

University of Alberta

Race Regimes and Racialization: Participatory Research Explorations in Im/migrant Service NGOs in Alberta

by

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Abstract

Employing a racialization and race regimes framework as an analytical lens, this research explored how the state-provision of immigrant support services offered by IS-NGOs (immigrant service non-governmental organizations) through various programs, such as English Language Learning/Parenting and Literacy Program (ELL/PLP) may be racializing new im/migrants and reproducing systems of oppression and privilege. Creating a collective and dialogical learning space, using participatory research methodology, the participants spoke to processes of racialization and racism both within and outside the IS-NGO and analyzed and reflected upon experiences as in/voluntary im/migrants. Through this process, participants stimulated critical conversation directed towards IS-NGOs renewal, (re)developed relational capital, and progressed as language and literacy learners.

Key Words: Participatory Research, Race, Race Regimes, Racialization, Racism, Im/migration, Im/migrant, Adult Education, IS-NGOs, NGOization

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МОЕЙ ЛЮБОВЬЮ

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Origins and Rationale for the Study

This research explores how immigrant service non-governmental organization (IS-NGOs) involved with the provision of immigrant support services through various programs like English Language Learning/Parenting and Literacy Program (ELL/PLP) may potentially be racializing new im/migrants. The research uncovered the participant's responses to settlement, the IS-NGO and the PLP through creating a collective and dialogical learning space with participatory research methodology focused on the participant analysis of their experiences. By engaging in critical conversation, the participants (re)developed relational capital, and stimulated critical conversation as part of a process of IS-NGOs renewal.

In my work, over the past five years, as an English language instructor within a Parenting and Literacy Program (PLP), I have been involved in initiatives intended to serve im/migrant women new to Alberta. The PLP is a specific program offered by an IS-NGO (originating from a faith-based community) that has been delivering programming in the areas of settlement, language and employment since 1983, growing and expanding services that coincide with fluctuations in the Alberta economy. The IS-NGO has as its core values: diversity, compassion, social justice and responsibility. It is the intention of the IS-NGO, through the provision of settlement service, to enhance the quality of life for newcomers to Alberta and for Canadians. My role has been to develop and deliver

basic language and/or literacy instruction to parents (specifically women) and to support and promote the skills required for parenting within the Canadian context. In addition, my role is to assist women in connecting to, accessing and navigating available community resources.

My original concerns, arising from extensive engagement with learners in the classroom, that motivated me to conduct this study were: i) a perception that programming was not addressing the interests and/or needs of the participants and ii) my own discomfort with the norms being promoted through curricular resources. My intent was to place the women's knowledge, ideas, and experiences more centrally within the program and to educate funders and program developers regarding the experiences, skills and aspirations of the learners participating in the program. This research was not intended to improve the provision of services to im/migrants so much as to provide an opportunity for critical reflection regarding how existing programs and services may address and/or exacerbate the inequities im/migrant women experience in Canada (Bierman, Ahmad & Mawani, 2009; Boyd & Yiu, 2009; Galabuzi, 2006, 2010; Vickers & Isaac, 2012). In addition, I hoped to highlight areas of positive adult literacy/language practices and generate critical discussion within the IS-NGO and with funders.

Research Purpose and Question

The main purpose of the research is to explore how the provision of immigrant support services offered by IS-NGOs through various programs, such as ELL/PLP could be racializing new im/migrants. I had a sense that "race" was significant at some level in the development of programming and the organization

of the IS-NGO, and through the research, examples of racialization and race regimes were illustrated. The research uncovered some of the responses of program participants by creating a collective and dialogical learning space using participatory research methodology. The focus was on a participant analysis of their experiences while stimulating critical conversation as part of a process of IS-NGO renewal.

The research purpose, as determined by the researcher, is addressed through the following questions:

1. How is the construction and implementation of IS-NGO programs and services potentially indicative of a process of racialization of im/migrants typified by race regimes?
2. What are the settlement experiences of im/migrants to Canada/Alberta?
What are some settlement experiences specific to programs and services offered by im/migrant service provider IS-NGOs in Alberta?
3. How are these experiences indicative of a process of racialization of im/migrants typified by race regimes?
4. What are some of the responses to this process by program participants?
5. What does the IS-NGO need to learn from this critical analysis as part of a process of organizational and programmatic renewal?

By focusing on the process of racialization typified by race regimes, the research gains critical bifocality, the ability to focus on the structures and histories spoken of, as well as on the particular lives and experiences of the participants (Fine, 2013).

As race is a controversial and uncomfortable topic, and I conducted the research with vulnerable groups, the research required a broad set of questions that would allow the participants to speak comfortably to a range of experiences. The three broad questions were i) what was/is your global migration experience ii) what is your experience as an im/migrant in Canada and iii) what was/is your experience as a participant in the parenting and literacy program?

The race optic surfaced from the participant's experiences in relation to these questions. A participatory approach to the research (Campbell, 2001; Fine, 2007; Freire, 1983; Hope & Timmel, 2000, 1984; Kapoor, 2009; Maguire, 1987) supported a dialogical environment for im/migrant women to question the "good works" narrative embedded throughout organizations and to speak to/about and address IS-NGO/state programs and policies based on their experiences as program participants.

Research Methodology

Given the commitment to utilize research to stimulate critical engagement/critical "conversations" amongst and between the participants, IS-NGO and/or funders, a participatory research methodology was adopted as a preferred and appropriate methodology (Fals-Borda, 1991; Freire, 1983; Hall, 1977; McGuire, 1987). Participatory research was deemed appropriate, as it is a process of collective research for creating new knowledge and is informed by the socio-political consciousness of participants who are variously located (Fals-Borda, 199; Fine & Torre, 2007). Participatory research also creates the possibility for multiple intersecting perspectives of im/migrant women to inform

the program while helping to build sound adult education participatory-pedagogical practices concerning teachers and learners alike. Participatory research acknowledges the historical, political, social and institutional forces that shape individual and collective experiences (Fine, 2007; Horton & Freire, 1990).

In the process of sharing, acknowledging and honouring the collective experiences of participants, the conceptual framework of race, racialization and race regimes emerged as a useful tool for the re/formulation of research questions, the re/analysis of documents and the collection of data. The conceptual framework served as a torch to illuminate the invisible everyday practices, ideas, power relationships and structures, including institutions such as the IS-NGO that shaped/shape the daily experiences of in/voluntary im/migrant women. As well, it provided a language and a place to discuss an uncomfortable subject.

McCall (2005) argues to divide and dissect a voluntary community into discernible parts is to ignore the multiple intersections that make the individual. If the assumptions of the research are correct, relying on a participatory research methodology lends itself to hearing the multiple intersects of the individual and the community and works to address the limitations created by a diverse research grouping. As well, it allows for an exploration of tensions and contradictions rather than looking for a single narrative. Borrowing from feminist approaches to participatory research (Fine, 2007; Maguire, 1987), the intentional application of sustained immersion and contact with the participants and IS-NGO was to: contextualize the research and mitigate the effects of our limited and halted conversations; allow topics to unfold and evolve organically, provide multiple

opportunities for participants to engage in topics, facilitate the development of relationships and to provide opportunity for critical reflection.

Methods and Participants

In keeping with participatory research methodologies, the primary method was one of dialogical exchanges in study circles (Hannan & Kicenکو, 2002) with in/voluntary im/migrant women during the instructional hours of the formal PLP. Writing generated during and from these focussed discussions (co-constructed texts, journal entries, personal narrative writing) were analysed collectively and individually. I kept notes during and/or immediately after study circles as well as throughout the teaching sessions as a way of fostering reflective teaching practice.

The research setting was a PLP class for which I was the paid facilitator. The classroom was composed of women, all engaged in the role of parenting. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 45 years of age. The class consisted of women who self-identified as being from Burundi, Poland, Colombia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Mexico, China, and Guatemala. All the women in the study self-identified as having limited or low levels of proficiency in English and many of women in the class had experienced an interruption in formal primary schooling.

In addition to the class-generated data, I conducted a critical reading of the program and IS-NGO materials (leaflets, funding proposals, public relations/news clips/ media releases) as well as of those provided by outside organizations/funders as support materials (primarily teacher resource materials

and leaflets intended for distribution). Finally, I conducted a semi-structured interview with a senior administrator who has been responsible for several years in developing, promoting and acquiring funding for the PLP.

Significance of the Study

The IS-NGO was supportive of the research, motivated by the hope of gaining a better understanding of the “clients” participating in the program for the purpose of affirming the work of the organization and/or providing evidence of need for future funding requests. The research-generated insights have stimulated critical conversation that potentially could shape the direction, development and/or implementation of future practices, policies, programming and/or funding. At an organizational level, this research may prompt the IS-NGO to reflect upon how practices and policies position the people who they wish to serve and to question the underlying assumptions and contradictions that influence work for/with im/migrant populations and to align practice with intentions. Research sharing may also help to inform or support teaching and community-based programming practices.

Exploring the historical, structural, economic and social forces shaping their experiences, im/migrant women who participated in the PLP during the study may have gained: insights and a greater self-awareness regarding the circumstances in which they find themselves; a greater appreciation for the knowledge and experiences they possess; and a better understanding of the social, organizational, and structural barriers/ladders influencing participation, especially

in educational spaces (Kapoor & Jordan, 2009). Awareness may allow for the repositioning of the learner more centrally in the educational process. For the women there may be a shift in perception from receivers of information to possessors and creators of knowledge, from viewing oneself as lucky, to seeing oneself as resourceful. In addition, in keeping with the goals and intent of the program, the women participating in this research developed primary or secondary literacy and public speaking skills.

This research may support other scholars in extending theorization pertaining to labour and im/migration. Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2008) note, “[a]s a country founded on settler-colonization, immigration has been central to the history and the evolution of Canada” (p. 37). The authors contend that immigration policies are bound tightly with economic criteria, especially labour requirements (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2008). Consequently, there is a strong body of scholarship on the settlement experiences of immigrants in relation to employment, training, and accreditation. For instance, Cresse and Weibe (2009), Gibb and Hamdon, (2010), Guo, (2010 a, 2010 b), Gogia and Slade, (2011) and Mojab, (1999), have highlighted the (de)skilling, (de)accreditation and downward mobility experienced by immigrants, predominately professionals, upon arriving in Canada. The literature pertaining to the labour experiences of women engaged in non-waged home labour is more limited, especially in the Canadian context.

