layer of representation involves the telling of this remembered experience, which involves both a selective reconstruction of events and a representation of the self for a particular audience, in this case, the research interviewer. The researcher then creates the next layer of representation with the transcription of the experience. The act of transcription, never an innocent and transparent process of transferring spoken words to the page, involves selection by the transcriber who must make decisions about the level of detail of transcription, sections to be transcribed or left out, and format of presentation. In this way, there is quite often a blurring between transcription and the next level of representation, analysis. According to Riessman, analysis involves the creation of a "metastory", the selection, exclusion, and reordering of transcription data around an analysis of events in the narrative. This act of cutting, shaping, and analysis is guided by the researcher's (and her supervisor's and committee's) political/moral values, as well as the chosen theoretical framework. The final layer of representation, according to Riessman, is the act of reading, where the reader of the narrative analysis uses their own interpretive framework to shape their understanding of the narrative.

In this way, Riessman's layering of narrative representation show a departure from Labov's assumption that oral narratives are original creations by their authors (Linde, 1997). Linde (1997) also diverges from Labov in this respect, as she argues that "A speaker's life story is held not only by the speaker, but by family, friends, and people who participate in the speaker's life. Such close associates can have storytelling rights to critique the speaker's stories, correcting facts, interpretations, and evaluations. Life stories are thus a means for socially transacting an individual's memory. […] Once we broaden the notion of memory from an individually based, cognitive phenomenon to a social phenomenon, we may also ask about the memory of groups and institutions" (p. 283). Thus, with regards to my research, I must acknowledge both the fact that, as an outsider to my participants' lives my lack of original knowledge about their lives shapes their narratives in certain ways, and my after-the-fact ordering and reordering of narrative and other discourse units/fragments implicates me in the co-construction of the life stories of my six participants. Helena acknowledged this act of narrative appropriation in her second interview when I offered to show her my transcripts of our interviews. She said:

> I strongly believe that the moment that I produce something, and even if it is transcribed, it will go through your filter, and you will have to recount my narrative, so there are filters out there and that's okay. I don't believe that there is one essential thing that (moves) around and you collect what is told without interference of your being, yourself, and your filter. I don't believe it's possible. (Line 54-58)

2.12 The position of the researcher

As the author of this study, I am the interviewer, the transcriber, the analyst, and the document writer. My involvement at multiple points in this study means that I am heavily implicated in the interpretation and retelling of the stories of the protagonists and the participants. Thus, it is important to describe my positioning vis a vis my research subjects, as well as the BTP.

Several years before conducting my analysis, I was a teacher in the BTP. Although I had previous experience teaching general ESL and English for Academic Purposes (EAP), I had never taught in a workplace language training program before. At the time I was quite young, with only four years of experience teaching in the community college system in Ontario. In addition, I had only ever had part-time teaching contracts. I found it difficult at the time to stand in front of a class full of professors, many of whom had had full-time employment at academic institutions in their countries of origin. I felt frustrated at my attempt to teach professional communication skills to these already highly accomplished individuals. Luckily I was able to channel my frustration into my PhD research to investigate both the place of bridge training in language education policy, as well as in the lives of several students.

Although the women I interviewed had never been my students, I initially felt the same feeling of disconnect from the amount of experience they already had. Again I was faced with people who had already accomplished so much professionally, on top of immigrating to a new country. I made it no secret to them that I am a white Canadian-born native speaker of English. As such, I was concerned about establishing a rapport with my participants, since I was asking them to share their life stories with me. However, as Nairn, Munro, and Smith (2005) note, it is

unrealistic for a researcher to expect to establish familiarity with her participants from the beginning, and, in fact, faced with differences in life experience, rapport may need to be developed throughout the interview process through attentiveness, and willingness to give up a certain amount of control of the interview. Taking this advice, I attempted to negotiate the gap between myself and my participants by focussing on understanding their experiences rather than attempting to relate to them immediately, and accepting occasional challenges to my questions.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework and the methodology necessary to the understanding of how an individual can construct a coherent career and life trajectory from the cultural cues that surround her. I combine Linde's (1993) concept of life story with Foucault's (1983b) notion of technology of the self to illustrate how the narratives we tell about ourselves which make up our life stories are both inseparable from the social influences that surround us, and constitutive of a learned technique that aides the subject to be understandable to others and to herself. Technology of the self, then, lends itself to discussion of the connection between how one uses various techniques to work on oneself in order to be a correct, moral, healthy, and successful individual and how one learns those same techniques. Thus, I argue that there exists a multitude of stories in circulation, stories told by other individuals in similar circumstances, as well as stories told and/or edited by government officials or textbook authors (Gulliver, 2010) made for wider circulation, which in their (re)iteration teach the individual how to tell their own story. Linde's (2009) concept of institutional narrative, specifically the type of institutional narrative called paradigmatic narrative, allows an avoidance of speaking in overly generalized

terms about the circulation of a "master narrative", and instead permits a focussing on those smaller fragments which, combined, create common narrative patterns which are important in their repetition. I also make use of a governmentality framework to show how this individual who dips into a repertoire of techniques available to her in order to tell her story, and in turn shape herself, is subject to a multitude of government rationalities which ultimately incite her to govern herself in various specific ways.

The following chapter provides a review of Federal and Ontario Provincial immigration and integration policy as it relates to my participants, who are skilled immigrants living in a large urban area in Ontario. The particular attention payed to language education policy from the time of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to the present neoliberal area allows for a more clear understanding of the context within which both the participant narratives and the paradigmatic narratives exist.

CHAPTER 3: POLICY REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides an overview of integration policy in Canada and Ontario, following its development from the time of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (commonly known as the B and B Commission) (cited in Haque, 2012) from 1963 to 1967 to the current focus on having skilled newcomers enter the labour market as quickly as possible. The reason why I start with the B and B Commission is that it is at this time that Canada entered a new era of immigration, as it opened up its borders to non-European immigrants in a drive to feed a hungry post-war economy. This new era of immigration saw the development of policy and popular discourses that would affect the possibilities for generations of future immigrants to Canada, including the protagonists and the six participants in this study. For this reason, the policy context is integral to both the construction of the paradigmatic narrative of the skilled immigrant, as shown by the four protagonists' video success stories described and analyzed in Chapter 4, and the individual life stories of the participants. The objective of this chapter is to describe the policy context within which the narratives are told, retold, and thus shaped.

Tracing integration policy proves to be a difficult task for several reasons. First, there is no single level of government or department within one government that manages integration. Thus, integration policy is spread across several large fields at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels. To make matters even more complex, the federal government, under the auspices of

nation-building, will tread into provincial jurisdiction such as with language training, making it difficult to trace funding decisions. Second, and perhaps related to the first point, is the fact that the issue of immigrant integration is a highly contentious matter. Although, as Spolsky (2004) argues about language policy, all policy is composed of beliefs or ideology as well as management/planning, integration policy, in its shifting, multifarious and interconnected nature, seems to involve an above-average number of contradictions.

The chapter starts with a summary of the origins of the current national integration framework, primarily with the conversations and shifts started with the B & B Commission. I then discuss the most salient policy resulting from this unique period in Canadian history, shifting to Ontario's implementation of federal integration policy, as well as its own initiatives, culminating in the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) of 2005 (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2006). The focus then narrows onto language policy and language education for integration as a key component of government direction on the incorporation of newcomers into the nation-state. The development of language programs for newcomers at both the federal and provincial level has shifted between generalized language education programs and more specific workplace language programs, as policy makers have responded to the changing numbers, countries of origin, and educational backgrounds of the newcomers who enter as refugees, family class, or economic class migrants. Currently, in the 4th decade of a neoliberal era which has seen dramatic restructuring of social policy at all levels of government, there has been increased formalization of language skills in the form of the Canadian Language Benchmarks and more recent requirements to show proof of language level to attain citizenship. There has also been a renewed interest in workplace language training, as government-funded

language programs for a large variety of different fields have grown drastically since the early 2000s. The focus of the latter part of the chapter is on these more recent changes as the result of federal government's singular interest in skilled immigrants as the 'designer immigrants' (De Costa, 2010) who in policy are both the much hoped-for saviours of the Canadian economy and the much-worried about burdens in need of training that will bridge them into proper positions in the knowledge economy. The chapter concludes with consideration of what the current integration policy means for immigrant women, specifically those who may have entered under the skilled class or the family class, but who have the training from their countries of origin to enter "knowledge economy" jobs in Canada.

More needs to be said, however, about the nature of policy. Ball (1993) admits that, despite his ability to critique those who are vague in their understanding of the meaning of policy, he has difficulty describing its meaning as well. Thus, he explores policy as both text and discourse, asserting that policies are more than things, they are also "processes and outcomes". In his exploration of policy as text, Ball argues that policy is constantly changing, as it is contested, and rewritten through its various stages of becoming, from its beginning stages, through legislative formulation and debate, etc. In addition, as the key authors and interpreters change (ministers, chairs of councils, etc), the policies themselves undergo shifts. Finally, as what Ball calls "textual interventions into practice" (p. 12), policies frame problems for subjects, and these problems are then dealt with (or rejected, ignored, or rearticulated) by those at the implementation level.

The problem with seeing policy as text, however, is that it opens up a large blindspot, focusing too much on the authors of policy and what their intentions are, and leaving

unacknowledged that which is not consciously thought about. Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, Ball states "we need to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge' as discourses" (p. 14). Seen as discourse, policies can be examined for the ways that they construct subjectivities, knowledges, and thus the very "problems" they are meant to address. The contestation and negotiation over policy (highlighted in understanding it as text) still exists. However, Ball asserts that these overt acts are "set within a moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains the possibilities and probabilities of interpretation and enactment" (p. 15). In this way, the discourses developed and circulated during the course of the B and B commission, described in the following section, have provided the basis for future policies for the integration of immigrants in Canada. As I show in subsequent chapters, these discourses have also helped shape the parameters for the paradigmatic narratives of the successful skilled immigrant and in turn the life stories of the individual participants interviewed in this study.

3.2 The B and B Commission and the beginning of modern integration policy

To understand the meaning of immigrant integration in the current Canadian context, it is necessary to explore its emergence from the federal multiculturalism and official language policies, specifically from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, launched in 1963. In her genealogy of the B & B commission, Haque (2012) describes three major changes that occurred in the early 1960's that provided a context for the introduction of the commission. First was the nationalist movement in Quebec, popularly known as the "Quiet

Revolution", where the Francophone population in the province began to voice and act on their long-standing dissatisfaction with their economic domination by the Anglophone population and their social subordination to the Roman Catholic church. The second major movement that helped shape the Commission was the attempt by the federal government to abolish the Indian Act. The introduction of plans in 1969 to shut down the department of Indian Affairs and abolish the Act marked another attempt (among many) by the federal government to assimilate Indigenous peoples and ultimately was rejected (Haque, 2012). However, the intention of aboriginal assimilation was carried over into the work of the Commission, which resulted in the omission of any reference to Indigenous populations in the report.

The third and most apparently relevant contextual movement was the shift in immigration policy that occurred in the 1960s. A year before the B and B Commission was announced, changes were already being made to Canadian immigration policy. The old policy which excluded prospective immigrants on the basis of racist assumptions about geographical and cultural suitability was eventually abandoned in favour of a points-based system which would select immigrants based on education and skills deemed to be useful in Canada, as well as fluency in English or French. This change in immigration law also signalled a change in how immigrants were seen in Canada. Now they began to be portrayed as workers who would be economically profitable for Canada if they were properly absorbed into Canadian society (Haque, 2010). As a result of the changes to federal immigration policy that were implemented in 1967, the majority source countries for immigrants to Canada changed from European countries such as Britain and Italy to Asian countries, meaning an increase in visible minority immigrants, destabilizing further the notion of culture as it was used over the course of the commission.

The result of these three major forces at work during the B and B commission was the articulation of Francophone and Anglophone groups as having legitimate cultural and linguistic group rights within the Canadian nation-state, the positioning of immigrants and all other groups that belong to neither Anglophone or Francophone cultural groups with their minority cultural and linguistic individual rights in relation to these dominant groups, and the erasure (or suppression) of indigenous peoples' relationship to all three groups. More specifically, the B and B Commission catalogued a struggle over, and shift in key terms, used to classify these different groups. One challenge of the commission was to step around the definition of "race" which had accumulated a negative connotation after the Holocaust (Haque, 2010; Joshee, 2007; Thobani, 2007).

Thus, the "two founding races" and reference to "ethnicities" were replaced by the division of groups by language. As Haque (2010) points out, that "hierarchy of belonging" created by the commission was perpetuated as a linguistic hierarchy. In other words, national belonging, at least on paper, became a matter of speaking English or French. It is this establishment of hierarchy of relationships that becomes important in our consideration of how integration came to be understood in Canada, as immigrants were homogenized into one group, the composition of which was changing rapidly into a group of increasingly more visible minorities with the new points system. In this linguistic hierarchy, although language was considered the key to maintaining dominant Anglophone and Francophone cultures, language and culture, as far as immigrants were concerned, were decoupled as immigrants were given the "freedom" to both maintain their cultures and learn one of the official languages. The importance

of this distribution of terms is that it supplied the foundation for the Canadian imaginary of

multiculturalism, as well as the resulting national policy of multiculturalism.

Book IV of the commission, "The cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups", laid out

the relationship that these "other ethnic groups" were to have with the official language cultures

(Haque, 2012). In its articulation of integration, the book specified that integration would be

more like acculturation than assimilation, as these groups were free to enjoy their full rights and

maintain their cultures if they integrated linguistically into Anglophone or Francophone cultures.

As the long-awaited response to Book IV, then-Prime-Minister Pierre Trudeau gave a

speech on October 8, 1971 declaring the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual

framework, which differed from the commission in one crucial aspect. Trudeau's speech clarified

that, whereas other ethnic groups were free to enjoy their individual cultural rights, the two

official language groups had collective rights, thus denying any possibility for what the

commission referred to as a "third force" of minority cultures. In the policy paper tabled the

same day as the speech, the government separated the notions of national and cultural identity so

that all citizens could claim individual cultural identities that in no way affected their national

identities. However, only those with English or French cultural identities and languages

benefited from a full range of federal support (Haque, 2012).

The policy paper outlined 4 objectives. The first was support of cultural groups that was in

no way to be interpreted as a responsibility for ensuring the continual viability of each group;

rather, the aim was to provide token funding to assist in each group's individual effort to

maintain their own cultures. The second objective was to assist members of all groups to

overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society, which did not cover

discrimination, as the government felt was this was addressed in existing policy. Rather, this had

to do with facilitating the representation of culture in museums, media, etc. The third objective

was the promotion of national unity by funding "creative encounters" and mixing amongst all

Canadian cultural groups. Finally, the fourth objective was the pledging of government support

to assist immigrants to learn the official languages.

Thus, with the movement from the fourth book of the Commission to the announcement of

the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, the federal government clearly

mapped out expectations for the relationship that immigrants were to have with the dominant/

official language groups and the primary role that language would play in that relationship. In

effect, the B & B commission influenced both integration policy and the dominant discussions

about Canadian identity. Immigrants were to integrate into a land of diversity, a tolerant

multiculturalism, albeit a multiculturalism under the clear framework of two official languages.

In subsequent chapters, specifically Chapter 8, this relationship between "multicultural"

immigrants and the two dominant language groups will be expanded upon and explored through

the participants' and protagonists' incorporation of discourses of multiculturalism and diversity

into their narratives. In addition, echoes of the "linguistic hierarchy" (Haque, 2012) developed

over the course of the commission re-emerge in the narratives of some of the participants, who

express anxiety over their accent in relation to their integration process.

3.3 Federal and provincial integration framework

As noted above, it is a difficult task to speak of integration policy and programs because they

span several departments and they involve the coordination, not only of all levels of government,

but are also influenced by international agreements and recommendations. In the following section, I trace the flow of integration policy from the federal government to the provincial government, also showing how the provincial government has grown its own integration policy since the 1960s. Currently, according to Garcea and Hibbert (2011) there are four policy frameworks at the federal level that facilitate the integration of newcomers and allow for the inclusion of racial, cultural, and religious minorities: Multiculturalism, Human Rights, Anti-racism, and Employment and Pay Equity. These frameworks in many areas extend into and coordinate with provincial policy.

Before describing these frameworks, I need to describe what is meant by both "policy" and "policy framework" in this context. "Policy framework" here refers to groupings of interrelated policies, the intentions of government as articulated in statements, acts and codes, that reach across all levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal), including also recommendations from international bodies. For example, pay equity and pay equality policy, which can be found across all three levels of government, is supported and informed by the International Labour Standards, which are published by the International Labour Organization, an agency of the United Nations (Garcea & Hibbert, 2011). Policy frameworks involve the coordination of similar and complimentary programs, the articulation of funding agreements that allow for the transfer of funds across levels of government, and provide parameters for the creation of new policy, as with the Human Rights Act which guards against the adoption of discriminatory practices and policies.

In the case of multiculturalism policy, the federal government and six provinces have specific policy, although only Ontario's policy only involves reference to the "pluralistic nature

of Ontario society" (Garcea and Hibbert, 2011 p. 47). The policies in place across Canada all include the goals of creating a welcoming and inclusive community to aid in the social and economic integration of immigrants. They allow for the funding of community-based organizations either directly or through provincial governments, depending on agreements between the federal and provincial governments. Finally, Garcea and Hibbert assert that on a symbolic level, the multiculturalism policy framework acts as an articulated reminder of a national commitment to respecting and valuing cultural diversity. Of course, as is discussed further on in this dissertation, this discourse of diversity has the effect of obscuring some fundamental imbalances in its labelling of multicultural/ diverse others.

The human rights policy framework on the federal level is made up of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and on the provincial level as various human rights acts or codes. The charter echoes the key principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and allows permanent residents all the same rights as Canadian citizens except the right to vote or stand for public office. The purposes of this framework are to ensure the respect for the human rights of all citizens and permanent residents, eliminate policies that would compromise the human rights of citizens and permanent residents, allow for venues such as tribunals and commissions that can hear and address complaints of abuses toward human rights and lay out compensatory or corrective action for anyone found guilty of these abuses.

According to Garcea and Hibbert (2011), the Anti-racism policy framework, is articulated in the federal government's "A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism" (CAPAR) (Government of Canada, 2005) that provides a coordination of policy across 20 federal departments and agencies, with the goal of promoting social cohesion and addressing barriers to

the inclusion of all citizens and permanent residents. One program funded under CAPAR and implemented by the Department of Human Resources and Skills Development is the "Racism-free Workplace Strategy", which has the mandate of raising awareness about hiring discrimination through providing sessions such as "The Business Case for Racial Diversity", delivered to federally-regulated employers (Garcea & Hibbert, 2011). Finally, the role of employment equity, pay equality, and pay equity policy framework in integration is to protect the human rights of all workers, including permanent residents and people with special visas.

Federally, this translates into a number of acts that facilitate employment equity programs for four designated groups (women, visible minorities, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people) in the federal public service, as well as private sector companies working with the public sector. Provincially, in Ontario, a more robust Employment Equity Act was replaced with a voluntary Equal Opportunity Plan under the Harris government in 1995. This change is discussed further below.

In summary, these policy frameworks, including support from the voluntary sector, have the ostensible goal of removing barriers to integration "enabling individuals to fully participate in the labour market; encouraging social and cultural connections among people of different backgrounds and identities; encouraging active civic participation; and fostering a sense of the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship and the value of diversity" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014a, p. 48).

The federal government's integration/ multiculturalism policy through the years has been tied closely to how each individual province has managed their reception of newcomers. Ontario has historically been the province with the most experience with immigration, particularly with

periodic large intakes of refugees who, as Biles et al. (2011) assert, have forced the provincial government to change their settlement infrastructure in order to meet changing demands.

As was the case federally, settlement services in Ontario were provided initially by religious and non-profit organizations, and there was a lack of coherent and official government policy on immigration and immigrant integration. However, from the early 1970's to the early 1990's, all the provinces and territories, as well as the main immigrant-receiving municipalities adopted their own multiculturalism policies (Joshee, 2007). Specifically, the Ontario provincial government responded to the changing federal immigration rules and consequent diversification of immigrants in the 1960s and 70s by creating its own Ministry of Culture and Citizenship in 1977, which provided guidelines for the provision of services to newcomers. In the early 1970s the provincial government took over administration of reception services from the federal government and created the Ontario Welcome House, which offered, among other things, free English classes and free childcare. This provincial program expanded until it was cut in the late 1990s, giving the federal government once more the sole responsibility for settlement service provision. From the 1970s to the 1980s, however, even though the federal government was still offering the bulk of settlement programs, provincial involvement grew in large part to meet the needs of large numbers of refugees from Southeast Asia. The Ministry of Education received federal funds to provide specialized support to refugee children, and the Ministry of Health also responded with programs to make sure that the newcomers were receiving appropriate medical attention. Another example of the provincial government becoming involved in the settlement sector is the creation in 1985 of the Multicultural Service Program Grants program, which was designed to provide community-based organizations with increased funding stability. Biles et al

(2011) note that this marks the first time that the majority of programs in Ontario were offered by the various levels of government and not by charitable organizations.

By the beginning of the 1990s there were growing tensions in Ontario over unaddressed issues of racism directed at minority communities living in the major urban areas in the province traditionally receiving large numbers of newcomers. The short-lived NDP government responded with a number of initiatives, including the creation of the Anti-Racism Secretariat and the Ontario Employment Equity Act. Despite these initiatives, the NDP government was criticized for not doing more to bolster inclusion infrastructure (Biles et al, 2011). In fact, despite the party's reputation for attention to issues of equity, Biles et al note that a driving motivation while the party was in power was addressing concerns over the fiscal budget.

3.4 The Canadian turn toward a "logic of neoliberalism"

The Ontario NDP attention in the 1990s on the budget is not surprising given the fact that, by the 1980s, multiculturalism policy in Canada was incorporated into a "logic of neoliberalism" (Walsh, 2011). According to North American theories of neoliberalism, a neoliberal state should promote free markets, free trade and strong individual property rights (Harvey, 2005). This market freedom also translates into an individual freedom to determine one's own entrepreneurial path. Seen in a positive light, a neoliberal agenda puts forth the market as "a desirable form of social organization, both fair and efficient", and participation in it "becomes a social good" (Connell, 2010, p. 27). In Canada, what this looks like at the level of federal policy change in the 1980s and 90s is the decentralization and shrinking of the size of government, devolution of responsibility and power to the provinces, the deregulation of banks,

loosening of control on the circulation of goods with the signing of trade agreements with other nations (such as NAFTA), the privatization of land and industries, and the provision of tax incentives to foster economic growth (Mitchell, 2001). All this change executed in the 1980s and 1990s occurred alongside a discourse of national belt-tightening brought upon by the alleged loose spending habits of previous Liberal federal governments.

In Ontario, the Progressive Conservative Party came to power in 1995 under a platform reflecting the same ideals of privatization and debt reduction, called the "Common Sense Revolution" (Harney, 2011). At this time, the government cancelled integration/inclusion initiatives such as the Employment Equity Act and downloaded responsibilities for settlement onto the municipalities, with little extra funding support (Biles et al, 2011). Joshee (2007) notes that by the mid-1990's, Ontario (as well as Alberta) had removed all government infrastructure responsible for implementing multiculturalism programs, except for their Human Rights Commissions, which became active in the promotion of social justice education. However, all provincial governments gained more power in terms of immigrant recruitment with the introduction in 1998 of the Provincial Nominee Program.

The neoliberal agenda extends beyond the economic, however, as it affects social policies (Connell, 2010), the structure of social relationships, and even the way one envisions and orders ones responsibilities and relationship with oneself (Foucault, 2008; McNay, 2009). Holborow (2007) describes how cost-cutting policies in a university setting begin to affect the way the professional relationships and projects come to be described in market terms in order to legitimize their existence under the neoliberal regime, accomplishing a re-semanticisation of these terms. Similarly, Harney (2011) explores how a non-profit organization, the Multicultural

History Society of Ontario (MHSO) reinvented itself after losing its stable provincial funding during the mid-1990s. Forced to change most positions from paid to volunteer positions and find alternative sources of funding through corporate partnerships and income-generating strategies, members of the organization adopted an entrepreneurial discourse and developed income-generating strategies in order to stay viable. However, just as Holborow (2007) cautions that a student or a refugee who is described as a "customer" does not automatically identify solely as a customer, Harney (2011) notes that this neoliberalisation of the MHSO is not totalizing in its alteration of the organization. She claims that, rather than completely changing the subjectivities of those involved, "neoliberalism confronts limitations, alternative discursive narratives, practices and ethics; therefore it is essential to study its entanglement with prior ideological formations and how it manifests in the local and historical context" (p. 1916). In the case of the MHSO, the organization maintained its core ethic of shaking the dominant Anglo-Protestant view of history with the narratives of those minority migrants who have traditionally been invisible.

Another example of how neoliberalism has had a deep impact on Canadian integration policy, is the introduction in the late 1970s and rapid expansion in the 1980s of the Business Immigration Program (BIP). In her analysis of the effect of large numbers of wealthy newcomers from Hong Kong to British Columbia under this program in the 1980s, Mitchell (2001) shows how these newcomers served the unintended purpose of filling the hole left by government cuts to social services, creating what she calls a "shadow state". In order to fulfill their commitment to invest in the Canadian economy as well as create goodwill thus dispelling their unfavourable label as "sojourners", these immigrants invested in non-profit organizations such as SUCCESS

(United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society), an agency in Vancouver's chinatown

providing services for newcomer settlement, youth and family counselling, and Language and

Employment Training, among others. Thus, Mitchell contends that SUCCESS functions in

between state and society as part of a "shadow state"; while it still receives funding from the

federal and provincial governments and is subject to some amount of government control, it also

operates as a corporate entity, influenced by market forces rather than democratic control. In

addition, the private funding which led to service expansion and consequently more government

funding has allowed SUCCESS to thrive while other community organizations and services have

been forced to close. In this way, Mitchell argues that "these combined forces thus effectively

worked to reward those voluntary sector organizations that had modernized in ways that

dovetailed with a broader neoliberal agenda" (2001, p. 183). In effect, Mitchell argues, this

creation of a "shadow state" shows that, rather than being a deliberate elite-built economic

system, neoliberalism is a pervasive "common-sense" ideology that exists at all levels of society,

built incrementally by individual policy.

Another implication of this move toward a neoliberal rationality for immigration is the

shift in policy during the 1990s towards a reformed immigration system, specifically the reform

of the Immigrant selection or "points system" in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

(IRPA) of 2001. The end result of the federal government's 5-year plan (1995-2000) which

aimed to increase the proportion of economic class immigrants (who were subject to the points

system) to family class and refugee class immigrants (who were not) was the change of the

points system to add more weight to education, labour market qualifications, and language

ability (Walsh, 2011; Millar, 2014). The reason why the immigrant selection framework (points

system) is highly relevant here is that, as Millar (2014) points out, use of and modifications to the immigrant selection system provide a view of how the federal government envisions the process of immigrant integration. In other words, successful applicants are meant to have the skills required to be able to integrate into Canadian society without much help from the government; therefore, it is highly informative to look at the criteria that the government deems the most important to make a successful immigrant. As stated in the 2014 CIC Performance Report (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014, p. 26), "The goal of the Program is to select immigrants who will make a long-term contribution to Canada's national and structural labour market needs, in support of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy. The selection and processing involve the issuance of a permanent resident visa to qualified applicants, as well as the refusal of unqualified applicants". Thus, as Walsh (2011) asserts, the points system has become a tool for risk management in the selection of appropriate immigrants, or those who have the capacity to contribute to the economy as soon as possible, versus those who need to be identified and rejected as possible burdens to the system.

More recently, in 2012, the government announced yet more changes to the Points System that would favour applicants to the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) who have higher language proficiency, are younger in age, and have employment confirmed prior to landing. In addition, applicants with Canadian work and study experience were to be given credit under the adaptability scale, and foreign work experience was to be devalued. This change reinforces the 2008 establishment by the federal government of a separate Canadian Experience Class, and both together mark a policy interest in those who have already proven their skills in the Canadian labour market.

The primary way successive governments since the late 1990s have envisioned a strong

national economy is through the growth of a specifically knowledge-based economy, and so the

"knowledge economy" has become an important aspect of neoliberal discourse in policy. What

this means for immigrant selection and integration is that the most desirable immigrants are the

most skilled, and thus more programs come to be tailored to them. In 2002, the federal

government under Jean Chretien presented two papers, *Achieving Excellence* (Industry Canada,

2002) and *Knowledge Matters* (Human Resources Development Canada, 2002) outlining

Canada's Innovation Strategy, a framework for improving Canada's position in the global

economy. The problem outlined in *Achieving Excellence* is that, despite boasting a high standard

of living, Canada was lagging behind the United States in the global competition for talent and

investment dollars due to a lower level of productivity. In order to increase productivity, the

nation was called upon to increase innovation, defined in the paper as the fostering of new ideas

as well as new markets beyond the national borders. *Achieving Excellence* outlined 4 goals

toward increasing innovation; nurturing research and development and thus increasing

knowledge production, refreshing and growing the number of skilled workers to fill perceived

skill gaps in the labour market, updating business regulation policies, and fostering innovation at

a local level. *Knowledge Matters* also highlighted the lack of skilled labour as a problem and

warned of a "looming demographic crunch" as the large number of baby boomers in the

workforce would begin to retire, and the remaining workforce was considered "under skilled".

The solution to this problem, as outlined in the paper, would be targeted immigration (to be

achieved under the IRPA of 2001) and an increased focus on training the labour force that is

already here. In fact, the training envisaged in the paper targeted not only adults, but every level

of development, from early childhood education to adult re-training, as it emphasized that workers in the knowledge-based economy needed to engage in lifelong learning.

The *Knowledge Matters* paper reported a government concern with the decreasing labour-market performance of immigrants, noting that there was a widening income gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers with comparable skills. It recognized 7 key determinants of successful immigrant integration: language fluency, higher education levels, prior links to Canada via prior work or study experience in the country, recognition of qualifications, labour market information, Canadian work experience, and positive public and employer attitudes. In order to improve immigrants' labour market performance, the federal government aimed to improve pathways to credential recognition as well as increase levels of language training, thus allowing more immigrants to integrate successfully, providing more benefits to Canada's self-perceived knowledge-based economy.

The mode of selection of desirable "skilled" candidates for immigration, and the training programs offered to these desirable immigrants reveals how Canadian immigration and integration policy is based on a human capital model (Schalm & Guan, 2009, p. 23). As neoliberalism is a pervasive discourse that extends beyond the economic and the weakening of a state's obligations to its citizens to the responsibilization of those citizens to become good neoliberal subjects, Human Capital Theory (HCT) has become the way of envisioning how a good neoliberal subject operates within the market economy. The worker becomes an active economic subject indivisible from her own labour, and thus the neoliberal enterprise, under HCT, focusses on the breakdown of the worker's behaviours, habits, skills and the worker's responsibility for these aspects of self, as tools that will increase the value/efficiency of the

worker's labour (Foucault, 2008; Lemke, 2001). To increase the value of these intrinsic

attributes, the worker-subject must invest in herself through constant education, self-care,

relationships, and hygiene. Thus, the above examples of immigrant selection in the economic

class using the points system show what attributes the federal government feels are essential

aspects of an immigrant's human capital.

Beyond the markers of human capital noted in the points system, such as education and

English or French language proficiency, even the "diversity" of the immigrant can be

incorporated as an aspect/ attribute of her human capital (Walsh, 2011; Matus & Infante, 2011),

since a "diverse individual" who has ties to oversees markets such as the BIP immigrants from

Hong Kong or who has a heightened understanding of and tolerance for other cultures is a

stronger player in the globalized economy. In this way, although Harney (2011) found evidence

that the MHSO had not abandoned its organizational ethic, its workers still adopted a neoliberal

rationalization, marketing Ontario's history of diversity as an important economic strength, and

their own (mostly free) labour as entrepreneurial and innovative.

However, it needs to be mentioned that wealthy investors, and those subject to the points

system, belong to only one kind of migrant managed in the neoliberal state. Canada has also seen

the increase in the temporary foreign worker class, as well as transnational agreements that aid

the movement of labour and capital across the nation's borders. Designed to allow Canadian

employers to hire workers from abroad when there is a shortage of qualified workers in the

domestic labour market, the number of holders of valid work permits signed in 2014 under the

Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) was 95 086, marking an increase from previous

years. This number is second only to the number of Economic Class immigrants in 2014 at 165 089 (or 63% of the total number of permanent residents).

Migrants entering under the TFWP may be both higher-skilled or lower-skilled, although, according to government data (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014), lower-skilled Temporary Foreign Workers account for more than 50% of the program. In addition, after a 2014 revelation of abuses of the TFWP, primarily in the low-skilled food service industry, the federal government put a temporary halt to the program, eventually introducing a separate international mobility program in 2015 to address intracompany transfers and visiting scholars. As Cote-Boucher (2010) asserts in her analysis of border pre-clearance in North-America, the ordering of neoliberal subjectivities in immigration policy is not contained only in more privileged classes of migrants. Individuals with increased global mobility, thanks to screening programs such as the NEXUS pass system, include lower-skilled workers (such as truck-drivers who regularly need to cross boarders with shipments) as well as higher-skilled knowledge workers. Still, as I illustrate below, both provincial and federal policy have devoted a disproportionately large amount of attention to the incorporation of skilled newcomers into the neoliberal framework.

All six participants and presumably all four protagonists arrived as skilled workers or spouses of skilled workers. Thus, they represent the class of immigrants targeted in *Achieving excellence* (Industry Canada, 2002) and *Knowledge matters* (Human Resources Development Canada, 2002) and subsequent federal government immigration initiatives. As such, they have been determined to possess the human capital necessary to succeed in the Canadian labour market. As discussed in subsequent chapters, both protagonists, as narrators of a provincial government-crafted institutional narrative of immigrant success, and the participants are subject

to neoliberal discourses which influence their perspectives on bridge training (and other training deemed necessary for their future employment), their own responsibilities toward employment and self-sufficiency, as well as their paths toward integration.

3.5 Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) and the labour market integration of skilled newcomers

In 2003, a liberal government was elected in Ontario and showed renewed interest in issues of immigrant integration, specifically in labour-market integration with the new Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration including a labour market unit (Biles et al, 2011). The focus of the new government became the construction of a new funding agreement with the federal government that would see improved partnerships among all three levels of government. Thus, the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) was born in 2005 (Biles et al, 2011).

According to the "Strategic Plan for Settlement and Language Training" (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2006), the document that set out a plan for achieving the COIA's goals, the agreement aimed to both improve the social and economic integration of newcomers, as well as increase the economic benefits of immigration for the state through the Provincial Nominee Program and the Temporary Foreign Worker Agreement. COIA promised an extra $920 million in federal funding for settlement services and language training programs in Ontario over the next 5 years, providing guidelines for partnerships between the federal, provincial, and municipal governments.

Following consultations with newcomers and service providers, it was determined that the partnership would foster a coordinated framework of services that would provide "clear

pathways to services newcomers need such as language training, labour market integration, and social services", provide higher level classes and assessment for the federal government's flagship language program, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC); and fund workplace language training programs. Finally, it is important to note that COIA was tabled at the same time as the Canada-Ontario Labour Market Development Agreement, showing a clear link in government policy development between immigration and employment.

The COIA was set to expire in 2010, but was renewed for an additional year. According to Biles et al (2011), the provincial government indicated that in the future, it wished to pursue a devolution of power akin to the agreement that the federal government has with Quebec, that has more control over its immigrant selection. However, the federal government has been less enthusiastic about this proposal, asserting that immigration is a matter of nation building (Biles et al, 2011, p. 205), and thus must be coordinated under a national plan. Currently, the province is heavily involved in immigrant integration programs, specifically in language training, although it is often unclear which initiatives receive federal versus provincial funding (Biles et al, 2011). Still, there are several provincial ministries that provide services to immigrants who are in the process of settling/ integrating, most significantly MCI, whose priority areas are "attracting newcomers, coordinating settlement services, language training, labour market integration, and community and employer engagement" (p. 213). MCI is also responsible for the Provincial Nominee Program, and the Access to Regulated Professions Act (2006) that coordinates audits of 35 regulated professions and 26 trades, making sure that credentializing practices are transparent and fair.

3.6 Language programs in Canada

As the issue of language came to symbolize the key of immigrant integration, language education provision changed along with the shifting relationships between the two dominant language groups and the newcomers chosen under shifting selection criteria. Before 1947, language education programs were run by NGOs, churches, and other private-citizen-run enterprises (Burnaby, 2002). At this point, the federal government created the Citizenship and Language Instruction and Language Textbook Agreements (CILT), which provided for half the cost of ESL instruction in school boards and NGOs and covered the entire cost of textbooks to be used in these programs. This first federally-organized policy (CILT) was designed with the intention of giving immigrants the language tools they needed in order to pass the citizenship test.

It is important to mention here that, due to the fact that education is under the jurisdiction of the provinces, any language training initiative by the federal government to go with its national immigration/integration plans has been carried out with consideration for the federal government's relationship with the provincial governments. Thus, just as the federal government tread carefully around control of adult immigrant language education, causing it to have little control over how their funding money was used with CILT and many subsequent programs (Fleming, 2007), the provincial governments also responded with their own sets of policies for language education provision to aid integration (Burnaby, 2002). By the late 1950's, the Ontario provincial government created a branch devoted to citizenship which began to organize professional support for ESL teachers such as conferences, newsletters, and specialized ESL textbooks (Burnaby, 2002, p. 69). The province would take the lead in providing regulation,

certification, and professional development of ESL teachers with the creation of TESL Ontario in 1972. Ontario would also fund its own language classes. One provincial language program that emerged in the 1970s would eventually be known as the "Newcomer Language/ Orientation Classes". This program, which was designed for parents and their pre-school-aged children, grew to involve over 100 different locations, and was eventually co-sponsored by boards of education. Also, in terms of fulfilling the less well defined integration mandate of supporting cultures and languages other than those of the English and French under the banner of multiculturalism, the Ministry of Education approved heritage language programs in 1997.

After the 1967 changes to the Immigration Act that introduced the points system that addressed the gaps in human resources in a growing Canadian economy, the federal government again cooperated with the provinces to help bear the cost of helping immigrants access the labour market in the creation of the Manpower Program or the Canadian Job Strategies Program (Burnaby, 2002; Fleming, 2007), which was designed for immigrants (and citizens) who could not secure employment. For people who qualified, the federal government purchased "training seats" in full-time provincially-run programs and also provided a basic living allowance. According to Fleming (2007), there were several problems with the program, which included eligibility criteria that were so specific that only the head of the household (usually a man) qualified, causing low enrolment despite high demand. A court challenge by several different immigrant organizations caused the suspension of the Manpower program (Arat-Koc, 2009), the end of CILT, and lead to the eventual creation in the 1980s of the Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP). With the SLTP, funding was given on an annual basis to NGOs and other programs to provide language training, thus giving the federal government more control in how

these organizations administered language classes. The criticism that emerged about the SLTP was that it was chronically underfunded, causing much stress at the implementation level (Fleming, 2007).

3.6.1 Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB).

In 1990, the federal government announced a new four-year immigration plan which led in 1992 to the creation of Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), a basic ESL education program offering language for settlement purposes to all adult immigrants in their first 3 years of residence, and Labour Market Language Training (LMLT), a smaller program for LINC graduates that would provide more advanced labour-market focused language training. While LMLT was short-lived, LINC has expanded, especially in Ontario and has seen an increase in the range of levels available. Offering 900 hours of instruction with the possibility in some locations of childcare, transportation funding, welfare support and Employment Insurance, it is still the federal government's flagship language program.

While at first there were very few instructional guidelines in the LINC program (Fleming, 2007), the government has funded the production of curriculum guidelines such as the 2002 LINC Curriculum Guidelines. LINC's funding structure is such that the federal government has contracted LINC funding directly to delivery agencies in order to make the program more cost-effective "thus largely bypassing union wage standards and the power of the provinces themselves" (Burnaby, 2002, p. 75). The result, in terms of administration of LINC, is reportedly precarious funding and challenging teaching conditions (Burnaby, 2002; Haque & Cray, 2007).

In addition to this criticism, LINC has been critiqued for the short period of time that newcomers can access it (Burnaby, 2002).

The LINC program also operates as a de facto citizenship education program. In fact, federal government officials have assumed that LINC classes cover citizenship education (Derwing & Thomson, 2005). With the cancellation of the CILT agreement and the implementation of LINC, the number of citizenship classes has declined drastically, making LINC a main source of information for newcomers about what it is to be a Canadian citizen. However, as has been asserted by numerous researchers (Derwing & Thomson, 2005; Fleming, 2010; Haque & Cray, 2007), at least before the expansion of levels in the LINC program, the level of instruction is too low to aid students in participating fully as citizens.

Derwing and Thomson (2005) found that teachers they interviewed felt that, although they accepted a dual role as language and citizenship teachers, they were ill equipped, with little or no specialized training and few resources. Thus, teachers focused on less abstract and controversial aspects of culture. In a focussed analysis of 24 frequently used textbooks, Gulliver (2010) found that the "success stories" available were overly simplistic and unproblematized, and presented Canada as a "redeemer of newcomers" (p. 741).

In his analysis of the production, reception, and implementation of the LINC 4 & 5 Curriculum Guidelines, Pinet (2006) found that the documents put forward a transactional model for teaching citizenship, where learners are encouraged by facilitator-teachers to follow a set process towards problem solving. However, he also found that teachers did not necessarily follow a transactional model, and that at least one teacher prepared students to be more socially engaged. In summary, it appears that the low language level offered affects the quality of

citizenship education available to newcomers, although in contrast, Fleming (2010) remarked that the LINC students he interviewed had a more complex understanding of citizenship than was discussed in curricular documents.

The same year that the federal government created the LINC program, they also funded a fledgling project to "investigate the need for Canadian language standards" (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks, 2012, p. I). With the lack of language standardization now figured as problematic, CIC created an organization at arms length to the government, the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks and in 2000 The Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) document was published. Based on the theory of communicative language ability, the document separates this ability into a set of competencies in reading, writing, listening and speaking with 12 levels of complexity. In the most recent version of the document from 2012, the authors assert that the intended readership for the benchmarks are instructors, assessors, resource developers, funders, as well as learners themselves who are to use the benchmarks for monitoring their own progress and setting goals for their language learning.

The benchmarks represent another factor that may affect the way that citizenship issues are engaged within the language classroom. Several researchers found that the use of the CLB specifically had a detrimental effect on the way language was taught and integration was dealt with in the LINC classroom. In their research of LINC classroom practices, Cray and Currie (2004) found that the Benchmarks focussed on discrete skills which detracted from the goals of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and the possibility of creating a classroom environment that encouraged a more active type of citizenship. The authors focussed specifically on the Benchmark level 3 for writing to illustrate their point. Asserting that current literacy

pedagogy recommended a model of literacy that linked writing to all other language skills and to the learner's environment, Cray and Currie note that for Benchmark 3, not only is writing visually separated from all other skills, the indicator/descriptor is "accuracy", thus gearing both writing activities and formative learner assessment toward fostering and measuring accuracy. Fleming's (2010) more recent study of 25 Punjabi-speaking newcomers in a language program in BC influenced by the CLB supports Derwing and Thompson's (2005) findings, adding that there is a disconnect between the construction of citizenship in CLB documents and the understanding of citizenship amongst the participants.