Sharma (2011) highlights that due to federal and provincial initiatives, the Live-In Caregiver Program experienced an increase of 274 percent between 2005 and 2009 while the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFW) increased 200

percent in the same time period (Gogia & Slade, 2011); a trend that continues upwards. This has led to research with, for and about migrant labour (Sharma, 2010) including seasonal agricultural workers (Agricultural Farm Workers Alliance, 2011; Basok, 2002) and home care and service industry workers (Choudry, Hanley, Jordan, Shragge & Stieman, 2009). However, the spouses and children who are born in Canada or who accompany TFWs appear absent in the research, public discourse and policy.

Key Assumptions

The research was undertaken while being cognizant of some of the following assumptions:

- (1) that the researcher, as a teacher in the PLP who is white, racialized and privileged can be productively engaged with visible minorities, racialized, students and recent im/migrants in a process which entails critical dialogue/sharing, especially with respect to the PLP and IS-NGO
- (2) that participatory research enables the creation of an environment/process for critique and difficult dialogue; and
- (3) that the experiences of im/migrant women are indeed gendered

Limitations and De-limitations

The research was de-limited to the beginner English classes of a parenting program targeting im/migrant women within a single IS-NGO. Previous experiences with in/voluntary im/migrant women learning English suggested the participants are able and willing to engage in critical conversations when space

for doing so occurs. Limiting the size of group allowed for focused, routine engagement, maximizing opportunities for the individual to participate collaboratively.

A related limitation of the study, however, is that despite this containment, the group was not homogeneous. Though commonalities included motherhood, gender and global im/migration, the women spoke a variety of languages, had varying levels of formal education, training and experiences in paid-labour, and had membership in various social hierarchies. Given the number of languages spoken, the methods used may not have captured the richness/meanings of dialogical interactions between and amongst the participants. In addition, linguistic limitations prevented all participants from completely expressing the full extent of their thoughts with the entire group.

Another plausible weakness of the study is that participants spoke indirectly about the program and/or IS-NGO while speaking more generally about settlement experiences, which implicated the program as well. It is also possible to read as Trinh suggests (in Razack, 2008), "...[s]ilence as a will not to say or a will to unsay and as a language of its own..." (p. 53).

Key Concepts and Definitions

Im/migrant and In/voluntary

The term "im/migrant" is used throughout this paper to make visible: i) the various legal and hierarchical labels used by immigration regimes to construct those arriving (Gogia & Slade, 2011), ii) the often temporal nature of global

migration (Rodriguez, 2010) and iii) the participants' perceived location within or attachment to the nation-state.

Similarly, while im/migration policy constructs many categories or classes of “newcomers”, there are essentially two narratives regarding im/migration framed around choice/force. First, there is the voluntary immigrant who “chooses” to migrate to gain material and social advantage either for themselves or for those “back home”. The second is the “forced” involuntary refugee, grateful and indebted to the nation offering safe harbour. The temporary migrant relegated to the role of job thief or servant, absent provider or breadwinner falls in the first (Contreras & Griffith, 2012; Folson, 2008; Rodriguez, 2010; Vickers & Isaac, 2012). The use of “in/voluntary” questions, challenges, and problematizes the idea of “choice” in reference to transnational migration as well as narratives of “rescue” and “indebtedness.” As Razack (2008) aptly asks, “[h]ow much of a choice is it to flee poverty and starvation in lands ravaged by a global economy dominated by the First World?” (p. 28).

ISO/ IS-NGO

Im/migrant service organizations (ISOs) are community based, largely non-profit organizations established to assist immigrant populations in Canada. ISOs may be established in response to singular issues, for example in response to pre-natal care (Multicultural Health Brokers Cooperative, 2013) or may be engaged in a range of services such as housing, counselling, legal support and/or employment (Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers). Likewise, ISOs may

service specific faith (Islamic Family and Social Services Association), linguistic and/or national/ regional communities (Cantonese programming, ASSIST community service centre) or serve a wider general immigrant client base (Catholic Social Services, Edmonton Immigration Service Association). I have intentionally referred to the organization administering the PLP as a immigrant service non-governmental organization (IS-NGO) (defined in some literatures as civil society organizations) as opposed to the terms that are more common, “non-profit”, “service”, or “social/community” agency. While conscious of legal distinctions between non-profits and IS-NGOs my intent is to highlight the in/direct dependency of the organization on the state for the securement of funding and the role the ISO plays in the delivery of social services. As noted by the World Bank (2013), “CSOs [NGOs] have also become important actors for delivery of social services and implementation of other development programs, as a complement to government action, especially in regions where government presence is weak ...” (para. 2). The Canadian government uses IS-NGOs to augment social services to im/migrant populations not from weakness created by war or internal conflict, but rather from neoliberal economic policies. The outsourcing of services also allows the state to manage im/migration settlement without assuming responsibility.

Race, Racialization, Racism and Race Regimes

Throughout the research “race” is conceptualized as socially defined, serving the needs of imperial expansion (Cox, 2009), mutable as well as temporally and spatially contingent on the bases of ascribed physical attributes

(Torres, Mirón & Inda, 1999) that are read from the body. Race is used to rationalize orders of difference and create hierarchies that appear natural. Thus race, while socially constructed, is real in effect.

Racialization is, "...a process of categorization, a representational process of defining an Other..." (Miles, 1989, p.75 in Torres, Mirón & Inda, 1999). In American (US) race theory, racialization is the process new im/migrants undertake to be hierarchically positioned within white/non-white race labour and social orders (Vickers & Isaac, 2012) which dictates the distribution of valuable resources through the routinized procedures of institutions (Small, 1999). Categorizations are created using constructed ideas of race, but also include or intersect with class and gender. Racialization also includes the notion of "positive-typing" such as Asians are hardworking and self-reliant, Jews are good with money or women are nurturing (Siy & Sapna, 2013). Racism is the ideas, attitudes and/or sets of beliefs, constructed on conceptualizations of "race" that activate power relationships (Essed, in Agnew, 2009). Racism becomes integrated into everyday situations through a large range of practices including, but not limited to, exclusion and marginalization (Macedo & Gouneri, 2006).

Race regimes are political systems of privilege and oppression established and maintained by states via structures, practices, discourse and power relationships as a means of regulating inclusion and exclusion (Vickers & Isaac, 2012) that naturalize, legitimize, and mutually support racialization and racism. Race regimes are created to support institutionalized racialized structures. Race, racialization, racism and race regimes are distinct yet interrelated concepts leading

to the exclusion and objectification of certain populations. Internal colonialism and slavery are examples of foundational race regimes while Islamophobia, a racial ideology based on embodied characteristic and culturalist essentialisms (Bleich, 2011; Hamdon, 2010) is a contemporary regime arising post 9/11.

Community and Participants

Finally, the PLP represents a community primarily made up of women intent on developing English language skills (clients) but also includes teachers/facilitators, organizational staff and administrators (in policy documents community members are referred to as stakeholders or partners). Any reference to the learning community should consider all of its members. It is worth noting this community is constructed by the IS-NGO, rather than emerging organically as a social entity (Lykes & Coquillon, 2007). Central to the research is recognition of the explicit/implicit intentions of the structures, systems and participants supporting community formation. I use the word “participant”, though it fails to capture the active co-learning of the classroom, in reference to the women who registered, attended and acted as co-researchers in the beginner level PLP class during the study period. The term “women” and “co-researchers” are also used in reference to the participants.

Organization of the Thesis

This chapter introduced the study by outlining the purpose, intent and origins of the research, defined specific terms, introduced the theoretical framework, the methods used, and the central research questions. Chapter 2 will

provide a review of pertinent current literature relevant to the study. Chapter 3 describes the methodology and the methods used for the research. In chapter 4, the data addressing the IS-NGO service provider's constructions of the program and the implementation of programming are presented. In chapter 5, I explore data addressing the settlement experiences of im/migrant women in relation to wider experiences and to the IS-NGO/PLP program. Finally, chapter 6 concludes with a revisit of the methodology and contributing framework, a reflection of lessons learned, and suggestions for program/IS-NGO revitalization.

CHAPTER 2:

Review of Pertinent Literature

Co-existing with official state policy of multiculturalism is the paradoxical assumption that, in choosing to come here, immigrants relinquish their right to the conditions under which their cultural identities might flourish. Such an argument denies the conditions under which most of us become immigrants, and it sidesteps the point that immigrants seek protection from oppression, a protection that can come from maintaining their cultural practices. (Razack, 2008, p. 28)

The literature review for this research includes three sections that cover the main areas of concern. Section one provides an overview of the literature pertaining to race and racialization. In section two, I review the literature of race regimes, focusing on im/migration, multiculturalism and interculturalism. Finally, in section three I present literature concerning immigrant service organizations, non- governmental organizations, and literacy/language programs for adults.

Race and Racialization

“Race,” a biological referent based on physical or embodied attributes (Torres, Mirón & Inda, 1999), was constructed to serve the needs of imperial expansion (Cox, 2009; Galeano, 1973; Rodney, 1972). Similarly, Wolfe (2013) states, “races are traces of colonial histories”. Race has shifted from being conceptualized in terms of biological variations or “blood” purity to being a social

construction, mutable as well as temporally and spatially contingent (Wilson, 2012). This is exemplified in Rodriguez's (2000) historical analysis of the construction of Latinos through US censuses. Theories of race either focus on the economics of race, as do Marxist theories, or focus on culture, assigning meaning to the physical characteristics of the human body (Hall, 2009). For example, the wearing of the hijab races the individual (Al-Saji, 2010) as do the scars of certain forms of labour. Embodied forms of race suggest "culture" is read from the body. Wolfe (2013) argues that while everyone agrees race is constructed (Torres, Mirón & Inda, 1999) there is an under theorizing of how race is constructed, under what circumstances and in whose interest.

Race may affect class, but one's class also influences how one is raced (Arat-Koç, 2010; Rex 2009). Arat-Koç suggests racial logics no longer follow colour lines but have become conditional of class. Citing examples from Britain and the US, Arat-Koç suggests sections of the population - the so-called underclass - are viewed as culturally separate from the dominate society. This creates language for Othering the poor and allows a discourse "...heavily loaded with presuppositions and normative judgements" (Arat-Koç, p.151). Macedo and Gounari (2003) suggest this discourse hides what we are afraid to name. The oppressed.

In the Canadian context, "at-risk" and "vulnerable" are volleyed in reference to children, youth, women and the aging. Those who have conducted disparities research, such as Galabuzi (2006) and Magro and Ghorayshi (2001), highlight the economic, social and physical conditions of at-risk, barriered

communities in Canada. While useful in illuminating the reality of race and the avocation of reform/better resourcing of programs, this research can be counterproductive if it is, as Mohanty (1988) argues, all problems and no agency. Or, as Fine (2013) argues, it draws our attention and efforts ‘downstream’ to sites of injustice rather than looking ‘upstream’ at practices and structures. Conversely, the discourse of agency and empowerment, favoured in liberal leaning organizations, subtly shifts responsibility onto raced bodies while minimalizing structural/historical influences. It is worth noting such terminology is seldom used in reference to men, who may be defined as under-employed but not barriered, poor but not at-risk, highlighting the (un)conscious gendered nature of perceptions and constructs associated with race.