Furthermore, this breakdown in the Benchmarks of language into discrete competencies comprising a measurable skill is a key aspect of the way that neoliberal integration/immigration policies have infiltrated immigrant subjectivities (Millar, 2013; Gibb, 2008). In his critical discourse analysis of various language policy documents, Millar (2013) charts changes in how these documents refer to language and notes that "an undefined notion of 'language ability' was successively transformed into a notion of 'language skills', which was then referenced to a framework of benchmarks of 'communicative proficiency'" (p. 22). This later term draws upon the well-established research of communicative language proficiency, thus harnessing an academic discourse, adding legitimacy to the language skills breakdown that would aid a learner to calculate which skills are needed to accomplish a given job-related task.

In addition, Millar contends that language proficiency in these documents is figured as a determinant of successful integration. The lack of the required level of language proficiency becomes the individual newcomer's failure to integrate properly into Canadian society and the gaining of language skills becomes a matter of increasing one's own human capital for the

achievement of stable and desirable employment and proper economic integration (Millar, 2013, Gibb, 2008). Thus, the management of language as a measurable skill is a valuable tool in the neoliberal responsibilization of the individual/ neoliberal worker subject.

3.6.2 Testing regimes

As illustrated above, one of the most important effects of the establishment of both LINC and the Benchmarks was that these two initiatives marked the federal government's first steps to the formalization of their expectations for the language level required for immigrant integration (or at least achieve citizenship), what their commitment was to aiding immigrants to reach that level, and what responsibility the newcomer had to reach this level.

Language skill levels were further formalized in the LINC program with the implementation in (2012) of Portfolio Based Language Assessment (PBLA). Funded by CIC and coordinated with the CLB, PBLA represents both a formative and summative assessment tool, through the gathering of "artefacts", self-, peer-, and teacher assessments of a learner in the LINC program in the four skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing into one binder that the learner must maintain him or herself. In this way, the PBLA is designed to address the identified problem of inconsistent and "ad hoc" assessment practices in LINC classrooms. As argued by Pettis (2014), these more stringent assessment requirements will then improve the reliability of reporting outcomes to the federal government.

In 2010, the federal government announced that all prospective immigrants to Canada must submit proof of their language skills in the form of test results from an approved third party where previously writing samples had been accepted. Citing concern that some applicants would plagiarize their writing samples under the old rules, the CIC-issued backgrounder (Citizenship

and Immigration Canada, 2010) asserted that test results would provide more accuracy and reliability in the rewarding of points for immigration and provide more transparency for the public service as well as the prospective newcomer. In addition, the backgrounder noted that test results would also prove useful to regulatory bodies or recruiting employers in the private sector that already require proof of language assessment. It concludes that this change contributes to the improvement of immigrant labour-market integration starting with the increased weight in the points system given to language ability under the 2001 IRPA. Thus, the backgrounder draws a clear link between language level formalization, higher language levels, and labour market integration.

In 2011 the federal government added a language test requirement to the citizenship process, requiring the results from a 3rd party test or proof from the applicant that they achieved a Benchmark of 4 in listening and speaking from a government-funded language program. As this benchmark describes a fairly basic language ability where the speaker can attend to everyday needs such as shopping and hold short conversations about familiar topics, the language threshold to achieve citizenship appears to be quite low, especially when considering the high language levels required of newcomers under the skilled class.

In Millar's (2014) analysis of the Canadian testing regime, the policy-makers interviewed about the choice of CLB 4 clarified that this language requirement is meant to address the levels of those who are not subject to the points system, such as refugees and family class newcomers. Furthermore, although the policy makers acknowledge that CLB 4 does not represent a high-enough language level for labour market integration, the stated goal of CLB 4 as proof of the

ability to participate as an "active citizen" is vague enough to act symbolically as one step on the path to full integration.

In 2014, language requirements were again targeted and strengthened in the controversial bill C-24, "Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act". As well as making residency requirements more strict and giving the government the power to remove citizenship from a dual citizen who is convicted of a terrorist act, the bill also increased the age range of those required to provide language proficiency proof from 18-54 to 14-64. During a debate in Parliament on Bill C-24 (June 16, 2014), former minister of Citizenship and Immigration Jason Kenney stated in defence of the language requirement changes:

> I was disturbed in my early tenure at immigration to encounter a significant number of people who had obtained Canadian citizenship in their adult years, whether they were middle-aged or in young adulthood, but who could not communicate in either English or French. The notion that citizens should be able to speak one of our two languages is not an invention of the government. It is not unique to Canada. It has always been a feature of our citizenship law, ever since the first one was adopted in 1947 by the government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. Why? It is because citizenship represents full membership in our political community. It implies participation in our shared civic life. It grants the right of self-government through voting to select one's own government or, indeed, of participating in it by running for public office. One cannot do those things fully if one does not have the ability to communicate with one's fellow citizens (Kenney, June 16 2014).

In this way, Kenney justified the changes and dismissed criticism that older applicants were not being given the special consideration they needed by extolling the "common-sense" notion that

one should be able to demonstrate knowledge in one of the official languages in order to be a

complete member of Canadian society. Drawing on historical precedent, Kenney evokes

language as key to civic participation rather than essential to economic integration, likely

because the change would affect immigrants aged 55 to 64, who are considered beyond their

most economically productive, and immigrants aged 14-18, who are not yet fully involved in the

labour market. Whether the strengthened language requirements were to act as an extra incentive

for newcomers to learn English or French, or whether they were meant to do a better job of

separating the deserving applicants from the undeserving became a matter of audience inference.

In any case, the Liberal government that was voted in federally in 2015 has put forth a bill to

change the Citizen Act again. One proposed amendment is to change the age range required to

submit language proficiency proof for citizenship back to 18-54 (CIC News: Canadian

Immigration Newsletter, 2016).

According to Millar (2014), the economic rationality which now drives immigrant selection

and regulation is responsible for the revaluation of language in Canada. Thus, a number of cost-

benefit analyses through the use of the point system are conducted to identify potential

immigrants who will profit the national economy. Within the points system is an in-depth

description of who this potentially economically profitable immigrant subject is. In this way, the

refining of the tools used to measure the language proficiency of candidates for immigration as

well as language learners in the LINC program represent a refining of government understanding

and monitoring of language skill as important human capital in a growing knowledge economy.

The effect of these tighter controls on immigrant selection through language skill evaluation,

rather than a responsibilization of the individual immigrant to grow and maintain her language

skill as human capital, is a reported restriction on immigrants' access to nationality (Migrant

Integration Policy Index, 2015).

3.6.3 Enhanced Language Training Initiative (ELT) and Bridge Training Programs (BTP)

Another notable movement in the development of immigrant language training is in the

current shift toward labour market specific training. As shown above, since the beginning of

federal involvement in language training, there has been an oscillation between language

programs like the Manpower program and LMLT which offer labour market-focussed language

training, and more generalized programs and funding structures like CILT, SLTP, and LINC.

Since the early 2000s, at both the provincial and the federal level, there has been a focus again on

labour-market specific language training in order to address the increasing difficulties

newcomers have in securing employment commensurate to their skill levels. What emerged over

the first decade of the 21st century was three main program types: Enhanced Language Training

(ELT), Bridge Training Programs (BTP), and Occupation-specific Language Training (OSLT).

ELT began as a federal pilot program in 2003-4, and was given additional funding of

approximately $20 million per year through the 2005 Internationally Trained Workers Initiative

in partnership with provinces, municipalities, and providers (Allan, 2013). ELT programs

typically include workplace language training as well as a mentorship or workplace internship

and are delivered by settlement and immigrant services agencies. OSLT and Bridging Programs

both involve partnerships between CIC and Colleges Ontario, and both received federal funding

through the COIA in 2006 (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2006). OSLT was

purely focused on the development of English or French workplace language learning, targeted

toward learners at a Benchmark of 6 to 8 who wanted to reenter employment related to their

previous training, or who wanted to go on to do additional bridge training (Colleges Ontario, 2011).

Finally, as for Bridge Training, although Fleming (2007) notes that the Province of Ontario devoted $15 million to programs in 2002, with additional federal stake in the programs from 2006 with the implementation of the COIA, Bridge Training programs did pre-date these major funding infusions. The CARE for Nurses Bridge Training project was first launched in 2001 with a grant from the Maytree Foundation and support from the Ontario College of Nurses and was designed to provide internationally trained nurses with the language training and practical experience to pass their licensing exams. Currently, the Government of Ontario, with additional funding from the federal government, supports bridging programs in colleges and universities as well as community organizations across Ontario.

Bridge training programs are designed for newcomers who enter with a Benchmark level 8, and thus supplies advanced sector specific language training as well as additional training in the newcomer's field as well as support in the credentializing process if the targeted profession is regulated. Students must pay tuition, but may apply for a bursary of up to $ 5000 from the Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. In April 2015, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration, and International Trade (MCI) announced an investment of $9.4 million over the following 3 years in 10 new bridging programs, adding to the 80 programs already in existence across Ontario.

In August 2016 the government of Ontario announced that it would be supporting 11 new Bridge Training projects. These projects, which fall under the province's Bridge Training Program, focus more on outreach to employers and creation of online recruiting resources than

they do on immigrant training. Included in the projects are a micro-loan program for immigrants who need funds to pay licensing fees or training programs, and employer workshops and other resources aimed at improving the integration into and retention of immigrants in the workplace. Also, there are two projects that target non-profession-specific language skills. One is a course for understanding workplace culture developed by the Ontario Society of Professional Engineers (OSPE), and the other is a curriculum framework which promises to chart all competencies required to negotiate communication and culture in the workplace.

With the growth of these increasingly popular workplace language training programs, TESL Ontario has created a new post-TESL training certificate in Language Training for Employment, in order to address the need perceived at a 2010 TESL Ontario program review (Bartel, 2013). As the TESL Ontario teacher training does not include instruction for teacher-trainees in this area, and as workplace language and the labour market is even being discussed in LINC classes, the certificate in Language Training for Employment is meant to prepare teachers to address issues of workplace pragmatics. According to Bartel, "this means the various strategies used to negotiate particular speech acts, sequential management of speech acts, the effects that various social factors, like power distance, have on a speech act. Employers know pragmatics as 'soft skills'" (p. 110).

This increased focus on workplace language training is not without criticism. First, the focus on learning for employment purposes neglects the complicated and multifarious nature of a learner's subjectivity (Fleming, 2007; Gibb, 2008), and consequently neglects the many ways language learning can contribute to a growing sense of citizenship. More specifically, such employment language programs arise from the shift in government integration policy toward

seeing immigrant integration through the logic of human capital. In this way, as skill in an

official language enhances the newcomer's human capital, and consequent performance in the

labour market, language programs must increasingly focus on language skills which are directly

applicable to the workplace. In her 2008 ethnographic research of an ELT program in Toronto,

Allan (2013) shows how classes did not focus on sector-specific or advanced language skills as

was advertised. Rather, instructors focused on "good" communication skills that would allow the

learner/newcomer to present herself as a flexible and open worker engaged in lifelong learning.

Allan argues that this instructional focus is "skill-washing", the ignoring of systemic

discrimination in the credentializing process and the labour market and over emphasis on the

"language barrier" as the sole barrier to employment. In this way, the focus on the language

barrier places the responsibility for labour market integration on the newcomer (Gibb, 2008,

Millar, 2013); it is implied that if a newcomer works hard enough to increase her language skills

in the right way, she will grow her human capital, allowing her to access employment.

In addition, although there are reports that participants in such programs are successful in

aiding newcomers to find employment, there are also criticisms that such language programs, as

well as other labour market integration policies, do not lead to employment that is stable or

equivalent in status/ skill-level to newcomers' previous careers. According to a qualitative

formative evaluation of Enhanced Language Training programs published by CIC in 2008

(Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008), 59% of the program graduates that were

interviewed reported gaining employment that was "commensurate with the employment they

had before their arrival in Canada". However, the same study qualified that the data was neither

detailed nor far-reaching enough to determine the skill level of the employment or the long-term

career prospects of the participants. In their 2001 study of the experiences of 8 newcomers who took part in a bridge training program for health care aides, Wong, Duff, and Early noted that the only participant who found permanent stable employment was also the only male participant. The major contributing difference between him and the other participants appeared to be the support he received from his spouse in balancing his personal and family responsibilities. Aside from lack of childcare support, other newcomers involved in workplace language programs report lack of Canadian experience as a major barrier to finding employment (Allan, 2013; Mojab, 2001; Duguay, 2012). In fact, Allan notes that participants in her study cited this lack as of Canadian experience as a greater worry to them than their language ability.

In addition, although Canada received a high overall ranking in the MIPEX scale of 6th out of 38 countries (higher than the US with a rank of 9th and Australia with the rank of 8th) and although its labour market mobility evaluation was positive, citing a variety of work-related integration services such as workplace language programs, policy does not necessarily reflect the lived experience of many newcomers (Migrant Integration Policy Index, 2015). At the MIPEX media event (MIPEX, May 27 2015), Ratna Omidvar, then professor with Global Diversity Exchange (and now Canadian Senator), noted that labour market discrimination, credentialization, and precarious non-permanent employment (especially for women), remain problems for newcomers in Canada. She also criticized the federal government's singular focus on highly-skilled workers at the expense of other newcomers who also take part in the labour market. She urged that these groups should also be included in the federal and provincial governments' labour market policies.

As graduates of Ontario bridge training programs, both the participants and the protagonists are subject to the current trend in language training toward addressing specific workplace needs. Although, as illustrated above, there have been other moments in the history of language training in Canada that the pendulum has swung in favour of workplace language training, it is at this particular time that Ontario in particular is seeing such a diversification of these programs. What this means for the participants in particular is that they are more likely to share a classroom with other students who are of the same socio-economic status, with the same profession, who entered the country under the same skilled worker class. Such a homogeneous classroom environment, designed to allow the program to address specific workplace needs, both allows the students to network with their classmates easily, but also steers the focus of bridge training toward pragmatic concerns and away from more general discussions of citizenship.

3.7 Women and integration

In CIC's Annual report for 2014, the government announced a narrowing of the gender gap in the last 10 years among the successful applicants to the Federal Skilled Workers (FSW) program, reporting that the number of women principal applicants to the program went from 26% in 2004 to 38% in 2013. Add to this the evidence that the spouses of skilled workers tend to be skilled themselves (Man, 2004), and one can expect that there is also an increasing number of women accessing workplace language training.

However, immigrant women face a larger number of barriers to accessing such services. They are more likely to be the family members responsible for childcare (Mojab, 2001; Man, 2004), as they commonly lack an extended family network or the earning power to be able to

afford daycare. In addition, the stress on a family's financial resources during the immigration and settlement process means that families often must choose to focus on one family member at a time. In this way, some of the women in Man's study reported needing to defer their career goals due to the lack of funds to meet their own accreditation. This delay in accessing services such as language training and other services can be damaging, as programs such as LINC have time limits, thus forcing women in this situation to pay for their language training. Consequently, in their large-scale study of immigrant women in Canada, Kilbride et al (2008) warn that this delay in accessing language training in particular not only affects the family's economic stability, it also delays their abilities to interact socially with other Canadians. Also, with the tightening of language requirements for attaining citizenship, women unable to access language training are also at risk of not being able to access citizenship as soon as others, delaying their ability to vote, among other things.

Such an imbalance in integration policy between genders results from the neoliberal restructuring of Canadian society (Arat-Koc, 1999). First, with the reduction of settlement services and the neoliberal emphasis on self-sufficiency, women who have children as well as other family responsibilities experience an extra burden. Secondly, as Arat-Koc asserts in his analysis of this neoliberal restructuring, the points system, following neoliberal economic theory, does not factor into consideration domestic labour as contributing to the economy. Thus, the workplace language training programs which have multiplied since the early 2000s which target those with the skills under a human capital framework do not address the needs of a certain portion of the population.

3.8 Conclusion

Immigrant immigration policy in Canada and Ontario since the initiation of the B and B Commission has been characterized by increasing specification of the human resources needs of the state balanced against the adoption of multiculturalism as a symbolic national commitment to tolerance of cultural diversity. Now firmly powered by neoliberal rationalities/ discourses of human capital and self-responsibilitization, integration policy is focussing on the "designer immigrants" (De Costa, 2010) who, with their previously-acquired professional skills, are the workers who will bring both international investment dollars and innovative ideas to the much-promoted knowledge economy. However, these same discourses of human capital and self-responsibilitization make it possible for a national conversation of deficit amongst newcomers to Canada, whether it be conversation about deficiency in language or communication skills, or deficiency in Canadian credentials or Canadian experience. This discourse of immigrant deficit has been deployed to explain the reason why many skilled immigrants are not gaining employment commensurate with their qualifications, and consequently why they are not the saviours of the economy that they are meant to be. The expansion of higher level training programs in Ontario, such as OSLT, ELT, and Bridge Training are testament to the focus being placed on addressing this perceived deficit.

The following chapters explore and focus specifically on the video success stories of Bridge Training graduates, and on the life stories of 6 internationally trained immigrant women, 4 of whom were graduates of a BTP and one of whom was a coordinator and teacher in the same program. This narrative approach, taken with a governmentality perspective allows for an

understanding of how neoliberal discourses as well as discourses of diversity are woven into

individuals' visions of their own career and life trajectories as skilled immigrants to Canada.

CHAPTER 4: FRAGMENTS OF A PARADIGMATIC NARRATIVE: FOUR VIDEO

SUCCESS STORIES

4.1 Introduction

The following analysis focuses on the four "video success stories" available on the Ontario

Provincial Bridge training website (Ontario Bridge Training: Success Stories, 2010). I argue that

these four videos are part of a paradigmatic narrative, which is an assemblage of stories within

an institution that together make up the career trajectory of the average employee (Linde, 2000;

2009), or, in this case, the trajectory of the average internationally trained immigrant. These

narratives serve the purpose of educating institutional members about what is to be expected of

the average career within that institution, and in this way reproducing the institution. Following

Linde's (2009) 6 criteria for identifying a paradigmatic narrative, I show how these success

stories fit into Linde's model. I then discuss at length the final criterium, that the paradigmatic

narrative's evaluations reflect the "core values" of the institution. The notion of "evaluations"

expands, in a Foucauldian sense, to include dominant discourses of neoliberalism, lifelong

learning, and diversity. The notion of "core values" is problematized, as it must be acknowledged

that, from a governmentality perspective, it is not as useful to speak of core values as it is to

speak of multiple interrelated government rationalities.

4.2 Four "Official" Success Stories

The webpage containing the four success stories described below can be found on the

Ontario ministry of citizenship and immigration website. The main page for Ontario Bridge

Training shows descriptions of the purpose of BT, general expected program outcomes, eligibility criteria, and available bursaries for BT students. Just above a list of links to individual programs is the link to "Ontario Bridge Training Success Stories". The webpage for the success stories themselves, in addition to providing links to and quotes from the videos, also repeats the provincial government's financial commitment to helping immigrants to the province get jobs commensurate with their training and skill levels through the funding of Bridge Training. Introducing the four success stories, the text reads: "Ontario's Bridge Training programs really made a difference to these 4 people. They can make a difference for you."

Uploaded to the webpage on May 10, 2010, all four success stories follow a similar pattern. Each story has three narrators: the protagonist, a BTP representative, and an employer representative, who all provide voiceovers and thus supply context to video footage of the protagonist at work and/or at home, as well as other newcomers in the classroom.

4.2.1 Clara Patricia Hernandez-Luna.

The first video tells the success story of Clara Patricia Hernandez-Luna (referred to in the video as Patricia Hernandez), an optometrist originally trained in Colombia and a graduate of the International Optometric Bridge Training Program in Ontario. Appearing with Hernandez in the video and helping to tell her "success story" are Dr George DeRubeis, Hernandez's boss at the clinic where she now works, and Susan Cooper, the coordinator of the International Optometric Bridge Training Program at the University of Waterloo.

The video starts with a kitchen scene, showing Hernandez, her husband and their two children preparing breakfast. Judging from the clothes that each family member is wearing, it is a weekday where both husband and wife will be going to work and the children will be going to

school. Hernandez begins her story in the voice-over. She speaks of how both she and her husband want to be better optometrists and how her husband found out about the bridging program for optometrists, which she immediately recognized was the right program for her. The video footage cuts to an image of the provincial website with information about this bridge training program.

The video then moves to Dr DeRubeis being interviewed in his office. He speaks of the difference in professional optometric standards between Canada and other countries, implying a difficulty with accepting the credentials of foreign-trained optometrists. The scene changes again to an interview with Cooper, who speaks of a set of standard required competencies for optometrists practicing in Canada amongst the "general public". She also points to some equipment, describing how this equipment is different from other countries' equipment, and how foreign-trained optometrists must learn how to use it. As the video then shows footage of Hernandez doing her job and confidently using the Canadian equipment on what one is to assume is a Canadian patient, Cooper's voice describes how Hernandez was a "model student" who "performed amazingly well in the program especially considering that her English was very poor when she first arrived". Cooper then highlights Hernandez' struggle with the language, asserting that many of the students have difficulty with language. She adds that Hernandez had to complete language training when she first arrived. The video then returns to Hernandez, who confirms that language has been "the main obstacle" for her.

The viewer then sees footage of Hernandez walking with Dr De Rubeis down a hallway at the clinic. Dr De Rubeis supplies a voiceover describing how Hernandez made a transition from being a competent internship student to a full-time employee. As the video again shows footage

of her doing her job, De Rubeis's voiceover says "These are good, hard working smart people that are going to add to our economy. Opportunities need to be there for them." Finally, we see Hernandez and her family at the breakfast table with Hernandez herself supplying the concluding voiceover comment, asserting that "it" was the hardest but best decision of her life. We are lead to assume that here she is referring to the Bridge Training Program.

4.2.2 Vikas Keshri

The second video tells the success story of Vikas Keshri, an internationally trained social worker from India who finds employment at the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA). Appearing in the video with him are June Yee, an Associate Professor at the School of Social Work at Ryerson University, and Neil Howard, the Director of Programs for the York Region CMHA.

The video shows footage of Keshri at home with his family and at various locations in his workplace, Yee being interviewed in a classroom at Ryerson University, and Howard in an office at the CMHA. Keshri supplies the introductory voice-over, speaking about how he arrived in Canada in July of 2007 and began looking for a program focussed on the social work profession. The video then cuts to interview footage with Yee who explains the purpose of the Bridge Training program. She discusses the benefits for the internationally trained professional, who faces barriers to employment in Canada, as well as the benefits for Canadian society, with a labour pool that is too small to meet the demands posed by an aging population. Thus, she outlines how the program addresses this labour market need by facilitating access to "a really talented labour pool" of internationally trained professionals.

Keshri's voice returns and he speaks of the benefits of the program for him, including profession-specific language support and networking opportunities. During the voice-over, we are presented with a picture of Keshri in a graduation gown with two of his children and an unnamed white woman. The video then cuts to Neil Howard, Keshri's employer, who speaks about his good impression of Keshri during the interview and states "even though he had not worked in Canada before […] he was a very attractive candidate".

The video then returns to Keshri, who tells the audience about his job search, recounting how, from 5 interviews, he got 3 job offers, two of which came on the same day. Smiling, Keshri says "It was a really good problem to have". Then, while footage shows of his interactions in the workplace, the voiceover cuts quickly between Howard and Keshri. Howard asserts that he does not regret hiring Keshri, and Keshri explains that he chose the CMHA for their focus on excellence and respect for diversity. Howard supplies the final comment, saying that Keshri is "a very valued employee of our organization, and I hope he stays for a long time."

4.2.3 Ruth Kambali

This video tells the success story of Ruth Kambali, an Internationally Educated nurse from Rwanda. Helping her tell her story are Pat Bradley, the coordinator for the Internationally Educated Nurses BScN Program at York University in Toronto and Kaiyan Fu, the director of Nursing Innovation and Change Management at St Michael's hospital in downtown Toronto, where Kambali is now employed. Complementing the voiceovers of Kambali, Fu, and Bradley are video footage of Kambali interacting with patients at work, students of the bridge training program at work in a classroom at York University, as well as interview footage of all three narrators in their places of work.

Kambali introduces herself by speaking of her origins in Rwanda and her fear during the genocide there (which occurred in 1994). She recalls how she immigrated to Canada after she had completed her nursing studies in Rwanda, and how she learned of the Bridge Training program for internationally educated nurses from her brother's friend. The video then cuts to Bradley, who explains the purpose of the program. She emphasizes that it is to "augment" the skills of the students rather than repeat information they had already learned. Bradley also provides some more details to Kambali's story, stating that despite the lack of family support, she finished the program in 20 months. The video then cuts back to Kambali, who adds that the BTP was exactly what she was looking for.

The video then moves on to interview footage from Fu, who speaks about how St Michael's hospital has a diverse patient population which benefits from a diverse group of caregivers. Fu continues to address the general perception that hiring internationally educated professionals leads to more work for employers by pointing out that these professionals represent "an important supply source" for the labour market, adding that they bring a wealth of knowledge and experience to the workforce.

Kambali offers the final comment in interview footage that shows her in her work environment. She says: "Nursing is not a job. Nursing is not money for me. Nursing is me being there for people who need me."

4.2.4 Naureen Imran

Naureen Imran is an Early Childhood Educator (ECE) originally from Pakistan. Her video success story is told by her, Eduarda Sousa, the Executive Director of the Association of Early

Childhood Educators of Ontario, and Neena Locke, the director at Red Apple Daycare, Imran's place of work.

Imran's story starts with footage of her interacting with children in her care at a playground. She starts her narrative by recounting how she came to Canada from Pakistan in 1998, promptly providing an explanation for her delay in finding work in her field as related to her adjusting to a new country and her priority to take care of her family. After re-entering the workforce, working briefly in a restaurant and realizing that she wanted to go back into education, Imran recounts how she found out about the bridge training program, got her credentials assessed and took both an English test and an ECE skills test.

The video then shows interview footage with Souza in her office, speaking of the purpose of the ECE bridge training program to offer support to internationally educated ECE professionals who had previously found it difficult to reenter their profession in Canada. Imran appears again in an interview at her workplace, describing how she benefitted from learning about teaching in the Canadian context.

Then, while video footage shows images of Imran interacting at work with groups of children from various backgrounds, Locke's voiceover provides context as she speaks about the importance of having staff reflect the centre's philosophy of diversity. She adds that Imran's own background enhances the children's experience by virtue of its difference, bringing different routines and knowledge.

Imran concludes with praise of her ECE bridge training program, asserting that it was a wonderful program which allowed her to incorporate her skills from "back home" into her new found Canadian skills.

4.3 Videos as Paradigmatic Narratives

As discussed in Chapter 2, Linde (2009) identifies six questions for determining whether a story is part of a paradigmatic narrative. The six questions are as follows: First, who tells the narrative? A narrative is more likely to have been entered into a repertoire of paradigmatic narratives if it is being told by someone other than the protagonist. Second, what is the intended scope of relevance of the narrative in question? Stories belonging to the paradigmatic narrative are meant to show general patterns, events that "usually" happen and are applicable to all members. Third, what are the events? Stories belonging to the paradigmatic narrative tend to have very similar event structures. Fourth, at what occasions does the narrative get told? Paradigmatic narratives, at least in Linde's (2009) study, are more likely to be heard at formal occasions. Fifth, what is the relationship between the promotion and reward structure of the institution and the paradigmatic narrative? Linde asserts that the events celebrated by these awards follow the major events in the paradigmatic narrative. Finally, what are the evaluations of the story in question? If the story is part of the paradigmatic narrative, the evaluations will reflect the "core values" of the institution. The following uses Linde's (2009) criteria to identify the video success stories as paradigmatic narratives.

4.3.1 The narrator(s):

These success stories, although they do use some first-person narration, have the paradigmatic narrative characteristic of being told by somebody else. Each video had fragments of the narratives told by the narrative's protagonist, the employer and representative of the

protagonist's bridging program. A production team in-house to the provincial government then stitched these three voices together complete with accompanying images of the protagonists at home and at work. Thus, the four stories are both told and retold in first person and third person. For example, in the story of Hernandez, the voice-over alternates between her voice, that of her employer Dr De Rubeis, and her bridging program coordinator, Cooper. In addition, this shared voice-over runs alongside carefully chosen video footage of Hernandez at home with her family making coffee and at work, interacting with her employer and patients. In this way, even the first person testimonial of each protagonist is crafted and edited, and in this sense "retold" by the provincial government's production team.

In his study of immigrant success stories in textbooks used in the federal government's LINC program, Gulliver (2010) points out that the stories themselves feigned dialogicality. That is, the stories he analyzed were crafted, like the video success stories in the present study, to showcase a number of different voices. However, rather than displaying a number of different perspectives and opinions, the voices all repeated the same presentation of "Canada as a redeemer of newcomers" (p. 741). Thus, the same critique can be made of the video success stories, which include a co-narration of the protagonist's path to success, without truly offering differing opinions or perspectives.

The fact that the production processes of the videos can be understood as retellings aligns the success stories with the characteristics of a paradigmatic narrative. Furthermore, the fact that the production can be traced back to the provincial government (an institutional authority), also makes it more likely to be part of a paradigmatic narrative.

4.3.2 The Intended scope of relevance:

The four success stories indicate, in both the types of events told and the way they are told, that they are examples of general trends, which would indicate that they belong to a paradigmatic narrative of the "successful immigrant". Of the three different narrators for each success story, the primary narrator, the newcomer him/herself, tells a personalized version of their own story, while the employer and the program representative (either a teacher/ professor or program coordinator) can both comment on the newcomer's progression through the program and into employment and speak of the importance of the program to internationally-trained professionals in general and to the national economy. In this way, representatives of the Bridge Training programs and employers speak generally about the state of the field, why these internationally trained professionals are needed, and how they contribute to the workplace. Thus, these co-narrators serve the purpose of providing the overall context for the protagonist's journey. This filling-in of the general picture serves the purpose of showing how, in each case, the story of one individual is tied to wider social movements or needs.

Also, it is significant for the scope of relevance that the audience is addressed and implicated in each narrative through the use of inclusive "we" and "you". Fairclough (2001) asserts the relational significance of vocabulary used in a text and states that "a formal feature with relational value is a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse" (p. 93). By looking at how these inclusive pronouns are used, it is possible to see not only how the protagonists' experiences are generalized, but also how the audience is drawn into the evaluations made within the narrative.

All program representatives and employers use "we" in the exclusive sense. That is, they use "we" to refer the members of the institutions to which they belong, excluding the audience of the

videos. In this way, the program representative in Hernandez's video, Dr Cooper, uses "we" to refer to a governing body of optometrists who act as gatekeepers to "ensure that anybody who is going to be allowed to go out and practice with the general public meets [the set of standard competencies]". Similarly, the representative for the bridging program for internationally trained nurses, Bradley, uses "we" to refer to the program designers whose intention is to "augment" the learners' skills rather than re-deliver their nursing training. Thus, "we" here refers exclusively to the institutional members who regulate the movements of the newcomers as they negotiate their way into the institution.

A different effect is produced when "we" is used inclusively to incorporate the audience, as in Kambali's video success story where Kambali's employer representative, Fu states: "I think we can't really neglect the fact that they [newcomers] are an important supply source for our nursing workforce." One could argue that Fu is directing her argument only toward health professionals. However, given the fact that these healthcare professionals could be possible consumers of the video, and all Ontario residents have some relationship with the healthcare system, I argue that "we" here is meant to be inclusive of all consumers and members of the healthcare system, excluding newcomers, the "they" in the sentence. The significance of this inclusivity is that an argument is being made for the economic benefit of employing professionally trained immigrants, implying that this argument needs to be made, that not only health professionals, but also Ontarians in general may assume that these newcomers are an economic liability.

A similar connection with the audience is made through the use of "you" in several of the videos. To prove her point that the optometry profession is different in Canada from other

countries, Cooper elaborates on the differences in equipment used by saying "the results you would get from using this are the same as if we used a big box of trial lenses. But in Canada you would be expected to use this equipment." In this way, Cooper creates solidarity with the audience (Fairclough, 2001, p. 149), functioning under the assumption that we need convincing of the difference in skills required, and allowing us to step into the shoes of the optometrist practicing in Ontario.

In Imram's video success story, her employer Locke uses "you" in her explanation of why Imram, and thus other professionally trained immigrants, enriches the workplace environment. She states: "If your philosophy is to incorporate children from various backgrounds and making sure they're feeling comfortable in the environment that you have set out for them, then it's important for us to also do that in the staffing that we have." In this way, Locke invites solidarity between the position of the ECE worker and the audience, who, one would assume, all agree with the values expressed above.

In this way, through the program and employer representatives' inclusion of context about Canadian labour market demands and the ways that internationally trained professionals/ immigrants can meet these demands, as well as through use of inclusive pronouns "we" and "you", the success stories are made relevant to a wider audience of not just immigrants, but all Ontarians. This inclusive relevance indicates that these four success stories are part of a paradigmatic narrative.

4.3.3 Similarity in event structures:

As Linde (2009) notes, stories belonging to a paradigmatic narrative hold events which are recognized as repetitions of events that take place in other stories. In this way, such repeated events reinforce what can be expected from the average successful career trajectory.

There are several significant similarities between the four narratives in this analysis which indicate that they are part of an established paradigmatic narrative. First, all protagonists begin with the details of their arrival and a voiced need and/or searching for a training opportunity, eventually finding, or having a family member find them the appropriate bridge training program. In both Hernandez and Keshri's narratives, this articulated need and searching is placed concurrently with footage of the protagonists interacting with their families.

Then, each narrative recounts going through the bridging program, and with Hernandez and Kambali, this time in the bridging program is concurrent with a period of struggle. For Hernandez, this struggle is based on her lack of English language competence at first, while Kambali's struggle stems from her lack of family support while she went through her training.

Finally, all narratives recount the event of becoming employed , whether it is the protagonist's account of his/her own feelings after becoming employed in their field or the employer's rationale for choosing him/her as the successful candidate for the job (reinforced for all protagonists using video footage of him/her at work). For Hernandez, her employer Dr DeRubeis narrates his own decision to "take her on" after she showed her competence during a probationary period. While Kambali's and Imran's stories do not supply much detail, relying mainly on footage of both women at work, Keshri's story involves both a description by Keshri of his job search process and of the employer's telling of the impressive interview he gave that resulted in a job offer. Three of the four "employment" events, even though they are presented

differently, have one important commonality. That is, each employment event is accompanied by an evaluative moment voiced by the employer that ties it to the larger issue of immigrant employment. In Keshri's success story, that association is supplied earlier, and in depth, by June Yee, the program representative.

In a study with a similar focus on 40 immigrant experience stories found in 24 different textbooks used in LINC classrooms, Gulliver (2010) found repeated events very similar to the ones mentioned above, indicating that they can also be considered as part of the paradigmatic narrative of the successful immigrant. Gulliver found the following common events in his analyzed narratives: the protagonist's departure from their country of origin and/or arrival in Canada; a time of emotional and/or financial struggle in his/her new country; eventual success in the labour market; association of that success with strength of character and hard work; and, finally, a direct or indirect quote that encapsulates the protagonist's feelings of accomplishment.

From these observed repeated events, Gulliver makes a number of important observations/ critiques. He makes use of van Dijk's (2000) model of positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation for group identity formation to show how "Canadianness" is constructed. For example, in his observation of how most of the stories in his study start with a description of immigration from country of origin to arrival in Canada, Gulliver shows how they construct Canada as a welcoming liberal society, while sometimes portraying the country of origin as dangerous and backwards. From the present study's video success stories, Kambali's story includes such a beginning, with Kambali describing the danger in the country of her birth, Rwanda, during the genocide, and the acceptance of refugees in Canada. This particular repeated event of exit from danger and acceptance to safety, allows for the positive self-presentation of

Canada and Canadian immigration policy as "redemptive", while at the same time, emphasizing the negative aspects of the immigrant's sending country.

Also, in his analysis of the repeated event of a "period of struggle" (also observed in two of the four success stories in the present study), Gulliver noted that, rather than being "subtle critiques" of Canada, these struggles are presented as inevitable hurdles to be overcome by hard work. Similarly, in the present study, Hernandez's struggle with learning the English language is described as both a common issue to be expected with many newcomers as well as a hurdle that she had to surpass herself.

In this way, these common, repeated events do more than provide recognizable landmarks in the paradigmatic narrative for the internationally trained professional, they also allow for the positioning of the immigrant subject in relation to a "Canadian identity", which, as it is being reinforced through such commonly available narratives, is becoming more and more familiar to the newcomer.

4.3.4 Occasions for telling

Paradigmatic narratives, as Linde observed in the insurance company, were more likely to occur at specific events such as awards ceremonies and training sessions. What occasions are conducive to the telling of these narratives? In the context of the four success story videos embedded on the Ontario Bridge Training web-page, it is difficult to know the contexts for every single time someone clicks on one of the videos. However, we can assume that many people find these videos when they are looking for information about bridging training, whether it is as a prospective student, or an employer faced with an applicant who has listed a bridge training program on their resume, or a member of the media or general public. Also, we can make

assumptions about the intended audience and their purposes for accessing the videos from the use of "we" and "you", as mentioned above. Thus, the way the program and employer representatives in particular use these inclusive pronouns show how they may be addressing the anxiety over hiring newcomers held by the general population. For example, Fu, the employer representative in Kambali's video, uses "we" when making the case for the positive aspects of hiring newcomers. Other occasions for telling the paradigmatic narrative of the successful internationally trained immigrant are at graduation ceremonies, job interviews and training, and, as I observed in separate data not discussed in this dissertation, at BTP orientation sessions.

4.3.5 Ties to the institutional promotion and reward structure

Whereas the paradigmatic narrative under investigation in Linde's study can be linked easily to a "promotion and reward structure" in the insurance company that provides the study's context, the promotion and reward structure here is not as visible. The major events that get narrated in the four success stories that make up the present investigation, the ones that are repeated in each story, can arguably make up a "promotion and reward structure". Thus, entering and graduating from the Bridge Training Program with a certificate from a Canadian institution and then attaining employment in one's professional field can be construed here as "promotions", albeit not part of a formal structure.

4.3.6 Evaluations and the core values of the institution

As the evaluation is the point of the narrative, in answer to the question "so what?" (Patterson, 2009, p. 26), Linde (2009) contends that the evaluations in a paradigmatic narrative "exemplify the core values of the institution" (p. 150). In Labov's (1972, cited in Paterson, 2009) later work on narrative, he acknowledges that evaluation spreads through the

narrative like a wave and is not contained in only one location. In this way, evaluative moments

build in each success story to create a picture of these core values. Similar evaluations amongst

the 4 success stories include a positive evaluation of the Bridge Training Program by the

protagonists, with Imran, for example, coupling this positive evaluation with a feeling of

accomplishment: "It was a wonderful program. I felt very proud in myself …" and Kambali

confirming the wisdom of her decision to take the program: "What I learned at York, it was just

exactly what I was looking for".

Evaluations also come from the employers and program representatives in the form of

specific evaluations of the participant's success, for example in Hernandez's story where both her

employer and program coordinator mention her success in the program. Employers and program

representatives also give more general evaluations on the importance of hiring immigrants. For

example, Hernandez's employer says "These are good, hardworking, smart people that are going

to add to our economy". In the following analysis, I unpack these evaluations and the

assumptions/discourses that they rely on.

4.4 The portrayal of immigrants

The fact that the protagonists' voices are joined by those of the Bridge Training and employer

representatives, and all these voices are arranged and edited by an MCI video production team

means that the portrayal of the protagonists themselves is largely out of their hands.

The ways immigrants are referred to in the video success stories by employers and program

representatives are slightly different from the ways immigrants refer to themselves. In the stories,

employers and program representatives tend to speak of immigrants, the bridging program, and

the profession in general using the narrative's protagonist as an example for all newcomers in their profession. In this way, the success stories are meant to serve as models for other professionals. In Keshri's story, when program representative Yee speaks of how professionally trained immigrants fill a labour gap in the social work profession, she refers to them as a "talented labour pool" which is apart from the "Canadian-born or educated pool of labour". Here, the labour pool "meets" or "does not meet a demand"; it is tapped and utilized. Immigrants are also referred to as being "utilized" in the labour market. Keshri himself is referred to by his employer as "a very valued employee" and Yee speaks about how immigrants in general "face barriers" in entering the labour market. Similarly, in Kambali's story, employer Fu refers to immigrants in general as a "supply source for our nursing workforce" who come with "knowledge and skills".

In her analysis of the language of neoliberalism, Holborow (2009) explores what she calls "keywords", words that may have become contested, and subject to semantic stretching as they are now used in domains where they were never used before. In this case, although the narratives have mainly to do with newcomers' progression through bridging programs, newcomers themselves are being referred to, "en-masse", as a supply of labour. This semantic stretching makes sense as a function of neoliberal discourse, which generally posits the deregulation of markets and allowance of free trade. The economic, then, expands throughout the realm of the social, forever in search of opening new markets and subjecting everything to economic analysis. Thus, in an evaluative move in Hernandez' narrative, employer De Rubeis asserts: "These are good, hardworking, smart people that are going to add to our economy. Opportunities need to be

there for them." This comment creates a strong neoliberal argument for the acceptance of immigrants into the labour market.

Foucault (2008) delves more deeply into the issue of the subject in neoliberal discourse, as he points out that neoliberal politics filled a gap of theorizing the role of labour in economic activity. He asserted that one needs to look from the perspective of the person who works "as an active economic subject" (p. 223), labouring in exchange for pay. In this way, "if capital is thus defined as that which makes a future income possible, this income being a wage, then you can see that it is capital which in practical terms is inseparable from the person who possesses it" (p. 224). So, if neoliberalism sees the worker more as an active economic subject, as someone with an inseparable capital that will allow her to generate future income, the neoliberal enterprise becomes involved in a breakdown of the worker's behaviours, habits, education, etc which act as the human capital that will translate into income. Applying this human capital perspective to the protagonists of the four narratives, their potential for labour is of primary importance in the neoliberal discourse. Thus, an argument for immigration of professionals that makes sense is one that mobilizes immigrants' roles as a supply of labour and thus a contributor to the economy.

When telling their own stories, the protagonists speak of themselves slightly differently, mostly as subjects who are taking responsibility for themselves. In her narrative, Imram tells of her internal thought process: "So I said, I should go back and find what I can do to have those skills to work as an ECE". This is a statement of obligation that it would be advisable for her to research the skills she needs to work as an ECE. Furthermore, as it is delivered using reported speech, the audience becomes privy to the reported thoughts of the protagonist. In this way, they see how Imram is regulating herself, coaching herself on what the next step should be. Thus,

Imram is displaying an important aspect of neoliberal regulation of the self, that "each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being. This principle extends into the realms of welfare, education, healthcare, and even pensions" (Harvey, 2005, p. 65). Tying this imperative of self-responsibility to the concept of human capital, Foucault (2008) thus refers to the neoliberal subject as the "entrepreneur of the self", someone who becomes responsible for the maintenance and nurturing of his/her own human capital. Imram (and the three other protagonists) show throughout their narratives how they regulate their own behaviour to adapt to the Canadian labour market. All four are shown to be searching out the bridging program that would allow them to step into their profession in Canada. In this way, Hernandez's final evaluation at the end of her narrative becomes significant: "It is not easy, that decision I think it is the hardest one I have taken in my life. But I think it has been the best decision." This final evaluation, chosen by the video production team, shows that Hernandez's efforts to be a good "entrepreneur of the self" have payed off.