Rodriguez (2000) and others (Shakir, 2011; Wilson, 2012) are clear to note that race, while constructed, is also “real” in how it effects racialized bodies. Block and Galabuzi (2011) highlight the colour coding of the Canadian labour market. Galabuzi’s (2010) work on social exclusion illuminates the multi-dimensional impact of racialization on the health of immigrant populations, while Wilson (2012) explores the racialized production of bodies in development projects. Memmi (2009) reminds us, however, not all conceptualizations of race are negative as they may be a tool in affirming one’s self or, as Du Bois (2009) suggests, a basis for organization.

Wilson (2012), in work merging race and “development” within a single frame, notes that in development discourse, race is an area of silence. Similarly, within local IS-NGOs, culture, ethnicity and diversity become codes for race. A

recognition and/or acknowledgment of race-based practices represents failure on the part of the IS-NGO to nurture the peaceful coexistence found in the foundational mythology of multiculturalism and/or interculturalism. Yet Canadian multiculturalism embodies policies of assimilation and pluralism for the purpose of managing race, a management extending beyond national borders. Examples of this, drawn from the participant's pre im/migration experience, include military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq (see appendix A). Stuart Hall (2009) notes racism towards Sri Lankans in Britain arose when the temporary became permanent. While the rise in temporary foreign workers (TFWs) in Canada can be read as a response to new globalized labour market practices, it may also be a state response to managing potential racism by establishing clear and more restrictive limitations on who may permanently settle in Canada. In adopting top down forms of multiculturalism, the state and agents of the state can claim to have solved the race problems.

Racism is always, according to Macedo and Gounari (2003), historically specific. Manifestations of racism are present in the rhetoric of culture and diversity present in multiculturalism/interculturalism discourse. One feature of racism is exclusion. Galabuzi makes the case that im/migrants experience numerous forms of social exclusion including economic exclusion as indicated by income attainment, unemployment and labour market participation (those involved in non-waged home labour are further excluded using these indicators). The research conducted by the PLP women suggests exclusion is also gendered in its expression. For example, excluded from language classes are im/migrant

women with children not because of the unavailability of English classes per se but from a lack of available childcare spaces/home support to facilitate participation. Fanon (in Schmitt, 1996) would argue exclusion is only one particular form of racism. Infantilizations, denigration, distrust, ridicule, being rendered invisible, scapegoating and violence are other interrelated forms of racism, equally caustic, that become the means of objectification (Schmitt, 1996). The significance of objectification for Schmitt, and for those engaged in adult education, is not that the objectified are denied freedom but rather the objectification denies the possibility of engaging in genuine human encounters.

Racialization has, Murji and Solomos (2005) suggest, "... become a core concept in the analysis of racial phenomena, particularly to signal the processes by which ideas of race are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon" (p. 1) sometimes with exclusionary practices. Satzewich (2011) argues racialization must have a negative appraisal of the group defined. The dismissal of an im/migrant's schooling and/or education, the questioning of credentials and the devaluing of foreign experience exemplify negative appraisals. Similarly, praise or attention can be a form of objectification. Statements such as, "I just love black babies. They're so cute" (Participant observation) judges the infant on physical/genetic attributes reducing significance to that of an object for admiration or entertainment. Banton, according to Murji and Solomos (2005), argues for racialization to occur there, "...has to be a reference to or resort upon race..." (p. 9), begging the question, what is the language of race?

Within American (US) race theory, racialization is the process new im/migrants undertake to be hierarchically positioned within white/non-white race labour and social orders (Vickers & Isaac, 2012). Vickers and Isaac note that this racialization assumes all groups are immigrants, thereby excluding Indigenous populations. There may also be a misrecognizing and/or misreading of race and power hierarchies of “temporary” or “irregular” populations through omission. In addition, racialization ignores the government’s role in constructing hierarchies of race and power maintained via legalized discrimination (Vickers & Isaac, 2012). This said, racialization serves to illuminate how ideas of race are constructed and used to position im/migrants.

Race Regimes: Im/migration and Multiculturalism

Vickers and Isaac’s (2012) work, *The Politics of Race*, proposes that historic race regimes, such as internal colonialism and slavery, served as the foundational race regimes in Canada, Australia and the United States for the subsequent contemporary race regimes of immigration and multiculturalism. Galabuzi (2006) argues that in “...Canada, whose original mission was to build a White-settler colony, a deterministic form of race construction provided the basis for systematic policies of economic exclusion and segregation” (p. 33). Today, immigration and multiculturalism serve, Vickers and Isaac (2012) suggest, to support and sustain racialism, supported by state/public institutions, including churches, schools/universities, and the media. The authors argue race and racism rather than being incidental to the state, were embedded into the ideological and

structured practices at the inception of each state. Wolfe (2013) refers to this as settler colonial relations of inequality. While overt displays of racism is no longer deemed acceptable in the democratic liberal states, more subtle manifestations of race exist. Macedo and Gounari (2006) argue that when analyzing racism the linkage to colonial legacies and the racist manifestations of that legacy are often missed.

Race regimes, as conceptualized by Vickers and Isaac (2012), are political systems of privilege and oppression established and maintained by states via structures, practices, discourse and power relationships as a means of regulating inclusion and exclusion. Marx (1998) echoes this arguing all states “...are compulsory and continuous associations claiming control of a society within a territory” (p. 4). To contain instability, Marx believes ruling elites shape norms and reinforce political and social identities.

The proposed Charter of Values in Quebec banning the wearing of “overt (non-Christian) religious symbols” for those providing or receiving public services exemplifies both the structure (legislation) and practice (granting/denying access) of a race regime. Race regimes, Vickers and Isaac (2012) suggest, are not static but constantly shift with political movements, bureaucratic procedures and legislative decisions. Governments may establish several race regimes working at various levels across time/space. Race regimes also include a discourse and intellectual realm that establishes the assignment and treatment of people according to a constructed race schema with race assigned according to physical characteristics and/or ethnicity, religion, culture. Finally, a race regime is a

political system that establishes and works to maintain power relationships between dominant and the subordinate, oppressor and oppressed.

Exploring the in/voluntary im/migration and settlement experiences of women illuminates the way structures and practices, ideologies and power relationships intersect with gender in application and effect, a component absent in Vickers and Isaac's (2012) analysis. In addition, race regimes allow for the mapping of interconnections between global and local systems of privilege/oppression as well as consider how IS-NGOs as institutions respond to and/or perpetuate the experiences of im/migrant women. Camp (2009, citing Robinson), in research pertaining to Hurricane Katrina, points out the "...conceptualization of racial regimes has been part of an effort to render visible their hostility to exposure. Racial regimes are 'commonly masqueraded as natural orderings . . . [y]et they are actually contrivances, designed and delegated by interested cultural and social powers' " (p. 702). How might the use of race regimes framework bring out those elements that have become accepted as "natural" in relation to im/migrant settlement or within the workings of the IS-NGO?

In highlighting the role of government structures, there is a risk of overemphasizing the power of the state in an era of globalization marked by multinational corporations and international trade agreements that (in)directly influence and dictate national policies (Cammack, 2006; Colás, 2005). In researching the historical geo/political events present in the pre/immigration experiences of the participants (see appendix A), it is apparent the state is often

heavily influenced by external bodies such as the International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, and World Bank and/or through the intervention of other nations. For example, Spring (2009) illustrates how the World Bank, through extensive global networks (including NGOs) has shifted the global discourse of education. In this scenario, the elite-elite are dominating the elite. Structures, discourse, and power relations enacted on a global scale, suggest race regimes may be multi-dimensional political structures. However, more importantly race regimes divert, "...our attention away from the cultural 'other' and towards systems of power and control" (Gorski, 2006, p. 522) or, as Fine (2013) suggests, focus our gaze 'upstream.'

Migration, that is "[t]he movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State" (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2013) is not a new phenomenon (Arango, 2000; Harris, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012). The Slave trade from Africa to the Americas, indentured labour from India and China to Africa, the relocation of the poor and criminal to British colonies, and European settlement of the New World are but a few examples of mass migration (Harris, 2007). However, international migration, some argue (Castles & Miller, 2009; O'Reilly, 2012) has increased, especially over the past thirty years as has the form and function of migration. King (2013) referencing the aforementioned scholars argues, "...we live in an 'Age of Migration'; a period during which international migration has accelerated, globalised, feminised, diversified and become increasingly politicised" (p. 4). Castles and Miller (2009) see the feminization of migration as a significant and

growing trend especially in labour migration. Rodriguez (2010) highlights the gender (and racial) logics the Philippine state uses to promote the exportation of the national labour market.

The perceived changes in migration coincide with the adoption and expansion of neoliberalism policies focused on: opening up international trade, deregulation, privatization and/or reduced expenditure of public services, protection of private property rights and an emphasis on individual responsibility (Harvey, 2005).

For early theorists, such as Ravenstein (see King, 2013; O'Reilly, 2012) a migrant was conceptualized as one moving from point A to B at their convenience for material or social gain (IOM, 2013). In more recent times, "migrant" has become a more nuanced and fluid term which attempts to encapsulate the multiple forms movement takes in a globalized world. Driven, in part, by policies intended to control migration, migrants are distinguished and categorized by nation-states, tribunals and business based on such subjective and fluid criteria as the marketability of skills, professional standing, age, financial holdings, state of origin and/or current or historical geo political connections. Hence the terms labour, skilled, professional, irregular, temporary, undocumented, illegal, retirees, refugees, asylum seekers, environmental, trafficked, forced and returning have been constructed to classify migrants just as terms such as orderly, forced, facilitated, circular, transit, postcolonial and streams of migration have arisen to describe the process or direction of movement (IOM, 2013; Kertzer, 2006; O'Reilly, 2012). Regardless of the terminology applied, given the spatial and

temporal nature of migration, such distinctions, as highlighted by King (2013), are seldom singular, static, or universal. Migration is, according to Vertovec (in Guo, 2010a), “[a] stratified system of rights, opportunities, constraints and partial-to-full membership [which] is attached to each category of migrant” (p. 440). In a similar vein, Zetter (2007) argues these labels at best allow for more nuanced understandings and “...at worst discriminate and detach claimants from the core attribute of being a refugee- international protection” (p. 176). Zetter further argues that it is Northern bureaucracies rather than NGOs in the South that are transforming and polarizing such labels.

Why migration occurs (or perhaps why migration does not occur) has occupied theorists across disciplines. Theories of migration, it has been noted (King, 2013; O’Reilly, 2012), tend to either take a micro or macro perspective and to focus on either structure or agency. Neoclassical economic theories of migration, including push-pull theories and dual/segmented labour market theory, place economic gain, at least initially, at the center of migration and focus on the individual making an informed cost-benefit analysis (King, 2013). Cattle (2012), working within this box, proposes the mobility inherent to globalization has allowed 214 million international migrants to “...relocate in search of better employment prospects and a higher standard of living...” (p. 5). This conceptualization of migration and globalization, Arat-Koç (2010) argues, has created a new whitened “Third World” middle class who identify “...materially and ideologically, with a transnational elite” (p. 155) but who are increasingly alienated from people in their own country. Canada’s point based system, focused

on language, formal education and professional employment experience, caters to and targets this transnational elite. In this, the pull of opportunity is perceived as motivating this movement of choice.

Critics of economic theories of migration argue individuals do not make decisions in isolation but in consultation with families, households, extended family, and that, not all the factors needed for informed decision-making can be accurately assessed. In addition, theories focused on labour migration fail to recognize the role family members engaged in non-formal, unpaid labour have in either initiating or perpetuating migration.

Institutions and structures also shape migration. Rodriguez's (2010) close investigation into Philippine labour migration highlights the active role that sending and receiving states serve, through education, legislation government policies and nationalist mythology, as labour brokers to support market needs, while being mindful of the necessity of managing incoming populations. The importation of "international" labour fills low skilled, limited wage sectors of the economy for the benefit of the elite.

Canada's current im/migration policies and practices do not occur in isolation but influenced by international policies and historical practices. A discussion of im/migration (or multiculturalism) in Canada must begin with recognition that Canada is a settler nation, based on the displacement, racialization and eradication of indigenous peoples (Bertram, 2011; Sharma, 2011; Thobani, 2007). In stating, "Canadian society today stems largely from the English-speaking and French-speaking Christian civilizations that were brought

here from Europe by settlers” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2013a), the narrative of two founding nations presents “...colonialism as just another instance of human migration” (Sharma, 2011, p. 87). Not surprisingly then, in the process of empire building, Canadian immigration policy has intentionally had a Eurocentric bias (Galabuzi, 2006; Gogia & Spade, 2011). As James (2009) notes, “...well into the twentieth century, factors such as race, ethnicity, nationality, and social class were used to control the quality and character of immigration and ensure the “assimilability” of those who immigrated” (p. 104). Such practices have shaped perceptions of who can claim ‘I am Canadian’.

With the introduction of a points system in 1967, the level of formal education, one’s profession, age and the ability to speak English or French became the primary determinants in the granting of residency permits in Canada (Gogia & Spade, 2011). Canada’s point based immigration system of sorting is praised by migration advisors for its high degree of selectivity, and cited as setting the standard for international “best practice” (Papademetriou, 2011). The shift to a criteria based im/migrant policy has not ended preferential im/migration but rather redirected it (Abu-Laban & Gabriel 2008; Walton-Roberts, 2011). Razack, Smith and Thobani (2010) contend that Canada’s im/migration process is highly raced as to who migrates, why they migrate, how and when they migrate, where migrants “settle,” the reception received, and the role in which the im/migrant will serve. In addition, while explicitly racist immigration restrictions may have ended in 1967, Sharma (2011) argues that emerging from the Non-Immigrant Employment

Authorization Program (NIEAP) implemented in 1973, has been an unfree, temporary pool of foreign labour. It has been argued that the NIEAP created a hierarchical system for granting/denying rights, access and membership (Guo, 2010b) wherein there exists the worker worthy of citizenship and the worker who is necessary but disposable.

Feminist scholarship draws attention to gendered expressions and practices in relationship to im/migration. Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2008) study the changing nature of immigration, multiculturalism and employment equity policies in Canada using a feminist and gendered analysis to critically reveal other forms of exclusion and marginalization, including racial exclusion, based on a particular reading of globalization. Research regarding gendered im/migration in Canada has tended to focus on gender biases in the point system, particularly on participation in wage labour and the failure to recognize discrepancies that arise from bearing children and providing familial support (Abu-Laban, 1998).

Current im/migration policy states, “Canada’s immigration policy has been guided by three broad objectives: to reunite families; to fulfil the country’s international obligations and humanitarian tradition with respect to refugees; and to foster a strong, viable economy in all regions of Canada” (Statistics Canada, 2005). Whether it is a policy analyst suggesting Canada accept more refugees who “would be quite happy to work in a Tim Horton’s as an entry to the labour market to be able to support their family” (Raj, 2013) or the Minister of Employment and Social Development stating “our Government’s number one priority remains jobs, economic growth and long-term prosperity” (Kenny, 2013), it is the economy,

shaped by thirty years of neoliberalism, that dominates public discourse and im/migration policy in Canada (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2008; Gogia & Slade, 2011) as well as internationally (Castles & Miller, 2009). Even humanitarian support for refugees reflects neoliberal values with the division between government and privately sponsored refugees. While public announcements such as the acceptance of 1300 Syrian refugees in 2013 reinforce Canada's humanitarian image, in the end only 200 of those refugees will be government sponsored (Canadian Council of Refugees [CCR], 2013a) with the remaining 1100 refugees being outsourced to the private sector to assume responsibility (or failure) for upholding Canada's "generous" promises.

Up to 1967 overt racism, as well as sexism, guided immigration policy in Canada (Gorgia & Slade, 2011). However, "[i]n 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. By so doing, Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation" (CIC, 2013b, para.1). Multiculturalism, both as a set of policies to manage diversity and as a politics of resistance for communities seeking recognition, has become foundational in the marketing of the Canadian brand and fundamental to the nation's identity. The language of integration, cohesion and inclusion within multiculturalism meshes well with the nation's perception and projection as a safe, compassionate middle ground with a humanitarian character (Razack, 2008).

Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2008) highlight the evolution of Canadian multiculturalism, noting shifts in policy and practice in response to social critique.

Early criticism included the performativity ‘song and dance’ aspects of multiculturalism (Edmonton Heritage Days being a prime example), the homogenization and constructions of ethnicity, the positioning of First Nation within the state and the failure to address racism and systematic discrimination (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2008). These critiques are echoed by Henry and Tator (in Satzewich, 2011) who argue multiculturalism is racist in its discourse of tolerance and understanding for it i) masks structural and systematic inequality, ii) promotes the superiority of the dominant hegemony and iii) implies a ceiling to the acceptance of diversity.

Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2008) also highlight how multiculturalism in Canada has shifted to align better with neo-liberal ideology and the discourse of globalization. The authors argue multiculturalism is framed, as enhancing Canada’s competitive advantage in development and trade, as facilitating the recruitment of labour, and of building global networks:

Our diversity is a national asset. Recent advances in technology have made international communications more important than ever. Canadians who speak many languages and understand many cultures make it easier for Canada to participate globally in areas of education, trade and diplomacy. (CIC, 2013b, para.7)

At the same time, multicultural programs have faced reductions in financial support from governments and increasingly outsourced to the private sector, non-profits and IS-NGOs to implement and manage.

Some argue globalization has altered the nature of multiculturalism. For example, Cattle (2012) drawing on the British experience states, “[a]s a result of globalisation, societies are becoming more and more multicultural - or ‘super diverse’ - often despite the many attempts by nation-states to protect the integrity of their borders...” (p. 12) but rather than creating a blended society the result is a ‘plural monoculturalism’. Arat-Koç (2010) offers a different perspective suggesting it is capital, rather than populations that is more multicultural and that “...economic globalization continues to represent the domination of European and American values” (p. 161).

There has been much discussion in recent years (Galabuzi, 2011; Tobani, 2007; Vickers & Isaac, 2012) regarding the intent and consequences of official multiculturalism. Walcott (2011) makes the point, “State multiculturalism is invested with the power to manage a range of differences that might prove potentially troubling in a hegemonic state’s bid to retain its exclusive authorizing power” (p. 18). Bannerji (2000) offers another perspective noting, “[t]he problem of multiculturalism, then is how much tradition can be accommodated by Canadian modernity without affecting in any real way the overall political and cultural hegemonies of Canada” (p. 49). The question raised seems to be, how much multiculturalism is enough to *manage* diversity? Mookerjea (2011) suggests that rather than juxtaposing and opposing multiculturalism we would be better served to consider multiculturalism as, “...a contradictory site of both a specific and unique form of racism and Utopian antiracism” (para. 11). Examples of “home grown” terrorism, cultivated and sensationalized by the media, have led

some, most notably in the UK, to argue multiculturalism has failed in its task and new models of managing diversity are required.

Though not new, one model growing in prominence within Canadian based IS-NGOs serving im/migrant populations is interculturalism. While multiculturalism advocates for equal respect for various cultures, interculturalism requires an openness to be exposed to the culture of another and is geared toward dialogue, social cohesion and national citizenship (Meer & Modood, cited in Cattle, 2012). Interculturalism focuses on "...breaking down the barriers, real or imagined, through 'intercultural community bridge building'" (Cattle p. 147). The thrust of this approach is that everyone benefits from working with *other* cultures. Interculturalism is also seen as a skill set, something that can be taught and learned for self-improvement or financial gain. At the federally sponsored Centre for Intercultural Learning, "[t]he goal of...training is to highlight the competencies needed to be an interculturally effective person and help participants improve their knowledge and strengthen their intercultural abilities" in order to improve "...an organization's competitive advantage..." as "Canadian organizations are taking on an increasingly global dimension" (Centre for International Learning, 2013, para. 1). In the same vein, teacher education and social work programs may include a "cultural competency" component designed to improve client service. IS-NGOs experienced in working with "different" cultures become experts and liaisons and called upon to facilitate workshops and training programs for enlightened businesses and community services.

Interculturalism implies the centrality of a dominant/foundational culture and allows, "...some initiatives or policies that aim to preserve a so-called national culture, which we know to be in large part the culture of the majority" (Bouchard, 2011, p. 453). While the mixing, blending and hybridization between communities (Cantle, 2012) encouraged by interculturalism, may start as solidarity it "...can easily slide into 'they want what we have'" (Razack, 2008, p. 93) forms of discourse. Vickers and Isaac (2012) argue the metaphor of the bridge may, "...enable people to avoid seeing the contradictions between believing in equality or a 'fair go'; and their racist ideas" (p. 33). As Kapoor, Barua and Datoo (2012) warn, interculturalism may be "...accompanied by a deafening silence around histories, forced disruptions, and continuing effects of the same historical/contemporary *structuring forces*, which inevitably *power* the *directionality* of such cultural *mixing* (p. 3, italics original). Vickers and Isaac (2012) note that for non-white im/migrants, "...the functions of multiculturalism and intercultural policies are similar - to incorporate them into the dominant (white) francophone and Anglophone cultural frameworks" (p. 110).