A key element to being an entrepreneur of the self in this context is the willingness and ability to engage in lifelong learning, the imperative/ discourse that places the individual as responsible for augmenting his/her own human capital in order to maintain employment flexibility in the current knowledge economy (Ng & Shan, 2010; Olssen, 2006). However, this general neoliberal distancing of government from subject regulation does not mean a complete pulling away of government control (Olssen, 2006). Rather, there is a shift in concentration/ focus of the role of government. So "optimizing market relations" in a neoliberal regime becomes a rationalization for the government intervention into the institutions and the lives of the families and individuals. Thus, it is in the best interest of the government to create the

conditions necessary for individuals to maintain and grow their human capital. In this way, Olssen specifies that the discourse of lifelong learning is a technology of power, as it "identifies a broad need to teach individuals to become autonomous learners" (Tuschling & Engemann, 2006, cited in Olssen, p. 224).

In three of the four video success stories, it is the protagonist who makes the final evaluative comment. Imram expresses pride in herself that she has a job in her field (not addressing the fact that she was a teacher in Pakistan and an early childhood educator in Canada - a position in Canada with lower pay and job security than that of teacher); Hernandez asserts that taking the program was the best decision she made for herself, although it was not easy to get through; and Kambali ends her narrative with the comment: "Nursing is not a job, nursing is not money for me. Nursing is me being there for those who need me." Such a comment represents a belief associated with care workers such as teachers and healthcare professionals (Razavi & Staab, 2010), one that makes a distinction between a job and a calling (or vocation). "Good" care workers are expected to feel that their profession is a vocation rather than labour performed in exchange for pay (Helm, 2006).

Razavi and Staab (2010) in their summary of research done on care workers, found that one reported reason for why care workers often receive lower pay is because they accept it due to their altruistic motivations. Thus, "within this framing, 'caring labour' is assumed to be its own reward and is not (only) performed 'for the money'" (p. 412). Thus, 2 out of the three final evaluative comments implicitly reference and smooth over common issues with women newcomers. Imram does not acknowledge that the job in her "field" is most likely lower paying than the equivalent in Canada of what she was originally trained for.

This process of "deskilling", the process of retraining for lower skilled/ lower paid jobs, as Mojab (2001) notes, is particularly prevalent amongst newcomer women. From her interviews with 86 newcomer women in Toronto taking a computer training course for non-native speakers of English, Mojab observed that, not only was the training the women received at a lower level than what they had previously achieved outside of Canada, some also reported to being counselled by other immigrants that they needed to accept this deskilling, that their previous careers were unattainable in Canada.

These three female protagonists (Kambali, Hernandez, Imran) do not appear to acknowledge their role in the economy, while their employers and program representatives make strong neoliberal arguments for internationally trained professionals' place in the Canadian labour market. However, these expressions of pride in self at having successfully finished the program and secured employment, as well as the expression of devotion to care rather than pay, are not necessarily opposed to the neoliberal framework. Just because Kambali rejects income as the primary reason for loving her job does not mean that she rejects her income, or that she somehow operates outside the neoliberal framework of human capital. Also, keeping in mind the editorial control of the production team at MCI, it can be argued that the protagonists' contributions to their narratives are made supportive of the neoliberal arguments of the employers and program representatives.

In her examination of autonomy, resistance, and the entrepreneurial self in Foucault's work on neoliberalism, McNay (2009) clarifies that neoliberalism tolerates "a wide array of practices and values as long as they are compatible with a consumerized notion of self-responsibility" (p. 63). Thus, being an entrepreneur of the self is not a matter of being aware of the economic nature

of social existence; rather, it is the ability to manage one's own responsibilities in the world within an economic paradigm. At the same time, McNay asserts that the adherence to these neoliberal values of autonomy causes the breakdown of traditional social bonds and collective values. Kambali's altruistic statement is both in line with this conception of entrepreneurial self and in contradiction to the neoliberal framework's erosion of traditional values of care. In other words, at the same time that asserting one's devotion to patient care is in line with the ideal of fostering human capital for the good of the consumer economy, it runs in opposition to the supposed effects of that same ideal.

4.5 The family

Albeit fleeting, family ties enter into the success stories of all four protagonists. For Hernandez and Keshri, the family presence is mostly a visual one. In Hernandez's story, both at the beginning and the end of the video, there is a scene of a family meal. The family is working together to put food on the table while there is a voice-over explanation from Hernandez that she and her husband wanted to be better professionals and her husband found the bridging program for her.

In Keshri's story, from the beginning when he is introducing himself, the video footage shows him playing with two children, a boy and a girl. There are small clips of the girl colouring and the boy playing a video game as the father watches from the couch, and in one short clip there is a woman in the background of the home with children. Also, when he is speaking of the way the program was tailored to his professional needs, there is a picture of Keshri in his graduation gown surrounded by his children. One of the children holds his diploma. In her

narrative, Imram mentions "When we came here, I was thinking whether I should go back to the teaching spot because it is a new place for me. So I was just settling down with my children. Eventually I started working in a restaurant."

Finally, in Kambali's story, the program representative, Bradley, states that Kambali did not have a family to support her through the program. However, Kambali says she heard about the program through her brother's friend. In the four success stories, family is both a responsibility to support, as in Imram's imperative to raise her children before thinking of her career, and a source of support, as different members of the family help both Kambali and Hernandez seek out the bridge training programs that are right for them.

Matus & Infante (2011), in their analysis of neoliberalism, recall Margaret Thatcher's statement: "there is no such thing as society" as key to understanding how neoliberal thought organizes the public. In fact, it is inconvenient for private enterprise to deal with "the public" or "society", and so the target is the individual and the family. The implication is that the family and the individual, him or herself, and not the public infrastucture, becomes central to the development of the individual's human capital. In the case of the videos, especially Keshri's and Hernandez' which show extensive footage of family life, this presence of family serves the purpose of making the protagonists relatable, but their relatability is bound to their comprehensibility as good neoliberal subjects. Not only are they investing in their own human capital, they are investing in the human capital of their children and are supporting and receiving support from the family unit rather than the government.

The appearance of family in the success story videos represents a careful management of anxieties over and expectations of these professional immigrants. Vukov (2003) argues that the

portrayals of immigrants to Canada in popular media in a negative way as a security threat, or in a positive way as gifted in fecundity, are not contradictory messages. Rather, they represent affective tools in the same policy discourse that aims to select and regulate the newcomer population. Vukov specifies that affect is different from emotions in that it involves socially circulated "resonances" which have little to do with individual subjective emotions. Affect, then, can be mobilized as a tool of government in that it can operate as a key mobilizing social power, helping to regulate populations and uphold the "structural rationalities of governance". In her analysis, this positive sexualization of the immigrant body stems from social shifts going back to the 1950s and culminating in anxiety in the late 1990s and early 2000s over the declining birthrate and consequent threat of a dwindling Canadian workforce as reported by the census of 2002. Pictured positively, especially in news stories about attracting immigrant families to the north, organized, frugal and properly managed immigrant families are the saviours of aging and struggling communities. Similarly, references in the four success story videos to self-sustaining immigrant families with one or both parents increasing their own human capital, and providing good models of behaviour to their children, make use of the same positive affect described in Vukov (2003). This affect then bolsters government policy discourses on the proper regulation of immigrants and immigration.

These two discourses identified by Vukov, of immigrant as security threat and immigrant as positively sexualized can be a joined by a third related discourse, heavily connected to the trope of the immigrant as a security threat, that is, the immigrant as a possible threat to the economy. As is explored above, in all 4 videos, the co-narrators provide a neoliberal argument for why accepting internationally trained immigrants into the Canadian workforce is beneficial to the

economy, presupposing that this argument needs to be made. This presupposition is based on the common belief that the same "porous borders" that allow in "floods" of immigrants, contain immigrants who are "undesirable" as security threats, or as drains on the economy. The protagonists in the videos show how they represent the "desirable" type of immigrant by adhering to the principles of lifelong learning, seeking out and joining the appropriate bridging program for them, and joining their profession in Canada in a timely manner. It is therefore significant that Imram, in her narrative of how she found her way into the ECE bridge training program, provides a quick explanation for why she took so long to access bridge training. As mentioned in chapter 2, Linde (1993) notes that explanations are important tools in life story for smoothing over an event in the life story that may be found by the audience to be inconsistent. In this way, Imram's explanation for why she waited so long to continue her teaching career in Canada is related to the unpaid labour she performed as a mother for the first few years after her arrival in Canada.

4.6 The program in context

None of the video narratives contain much detail about the bridging programs, even though they are placed on the Ontario Bridge Training website for the purpose of promoting these programs. Generally, the programs are spoken of in the wider context of the labour market and the professions to which they are targeted. For example, the representative for the optometry program in Hernandez's narrative, Cooper, justifies the utility of the program by referring to the "set of standard competencies that are required for entering practice". Cooper continues to imply that by successfully completing the program, the learner will gain those competencies. In

Keshri's narrative, Yee makes a similar justification for the bridge training program when she states: "I think that a Bridge Training Program specifically for social work really provides opportunities for new immigrants who come to Canada and who have previous social work knowledge and experience and who are facing barriers in trying to get access to employment here in Canada." Thus the bridge training program gives opportunities and allows newcomers to overcome barriers.

When speaking directly of the bridging programs, Keshri and Imram provide a few small details about what they learned. Keshri states that the program "was focused, it was very tailored to the profession. It had profession-specific English support, it had a lot of networking opportunities which was so important." In her narrative, Imram mentions that "we found out how it is in Canadian context." This last comment of Imram's about finding out about the Canadian context is never fully explained in her narrative; however, as mentioned above, comments about the programs are embedded in a neoliberal understanding of the wider context of the labour market, the profession, the family, and the nation. Returning to Cooper's comments about the program in Hernandez's narrative, Cooper's and De Rubeis' mention of "standards" and "standard competencies" in the optometry profession is significant. Ability to do optometry work is turned into a list of discrete skills which are unique to the Canadian context. In Imram's narrative, program representative Sousa notes that "we recognized that there was a gap for internationally trained ECE professionals" and "they did not have the support they required to successfully complete the process."

This mention of a list of discrete skills is reminiscent of The Comparative Framework (2005), a policy document created to transfer HRSDC's Essential Skills, a list of employment

skills for different professions, into the context of the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) in order to act as a tool for ESL instructors to use that would help them to incorporate employment skills into language classes. In her Critical Discourse Analysis of The Comparative Framework, Gibb (2008) concludes that "the discourses represented in the documents produce common-sense knowledge that if immigrants and workers can compare and then demonstrate their capabilities they will successfully gain employment in their dream jobs" (p. 328). What these videos indicate, however, is that these skilled immigrants supposedly cannot match their "foreign" skills to the framework. Thus, the bridging program is there to assist the newcomer to fill the "gap" in the skill set with the appropriate combination of skills specific to the profession in Canada.

Indeed, the use of logical connectors used by Keshri's employer underscores this problematic of "gap" or "lack" expressed about the skills of the internationally trained professional. The employer says of Keshri's hiring process: "Even though he had not worked in Canada before, this was his first job, he was a very attractive candidate." What is assumed would happen, that he would not get this job since he did not have any Canadian experience, did not come to pass. In other words, despite their recruitment under the federal government's points system, in reality on in the labour market, these professionals' human capital is assumed to be low, or at least non-translatable to the Canadian context. It is also worthwhile to note that the employer's evaluation of Keshri's Canadian experience gap comes from a job interview that took place after Keshri had finished his Bridge Training. Thus, even with these new Canadian credentials, Keshri could still be considered as lacking.

Thus, it is considered essential for internationally trained newcomers to Canada like the four protagonists to enhance their human capital once they arrive in Canada since, contrary to what

they may have previously heard and contrary to the framework of the Canadian points system, their previously acquired human capital remains unrecognized as such. In this way, newcomers are initiated into the discourse of lifelong learning where they must become responsible for seeking out the right kind of training at the right time in order to fill in the gaps and resolve the lack created by their immigration.

4.7 The Absence of Language

One thing that stands out when looking at all four videos is the small part played by language competence in the protagonists' stories. When speaking of the program, Keshri mentions that "it had profession-specific English support" and "networking opportunities" but does not elaborate. Imram speaks briefly about the English test that she needed to write before she got into the program, and Kambali's narrative makes no reference to language learning. Only in Hernandez's narrative does language play a major part.

In Hernandez's narrative, the protagonist herself labels language as an "obstacle" for her. The program representative, Cooper states "she performed amazingly well in the program, especially considering that her English was very poor when she first arrived", both classifying Hernandez's language as "very poor" and implying that with such lack of skills it is remarkable that she was able to perform well in the program. Continuing the narrative where Hernandez and Cooper leave off, the voiceover switches to Dr De Rubeis who speaks of her gaining employment with his clinic, mentioning that "her interactions with the patients, her clinical skills seemed to be good so we took her on", confirming her current ability to communicate in a professional context.

Despite the references to language ability and learning outlined above, it is not quite clear whether Hernandez received the language support she needed from the bridge training program or from elsewhere. In fact, to enter a bridge training program, prospective students need to be a CLB of at least 7/8, which would make them advanced learners and in possession of the language skills they need to operate in everyday situations; if Hernandez's language skills are rated as "very poor", then they technically should be lower than these CLB entrance requirements. In addition, it is important to inquire into what standards Cooper was using to judge Hernandez's language skills as "very poor". Was this her personal opinion based on her experience in optometry or on vague popular judgements of language ability? Or was she drawing on an evaluation of Hernandez's language skills by a trained language professional?

Hernandez's program, the International Optometric Bridging Program, offers two streams, one that provides 8 weeks of instruction, and one that provides one year of instruction. In both streams, language support does appear to be profession specific, giving students instruction on professional communication, written documentation, and academic reading practice. In fact, although the "language barrier" has been noted by several sources (Public Policy Forum, 2008; Schalm & Guan, 2009) as one of the primary barriers for internationally educated professionals attempting to re-enter their field in Canada (ahead of "racial discrimination", according to the PPF 2008), descriptions of bridging programs do not focus on language training, and one source explicitly mentions that bridge training programs do not include any kind of generalized language support. The result is that language is treated as one of several skills for employment that are to be developed and prospective students are being socialized into a narrative that doesn't refer to language explicitly.

4.8 Discourse of Diversity

Alongside the neoliberal discourses explored above, there is also a discourse of diversity which is in most places intertwined within the neoliberal framework. As all four narratives include arguments, usually by the supporting narrators and not the protagonists themselves, of why the protagonists' profession in particular and the Canadian workforce, economy, and population in general require internationally trained professionals, it is not surprising that three of the four stories would mobilize a discourse that manages both anxiety of difference and the difference itself. As such, Keshri voices the importance of workplace attitude toward diversity in his "acceptance" as an immigrant. In addition, the program and employer representatives for Keshri, Imram and Kambali present the protagonists' "diversity" (essentially, their non-whiteness and status as immigrants) as assets for employment.

From her perspective within the Canadian context, Bannerji (2000) describes the way the seeming neutrality of the concept of diversity given by the discourse of diversity operates as a "useful ideology to practices of power" (p. 36). First, the fact that this concept of diversity has taken on the meaning of uncomplicated cultural plurality, creating a Canadian social space characterized as a mosaic, orients all discussion of diversity to essentialized descriptions of discrete cultures. Second, and related to this first orientation toward cultural description, the discourse of diversity blocks out discussion of intersections and contradictions which would allow for both alliances between groups with similar goals and struggles, and critiques of abuses of power. So, for example, Bannerji claims that there is "an erasure of class and patriarchy

among the immigrant multi-cultures" (p. 37), that leads to a de-politicised and un-critical reading of social relations within and among groups.

Arguing that the discourse of diversity allows the white Canadian establishment to cope with a fundamental anxiety over the (now not so recent) reality of cultural/ ethnic pluralism, Bannerji asserts that the discourse of diversity lends itself to a discourse of multiculturalism. As is also observed by Haque (2012) and Thobani (2007), the Canadian policy of multiculturalism and linked discourses of diversity and multiculturalism allow for the separation of the Canadian social landscape into a core community composed of a historical white settler class and a "tolerated" multicultural other. What is to be tolerated is an essentialized difference, discussed as tradition, religion, and cuisine, among other things.

Keshri echoes this problematic in the way he speaks of diversity in his video success story. In his success story, Keshri speaks of his choice of employment based on the diversity of the employer. He says: "There was a reason I took a job with the CMHA. I knew they were committed to excellence and another major focus was diversity and inclusion. So I wanted to get into a place where I would be accepted as an immigrant." Keshri moves on in the next sentence, making the logical reasoning of his choice of workplace to be because he would be "accepted as an immigrant". It appears that Keshri is equating a mandate of diversity with acceptance or tolerance of him as a "diverse" individual, as an immigrant. Here, diversity is an asset of the workplace insofar as it incorporates Keshri the immigrant and "diverse" individual. In other words, what Keshri cites as the main importance of the CMHA's focus on "diversity and inclusion" is the tolerance of him as an outsider and a potentially risky hire.

In addition to draping a risk with superficial positivity, neoliberal discourses of diversity can figure the same term as a valuable part of one's human capital. In their critical discourse analysis of 6 teacher trainees in Chile, Matus and Infante (2011) draw a causal link between such superficial and divisive treatment of diversity and the use of diversity as an asset for employment. They note how university administrations adopt a mainstream diversity discourse to place themselves as institutions that produce graduates who are relevant in the wider labour market. In their research context, they observed that the implication of this marketization of diversity was the treatment and management by teachers of "diversity" as a collection of unitary and essentialized identities. Thus, Keshri's brief appraisal of the value of a diverse workplace and his identification, as an immigrant and a diverse individual is embedded in this wider neoliberal discourse. In this way, "diversity" becomes a currency to be used in the labour market that denotes both (visible) straightforward difference and the implicit tolerance (or superficial acceptance) of this difference.

Both Kambali's and Imram's success stories make use of discourses of diversity and neoliberalism in order to argue for the need in Canada to train and employ internationally educated professionals. In Kambali's narrative, her employer at St Michael's Hospital, Fu, incorporates internationally trained nurses' possession of "diversity" as an asset that increases their human capital. Thus, in her neoliberal argument for the employment of internationally trained nurses, Fu asserts that:

I think having a diverse nursing workforce really speaks to the need of our patient care […]
Sometimes there is perception that hiring and working with internationally educated nurses is more work for managers or their colleagues. But I think we can't really neglect the fact that

they are an important supply source for our nursing workforce. We need these internationally trained nurses in order to meet our current and future patient care demands. Not to even mention that, you know, the wealth of knowledge and skills that they bring to the nursing profession.

So, Fu marks diversity as a strength of the internationally trained nurses. She then taps into and contradicts a negative assumption about internationally trained nurses by calling them, primarily, "an important supply source for our nursing workforce". Thus, internationally trained nurses possess the valuable human capital of "diversity" and at the same time, their mere presence in the labour market meets a demand for standard nursing skills.

Similarly, in Imram's narrative, employer Locke uses the argument that the diversity of the employees as a reflection of the diversity of the clientele or general population to legitimize Imram's possession of "diversity" as a positive asset (a valuable aspect of her human capital). Locke states:

If your philosophy is to incorporate children from various backgrounds and making sure they're feeling comfortable in the environment that you have set out for them, then it's important for us to also do that in the staffing that we have. Everybody brings in different kinds of learning from their own background and it just enriches the environment and the teaching that you do because you're incorporating different styles of teaching. And Naureen has brought in a lot of the structure and the routines that she may have found back home in teaching and that has actually enhanced the program.

Although Locke does not mention the word "diversity", she does index it by referring to "children from various backgrounds". Thus, addressing the audience directly, Locke uses a

conditional to draw the logical conclusion that, as a common (Canadian) value is to contribute to a mosaic of cultural backgrounds, the daycare centre has a moral responsibility to have their employees mirror that mosaic.

So, both the employer in Kambali's story (Fu) and the employer in Imram's story (Locke), treat the employee's diversity as a valuable skill which they are in possession of. For Fu, the diversity of internationally trained nurses matches and complements the diversity of the patient population, taking for granted that one will inevitably service the other. Here, the mere quality of being "diverse" (which could be drawing on cultural knowledge or differences that the nurse carries with him/her, or merely his/her appearance as an ethnic minority) is enough to be considered as a career asset. Imram's employer at the daycare centre, Locke refers to incorporating "children from various backgrounds" and how, to do this, it is "important for us to also do that in the staffing that we have." The parallel here is that both Locke and Fu equate the service of a "diverse" clientele with the labour of a "diverse" workforce. Thus, the possession by the subject of "diversity" is an essential and valuable part of their human capital.

4.9 Conclusion

As pieces of the paradigmatic narrative of the successful internationally trained immigrant, these 4 success story videos contribute to a technique of power that shows these immigrant subjects how to tell their own stories and, consequently, how to judge their own behaviour and conceptualize their own future. In this way, embedded evaluations and discourses within the stories have a huge reach beyond being manifestations of government rationalities. Seen as part of this larger paradigmatic narrative, these videos show, in a familiar progression of events, how

the immigrant subject is to get from the position of newcomer, inexperienced in the Canadian professional context, through a period of struggle and retraining, into employment commensurate with the career they had in their country of origin (and presumably into a similar socio-economic status as well). The "how" or method for achieving this optimal career trajectory, is supplied by the mobilization of discourses of neoliberalism, lifelong learning, and diversity. These discourses position the exemplary immigrant subject as self-sufficient, eager to invest in their own human capital in the form of retraining, and willing not only to accept their positioning as diverse "multicultural" subjects, but able to use this "diversity" as an important asset to their own human capital. The following chapters, in their focus on the life stories of the six participants show both similarity to and deviations from the paradigmatic narrative.

CHAPTER 5: PARTICIPANT LIFE STORIES

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter follows the life stories of Helena, Sylvie, Jade, Irandokht, Beatrice, and Maya (all pseudonyms) with the purpose of properly introducing all participants ahead of the necessary fragmentation of subsequent analysis chapters. The structure of this introduction is as follows: in order to orient the reader, each participant section includes a life-story overview written by me, followed by parts of the life story knit together to create an overall impression of how each participant presents herself. For this reason, there is little analysis other than the analysis of their narratives from the life story point of view.

Five of the six participants were involved in the same Bridge Training Program (BTP) for internationally trained university and college teachers. Helena was the Bridge Training Program (BTP) coordinator and teacher at the time of the interviews and Beatrice, Jade, Irandokht, and Maya had been her students. As such, the ex-BTP students sometimes refer to Helena in their narratives, especially when they are discussing the impact that the BTP has had on their lives. Sylvie is a teaching colleague of Helena's who did not have any involvement in the BTP, but who otherwise fit my criteria as an internationally trained professional who agreed to participate in my research. Each participant was interviewed twice for approximately an hour to an hour-and-a-half, once in late August to early September, at the beginning of the school semester or term, and once from late November to early January, after the semester/term was over.

5.2 Reconstructed life stories

5.2.1 Helena

Helena first came to Canada by herself in 1998 as a visiting scholar with a scholarship from her home country of Brazil. She had degrees in Portuguese language and literature teaching and translation, and she was working on a PhD in Linguistics at a university in Brazil. She originally came to work for a year with a professor at a university in Ontario, later deciding to immigrate permanently to Canada to both follow a sense of adventure and feeling that in Canada she could live with a higher sense of personal safety. Due to her academic background and the fact that one of her parents spoke English as a first language, Helena did not need to do any language training in Canada; however, after her graduation from the PhD program she did find herself struggling for several years with underemployment and unsatisfying or stressful jobs that only used a small portion of her skills. In fact, in 2005 Helena made a pact with herself that she would leave Canada if by July 1, 2006, she did not find employment in her field. Luckily for Helena, this was the year that everything changed. She found contract work in her field; this contract eventually led to other contracts and finally a full time job as an ESL teacher at a community college in Ontario. She also met, fell in love with, and married a Canadian man. Thus, within a space of a few years she created firm ties to her adopted country.

Helena starts her first interview with a series of chronicles in response to my inquiries about her family situation, and her educational and professional history. In this part of the interview, she fills me in on a large part of the chronology of her life story that I am not yet aware of (which is practically everything), which she feels is important in explaining her professional history.

After a relatively brief chronicle which starts with her coming first to Canada as a visiting

scholar in 1998, while doing her PhD, and ending with her finding a job in her field and meeting

her partner in 2005, she goes back further to explain the route she took to getting into her

profession/ field back as a student in Brazil. She describes how negatively she felt about her

undergraduate experience in linguistics "With a passion I hated my undergrad program" and

finally, how she moved on to a graduate certificate in translation, then a Masters degree in

translation, and then a PhD in pragmatics. While writing and "polishing" her dissertation, she

came to Canada as a visiting scholar. At the end of this particular chronicle she states "I had the

public defence in December, the beginning of December 2001. That's when it

happened." (Helena, Int 1, line 96-97) Her chronicle ends abruptly to mark a shift in Helena's

life as she sets her focus on immigration to Canada.

When she starts telling me about her settlement in Canada, the evaluations that appear

throughout the narrative become both more apparently, and quite dramatically negative.

So then when I came I finished my PhD and as I said reality sank in because well. I was a

doctor and I had no jobs and the prospect was not good. Um I finally got a job at the learning

centre and I joined a training. After 6 months I had the formal training. I was doing pretty

well there. But the formal training was given by other people in a different town. And I was

told that I was not good for the position because I had not swallowed the pill. I had not

accepted the whole thing without questioning. And I was, I applied for other jobs and people,

when I disclosed that I had a PhD and they said no they didn't want anyone with a PhD and I

was horrified terrified, and what am I going to do. So the first five years were very difficult. I

worked about one year in this learning centre. (Line 127-136)

[…] -The chronicle continues

I got my certification and I started doing some interpretation and 2002/2003 and part of 2004

I was an interpreter with ((the public service)), with the police, blah blah blah blah, and some

agencies oh and ((A hospital)). It was very difficult and um. It was so interesting because,

during this period with the domestic violence court and especially with the elderly, dealing

with the elderly, I think I got a little bit depressed. I think it's because of the environment I

had to be involved in. It was just so depressing and I learned a lot about the human nature. I

learned a lot about immigration, what it does to couples, to families. I learned a lot about uh

the issues seniors go through. Seniors abuse. And I had I think I had so many experiences

that were so hard that I was kind of losing hope for myself and I think I was getting

depressed. It was very interesting though. Now that I'm not part of that world anymore, I can

say I grew a lot. (Line 143-154)

This last section marks a moving away from the chronicles in Helena's interview towards

individual narratives. Specifically, the evaluations of "so interesting", "so depressed", and

"learned a lot" add to the coda and final evaluation "Now that I'm not part of that world

anymore, I can say I grew a lot". Linde (1993) marks the importance of evaluation not only in

establishing reportability, or why this narrative is worthy of being told, but also the establishing

of moral evaluations on how things are, how they ought to be and (primary in life story) the

moral correctness of the person who is telling the story itself. Helena's evaluations here are

already beginning to outline a self. It is important that, as she is telling the story of a particularly

difficult part of her life, and evaluating it as such, she is also treating the experience in a very

intellectual and analytical way, as a time rich in learning. This perspective appears later in the

interviews as well. Linde (1993) notes that one property of the self is that of reflexivity. That is, to develop a sense of self, one needs to be able to reflect on one's actions. Narrative allows us to do this by separating the narrator from the protagonist so that the narrator, or present self, may reflect upon, evaluate, and edit the past actions of the protagonist. In the above narrative, Helena separates herself further from the lost and depressed protagonist who is stuck in a job that is not in her field by treating it not only as a learning experience at the time ("I grew a lot"), but as a time that is still rich for reflection and learning.

This section of Helena's life story is repeated in my second interview with her in answer to my question about whether she'd heard many stories of "PhDs driving taxi cabs". To explain how she did not hear many of these stories for her first several years in Canada, Helena recounts the isolation of working on and finishing her PhD, her first job away from academia working for a tutoring service where she was the only PhD (and where she had to hide the fact of her degree from her boss and coworkers) and finally her time working as an interpreter, which she again evaluates several times as depressing and sad. Again the narrative comes to a resolution when she does her TESL training and enters the college system as advisor for a special project run at the colleges: "That's when my life changed. I went from one facet and it was a completely different (story). I think it saved me because I was going down down. It drained every single drop of energy from me. (Helena, Int. 2, Line 574-577.)

Directly following this narrative, Helena continues to discuss the same time period. I make a remark about how outlook may change depending on one's context of employment, and she takes that as an opportunity to explain how the people she was working with when she was an interpreter had a lower level of education and mostly limited understanding of "the system", to

the point where she stepped outside her role as an interpreter to help improve the communication between government employees and immigrants. At this point she volunteers a story about a female parole officer: "And I've met one of the worst people I've ever met. And there is a woman, a probation and parole officer. I think she's just evil" (Line 607-608). After a short exchange with me to establish an appropriate label for this person, "man hater", Helena says

> She's a man hater. She couldn't see the obvious, what a woman was doing to a man. And she was a, the guy was, the person who was on probation. Okay he had done something ridiculous stupid and he was paying for that. But the wife was abusing him psychologically and emotionally in front of us and the officer didn't notice that. I asked to stop interpreting for her because I couldn't be a part of it. (Line 621-626)

The above narrative does two things. First, it illustrates the problems in the system that Helena has mentioned before. Second, the evaluations within the narrative (that the "man hater" was blind to "the obvious" abuse) as well as her own reported actions allow Helena to construct her own moral position with regard to the situation. She distances herself from both the probation officer and the newcomer for whom she is interpreting, but in such a way that allows her to lay the majority of the criticism at the feet of the probation officer. In this way, she presents herself as someone who is both within the law (as someone who finds a law-breaker's actions "ridiculous stupid"), and apart from the law, or a critic of it.

A similar movement occurs in a different narrative in the first interview. Following a discussion about the parallel between her taking the TESL program after finishing her PhD, and her highly educated students having to learn not to be critical of the college system, Helena tells

a story about how learning about the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) allowed her to get her job as a language expert:

> And I know because of that, because of that very brief introduction I got my job. I had my Canadian Language Benchmark, I had my book and uh that job that I got had one of the requirements was 'familiar with the Canadian Language Benchmarks' and I wrote 'expert in the Canadian Language Benchmarks' and for the interview, I brought my Canadian Language Benchmarks, tons of post-its all over and I made sure that some of the pages were crumpled and because I want to pretend that I had gone through the document many times. […] By the way, one of the things that immigrants learn, is we have to learn how to read our interlocutors and give them what they want to hear. And I tell that to my students. [Me: Yeah. Can you think of an instance from your past where you had to do that? Perhaps a crucial moment?] That interview. […] That interview. It was so interesting. It was so interesting. And now I am fr- the guy who interviewed me and gave me a job who was my boss, is now a friend. (Int. 1, Line 226-254)

The above narrative shows, albeit in a different way/ setting, that Helena places herself in a very specific relationship with "the system". As mentioned above, the context of this narrative is that she is describing the difficulty both she and her students have with the deskilling that they must undergo to be able to become viable employees in the college system. This narrative allows Helena to show that she does what is required of her in terms of re-credentializing, but also is able to manipulate a situation to her advantage by "reading" her interlocutor and "giv[ing] them what they want to hear." Helena is aware of positioning herself as someone who is independent from others, as she describes herself as "a bit of a loner" who does not participate in groups.

Regardless of this positioning as someone simultaneously within and outside "the system", since the job interview described above, Helena has achieved a stability in her professional and personal life that is on the one hand satisfying, and on the other, difficult. She tells me in the second interview that she feels she is going through "a very interesting moment in terms of my identity", explaining this feeling by recalling the theme-song for the television show "Weeds" about how suburb-dwellers live a predictable life and linking that to her life in a suburb, as well as how she was diagnosed two years earlier with fibromyalgia. This mention of her disease leads her to tell a narrative about the day she was forced to sell her motorcycle, as she could not ride it anymore due to the muscle pain she now constantly feels.

Despite her difficulty with letting go of a more adventurous, albeit less stable self, Helena feels a sense of satisfaction with her life, especially her professional life.When I present to her the opinion of another participant, that one must really push oneself to get over the difficulty of the first few years, Helena replies:

No I think if you had interviewed me 7 years ago I would have given completely different answers. That's when I first, yeah it was September 2005, I got my first job in my area based on my education. If you had asked me this question before then. I was quite bitter then. I was angry at Canada. I didn't know anything. Now I think things are easier. I think I have a place here as a professional. Yes, getting full time helped a lot, but I started feeling like that before. I started feeling like I had a place here professionally I think at the end of 2008. Three years after I had my first job as a linguist. So yeah. It helped a lot. It's very comforting to know you have a full time position, that's for sure. You are unionized and you have the benefits and all that stuff. 2008 I was already being invited to participate in projects and I had always

liked working as a consultant and I was just doing great. So, yeah. I think it gets much easier.

Big time. (Int. 2, line 652-664)

Thus, by the time of the second interview, Helena is at a place of stability in her life, both professionally and personally. Although she is bothered by certain aspects of her personal life, managing her illness while living in a suburban neighbourhood which at times feels very stagnant, she speaks of her career and the gratification she gets from her career with a lot of excitement. At the end of her second interview, she tells an emotional narrative about how she recently received a nice email from the Dean of her college who was thanking her for her work. She recalls how this made her feel proud of herself and evaluated the narrative as proof that all her work was/is "worth it".

5.2.2 Sylvie

Sylvie was an English teacher in Brazil who came to Canada by herself originally as a student in 2000, later deciding to immigrate. She had an interest in learning English from an early age, which meant that she was already proficient before she immigrated and thus did not do any language training in Canada. Her bachelor's degree from Brazil is in Public Relations, but she says that in her working life she has always been an English teacher. She had twice attempted to start a master's degree in Brazil, only to be interrupted by her plans to come to Canada. After immigrating in 2003 by herself as a skilled worker, leaving behind a teenage son, she worked at a variety of low-paying jobs outside her profession, struggling to make ends meet. She continued to work long hours while she took her TESL Ontario certificate so that she could qualify as an ESL teacher in Ontario. Once she completed her certificate, she still found gaining employment in her field challenging, but she eventually found something through a chance meeting with an

ex-classmate. Since then, Sylvie has continued her education, completing her master's degree in education and moving onto a PhD in education, with a specialization in community colleges. She has had her citizenship since 2006.

At the time of the interview, Sylvie was teaching ESL at two different places as well as doing her PhD in the field of education. When I ask her in the first interview about her experience of settling and living in Canada, Sylvie replies with a short chronicle in which she outlines how she first came in 2000 as a tourist, studied part time, took courses at a local college, and made friends,

> so when I came back as an immigrant, it was easier, right? I knew where I was coming, what I was going to be. I stayed one month in someone's house until I could find a job [*Me: mhm*] and a place to rent and so where did I go first? Yeah first I stayed I rented the 2nd floor close to ((this neighbourhood)) actually. [Me: mhm] and a I don't know exactly what ah- [me: okay] and becoming a citizen it was my goal. I spent three years and I applied for citizenship. I wrote the test and then. (line 194-210)

In response to my question of why she came to Canada, she replied that she loved English since she was a little child and she didn't want to go to the US because it would have been harder to find herself a job as a teacher and "I didn't want to go to the United States and be a no one. You know cleaning houses the rest of my life. Nothing against people who clean houses" (L. 238-240). This explanation is interesting because Sylvie is drawing upon a "common sense" coherence system of temporal depth which upholds a long preference since childhood as being an adequate reason for switching countries (Linde, 1993). Arguably, a more common explanation

for why one undergoes integration is for a better life, but Sylvie clarifies elsewhere that in many ways she already had a good quality of life in Brazil.

My question about a significant first job lead Sylvie into a long chronicle about the various minimum-wage jobs that she held when she first immigrated to Canada. Eventually she got a minimum wage job working for a franchise store where the manager was flexible in allowing her to tailor her shifts so that she could attend a TESL program and finish before the expiry of her TOEFL score (which would have meant her paying several hundred dollars to re-take the test). The chronicle ends with Sylvie getting her TESL certificate. She then tells a story about how she got her first teaching job:

And then as soon as I got my TESL I got a then I got- I was having a hard time getting jobs and then I met this lady this teacher I can't remember her name on the ((public transit)). She was a- she had been a classmate in the program. […] I told her I'm having a really hard time finding a job and I said do you teach are you teaching and she said yes and she said send me an email and I will contact my manager and see what I can get for you. So that's what I did. […] It was the end of June or something like that and they needed someone to teach two hours everyday during lunchtime. [Me: during lunchtime? Okay ((laughing))] Yes. From job to (job). Then again I went back to my manager: 'this is a great opportunity'. And he knew how much I wanted to be a teacher right? [Me: mhm] It's the chance that I have to get the famous the Canadian experience as a teacher. […] Yeah. So I hated my job there but I had this amazing guy working there who gave me so much support. (Int. 1, Line 397-422)

Sylvie continues on to say that she got an excellent reference from this manager and she eventually left when she was hired by the school full time. She ends her narrative saying "So I

don't know. I think the life of an immigrant a newcomer to Canada you need to sacrifice a lot." (Int. 1, Line 436-437) and then, "But if that's what I always tell my students if you know what you want and if you really want that there is no there are no a breakwalls that you cannot jump ((laughing)) or break" (line 440-442). Here, right at the end of the narrative, she steps back from the experiences that she has outlined and supplies an evaluation/coda that evaluates her experience as one that is universal to all newcomers to Canada, that it is unavoidable that one must "sacrifice a lot". Then she emphasizes that she stresses to her students that with the proper motivation, they will be able to overcome all the barriers (thus making the sacrifices worth it).

This quite positive end to her narrative clashes somewhat with one evaluative moment: "It's the chance that I have to get the famous Canadian experience as a teacher." Using such a strong adjective as "famous" to describe "Canadian experience" could denote sarcasm, but it also points to the fact that employers all want to see evidence of Canadian experience on a resume, with very few wanting to be the first to supply this experience, thus making the Canadian labour market (beyond certain low-paying jobs) very difficult to break into for newcomers and thus Canadian experience quite a precious commodity. Despite the acknowledgement of this difficult hurdle for many newcomers, Sylvie ends her narrative with a conclusion that is rather cliche. It could be that she is giving me what she thinks I want to hear, or perhaps this is not something that appears to her as a contradiction at the time of the interview due to current positive life circumstances.

Further on in the first interview, Sylvie is telling me about how her students came from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, some who feel no pressure to be employed right away, and others who, like her, needed to take a variety of survival jobs. Of these students, she

says: "so you see yourself there and you say listen don't give up right? It's going to get better.
It's like bullying right? ((Laughing))" (line 781-782). When I ask her for her experience of this
bullying, she replies with a narrative about how a boss of one of her low-paying jobs asked her to
get something from the storage room, and asked her to give him her glasses as collateral to
ensure that he would get the key back from her.

> And I said listen I'm not 15 years old. [*Me: mhm*] I'm more than 30 years old. [*Me: mhm*]
> I'm not going to lose your key. I don't need it and he said no no no so-and-so gave me his
> watch and I said listen, if you don't want to give me your key, go and get it yourself. [*Me:
> mhm*] (…) and so he finally gave me his key. I went downstairs and I got what I needed for
> the customer or the client and then I got his hand and I said here's your key […] he didn't
> speak to me for a week. [*Me: mhm*] But after that he respected me. Some people who worked
> with me said: 'are you crazy? You're going to lose your job' and I said 'OH GREAT I'm
> going to loose a s- job where I'm making 8 dollars an hour I'M SO WORRIED about it' you
> know? I can get this job anywhere a better job anywhere. (Line 800-823)

In the narrative itself, Sylvie ventriloquizes the comments of her colleagues who evaluate her
actions as risky, and then uses sarcasm ("I'M SO WORRIED about it") in order to deny the risk
involved in her actions and thus portray them as reasonable and the right thing to do. From this
movement, it appears that she is portraying herself as someone who is seen as a risk-taker,
someone who might take action when others do not. However, later in the interview, after she has
told me stories of some ex-students who got taken advantage of in low-paying part-time jobs, she
rejects my evaluation of her actions being out of the ordinary:

[*Me: I guess I'm speaking specifically about female students in my research but not every woman would do what you did right? To the manager*] Mhm. He was not the manager he was the owner of the company so it was even worse ((laughing)) [*me: yeah ((laughing)) so*] I just didn't care because I was making 8 dollars an hour [*me: mhm*] You know when you're making 8 dollars an hour for sure you can get another job anywhere right? So. (Line 903-917)

On the one hand, Sylvie agrees with and enhances my assessment of her actions by clarifying that she stood up to the owner of the company and not the manager, "so it was even worse"; on the other hand, she asserts that "I just didn't care" because it was a minimum wage job that she could get anywhere, which makes the risk much less. Sylvie tells me that she tells her students her stories about being treated badly in these earlier minimum-wage jobs with the goal of warning them away from accepting such treatment as their due.

In the second interview, when I ask her whether she hears more stories of success or disappointment from her students and other immigrants, Sylvie contends that she certainly hears a lot of both. She describes her role as a teacher here in Canada as someone who both helps her students with their adjustment to life in Canada, and cheers them on, telling them to keep going and, due to this care for her students, she hears from many of them when they have successes. Sylvie recounts:

I have a student who personally called me during class time because he wanted everybody to know that he got a job in IT. Another person got a job in logistics in Calgary and she moved to Calgary with her whole family her husband her kids. Another one finally got her certificate

as a hairdresser and she was a hairdresser before she finally got it too … I just tell them don't

give up. Things get better. (Int. 2, Line 324-329)

In this way, Sylvie invests herself in her students' lives, coaching them through the minimum-wage survival jobs, and rejoicing with them when they find employment in their fields.

Her dedication to both teaching and learning have led her to pursue higher education in Canada. In 2009, while finishing her Masters degree in education at a university in Ontario, Sylvie decided, with a friend from her program that they would both apply to a PhD program in education. Although her friend never managed to apply, Sylvie did and was accepted. In addition to her studies, she juggles three jobs (two part-time and one full-time), one as a teacher at a LINC school, in order to pay the mortgage at the home that she owns now. Voicing several times during the two interviews that she always needed to be efficient with her time, Sylvie reveals in the first interview that she is working toward a clear goal. She would like to be a full-time professor at a community college in Ontario.

5.2.3 Jade

Jade is a chemistry professor originally from Malaysia and a mother of 3 adult children. Landing first in Vancouver in 2008 under the skilled worker class and then moving to Toronto, Jade is not a stranger to living abroad. Her PhD in Biochemistry is from England, and she has also lived for short periods in Australia and the US. She did not take any language training prior to enrolling in the BTP.