Gorski (2008) writing from within an American context and drawing from extensive scholarship, while recognizing the good intentions of intercultural educators, argues most intercultural education, "...accentuates rather than undermines existing social and political hierarchies" (p. 516). He highlights how the soft approach in intercultural education often leads to the unintentional colonization of the process.

Immigrant Service Organization or Non- Governmental Organization and Literacy and Language Programs for Adults

Choudry and Kapoor (2013) note NGOs, "...are often complex and difficult to fit into compartmentalized analysis or typographies..." (p. 2). The author's note some NGOs originate from faith based charitable work, as does the organization participating in the research. They also suggest many NGOs provide services, and/or social programming that have either been gutted from the public sector as part of structural adjustments/austerity measures (sometimes at the "request" of foreign bodies) or which the public sector was never able or willing to provide. Canada has a long history of charities offering im/migrants settlement services in place of non-existent public services. Most notable in reference to learning is Frontier College and the Women's Institutes, but the Fédération nationale St-Jean-Baptiste, the Young Women's Christian Association and the National Committee of Jewish Women are other examples (Cohen, 2011). NGOs are also charged with the task of "strengthening civil society" (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013). In the case of the local organization, this is achieved by promoting the value of diversity.

I intentionally elected to use the term "non-governmental organization (NGO)" instead of the more common terms "non-profit", "service", or "social/community" agency to reference the im/migrant service organization (ISO) administering the PLP. The differences between the NPOs and NGOs are mostly minor technical issues related to taxation and investment, yet the use of each elicits a specific image. In western nations, NGOs have become associated

with international work, specifically development/capacity building projects, yet the core principles of many Canadian based NPOs parallel those of international NGOs. As is the case in this study, local non-profits may be part of larger (inter)national organizations with central offices co-ordinating numerous development and capacity building projects around the world. At an organizational level, a case can be made for re/framing local non-profit ISOs as IS-NGOs.

The term NGO, has strong connotations. As Barry-Shaw and Oja Jay (2012) argue, “[f]ew institutions epitomize Canada’s foundational myth of international benevolence like the non-governmental organization (NGO) devoted to development abroad” (p. 1). Evoked are images of “good work” being carried out by aid workers, youths, and the average, middle class retiree, volunteering to cure, build, teach and save the “third world.” NGOs and ISOs draw on the same good work, humanitarian images to garner public support and secure material resources.

The effectiveness of NGOs in serving civil society and the (un)intentional consequences of NGOs have been critiqued by scholars and activists (Barry-Shaw & Oja Jay 2012; Choudry & Kapoor, 2013; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Wilson, 2012) and communities as supporting/perpetuating neoliberalism/(neo) colonialism and/or undermining good intentions. Andrea Smith (2007, citing Rodriguez, 2000) argues NGOs are part of the non-profit industrial complex, for example, a “...set of symbiotic relationships that link political and financial technologies of state and owning class control with surveillance over public

political ideology ...” (p. 8), thus connecting NGOs directly to the state. Using the term IS-NGO highlights the importation (or parallels) of international development with practices of local ISO capacity-building projects. Framing ISOs within NGO discourse draws us to consider the process/occurrence of “...institutionalization, professionalization, depoliticization and demobilization of movements for social and environmental change.” (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013, p. 1) and to explore whether good work organizations can “...open up political space or represent specific forms of regulation and containment...” (Choudry & Kapoor, p. 1).

IS-NGOs often develop literacy and adult learning programs as a strategy for capacity building. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] (2006) identified conceptualizations of literacy falling within four broad categories. These being literacy as: an autonomous set of skills; applied, practised and situated; a learning process; text. These broad areas of enquiry, UNESCO contends, accommodate almost all theoretical understandings of literacy. Others connect literacy skills with cognitive processes such as the *Building Blocks* program (Garlock, Armstrong, Stegmeier, Gair, & Howk, 2010) and the *Early Childhood Literacy Programs in Canada: A National Survey* (Balla-Boudreau & O’Reilly, 2011). Literacy is also framed within a functional approach, often pragmatic in nature. Functional approaches to literacy can take on a spatial-temporal dimension as “[g]iven the diverse nature of societies, what constitutes literacy process is bound to differ from one society to another” (Chege,

2009, p. 229) as well as across time. For example, Human Resource and Development Canada states:

Literacy - the ability to understand and then use information - is a fundamental skill. It is essential not only for participating fully at work, but for everyday life as well (e.g., for choosing products when grocery shopping). With a more literate workforce, Canada is also better able to compete in the global economy (Human Resource and Development Canada [HRDC], 2013, para. 1).

Literacy as defined above serves to improve labour efficiency and/or material consumption. The intent is not necessarily to benefit the individual but the economy of the state. The functional approach, Chege (2009) adds, favours the mainstream at the expense of minority groups.

Literacy is also conceptualized as being a force of liberation. Literacy, as defined in *The Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade: Second Way of Liberation* is:

An apprenticeship for life because in the process the liberated person learns their intrinsic value as a person, as a maker of history, as an actor of an important social role, as an individual with rights to demand and duties to fulfill. Literacy, thus conceived, prepared the way for development of an educated, creative, socially committed people..." (Barndt, Gutierrez, Zamora, Kainola, Stein & Steven, 1982, p. 24)

Here the benefit of literacy moves beyond the individual to support the development of the community. The mantle of literacy as a means of individual emancipation is also reflected in development discourse as exemplified in the World Bank and UNESCO campaign *Education for All* (World Bank, 2013, UNESCO, 2000).

On the one hand, adult educators tout literacy as a tool for liberation, yet on the other hand language and literacy, as both Martin Brokenleg and Reuben Quinn pointed out (Literacy and Learning Symposium, 2013) is a tool of colonization, an instrument of exclusion and a means of maintaining/preserving whiteness (see Arat-Koç, 2010). As educators, involved in teaching language, we are also teaching the “racial grammar of everyday life” (Bonilla-Silvia, 2010). In addition, colonial histories and interventions shape linguistic capital that in turn influences perceptions of integration. Therefore, how literacy is defined and supported has implications for migration. Perceptions influence opportunities and experiences, provide access or create borders. Announced in the fall of 2012, were new higher language requirements for achieving citizenship. This followed in the wake of 2011 revisions to the “Discover Canada” citizenship study guide that not only changed the content of the guide but the level of language within the guide.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discusses the various conceptual and theoretical literatures pertaining to the study. In part one, I explored the literatures on “race” and racialization, two interrelated and at times overlap concepts. While it is now

accepted that “race” is socially constructed, debate exists as to its utility. Partially in response, racialization as process has gained prominence. What is of significance is that race is real in its effect on bodies and minds. In part two, immigration and multiculturalism are explored as types of race regimes. As well, the literature highlights how non-governmental organizations and literacy and language programs for adults may support and/or perpetuate race regimes.

Chapter 3:

Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the central question of the research study. Next, it outlines the methodological frameworks of the study followed by a description of the program and of the methods used to recruit co-researchers, collect, analyze and present the data. Lastly, I discuss the ethical issues I considered, including my privilege and power within the research and the needs and the wants of the learners as well as those of the IS-NGO.

Participatory Research

Kemmis and McTaggart (2008) present participatory action research, PAR, as a general term to describe varying forms of action orientated research. P/A/R is defined in Denzin and Lincoln (2008) as, “[a] movement in which researchers work with subordinated populations around the world to solve unique local problems with local funds of knowledge” (p. 386). Fine (2007), in her work with women in New York prisons, has suggested, “PAR projects document the grounds for collecting dissent and collective desires by creating a process for pooling ‘private’ troubles among very different women and revealing their common, public roots” (p. 613). Participatory research with “... its roots in liberation theology and neo-Marxist approaches to community development...” (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2008, p. 273) falls, according to the authors, within the family of action research.

While participatory research is often associated with third world transformation, it is also a community or organizational-based approach to research, which seeks to address and transform issues of oppression (Lykes & Coquillon, 2007) by challenging systems of power and redressing social injustice through collaboration, education and action (Macauley et al., 1999). Maguire (1987), drawing from her experiences as a researcher working with battered women states, participatory research should attempt to i) develop a critical consciousness in all involved (or perhaps develop the confidence to share a critical consciousness), ii) improve the lives of those involved in the process and iii) transform social structures and relationships. Kemmis and McTaggart (2008) add it is also marked by shared ownership of the research project and, "... an orientation toward community action" (p. 273). Fals-Borda (1991) notes participatory research is a process of collective research, which "[i]ncorporates various styles and procedures for systemizing new data knowledge according to level of consciousness..." (p. 8). These varying conceptualizations of participatory research imply a dialectical orientation to the work that is as dependent on listening as it is on sharing so we can "...learn about the realities of others without relying on them to inform us..." (Razack, 2008, p. 47). Razack adds it is not enough to listen; those engaged in collective research need to critique what is heard. Participatory research is equally dependent on building and developing relationships of trust and respect.

Participatory research is an orientation to research, as much as a methodology, which acknowledges the multiple forms of knowing that shape the

unconscious and often unquestioned perceptions and practices of individuals. Analyzing the structural causes of named problems through collective discussion and interaction assists people to develop the skills of analyzing, collecting and utilizing information. Participatory research provides an avenue for disrupting the marketing of knowledge by a “commons” for knowledge creation and distribution. In addition, the lines between learner, teacher and researcher become more blurred and fluid. Participatory research has been used in a variety of fields including health/care (Blair & Minkler, 2009), youth programming (Tink, 2011), community development (Hope & Timmel, 2000, 1984), immigration studies (Sutherland & Cheng, 2009) and adult language learning (Auerback, 1999) and of particular interest for this research, in adult education (Campbell, 2001).

What is meant by adult education will depend on the epistemological and ontological stance in regards to the purpose of education (Plumb & Welton, 2001; Selman, 2001). Adult education can be a means of self-help and skill upgrading or as a means for building solidarity and agency. In addition, adult education can be a way of accessing social and literacy services as exemplified by Frontier College and/or bring the capacity for transforming the lives of individuals and communities as exemplified by Highlander (Horton & Freire, 1990). Each has its place within the PLP programming.

Some would argue a growing trend in adult education is to adult learning and/or lifelong learning, coinciding with the emergence of neoliberalism (Spencer, 2006; Spring, 2008). Educational funding has shifted from the public to the private sector, entrepreneurialism has superseded social movements (Selman

& Selman, 2009), the commodification of knowledge has been embedded into protocols and trade agreements and with it credentialism and professionalism has become widespread (Spring, 2008). Given this trend it is useful to analyze the PLP over time to see if and what form shifts in programming have taken. Jackson (2010) notes the term lifelong learning is often associated with working life by governments and therefore may be responsive only to the learning needs of those engaged as paid labour. Caregivers, those on disability assistance, the aged may be rendered invisible in adult learning (a racist practice according to Fanon). In reference to im/migrants, "...lifelong learning is being constituted as one means of facilitating the global movement of people, knowledge and skills through very particular types of training programs" (Gibb & Hamden, 2010, p. 186). Lifelong learning adds "value" to the individual so that a greater monetary value can be extracted from his/her labour. Knowledge in the globalized economy may become minimized to that which promotes the economic gains of the corporation and/or state (Spencer, 2006).

Shor (1992), in work dedicated to empowering pedagogy, shares another vision of what adult education might be:

To think critically...[is] to examine the deep meanings, personal implications, and social consequences of any knowledge, theme, technique, text or material. Critical thought about any subject reveals its internal structure and its connections to self and society.

This in-depth scrutiny is also research. To study something in-depth is to do research. In this sense, research implies detailed

investigation, an extensive exploration of subject matter, thought and language. Because the critical democratic classroom involves in-depth scrutiny, it defines students as active researchers *who make meaning*, not as passive receivers of knowledge. (Shor, 1992, p. 169, emphasis added)

Adult education as envisioned by Shor is rooted in a social purpose and grounded in participant experiences. Adult education is a constant and evolving intertwining process of learning and researching that has the potential to disrupt/transform social structures, as is participatory research. In this research adult education is present in i) dialectical exchanges centered on the participants experiences, ii) the learners analyses of the subject material discussed, and iii) the creation of learning materials used within the class and shared with the general public.

According to Hall (1977), when doing participatory research, adult educators need to be mindful of the agency of adults. The connectivity of research and education, clarifies and serves to focus research as, "...the re-affirmation of the political nature of all we do especially in adult education. Knowledge is power" (p. 13). Adult education and participatory research, intertwined, are engaged with politics, power and the distribution/recognition of knowledge. In the production of posters, movies and books, the participants in this research gained recognition as creators and keepers of knowledge.

Research into adult education, including Jackson's (2010) research into non-formal and informal learning spaces for migrant women and the work of

Gibb and Hamden (2010) in relation to learning within ISOs, suggest learning sites offer/contain, regardless of intent, social spaces for (re)developing relational capital (Jackson, 2010). Both works suggest, even in prescriptive programs, adults will work out strategies to meet their learning needs (Hall, 1977). This directs the research to look at not only formal class interactions but also the in-between times in the program. It also suggests we need to look more closely at social spaces if we want to understand the unspoken learning needs of adults. Participatory methodologies may facilitate this.

Recognizing the role of space in discursive constructs of knowledge, Ghiso and Campano (2013) conducted research in two environments, an ELL class and a faith-based ISO, illustrating how colonial histories influence contemporary education, while exploring the implications of community knowledge for revising practices. In the Ghiso and Campano study, the faith based ISO practice was organized around collective agency, and included a philosophy that focused on “we” and “respond[ing] actively and publicly” (p. 261). This study is instructive in how knowledge is constructed in collaborative, action-orientated spaces.

Conducting participatory research is not without challenges. It is not always linear, systematic or predictable, and while it may be emotionally engaging, it may also be, as Maguire (1987) and Fine (2007) have noted, emotionally exhausting. It has been critiqued for assuming the so-called third world is oppressed or the poor disenfranchised and in need of developing critical consciousness (Razack, 2008). A critical consciousness may exist but is not

expressed openly or understood by the listener as such is the counter argument. Communities critical of structural inequities may become framed as difficult, poorly integrated, uneducated, or culturally incompetent. Limitations also exist “... where collective identity needs to be over determined to amass any political weight” (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008, p. 387). There is the potential within the research to homogenize or silence community members by not recognizing hierarchical structures within oppressed groupings (Razack, 2008). The process of participatory research can also become formulaic with the implementation of specific tools/techniques. Participatory research methods have been co-opted by IS-NGOs and community based programs to serve neo-liberal agendas (Chovanec & Gonzalez, 2009; Jordan, 2009; Kapoor, 2009). Finally, caution is required in the making of grandiose claims of transformation and agency (Khan & Chovanec, 2010).

Conscious of the given goals of the participants to develop communicative skills in English, the goals of the program to address issues of isolation, a research interest in decentralizing knowledge and authority and the construction and implementation of IS-NGO adult education programming, a participatory orientation to research and to the teaching and learning environment emerged as most appropriate. In regards to this study, the intent was the participants would be “... ‘beneficiaries’ of the research” (Hall, 1977, p. 10) at two levels. First that, in the process of dialogue and the co-construction of knowledge, the narratives in our learning would be more complicated and contradictory than those present within ELL, funder and public service curriculums (see Ghiso & Campano, 2013),

providing a rich, stimulating environment for language and citizenship learning. Second, that any organizational or programmatic renewal would be of direct benefit to the community served.

Hall (1977) states, “It is important that the community or population gain not only from the results of the research, but from the process itself” (p. 10, underlining original). Within this study, the process of creating the knowledge and materials of our learning was as, if not more, important than the results shared. In part because we cannot control how our data is “read” by administration, funders or those attending conferences, but we do know what it means to us (researchers/learners) and we take away from the process the skills/understanding we gleaned individually and collectively. In addition, in the process, the participants became more confident in expressing themselves in English, a language the women associate with exclusion. Further, Hall states the research process should be a “...natural part of the educational planning...an accepted method of raising interest and increasing motivation rather than as a by-product of a research project” (p. 11).

Within the study, one factor limiting the participatory orientation was the formation of the community in question by the IS-NGO instead of organically. In addition, the participants’ principle concern was language acquisition, not necessarily activist interests or intents. Given the precarious legal and/or social status afforded the participants, especially those with temporary or conditional legal status, the location of research and issues of power in the classroom arising from varying levels of formal education, uneven mastery of spoken English,

limited linguist commonalities, and uneven material resources, it must be questioned how “free” the participants were to express themselves. Finally, the actions taken by the group were limited, localized and temporal.

Research Purpose and Questions

The principal purpose of the research is to explore how IS-NGOs involved with the provision of immigrant support services through various programs like ESL/PLP might be complicit in racializing new im/migrants. In addition, the research seeks to reveal some of the responses and resistances of program participants by endeavoring to create a collective and dialogical learning space through a participatory research methodology concerned with participant analysis of their experiences while seeking to stimulate critical conversation as part of a process of IS-NGO renewal.

More specifically, the research purpose, as determined by the researcher, is addressed through the following questions:

1. How is the construction and implementation of IS-NGO programs and services potentially indicative of a process of racialization of im/migrants typified by race regimes?
2. What are the settlement experiences of im/migrants to Canada/Alberta?
What are some settlement experiences specific to programs and services offered by im/migrant service provider IS-NGOs in Alberta?
3. How are these experiences indicative of a process of racialization of im/migrants typified by race regimes?

4. What are some of the responses to this process by program participants?
5. What does the IS-NGO need to learn from this critical analysis as part of a process of organizational and programmatic renewal?

By focusing on the process of racialization typified by race regimes, the research was able to focus on the structures as well as on the particular lives and experiences of the participants (Fine, 2013). Recognizing the controversy and discomfort generated from discussions of race and aware I was conducting research with vulnerable groups, I presented a broad set of questions to the participants allowing them to speak to a range of experiences. The questions were i) what was/is your global migration experience ii) what is your experience as an im/migrant in Canada and iii) what was/is your experience as a participant in the parenting and literacy program? Their responses to these questions led to the emergence of a race optic which became a contributing framework to the research.

Contributing Frameworks: Race, Racialization and Race Regimes

This was a participatory research project founded upon participatory epistemologies. Post/anti-colonial thought (Alfred, 2011; Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Sethi, 2011; Young, 2001) and intersectionality (McCall 2005) inform the work. Participatory research methodology and pedagogy, as well as theories and practices of adult education intended for activist learning, served to ground the purpose and day-to-day praxis of this research.

In the process of our collective research, participants shared experiences related to a wide range of topics including, housing, employment and health care involving moments of infantilizations, denigration, distrust, ridicule, being rendered invisible, and violence (Fanon, in Schmitt, 1996). They also shared experiences of exclusion from citizenship, both legal, through policy and legislation and emotionally, as feeling different from “Canadians.” Through the dialectical focus groups, racialization (the process by which im/migrants become positioned within white/non-white hierarchies and race regimes, political systems of privilege/oppression established and maintained by the state [Vickers & Isaac, 2012]) emerged as a contributing framework to the research. Racialization, as argued by Small (1999), moved us to consider race-based discrimination beyond overt acts and conscious intentions, drawing attention to the invisible, normal, everyday procedures and practices of institutions and the state that constitute racist practices and which shape the lived experiences of in/voluntary im/migrant women and their family members. Race regimes, such as internal colonialism and slavery, foundational to Canada and the bases for the contemporary race regimes of immigration and multiculturalism, helps to connect the pre-im/migration experiences of the participants with those of settlement. It illuminates the interconnectivity of global/local histories with those of contemporary state policies/practices regarding im/migration and settlement. Race regimes coupled with racialization highlight the structures and practices, conversations and power relations that contribute to race-based discrimination. This framework gives the research critical bifocality, the ability to focus on the structures and histories

being spoken of, as well as on the particular lives and realities of the participants (Fine, 2013). It helps prevent an us (researchers/participants)/them (IS-NGO/funders) dichotomy from forming while engaging in critical conversations directed towards IS-NGO renewal by directing attention upstream to the structures and practices of the state directing the individual and the IS-NGO.

The framework contributed to the formation of the research questions and, as a research instrument, aided in a critical reading of documents, interviews, co-constructed texts and journals. The framework served to illuminate anomalies and contradictions between hopes and intentions and practices and outcomes. In addition, the framework served to influence my decision to collect data from a senior administrator and shaped the direction of our semi-structured conversation. The interview questions were general and open, so as to add depth of understanding regarding IS-NGO/PLP histories and structures, as well as to explore the emerging framework of race, racism and/or racialization with administration. The framework influenced the interview and in return, the interview shaped my understanding of the framework.