According to Jade, her husband, the primary applicant and an entrepreneur in the tech sector who had also worked in Silicone Valley, arrived two years ahead of her, and then her sons arrived and went straight into University in Ontario. Initially unconvinced about the wisdom of

immigrating to Canada, she went back to Malaysia for a year to take a work contract and then came back to Ontario to be with her husband and sons and to start the bridge training program. This is when her outlook on her adopted country began to change. She found the learning experience of the program and the internship and subsequent contracts she got after completion of the program helped her learn to become more adaptable. Jade does not yet have her Canadian citizenship.

After deciding that there were "too many Asians" in Vancouver, the family resettled in the Ontario city where they are living now. At the beginning of our first interview together, when I ask her about her experience of living and settling in Canada, she replies:

Okay. When I first came, I truly hated coming- I truly hated Canada. Not because of anything. It's just that, to me it was a huge drop in living standards. And the scariest thing was that when I went to (xxx) at Service Canada, you know the (classes) that they hold? Teaching you how to write resumes and they say "no jobs, no jobs, no jobs". To me I was wondering what I am doing here at first. At a certain age, you don't want to start at the bottom of the pile. And I was literally pestering my husband, I want to go back almost every day. ((laughing)) [*Me: right right*] And then that was for about four months. So when I came in August, I started (the BTP) and by January, because I had internship and job, that really was a change for me. [*Me: Mhm*] I think (I was thinking) I would go back home. (Int. 1, Lines 121-127).

In her narrative of settlement, Jade evaluates her experience quite negatively. In fact, she makes some statements that appear to be contrary to what many Canadian-born people may expect a newcomer to say. She states that she "truly hated Canada" because "it was a huge drop

in living standards". To add to her difficulty in settling in Canada, she talks about hearing at

Service Canada programs that there were in fact no jobs and finally appeals to the audience with

the use of the universal "you" in saying "you don't want to start at the bottom of the pile."

Despite these setbacks, Jade does manage to get two teaching contracts after the end of the

bridging program. However, the evaluations that she makes throughout the narrative, about

hating Canada, wondering why she was here, and not wanting to start at the bottom, all

contribute to a solution that she devised, to leave Canada, that in the end she did not need to take.

When I ask about her professional development, Jade claims that "It has grown by leaps and

bounds. In the sense that I've had to learn how to make friends (among) the instructors But then I

don't know, the culture it depends on the college." (Int 1, line 284-286). She then compares the

colleges that she has worked at so far, and finds them different in terms of "college culture".

Whereas at one college, one has to ask for help to get it, the other college appears more cohesive.

I ask her to tell me about her first day, in order to elicit a narrative about how she started to

learn about these different cultures, and she tells me "I made sure I was very well prepared. I was

given (to) teach a course where there was no course outline, there was no textbook. And I had to

really (truly) create a course here. " (Int 1, Lines 305-319). It was difficult to elicit narratives

from Jade about her career in Canada; her stories, when she told them, often lacked detail and

evaluation. Later, at the end of the second interview, when I asked her about her feelings

regarding success, Jade specifies that she is very laid back and does not chase success, and

indicates the time in her life for ambition is over. In this way, her career narratives (especially the

ones about her career in Canada) may take a lesser role in the make-up of her life-story at the

time of the interviews.

Another pattern that emerges in the course of the interviews is Jade's tendency to compare a situation or event in Canada with "the way things are" in Malaysia, her country of origin, especially when it came to talking about students. In the first interview, she talks about the students - and compares them to students in Malaysia. She explains that in the east, students are more respectful and may pretend to do a task if it was given to them,

> But here I remember doing that and I asked 'would you like to do it?' and she said 'no' and I said 'okay fine'. You cannot make students do things here. That's a big difference and I've had to learn that the culture is like that here. If they want to speak, fine, they speak. If you want to work hard, fine. That would never happen in the east, Never. Their respect for education. So before I had to learn that okay the culture is like this here. Don't take it personally. It's just that now they have other things to do. (Lines 323-333)

When I tell her that she seems to be highly adaptable to her new situation, and ask her whether she thinks it is part of her personality, she says that she feels that it is, although she mentions she still finds it difficult to control noise levels in class. However, further on in the same interview, Jade admits that when she first came to Canada, she was not adaptable and in fact says that she "hated change." When I ask her whether the past two years she had been in Canada had turned out to be what she expected, Jade says "Not at all. I didn't expect anything ((laughing)) I didn't expect (anything but it's turned out well)"(Int. 1, line 564-565). After being prompted further, Jade replies:

> I didn't know what to expect. Not at all. But adjusting a little bit at a time. When I first came I really hated change. Helena (said) that I hated change, I'm such a routine person. But slowly slowly, I learned how to change, you know? [*Me: how did you do that?*] I learned to

adapt to a new situation. ((Laughing)) How I'm not sure. I had to be more open minded I guess. When I came I didn't even know how to take a subway or a bus or you know we drove everywhere. Life was so convenient. We had maids, we can have maids. You know you have to do everything yourself. So it's a totally different lifestyle than we had before. (We'd go for) foreign holidays. Here it's like okay. There are other things to do. (Int. 1, Line 569-580)

We return to the subject of adaptation in the second interview, as I repeat different participants' opinions about adaptation to immigration, and Jade replies: "One has to be smart about how you adapt. You have to look at the market, what does it want" (Int 2. Line 531-532). She follows this statement with a narrative about one of her two sons, who is studying math and science at a university in Ontario. She recounts about how the summer before he couldn't find a job, so she sent him to Australia, "a boom state", in order to get some work experience because she was "so afraid". She had counselled him then to learn how to adapt when there are no jobs on the horizon. She concludes "Now I don't know what to do with him this summer ((laughing)). What's the point (in staying here) you can't beg people to give you a job. You have to start somewhere, do something. I think it's studying the market first" (line 541-544).

I recall that she said in the previous interview that she wasn't very adaptable, and now she is counselling her son to adapt. She reflects on how that change came about and evaluates it by evoking the confusion of going to a grocery store and realizing that they've changed the aisles, "and you think 'why must they change the aisles? Why do they make life harder?" (line 558-559). Although she repeats her assertion that "You really really need to adapt" (line 562), affirming that responsibility for climbing up from what she calls "the bottom of the food chain" is purely the individual newcomer's, Jade then remarks on how she still feels like she's "straight

out of university" while her female friends back in Malaysia are settled and becoming grandmothers. There appears to be a contradiction here, that although she feels herself responsible for adapting, and thus gives herself and her sons a great deal of agency in the determination of their own career trajectories, at the end, as she is emerging from the narrative into her present-day situation, she must admit that she no longer feels she has the same socio-economic status she did in Malaysia.

To provide some more context to the above narrative, the second interview was conducted at a time of job insecurity for Jade. At the beginning of the second interview, I ask Jade whether she is teaching in the next semester and she replies: "Yes. There's a new chair and I'm a bit disappointed because we were told through ((the computer system)) what we were going to teach originally and I was given 3 classes and then I looked at it and it was cut down to two. That was very painful for me. Very very painful" (Int. 2, line 33-36). She and I speculate why the class was cut (I suggest that it might be due to low enrolment and she says that it was not), and then she again discusses the shock of having one of her classes cut, worrying about the low pay. I then add "It seems like it's the nature of the contract system. You really don't know" (line 55). Jade replies "That's the thing about Canada. Everything is very uncertain. So I felt very disappointed in the last few days, (even) the last few weeks" (line 57-58).

This particular narrative, at this point, may not be part of the life story yet because it recounts an event that happened in the very recent past and serves to explain why she is not happy about the next semester. Its tellability arises from its timeliness to the conversation. However, the narrative frames the other narratives in the interview that are part of Jade's life story. At this point of uncertainty, Jade may need to construct herself as a tougher, more adaptable person.

Despite her disappointment at having her course load cut from 3 courses down to one at one community college, Jade voices contentment at the work she has found in Ontario, stating that it is very similar to the teaching she did in Malaysia. Content with the contract work she gets at two different community colleges, Jade is now working toward getting her Canadian citizenship. Unlike other participants, Jade feels she is at a point where she does not strive after career advancement, so she does not have any ambitions besides making sure that her bills are paid. This is the reason why she is relieved that she also has a night course to teach during the fall semester at another community college that she has taught at before.

5.2.4 Irandokht

Irandokht is an MBA from Iran with a background in teaching finance at the post secondary level, as well as working as a financial manager in Iran. She immigrated to Canada in 2006 as a skilled worker with her husband, a doctor, and her three children, a daughter who is now enrolled in an Ontario university and twin boys who are still in school. She says that she feels her life in Canada has been a series of lucky breaks, as if someone else were playing chess for her (and winning). In fact, she got her first job as a secretary by chance.

Since getting her first job in Canada as an administrative assistant (and being promoted quickly to a position as an accountant), Irandokht has achieved several milestones for herself and her family. The family has bought a house and a business. She and her husband have rescued the business from near bankruptcy. She has completed two ESL classes, one LINC class housed at a non-profit organization and one full-time ESL program at a community college, as well as the BTP. Now she has gotten contract work teaching in the community college system. She has also recently received her citizenship.

When I ask her about her settlement process in Canada, Irandokht tells me: "So, everything was great. I thought that I'm playing chess, but someone else put the what do you call the, soldiers in chess? Somebody else play for me. [Me: okay] And I always won the game. [Me: You always won the game ((laughing))] But on the other hand I had some bad experience that they made me think about coming back to Iran." (Int. 1, Line 203-213). When I ask her to tell me about the good or the bad things that happened to her, she gives me a series of narratives:

> Oh okay the good things. The first good thing was, I got my first job in the first month of arrival. As the secretary I accept that job, but after one week, my boss accept me as a senior accountant. ((laughing)) [Me: wow!] Yeah it was an accounting company, so, after learning some specific field that I've never worked in Iran, say like GST, PST, some payrolls, laws and regulation. And I (could) do all accounting things in here. So it was my first situation and at the same month I joined to the mortgage company. You know it was interesting because one guy called me to sell a product, insurance product for my kids. I told him: 'Okay I'm interested in, but I don't have job. That's why I cannot buy.' And then he asked me about my profession and some other things, my education. And then he introduced me to the mortgage company, and that's why I was telling you that I thought that someone else played chess, instead of me. (Int 1, Line 218-232)

In this narrative, Irandokht and I both supply the first evaluation, as Irandokht revealing the speed with which she was promoted in her first job caused her to laugh and me to exclaim "wow". She then goes back to supply more evidence of her luck at that same first job by noting "it was interesting" and then following that with an account of how she got the job by mentioning to a financial advisor over the phone that she did not have one. Thus, this fortunate

series of events is framed as something that is out of her hands and not of her doing. Other events that she counts as wins in this game of chess for her are the fact that her daughter got into university, and the small business she started with her husband here was finally doing well.

However, to give an example of a "bad thing" which caused her to want to go back to Iran, Irandokht volunteers a narrative about how her business almost failed early in its existence and they rescued it from bankruptcy. She recounts:

> As I said, we bought our business 2007. The first month of 2007. We didn't know some laws and regulations here in Canada. And we made lots of money in the first month, but 2-3 months our business went down. And then one night, alarm system company called us and said that someone broke the windows, something like that. When we went over there, we realized our landlord locked the door. And all of our equipment was inside. [*Me: Really*] it was really bad experience for us and we couldn't sleep for 2-3 months, at all, you know? it was really bad experience, but the good thing that we could come back to the normal and do our (professional). Right now we know the rules and regulations. No one can, no one can attack us you know for (anything). (Int 1, Line 249-260)

There appears to be some information missing from the narrative. Although Irandokht mentions before she starts the story that she is proud of herself for saving the company, she does not mention how she accomplishes this, aside from stating that she could not sleep for 2-3 months, which could also be an evaluation of her worried state of mind at the time, as well as the need for her to work through the night to save her business. When I prompt her about not knowing her rights, Irandokht offers: "Everybody could threaten us. Our staffs, landlords, our clients. Whoever wanted to, they could threaten us, you know? Which was not good." Rather than

clearing up her role in the near-bankruptcy and recovery of her business, Irandokht insinuates her

lack of knowledge of "rules and regulations" caused her to be vulnerable to outside threats.

Irandokht tells a number of narratives about her involvement in and reaction to her children's

education in Canada in relation to her own language learning. She tells one story about how she

delivered a birthday cake to her daughter's new class as she was celebrating her birthday shortly

after the family had immigrated. Irandokht reports thinking it was strange that the children

looked like they were playing games rather than learning a serious lesson. The resolution to this

story comes a little while later when Irandokht started playing games in her ESL class and

realizing that she was actually learning.

She also ties her experiences with her children's schooling to her professional development.

When I ask her to tell me about her professional development in Canada and Iran, Irandokht

states that it is difficult because she feels she still has to improve her English. She describes how

she is now more settled, but before "it was too hard to explain my feeling, my knowledge. I had

to prove myself" both professionally and personally. She then shares two stories about how she

and her sons experienced discrimination at the sons' school. In the first situation, Irandokht

spoke to the principal and then the superintendant. In another narrative about how a teacher told

other students not to vote for Irandokht's son in a class election, Irandokht recounts more of how

that made her feel:

Maybe they believe Iran is a bad place, I don't know why. Maybe stereotyping something.

But it made my family so sad. You know one by one, one by one, and then I tried to say

something. To get my rights, you know? At the first time, the teachers tried to, I mean the

mean teachers, two of them, tried to target our English. When my husband tried to explain

something they laughed or smiled, body language, you know? And when they heard that I'm

teaching here in Canada, they stopped. (Int. 1, 844-850)

Interestingly, when questioned further, Irandokht first said that she told the teachers that she was

also teaching in Canada, and then quickly said "I didn't tell them. My kids told them" (Int 1, line

859). She also mentions after this that, although her complaints to the principal and

superintendant did nothing, she felt good that she tried. In addition, she also asserts: "we need to

change, to inform the other people about Iran, Iranian. And separate them from the

government" (line 873-874). In this way, Irandokht is repeating a concern from her narrative that

some (native-born) Canadian people have negative views of Iranian immigrants. In fact, the

pseudonym she chose for herself in an email after the interview means "daughter of Iran,"

marking an affinity to her homeland as well as (perhaps) a perceived role as an ambassador for

her culture.

In the second interview, Irandokht starts by talking about how her teaching job is going well,

and that she likes her students. We go on to talk about the role of ESL programs and the BTP in

the networking process that leads to teaching jobs like the one she has. She tells a narrative about

a peer in the BTP who was able to get a full time teaching job because he was able to "prove

himself." When I ask her whether she feels she was able to prove herself, she says:

I think so. I don't want to say that I was better than them, but for myself I believe two things

- the playing chess like I told you, and proving myself. I tried my best to prove myself. In the

same class I had two more peers who were specialists in information systems, but I got the

job teaching information systems. It's one part because of of the, I don't know, energy, I have

no idea, or chance or another part, maybe I could prove myself better than them. (Int. 2, Line

117-122)

Here, she is trying to account for the fact that she was the one in the BTP who got an internship

in information systems by "proving" herself. There is a contradiction between her "playing

chess" beliefs that she has mentioned before, namely that somehow there is some other force that

is creating opportunities for her life, and a belief that she is "proving" herself in order to rise

above other candidates and get the job she wants. When I ask her about who she is proving

herself to, Irandokht says she proved herself to the BTP teachers and to department chairs at a

wine and cheese event that allowed the BTP students to network with possible employers. She

also notes that she and her peers need to prove themselves to themselves as well:

You know, some of us may think well this job is not for me, and then they go and find a

research job or something else. It's not necessarily for the employer, you know what I mean?

It's for yourself. Maybe in the Canadian culture, in this type of system, I'm not a person who

can fit. (Int. 2, line 147-150)

In this way, Irandokht is someone who is constantly doing research into expanding her

horizons, looking to prove herself to her peers and herself. At the point of the second interview,

she was preparing to open a new branch of her family business, and expressed anxiety over the

costs of doing this. In addition, Irandokht does not believe that her education is over. She has

expressed the desire to get her PhD in information systems or operation management. Although

she is happy with her teaching at a community college in Ontario, feeling the satisfaction in her

last semester of having a class where the students did well and understood all the major concepts,

Irandokht is looking for more. She would like to do a PhD in order to join in and contribute to an academic conversation in her field, and share her ideas by publishing articles and a book.

5.2.5 Beatrice

Beatrice, a postdoctoral fellow in biochemistry with a PhD from Germany, came to Canada via the US in 2005 while still a doctoral student with her husband at the time and her infant son. She went back to Germany in 2006 to graduate from her doctoral program, and then immigrated to Canada as a skilled worker with her husband and her son. She began working as a post-doctoral fellow at a university in Ontario, then lost that job two years later. By that time she was divorced and needed to stay in Canada in order to share custody of her son. She became a lifeguard for two months in order to pay her bills, found out about the BTP from a swimmer at the pool where she was working, and promptly applied. While completing the program, she was offered another position doing research part-time at a hospital. Upon finishing the BTP, she began a contract teaching one course at an Ontario university and continued with her research position. She does not have her citizenship yet because she is trying to coordinate applying for her citizenship with applying for an exemption with the German government that would allow her to hold dual citizenship.

When asked about her experience of settling in Canada, Beatrice offers: "basically it went pretty well, I mean personally maybe it was maybe a little bit hard because of my family situation, but career-wise, I mean I got, when I came here I immediately could start to work according to my qualifications as a post-doctoral scientist" (Int. 1, line 137-140). She continues with a chronicle of how she worked for 2.5 years doing work in her field until she was laid off, then went on to life-guarding in the summer, which is where she heard about the BTP. While she

was in the BTP she received two job offers for positions to which she had applied before enrolling.

When asked to talk about her first job in Canada, Beatrice replied "I mean it was interesting because there were some Europeans but mostly from East Europe and then there was a large community of Chinese" (Int 1, line 158-159). She describes this diverse workplace in a very positive way, specifying that "my husband was Indian, so, yeah but I like the (xxx) background in ((this city))" (line 162-163). This is not the only place in the two interviews that I have with her where she notes how she likes seeing "diversity" and hearing different languages. At the end of this description of her first workplace she adds "Like when I went first back to Germany I was so happy to hear German again just like going through the street and understanding the language that was spoken. But I mean I like also to be exposed to different cultures." (Line 165-168).

Continuing on, Beatrice again mentions the link she felt between her Indian coworkers and herself due to her ex-husband's background, and then offers a story about how she found out about the BTP through an Indian family: "And then, yeah and actually when I was lifeguarding, it was an Indian family that approached me and gave me the idea that I could do the ((BTP))" (line 181-183). When I ask her to tell me about how she met the family, she replies:

> I was lifeguarding. (Xxx) Because he was teaching also in India, so he wanted to do that program. And he just told me about it and I said 'oh that's a good idea.' And then he said the information session was already, but they just gave me the contact people, so then I contacted them and found out myself. [*Me: so was this somebody that you worked with?*]. No I was just lifeguarding in a swimming pool, a private swimming pool in an apartment complex, and they had moved in, because they were thinking to, the dad was thinking to going to the

school. And they were just telling me, just there talking like at the end of the evening or something like this when there were not so many people and they just came the whole family to take a swim. (Line 188-199).

Although she doesn't mention it by name, this is the first instance in the two interviews where Beatrice tells a story about networking. Beatrice notes several times throughout the two interviews how she networks both formally and informally, and how important it is for her career.

Beatrice describes her life with her son and alludes to the fact that there was a time when she did not have her son with her for an extended period of time. She describes that he was living with his grandparents and that they let him watch a lot of television, which goes against her parenting beliefs. When I ask how long her son has been living with her, she replies "This is a sad story" (Int. 1, line 420) and tells me about how he lived with his grandparents in India, and with his dad, and now Beatrice has custody of her son 50% of the time. After telling me this she asserts "But still it's kind of connected with my career" (line 429). When I ask how, she replies:

It's just like because I like taking care of him 50%. I am able to do two jobs, right? If not I just should focus on one. But then on the other hand it's a waste of time if I don't continue with my research project. Because I still want to complete, achieve something in my research, even though I am like 66% teaching, so sometimes I always thought 'Oh my god. It would be easier to have just one job'. But then I know also if I would be staying home or just doing the teaching, I would be so, I think pretty much I would be getting bored too. Because I just can't change the fact that my son is not with me all the time. (Line 433-440)

When I ask her to explain more about this 50/50 split and what it means for her career, she specifies that she took the teaching job because it is close to her home and so on the days she teaches, she can pick up her son easily. On the days when her son is not with her, she does her research work which is further away from home. In this way, Beatrice's son figures prominently in her career decisions, and is, in fact, the main reason why she remains in Canada. This segment of the interview is important for two more reasons. First, although Beatrice alludes to a story (which is most likely very important to her life story) by saying "this is a sad story", she does not tell a full version. In fact, the "story" she does tell only involves two actions: first her son lives with his grandparents in India, then the family shares custody in Canada. There are many reasons why Beatrice would only allude to a story here.

Second, it also shows Beatrice's tendency more than any other of my participants to tell hypothetical stories, which can also be considered a small story. As described in Chapter 2, a small story is a story that is on the margins of what we understand as story, without being easily placed within a conventional structure (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). The significance of Beatrice's small story here is that it indicates that there is a narrative that is not easy for Beatrice to tell, and therefore it is largely absent.

The custody agreement with her ex-husband involving their son has created the imperative for Beatrice to stay in Canada. While perhaps not unheard-of as a reason for becoming a citizen, I argue that it differs from the reasons for immigration that are understood as morally acceptable by the white settler class. Beatrice deals with this controversial reason for immigrating by recounting an argument she had with a friend. I present to her the comment from another participant about how there is "no back home" and that immigrants should accept that Canada is

their home now, and this causes her immediately to recount an argument she had recently with a friend who accused her of abusing the system by trying to get her Canadian citizenship while still holding on to her German citizenship. She goes into a great amount of detail about the restrictions that are placed on her attaining a dual citizenship between Canada and Germany (which does not regularly allow dual citizenship but gives citizens the option of applying for special exemption).

> And I said yeah I mean I did everything I didn't try to cheat the system like I tried to do the bridging program to basically integrate myself into the system find some work here because my son is here so I can't go anywhere and then (she) said okay the next thing I find is that you'll go back to Germany I said I'm not going. […] Because (she) said are you using and abusing the system. I am doing taxes I'm not doing any- why shouldn't I use the system first of all. Second of all it doesn't mean I'm abusing the system if the system gives me the opportunity for dual citizenship, why shouldn't I try to get it. (Line 292-314)

The narrative is purely a retelling of the entire argument, and so the action only involves Beatrice's account of how she tried to convince her friend that she was not trying to cheat the system by attaining dual citizenship, how the fact that she needed to stay in Canada in order to be close to her son and avoid a custody battle was a strong enough reason to make investments into a life in Canada. She offers several examples of how she is integrating, including taking the BTP, making future education plans in Canada in order to facilitate a possible career change, and making contributions to an RESP. After discussing several more examples of people she knows who have immigrated to a different country and what the difference is between "using" and "abusing the system", Beatrice concludes this particular discussion by stating: "Anyway I

wanted give an example that I'm actually trying to integrate myself in the system because I have no choice (because of my son) but even though (that's true) I was going here and there applying for jobs (just to apply)" (Int 2, line 393-395). I assume that "going here and there applying for jobs" refers to the fact that she had applied for jobs outside of the country, even though she feels tied to Canada.

The above narrative is interesting because it serves the purpose of justifying Beatrice's desire to retain her German citizenship not only to herself, but also to me, the relatively unknown native English speaker interviewer. The underlying assumption appears to be that attempting to keep one's original citizenship indicates a lack of commitment to integrate into the Canadian society and workplace and that this in turn is assumed to be "cheating the system". At first Beatrice attempts to offer up extra proof that she is investing in a life in Canada, and then she rejects the assumption by saying "it doesn't mean I'm abusing the system if the system gives me the opportunity for dual citizenship, why shouldn't I try to get it." However, she does repeat several times the evidence of her investment in a life in Canada.

At the time of the second interview, Beatrice is juggling her part-time research job with her undergraduate lecture and caring for her son. She feels that she has learned to work more efficiently, cutting down on unnecessary tasks in order to get the most important things done. Still she must do prep work for her teaching on the weekend, and feels constrained in the way that she cannot read for fun at the moment. Thus, Beatrice is able to both have employment that uses her skills as well as stay with her son, justifying her stay in Canada and giving her motivation to try to make connections in her community by becoming a leader for Scouts Canada, for example.

5.2.6 Maya

Maya is a math teacher from Moldova with both a Bachelors degree in Education and a Masters degree in Math from a university in Ukraine and several years teaching high school math in Moldova. She and her teenaged son followed her husband from Moldova to Canada in 2008. Her husband, a civic engineer was the main applicant and arrived in Quebec two months before the rest of his family. Then, deciding that he did not like Quebec, he moved to Ontario, where the family got support from a friend who had immigrated years earlier. After searching out and attending a variety of publicly funded ESL programs including one TOEFL preparation class, for a year and a half, Maya made a failed attempt to become certified with the Ontario College of Teachers. She had failed to get a high enough score on the IELTS test. At this time she took a class for immigrants in the retail sector and she got her first job in Canada working at a department store. Maya decided to take the BTP after being frustrated at her progress while studying by herself and now has a teaching contract at a community college in the GTA. She has also just received her citizenship.

Maya tells me how, the first time they applied to immigrate, their friends advised her to be the principal applicant and also to say that she was a computer programmer because they thought that way her application would be more likely to be successful. However, her application was not accepted, so her husband applied to Quebec as an engineer. They both studied for the French language test, and passed fairly easily. So her husband went to Canada first, leaving her and her teenaged son behind in Moldova for two months before they joined him.

After a misunderstanding about her profession caused by the fact that she technically had two (high school math teacher and computer programmer) in order to make ends meet in Moldova, I ask Maya about her education. This prompt inspires her to supply a chronicle of her complicated education and language history. Due to the political changes that occurred while Moldova was a member of the Soviet Union and after it gained independence, Maya learned Romanian, Russian, and then went to university in Ukraine where she had family and studied in Ukrainian. To conclude this narrative, Maya states:

> It's always jumping for something. Somewhere then sometimes you don't know what place is this, what your life tell you in any way. I think Canadian are more stable for me when I spoke with somebody, they was born in ((this city)), they finished here. But in our case it's totally different. Maybe that's why for us, (not so) problem to come in any different country and start to learn from the beginning. And your language for example, English is my fifth language. When I arrived in Toronto, I couldn't speak English at all. (Int 1, Line 144-150)

> For Maya, her life in Moldova (and the former Soviet Union) provide an explanation for why she finds herself so adaptable as a newcomer in Canada. She brings up this complicated history again in the second interview in order to explain her views on integration and re-iterate her opinion on her own adaptability and work ethic. She says to conclude: "If you want something, it doesn't matter where you are you could be back home or in Canada, you need to put an effort. It depends on what you want to do" (Int 2, line 283-285).

When I ask her about her education in Canada, she gives me a long chronicle about how she started by taking several different ESL classes, and then quitting them as soon as she felt they were no longer useful to her. While she was still taking these classes, she got her first job

working at a department store and felt that job was a good opportunity for practicing her English. Despite this practice and time spent in school, she failed several times to get a high enough score on the IELTS to be successful in her application to the Ontario College of Teachers. At this time she found out about the BTP, got in and was able to complete it and get an internship through the program. Although this stretch of talk acts like a typical chronicle in that it does not contain evaluations that contribute to a cohesive "moral of the story", the list of programs Maya tries and the momentum she appears to gain in her language learning starts to create an impression of her that she cultivates through other narratives during the two interviews. (Line 162-187).

Maya tells one particular narrative twice from this chronicle of language learning which highlights her work ethic and tenacity. She tells the story of how she got into her first TOEFL class, even though her language ability was below the cutoff for that class. The second time she tells me the story, it is because I have asked her to tell me how she convinced the teacher to take her on. She says:

> I asked him that I can stay here. If it will be very difficult for me, I can leave the class. And he doesn't mind, but at the same time, after two months, I doesn't like him. Because it was like, at the beginning it was difficult for the first month. For the second month it was, I was more comfortable, but at the same time after the second month, it was very slowly for me, and I don't want right now just to stay in this classroom just to waste my time. I need something different and I don't want to review the same for example, to read for the same test and to answer for the same question, second, third time. I would like to hear something new. (Int. 1, line 422-429)

Thus, even though she highlights her admission into the class as significant (Int 2, line 381),

Maya moves very quickly from evaluating her experience in the class as difficult, to comfortable,

to slow and a waste of time. This sense of the value of her own time, and about needing to reach

her goals quickly or risk not making any progress at all is a common theme with Maya.

Elsewhere in her interview, when speaking about getting into the BTP, she notes that she just

barely made it in to the program before it started, and that she could not get OSAP, but the

alternative was waiting for a year, which was not acceptable.

This desire to always be making progress is in line with Maya's constant assertions

throughout both interviews of the need to push oneself to work hard. In fact, when asked, she

marks this work ethic as something that has remained constant in her personality since before

immigration. She says:

You have to survive. You have to fight sometimes maybe. You have to push yourself always.

And it's just one thing to live. You can (arrived) in Canada you can stay in one like in one

bedroom apartment, working in the store. You can spend your whole life to work the same

things, to have two days weekend every weekend, that's it. During these last 4 years, I didn't

have any day off. If I have some kind of day off, I always leave my husband with my son,

and go to the library for 4 or 5 hours to learn something. (Int. 1, Line 689-695).

Maya brought this same work ethic into her new workplace as a teacher at an Ontario community

college. At the beginning of the second interview, while speaking about how her semester of

teaching has gone since the first interview, she tells me that she enjoyed the challenge of

teaching completely new courses, although she was worried about how some of her students did

not appear engaged. When I ask her whether she was worried about these students, she tells me that she spoke to another teacher and with her chair about her problems.

> The chair observed my lesson and said it's okay. I was worried about my English but he said my English was good. [*Me: So you got good feedback from the chair*]. Yeah. I liked the feedback. But when I know that he's coming to my class, of course I'm going to prepare, even my speech, eliminate mistakes. But when you don't have a lot of time to prepare. And then a student asks a question, of course I have a lot of mistakes in my explanation. But when he was in my class, I tried to be ready for any questions answer. I tried not to make any mistakes in English. But still this is a very big problem for me. (Int 2, line 57-68).

Maya continues on to speak about her plans to take advantage of a college staff discount and enrol in a pronunciation class in continuing education for the next semester. She would also like to take a writing class, but will probably delay that for another semester, since she is already scheduled to teach three courses. At the time of the second interview, then, Maya is happy with the work she is doing, although still frustrated at the progress of her language skills. She appears to believe that she needs to erase her "foreign" accent in order to be completely successful. This, she feels, would help with her teaching and with her ability to speak up in front of her colleagues at staff meetings.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have recounted the life stories as they were told to me in two separate interviews for each participant. Granted, by knitting together these various elements of the life stories, I am adding my own layer of interpretation to each story, despite my effort to minimize

analysis in this chapter. In fact, the narratives that make up each participant's life story have already gone through several layers of interpretation (Riessman, 1993), from the act of attending to experience, to telling, to transcription. The result here is a rich text layered with meaning. The benefit to first laying out each participant's life story is that this way, the reader is able to see how different narratives that take place at different times in the narrator's life interact with one another. Maya, for example, draws on her perception of her own history of adaptation and hard work before immigration to explain her philosophy about immigrating (that she would never simply be handed anything), as well as her plans for the future. Also, Beatrice's small stories about her divorce and custody disputes over her son inform her recent career decisions, her drive and plans for her future career directions, as well as her conflicted views on applying for dual German-Canadian citizenship while not appearing to be "cheating the system".

Furthermore, from observing across the participants' life stories, the repeated element of life and career trajectory is one of normalizing and accepting a period of struggle. Sylvie and Helena, both teachers of newcomers, as they draw on their own narratives of un/underemployment, report that they counsel their students that they need to sacrifice, and that it is within their power to succeed in their careers. Jade also recounts how she passed on the imperative of adaptability learned from Helena to her son who, despite his enrolment in a Canadian university, is having difficulty finding employment.

The following 3 chapters present the results of an analysis of common themes noted during the transcription and analysis processes. These common themes of lifelong learning, the importance of learning intercultural communication and adopting more "Canadian behaviour" and "learning the system", as well as the issue of what to do with one's "foreign" accent, relate to

this observed normalization of struggle in that they often allow for justification for the necessity of this struggle. In subsequent chapters I show how several of these themes are tied to neoliberal discourses which in turn can be traced back to "official" paradigmatic narratives of immigrant success and, subsequently, policy.

CHAPTER 6: LIFELONG LEARNING AND THE BRIDGE TRAINING PROGRAM

(BTP)

6.1 Introduction

From the perspective of the trajectory of the participants' life stories, the Bridge Training

Program (BTP) may directly consist of a few narratives. The BTP itself is an 8-month program,

including a practicum at the end where the students get experience as teachers in a Canadian

classroom. Measured against a life full of stories, it is difficult to measure how such a program

helps shape the participant's sense of self. The following chapter is my attempt at extracting one

commonly-evoked characteristic, that of adaptability and lifelong learning, and following it

through various fragments of participants' life stories, with the goal of exposing links between

these professions of being adaptable lifelong learners and the narratives that are told in the BTP

by Helena, the coordinator and a teacher in the program.

First, however, I will give a brief overview of the BTP and the skills that Irandokht, Jade,

Beatrice, and Maya were required to bring into the program. As previously mentioned, the BTP

is an 8-month program that consists of courses that train students in Canadian pedagogy, as well

as a course on employment skills, and one on "professional communication". As the minimum

entrance Benchmark is 8, successful applicants to the program are assumed to already be

proficient in English as a Second Language or Canadian English as a Second Dialect. In this

way, the professional communication course is not an ESL course. Rather, it is designed to give

students language tools which are sector specific, as well as "intercultural communication"

lessons. The employment skills class allows students to build their resumes, teaching portfolios,

and teaching philosophies, as well as practice networking and interviewing. I discuss

intercultural communication learning and networking in the next chapter.

Despite the strict entrance benchmark and the requirement of a face-to-face interview in

order to enter the program, each participant came to the BTP with different language needs.

Beatrice and Jade required no language training prior to the program, whereas Irandokht and

Maya went through several programs before entering the BTP. Irandokht describes in her first

interview with me how, even though she had passed the IELTS as the main applicant from her

family to come to Canada, when she arrived she felt almost completely unable to speak. Maya

as well, remained anxious about her language abilities throughout the program, and into her

teaching career in Canada.

6.2 Finding out about the BTP

Beatrice's story about how she found out about the BTP surfaces while she is speaking about

her first job in Canada, working in a lab doing a post-doctoral program. She is speaking of the

ethnic diversity of that particular workplace, and how she feels an affinity toward the coworkers

of Indian descent due to her ex-husband and son's ethnicity. To illustrate this affiliation, she

mentions that she found out about the BTP from an Indian man who she had met while she was

lifeguarding one summer when she was between jobs in her field. When I prompt her to tell me

more about how she found out about the program, Beatrice says "he just told me about it and I

said 'oh that's a good idea.' And then he said the information session was already, but they just

gave me the contact people, so then I contacted them and found out myself" (line 177-191). In

this way, Beatrice is able to network while she is working at a survival job, recognizes an

opportunity that interests her, and takes the initiative to gather the information and start her own application process.

Maya also found out about the BTP through networking with other newcomers (line 128-130). For her, she learned about the program through another student in her ESL class. The BTP was appealing to her because she did not have a high enough IELTS or TOEFL score to get into the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT), so the bridging program represented both another way in to the teaching profession in Ontario, and a way of improving her English in a structured classroom environment.

> I failed the IELTS. I didn't get enough points. Like I need 7 for each parts, and I got 6.5 for each parts. And this means that I need to (stay) for another 3-4 months to learn English and it was the middle of August, and I think that I needed to find something different, because studying, the last year I stayed in the library and I learn English there by myself, and just, attend several times some kind of ESL classes, but it was very rare. I think that if I want stay another 3-4 months to get this (xxx) for half point, it will be a waste of time, a lot of time. It will be not (xxx new year), and I found this program, ((the BTP)), and I called ((Helena)) the coordinator, actually she's amazing. And she asked me to bring all my documents and she said "I would like to make appointment for interview with you about this program." Actually it was the last week before the beginning of the semester. […] Yeah. You need to do something very quickly because if you- For example, I can speak with people, I can discuss, I can do, but this is no way for me to finish this program in this year. I have to wait one year more. And for one year to wait for something. [Me: That's a long time to wait, yeah] You don't have time. (Line 434-463)

After getting into the BTP, Maya describes how she quickly discovers that she has a lot of work to do to keep up with the other students. She speculates that in her previous ESL school, the students' benchmarks scores were inflated, and that is how she got into the BTP and struggled. Maya describes the differences between her and her classmates:

It was like 20 people it's like different teacher from different subject, and maybe five people we have like English teacher, and they don't have any problem with English at all. We have one or two people who has English as a second language, but this second language is for example from Ukrainian and Russian. They learn this English from their childhood. They don't have any pro- they didn't have any problems with English at all. I was the weakest. First week I think that I will not be able to study there because they start to ask you to do a lot of assignment, a lot of writing. Writing is like crazy for me. And I don't know what to do, but I pay money, and I have to stay. No one is going to give me my money back. (Line 481-489)

I say that the first week must have been difficult, and Maya says that, in fact, the first two months were difficult and tells a story about being told to come up with an ice-breaker during the first week. She recounts how she pretended to know what it was because she did not want to look stupid, an attitude she attributes to the culture in Moldova, her country of origin, going home to check the meaning of "ice-breaker" in the dictionary, only to be confused by the description of a type of ship. To conclude, she says: "I think I don't have the easiest way during the whole year because it always was something new and this is really very intensive program, and like, there is no time when you can just stay in the same place and to learn the same topic" (line 550-552).

Maya feels that the difficulty continues, as at the time of the first semester she is starting to teach, and once again everything is new.

It's not just the first week. I think the first month, the second month. It was really very difficult, with all these assignments and they explained you a lot of things, and you really don't understand these things because, for example, first lesson was about ice-breaker. I have no idea what is ice-breaker. When I came home, when I start to translate what's this "icebreaker?", it's the vocabulary gave me like just a ship. [*Me: Mhm*]. I don't know what this activity called icebreaker. And ((Helena)) asked us to create our own ice-breaker, and I have no idea what I have to create in general. Because like at home, I did something similar, but we called this totally different. And nobody explain you what is this, because everybody knows. But you are sitting, and you don't know. It's not very comfortable for you to ask. [*Me: Yeah yeah I can imagine*]. I don't know but people, even Canadian, they are more free to ask. We have a little bit different education (and) for us, if you are asking something, this means you are stupid person ((laughing)). And you always don't want to ask, you can arrive at home, come home and to go through library and to go through internet and if you don't know exactly what is this, at the end you can ask the teacher, but at the beginning, its' no way to ask, to show that you don't know what is this. (Int 1, line 516-537)

Maya's struggles with learning English did not deter her from registering in the BTP, neither did her realization that she was one of its weakest students at the start. Maya's attitude and willingness to work long hours and persist in the face of confusion, in fact, were shared by the other participants. In the following section I explore how participants draw on a discourse of lifelong learning to justify and normalize their long hours of work.

6.2 Lifelong learning

Three of the former BTP students discuss the continuing need to adapt and learn as immigrants to Canada. In her second interview, in response to a prompt about how one other participant talked about always having to move forward, or else risk being stuck where they are, Beatrice reflects on her past few months as a university instructor, and where she is now:

I mean still here I have a steep learning curve here because it's something. First of all the post-doc was not really related to what I did (xxx) (it was somehow related but the techniques not the (xxx) I never did before but the ((BTP)) there I learned a lot and then again I started with metabolism (position) which was also kind of learning new things. The thing is generally spoken I already know if you want to keep up with the job, it's lifelong learning. And I like learning I don't have problems (xxx as soon as my lectures are over I'm sleeping more), just not have to wake up all the time so early. Generally if I have a little time, I like to read or relax and do something else. Even in between, because I didn't catch up with the last two chapters, having done a lot of cleaning at home, I was kind of tired, I would lie down and read something. If my son was with me, there was no way, because he was always challenging me, so I have no time when he's there, but at the moment but when I'm on my own, I like to relax, when I moved a lot, then just lay down and read something (not necessarily related to my job). When I was studying I was already thinking I have to read this article, and I was thinking I would like to read something else. But now because I'm learning new things and it's getting interesting because I'm learning more things that I didn't know before. […] It was so crazy because I had to (do) the exam and (my son was) sick and I just (collapsed). The last two chapters I just (relied on the) lecture slides I mean a lot of things I

knew from before, but I thought at least I should read (what they're reading) right? So but then the last two chapters, I couldn't really follow it anymore because my son was sick I was (there was just too much going on). (Line 823-846)

Here, Beatrice uses a mixture of regular past narrative and habitual narrative (Riessman, 1997) to describe how even after the BTP and her years of post-secondary education and research, she still needs to learn in order to "keep up with the job" as university lecturer. Thus, for Beatrice, lifelong learning represents her responsibility to stay current with the advances in her field. She is positive about this state of constant learning, and appears genuinely engaged in the process. In the literature, lifelong learning refers to a neoliberal relationship the individual is expected to have with herself. It is a relationship with learning which involves self-actualization and self-realization and is not limited to a particular educational institution or time of life (Simons & Masschelein, 2008; Olssen, 2006). As such, learning is purely the responsibility of the learner, and no longer falls under the guidance of the teacher-master. From Beatrice's perspective, lifelong learning appears to be a truly invigorating process and noble goal.

Simons & Masschelein (2008) assert that this concept of lifelong learning is part of what they call "the governmentalization of learning", a term which borrows from Foucault's governmentality, referring to the ultimate aim of government being self-regulation. They describe a shift that happened in the 20th century from the governmentalization of education, whereby the role of education was expanded through government policy to reinforce social order and teach self-regulation, to governmentalization of learning, in which the responsibility for teaching and learning is taken away from the educational system and placed on the shoulders of the individual, who becomes an entrepreneur and manager of their own learning process. Other

shifts which occurred in the latter half of the 20th century and supported this

governmentalization of learning include the emergence of the knowledge economy, where

learning gradually came to be seen as a tool for enhancing the individual's employability in new

kinds of careers, as well as increased focus on how and what kinds of learning augments

employability. In this way, lifelong learning and the governmentalization of learning are

enmeshed in neoliberal frameworks of the transformation of all aspects of society into economic

society (Olssen, 2006) and the transformation of the individual into an entrepreneur of the self

(Foucault, 1994). In order to be a responsible neoliberal subject, the individual is responsible for

enhancing the value of her own labour (human capital) through managing her own learning, and

must adapt to the vicissitudes of the market.

Maya manages to weave this sense of constant learning and adaptation into many fragments

of her life story, thus creating the impression that it is a key aspect of her personality. For

example, in the first interview, to explain her educational and professional past that she feels may

be difficult for an interlocutor not familiar with her country of origin, she explains Moldova's

complex recent history as a part of the Soviet Union. This includes the need to learn multiple

languages. (Line 131-139). Thus, Maya presents the result of an early personal history full of

change as a flexibility in moving to Canada and ability to learn English quickly (line 147-150).