Finally, the framework emerged as a tool to shape my readings/perceptions of daily events within the IS-NGO. During the process of collective research, the framework of race, race regime and racialization became more prominent in the questions and contributions I made as a participant in the learning circle. The framework provided a vocabulary and language when engaging in conversations with colleagues, contributing to staff meetings and broaching questions/issues in written reports. Raising issues of race-based

discrimination within state dictated practices proved an accessible place to begin discussions of racialization amongst colleagues.

Data sources for the research consisted of co-constructed class texts, field notes of classroom sessions, audio-recorded conversations, participant work, a semi-structured dialectic interview, IS-NGO documents and publications, and curricular materials. In addition, participant observations arising from my insider status as an employee in the IS-NGO and as a researcher participant within the classroom are also present in the data and analysis.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

In the following section is a brief outline of the processes and rationale for using dialectic focus groups, participant texts, participant observations and interviews, field notes and policy documentation as methods for data collection.

Dialectical focus groups and learning circles.

The primary method of data collection was the merging of learning circles (also known as study circles) with dialectical focus groups (Freire, 1983; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008). Essentially, “a learning circle is a group of people who meet regularly to discuss and learn about issues that concern or interest them, their community or the wider society” (Hannan & Kicenko, 2002, p. 5). Dialectical focus groups are organized around generative words and phrases and “...operate locally to identify, interrogate, and change specific lived contradictions that have been rendered invisible by hegemonic power/knowledge regimes” (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008, p. 383). Rather than approaching the

class as a space for teaching English and teaching parenting, I approached the space as one where mothers can informally meet to discuss issues of interest/concern to them and in the process are nurtured in their acquisition of English. We began each class with a “go-around” in which each participant had an opportunity to speak and share (if she wished). Generally, the women shared an event or an episode from their week. While the women spoke, I wrote on the whiteboard key words or phrases emerging from their sharing. After a participant finished, the other members of the group asked questions and/or contributed to the sharing process. At the end of the class, I took pictures of the board capturing the day’s discussion. I then displayed key words or phrases.

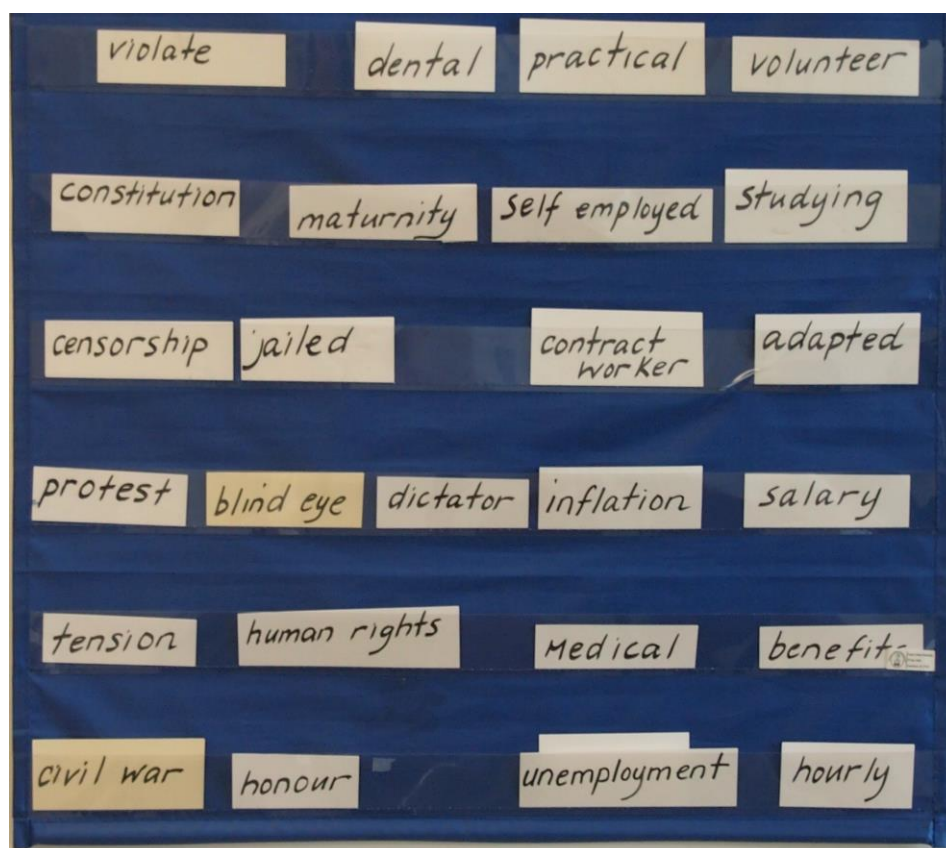


Figure 1: Sample of key words generated

Over the course of days, weeks and/or months, themes arose from these go-arounds. In addition, emotive topics that strongly resonated with the participants were “picked up” on the spot (see Shor, 1992). For example, one morning Mehri shared she was experiencing pain in various parts of her body. This led to others sharing their ailments and aches. I mentioned to the group an article I had recently read regarding the deterioration of health amongst im/migrants post-migration. This strongly resonated with the class and became a topic for further exploration. In dialogical exchanges, data interpretation and analysis are both immediate and ongoing; one woman interpreting, analyzing and building upon the ideas of another. Conscious of favouring some voices over others, I recorded on chart paper words/sentences that captured the thoughts of each woman (with identifiers) and purposely engaged in soliciting responses from quieter group members while being respectful of the right to silence (Cook & Kothari, 2001).

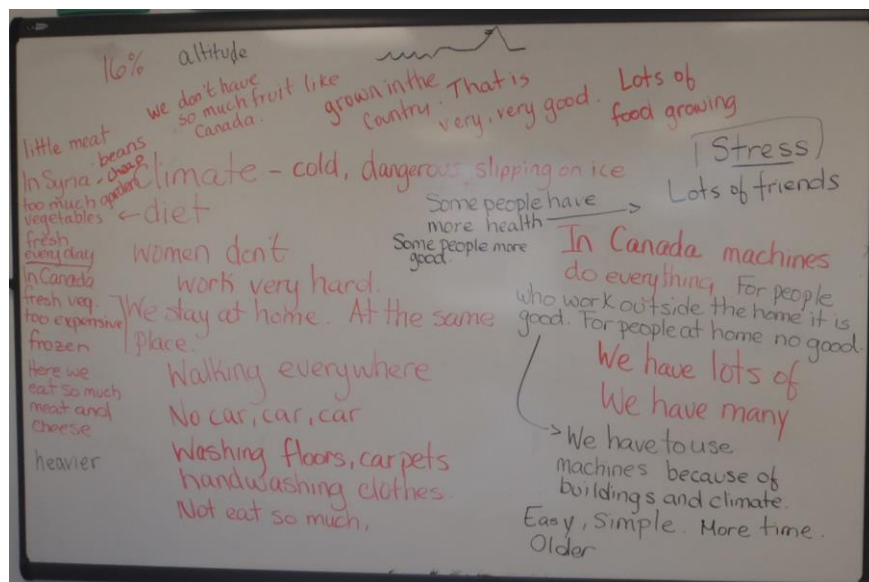


Figure 2: Ideas captured during dialogical exchange

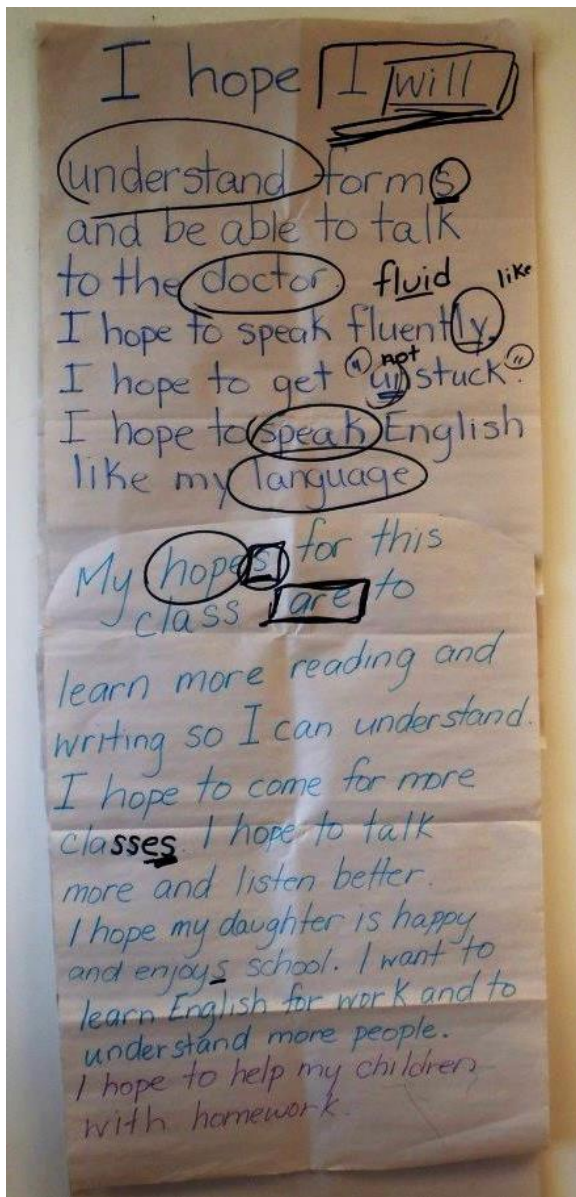


Figure 3: Co-constructed text

Clarification, questioning and group discussions further developed ideas. Later these captured words/phrases were rewritten into “standard English sentences” with the guidance of the community members. These textual summaries of our discussions, now devoid of identifiers, were hung in the classroom and distributed to learners and formed our instructional texts for reading, grammar, vocabulary development, spelling and writing.

Near the end of the session, I asked the participants if they would like to share their texts with other classes, the IS-NGO and/or the public. In another part of the building, there are three academic posters from past organization research projects. The women felt this was the best way to share their texts. I formatted the texts and the group selected a background graphic. The poster hangs in the front foyer of the building.