Maya's narratives of her language learning have a certain urgency, as she she feels the stakes are

high for her. To explain the importance of getting into a TOEFL class even though her

benchmark level was low, Maya says:

This is not my main thing to stay in ESL school for 4 or 5 years just to learn English. I don't

have time for this ((laughing)). And for me, the most important was to pass this exam. And

how to pass this exam? Just to stay in this class. And for example, there are a lot of topics

which I can find in internet, and just to read these topics in internet, I don't need to stay, for

example, for the first 15, 20 minutes in class and waiting when teacher can make attendance

of students. For me this is a waste of time. […] And when for example, it was one time when

from 8 to 1 o'clock I was in one school, and from 2 to 6 o'clock I was in another school

because I wanted to pick up more, maybe more English words, more something. I need to do

this much quicker. I'm not so young. Right now I'm 42. (Line 407-418)

Here and in other parts of her interviews, Maya approaches her language learning with a sense of

urgency, motivating herself to constantly work harder and strive for the next level in order to

reach her goal of teaching in Canada. Her life story is a way of both communicating to me that

she is a hardworking ambitious person, as well as reinforcing the same image to herself. She also

tells me about her future plans to take pronunciation classes, as she gets an instructor discount at

the college where she teaches. In this way, Maya presents herself as responsible for her own

learning, and chooses her learning opportunities based purely on her future employability.

Jade is different from Maya and Beatrice, as she was older when she arrived in Canada with

her husband and sons and mostly feels that the time for growth in her career is over. When I ask

her whether she has any specific career goals she says: "I just want to teach. I've done the- You

know I'm just too I think I'm just too old, you know? I just want straight teaching" (Int 1, line

548-549). In the first interview, Jade discusses how she hated change when she first started the

BTP, and how Helena, her teacher, noticed this about her when she began the program. She says:

I didn't know what to expect. Not at all. But adjusting a little bit at a time. When I first came

I really hated change. (Helena said) that I hated change, I'm such a routine person. But

slowly slowly, I learned to change, you know? [*Me: How did you do that?*] I learned to adapt

to a new situation ((laughing)). How I'm not sure. I had to be more open minded I guess.

When I came I didn't even know how to take a subway or a bus you know we drove

everywhere. Life was so convenient. We had maids, we can have maids. You know you have

to do everything yourself. So it's a totally different lifestyle than we had before. (We'd go

for) foreign holidays. Here it's like, okay. There are other things to do. [*Me: yeah yeah. So

that's a big change*] Huge. (Line 569-584)

Jade's interpretation of adaptability here has to do with the change in lifestyle from one country

to another. When I ask her about how she made this change in her attitude, she mentions that she

talks to and learns from her husband, who she claims is an adaptable person. She says: "It's just a

method for survival. It's either (adapt) or die ((laughing))" (line 596-597). In this way, Jade

evokes the common sense coherence system of evolution to explain the imperative for her to

change her expectations of quality of life. Next, when I ask Jade about Helena's role in her

adaptation process, after she has talked about her husband as a role model, she says:

I learned a lot from her (about) communication skills. She's a very good teacher, you know?

For communication. And I think that's true (also) for many of my classmates. (It's just) how

to communicate, but then I also learned from my students. I always tell my students I learn

from them. [*Me: How so?*] Like ah, I ask their opinions and I find that students here are

actually more mature you know because they are not spoon fed anything. Many have to

survive. They have to earn (their own degree) and which is very different from how children

are brought up in the east. So there's always compensation, you know? Something I lose I

hope I gain a lot here. And vice versa. (Int 1, Line 609)

Previously in the same interview, Jade had described how she had learned about different communication styles in the BTP, describing how she was made to realize in the program that the direct communication style she developed in Malaysia was not appropriate in the Canadian context. So, becoming aware of these differences in communication between Malaysia and Canada allow Helena to learn how to adapt. From her students she learns more about "surviving" in the education system and "earning their own degree". She watches her students take responsibility for their own learning, presumably with little help from parents or teachers or tutors, and she claims to gain inspiration from them.

I suggest that "lifelong learning" is a common sense coherence system which is mobilized in certain ways by all the participants, but overwhelmingly in the narratives of Jade, Beatrice and Maya. According to Linde (1993), a coherence system is a discursive practice that supplies a belief system upon which to build a narrative that appears reasonable to its audience. It is a property of texts where various parts of the same text link to one another and where the whole text "fits" with others of its type. So, coherence is both internal to the text and reliant on the greater context. As a common sense coherence system, the concept of lifelong learning is taken as a given truth that everyone should be aware of; it is, in fact, not in need of explanation and it allows a life story to hang together and to be understandable as an appropriate story of immigrant integration. In other words, by relying upon the common sense coherence system of lifelong learning, Beatrice, Maya and Jade are able to build narrative versions of themselves that are understandable (even commendable) to me, a white Canadian-born graduate student. Thus, it would seem to be a given fact that immigrants should be tireless learners like Maya and Beatrice, or adaptable employees like Jade.

6.4 Lifelong learning as deskilling

From the above examples of how Jade, Maya, and Beatrice incorporate the common sense coherence system of lifelong learning to make sense of their life stories, this neoliberal principle appears to be a highly beneficial one, not only for newcomers, but for everyone who would like to make informed (and critically aware) choices about their own life paths, within their careers and communities. In his analysis of neoliberal governmentality and lifelong learning, the key question for Olssen (2006) in terms of this surface nobility of lifelong learning is as follows: "what purposes are to be readily available, what ends should it serve?" (p. 226). In other words, if lifelong learning is to only act as 'fast food for the brain' (Olssen, 2006) in order to increase the adaptability of the worker, falling far short of developing the critical awareness of the learner and enhancing the democratic foundations of society, Olssen argues that it then only acts as a means for allowing business and government to avoid taking responsibility for the social welfare of its citizenry. If the learning required of the newcomer is little more than training on how to carry out tasks which are in no way expanding her pre-existing knowledge base, the principle of lifelong learning becomes a mask for the process of deskilling.

Helena, the BTP coordinator and teacher is aware of how various aspects of her professional integration in Canada have been experiences in deskilling, and frames them as such, rather than always as evidence of her lifelong learning. After telling me a long chronicle about how she attained the job that she has now (which included various points at which she was made to realize that her high level of education actually made her an undesirable candidate for employment), I asked her about why she set the specific deadline for herself of July 1, 2006 to

find a job in her field (or else move back to Brazil). After stating that she does not remember the

reason, she says "I had just graduated from my [TESL] program at ((school)). It was very hard to

take that program by the way." (Line 180-181). When I ask her to tell me about it she says:

> I think I could have taught all those courses (…) It was very hard. It was very good though
>
> because now I can understand my students. What they go through and sometimes their
>
> frustration. Their looks. Sometimes they say 'yeah ((teacher)) but there are other theories out
>
> there' and I have to remind them 'yes, I know there are other theories, I know there are other
>
> methods but we are using this. That's what the colleges want. And we are not here to evaluate
>
> this method, we are here to learn how to use it. That's the problem. Beware. That's the
>
> problem. We are trained to evaluate things to see the blind spots. To see the problems, the
>
> issues, so it's very hard to just uh let the pill go through our throat and just accept something.
>
> Everything gets stuck here. (Line 180-197).

Helena then links her students' experience to her own experience in the TESL program, that there

was only one method of teaching presented to her, and there was no room for her analysis, her

alternate ideas: "It was just difficult. I was fresh from graduate school, so I was very sharp. I was

'I want to think! I want to think! I want to find the blind spots. I want to find the issues with

every single theory. That's what I was trying to do" (Line 211-213). Here, Helena is describing a

very specific aspect of deskilling. Just like her when she took a job at a learning center that was

below her skill level, she suggests her students need to accept the status quo without drawing on

the critical thinking skills they may have exercised in their previous careers. Several times in the

course of my interviews with her, she invokes the metaphor of taking a drug to describe the way

she and her students must receive the pedagogical knowledge that is presented to them in the

BTP. In this way, the act of accepting the knowledge is portrayed negatively, as a mind and/or body altering medication that must be accepted and taken unchecked.

Furthermore, it is significant that these BTP students, whose minimum required level of education for getting in to the program is a Masters' degree in their field, are simply being asked to copy certain teaching techniques and frameworks for evaluation. Chatterjee et al., in their critique of the 2010 Macleans article "Too Asian?" in which the author plays into fears of certain ethnic groups "taking over" higher education, argue that, although institutions of higher learning in Canada may appropriate some "dissident knowledges" to serve as tokens of diversity, in general, "racialized people are not supposed to challenge the status quo and are expected to be grateful for the marginal space offered to them" (Chatterjee et al., 2012, p. 130).

In Deters' (2011, p. 141) narrative study of internationally trained teachers, the author recounts how one of her participants, an elementary schoolteacher from Venezuela named Merida, felt frustrated about having to do courses that were necessary for her recertification as a teacher in Canada, courses that she had already done in her country of origin. However, she used these courses as another opportunity to refine her English, and learn about the school system in Ontario. Deters uses sociocultural theory to explain how Merida is able to manage the recertification courses that repeated knowledge/ skills she already had. Deters claims that Merida's "professional identity mediated her agency in aligning her activities with her goal of becoming a teacher in Ontario, and facilitated her acquisition of professional language and culture" (p. 149). In sociocultural theory, mediation refers to an interaction that happens between a person and an artifact (either material or symbolic) or another person which helps the individual to effect an external material change or an internal psychological change (Swain et al,

2011). Here, Merida's professional identity affects a symbolic mediation in the way that Merida's prior experiences which have lead to her sense of self in her career have allowed her to internalize a normative identity as a teacher in Ontario and accept the extra training it took to get there. In other words, Merida was able to accept this deskilling because she deemed it a necessary step for her to take to become a teacher.

The parallel in Merida's and Helena's situations are that they are reconciled to the fact that they must pay money and complete a training program that they do not need in order to find their way into their desired careers. In her second interview, Helena admits that she completed the TESL program only to have the required Canadian certification. She says: "I knew that in my resume I needed to have a Canadian something" (line 69-70). Not only has Helena internalized this advice not to fight to have her critical voice be heard, she also recounts how she exhorts her students to do the same.

In her chapter reporting on the deskilling of immigrant women taking basic computer training in Toronto, Mojab (2001) discusses how, in her own experience as an immigrant doing doctoral work in a Toronto University, she was educated by others about the lack of possibility for her to get a teaching job at a postsecondary institution. Mojab describes how she was discouraged by others from pursuing her goal of being a post-secondary teacher, that she was laboring for nothing. In recounting the attitudes and stories imparted to her throughout her early years in Canada, Mojab observes: "the view is widely shared that getting a position in one's area of expertise demands extraordinary effort, persistence, and determination" (p. 28).

Thus, it is important to acknowledge that, by finding similarities between her and her students' life stories, and by telling parts of her life story in order to advise her students, Helena

is involved in shaping the life stories and goals of her students. In addition, Helena's is not the only life story that her students internalize, as they are surrounded by the stories of others.

6.5 Deskilling and others' stories

According to Linde (1993), others' stories can become a part of one's own life story, as they can be used by the narrator to illustrate reasoning behind why one's story follows the arc that it does. When I ask her about her experience of settling in Canada, Maya opens with a reference to the now common story of the PhD driving the taxi cab:

> I don't know (what) I can tell you from my experience, but when we decided to immigrate, we think that it is difficult. And we think that nobody invite us here. Nobody wants us here. And we heard a lot of stories that people just, with PhD degree, with masters degree has to work as a taxi driver ((laughing)) and so on and so on at the beginning, I was agree to do the same job, and even my husband right now is not working in his profession. He's a truck driver. [*Me: oh really?*] Yeah but he has a masters degree in engineering (Int 1, line 311-320).

It is significant that Maya is starting her chronicle of settlement with this rather famous cliche of immigrant deskilling. She continues on to talk about how she began working as a sales person at a department store, but understood after several months that she did not fit in well with other employees there, that she had a different skill level than them. She says:

> I needed to change something for myself, and it's not like easy to change, because the problem of English, because you don't know anybody here. All (people that) you know it can be your friends from ESL school and maybe several friends which you met here, but they're

a little bit longer live than you live. We don't have friends, for example for people who was

born here. And all our communication, it's all about- I think I can speak Russian here in ((this

city)) more often than in my back home, because everybody, every our friends, they're from

a lot of different countries, from former Soviet Union, but we have one common language,

Russian, and I know a lot of stories, I know the stories which very successful. For example

this is my friend, she is a computer programmer here and she is really very successful. And

her husband the same. (Line 327-338)

Here, Maya is framing her story, her "problem of English" and interaction only with other

speakers of English as a second language as a problem of both systemic deskilling and isolation,

but a temporary phase on the path toward integration. In this way, the story of the PhD driving

the taxi cab is not one that carries a negative evaluation for Maya. Rather, the knowledge of these

cases, which she gained even before her family immigrated, allows her to make an agreement

that such deskilling is normal, something that every skilled immigrant goes through, and

something she must agree to as well. Maya has taken this story in as part of her own life story, to

shape her early experiences working in a shop and struggling to attain a high enough language

level to be accepted into the OCT (Ontario College of Teachers) as temporary situations on the

way to success.

Another important aspect of the story of the PhD driving the taxi cab and the other "success

stories" that Maya alludes to is their context of telling. She notes in the excerpt above that her

friends in Canada have been peers from ESL classes and other mostly Russian-speaking

immigrants who have been living in Canada for longer than her. This social circle limited to

immigrants of a certain ethnicity means that the stories that Maya hears are also mostly limited to that social circle.

In her second interview, Helena also mentions that while she was working as an interpreter for parole officers and hospitals, the stories she heard were limited to personal stories and not to their "professional side". This affected her outlook on her own immigration/ integration process, as she mentioned that this time in her life made her feel depressed. It was only when she became a language advisor for a project with the Ontario colleges that she began hearing the professional stories, including the stereotypical "PhD driving the taxi cab" story.To a certain extent, this "PhD driving a taxi cab" story indexes a type of story - that of deskilling, of a skilled immigrant taking a job that is not only outside of their field, but also requiring a much lower skill set than they have, and indicative of both a personal failure as well as a systemic failure, although more emphatically a personal failure.

Beatrice also uses others' narratives to make sense of her own life trajectory. While speaking about how taking the BTP gave her confidence to apply for the jobs she wanted, she recalls a narrative told to her by a teacher in the BTP about her first teaching experience:

I mean this kind of confidence comes from this training, I think. And also like knowing like because the people like ((my Canadian-born teacher)) or who was teaching there, she told about her first teaching experience. How it was for her. So having that in mind, how hard can it be for someone who is like grown up in Canada. [*Me: mhm. Can you remember that story?*] Yeah it was just like. She was just like telling the first time when she started teaching she would come back at 5 and she would sit every day to prepare for her next day. So that means in the beginning you just struggle from day to day just to prepare what you need to

prepare because you have no time. You're just like in a pressure to deliver and you do what you can do and you're maybe not perfect and like basically that's what they were telling too "okay, we give you the syllabus, lecture notes. We just want to have someone to teach right away." And they said you don't have to start from scratch. You can use whatever we have". I said "okay fine. I'm good with that ((laughing))" As long as I don't have to like invent everything myself. It's fine." Because if not I can't do the job. I mean I can't prepare everything by myself and then teach it. (Line 677-699)

Beatrice thus uses her BTP teacher's story of struggle, like Maya, to moderate her own expectations about the nature and the volume of work ahead of her. She also points out that this particular teacher is Canadian-born, implying that, although one may think that someone who has Canadian English and credentials has an easier time of starting employment in Canada, this is not necessarily true. Another important point to note is that Beatrice's situation is not quite one of deskilling, as she is speaking about interviewing for a position as a (part-time) university lecturer. However, her use of the above narrative, just like Maya's use of the "PhD driving a taxi-cab" narrative, normalizes this state of constant learning as well as the reality that the learning involved is not always balanced, remunerated properly, or building on the already advanced critical/ cognitive skills that the individual has. In her analysis of the deskilling of immigrant women in Canada, Mojab (2001) asserts that "the workforce is expected to be adaptable, flexible, and able to rapidly change its skill base under conditions of the unceasing movement of capital in search of more profitable opportunities. Restructuring occurring in the midst of a worldwide economic crisis has contributed to the formation of an unstable and fragile job market" (p. 24).

6.6 Conclusion

As illustrated above, the participants draw on discourses of lifelong learning (what I have called elsewhere "common sense coherence systems" (Linde, 1993)) in the narratives that make up their life stories. The effect is to smoothe over the telling of their life trajectory, creating coherence from the movement between under/unemployment, bridging program or other learning situation, and "successful" (albeit perhaps temporary contract) employment. The discourse of lifelong learning does much more than encourage a constant and endless adaptation of the self to grow one's human capital, as it also serves to normalize periods of struggle and experiences of deskilling.

From a governmentality perspective, the discourse of lifelong learning is linked to a neoliberal rationality in the way that it helps provide coherence to immigrants' life stories of adaptation and skills acquisition. In other words, the same neoliberal rationality behind the trimming down of government manifests itself in the narratives of the participants. These narratives (both the personal ones and others' stories retold by the participants) serve to voice "rules" of constant adaptation and skills "development" for the proper neoliberal immigrant subject. Tales of lifelong learning are thus involved in the creation of an adaptable workforce, where the worker joins in a cyclical pattern of constant self-reinvention, moving between the classroom and the workplace multiple times in her lifetime.

Rather than being oblivious to this process of deskilling, Helena and Sylvie are aware of and speak articulately about how the imperative to re-educate themselves in Canada, when it means repeating information that they have already learned and/or that is at a lower level than they are

used to, is simply a more shallow process of collecting certificates. However, Helena uses this awareness to understand her students' frustrations and explain to them that they just need to understand what the colleges want from their teachers, and not offer critique. In this way, Helena's awareness falls short of resistance in favour of learning to play the game without necessarily believing in it.

It would be wrong to suggest that the BTP is an empty program for the participants, a sacrifice of 8 months in order to get an externship and a certificate to satisfy potential employers. As was evident from the interview data, participants drew from lessons they learned in the BTP (in conjunction with their previous life experiences) to make sense of their new professional lives in Canada. In the next chapter, I explore the common themes of intercultural communication and what I call "learning the system" as skills/ lessons that the participants themselves found were valuable in their adaptation to working in Canada. These skills, I argue, are important in the participants' construction of their own subjectivities/ technology of the self.

CHAPTER 7: INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION, SOFT SKILLS, AND LEARNING

"THE SYSTEM"

7.1 Introduction

The following chapter explores the perceptions on intercultural communication formed by

the BTP students (Jade, Beatrice, Maya, and Irandokht) within the program. Most of them, when

they mentioned intercultural communication, also spoke of Helena and the usefulness of her

class. As Helena was so strongly associated with this intercultural communication teaching, I

then move on to analyze Helena's understanding of what she was teaching, and also of her own

experiences with intercultural communication, which came up in her life story several times.

These different understandings of what the participants, including Helena, believe an

interculturally competent individual to be are informed by intercultural communication research

in the field of language learning. Some of the literature is critical of the tendency for intercultural

communication teaching to focus on the skills of the "other" (the second language learner, the

visitor, or the immigrant) to negotiate intercultural exchanges.

In addition, a closer look at some research shows a varying and often expanded definition of

intercultural competence. Is it the ability to engage in small talk about a local sports team or a

willingness to take a coffee break with fellow coworkers along with having a curiosity about and

openness to the functioning of other social groups (Byram et al, 2001)? Or does the confusion

arise that one could easily make the argument that making oneself available for tea is an example

of the requisite openness? Showing the blurred lines between "soft skills" and "intercultural

competence" allows me to draw parallels between intercultural communication and what the participants call "learning the system".

7.2 Learning intercultural communication

After hearing about her adjustment to the Canadian classroom and students, I ask Jade how the BTP has had an impact on her career and day-to-day life. She tells me about how she found the communication skills lessons to be the most valuable aspect of the BTP. The reason for this is that Jade feels that "communication styles are very different between the two countries. I mean this too. […] It was communication. The other was how to write a good resume." (Int 1, lines 359-364). She elaborates on what she means by 'communication skills' by drawing a comparison between Canada and her home country (Line 369-387). She specifies that in her home country of Malaysia, communication is more direct. One knows one's place in society, so it is easier to understand who one is subordinate to, and who one is superior to. In Canada, she finds that orders need to be shaped as requests.

This topic of cultural comparison comes up again in the second interview. Jade is speaking about her beliefs on integration, and how she believes that there is not just one single culture to integrate into, and that as she is "not Chinese Chinese" (she is, in fact, Chinese from Malaysia), she does not feel like she fits in to Chinese culture in Toronto. I ask what the presence of many different cultures in Toronto has contributed to her experience in the BTP, and she describes how Helena taught them a lot about intercultural communication. She says:

I had a very good teacher, (Helena). Of all the subjects we did, I believe I'm true to represent all my classmates, I believe we learned the most from her class - intercultural communication

- you know, I learned most (from her). (And that helped with my communication skill).

Because back home we are very direct. We have a direct way of saying things. We don't

mince words ((laughing)). Whereas here is like. (Jade, Int. 2, Line 188-193)

After a small negotiation for a more specific comparison between Malaysians and Canadians,

Jade states that Canadian society is a "kinder more polite society" (line 207). In this way, Jade

makes the same comparison between Malaysian and Canadian cultures in both interviews to

make the argument that this "intercultural communication" teaching in the BTP was a very

valuable experience for her.

Beatrice is another former BTP student who mentions the value of intercultural

communication lessons when I ask her about her experience in the BTP. She states:

It was good to be among other immigrants because like um, some have the same experience

and then also it's good to find out what kind of impression I make on other people which are

like (from) different culture and background and then also what it's like … like how

Canadians behave in comparison to Americans or and in comparison with European cultures

and my culture or like Asian cultures, so you make a cultural comparison to understand how

this society works and understand what is a good way of communicating with people.

Because like a lot of time Canadians are more (object-) like more kind than Germans.

Germans can sometimes be very- like because they're more direct, they can sometimes seem

more unfriendly or something like this cause they're more direct in their communication. I'm

German too but it's just interesting to reflect on that. (Int 1, Line 232-234)

When I ask whether this critical cultural comparison was taught as a lesson, Beatrice mentions

that she learned these strategies through Helena's class (which she remembers as being called

"intercultural communication" or something similar. The class was likely the professional communications class). She describes how the class was meant to allow the students to "reflect on how the cultural background and how to do small talk, and all these little kind of things which are important to know. If you deal with other people and you don't want to do this wrong thing in the wrong place" (line 248-250). She notes that this way of comparing cultures was fun, and found it interesting because the teacher, Helena, was also an immigrant. Thus, for both Jade and Beatrice, intercultural communication involves the comparison between their cultures of origin and Canadian culture using similar categorizations, even though in other parts of their interviews they may state that they believe there is not one uniform Canadian culture.

7.3 Teaching and the Nature of Intercultural Communication

Helena's understanding of what she is teaching in terms of intercultural communication is more nuanced than what Jade and Beatrice learned from the program. In the second interview, when I present to Helena the quotes from other participants regarding "knowing the rules" of society (how to act, how to give people what they want) Helena asserts that she is more interested in the "unspoken rules" of interaction

That has to do with give people what they want. Say what they want to hear. I have been working with some students at ((the college)) on how to make requests - how to get what they want. I am teaching them to avoid- this is for immigrants and international students- to avoid cultural clashes, because it's very difficult to understand the other person's culture. My suggestion is to just go with some interpersonal communications skills, strategies. I put some tools together, some linguistic tools together and then I helped them. Whenever you are

making a request, use these tools. And then if it is a Canadian, Canadians are usually more

indirect, very different from Americans, for example. It won't matter if you are talking to a

Canadian or another immigrant to another immigrant, because you are dealing with a person,

not a culture. This is something that interests me a lot. And yes you can say manipulation and

giving people what they want and it is a little bit yes. But this is what communication is all

about, getting your point across. (Line 461-468)

On one hand, Helena refers to a national culture where Canadians can be relied upon to be

indirect whereas Americans are direct. On the other hand, she advocates being attentive to and

dealing with one's interlocutor on an individual level. The former understanding of culture is a

popular one which often provides the foundations for most intercultural communication theory

and teaching. In these common understandings, culture is often viewed as content rather than as

performance. Here, as "high culture", it is a national asset such as history, art, and music), or as

popular culture it comprises of aspects of everyday life, citizenship or identity, or even dress-

code or dialect/ language (Piller, 2011).

In their critical discussions of culture in second language education, Atkinson (1999),

Kubota (2004a), and Morgan (2007) assert that this conventional notion of culture as a

homogeneous, geographically bounded set of norms which determine individual behaviour is

still pervasive in the field. In their discussions of intercultural communication in second language

education, Bennett (1998) and Bickley et al (2014) make a distinction between objective and

subjective culture, where objective culture comprises of artifacts and institutions and subjective

culture comprises of beliefs and values. Bickley et al assert that "an understanding of the

dynamic nature and subjective features of culture is essential for enhanced intercultural

competence" (2014, p. 136). Bennett (1998) also refers to levels of culture, where the national culture is at the highest level of abstraction, ethnicities are below that, and finally classifications such as "gender, regionality, socioeconomic class, physical ability, sexual orientation, religion, organization, and vocation" (p. 5) are at an even lower level of cultural abstraction.

Bennett claims that, although relying on descriptions of national culture can conceal significant variation, it is both unavoidable and useful to make such generalizations (1998, p. 5). Piller, however, warns against national generalizations of culture and claims that they infuse the teaching of intercultural communication with banal nationalism, a set of "ideological habits" meant to reproduce nation and learners' "sense of national belonging rather than [leading] them to genuinely engage with difference and diversity" (Piller, 2011, p. 65). Kramsch (2011), in her recent revisiting of her notion of "third culture" in SLE, claims the notion of culture has shifted from largely a sense of national belonging to a focus on "ideologies, attitudes and beliefs, created and manipulated through the discourse of the media, the internet, the marketing industry …" (p. 355). Piller (2011) and Morgan (2007) both mark a necessary shift in the conception of culture to incorporate the reality of increased transnational flows and the globalized workplace. Piller notes that much intercultural research often fails to acknowledge the complex intermixed nature of many peoples lives which cause them to operate in several different languages and feel a sense of belonging to several different groups.

Several of my participants display such cultural mixing, for example Jade who is of Chinese origin from Singapore and states that she doesn't feel much affiliation with the "chinese chinese" in this Canadian city or Maya whose early life in Moldova was heavily influenced by the changing political circumstances, national boundaries, and her own geographical shifts. For this

reason, Piller urges that "In order to remain relevant, intercultural communication studies need to engage with globalization and transnationalism and place them at the very centre of their inquiry" (p. 72).

In addition to these intermixed histories from their countries of origin, the participants are also immersed in relationships in Canada that involve a range of different cultures, which may not include Anglo-Celtic "Canadian" culture. In her second interview, Helena tells a small story about what she calls "cultural clashes" during the current BTP. Helena specifies that this conflict is between Muslims and Christians from the same area in the Middle East.

> I found out that there was something happening indirectly, so right now we are investigating. A man, he is Christian, no he mentioned that someone else who was also a Christian did not want to shake hands with someone who was muslim. [*Me: okay*]. So we are still investigating and I haven't done anything about it. It's something that is very new. So we are still trying to see what's going on. [*Me: So is there a tension in the class?*] Between certain students, yes. Men not amongst the women. Amongst the men. (Int. 2, Line 259-271).

This is a small story because Helena appears to be supplying an abstract, and there is clearly more that she can tell (although not much due to the fact that those overseeing the program have only just started looking into things and the students do not tell the program teachers about these conflicts), but she chooses not to go on because I do not know the teacher that is involved in the issue, and there are also confidentiality considerations. Thus, given the complex and culturally/ religiously mixed environment even within the BTP, making students aware of cultural difference on a national scale may not be very helpful as it may not be completely relevant to their situations.

Despite these assertions that notions of a "national culture" are both reductionist and largely obsolete in today's globalized society, much of intercultural communication training/ teaching relies on making students aware of national value orientations. Lists of national cultural value orientations originated with the work of Dutch psychologist Hofstede, who outlined five value orientations based on data collected from 100 000 IBM employees in 40 different countries in the 1960's and 1970's. Hofstede's five orientations are as follows: power distance (degree of inequality), individualism (act as group or fend for oneself), masculinity (degree of differentiation of gender roles), uncertainty avoidance (tolerance level of uncertainty/ ambiguity or control through imposition of rules) and long-term orientation or "the extent to which a society values thrift and perseverance versus attendance to more short-term goals such as fulfilling social obligations" (Piller, 2011, p. 78). Hofstede's work has proven to be influential in intercultural communication research (Piller, 2011; Bickley et al, 2014), training in the business and management sectors, as well as in popular advice literature (Piller, 2011, p. 79).

In their qualitative study of engineering employers who work with internationally educated engineers (IEEs) who have completed a bridging program, Friesen & Ingram (2013) use Laroche's (2003) cultural categories in technical professions, which are based on Hofstede's categories. The categories include: power distance, individualism vs collectivism, risk tolerance, and context. To illustrate the application of these orientations, Friesen & Ingram (2013) claim that "Canada is generally considered an environment of low power distance, high individualism, risk tolerance, and low context" (p. 221). They note that employers responded in a more positive way to the cultural differences of their IEE employees and thus argue that "without an explicit frame of reference by which to interpret their experiences (Laroche or otherwise), employers'

interpretations defaulted to attributions of deficits in IEEs attitudes and behaviours, while upholding the strength of IEEs' technical knowledge" (p. 226).

Piller (2011) critiques these lists of cultural orientations as showing elements of banal nationalism. She argues that intrinsic to the imposition of categories is the assumption that nation-states share the same boundaries with cultures, and that nation determines culture. Also, she notes that the reduction of culture to a list of measurable and quantifiable orientations is dangerously simplistic.

Kubota's (2004a) solution to the treatment of culture(s) in many areas of second language education as difference and deficit or universal equality and similarity is to politicize cultural difference as a discourse construction, in a poststructuralist sense. In this way, the perceived characteristics of a given culture, including its communication style, can be understood as "produced in discourses that serve certain political purposes, rather than reflecting neutral and permanent truths" (p. 33). Elsewhere exploring this poststructuralist treatment of culture in education as critical multiculturalism, Kubota (2004b) argues for a recognition in multicultural education of social and economic inequality, construction of whiteness or native speaker identity as a "hidden" norm, and static images of objective truth.

However, it is important to acknowledge that students involved in language for employment programs such as the BTP may prefer to focus on learning the behaviour that will land them jobs in their fields. In her discussion of critical pedagogy and EAP, Haque (2007) notes a division in EAP between those teachers who wish to initiate their students into the academy and those who wish to address the underlying ideology of curricula. Such pragmatic concerns, far from being detrimental to learning, address some very real, important, and often urgent student goals.

Helena's implication that cultures can be grouped on a national scale and that these cultures can be classified as "direct" or "indirect" are reminiscent of Hofstede's approach to intercultural communication. However, Helena's other comment about how she teaches intercultural communication, about dealing with interlocutors on an individual basis and giving people what they want is also significant, especially because it is something she repeats while telling her life story. Another instance of Helena talking about giving one's interlocutor what they want occurs in the first interview when she is describing how she got her first job in her field in Canada. She had just finished recounting how, despite feeling frustrated about having to take a TESL program which taught her little new information, she realized that she needed to take it to give her some Canadian credentials, an imperative that made her understand the frustration her BTP students must feel at having to "learn" the same skills and information over again. Helena does admit that she learned some aspects of ESL teaching unique to the Canadian context, such as learning about the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB). She then tells a story about going for an interview with a marked-up copy of the CLB, in order to show the interviewer that she was the expert that they were looking for.

> And I know because of that, because of that very brief introduction I got my job. I had my Canadian Language Benchmark, I had my book and uh that job that I got had one of the requirements was 'familiar with the Canadian Language Benchmarks' and I wrote 'expert in the Canadian Language Benchmarks' and for the interview, I brought my Canadian Language Benchmarks, tons of post-its all over and I made sure that some of the pages were crumpled and because I want to pretend that I had gone through the document many times. […] By the way, one of the things that immigrants learn, is we have to learn how to read our interlocutors

and give them what they want to hear. And I tell that to my students. [*Me: Yeah. Can you think of an instance from your past where you had to do that? Perhaps a crucial moment?*] That interview. […] That interview. It was so interesting. It was so interesting. And now I am fr- the guy who interviewed me and gave me a job who was my boss, is now a friend. (Int. 1, Line 226-254)

Here, as mentioned previously in the "Life stories" section, Helena is presenting herself as an outsider and also as an astute learner of the "cultural cues" that are necessary to understand, heed, and deploy if she is to get what she wants. Helena muses about whether this act was, in fact, cheating, and explains to me that "I would have been in big trouble if I hadn't been able to become an expert in that document. But I knew I could, and I did. That's what we do when we have to survive" (Int. 1, Lines 272-273). In this way, she frames this narrative of "cheating" or "giving people what they want" as a matter of survival. She also uses third-person plural, "we", in order to link her experience to a more universal experience of immigrants in general, and her students in particular.

Helena also weaves her perception of herself as an independent observer into her life story, connecting it to how she teaches her students in her professional life. She mentions it when she talks about her first time voting as a Canadian citizen: "It was in ((part of city)). I was living with my sister. So we walked there and I just followed, observed. This is what I do when I don't know something. I observe, I didn't know how things work. I observe how people behave first, then I do it. That's how I am. Even in Brazil." (Int. 1, line 356-359). In the part of the second interview where Helena is talking about unspoken rules (mentioned above), further on she explains that her observation skills (what she calls elsewhere her "obsession" with how people

communicate with each other) contribute to ideas that she has for workshops for her students, where she gives students tools for communicating well. When I ask her about whether she feels communication is very contextual, Helena states:

> You cannot come up with a formula. It won't work. I've gone through the intercultural communication phase and it's not going to work. I don't think it works. I think the best way of looking at this is through interpersonal communication, and then collecting some tools for people to learn to read each situation and read the other person. (Line 498-502)

By "intercultural communication", Helena is referring to more of a straight comparison between cultures, whereas "interpersonal communication" indicates a focus on troubleshooting interactions between individuals. Still, Helena's interpretation of interpersonal communication involves a cultivated awareness of the difference between cultures.

Helena's experience of dealing with cultural difference on a national scale upon her immigration to and settlement in Canada likely informs her understanding of how she and her students as immigrants interact with others. When she speaks about the time just before she first came to Canada, a time when she was a graduate student living a very independent and fun life in a city in Brazil, she then shifts to talking about being drawn in by a feeling of personal physical security once she arrived in Canada as a visiting scholar and how it was "the biggest trap":

> That's the main reason why I decided to come to Canada. So yes. I left behind some spontanaeity that I don't have here, in terms of my relations with everybody. Yes I am more on guard here. Isn't it interesting? I was on guard there all the time because of fear of being assaulted or being robbed or being mugged or whatever. I am on guard here all the time.

24/7. And it is in terms of culture. Because I am aware, more than I should of the

intercultural communications issues. So I know that I cannot be on cruise control . If I am on

cruise control I will behave the way I behave in Brazil, and then things will go bad. (Int. 1,

line 514-521)

Helena treats this as a very significant realization for her, something that she has thought

about but has not been able to put into words until now, and jokes that I will have to pay for her

therapy. She then describes to me about how, even though several years have passed and she is

married to a Canadian, she still has to be on guard, and needs to ease the cultural differences

between her and the rest of her husband's family. She says: "So I am always the one doing all the

effort, making the effort so that things aha! So it's very hard for me to relax" (Int 1, 553-554).

Further on, she clarifies what she means by "on guard" by stating it means that she is not "on

cruise control" which for her is functioning with very well established assumptions in a familiar

environment, knowing how things work (Int 1, line 589-596). Thus, Helena recounts how she

herself experiences a cultural difference on a national scale which extends to all aspects of her

life in Canada, including her life at home with her husband and step-children.

7.4 The characteristics of an intercultural speaker

Regardless of the struggles that she is still keenly aware of, all the above aspects of Helena as

she presents them in her life story fit with characteristics of someone who is successful at

communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds. According to Byram et al.

(2001), an intercultural speaker is "someone who has an ability to interact with 'others', to accept

other perspectives and perceptions of the world, to mediate between different perspectives, to be

conscious of their evaluations of difference" (p. 5). They further explore three different

components of intercultural competence: knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Intercultural attitudes,

which Byram et al call the foundation of intercultural competence, include curiosity, openness,

ability to suspend disbelief about different values/ behaviours, and the ability to decentre their

own beliefs. Knowledge refers not to awareness of national characteristics, but to "knowledge of

how social groups and social identities function, both one's own and others" (p. 5). Finally, Skills

include the ability to interpret and relate, for example the ability "to interpret a document or

event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents or events from one's own" (p.

6) as well as the ability to discover and process new information about unfamiliar cultures and

practices. Byram et al also add that people engaged in intercultural communication should be

aware of their own values, specifically by developing a "critical cultural awareness" which is "an

ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and

products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (p. 7).

Considered against the above framework for cultural competence, Helena shows a curiosity

in her constant observation of others' interactions; also, she displays a knowledge of how her

own identity as an immigrant from Brazil operates in Canada, both at home and in larger

professional and public settings; finally, through her long history as a graduate student, Helena

has developed a critical awareness that allows her to decenter her own beliefs, which helps in her

interaction with her Canadian step-children.

Beyond their feelings about what they learned in terms of intercultural communication during

the BTP, both Beatrice and Jade also display aspects of Byram et al's framework for intercultural

competence in their life stories (interviews), while deviating from it in other ways. Both women

speak about their histories of change in a positive way and display a positivity towards the cultural diversity of their adopted homes. Jade speaks of her family history of migration and how members of her extended family can be found in Singapore and Australia, which she says is very common amongst Malaysian families. She has also spent time with her husband in Australia, England, and the United States (Int 1, line 678-680). Beatrice mentions very early on in her first interview that she feels her ex-husband's Indian background to be part of her own, and she speaks of adopting certain ways of life that she feels are more Indian than European or North American (see int 1 p. 8). In addition, in speaking of her first job as a post-graduate in a diverse research lab, Beatrice explains how, although she was happy to hear her own language on a trip back to Germany, she enjoyed hearing different languages in that workplace.

Despite reporting an openness to change and speaking about her path toward greater adaptability, Jade does focus often on comparison with other cultures. One of her most frequently mentioned places of intercultural contact is in the classroom, where she works with students who come from different cultural/ ethnic backgrounds and where she deals with different expectations of her as a teacher. In one instance of comparison, Jade says "Here, they expect you to be more like a friend, more at the same level, which is, although I thought in American University education you don't have that kind of frankness, openness, there's still that respect, you know? I found it was very, what do you call, very equal here" (Int 1, line 198-201).

Further on in the same interview, while speaking of how she was adjusting to teaching in a community college in Ontario, Jade again compares students in Malaysia to the students she teaches in Canada, remarking that Malaysian students are more respectful and will "at least pretend" to do their work. To compare, Jade tells a story about how she asked a Canadian student

to do something, and was told "no". Jade reports just saying "okay fine" and letting it go, stating "I've had to learn that the culture is like that here. If they want to speak, fine, they speak" (Int 1, line 323-333).

In a section of the interview where I ask Jade to comment on another participant's comments about how one should not constantly talk about "back home", Jade expresses how she feels that such comparison is not something completely negative. She says:

And I guess it's human nature to always compare one's past experience to what is happening now. But I like Canada. I feel very Canadian. But it doesn't mean I am insulting Canada by saying 'back home'. Because I find that no matter where I go, people will say 'oh in my home country.' It's so funny, I take it as if it's a cultural thing, not so much a point of comparison. It's differences in culture, that's all. Which I find is very interesting in Canada. There are so many immigrants from just everywhere. (Int 2, line 94-100)

Thus, Jade claims that her observations about the differences between Malaysia and Canada represent her openness to difference in general. The issue with the above assertion is that, while she may display certain aspects of what Byram et al (2001) have defined as 'intercultural attitudes' in this openness to others, elsewhere Jade lacks "knowledge of how social groups and social identities function, both one's own and others" (p. 5). Specifically, Jade puts a great deal of importance on the ethnicity of those she is dealing with as somehow indicative of behaviour which she may find either appealing or unappealing.

In the beginning of her second interview, Jade tells a narrative about a difficult class she had at the college in the last semester and how some tried to get out of doing an assignment. She recounts: "I had a term assignment that required them to buy something and sorry to say it was

the black students that were trying to wriggle out of it" (line 20-22). Jade tells another story about having difficulty with the black students in her class, as she claimed they had more difficulty with her Malaysian accent than other students did (Int 2, line 500-505). She determines that one particular student who made a comment about her accent was "just trying to unsettle" her. Also in the second interview, Jade is discussing what it means to "know the rules" in Canada, and she tells a story about how, when her sons arrived at the airport in Canada, they were treated poorly by a Canadian border official who asked them whether they were "here to milk the system".

> You know? I said (xxx) 'what?' and the officer said: 'where are your parents?' And at the time my husband was at home and I was still working in Malaysia. And my sons said 'they are back in Malaysia. And so the officer said: 'so you have come to milk this country.' And I asked my son: 'you mean he asked you that?' They said 'yeah'. They were so shocked. I said 'what nationality was he? What race was he?' 'Oh he was Indian.' I wish I had told my son 'oh just take down his name.' At least do something. They all have badges so you could write a letter of complaint. But they were stunned they were like- they had never experienced that rudeness. (Int 2, Line 252-260)

First, Jade's stating "what nationality was he? What race was he?" indicates that she associates nationality with race, despite her earlier positive comments about the diversity within Canada. Also, based on further instances where Jade shares with me her beliefs on the negative characteristics of Chinese immigrants, as well as Canadian born people who have Asian heritage, it is possible that Jade is prepared to make a judgment about the intention behind the officer's words based on his ethnicity and the characteristics she associates with it. Here, however, there is

no evaluation of her son's reported response that the guard in his experience was Indian. Thus, despite Jade's stated positivity toward diversity and her engagement in the same observation and cultural comparison as Beatrice and their teacher, Helena, she relies very heavily on stereotypes of fixed traits for groups of people. Rather than decentering her own beliefs, critically engaging with them, and interpreting events from a different perspective (Byram, 2001). For example, above in the narrative about the rebellious students, Jade could have inquired into whether the cost for the class materials was prohibitive for some students, causing several of them to push back against the assignment. Instead, Jade appears to rely on pre-constructed assumptions and stereotypes.

The above stories of intercultural contact outside of the BTP for Helena, Jade and Beatrice are not meant to show how these participants dealt with intercultural communication "in real life". Rather, they show how the participants' attitudes are incorporated into their interpretations of the events that make up their life stories. The interpretations themselves may in part be influenced by their experiences in the BTP, especially the ones that frame diverse cultures in a positive light, but they are also strongly influenced by previous experiences and interpretations within previous iterations of their life stories.

7.5 The one-sidedness of learning intercultural communication

Another issue to address is the fact that intercultural communication teaching for the BTP students (and within research) extends beyond Byram et al's (2001) conception of intercultural competence. Whereas Byram et al's framework could hypothetically be applied to both newcomers and native-born Canadians, both intercultural communication researchers and

participants in my study go beyond openness, personal knowledge of social identity, and skills of comparison to a knowledge of "how things are done" in the dominant culture, (e.g., a knowledge of how to operate in the Canadian workplace that native-born Canadians would have the advantage of already knowing). This understanding of intercultural competence, then, becomes purely the concern of the newcomer.

In her study of the intercultural experiences of immigrants to New Zealand who were in a 3-month work-placement program, Holmes (2015) observed two major themes in her data: negotiating informal and non-hierarchical relationships (like the commonality/ frequency for an employer to praise, or give feedback to an employee), and constructing collegial relationships through intercultural communication (like taking tea breaks, engaging in small talk, and using the correct tone in email). Holmes observed how the participants struggled with their own beliefs that taking a tea break at work was a waste of valuable work time, and then struggled to gain the contextual knowledge (like knowledge of local sports teams) to be able to effectively engage in small talk. They also felt that their coworkers were unsympathetic to the challenges they faced trying to fit in to the workplace culture. So, although Holmes acknowledges that intercultural communication requires work from all interlocutors, the design of her study to focus on the immigrants' experiences, as well as the themes she explores makes intercultural communication a matter of adjustment to the dominant work culture.

Similarly, in their study of employers of internationally-educated engineers (IEEs) in Canada, Friesen and Ingram (2013) framed their analysis mostly with the assumption that the IEE employees were the ones who needed to learn, despite the fact that several of the employers admitted to not having experience working with people from different cultures. Furthermore,

what the IEEs needed to learn included "tact in communicating sensitive issues" and "reading

body language". In this way, both Holmes' (2015) and Friesen and Ingram's (2013) observation

of what they call intercultural competence might also be classified as "soft skills".

7.6 Soft skills

"Soft skills", being a large and vague term associated with ability to perform one's job in the

workplace while simultaneously maintaining good work relationships, is a contentious term with

several different definitions and many, often unacknowledged implications. Basic definitions in

research outline soft skills as "interpersonal communication skills" (Deters, 2011; Guo 2013;

Urciuoli, 2008) which are simply models of appropriate behaviour which include being polite

and "friendly", able to work in a team, make small talk and join co-workers for meals (Guo,

2013; Allan, 2013). Urciuoli (2008) further specifies that soft skills are tied to the workplace, as

they are "aspects of self and social interaction (chief among these, communication, teamwork,

and leadership) conceptualized as aspects of tasks, transferable techniques, and productive

contributions" (p. 212).

However, Guo (2013), in his study of a job-preparation workshop in Western Canada,

discusses the implications of framing these normative behaviours as necessary skills for the

workplace. By exhorting participants to "think like a Canadian", the workshop facilitator in

Guo's study was essentially taking on an assimilationist attitude, implying that "to think like a

Chinese or Iranian is to be un-Canadian" (p. 34). Furthermore, not only does the presence of

"soft skills" as a ubiquitous and important term in the labour market serve to promote the

measurement of a worker's "fit" based on their ability to reproduce normative behaviours of the

dominant culture, soft skills as a seemingly endless list of acceptable behaviour provides tools

for the worker to fashion him or herself to be the ideal worker within that culture. Thus, Urciuoli

(2008) concludes that soft skills are technologies of the self as they are

> ways to fashion subjectivity compatible with dominant practices, institutions, and beliefs.
>
> They establish the type of person valued by the privileged system in ways that seem natural
>
> and logical, they constrain what counts as valued knowledge, and they demonstrate
>
> willingness to play by the rules and belief in the system. They are hegemonic in Williams's
>
> (1977) sense: naturalized, culture-saturating beliefs that maintain the distribution of social
>
> power. Soft skills represent a blurring of lines between self and work by making one rethink
>
> and transform one's self to best fit one's job, which is highly valued in an economy
>
> increasingly oriented toward information and service. (p. 215)

She further adds that "the value of soft skills over hard skills lies in the value of a self-

monitoring workforce, especially when the need for specific forms of knowledge or practice may

be facilitated or displaced by other forms of production. [...] Skills that can be counted, rated,

measured, and so forth, can also come up short, and whose fault is that but one's own?" (p. 217).

Thus, "soft skills" become a very important aspect of neoliberal subjectivity.

Urciuoli is addressing the promotion of soft skills in the workplace in general; so what

happens when we inquire into the meaning of "soft skills" for the internationally trained

immigrant? If the term "soft skills" is used to describe a grouping of behaviours in line with

dominant practices in the workplace, then the conventional understanding of "intercultural

communication", with its one-sided focus on training the immigrant to adjust their behaviours

and partake in small talk, reading body language, and taking tea breaks, is related, if not equivalent to "soft skills".

7.7 "Learning the system"

While the participants do not use the term "soft skills", another way that it is nonetheless present in the narratives of the participants is in their speaking of learning how "the system" works. For the participants who did the BTP, learning about the system meant learning a preferred teaching style and methodology, assignment structure and student and teacher accountability and rights, expectations from employers on applicant and employee behaviour, preferred resume formats, expectations for the labour market (including call-backs for interviews, format of interviews, when and how to contact references, how to handle and what to expect from job offers), as well as proper workplace behaviour. Beatrice references one of the classes that focused on teaching pedagogy, describing it as a class where she learned "small tips like how to be a better teacher or which type of (strategies) you can use" (Int 1, line 258-259). Irandokht, also notes how this knowledge of the system in her own professional context, (knowledge gained from the BTP), is also applicable in her communication and relationship with her children's teachers.

In discussing her own integration process, Beatrice feels that she has a long way to go and thus copies what other people say in order to "try to be more Canadian." To explain, she talks about how the teachers in the BTP taught her what was more appropriate in Canadian culture, which she has tried to adopt as her own behaviour. Her own example of this adoption of more Canadian professional behaviour is "the sandwich comment", a reference to how a teacher/

instructor is expected to mitigate critical feedback by placing it between positive praising feedback. In this way, Beatrice feels she has learned more about the culture within the college/ university system and understands better what is expected from her as a teacher. Further on, after she states that she finds it difficult to make personal and professional contacts in Canada, Beatrice explains how the BTP has helped her learn about "the system":

> With the ((BTP)) the big advantage is that I (became) familiar with the system like how things should be in North American colleges and universities like how to work like (xxx) assignment … so that basically integrated me into the system where I can understand North American pedagogy like going through the system myself like ((the BTP college)) helped me also to integrate or get integrated. Now when I went to the university to teach, it was not new for me. I was already familiar with the kind of structure I would have to expect although I started on the student side at ((the BTP college)) and now I'm on the teacher's side. (Int. 2, Line 470-478)

The advantage of this particular BTP is that, as students, these professionally trained post-secondary teachers are already in the environment that they will work in once they have finished the program. As such, Beatrice, Jade, Irandokht, and Maya are not only taught about "the system", they experience it as students, giving them insight into some of their own students' perspectives once they've become teachers. In the above quote, Beatrice mentions how things "should" be in North American colleges, and elsewhere she talks about "copying" or otherwise assuming a certain type of behaviour that is more Canadian in her new workplace. In this way, Beatrice is accepting what is told to her about "the system", and assumes as much of it as her own that she can.

Jade and Maya also take this accepting attitude toward learning "the Canadian system". Jade, as she is a proficient speaker of British English, felt that she did not need much assistance with the language, but she found the BTP very useful for learning about writing resumes. Maya says of the BTP program: "Without this program I wouldn't know how to teach yeah it's about system about what people expect from you. If you know what kind of response you should give to the person, you know that according to this you have to behave in this direction" (Int 2, Line 116-123). In her first interview, Maya also speaks of the confidence she feels she has gained from the BTP and from her experience so far in the Canadian classroom in terms of knowing what students are used to with the structuring of lessons as well as feeling an improved confidence with her language ability while addressing students' concerns (Int 1, line 585-592). When I ask her whether she got support from her colleagues in adjusting to her new workplace, Maya says:

> Yeah, I have. Right now I found one teacher. He is from Ukraine. He taught at ((the college)) for 7 years. He has helped me a lot with my financial math because he gave me his material test, his quizzes, everything. And I just try to follow his suggestion, and. Even last week we had like faculty meeting, and you can meet several teachers. Yeah, it's right now I have a lot of connections. I know maybe almost half of the chairs at ((the college)) and they knew me. (Int 1, Line 599-604)

After the above comment, we begin to speak of the importance of these connections, and Maya tells a narrative about how, even though she sent out many resumes, the job offer she got was from a department chair who had only been given her name and a recommendation. When I ask whether this skill of "networking" with those who are in a position to hire her was something she

learned in Canada, she replies yes, that back in Moldova everyone knew her already, that the first person to hire her had been one of her teachers growing up.

Jade and Beatrice also speak about needing to learn how to network and make friends among the instructors in their workplaces. In her first interview, while talking about how she found her current university teaching position, Beatrice talks about how stories told to her by her BTP teachers helped her navigate her job search process. Although she does not recall the exact story, she mentions how Helena told the class the importance of "networking or having small talk" and how it was a "big factor" in her finding a job. Beatrice then remarks that she also found this was true in her job search, as she found her university teaching job through "indirect networking". For Jade, networking and small talk have become important to her success in navigating her way around her new places of work. By the time of the first interview, Jade has already had teaching contracts in two different colleges and has thus found a difference in "college culture" to which she has had to adapt. She says "I find at (A college) they're very independent, you know. You have to ask for help. People don't approach and help you. But when I teach at (B college) I find that they're more cohesive. They're more, they bring help first before you ask for help. That's the big difference. It's just the culture" (Int 1, line 286-289).

7.7.1 Learning the system: Beatrice's job hunt

While the other participants briefly mention learning about resumes and job interviews, Beatrice goes into depth about her job search and describes in detail the decisions she had to make about her pathway through the labour market. When I ask her to tell me more about the impact of the BTP on her career in Canada, Beatrice tells me the story about applying for her teaching job, launching into the narrative with the statement: "I mean basically if I wouldn't have

done the teacher training, I'm not sure I would have applied for the job." (Line 532-533) Beatrice then tells a long narrative about how she came to apply for a lecturer position at the university, attributing both her preparedness for how the job needed to be filled quickly after one professor got a research grant and course release, and her confidence in applying for the position after she realized that she possessed three assets that were listed in the job description.

Her narrative then goes through the thought process that lead her to see the advantage of taking the university lecturer contract rather than a contract teaching at a community college, as the university lecturer contract was for a longer period of time than the community college contract. Continuing, Beatrice mentions how the BTP was also responsible for teaching her what clothes she should wear and "how to behave" in the job interview. To conclude, Beatrice states: "Basically I just know the system better because I went through the college training right? So I have just the struggle in the sense that I am not a native speaker, and that I just have to think twice how to say something if I know it." (Line 560-562)

While telling the story of how she got her university teaching contract, Beatrice notes how what she learned from the BTP helped improve her confidence. Although she needed to draw on another institution to help her with her CV, since she was only taught about resumes targeted at the College system in the BTP, Beatrice reports getting guidance from the program for her teaching portfolio and her teaching philosophy, which is something that she felt was too difficult to write on her own. She says: "I tried a little bit, but I was feeling okay, if I can get guidance for it, that would be better. And obviously it worked because I had to send my teaching philosophy plus my CV plus a cover letter, so they accepted it (too)" (Beatrice, Int 1, line 662-664). She also

reports gaining confidence from practicing interviewing skills by doing in-class mock interviews and also hearing what teaching in Ontario is like:

 Um. Like I think also like we did these kind of um mock interviews in ((the BTP)) that helped me when I was going through my interview here with my PI. And then having the confidence, like okay I can do the teaching and I am kind of prepared for this, and I can do that here, although I didn't study here. Maybe this kind of confidence and then I maybe just have to invest a lot of time and maybe I will also do mistakes in the beginning because it's my first teaching job here. I mean this kind of confidence comes from this training, I think. And also like knowing like because the people like ((teacher, Canadian born)) who was teaching here, she told about her first teaching experience. How it was for her. So having that in mind, how hard it can be for someone who is like grown up in Canada. (Int. 1, Line 677-686)

This in-depth behavioural coaching that Beatrice mentions is important, even for post-secondary institutions in Ontario which have diversity hiring mandates. Roberts (2013) notes that, although employers may feel that job interviews are transparent and reliable ways to choose "the right candidate" for a position, in actuality, the linguistic capital required to successfully negotiate the interview process is quite high. For example, the "Diversity Management" approach to interviewing, which is a highly scripted approach to interviewing designed to allow each candidate to present relevant skills in the selection process for equal opportunity, functions under the assumption that an interaction can be tightly directed. Roberts asserts not only that this assumption is false, but also that interaction as closely controlled as the diversity interview only serves to select a very specific individual. Roberts (2013) states "the argument here is that the

organisation is open to selecting candidates from all and any ethnic cultural backgrounds provided that they align with its organisational culture, and so, by implication, with the culture of the interview. In other words, you can be as diverse as you like as long as you are like us" (p. 84). For this reason, Beatrice and her BTP colleagues are prudent to be accepting of the behavioural guidance given to them.

Adding a different perspective, Kerekes's (2006; 2007) study of the pragmatic features of job interviews amongst 47 candidates for light industrial and clerical jobs, 24 of whom self-identified as non-native speakers of English, illustrates that, although there is general agreement in previous research that an interviewee who shares the same native language and culture as the interviewer is more likely to achieve their communication goals, this data leads to a more complex interpretation. Kerekes (2006) argues that achieving success in an interview is related to (if not dependent on) the establishment of rapport and trust. She describes rapport as the achievement of communication goals due to the co-construction of solidarity between the interlocutors. Trust, as Kerekes explores it, involves a subjective evaluation of the interviewee's actions and is much more likely to occur if the interviewee and interviewer share similar values. Thus, both trust and rapport are more likely to be established between interlocutors who are able to find commonalities. Kerekes (2007) observes that the interviewees the least likely to be successful were male light industrial candidates who appeared to have the least in common with their young, educated female interviewers. The non-native English speaking candidates, despite generally having shorter interviews, were mostly able to communicate their positive attributes and gain successful results.

Beatrice, as well as several other participants who went through the BTP, report an improved confidence with learning the expectations that would be placed on them as job applicants, and eventually as employees. Knowing how to behave, what to wear, how to establish a common-ground with their interlocutors, and what to expect when she is hired, Beatrice, as well as the others can, as Maya points out, focus on preparing their lessons.

7.8 Learning the system, soft skills, intercultural communication for the workplace, and being observed in the BTP

There is a significant overlap between what the students describe as "learning the system" and "intercultural communication". Both include implications of what is considered the right type of behaviour to be exhibiting in the Canadian workplace. On the one hand, intercultural communicative competence involves an openness to other cultures or "social groups", ability to interpret and relate, as well as maintain a critical perspective on one's own culture. In the way that Beatrice, Jade, and Helena describe what they call "intercultural communication", competence comes from an awareness of difference between national cultures, and openness to that difference. For Helena, at least, communication means relating with people on an individual basis and learning to read others' perspectives and attitudes. On the other hand, "learning the system" involves learning what is expected of one in the Canadian labour market and the workplace. As the participants described above, this behaviour included accepted pedagogical practices in the community college classroom. It also included advice on what to wear to a job interview and the importance of maintaining relations with colleagues and superiors through networking and small talk.

This link between learning the system/ soft skills and intercultural communicative competence is that they both involve behavioural prescriptions that the newcomer must administer to him/herself in order to fit in as a teacher in the Ontario community college classroom, and thus, they are two different terms that describe very similar relationships that the newcomer has with him/ herself. In their research, Piller (2011) and Holmes (2015) acknowledge the pressure on the individual "to conform to the language codes and practices" of the workplace (Piller, 2011, p. 116). In her observation of 5 ELT classes in 2008, Allan (2013) noticed that ELT teachers did not focus on sector specific terminology, as they had advertised they would. Rather, they encouraged students to work on their 'soft skills', focusing on communication skills in the Canadian context and self improvement tips. Allan states: "In the ELT classes that I observed in Toronto in 2008, teachers did not focus primarily on advanced or sector-specific technical language (as advertised), but rather on 'good' communication skills, to prepare job-seeking immigrants for interviewing, networking and meeting with recruiters" (p. 57). She notes that such focus on soft skills targeted what was perceived as "individual skills deficits rather than the systemic and structural conditions that contribute to professional immigrants' 'de-skilling'" (p. 57).

In their study, Friesen and Ingram (2013) observed that employers felt that the internationally educated engineers (IEEs) they hired often did not have the ability to 'communicate sensitive issues', which they and the researchers felt was an aspect of intercultural competence. Many employers functioned with a deficit vs desirable quality dichotomy in mind while considering the contributions of IEE employees, and would give IEEs technical roles while placing native speakers of English in charge of client relations. Also, as noted above with Roberts' chapter on

immigrants' difficulties in highly structured job interviews, this strict interview framework interferes with the individual's responsibility to display their most desirable qualities. Allan (2013) notes that "there are thus tensions between standardisation and individualisation that underlie job-searching processes: candidates must show they are uniquely valuable and relatable as well as 'be themselves' (that is, authentic), but within a narrow set of culturally acceptable norms and fairly standardised communicative genres" (p 65).

Beyond the imperatives to be interculturally competent individuals with a wide range of (other) soft skills, taught directly or through the narratives of their teachers in the BTP, the BTP students' behaviours are shaped through how they perceive they are being observed by people who can influence their future employment. Not only can BTP teachers, the coordinator, and other college officials involved in the program write reference letters for the students, as mentioned by Beatrice in her narrative about how she gets her university teaching contract, they can and have also informally recommended their former students for teaching contracts at their own college. Thus, it is within the students' best interests to adopt the recommended communication skills. After telling the previously mentioned small story about the "cultural clashes" she has heard about through another BTP student, Helena explains to me why she knows so little about the conflict:

 We know that things happen behind the scenes because they learn very early in the process

   that they are being observed as professionals. So there is something that they let us know and

   certain things that they don't let us know. They have these different behaviours. But we are

   still investigating. There are certain things - and there are confidentiality issues that I have to

be careful about. One person told me in confidence certain things, so I cannot act upon it. So

I still have to observe and see- it's a mess. (Int. 2, line 279-285)

Thus, possibly more important than assignment and test grades is the behaviour of the students

toward each other in the classroom, or anywhere else where the students might be observed by a

college teacher or potential employer.

7.9 "Proving" oneself

During the course of telling her life story, Irandokht mentions several times how "proving

herself", along with feeling that she is a pawn in a game of chess (which I have mentioned

earlier), is an important belief of hers. The first time she speaks about proving herself, she is

telling me about her professional development after she immigrated to Canada. She talks about

going through the BTP, and mentions her need to improve her language skills, explaining:

you cannot explain it as much as you can, because of the language [*me: like what?*] Maybe

right now I am sort of. I think I am settled. But before, it was too hard to explain my feeling,

my knowledge. I had to prove myself. [*Me: mhm. What do you mean in your profession?*] In

my profession. In my personal life. In my- For example, in my kids school, I had lots of

trouble last year. But last year because I've done the (BTP) I've learned lots of things from

them. Lots of laws, regulation for the schools and the teachers, the communication between

teachers and students. Maybe before that I didn't know that. And I thought that I don't have

any rights to say something. But last year with some of my kids' teacher, I could prove that

I'm right, and they had to change theirself. [*Me: mhm. Do you want to talk more about that*

experience?] You know, as you know everywhere you can find some kind people like my

best friend (name), and you can find some I don't want to say evil, but some sort of, you

know? And maybe because of the immigration, some of the behaviour is not tolerable. (Int. 1,

Line 806-828)

Irandokht proceeds to tell two narratives about how she dealt with two different conflicts at

her children's school in which teachers treated her sons unfairly and she went to the school to

speak with the teachers and the principal. She concludes:

Maybe they believe Iran is a bad place, I don't know why. Maybe stereotyping something.

But it made my family so sad. You know one by one, one by one, and then I tried to say

something. To get my rights, you know? At the first time, the teachers tried to, I mean the

mean teachers, two of them, tried to target our English. When my husband tried to explain

something they laughed or smiled, body language, you know? And when they heard that I'm

teaching here in Canada, they stopped. (Int. 1, 844-850).

In this way, Irandokht feels that the recognition of her as a competent working parent, someone

who has Canadian training and is employed at a community college, is the reason why her

complaints and her authority is taken seriously. She perceives that her low language proficiency

prevents her from being acknowledged as a professional and someone with authority/legitimacy,

but with her new status, Irandokht has proven herself not only in the workplace, but also in her

family's community.

In the second interview, when I introduce the topic of learning how to network and making

connections in the BTP, Irandokht again mentions the importance of proving oneself, and how,

through the ability to prove oneself to the right person, one finds employment. To illustrate, she

shares the story of one of her classmates:

For example, one of our classmates got a full time job. It's not just because of chance, it's because he was able to prove himself, he was standing on top [*Me: Standing on top of what?*] Standing on the top of 15 people who are participating. And the same, he has a PhD in- I think he was a chemist, but at the same class there were 3 or 4 persons, all of them, who had a PhD in chemistry, you know? -But he could get the full time job. [*Me: Because he was the best?*] Because he could prove himself. During discussions, maybe with his assignments, he could show his experiences by talking, plus networking. He could get a lot of things from the program about Canadian culture and how the system works, but the same time he was able to show and prove himself. [*Me: Show the best part of himself*]. Yeah. (Int. 2, Line 92-112)

Irandokht here separates learning about Canadian culture and "how the system works" from her classmate's ability to communicate and network effectively and attributes these latter two skills to his ability to prove himself and subsequently get a coveted full-time position. Thus, for Irandokht, these interpersonal communicative abilities may not have the same ties to intercultural communication teaching that they do for Helena or for her other classmates. When I ask Irandokht whether she had also successfully proven herself, she replies "I think so", and follows by explaining that she got a teaching job in information systems, even though there were two other students in the BTP who had the same training as her. Thus, this act of proving oneself that Irandokht describes includes an element of competition with her peers in the BTP. When I ask her to whom she is proving herself, Irandokht says:

For their peers, for the teachers and we had a wine and cheese event. There were chance for us to talk about ourselves. It was only 2 hours event but it was a great chance. [*Me: Yes. I think I remember doing that when I was teaching*]. And proving to ourselves as well. You

know, some of us may think well this job is not for me, and then they go and find a research

job or something else. It's not necessarily for the employer, you know what I mean? It's for

yourself. Maybe in the Canadian culture, in this type of system, I'm not a person who can fit.

(Int. 2, Line 141-150)

The wine and cheese event that Irandokht mentions above is a planned activity where

department chairs from several different community colleges, including the one that runs the

BTP, come to meet and speak to the students. The event is meant to give students an opportunity

to network with those who may be in a position to hire them in the future. For Irandokht, it is an

opportunity to prove that she is a desirable candidate for a teaching position. She also mentions

above that she also needs to prove herself to herself, and indicates that, after assuming and

performing the identity of a competent professional Canadian college teacher, one may decide

that this particular identity is not a good fit.

7.10 Experiences in the workplace

Despite the fact that, as BTP students, Beatrice, Jade, Maya, and Irandokht have already

participated in "the system" from different perspectives, what they've learned about the culture

of the Canadian education system may be different from their experiences in the labour market

and in the classroom as teachers. When I ask her about her professional development upon

immigrating to Canada, Jade starts talking about learning how to make friends with colleagues

and learning about how every college she has taught at is different in terms of its workplace

culture. Jade admits that "doing (the BTP) and and actually practicing I find is really different.

Small things like how to use a photocopy machine. How (do you send things for) photocopy.

Where is your classroom. All this nitty gritty I really have to ask" (Int 1, line 297-300). The above is an example of how the BTP cannot prepare students for everything about the workplace. One instructor's description of how the workplace operates is just that. It is a perspective and it may be mostly composed of that instructor's personal experience (which has been generalized). When I ask Jade about how she was able to cope with her first day of teaching in light of her assertion that nothing would prepare her for the actual first-hand experience, she tells the following narrative:

> I made sure I was very well prepared. I was given (to) teach a course where there was no course outline, there was no textbook. And I had to really (truly) create a course here. [Me: really]. Yeah. It was use and abuse. There was no textbook, nothing, and I was given two weeks to do it. [Me: wow]. Yeah so I tell you ((laughing)) I (put day and night) on that course. I taught that. And at (College A) I taught chemistry. That was okay. But this (drug) course it was terrifying. It was terrifying because I didn't know how to use the resources here, but at the end it was okay. I think I told my students and they were very understanding. (Int. 1, line 305-319)

Jade evaluates her experience that as a teacher she was being "used and abused" - thrown in without any help and thus had to work very hard. Her lack of knowledge about some of the material for one of her courses, "the drug course", was "terrifying". The picture this paints of the college "system", as far as it is for contract faculty (especially those who are just starting out) is one of heavy workload and little institutional support. Previous to this narrative about her first course, Jade mentions that the BTP did not prepare her for this reality of teaching in a college.

Beatrice also recounts this same type of situation when she first got a teaching contract with an Ontario university. In speaking of her experience, Beatrice shares a story told to her by one of her BTP teachers, a Canadian-born teacher who told the class about how when she had just started out, she felt "a pressure to deliver" and had very little time to put lessons together. She interprets her teacher's experience as follows: "So that means in the beginning you just struggle from day to day from just to prepare what you need to prepare because you have no time" (Int. 1, line 691-693). Thus, Beatrice is using her BTP teacher's experience to normalize her own experience of teaching on contract. Having to rush to prepare lessons at first is simply part of the contract system at Ontario colleges and universities. It is possible that Jade heard the same story, although she does not recount it, and she does say that the BTP did not prepare her for the actual experience of teaching. However, her laughter while telling, the positive resolution to the narrative, and her later discussion of her own adaptability indicate that Jade takes the same accepting position toward the contract work she is offered.

7.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that intercultural communication, in its mainstream definition and as it is understood by two of the participants who took the BTP, overlaps significantly with "soft skills" as well as with participants' descriptions of "learning the system". Jade and Beatrice thus describe their intercultural communication learning as a growing awareness of cultural difference, and specifically the difference between how Canadians behave from others. In this way, they understand that it is possible to pinpoint a set of "Canadian" behaviours. This focus on communicative norms within Canadian culture in contrast to other norms from other cultures not

only emphasizes difference, it also emphasizes what is acceptable or conventional within the Canadian nation-state versus what is different, interesting or exotic.

Furthermore, although Helena, the BTP teacher, had a more nuanced sense of intercultural communication, stating that she focussed on giving students tools with which to deal with individual interlocutors over teaching them about interacting with strictly defined cultures, Beatrice and Jade appeared only to remember lessons of cultural comparison. This discrepancy is likely due to the fact that all learners, including Beatrice and Jade, assimilate new information with previous experiences and attitudes. In other words, a tendency toward cross-cultural comparison is related to long-held beliefs about and experiences (or the lack of experiences) with other cultures just as much as it is related to lessons learned in the BTP.

Another way that participants' discussion about intercultural communication and learning about "the system" overlapped with "soft skills" is in its focus exclusively on the learner needing to learn acceptable behaviour, skills in intercultural communication, leading Helena to speak of how she teaches her students to give their interlocutor what they want. If the burden in intercultural communication learning is always on the immigrant, then the immigrant subject must continue working on him or herself to fit the norm. In this way, Urciuoli's (2008) argument that soft skills are "ways to fashion subjectivity compatible with dominant practices, institutions, and beliefs" fits with how the participants involved in the BTP were encouraged to use their knowledge of intercultural communication and knowledge of "the system". Thus, just as narrative is a technology of the self that conveys, re-orders, and reinterprets the discourse of lifelong learning, it also conveys, re-orders, reinterprets information about what it means for the

internationally trained immigrant subject to behave in a socially acceptable way in the Canadian workplace.

With recent government focus on attracting and accepting skilled immigrants who have proven high language skills/ competency, it is curious that there are increasingly varied ways that their communication abilities in either official languages are targeted. In fact, language teachers who previously worried that there would be fewer jobs in TESL should take heart that there is increasing attention to immigrant language skills beyond "pure" ESL. Furthermore, language teachers in Ontario now have the option to augment their own credentials as language teachers by taking a post-TESL certificate in Language Training for Employment (LTE), which includes a substantial unit on "pragmatics", what Joan Bartel (2013), a teacher and curriculum developer with the LTE program, defines as the various strategies used to negotiate particular speech acts, the sequential management of speech acts, and the effects that various social factors like power distance have on a speech act, or what she says employers may feel are "soft skills".

Finally, Irandokht's explanation about proving herself in the BTP, as well as Helena's explanation about how students know they are being observed during the course of the program highlight an important aspect of the program. As the BTP students learn how to act in the Canadian workplace, they are being monitored by their teachers and their peers. In this way, teachers and peers can judge how well the student can fit in to the BTP version/ interpretation of the Canadian workplace. The BTP thus plays an important role in the integration of the internationally trained teachers who were participants in the present study. Although they drew from their previous experiences of interaction with others cultures to interpret and internalize the lessons in proper workplace behaviour and communication, it was during their months in the

BTP that they were observed and evaluated on how well their behaviour fit with the desired behaviour. So, if conflicts arose between students such as what Helena described between Christians and Muslims, they were hidden from those running the program.

In the following chapter, I examine the participants' own opinions about integration, citizenship, belonging and success in order to further understand how they understand their own work on themselves in the way of communicative ability in the context of their larger goals and understandings of success.

CHAPTER 8: INTEGRATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND "BEING" CANADIAN

8.1 Introduction

The following chapter explores participants' relationship to the term "integration", their understandings about citizenship and being Canadian, and how they perceive language ability to relate to integration. These understandings and perceptions were elicited mostly using direct questions in both the first and second interviews, thus allowing the participants to analyze their own positions. My questions about how they perceived success in Canada and whether they felt they were successful came at the end of the second and final interview for each participant in order to offer them a chance to reflect on where their life trajectories have brought them.

Currently, the term "integration", as it refers to the manner in which immigrants/ newcomers are incorporated into a host society, is a positive term. However, as Li (2003) observes in his analysis of integration discourse, there is rarely any theoretical discussion of what exactly is meant by "integration". Generally, in most policy and academic discourse the term is dealt with as economic integration, where the immigrant's income approaches that of Canadian-born citizens who have similar professions, and social integration, where the immigrant becomes fluent enough in one of the official languages and participates in the political/social life of their communities (Li, 2003). Li observes that

academics engaged in empirical research of immigrant integration typically adopt conformity to national standards as the objective and obvious benchmark of desirable integration, although they also endorse the ideals of multiculturalism championing diversity and freedom of cultural expression. Thus rather than interrogating the relationship between diversity and

integration, they tend to accept and internalize the norms and expectations of those who are already well entrenched in Canada as if they constitute natural and scientific standards of integration (2003, p. 318).

The problem is that there is a tension created between these ideals of multiculturalism which manifest in the promotion of cultural diversity and the promotion of adherence to a set of values for the sake of social cohesion (Jedwab, 2012).

According to Patten and Kymlicka (2003) the resolution of this tension between the principles of multiculturalism and a cohesive democratic society lies in the promotion of a common language. Indeed, until recently, models of citizenship and civic identity have relied on traditional understandings where citizens have been mono-ethnic, property-owning heterosexual males. Since the 1980's, there has been a push to conceive of a more complex form of citizenship that acknowledges the diversity of today's nation-states. Thus the promotion of a common language "helps to unite people into a single political community without imposing a particular conception of the good life. A common national language helps to promote a common civic identity without denying the 'fact of reasonable pluralism' or the liberal commitment to neutrality regarding conceptions of the good life" (Patten & Kymlicka, 2003, p. 13). The authors note, however, that in a context of immigration, even though there may be consensus about the utility of a common language and which language that should be, there can still be contention over the nature of the relationship between citizenship and language. To illustrate their point, Patten and Kymlicka note that strict language requirements which emphasize quick conformity with high proficiency standards may signal to immigrants that they must also give up their cultural practices.

The very fact that there exist in many places, including Canada, increasingly rigid language requirements for immigration and citizenship, not to mention the underlying problematization of multiculturalism vs cohesion in policy in the first place, indicates that integration of newcomers/ immigrants is contentious. As mentioned in Chapter 3, current attitudes in Canadian policy toward integration and immigration originate in the B & B Commission (Haque, 2011), which replaced a hierarchy based on race with one based on language, where "multicultural" immigrants are second to Anglophone and Francophone cultures. In addition, at the same time that multiculturalism policy replaces old divisions on the basis of race with divisions on the basis of language, it helps to construct a new image of Canada as a progressive, tolerant and diverse society (Thobani, 2007).

Thus, this chapter illustrates how several of the participants show enthusiasm for multiculturalism and diversity in Canada, while showing anxiety about conforming linguistically (specifically with regard to their accent) with dominant Canadian models. This attentiveness to accent as well as to acting more "Canadian", as was seen with participants' discussion of intercultural communication in the previous chapter, is linked to historic/existing conceptions/ discourses of Canadian whiteness versus the racialized immigrant. Half of the immigrants are white (Beatrice, Maya, Sylvie), while the other half are visible minorities (Jade, Irandokht, Helena). Helena is the only one who speaks overtly about her racialization, feeling that she is sometimes seen as white, while at other times she is not. What becomes evident during the course of the analysis is that there is fragility toward claims of Canadianness which is related to the semantic stretching (Holborow, 2007) that occurs with the term "immigrant", which

encompasses anyone who does not look, act, or speak like what Irandokht calls a "pure Canadian".

8.2 Social and economic integration

When asked about integration, the participants generally speak of becoming both economically and socially incorporated into Canadian society. They indicate, however, that, at the time of the interviews, their focus is mostly or exclusively on their employment, meaning that they feel their social integration is lagging behind. For this reason and others, the notion of integration remains a contentious one, with Helena, the BTP teacher, stating that she feels integration to be impossible. Her reasons will be explored later in this chapter.

When I ask her in the first interview about differences between her life in Malaysia and in Canada, Jade talks about how her family is "assimilating", how they are a close family and keep their traditions, but each of them is also eager to assimilate. When asked to elaborate, Jade describes that the word "assimilation" for her means a positive exposure to different people from all around the world, exclaiming "I think it's tremendous". She adds that she feels the difference about Canada is that there is an absence of "racial prejudice". Later in the same interview, I ask her what she feels the difference is between assimilation and integration and she tells me: "To me I feel that assimilation is the beginning of integration. To integrate is you're really a good mix" (Line 515-516). When she tells me that she is still in the assimilation stage, I ask her what she needs to integrate and she tells me that she would like to join in with community and social events, but does not have the time at the moment.

Jade's personal definition of the difference between assimilation and integration is closer to the definition of the difference between settlement and integration, where settlement involves finding out and beginning to access services such as accommodation, language classes, a health card and a drivers' license, and integration is a process of becoming more involved in one's community through joining groups, attaining citizenship, and voting. On the the other hand, a common definition of the difference between assimilation and integration involves a contrast between a perceived inclusivity of integration with the forced conformity of assimilation. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2006):

> Assimilation can be defined as: (1) disappearance of distinctive features, that is, objectively the loss of specific elements of material and non-material culture and subjectively the loss of the feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group; and (2) simultaneously, objectively, adoption of traits belonging to another culture, which replace those of the former culture, accompanied by the subjective feeling of belonging to the second culture. Integration is the formation of a series of common features in an ethnically heterogeneous group. Assimilation is subtractive, whereas integration is additive. (p. 282).

Skutnabb-Kangas adds that, while many nation-states, including Canada, outwardly ascribe to the integration model of immigrant incorporation, in practice they foster/ promote more of an assimilationist model where change is required from the minority population and not the dominant population.

For Beatrice, the definition of successful integration involves both having a job and developing a support network. When asked, her immediate answer is about being employed. She specifies:

But that doesn't (come) from the country. That's a general rule for me. I don't want to be unemployed. So that's why- I knew I could get unemployment insurance which would give me a kind of security but I was still willing to get a job which was less paid but which gives me a kind of stable income so that I don't have to use the unemployment insurance because I would feel that's unfair and I'm not integrating myself well in the system if I don't get a job. So that is one part. The working part. The other part of success would be like getting new friends or finding a network of people who are kind of supporting you. But like even in Germany I don't have so many friends. I have a couple. […] I mean one is the social aspect and one is the working aspect. At the moment, because I want to be ... I'm responsible for my son so that is the most important social aspect so that's why the most important aspect for me is to have a job. Not only going from day to day (xxx) so like having that success now and as a teacher because it gives me a kind of stability. (Int. 2, lines 938-955)

There are several things to consider in the above excerpt. First, given the fact that in my interviews with Beatrice, she discusses in great detail both her career history and her future directions, and given the fact that there is a lot of outside attention directed at labour market integration, it is not surprising that Beatrice states employment as an important factor of successful integration. It is also significant that she feels accessing employment insurance would be "unfair" and would show that she is not integrating herself "well into the system". This statement shows how, for Beatrice, integrating involves financial independence, autonomy, not necessarily accessing the services that are available to her as a legitimate contributing member of Canadian society (Beatrice is a permanent resident of Canada).

Secondly, Beatrice mentions that social integration is important to her so she can have a support network. However, for the same reason that this support network is significant, her status as a single mother, a steady income is also important. Thus, Beatrice expresses the same desire to create social ties in Canada and the same need to defer the pursuit of this desire until she has more employment and financial stability. Irandokht, Jade, and Maya also describe this primary need to work to survive.

In her second interview, Beatrice also agrees with Jade's view on integration involving participation in the community when it is presented to her. For her this idea of social involvement resonates on the level of building social networks. She speaks of going to workshops and making connections with people who teach in different departments of the university, and becoming a Boy Scout leader so she can bond with her son and with other families. She also speaks about her interest in teaching German, and making friends this way. However, despite her efforts to involve herself in the various communities around her, Beatrice also feels she is not connected the way she wants to be due to her residence in a suburb far from the centre of the city and far from the friends she has made. Also, she expresses frustration about the way she feels connections are made in Canada, and says: "You know I don't like that, I think it's hard to really get close to Canadian because everything goes first through kind professional contact or something like this before you really get into personal contact with somebody. Like even though I volunteer for scouts, I never really was getting into a circle like how I would have expected in Germany" (Int 2, line 446-450). Thus, Beatrice struggles to get beyond the formation of a professional network, despite her efforts to become more involved in her community through volunteering. For this reason, she feels she is not integrating yet.

It is significant (but not surprising) that both Jade and Beatrice mention that they have little time to engage in the community activities that they both feel would help them to integrate into Canadian society. Couton & Gaudet (2008), in their investigation of the lower level of social involvement among immigrants to Canada, confirm that there is a large gap between the rate of volunteering of immigrants (26%) and Canadian-born citizens (36%). Volunteering here is in the traditional sense of becoming involved in larger non-governmental organizations in commitments that last longer than one year. The researchers also looked at what they called "social participation," which is the involvement in practices that are less structured, involve not as long a term of commitment, could be in either the private or public sector, and may involve things like helping neighbours or participating in informal groups. Here, immigrants still participate at a lower rate than Canadian-born citizens, but the gap is smaller (14% versus 11.7%). Couton and Gaudet further note that rates of volunteering and social participation are particularly low amongst immigrant women of childbearing age and speculate that this could be due to the disrupted support networks faced by families upon immigration which most often adds the largest burden on the woman.

The impact of this non-participation is that immigrants find themselves shut out from social engagement related to parenting, the labour market, and health. The authors argue that traditional volunteering is an activity pursued by wealthy families and families where one parent stays at home because volunteering and social participation take extra time that is not available to many immigrant families who need the income from two working parents. However, they also suggest that "the possibility exists that the kind of social participation offered to parents is not necessarily in tune with the cultural habits of immigrant women" (p. 39), explaining that some immigrants

come from areas that have limited freedom of movement and participation and/or that do not have a strong presence of volunteer organizations in civil society.

The reasons Jade and Beatrice give for not participating socially as much as they would like are time and money constraints rather than their own feelings of cultural incompatibility. In fact, despite her time constraints, Beatrice has already managed to teach German and become a Scout leader. However, she still feels a separation between herself and the Canadians with whom she is trying to mix, and admits in the second interview that her involvement with the Scouts did not offer her the social connection that she was hoping for. Due to the fact that Beatrice sought out the Scouts as a volunteer opportunity, it is evident that it is not her culture that is incompatible with this community participation. Rather, Beatrice appears to be experiencing the same social exclusion that Norton (2001) describes in her study of the linguistic integration of six immigrant women.

To explain this exclusion as well as develop a more complex portrait of the integration process, Norton draws upon the work of Bourdieu (1977) which posits that communication cannot be viewed apart from contextual power relations and that these power relations ascribe value to what is said depending on who says it and who is listening. Thus, in her study of the language learning experiences of a group of immigrant women in Canada, she proposes that the notion of communicative competence (Canale and Swain, 1980) (which separates communication ability into 4 different competences: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, strategic) needs to include consideration of the right to speak.

In other words, Norton argues that communication is not only about a language learner learning and deploying rules in the correct way; it is also about the power relations that

determines who gets to be heard and when. In this way, Norton explains how her participants'

struggles in their employment situations and with finding ways to interact with native speakers in

social settings, are not merely reflective of problems with motivation or cultural difference.

Similarly, although Beatrice tries to adopt "Canadian behaviour", she feels shut out from some of

the groups she attempts to engage with.

8.2.1 Multiculturalism

During the course of their interviews, each participant outwardly expressed an openness to

the diversity that they found in Canada and, as discussed in the previous chapter, the participants

who had been students in the BTP felt the "intercultural communication" taught to them in the

BTP was very useful, although some had essentialist views of what the term "culture" entailed.

When asked about integration, however, only one participant, Sylvie, independently brought up

the term multiculturalism while discussing integration in the first interview. For Sylvie,

integration is a complicated topic because of (what she understands as) Canadian

multiculturalism, and how in this urban area which has long been a major hub for newcomers

from all over the world, there is not one single culture. Thus, when she is asked about

integration, Sylvie asserts, "If I integrate I integrate into this multiculture" (Interview 1, line

679), adding that the neighbourhood that surrounds one of her places of work has a large Chinese

population, and thus is a different culture from other areas of the city.

In their second interviews, when I present them with the view of integrating into a

multicultural environment both Jade and Irandokht feel it resonates with their experiences and

beliefs. Jade speaks positively about the absence of a single Canadian culture, speaking of the

different ethnic neighbourhoods in the city where she lives and recounts how "even in

Chinatown I feel very alien - because I'm not Chinese Chinese. It's all very interesting (and the Indian section). I find it's very enriching. I believe we cannot be a uniform society" (Int 2, lines 180-183). When she speaks of how she feels 'alien' amongst the 'Chinese Chinese' in Chinatown, Jade is referring to her ethnic Chinese origins and her family's immigration from China to Malaysia many years ago. The fact that she has already been affected by migration before coming to Canada changes her understanding of her culture and in her own mind places her apart from the "Chinese Chinese" who may have a less complicated history of migration. Also, the fact that she feels at the same time "alien" in a section of her adopted city and enriched by this mix of cultures indicates that, although she ascribes a certain positivity to multiculturalism, she does not feel a sense of belonging. Despite this feeling of being "alien", Jade repeats that the exposure to such diversity is "tremendous," and continues on to talk about how Canada is different from other countries because she does not feel "that racial prejudice". She then draws on her experiences living in the UK and in Australia and says that in those countries "there's always a little something" which she does not sense in Canada.

When Irandokht expresses agreement with the notion of integrating into a multicultural society, she observes that Canada is a new country whereas her country of origin, Iran, is 5000 years old. She then discusses how she loves "the way the government picks the good things and make them a rule even for personal life" (Lines 222-223), explaining how she feels that the government is very involved in the shaping of culture and promotes a model or group of rules of what is good in society and in one's personal life. In this way, in Irandokht's opinion, the government's "rules" about what constitutes a good life bring together the many cultures that compose Canadian society. She then asserts: "I follow the government's rules as a part of

Canadian culture as well because since I came to Canada, I didn't see any rules against the humanity" (Line 226-228).

When I ask her whether she has integrated, Irandokht states that she finds no conflict with her "personal culture". When asked what she means when she says "personal culture", she explains by telling me about her past in Iran:

Culture can be chosen and it can be changed. When I was a child around 10 years old, we had another society in Iran, totally different than the Islamic society. So the culture changed. The people who believed (but I can't say that because believe in religion as well) the people who are so prejudiced about religion, they are in the top level of society, so they can destroy lots of things. So that's why although I believe Iranian or Persian culture, but in thirty years, the society acts different things. Each person has their own culture which is good but when they go into society, they have to act differently. (Line 240-247)

From her previous experiences in Iran, Irandokht brings an enriched understanding of the fluidity of culture and its connection to major political movements. In this way, she views culture and multiculturalism as not some arbitrary designation, but an aspect of context that is socially engineered. Irandokht's comments about culture show an awareness from experience that culture is not only layered from "national" to smaller more regional units, it is layered horizontally and varies according to personal identification with different groups (creating "gay culture", "working class" culture, etc) (Bennett, 1998; Piller, 2011; Kramsch, 2011).

Thus, the above participants (Jade, Irandokht, and Sylvie) note that the very fact of multiculturalism (the diversity of the Canadian population) complicates the notion of integration for them. What does one integrate into if there are really so many different ways of being

Canadian? However, they also generally express a positivity toward the diversity/ multiculturalism of their urban environment. In her analysis of hubs of integration in the same urban setting where the participants live, Basu (2011) suggests a "broader and more inclusive framework for integration" (p. 1311). Basu observes how integration happens differently in areas of the city that receive a large number of newcomers and feels that such hubs, often located around public schools "are formed by sharing space, culture, and heritage and also through common histories and languages of oppression and discrimination. The integrative spaces are sensitive to religion, common life experiences, and challenges faced by immigrants and refugees in their daily lives" (p. 1328). In this way, Sylvie's observation that it is unclear, in this particular urban environment, what one is integrating into, this added complication does not point to an impossibility of integration. Rather, it points to a reality for many immigrants who settle in such multi-ethnic neighbourhoods that their experiences of integration vary from others'.

"Multiculturalism", however, goes beyond interaction of individuals of diverse origins within a given community. As noted in chapter 3, it has also taken up a much larger role than its role in integration policy. This collective imagining, promoted by the state in official documents such as the Citizenship study guide and the CLB which influence adult ESL curricula across the country and popular media, informs the behaviour/ self-governance of good Canadian subjects. As such, Basu (2008) asserts that "multiculturalism" should be understood in a "governmentality framework" (p. 1309). Multiculturalism is involved in a collective imagining of what it means for "Canadian subjects" to be Canadian (Thobani, 2007). In Fleming's (2010) study of language learners in a government-funded language class, the participants who mentioned multiculturalism in their interviews about national identity and citizenship did so not in a

legalistic sense. Rather, they referred to multiculturalism as an aspect of Canadian culture, an attitude that they generally saw as essential for citizenship. Similarly, throughout their interviews, and especially when speaking of intercultural communication, the participants in the present study, show an explicit positivity toward diversity/ multiculturalism.

In her analysis, Thobani (2007), describes how the adoption of multiculturalism in Canada allowed the state not only to present itself within international markets as "urbane, cosmopolitan, and at the cutting edge of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance among western nations" (p. 144), but also to perpetuate white-settler supremacy within the boundaries of Canada. When Canada adopted the policy of multiculturalism in 1971, the global political landscape was going through a number of important changes. Many nation-states were emerging from the colonial era, and as such, would no longer immediately accept terms imposed on them by their former colonizers, who consequently needed to shed their roles as "benevolent overlords". In addition, in the face of a growing post-war economy, Canada needed more immigrants than could be supplied by the traditional sending countries. Thus, multiculturalism recast Canada as both an egalitarian partner and a welcoming and diverse haven. Furthermore, the grouping of immigrants as "multicultural" allows for their management.

Drawing upon Foucault's (1983b) description of state power as both individualizing and totalizing, Thobani adds that state power is also "communalizing", in that official multiculturalism affords the state the power to constitute "communities as discrete racial, ethnic, and cultural groups existing within its territorial borders, yet outside the symbolic bounds of the nation" (p. 149). In other words, multiculturalism allows immigrant subjects to be constituted (and to constitute themselves) as parts of separate cultural communities, unchanged by the

integration process, uncomplicated by other associations such as by gender, socio-economic status, profession, etc, and separate from Canadianness. In this way, the category of "immigrant" extends beyond its legalistic sense and can include those even who were born in Canada, but who can never erase their status as visible minorities and cultural others. Thobani concedes that, although not all available subject positions are taken up in the same way, all individuals must

negotiate the power embedded in the discourse of multiculturalism, in the state bureaucracies and its agencies, and in the media and other institutions.[…] Many immigrants have embraced their culturalization, some have rejected it, others have tried to 'pass as Canadian, and yet others have sought to reframe this culturalist discourse with an anti-racist framework. All, however, have had to engage with it. None have escaped its reach (p. 165).

The participants are thus incorporated into a discourse of multiculturalism in complex ways. For Sylvie, a multicultural reality with pockets of distinct cultural community complicate her perception of integration, whereas for Jade, an outward positivity toward the prospect of the absence of a single Canadian culture gives way to a layering of opinions about how members from each community interact with her and her feeling of being an outsider. Finally, both Jade and Irandokht allow their past experiences of culture in their previous countries of origin (and for Jade, other parts of the world where she has lived) to shape their interaction with what Thobani calls "the power embedded in the discourse of multiculturalism". Aside from being an unavoidable aspect of life in the major urban area in which all the participants reside, multiculturalism represents the way the participants are grouped together as "immigrants", as well as the way they are grouped into separate cultural/ ethnic communities. In further sections, I explore how participants voice these boundaries between themselves and "real" Canadians.

8.2.2 The impossibility of integration

In her discussion on her thoughts about integration, Helena displays an awareness of her own subjectification as a cultural other and argues that, for this reason, she feels that integration is impossible. While speaking about how in Canada, Helena always feels that she is "on guard" with her behaviour because she did not grow up in Canadian culture, I ask her whether she feels Canadian. Helena replies "no" and tells me that she feels it is impossible for any first generation immigrant to feel truly Canadian, other than in the sense of possessing the legal documentation of Canadian citizenship. I then ask her how she feels about integration and she replies that she does not think it can happen for adult immigrants. However, if a person comes over as a teenager, that is different. After elaborating that she gets along with "Canadians" and "non Canadians" alike, but that she is not Canadian, that she has an accent, Helena launches into a narrative to explain her point of view:

I have a very interesting thing to tell you. It didn't happen in Canada. It happened in England. I was on a motorcycle trip with my husband. We spent three months in Europe. It was wonderful. The last part of our trip was in England. So I wanted to go to Scotland. We went all the way up and around. It was great. When we (entered) England again we were in Newcastle. It was raining like crazy so we spent the night in a hotel. We camped all those three months, but that night we went to a hotel. We went to a hotel, we were getting ready to leave, packing the bikes. (My husband) was bringing in some stuff and I was packing my bike, getting ready, and then a man came by and he saw the license plates because these were the bikes that we shipped over to Europe. 'Oh where are you from?' 'I'm from Canada' 'O that's so nice!' And he said 'where is this license plate from?' 'From Canada' 'Oh! Far from

home! What are you doing here?' and we were talking about the trip and (my husband) was back and forth bringing stuff. And talking and he was fascinated by our trip and he said 'you have this lovely accent. I can't really pinpoint where it is from. Is it Quebec?' Because people think I have this French accent. I said 'no' I have to show you what happens (next) ((Helena gets out of her chair)) You are ((me)) (packing) stuff and I already had my gear on and then he was talking 'I can hear this beautiful accent. Where is it from?' "Oh I am originally from Brazil' 'Oh how interesting' ((stepping back and crossing arms)) [*Me: ((laughing)) okay. That's interesting body language. He stepped away from you*] Mhm. Stepped away from me. And then ended the conversation. 'Oh you have a nice trip! Bye bye!' and then he left. (Int. 1, Line 623-645)

In this way, Helena recounts how a man's behaviour towards her abroad changed depending on whether he perceived her to be Canadian (friendly) or Brazilian (threatening). Relating this story back to her experience in Canada, Helena describes how she is immediately sexualized and associated with Carnaval and salsa dancing when she tells Canadians that she is originally from Brazil. I then ask her what meaning the word integration has for her and she answers that it is a sense of belonging emotionally, psychologically, and sociologically. She then recounts a transformation that happened in her understanding of how the deaf participate in society, how she came to realize that they could interact, but never truly integrate or belong in hearing society. Relating this realization back to herself, Helena states "I don't think I can, it can happen to me. I think I can be a part of it, ah interact, and live, but I'm not- I cannot be a part of it. I can participate. Can you see the difference? (Me: hmm) That's the belonging thing. That's the belonging." (Int 1, line 731-743)

Another example Helena brings up in order to illustrate her point is how her husband, a Canadian with no ties to Brazil other than her, and her father, originally British who spent his formative years in England, have a certain "demeanour" that marks them as foreigners in Brazil. Describing her father, Helena asserts that "the lenses he uses to see his life are compromised ((laughing))" (Int 1, line 770-776).

Thus, Helena's interpretation of integration, of belonging involves how one's behaviour or "demeanour", how one perceives the world, fits with (or fails to fit with) the communities one is surrounded by. In addition, one's ability to integrate is also determined by how others in this community perceive one's status. For Helena, the characteristics that mark her as unable to integrate are her Brazilian accent, and to a lesser extent, her appearance (the colour of her skin). In the second interview, as we revisit the topic of integration, Helena elaborates on her position:

> When you are a visible minority, that's me trying to intellectualize things. When you are a visible minority, you are you have your identity and nationality, or whatever screaming all the time because it represents you all the time. Right. It's very interesting. My ((BTP)) students look at me, the very first time they look at me, they think I am Canadian, quote-un-quote the real one. A white person. Then I tell them that I'm not, or they hear my accent. Most of them can't. But then, with the quote-un-quote real Canadians, they look at me and they know right away I am not a white person. Especially the young generation. They have this, the immigrants and 'us' whites. My step-children- my husband who is the most politically correct person you can imagine. He always has a fit when he hears that. The kids when they are talking amongst themselves: 'oh we were the only whites there' or things like that. So the quote-un-quote white Canadians, they know that I'm not, but the immigrants,

especially non-white people, they think I am. I know I'm not. And I don't care about this

kind of thing. It's not a part of- it doesn't occupy my little brain. But it's such an interesting

dynamic. Here in (this city), I can navigate to different places without calling much attention

to myself. I think it's very different from someone from South-Asia or someone from Asia or

China or Japan or somewhere like that where, or Africa, where they have their oddness, can I

say that? Or strangeness? Otherness? (Int. 2, line 344-362)

Here, Helena ads another layer to her experience of non-integration. Not only is her inability to

integrate linked to the way she is perceived in Canada, her Canadian-ness or level of integration

changes depending on who in Canada she is interacting with. Her students, who are more recent

newcomers than her, and who also may be more "visibly" visible minorities, perceive her, at

least at first, as Canadian presumably because they have not noticed her accent. However, "real

Canadians" (white Canadians whose families have been here for generations) perceive her

immediately as non-white. In addition, her status/ visibility also changes depending on her

location, as being in a major urban area provides her with a way of blending in with the crowd,

whereas in other places she would be more visibly conspicuous.

For Helena, her otherness will forever mark her from integrating into Canadian society. In

this way, her opinion on the impossibility of integration supports Thobani's (2007) point about

the communalizing power of state multiculturalism. In a shifting landscape where the state can

no longer legitimately reject the visible minority outright it must now therefore constitute and

contain him/ her as a part of a separate cultural community. The consequence of this cultural and

linguistic separation, then, is that all visible minorities are viewed as a part of these cultural

communities and forever as immigrants, and Helena, linguistically and culturally marked, cannot

integrate and leave behind her status as an immigrant. Han (2012), in her ethnography of Chinese immigrants to Canada, noted the same phenomenon, as one particular participant remained marginalized in mainstream society despite finding employment, learning English and making other progress in his path toward integration. Han notes that the "folk" definition of immigrant differs from the bureaucratic definition of immigrant in that it applies to all who are "foreign-looking or non-white in the Canadian Context" (p. 136)

Helena's extended discussion of her position about the impossibility of integration not only underscores Thobani's argument about multiculturalism in Canada, it also brings up two more associations that are important to explore further. First, Helena ties the perception of race to the conspicuous presence of foreign accent. I will explore this association later in this chapter. Second, by referring to "quote-un-quote real Canadians", Helena acknowledges a perception of who counts as a true Canadian and who does not.

8.2.3 "Real" Canadians

Helena's reference to "real Canadians" is done with consciousness of the fact that this categorization, mostly used in an unreflective way to refer to white Canadians who belong to the Anglophone or Francophone settler class. However, there are a couple of instances in the interviews where other participants speak of "real" or "pure" Canadians without questioning the assumptions embedded in the categorization or acknowledging the contradictions it poses in their own beliefs about citizenship and immigration.

Toward the beginning of her second interview, I ask Jade about her opinion from the first interview regarding the need in Canada to become involved in the community in order to integrate. Jade replies that her feeling of being accepted changes depending on who she is

interacting with and remarks that "in general Canadians are very friendly" (line 118). However, for Jade "Chinese who are born here" are not as accepting as "other immigrants". Thus, Jade makes a separation where those with Chinese ancestry, even if they themselves were born in Canada, are still immigrants and are different from "Canadians", who are presumably white with British or French ancestry. Similarly, when Irandokht discusses her agreement about integrating into a multicultural environment, she asserts that "everyone is different even Canadian - Pure Canadian" and then corrects herself that "you can't find that" (line 224-225). In this way, she appears to have a sense of a distinction between "pure Canadians" and the multicultural population that we are discussing, as well as the problematic nature of that distinction and the notion of "pure Canadian". The fact that Jade and Irandokht make the distinction between "real" or "pure" Canadians and ethnic Canadians or immigrants indicate that they are operating within the subject positions that are available to them, namely as "immigrants", regardless of whether they have achieved the legal status of Canadian Citizenship.

8.3 Citizenship

The above distinctions between "real Canadians" and outsiders were made at times in the interviews when Jade and Irandokht were not explicitly discussing their citizenship statuses. In the following section, I discuss the thoughts of the participants when they are directly addressing their feelings toward their own citizenship.

Of the 6 participants, 4 have their Canadian citizenships and 2 do not. Neither Beatrice nor Jade have become citizens yet. By the time of the first interview, Jade would have to wait a few more months to become eligible. Beatrice's situation is more complicated because, although she

is eligible to apply for her citizenship, she needs to coordinate her Canadian application with a German application that would allow her to retain dual citizenship. Of the 4 participants who have their Canadian citizenships, Helena and Sylvie obtained theirs several years before, and Irandokht and Maya only recently obtained theirs.

Maya, who recounts at the beginning of her first interview how several months earlier, during the winter, she was going through an exceptionally busy time when she was called for her citizenship test, responds to my question about whether she feels Canadian by telling me a story about how she visited her sister in the US which made her see the differences between her and her sister's new way of life. During this weeklong visit to attend the baptism of her sister's new baby, Maya began to identify with what she perceived to be a Canadian attitude toward conflict. She explains:

> I don't know we feel Canadians there ((laughing)) I don't know the reason why because, even right now there are a lot of different people around you but they have something similar and sometimes it's very difficult to say what exactly. Maybe the things that Canadians try to follow the rule. Maybe something like this. Maybe because the Canadians in general Canadians a little bit more calm. They are not so quick destructive maybe. They are not so nervous. But there, we feel that we are totally different from these type of people. Even this is my sister. And she is like always try to show emotions very quick. And her husband the same. They argue with each other. Maybe here we don't do the same things. (*Me: Okay*)I think that we feel that we become different from them. (Line 884-902)

In this way, Maya feels a distancing between her sister and her which aligns her attitudes toward confrontation closer to what she feels is the Canadian way. Furthermore, this insight was

not available to her before she crossed the border and left Canada. Despite this feeling of alignment of values/ temperament, when I follow up by asking her whether she feels that Canada is home or whether she is still adjusting, Maya tells me she is still adjusting, that this is not home. She thinks she will feel at home once her family stops renting and buys a property. She admits that this attitude about the importance of owning property is something that she brings from Moldova and thinks that this is not necessarily a Canadian value, as there are many Canadian-born people renting in her building.

Jade, who is not yet a citizen, is unsure of how to answer my question of whether she feels Canadian. However, earlier in the second interview when we are discussing what another participant had felt was a tendency among newcomers to focus on "back home", Jade asserts that despite making that sort of comparison often, she likes Canada and feels "very Canadian" (line 95). When I ask her what being Canadian means to her she replies that it signifies "a new life in a good society". Other qualities she ascribes to Canada are peace, safety and fairness. She adds: "And I find Canada has been very good to everyone in the family, everyone has you know? I look at my husband. I look at my sons. I compare to let's say what would have happened if they had stayed in Malaysia. They wouldn't have got ah the same (xxx). So. When (we arrived here) my sons were so happy. I said "do you want to go back to Malaysia?" "no" ((laughing))" (line 480-485). For Jade, being Canadian implies a sense of security and opportunity for her family.

At the time of the first interview, Irandokht had recently passed her citizenship test and attended her citizenship ceremony, so her memory of the later event was still fresh and emotional for her. She tells me about how the presiding judge gave a speech about how if one works hard in this country, one can get results. Irandokht indicates that this statement and the whole ceremony

struck a chord with her and that she "loved it". Later in this interview, when I ask her whether she feels Canadian, Irandokht says that after the citizenship ceremony, she did. When I ask her what that means to her, she tells me that it is a great feeling, that now when she travels she is treated in a completely different way by border officials, "So I love the Canadian way" (line 1111) When I ask her what being Canadian means to her, she says:

> You know, as I said, before revolution, Iranian revolution, I had the same feeling. I was proud of myself for being Iranian. Because, my family. Because at that time I was ten years old, so. My family had their own respect in society. They could live in a way that they wanted. They could make a good money when they work harder, you know? And here in Canada, after 30 years, I could feel the same thing. That make me proud of myself. (Line 1115-1120)

Irandokht's understanding of her own citizenship has both an emotional aspect, a feeling of being respected and having a sense of place which is tied to her memories of Iran before the revolution, as well as a utilitarian aspect of being able to make money, build a life, and have no problems crossing borders when traveling. This feeling of having respect, which Fleming (2010) also observes in his study of Punjabi immigrants, is related to the importance of the perception of others that Helena discusses when she speaks about her views on integration. Whereas others' perceptions, for Helena, mark her as separate, sometimes sexualized, and therefore unable to integrate, for Irandokht, this perception marks her as a Canadian citizen and therefore no different than any other Canadian citizen.

When asked about her own feelings of "being Canadian", Helena says that she does not think of herself as Canadian, even though it has already been several years since she got her citizenship. She links her views of citizenship with her already-established views on integration

and asserts that no first generation Canadian can ever really consider him/herself Canadian. Sylvie has similar views of being Canadian, and states that she has adopted Canada, but does not love it, nor, she asserts, does she love any country that she has lived in, and she has "gypsy blood" in her veins. She speaks at a different time about how she can also imagine living in China, a country where she has taught over the summer a couple of times, but at this time in her life, the security provided by a stable income and access to public healthcare would most likely keep her in Canada. When I ask her what it means to be Canadian, Sylvie tells me it means to respect the culture and laws and not to litter (although she notes that many people do litter), to respect the traffic laws, to be polite, and to help people. She adds that these should be universal values shared across the world, but they are not.

The participants express a range of thoughts about Canadian citizenship, from a more utilitarian understanding, for example with Helena and Sylvie who understand that they have attained a document that gives them a useful legal status, to a more emotional understanding, with Jade, Maya, and Irandokht expressing the common positive beliefs about Canadian Citizens. In their analysis of K-12 citizenship curricula in Alberta and Ontario and the most recent federal citizenship test study guide, "*Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of Citizenship*", Pashby, Ingram and Joshee (2014) note that in the documents they analyzed, there was a conflation between citizenship and character, where the good citizen/ person becomes "a loose and vague notion of citizenship that depoliticizes the concept so that citizenship becomes 'submerged in a concern with the shaping of personality and character'" (p. 13). The analyzed documents made use of both historical and current discourses presenting diversity as part of Canadian identity since the very beginnings of the nation, and the nation as a leader in both

peacekeeping, military exploits, and fighting for freedom. The authors assert that these more vague notions of citizenship, tied in with a neoliberal discourse emphasizing individual responsibility, call upon the individual citizen to take on these characteristics of "Canadianness". Maya's realization of her Canadian aversion to conflict in the face of a more confrontational American attitude, Jade's feeling of peace, and Irandokht and Jade's sense of opportunity and feeling of individual hard work that will be rewarded, are all part of this more vague Canadian character.

In his qualitative study of LINC learners and their views on citizenship, Fleming (2010) cautions that the normative understandings of citizenship present in the Canadian Language Benchmarks (2000), ones that downplay active citizenship delaying discussion of rights and responsibilities until the highest possible benchmark, and omit mention of voting while devoting a lot of attention to fitting in to Canadian workplace culture, are unattainable for the average immigrant/ learner. One interesting result from his study was that participants did speak of and understand their rights and obligations of citizenship, despite not being in that highest benchmark level. As discussed above, several of the participants in (my/ this) the present study, on the other hand, did reference those normative beliefs about citizenship.

Despite earlier slips of the tongue that had Irandokht and Jade distinguishing between "real" Canadians and others (presumably immigrants), and despite the two participants' comments about multiculturalism which separate them from other cultural communities, they still feel a sense of being "Canadian" as far as it denotes a general attitude or set of values. This belief in "being Canadian" is related to previous comments about intercultural communication which was explored in the previous section. The implicit lesson in intercultural communication learning

perceived by several participants that they conform to a more "Canadian" way of communicating in the workplace is similar to their belief in their own Canadianness in the way that this state of Canadianness is both preferable and attainable, with practice. In the following section, I explore how language, particularly accent, is perceived by the participants as essential to Canadian membership.

8.3.1 Language and being Canadian

Of the 6 participants, I only asked 4 (Irandokht, Beatrice, Maya and Jade) directly whether they felt learning English was important to being Canadian; three replied that it was, and one, Maya, felt that while English is a factor, it alone cannot make a Canadian. Irandokht elaborated that English is not essential if one wants only to live and work in one's own ethnic community. On the other hand, she asserts that if one wants to work "in a professional level," and make connections with other Canadians, then learning English is imperative. Both Beatrice and Jade are more general in giving reasons for their answers, with Jade affirming that "I think if you want to be understood, you have to learn. So it's a process" (Int 1, line 466).

In order to understand the participants' feelings about the link between language and national belonging/ citizenship, it is important to understand how they perceived their language abilities and the interaction between these abilities at the time of the interviews and their integration processes. Both Irandokht and Maya had relatively low language proficiency levels before they came to Canada, so it is understandable that their perspectives on language in the integration process are different from those of the other participants. Although Irandokht describes how she, as the main applicant in her family, had a good IELTS score, and how she felt frustrated that she was always assessed at too low a level when she started in the LINC program, she also described

how she felt like she could not speak during her first two months in Canada. She described how she could neither speak English nor understand people when they spoke, and she initially felt that it was all her fault, that all of her interlocutors spoke English well and she was the one who had "weak English" (Int 1, line 552). Later in the same interview, Irandokht also describes how, when asked about her professional development in Canada, she finds it difficult to explain things and share information with her colleagues, and this is something that she wants to improve. (This is also connected to her need to "prove" herself that I explored in the previous chapter).

Maya also discusses feeling unable to speak up in faculty meetings at work, to stand up and say what she wants or make a suggestion in a room full of her colleagues due to her perception of her language skills as lacking. She adds that she hopes that in 5 years she will have the confidence to speak up in these professional contexts. Another similarity she shares with Irandokht is that both mention not having many English-speaking friends, and feeling like they have few opportunities to practice their English outside of work or school. The issue of language is so prominent for Maya, that it causes her to reject Helena's opinion that there is no way for a first generation immigrant to integrate because they have a different perspective from Canadian-born citizens. She explains that Canada is full of different perspectives, and that Canadian-born citizens have different perspectives from each other. For her, the real issue is language:

> I try to communicate with people who work with me, I can see they have the same problem, some of them are divorced, some of them their husband wants them to cook to clean. No. It's not just about immigrants. Maybe for me still the biggest problem is language. But still I have a lot of friends who've been in Canada for 15 years and they still live in their own

community and they still look for the same perspective they saw in Moscow, in Leningrad. It

depends on the people maybe. (Int. 2, Line 208-214)

Thus, Maya argues that without the language, she would have a limited ability to circulate

outside her own Russian-speaking community, causing her to be unable to encounter these

different perspectives and allow herself to be changed by them. In this way, Maya believes that

integration is both exposure to different perspectives, as well as changing one's own perspective.

Of the participants who came to Canada with a higher language proficiency, all except for

Sylvie mention that language has still been a problem for them. In fact, Beatrice speaks of the

need to learn Canadian English and feels that integrating involves copying what people say and

trying to "be more Canadian". She mentions this in the context of discussing Jade's idea about

assimilating (settling) and integrating, telling me that she has not managed to integrate yet even

though she is emulating Canadian speech and expressions. She further mentions that she tries to

incorporate the lessons she learned in the BTP about what was appropriate in Canadian culture

into her behaviour.

The lesson Beatrice learns and attempts to apply in her journey toward integration shows

similarity to Guo's (2013) description of a situation in a job preparation program in Western

Canada where a workshop facilitator exhorted students to "think like a Canadian" and not like

Iranians, Chinese, etc. Guo argues that the implication of this particular lesson was that

(language) behaviour learned in Iran or China or Germany was in conflict with a Canadian

identity. As such, Guo asserts that the facilitator, who was an immigrant himself, "has

internalized an assimilationist mentality and, in turn, attempts to colonize the minds and

practices of new immigrants to a similar level of assimilation" (2013, p. 34). As was mentioned

in chapter 7 in the discussion of the nature of intercultural communication, Guo concludes that current adult ESL, in its focus on Canadian values, endorses an assimilationist stance to immigrant incorporation, where immigrants are expected to emulate the behaviour of the dominant culture. In Beatrice's interpretation of the lessons she learned in the BTP, she is also trying to develop a Canadian identity by speaking more like a Canadian. For Beatrice, and for the participants in Guo's study, language proficiency for integration has come to mean much more than speaking to be understood.

8.3.1.1 Accent

The issue of accent also emerged as an important topic for many of the participants, including Helena, the BTP instructor. As an indicator of "foreignness", a non-native-English-speaker (NNES) accent is something that all participants have spoken about having to manage. In her first interview, Maya tells a story of another teacher with a "terrible accent" who still managed to gain employment. When I ask Maya whether learning English is tied to being Canadian, she asserts the importance of being connected with the people around her and then says: "but it's not like you speak English and you are Canadian" (Int 1, line 953-954) She then explains herself by telling a story of how once she met an Australian teacher at the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) office who was frustrated because she did not understand the requirements to become a teacher in Ontario, so Maya had to explain these requirements to her. Despite speaking English, this person was not recognized by the OCT as a teacher in Ontario. Maya concludes that English is perhaps 50% tied to being Canadian. She then tells another story about a colleague of hers who has a "terrible accent":

She has been here maybe 15 years as well. She's from Romania. And she has full time position at ((the college)) and she's teaching financial math and she has a terrible accent as well ((laughing)). But she has a full time position. And for me it's like maybe four years ago, I couldn't imagine that with such terrible accent, person can teach. But right now can see that this is possible. Not so important about your accent. Maybe important how you teach. How you present materials. What you do during the lesson. Maybe this is more important. (Line 972-978)

By telling this story of the teacher with the "terrible accent", Maya is giving evidence for her argument that, even without "perfect" English, it is possible for someone to find employment in Canada. Still, throughout her life story that takes place after her immigration, Maya places a lot of importance on improving her language skills. In fact, towards the end of the second interview, she speaks of the pronunciation class that she has signed up for at the college where she teaches. In addition, when asked at the end of the second interview, Maya says she feels only 70% successful, despite getting contract employment in her field and passing the citizenship test. Why does she feel only 70% successful? Maya answers: "I wish to have full time job, speak perfect English without any accent." Here, of course, by specifying her goal of speaking English with no accent, she means having the accent of a Canadian NES.

In Maya's story of the teacher with the "terrible accent", it is unclear whether this accent impeded understanding in the classroom, causing Maya's incredulity at this teacher's employment, or whether Maya was incredulous because the teacher sounded too "foreign" to have been integrated into the Canadian labour force. However, it is telling that Maya states that

she will only feel 100% successful when she speaks English without a trace of her NNES accent. Thus, it appears that for Maya, to be Canadian, she needs to erase her foreignness.

Beatrice has a similar interpretation of the story of the teacher with the "terrible accent" when I present it to her in the second interview. She reacts by recalling her own struggles with the English pronunciation of technical terms from her field. Then, when we spoke about how this teacher with the "terrible accent" had a full-time job, Beatrice exclaims: "That is kind of nice too, right? I'm still amazed that even though I'm German, I got my education in Germany I did this ((BTP)) and I didn't have any teaching experience here and they still hired me as a full time teacher. Well not full time, as an instructor" (Int 2, line 1167-1170). For Beatrice, her foreign origins, education, lack of Canadian experience and accent indicate that it should be difficult for her to find employment in her field.

When Jade hears the same story, she says: "You know accent is so important. You know sometimes I ask my students if they understand me and they say yes. But with this difficult class, I found that people who commented on my accent were the blacks" (line 494-496). Jade continues by talking about an incident while she was teaching where she felt teased by one particular student about her NNES accent. The student spoke up in class about not understanding the pronunciation of a technical term, and Jade felt that he over-exaggerated the misunderstanding. Aside from this story, in the first interview, Jade also independently mentions her need to learn Canadian English vocabulary and accent to avoid misunderstandings, and also how people guess she is from a commonwealth country just by listening to her speak. In this way, she is concerned with both having her authority as a teacher challenged, and with being able to get her point across to her students.

Helena has a different reaction to the story of the teacher with the "terrible accent" when I tell it to her in the second interview. At first, she laughs and exclaims "That could be me!", meaning that she could be this teacher who was hired despite her NNES accent. This reaction is followed by a more pointed critique, where Helena describes the negative judgement of immigrants by other immigrants as racism. She says: "Immigrants are very tough on other immigrants. The amount of racism and the amount of um- yeah that's racism- amongst immigrants - is there - is horrible" (line 402-403). Her evaluation is in line with what we had been discussing before I mention the story of the "terrible accent". I present the story in the context of her discussion about the impossibility of integration due to racial otherness and NNES accent, two factors that she equates one to the other. After we discuss the story, I press her on the association of accent being tied to others' perception of her as an immigrant and Helena says: "The moment that I open my mouth, people know that I am an immigrant. Absolutely. I'm not really interested in working on my accent, for example." (Line 421-425).

As shown above in Helena's discussion about the impossibility of integration, she connects others' perception of her "foreign" accent with their perception of her race and, consequently, her lack of belonging in Canada. Indeed, as overt appeals to exclusion on the basis of race are no longer acceptable in most of western society, language, and more specifically accent have become legitimate reasons for exclusions (Piller, 2011). Jade, Beatrice, and Maya worry about their NNES accents out of concern for their employability. However, for all three participants, this worry goes beyond being intelligible; it becomes a matter of projecting/ performing their competence as professionals. As Piller (2011) asserts "You cannot 'be' an educational expert or a competent shopper if you do not sound like one. 'Being' an educational expert or competent

shopper involves performing these identities: you have 'to do being'" (p. 146). Jade, Beatrice, and Maya appear to have impossible standards for themselves in terms of language proficiency/accent, what they believe is required of them to 'do being' competent professionals.

Another important thing to mention regarding this discussion about accent is the fact that, although there is mention from Helena and Jade about being judged on the foreignness of their accent, the story of the teacher with the "terrible accent" is one of judgement by Maya against another person with a non-native speaker accent. The fact that it is unclear what makes this person's accent so terrible begs the question of what criteria Maya is using to make her judgement? As Piller (2011) observes "Most people who make judgements about the language proficiency of others do not necessarily have a good understanding of what constitutes language proficiency" (p. 130). Maya's understanding of language proficiency comes from several sources, including her language classes, the BTP, her Canadian labour market experiences, as well as her experiences before even coming to Canada. As such, Maya has likely internalized from several sources the belief that she must erase all traces of foreignness in order to achieve a sense of belonging. In effect, she has assumed the subject position of cultural outsider, multicultural other who, despite having legal citizenship, cannot claim Canadian belonging.

8.4 Success in Canada

At the end of their second interviews, I asked each participant their opinions about success in Canada. Specifically, I asked them what they believed success to mean in Canada generally, whether they felt successful, and whether they have the same beliefs about success now that they

did when they first came. While for most of them I did not ask what successful integration meant, with the exception of Beatrice, the majority did interpret the questions in that way.

The majority of the participants spoke of success in terms of having employment. Of the six participants, only one, Helena, unequivocally states that she feels successful, and says that she has "conquered" her place in her field, that she now has a voice within her profession and is both proud of her progress and excited about the future. However, she does specify that she had to change her definition of success during her journey to where she is in her career now. To explain, she launches into a narrative about how she had originally wanted to work in a university and stay in academia, despite warnings from a mentor not to stay in the "ivory tower". After facing several dead ends in her efforts to break into this Canadian "ivory tower", Helena began to find rewarding work in community colleges and now feels happy with her career direction. Sylvie also expresses happiness with her life in Canada, although at first she has difficulty with the word "success". For her, she feels success is being happy with both her personal life and her career.

As discussed above, Maya says that she feels 70% successful and will feel 100% successful once she speaks English without an accent. However, when asked what success generally means in Canada, she says that it means something different for everybody. For some, just being in Canada is success, while for others, they must achieve a higher level than in their previous country. In the end she concludes: "I think success is that you are doing what you want and you enjoy what you are doing. Maybe you are success. But I don't know. This is such a philosophical question" (Int 2, line 529-531). Throughout her life story, Maya has portrayed herself as a person who reaches higher, who would not be content with having a job in the service industry. Thus,

she feels she must erase her NNES accent in order to fully integrate in the way she wants to, as a professional in her field.

Jade feels that her "laid back personality and attitude toward her career affects her understanding of success. She says that:

I think to be success means not having to wake up in the morning and say that you have to struggle for the day. What you need, your needs are there. To me that's what success is. To have worked enough to put oneself at a spot where you don't have to worry about survival. (Int. 2, Line 596-599)

When I ask her whether she feels successful, she replies "yes and no", arguing that although she can pay the bills, she needs to have a "close network of friends" in order to feel successful.

Irandokht has a different relationship with ambition than Jade, and she feels that she has a long way to go before she feels successful. She adds that one must "think about the goal […] or change your goal if it's too high" (Int. 2, Line 429-431). In this way, Irandokht acknowledges the same need for flexibility in goal setting that Helena does. When asked whether she has had to change her goals, Irandokht answers that she has had to postpone them. Ultimately she would like to get a PhD in management so that she can contribute to an academic community. However, right now she must make money to support her family and work to grow the business she owns with her husband.

For the same reason, Beatrice also feels that she is not yet successful. Her two jobs, one as a professor and one as a researcher, help her to make ends meet and support her son, but she would like a stable job rather than long term contracts.

8.5 Conclusion

Despite her belief that integration is not possible, Helena still believes that she is successful because her definition of success involves her career. She speaks about how she has "conquered" her place in her field, and so, despite her experiences of being separated and denied a sense of belonging in a larger community, in her field (which constitutes a community that may extend beyond Canada's boundaries) she has a voice. As noted above, the other participants do not articulate the same feeling of belonging in their careers or in their lives in Canada, regardless of their citizenship status.

In this chapter, I have shown how my six participants, Helena, Sylvie, Irandokht, Jade, Maya, and Beatrice, view their own integration process and citizenship status. I have taken a step back from the trajectory of their life stories in order to bring forth their own analyses of their positions at the time of the interviews. These positions, as well as the participants' subjectivities (what is called identities in Norton), are constantly shifting as the contexts within which these women find themselves are also shifting, as Norton (2001) observed in her own seminal study.

The most important finding from this snapshot of the participants' shifting beliefs is that several of the participants struggle with this notion of "integration" as well as what it means to be "Canadian" given the subject positions that are available to them. Helena was the most articulate about her beliefs, explaining that she feels that it is impossible for her to integrate due to her otherness. This otherness manifests itself in her perspective on the world, as well as others' perception of her NNES accent and the colour of her skin which marks her as separate from "real" Canadians.

Despite expressions of positivity toward Canadians and Canadian society as peaceful, fair, safe, and supportive of those who work hard, two of the participants (Jade and Irandokht) also refer to a separation between themselves as "immigrants" and "pure" Canadians, and Helena addresses it head on when she speaks of "quote-un-quote real Canadians". In this way, they are reproducing the subject positions that place them permanently outside "Canadianness" (Thobani, 2007). Similarly, in her seminal study, Norton (2001) notes that, although one participant, Eva's, identity changes over time, allowing her to go from identifying as "an immigrant with no right to speak" to "a multicultural citizen with the power to impose reception" (p. 129), she admits that, over time, this claim to belonging remained tenuous and "a site of struggle". Norton recounts that Eva still felt like an immigrant because she was continually positioned as one because she spoke with a "foreign" accent. Thus, she continually had to reassert her right to speak.

The issue of "foreign" or NNES accent also arose amongst the participants of the present study, with one participant, Maya, feeling that she needed to erase her NNES accent in order to be 100% successful in Canada. Maya also told a story about a teacher with a "terrible accent" in order to show how one can still get a job in Canada despite this weakness. Other participants reacted to this story in a way that betrays an expectation that a NNES accent should normally be a problem in the Canadian labour market. As Piller (2011) notes, in an age where it is unacceptable to deny access or employment to someone on the grounds of appearance, "foreign" accent has replaced race as the grounds for separation into separate "cultural" communities/ groups. Thus, the concern over accent belies a contention over their subject positions as eternal immigrants, on the outside of Canadian citizenship.

Finally, I argue that Thobani's (2007) notion of the communalizing power of multiculturalism, that is, the power of the state to group those who are not members of the white settler class as members of a multicultural ethnic group, manifests itself in the subjectivities of the participants in the present study, extending their positioning of themselves as "immigrants" indefinitely. In the following chapter, the conclusion, I relate this discussion of Canadianness, race, and "foreign" accent back to Chapter 7's discussion of intercultural communication, soft skills and learning the system.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Despite the greater weight applied in immigrant selection on higher language proficiency, language has not ceased to be problematized for and amongst those who have made it through the selection process successfully. On the contrary, the problem(atization) of language has shifted. Now, for many skilled immigrants, language is being indirectly targeted in bridge training as well as in hiring practices through concern for soft skills and intercultural communicative ability, since skilled immigrants are assumed to already have an upper-intermediate language competency. Furthermore, as Sakamoto et al (2010; 2013) have demonstrated, this focus on immigrants' supposed deficit in soft skills and intercultural communicative ability is incorporated into both policy and labour market obsession with "Canadian Experience". Thus, as is illustrated below, what is meant by "Canadian experience" is both the concrete context-specific technical skills that are easily demonstrated on a resume, and the more ephemeral "soft skills" which loosely mean a knowledge of and sensitivity toward cultural difference. The "problem" of language amongst skilled immigrants has thus been complicated due to the fact that, now, the targeted language concerns are less tangible and harder to demonstrate.

This chapter brings together discussion of policy, the video success stories, and the participant stories to answer/ explore the three research questions:

1. What are the respective meanings of the integration process as articulated in political, institutional, and newcomer narratives?

2. What role does language learning/ teaching play in political, institutional, and newcomer narratives of integration?

3. In what ways do political and institutional narratives of integration affect the newcomer's experience of integration and vice versa?

To answer these questions, I trace governmental rationalities from integration policy, through the 4 video success stories and the 6 participant narratives, showing that the participants are working with (although not always adhering to) a neoliberal entrepreneurial framework of self-improvement. This openness amongst the participants to be adaptable, responsible for their own paths, accepting of the struggles ahead, and willing to re-train themselves made it possible for them to assume their own inadequacies as perpetual immigrants and language learners, unable yet to erase their NNES accents.

As mentioned in chapter 4, the video success stories made available on the government of Ontario Bridge Training webpage make up part of a paradigmatic narrative of a skilled immigrant who has successfully integrated. In this way, the significance of these 4 short video stories is that they outline a presumably attainable career and life path for the average skilled immigrant in Canada. The evaluations and discourses embedded in the videos, which have been carefully edited by a production team at MCI, function to provide the "common sense" coherence to the video success stories and in turn may lend themselves to the life stories of skilled immigrants who are constantly subject to such success stories in language textbooks

(Gulliver, 2010), citizenship study materials, and government websites such as the one analyzed. What is passed on from the paradigmatic narrative to be incorporated into individual life story is not necessarily the experience (for example the experience of struggle). Rather, it is the evaluation of that experience. Thus, if a period of struggle in the labour market is normalized as something that happens to everyone, and is only resolved through hard work and retraining, this normalization will find its way into the life stories, and expectations, of the individual skilled immigrant.

From a governmentality perspective, the paradigmatic narrative serves as a technique of power in its repetition of dominant discourses/ rationalities which lead the participants to work on themselves in ways that they are constantly striving to (re)skill themselves with the goal of furthering their careers in Canada, and, for some, attain permanent full-time positions. At the same time, some participants acknowledge in implicit ways that they experience a division between themselves and "pure" or "real" (white) Canadians, showing fault lines in the trajectories they envision for their careers and citizenships. It is also important to point out that not all the participants construct themselves in the same way. Jade, for example, is not ambitious to advance her career beyond where she is right now, so her vision of success does not involve constant working on herself. Also, as discussed in previous chapters, Helena, the BTP teacher, explains that she is not concerned about erasing her NNES accent and, in fact, she feels that others' criticism of another teacher for their "terrible accent" is racism.

9.2 Neoliberalism and economic integration

It is not surprising that, in their discussions of integration and success, the participants spoke mainly in terms of employment. Immigration itself is a costly enterprise, and once immigrants land in their new country, they need to find ways to support both themselves and often their dependents. The imperative of income positions immigrants in such a way that they are highly susceptible to neoliberal governance/discourses. Being subject to neoliberal discourse means to be positioned as entrepreneurs, responsible for their own economic wellbeing, adaptable to changing markets and employment situations, and willing to do constant work on themselves in the form of retraining, maintaining good health, and general self-improvement.

The highest profile evidence of a neoliberal rationality in federal immigration/ integration policy is the change implemented in the Points System, which aims to identify the applicants for immigration that are most likely to integrate into the labour market quickly with little help from the government. Thus, those who score the most points are under the age of 35, have high proficiency in one or both of the official languages so they do not have to spend much time in language training, and have previous Canadian work or study experience which shows their ability to adapt successfully into the Canadian labour market. Add to this the reduction over the past 20-30 years in settlement services (Biles et al, 2011), and it becomes clear that the desirable immigrants are those that can integrate economically with little burden to the system.

However, although the good neoliberal subject is meant to be an entrepreneur, responsible for the creation of his or her own wealth (Holborow, 2015), the pursuit of her own goals, and who must ultimately be let alone to do so (Foucault, 2008, p. 269), the neoliberal state does not avoid all interventions. To the contrary, as neoliberal governance relies on the individual's ability to

govern herself, various technologies/ tools are deployed which are meant to monitor, measure, and shape that individual's role in/ contribution to the economy. As mentioned in chapter 3, Human Capital Theory (HCT), envisions the individual as inseparable from his/her labour, and thus subject to analysis through the breakdown of their potential for economic production in the form of skills.

In the field of immigrant integration policy, the discourse of HCT manifests itself in the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB), and the proliferation of documents, tests, etc attached to the CLB which aim to break down language ability of adult newcomers into sets of discrete skills. In her (2008) critical discourse analysis of the CLB (2005), *Meeting the challenge,* the document which outlines 9 skills that Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) have listed as "Essential Skills", and HRSDC's *Comparative Framework* (2005), the document that reconciles the benchmarks with the Essential Skills, Gibb illustrates how the documents' enumeration of skills, as well as their description of a gap or lack in skills on the part of immigrants/ workers constructs immigrant language learners and job-seekers as responsible for closing that gap in their skills and, ultimately, their responsibility for their own success. The individual (skilled) immigrant then, needs to take responsibility for his or her own economic and social integration.

In the video success stories, the co-narrators supply a strong neoliberal rationalization for hiring immigrants, referring to them as a "supply source" of labour. In Hernandez's story, her employer even has the last word, declaring that skilled immigrants "are good, hardworking, smart people that are going to add to our economy. Opportunities need to be there for them." In fact, the strong (overt) neoliberal rationalization for integrating these skilled immigrants into the

workforce comes exclusively from the co-narrators, and not from the protagonists. These neoliberal rationalizations serve the function of making an economic argument for the hiring of skilled immigrants. That is, immigrants here are a source of skilled labour, with the human capital (after attending bridge training, of course) to contribute to the national economy. Such an endorsement of skilled immigrants only considers economic and not social integration, and appears to be directed not toward prospective bridge training students, but toward Canadian citizens sceptical about the value of immigrants in the workforce.

The video success story protagonists themselves demonstrate through the plot structures in their narratives that they are good neoliberal subjects in the way they seek out and choose the bridge training programs for themselves, and then, after a period of struggle, find employment in their field, evaluating their time in the programs positively. Thus, although the neoliberal framing for their existence in the workforce is not supplied by the immigrant-protagonists, the protagonists still show the correct attributes of neoliberal subjectivity such as taking responsibility for themselves, openness to lifelong learning in order to grow their human capital, and adaptability.

Although they do not speak of themselves or their skills in the economic terms used in the video success stories, the participants do show the same adaptability and openness toward retraining in the ways they speak of their experiences in the BTP. Mobilized as a common sense coherence system by the participants, lifelong learning is taken as a fact not just of their lives as immigrants, but of everybody who wants to improve their prospects (according to Maya) and keep up with advancements in their fields (according to Jade). However, acceptance of their own retraining as something they need to go through (that, in fact, even native-born Canadians go

through) is accompanied by an acceptance of struggle and a certain amount of deskilling. As described in chapter 6, most participants circulated, or at least recognized stories of struggle such as the well-known "PhD taxi driver" story. What is important about this is that, rather than being stories that elicited evaluations which noted any systematic injustices to these struggles, mostly the participants took them to be indicative of the hard work that they needed to do in order to achieve their goals, or even, in Maya's case, the agreement she made with herself when she decided to immigrate.

These evaluations, which allow for a general acceptance of the hardships that come with immigration, make it possible for the participants to be accepting of their retraining in the BTP. Thus, although Gibb (2008) argues that the promise of success in employment to the worker/ immigrant masks the reality of deskilling for immigrants, it is evident here that the narratives of struggle and deskilling of other immigrants (and even the one story told by a Canadian-born teacher about her challenges in finding permanent full-time employment), shows that the participants are well aware of others' and consequently their own deskilling. However, as mentioned above, the evaluations of those stories allow for the deskilling to be incorporated into several of the participants' expectations of their paths to integration. Therefore, acceptance of this hardship/struggle becomes an essential element of adaptability.

9.3 Multiculturalism, diversity, and the communalizing power of the state

Two other discourses that appear in the video success stories and participant interviews which also need to be discussed in relation with neoliberal discourses are the interconnected discourses of multiculturalism and diversity. As differentiated by Bannerji (2000), the discourse

of diversity takes on the perspective of descriptive pluralism, while the discourse of multiculturalism is the extension of the discourse of diversity into a sense of tolerance and cultural sensitivity to others. Rooted in historic national policy discussions about Canadian national/ ethnic and language identity, discourses of multiculturalism and diversity are important for understanding both participants' attitudes toward integration and citizenship, as well as the way the immigrant protagonist is incorporated as a citizen in the paradigmatic narrative.

I argue that it is important to the coherence of the participants' life story of successful integration for the participants to align themselves with well-circulated values of multiculturalism, even if "successful integration" is interpreted as economic integration. Keeping in mind that nation is in itself a discursive creation (Anderson, 1991), a fabrication of a cohesive entity made strong by a supposedly unified historical set of values but undermined by the heterogeneity of human experience (Bannerji, 2000; Silverstein, 2000; Bhabha, 1994), the perception of this unified set of values is often presented in citizenship education curricula and texts as a necessary characteristic of citizens (Pashby et al, 2014). Thus, given my position as a white NES Canadian national, it is unsurprising that the participants express an affinity toward the multicultural nature of their new homes with Jade expressing a sense of Canadian-ness as peace, safety and fairness, and Maya's narrative about visiting her sister in the US and feeling the difference between an American tendency toward confrontation and a Canadian temperament of restraint. Sylvie, in particular, allows the reality of multiculturalism to complicate her understanding of integration, as multiculturalism for her means the possibility of integration into several different cultures.

However, as noted in Thobani (2007) and Bannerji (2000), discourses and official policy of multiculturalism and diversity, even in assertions of liberal democratic equality, allow for a separation of the white settler class, and ethnic "immigrant" groups, where the term "immigrant" is subject to semantic stretching (Holborow, 2007; 2015), making it apply to racialized individuals long after they have attained their immigrant status. Thobani (2007) describes this separation as another aspect of state power (in addition to the aspects of state power outlined by Foucault as individualizing and totalizing) which she calls "communalizing power". State power as "communalizing power", then is "a power which constitutes communities as discrete racial, ethnic, and cultural groups existing within its territorial borders, yet outside the symbolic bounds of the nation" (p. 149).

Thus, racial/ ethnic/ cultural others are categorized as immigrants regardless of their legal citizenship status, or the number of years they have lived in the country, or even whether they were actually Canadian-born (Thobani, 2007). This homogenization of immigrants into cultural communities, Thobani argues, "becomes the modality of their governance" (p. 149). So, on the one hand, this categorization and incorporation into the multicultural nation has offered up to immigrants the prospect of a greater degree of inclusion. On the other hand, it has categorized them as the unchanging, backward, and intolerant opposite to the tolerant, open and generous white settler class (Thobani, 2007; Bannerji, 2002).

In the video success stories, this communalizing power of the state is best exemplified by Vikas Keshri, who, in his narrative, describes why he chose to work at the CMHA. His recognition of the CMHA as an organization that promotes "diversity and inclusion" made him feel that he would be "accepted as an immigrant". In this way, Keshri acknowledges an

expectation that not every employer would accept him, and that his status as "immigrant" (and we do not know from the information given to us in the video whether he has achieved his citizenship or not) sets him apart from other job candidates as a potential risk. Thus, Keshri accepts his position in a community of immigrants, and all that position implies in terms of his own benefit from the CMHA's diversity policy and the implications for his own employment.

Similarly (and as reported in the previous chapter), two of the participants, Jade and Irandokht, make implicit differentiations between themselves and "real" or "pure" Canadians. These moments are important because they represent slippages in Irandokht and Jade's Canadian subjectivities. On the one hand, both women express a feeling of belonging/ Canadianness at other points in their life stories, expressing kinship with Canadian values of peace, fairness, and hard work. On the other hand, they discursively place themselves and other immigrants apart from "pure" (white) Canadians. In this way, these two participants show in their life stories how they are subject to the communalizing power of the state. For them, the result is simultaneous incorporation into and symbolic separation from Canadianness.

However, this communalizing power of the state, as it manifests itself in the life stories of several of the participants, is not absolute. Irandokht, aside from her mention of "pure" Canadians, enthusiastically shares information with me about Persian culture, and incorporates narratives of feeling discriminated against in Canada into her life story. Her struggles to be taken seriously as a legitimate, intelligent citizen and parent represent a pushing back on the limitations placed upon her with her immigrant subjectivity, allowing her to assert the legitimacy of her citizenship. Also, it is crucial to note that Helena, the BTP teacher, does acknowledge her own exclusion as a perpetual immigrant. In her assertion of the impossibility of integration, which for

her is an emotional, psychological, sociological sense of belonging, she states "When you are a

visible minority, you are you have your identity and nationality, or whatever screaming all the

time because it represents you all the time". Thus, there were moments when both participants

acknowledged their precarious placement, which complicates their subjection to the

communalizing power of the state. In other words, the communalizing power of the state, so far

as it shaped the mode of governance that facilitated Helena, Irandokht and Jade to understand

themselves as separate from "real" or "pure" Canadians, also meant that these participants were

able to resist or at least address the implications of this exclusion.

9.4 Diversity as human capital

Another way that a type of diversity discourse is taken up in policy and in the video success

stories (although not outwardly in the participants' life stories) is a discourse of diversity as

human capital. Since the 1980's, Canadian multiculturalism has been incorporated into neoliberal

policy discourse through the economic rationalizations for migration, portraying desirable skilled

immigrants as globally mobile entrepreneurs who will help open up the nation to new markets

(Walsh, 2011, p. 871). Thus, as policy makers (and leaders) argue that the diversity of the nation

becomes an important asset in the global economy, the state distances itself from commitments

to services for social integration and welfare. So, diversity has become one of the criteria of a

'flexible worker' and a 'lifelong learner' in the neoliberal landscape (Matus & Infante, 2011).

A discourse of diversity as human capital is present in the video success stories, where the

employer representatives in two of the videos (Kambali's and Imram's) point to their employees'

"diversity" as an asset in the workplace. According to these two testimonials, Kambali and

Imram not only bring useful knowledge and "habits" (which remains unspecified), just the fact of their own "diversity" as a personal attribute somehow allows them to relate effectively with patients or students who also come from immigrant backgrounds. Thus, Kambali and Imram's potential global mobility is not directly related to the attributes that they bring to their jobs, since neither of them involve connections with overseas markets/ businesses. Rather, their "diversity" is translated into human capital as a presumed skill for communication with other immigrants. As both success stories take place in Toronto, Canada's main immigrant-receiving city, this skill of relating to other immigrants might prove valuable indeed.

These two manifestations of the discourse of diversity, the communalizing power of the state and the discourse of diversity as human capital, are complementary in their enactment of and capitalization on a separation between the white settler class of Canadians and immigrant communities. The discourse of diversity as human capital, although its emphasis is on the positive economic effect that immigrants have on the nation as a whole, still plays off the difference between immigrant communities and the white settler class. The contradiction here lies in the fact that in the discourse of diversity as human capital, as it manifests itself in the video success stories figuring the protagonists' diversity as a valuable skill in communication, is in opposition to the mandate in the BTP to address a workplace communication deficit amongst skilled immigrants. How is it that their difference can be beneficial in the workplace but also need correction in the classroom? The following section provides a discussion of the implications of intercultural communication instruction and learning in the BTP.

9.5 Communication skills in Bridge Training

In this next section, I discuss how these intermingling discourses of neoliberalism, human capital and diversity/multiculturalism have created the conditions for the participants who have been students in the BTP to be (mostly) accepting of the specific type of training that they are receiving in the program. I have already discussed how several of the other participants have accepted the reality of deskilling and a period of struggle which is also reflected in the paradigmatic narrative, as well as the necessity of further training through lifelong learning and their own permanent separateness from the "white ideal" of citizenship. These acceptances and incorporations into their own life stories mean that the participants are much more susceptible to lessons in their BTP training which teach them how to adopt Canadian behaviour as a pragmatic necessity for gaining/ showing Canadian experience. Thus, although language is backgrounded in the presentation of the bridge training programs in the video success stories, it is nonetheless ever-present in the ways that the participants work on themselves in their efforts to fit into Canadian society.

In her chapter "Globalization and the teaching of 'communication skills'", Cameron (2001) describes what she calls "a new form of linguistic imperialism", one which does not promote one specific language as The Best Language. Rather, she argues that this manifestation of linguistic imperialism emphasizes a set of communicative norms based on the speech habits of mainly white educated middle-class people from the US. In other words, it is not necessarily a matter of which language one is communicating in, but more the style of communication. This form of linguistic imperialism generally embraces a notion of diversity as positive and enriching, but only up to a point. The preferred communicative norms promoted by labour market "experts" are

meant to address the perceived 'problem' of how to achieve national cohesiveness in diversity. As both language and communicative abilities are incorporated into a neoliberal management of diversity, they are subject to breakdown into discrete categories, levels, descriptors, and evaluation which aid in the monitoring of immigrant populations.

In his critical discourse analysis of the Canadian policy of language and immigrant integration, Millar (2013) finds that policy texts such as the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) make use of a neoliberal skills discourse, an academic discourse of language as communicative competency, and a research discourse of language as a factor in immigrant incorporation with the ultimate effect being the emphasis of the importance of language ability in immigrants' successful integration into Canada. In this way, as it is incorporated into neoliberal rationalities for the governance of cultural/ethnic others (immigrants) this new linguistic imperialism manifests in ever-increasing specification of communicative competency.

Both the video success stories and the participant narratives downplay issues of language skills development in favour of attention to supposedly higher level communication skills. The video success stories themselves focus on the outcomes of the programs rather than the details of what is taught in them, that it affords students/immigrants a chance to surmount the barriers to employment that they were previously facing. In this way, the (supposed) outcome of Bridge Training is emphasized above the content of the programs. When the content of the bridge training programs is discussed, the protagonists and their co-narrators highlight profession-specific skills, with no mention of any redundancy with their previous training. In Hernandez's narrative, Cooper speaks of the standard competencies taught, and how the students learn to practice with tools which we are lead to believe are unique to the Canadian context. Of the four

protagonists, only Keshri goes into any detail about how language is incorporated into Bridge Training, as he speaks only of "profession specific English support", and networking opportunities. His evaluation of this training and support is that it is "so important", aligning himself with the utility of the program, and thus is not reflective of what Cameron (2002) saw in her own study where learners felt communication training was redundant. Given the fact that Keshri's story was produced and edited by a production team internal to the provincial government, this enthusiasm for his retraining is not surprising.

Keshri's assertion that his bridge training experience included "profession specific English support" is significant in its mention as well as its vagueness. Just as it is not mentioned in Hernandez's narrative where or how she got help to overcome her difficulties in learning English to a competency high enough to be able to enter the workforce, Keshri's comment allows the audience to form assumptions about what this English support entails. It is just as possible for it to mean how to get along with one's coworkers as it is to mean sector-specific technical terminology.

In her ethnographic research project that focussed on ELT programs in Ontario from 2007 to 2009, Allan (2013) found that, although these programs advertised an emphasis on sector-specific language learning, she observed that students were mainly subject to lessons about 'good' communication for the labour market, such as networking and interviewing skills. Consequently, she argues that the ELT programs individualized the problem of un/ underemployment among immigrants by focussing on language/ behavioural change amongst the learners and not on challenging the existing systemic imbalances. In the same way, the video success stories' vague emphasis on available communication support show a similar

interpretation of immigrant/ learner deficit and responsibility for that deficit, with the one

protagonist to be shown as struggling with a gap in language abilities, Hernandez, addressing her

language difficulties outside the parameters of her bridging program.

As described in Chapter 7, the participants who had been students in the BTP did not mention

language learning in the program. Instead, they spoke of learning "intercultural communication",

which they described predominantly in terms of learning about cultural difference, and

specifically about the comparison between Canadian culture and other cultures. Although this

interpretation of intercultural communication is not exactly what their teacher, Helena felt she

was teaching, she did speak several times about how she told her students to give their

interlocutors' what they want, thus exhorting students to alter their behaviour for pragmatic

reasons. For this reason, and for the fact that the burden of adaptation in interaction was

completely on the shoulders of the participants, I argued in Chapter 7 that the BTP student

participants' interpretation of intercultural communication was close to Urciuoli's (2008)

definition of soft skills as "ways to fashion subjectivity compatible with dominant practices,

institutions, and beliefs". The participants' interpretation of intercultural communication and

their understanding that their behaviours and interactions were being watched during the course

of their bridge training acted as an exhortation to take on dominant communication habits for the

sake of their futures in the Canadian workforce.

9.6 An expanded understanding of "Canadian Experience", "Democratic Racism" and the

"raciolinguistic ideological perspective"

A way to understand in a more broad sense how this notion of soft skills or intercultural

communication training for skilled immigrants is operationalized in the workforce and labour

market is through a more nuanced understanding of the meaning of "Canadian experience" and

how that functions with regard to the skilled immigrant. Sakamoto, Chin, and Young (2010), and

Sakamoto, Jeyapal, Bhuyan, Ku, Fang, Zhang, and Genovese (2013) argue that Canadian

experience includes both "hard" and "soft" skills. Whereas hard skills refer to what is

conventionally viewed as Canadian experience, that is, the context-specific training, knowledge

and experience that are easily enumerated on a resume, soft skills, or what they call elsewhere

"tacit knowledge" is not as easily described or measured. Sakamoto et al (2013) call this tacit

knowledge "an elusive concept" which "refers to unspoken, tacit, and taken for granted cultural

knowledge" which is both difficult to acquire and demonstrate on a resume.

For many employers, the soft skills aspect of Canadian experience is supposed to be

indicative of how good a "fit" the potential employee will be in the workplace and/ or how much

time (and possible extra training) it will take for the employee to fit in (Sakamoto et al, 2010).

Thus, and similar to the observations made by Cameron (2002) about the new linguistic

imperialism, although multiculturalism is a generally celebrated attribute in Canadian society,

Sakamoto et al (2010) argue that individual expressions of cultural difference are not encouraged

in the Canadian workplace. Further, they contend that "knowing how and when to express

cultural and/or linguistic difference may also be part of demonstrating competencies in soft

skills" (p. 148). In other words, soft skills for immigrants means, at least in part, how to manage

one's own 'diversity' by hiding or deploying it at the right times. Of course, this is assuming that the individual can hide their difference.

In their analysis of the construction of immigrants in mainstream media, Sakamoto et al (2013) note that, while they acknowledge the fact that immigrants experience discrimination in the Canadian labour market, the media generally suggests that "the racialized characteristics of immigrants, such as their accents, create barriers" (p. 20). Thus immigrants are encouraged in this mainstream media to increase their employability by taking "accent-reduction classes" as well as other training. Thus, the "non-Canadian" (read racialized) attributes of the immigrant are figured as deficit, and this deficit is officialized/ institutionalized in the labour market and in immigration/ integration policy as "Canadian experience". In this way, they argue that the circulation of "Canadian experience" as an imperative for the successful immigrant amounts to what Henry and Tator (1994) call "Democratic Racism". Democratic racism is the contradiction between the nationally-held belief in multicultural democracy and the racist beliefs about racialized others. So, just as the government promotes the benefits of a multicultural Canada, it manages the anxiety caused by racist beliefs with the deployment of "Canadian experience" as a necessary attribute for employment.

Despite widespread criticism that screening out job applicants on the basis of lack of Canadian experience amounts to discrimination, in recent years immigration policy has incorporated "Canadian experience" into its immigrant selection (points) system on the basis of it being a good determiner of an immigrant's success in integrating into the labour market. Modifications to the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) made in 2012 have shown changes to points awarded for both language skills and Canadian experience. In terms of

language requirements, CIC has instituted minimum language requirements and has significantly

increased the number of points awarded for language competence to 28, adding up to almost one

third of the total number of overall available points. In addition, under the "adaptability"

category, points awarded for a spouse's education have been replaced with points for the

spouse's language proficiency. Regarding the recognition of Canadian experience under the

points system, not only has the number of points available for previous Canadian work

experience grown under the adaptability category, the importance of work experience outside of

Canada has been diminished through the decreasing of points available, in this way devaluing

immigrants' life experience prior to their landing in Canada.

The federal government backgrounder explains that these changes reflect both "Canadian and

international research" that shows both language proficiency and previous Canadian work

experience to be strong predictors of labour market success. (Citizenship and Immigration

Canada, 2012). Thus, the foregrounding of Canadian experience, as well as the increased

emphasis on language skills as imperatives for successful economic integration further increases

the emphasis in immigration/ integration on skills deficit. For the participants, all of whom

arrived before these changes to the FSWP but exist amongst the governmental rationalities that

permitted them to materialize, this emphasis on deficit and responsibility for addressing this

deficit have manifested in their life stories and thus for the ways that they work on themselves.[1]

In order to destabilize this construct of immigrant deficit, it is useful to draw on what Flores

and Rosa (2015) call a raciolinguistic ideological perspective. Drawing from the use of the

"white gaze" as a tool which aims to analyze the dominant white perspective of racialized

communities, the raciolinguistic ideological perspective focuses on the "ears" of whiteness, or

how the dominant white perspective perceives deficit in those who speak with a NNES accent or

with less-than NES proficiency. Flores and Rosa (2015) use the raciolinguistic ideological

perspective to critique the additive approach to language diversity, arguing that in teaching

learners the privileged and standard language variety, even while validating the non-standard

variety, perpetuates discourses of appropriateness which maintain the undervaluing of non-

standard varieties. Used as a tool to understand how "Canadian experience" acts as a gatekeeper

for the exclusion of others, the raciolinguistic ideological perspective illuminates how the "white

ear" may perceive lack of experience from a detection of both "foreign" accent and different

communication skills. In the case of the participants, several of them had incorporated the "white

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[1] As of January 2015, more changes have been made to the way individuals apply for immigration to Canada. In order to reduce backlog and choose the candidates deemed most likely to succeed, the federal government introduced a new Express Entry system, which affects the Federal Skilled Worker Class, the Federal Skilled Trades Class, the Canadian Experience class, and a portion of those under the Provincial Nominee program. Rather than being a new immigration program, Express Entry is a tool for managing economic immigration applications online. The tool subjects applicants to an additional ranking system, the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS), which ranks applicants against each other in an attempt to choose the best suited candidate from a pool. The CRS accesses and assesses the information already in a candidate's profile with special attention to skills, work experience, language ability, and education. To be eligible for Express Entry, candidates must meet the requirements of the above-mentioned immigration classes and they must create a Job Match account with the Federal Job Bank. Yet more recent changes in November 2016 increased the competitiveness of the Express Entry system by awarding more points in the CRS to job experience in senior management positions, and additional points for Canadian study experience beyond the high school level.

ear" into their life stories and thus their understandings of how they needed to work on themselves in order to attain success in Canada.

9.7 Conclusion: Implications for the participants ways of fashioning the self

While Flores & Rosa (2015) are writing from the context of bilingual language education and the BTP addresses intercultural communication for skilled immigrants, there is a crucial similarity in the way learners are positioned, and thus, there is a usefulness in understanding this manifestation of intercultural communication through a raciolinguistic ideological perspective. Both bilingual language education and intercultural communication in this case involve the interaction between a standard (dominant) language or mode of communication and a non-standard mode of communication. Just as Flores & Rosa show that language behaviours such as code mixing are encouraged or discouraged depending on whether the "white ear" hears difference or normativity, it can also be argued that "the white ear" distinguishes appropriateness or the lack thereof in intercultural communication and/or soft skills. In the same way, Helena feels either more or less integrated into Canadian society depending on whether she is being perceived as white or not. Further, participants' own perception of deficit in their Canadian communicative abilities is an incorporation of "the white ear" into their life stories and consequently their visions for their future careers.

As discussed in Chapter 8, several of the participants are conscious of not only their own "foreign" accent, but that of other immigrants. Maya, in particular, not only feels that she will not be 100% successful until she erases her foreign accent, she also tells a story about another foreign-born teacher who had such a "terrible" accent that Maya was surprised that she got a job.

The evaluation of this story for Maya was that immigrants are given jobs despite their sometimes less than perfect assimilation into the workplace. When presented with Maya's story in the second interview, other participants aligned themselves with her evaluation, with only Helena putting herself in opposition to it, declaring her frustration at immigrants' racism toward other immigrants.

What Helena perceives about the circulation of this story is an inherent accusation of unworthiness and non-belonging toward another immigrant based on the auditory perception of foreignness. However, from a larger look at how this narrative fits in to and interacts with other elements of Maya's life story, it is evident that the same judgement Maya is using on this other teacher she is using on herself. The implication for Maya's self-work is that her perceptions of integration are such that she does not yet see herself (and may not ever see herself) as well integrated. As it is highly unlikely that she will not ever manage to completely erase her foreign accent, she may continue indefinitely to work on her perception of a Canadian subjectivity without ever feeling a sense of belonging.

Beyond the issue of accent, other participants address their perception of their own deficit before (and to a certain degree after) attending the BTP in knowing about things like networking, interviewing, and interacting with colleagues in a Canadian setting. As discussed above, the neoliberal discourses within which they operate made it possible to accept their own deficiency in knowing about "the system", as well as their own responsibility to gain the skills and knowledge to negotiate it by themselves. Thus, their experiences of struggle and "sacrifice", as Sylvie puts it, become both common experiences which can be repeated through well-known

stories about encounters with PhDs driving taxi cabs, and individualized experiences caused by an individual immigrant's skill deficits.

At the close of this analysis it is fair to ask the question of whether Helena was right when she said that true integration was not possible for an adult immigrant like her. Given the (both externally and internally-imposed) barriers faced by the participants on their journey toward their self-defined notions of integration, is it possible to say that any one of them will achieve a true "insider" status? Even though all the participants have employment in their fields, only one, Helena, has a permanent position. The other participants then must exist from contract to contract, and as each contract in the college system lasts a total of 4 months maximum (with Beatrice's contract lasting 8 months as she is teaching at a university), the majority of the participants must be almost constantly looking for work and dealing with new courses in new departments and schools. The result is that economic integration in a labour market climate that no longer supports a model of employment for life, is a longer, more drawn-out affair which can move backwards as well as forwards. As noted by Jade and Beatrice, when one is constantly trying to keep up with the demands of a new job, one does not generally have time to engage with the community. Thus, lack of true and stable economic integration hampers social integration.

However, it is important to note that Helena's assertion that integration does not exist was not attached to employment. Rather, Helena was referring to the permanent perception by "Canadians" of her otherness. For her, integration meant the development of a sense of belonging emotionally, psychologically, and sociologically. She can and does participate in Canadian society but the perception of her "foreign" accent and her physical appearance prevent

her from what she feels is true integration. For Helena, there is no true recognition that she can have a sense of belonging. Helena's definition is very subjective and as such would vary according to an individual immigrant's experience. Her observations are still relevant to the experiences of the other participants though, in that they are echoed in their concerns about their accents and persistent feelings of non-belonging.

The crucial question about the integration of newcomers in Canada is how true integration can exist given these well circulated discourses of immigrant deficit and the operationalization of the communalizing power of the state (Thobani, 2007) which separates immigrant groups from the white settler class. In an analysis of public opinion about immigrant integration in Canada, the US, France, and the UK, Jedwab (2012) notes there is assumed contradiction between social cohesion/ social integration and respect and support for cultural difference and diversity which is generally promoted in state multiculturalism policy. Noting the presence of this same assumed contradiction, Li (2003) notes that policy documents have generally stressed the importance of shared values as well as adherence to a Canadian standard of life as necessary for the successful integration of newcomers, placing the responsibility for integration on the shoulders of the immigrant who has presumably chosen to settle in Canada. Li, however, proposes a different perspective on integration that would have policy-makers, academics, and critics focus on how Canadian institutions and communities incorporate immigrants into their systems/ lives and argues that "successful integration can also be conceptualized as the process of granting citizenship rights and social entitlements to newcomers and allowing them to exercise these rights, including the right and legitimacy to challenge the status quo" (p. 330). In other words, Li asserts that the real focus in the integration of immigrants should be on assisting them to be fully

incorporated into the nation space and to openly challenge and shape the notion of "Canadianness".

More specifically, both teachers and policy makers need to more often question the discourses of immigrant deficit that circulate and shape workplace language programs such as bridge training and employers' notions of Canadian experience. The contradiction in the 4 video success stories between the promotion of the protagonists' diversity as a valuable part of their human capital in workplaces that involve regular interaction with immigrant populations and the mandate of the bridge training programs to teach more "Canadian" behaviour in the form of intercultural communication, soft skills and networking, is indicative of a needed shift in the provision of bridge training. With the introduction in Ontario of the Fair Access to Regulated Professions and Compulsory Trades Act in 2006 and the subsequent establishment of the Office of the Fairness Commissioner, which work to ensure transparency and equal access to licensing in the regulated professions for immigrants, the province has done some work to remove barriers to the economic integration of immigrants.

However, these initiatives have received criticism for helping too few people (McIssac & Alboim, 2007). Provincial bridge training needs to continue to reach out to employers and educate them about hiring and retaining skilled newcomers by expanding the programs they already have. In addition, as Schmidt & Block (2010) note in their study of the equity policies of 6 Winnipeg, Manitoba school divisions and Cho's (2010) study of the lived experiences of immigrant teacher candidates in a Canadian B.Ed program, policy directed at social change has a much better chance of success if it is made in the interest also of dominant groups, causing interest convergence with marginalized groups. If stakeholders (in this case Ontario colleges and

universities) see that it is in their interest to hire immigrants in order to better reflect the diversity in the populations that they serve, they may better understand the (perhaps multilingual) communication skills that immigrants arrive with already.

In her analysis of the new linguistic imperialism mentioned above, Cameron (2002) notes that these communication norms are disseminated on the ground through training programs that target Native English speakers (NES) and Non-native English speakers (NNES) alike and thus cautions that, as any kind of language teaching involves the codifying (and reification) of certain language practices, "it is crucial for language teaching professionals to engage with questions about what kinds of communication are valuable" (p. 81). In the same way, Flores and Rosa (2015) advise for language teachers to bring a critical eye, with their students, to the bilingual classroom, in order to destabilize discourses of appropriateness when dealing with standard and non-standard language forms.

However, while it is true that language teachers bear much responsibility in how communication skills are approached in the classroom, they are not the soul influences on how neoliberal conceptions of communication are incorporated into the life-stories and thus the imagined career trajectories of skilled immigrants. In her life story, Helena shows an awareness of how she and her students in the BTP are being positioned in relation to "real" Canadians, and how they may be frustrated at the fact that their roles as newcomers involve imitation rather than analysis and critique. However, this awareness, if Helena does discuss it in the classroom, has failed to make an impression on the participants who had been her students. Instead, Helena's students mainly focus on intercultural communication as the comparison of cultures with the ultimate goal of adopting more Canadian behaviour. In addition, from the participants' life

stories, it is evident that some of the values, such as that of adaptability, which we may associate with the neoliberal discourses that are in circulation in official policy as well as in the general public, the participants associate with their experiences reaching back into childhood.

Immigrants themselves need to understand how the communication skills they already have, how their additional languages and knowledge of other cultures can be employed in their new workplace. Intercultural communication teaching can be useful; however, it does need to be less one-sided and targeted at newcomers. In other words, intercultural communication needs to be understood by learners (and all Canadians) as an enhanced awareness of context, and the interaction between their backgrounds and the backgrounds of their interlocutors, as well as an openness to different perspectives and values, and the ability to decentre ones own beliefs (Byram et al, 2001).

The wider implications of this intersection within the life stories of the participants of discourses which normalize the struggles faced by skilled immigrants in both their economic and social integration in Canada are a conflicting notion of legitimacy of citizenship and citizenship rights amongst immigrants and new Canadians as well as an ineffectiveness of bridge training programs to address underlying issues of labour market discrimination. In a current political climate which supports a discussion within the Federal Conservative party of testing immigrants for "Canadian values", the issue of belonging becomes very important, both as it is perceived by the white settler class (or established Canadian citizens) and by newcomers who may name themselves or be named "immigrants" regardless of citizenship status and/ or years spent in Canada. Believing that a test of Canadian values is possible involves two assumptions that are highly relevant here.

The first assumption is that there are a unified set of values shared by all Canadians. The second assumption is that only immigrants are at risk of not having Canadian values so only immigrants need to be tested. Thus, this proposed test of Canadian values feeds off the communalizing power of the state. The implication for skilled immigrants who, like the participants in this research project, face an economic and social struggle to establish themselves in Canada where the only way to be successful appears to be to retrain and enhance their communication skills, is that the delegitimizing of immigrants on the basis of race has become less covert. Just as management of language/ communication/ soft skills have become legitimate ways of dealing with difference, so now has the notion of "Canadian values".

9.7.1 Theoretical implications.

This study has taken narrative, both personal and institutional (Linde, 1993; 2009) as a starting point for understanding both how individuals view the integration process as well as similarities between these personal narratives and official narratives of integration. It has been previously established in this dissertation that narratives are important for the construction of the self. Here, I have attempted to take this presumption further to inquire not only into how my participants constructed their own subjectivities as immigrants, professionals, parents, and Canadian citizens (etc.), but also to enlighten possible connections between widely circulated narratives and discourse, and the participants' fashioning of self. As such, there are two interconnected theoretical implications; First, the operationalization/deployment of Linde's paradigmatic narrative shows that it is possible to speak in terms of a wider institutional or national narrative without falling into the trap of overgeneralization. Second, institutional and personal narrative used in this complementary way allows for a different perspective on what it

means to create and use what Hornberger and Johnson (2007) call "ideological and implementational spaces".

As explored in Chapter 2, the problem with expanding from the concept of the individual narrative into a concept of a much larger-scale "national narrative" is that the national narrative becomes so intangible that it is up to the researcher to reconstruct his or her sense of what this narrative is, a sense that must appear to be familiar to his/ her audience, in order to attempt any type of coherent analysis. The use of paradigmatic narrative (Linde, 2009), on the other hand, particularizes this notion of national narrative, allowing for concrete, widely circulated examples such as the video success stories to lend themselves to a more coherent analysis of themes and discourses. Thus, paradigmatic narrative allows for the study of power from a practical standpoint. As Foucault (1983b) suggests, the researcher should not be looking to a target or origin of power, but rather the immediate ways subjects are acted upon. Furthermore, as Shohamy (2006) explores in her notion of "hidden language policy", going beyond policy documents and paying attention to "de facto" language policies that are created and circulated in certain ideologically based practices can reveal a more nuanced understanding of the effects of certain policy decisions. In this way, the paradigmatic narrative, as it manifests in the 4 video success stories, can more easily be linked to the individual life stories of the participants.

Finally, this narrative approach with a Foucauldian framework of governmentality and technology of the self emphasizes how the discourses described above are incorporated into the life stories and the expectations and ways that each of the participants work on themselves. Consequently, it becomes evident that several of the participants incorporate these notions of immigrant deficit into their own subjectivities. The effort to better incorporate immigrants into

both the workplace and social space must therefore address a necessary shift in the paradigmatic narrative of the successful internationally trained immigrant as it is one of the tools with which immigrants fashion their senses of self.

9.7.2 Final pedagogical implications: A message of hope and resistance

It is important to note that this Foucauldian notion of the construction of self is not meant to suggest that the individual has no power in their own self-determination. Rather, as Foucault speaks in terms of relations of power rather than power as a possession of an oppressor, the individual has opportunities for resistance (Foucault, 1997b). He specifies that "power relations are extremely widespread in human relationships. Now, this means not that political power is everywhere, but that there is in human relationships a whole range of power relations that may come into play among individuals, within families, in pedagogical relationships, political life, and so on" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 283). Thus, even though the mobility of these relationships is occasionally blocked or frozen by individuals or groups in a state of domination, within this state of domination is the possibility of "liberation", which involves the forging of new power relations.

In this way, in his focus on a genealogy of problems instead of the proposal of alternatives or solutions, Foucault asserts that "my point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to hyper and pessimistic activism" (1983b, p. 231-232). Foucault's tenet that the subject is constituted in discourse, and the project in this dissertation to build on this tenet to assert that immigrant subjectivities are

constructed in discourse through the circulation of paradigmatic narratives and life stories does not deny the possibility of resistance and change.

In his analysis of the LINC curriculum guidelines for benchmarks 4 and 5 (published in 1999) and their progression through the three stages of production, reception, and implementation, Pinet (2006) notes that there is room in the LINC curriculum opened up for teachers to explore citizenship issues with a more critical eye. In other words, the imposition of a curriculum document which promotes a liberal democratic approach to citizenship does not erase the space in the classroom to present a more critical approach to citizenship education.

Kubota (2004b) elaborates on possibilities for bringing a more critical stance toward dealing with culture in the language classroom. Critical multicultural education involves: a focus on the presence and production of social and economic inequality, in particular on systemic and group discrimination such as the disadvantaging in schools of certain groups of students with regard to testing, funding and curricula; a rejection of the construction of cultural difference as neutral and stable in favour of an investigation of culture as constructed in discourse and therefore fluid and dependent on political/ ideological contexts; and an inclusivity of all participants and thus an analysis of whiteness as a social construct. She argues that language teachers should move away from teaching intercultural communication, which relies on an ideology of cultural and ethnic essentialism, in favour of an exploration of how cultural difference is constructed in discourse and how this construction then influences communication. Further, she specifies that students should learn standard language, but with an awareness of its implications in terms of relations of power. Finally, she argues that teachers and researchers should become advocates for change in the world outside the classroom.

In her article on the use of critical pedagogy in the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) classroom, Haque (2007) acknowledges the pragmatic concerns of students who pay (often high) fees to enrol in these programs with the goal of being accepted to and successful in English-language academic institutions. Rather than promoting a critical pedagogy which would aim to design a broad-reaching transformative project or advocating for a pragmatic approach that would aim to address students' immediate goals, Haque suggests a more "opportunistic, disguised resistance at the level of the everyday" (p. 103). Thus, the way forward in a program such as the BTP which is meant to help students gain the skills necessary to be employed in their chosen field could be to provide the opportunity for unplanned moments of resistance brought about by a constant vigilance. In this way, by providing the opportunities to question and deconstruct received knowledges, which may come in the form of a paradigmatic narrative of a "typical" successfully integrated internationally trained immigrant, the classroom may provide a space for a reimagining of key terms such as multiculturalism, diversity, and immigration, and the possibility of an articulation of different life stories.

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APPENDIX A

First Interview

Background Information

- Country(ies) of origin

- Immigration class

- Date of landing

- Place of landing

- Have you moved within Canada? Ontario? Toronto?

- Family situation: partner? Children? Grandparents? Etc?

- Profession

- Education (in country of origin)

- Education (in Canada) - ESL bridging programs, etc.

- Canadian citizen? When?

Tell me about your experience of settling and living in Canada/ becoming Canadian (start with macro questions first)

Tell me about your experience of significant "firsts" in Canada - first apartment/ house, first language class/ language teacher, first job, first child born in Canada, first experience voting, first volunteer position, first time at a protest, first time going to the hospital/ doctor's office.

Tell me about things that you've kept from your previous life (religious practices, holidays, "habits" in your personal life, family activities)

Tell me about things that you've given up from your previous life.

Tell me about your professional development before and after immigrating.

Tell me about the impact/ effect of your language class(es) on

- your career in Canada
- your day-to-day life in Canada

Tell me about your experience of language learning? was there a time when you were learning quickly? Slowly? Or was there a time when you didn't feel like you were learning at all?

Is learning English tied to being Canadian? How?

(When) did you start feeling Canadian?

APPENDIX B

Second Interview

Warm up

How have things been since we last spoke?

General Questions

The nature of language training

- ESL is about networking, making friends, especially for this who have non. This is the most important thing about an ESL class.

- Learning from a bridging class - learning how the system works. Learning what employers want to hear.

Other immigrants talk to her and say "back home, back home" but in her opinion there is no back home. This is your home now and you should learn to appreciate it, she says.

Integration:

- Assimilation is the beginning of integration. To assimilate is to gain exposure to people from around the world. To integrate is to be Canadian. She believes she is still assimilating. Integrating would mean to join community organizations, but she doesn't have time for that. Her work takes up too much of her time.

- True integration cannot happen. You can learn to interact, be a part of society, participate, but you operate with different lenses

- If I am integrating, I am integrating into a multiculture, not Canadian culture. Things are complicated because Canadian culture is a mix of so many cultures, especially in Toronto, with lots of different communities.

Knowing the rules

- Not knowing the rules of applying for jobs, asking for references, how quickly a job can come up.
- "you want to start thinking about the next job after the first pay check"

Others' stories (Does this jog your memory? Does it speak to your experience?

- A Canadian-born teacher's story about how many years it took them to find a permanent job - even Canadian-born face difficulty - or you understand you are not alone
- Stories of people with PhDs and masters' driving taxis at the beginning - by coming here she has agreed to do the same.
- Has heard more unsuccessful stories
- Stories of people getting taken advantage of. Being offered jobs - "training" and not getting paid - she tells these people not to put up with it.
- Story of a teacher who immigrated 10 years ago - has a full time teaching position - but has a terrible accent - shows that accent isn't so important - it's how you teach.

Adaptation - do things get easier?

- The next step is always difficult. It doesn't get easier, but there is a sense of adaptation (understanding the environment, others' expectations, so you are more likely to be focused on the right thing at the right time).
- If you are not able to do something right now, you have to stay where you are - and that's not good. So you have to push yourself. If you can push yourself, things will be easier in one or two years. If you don't want to stay in the same place, you have to do something for yourself.
- Canadians have to work 20% less (than newcomers)

What does success/ successful integration mean in Canada generally? What is your experience of success? Do you feel successful? Is this the same understanding of success that you had when you were coming here?