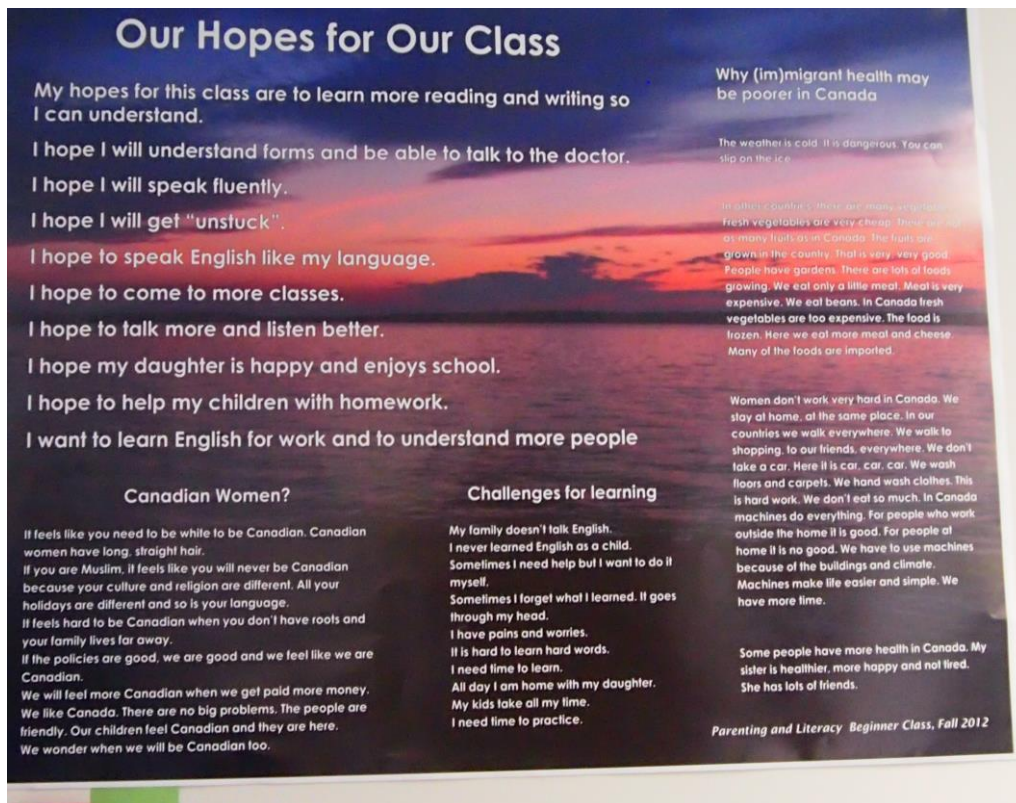


Figure 4: Collection of co-constructed text on display

Through the course of the research, I facilitated six focussed discussions, some pertaining to the broad research questions, others emerging from class discussions. The topics included pre-im/migration experience, aspirations in Canada, citizenship, and health/care, as well as two, end-of program evaluations. Audio recordings, with the consent of those present, captured three focussed discussions.

In the winter session (January-March), the co-researchers and I became engaged in digital storytelling. Digital storytelling, rooted in the activist traditions of the 1960's ideals of democratizing culture, is a form of participatory, user generated media work, emphasizing the lived experience of the author through the

reflective sharing of story (Bou-Franch, 2012; Lambert, 2013). Following the protocol for digital story telling (storycenter.org, 2013) each woman made a digital voice recording of a personal story spoken in the language of her choice. Having received verbal permission from each woman, I then played these stories to the class and asked the speaker to paraphrase what she had said while I acted as a literacy mediator (Barton & Papen, 2010) scribing the story on chart paper. Co-learners with understanding of the recorded language offered support. The process of listening to and retelling stories, first in a home language and then in English, generated extensive and intense dialogues amongst the learners. The participants engaged with the stories. Listening to others led many to reflect upon and share other life experiences. What started as eight stories quickly transformed to dozens of stories.

The text of the stories became the foundation of language instruction. Words arising from conversations added to our vocabulary and grouped into themes. Supplementary reading materials and activities were introduced to add depth or extend the conversations. Eventually the women brought in images and/or pictures from home. In a break from convention, I then merged the audio, text and images, using Windows Movie Maker, to create digital films ranging in length from 1 to 4 minutes. A movie screening, for those wishing to share their work with the advanced class (who also created and shared films), the program staff and the children, took place on the final day of class and the participants received a copy of their individual piece. These movies acted as touchstones/reference points for the rest of our time together (see Lambert, 2013).

Participant generated texts.

Through the course of our work together, the participants engaged in a number of individual written tasks/activities appropriate to language/literacy level. The women wrote personal reflections in response to or regarding the topics we had discussed and/or the texts we had constructed. In addition, they wrote texts about themselves, about their children and about life. Some wrote paragraphs while others located words/phrases from the classroom's environmental print (the words found in the class) to capture key meanings. Often the participants would share these texts with one another. Permission was sought and verbal consent was given each time i) a text was shared with the whole group, ii) for each piece of writing that was added to the data.

Observer as participant.

As a participant engaged in collective research, I am embedded in the research with an insider role though I acknowledge my status as teacher/facilitator/academic and my "white Canadianism" ascribe a privilege intended to maintain distance. I am also aware it would be an act of appropriation for me to claim "insider" status within a group of in/voluntary im/migrant women.

Johnson and Christensen (2012) state the participant observer tries to take on the role of the participants. However, within participatory research methodology all participants are researchers. I did not try to take on the role of an in/voluntary im/migrant woman but rather I participated according to my understanding and consciousness alongside the other group members. I was conscious of blurring lines, especially as the research proceeded and relationships

evolved, periodically seeking verbal consent to record data (including in field notes) as we proceeded. As an insider within the IS-NGO, I actively sought opportunities to discuss my observations (during lunch, staff meetings, debriefing sessions) and met with a senior staff to share and sift through observations.

Semi-structured interview.

I conducted one semi-structured interview with a senior administrator (see appendix D). The intent of the interview was to develop my understanding of the IS-NGO organization/practice, to share observations and allow an opportunity for response on emergent themes arising from class discussions, readings of organizational documentation and my experience teaching within the program. The administrator and I have been colleagues for several years and have a collegial, professional relationship. The interview, conducted in the director's office, extended over a 90-minute period. I used an audio recorder to capture the exchange, turning it off 70 minutes into the meeting at the request of the director. I submitted to the director a copy of the interview transcript for her review of the content to offer clarification/correction and/or withdraw consent.

Documentation/publication.

My critical reading of organizational documents and public relations materials, for example leaflets, program promotions, community newsletter and funding request materials as well as funder provided resources provided insights into the internal and public discourse regarding intent and purpose of programming for im/migrant women. In addition, it provided insights into

historical shifts in programming and allowed for understanding of how various organizations and levels of administration are accountable to one another.

Thematic analysis.

The collectively generated data underwent on-going collective analysis as part of the participatory research methodology. In addition, I read the data derived from journal, field notes, interviews and documents with first level coding focused on description/topics. Second level coding included a focus on patterns (Saldaña, 2009). As well, I analyzed provocative or emotive data (Fine, 2013) that seemed to resonate with my experiences especially in regards to the program. From this, the researcher-determined questions and framework developed. Once the questions and framework were in place, the data was reread with close attention paid to the afore mentioned data.

Trustworthiness

I took a number of measures to insure the trustworthiness of this research. Fine (2013) suggests participatory action research has validity if it has theoretical generalizability. For example, does it travel to different contexts? Or provocative generalizability, such as does it make you think twice? Comments shared by the public reading the collaboratively generated data (at conferences, those walking in the hall, funders, and staff) suggest that the data resonates with others working in the areas of ELL and adult literacy. The collectively generated texts caused readers to pause and comment (Participant observation). Madriz (in Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008) notes women often take over dialectic groups, and I saw this

happening in the classroom as the research progressed. For example, the women's sense of ownership in the class shifted/changed bringing validity to the process.

In addition, the validity of the research is supported by an extensive audit trail, including photos, audio recordings, samples of participant generated writing, art work and videos, field notes, flip charts and generated teaching resources (McTaggart, 1998). My own prolonged engagement within the IS-NGO and with the participants contributes to the validity of this work (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Conscious of issues of power/privilege within the research, I made different ways of sharing available to the participants and made efforts to elicit responses from quieter members of the group. This also helps support the validity of the work.

Member checks/peer validation is embedded in the participatory research methodology of the work. I used low interference descriptors, very similar phrasing to the participants (Johnson & Christensen, 2012), and direct quotes, to bring out the voice of the co-researchers. Triangulation, the process of using multiple methods, data sources and collection strategies allowed for a more nuanced understanding (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2006; McTaggart, 1998). This not only facilitated the confirmation or establishment of patterns, but added depth and complexity to the data to be read, not only for what was common, but for what was distinct (Ghisso & Campano, 2013).

Context of the Study and Participants

The study was conducted within and with the support of an IS-NGO serving (im)migrant populations in Alberta, a Western Canadian province.

Currently the PLP program runs four days a week, with two sets of participants. The program runs for two and half hours, twice a week, for each set of women. One hour consists of singing together, a story time and a shared meal. The other hour and a half are designated for learning English language and parenting skills. For the purpose of instruction, the learners are divided into two classes by English language ability. The participant's conversational English and where they feel most comfortable usually determine this. Classes are combined when there are staff shortages, presentations/excursions or project work. The beginner class usually caps the number of participants (due to classroom space restrictions) to eight learners per class per session. The advanced class may have as many as 12 women participating. The program runs September to June with breaks between each of the three sessions. Many participants will attend several sessions. This program is free with some supports available for transportation. Community health brokers, social workers or councillors sometimes refer women to the program. Friends, social networks, schools and advertisements are other sources for recruitment. Over the past two years, the program has not undertaken any external program promotion as demand has out reached physical and economic capacities. There are on average 20 to 30 families on a waitlist to participate in the program. Limited childcare space, which is provided as part of the program is a major contributor to waitlists.

Language teachers typically have some English Language learning training (though few have education degrees) and some type of travel or “multicultural experience.”

This research involves the women in the “beginner” classes; primarily those attending the Monday/Wednesday class. In keeping with principals of inclusion of diverse voices, participation within the research was open to all women, who were registered in the parenting program and attending the beginner class. All participants were mothers, between 20-45 years of age, with children ranging in age from six months to adulthood. The women have lived in Canada less than ten years. The majority of the participants had less than ten years of formal schooling. All participants were English language learners who find it challenging to function in English. The majority of participants were women of colour. Women learned about the program from multicultural health brokers, settlement workers, word of mouth and advertisement within the IS-NGO.

Fourteen women participated in the class between September 2012 and March 2013. Four women were attending the program for the first time and 10 had previous experience in the program. Their attendance and participation in the program was fluid. Transportation, appointments, and health issues (usually the children’s) were the most cited reasons for being absent. Large snowfalls hampered mobility and periodically influenced attendance. In addition, several women left the program as they became eligible for other educational programs, found employment and/or became pregnant.

The following are brief summaries of the participants (using pseudonyms) as constructed from registration data, journal writing, digital storytelling and dialogical exchanges.

Two women originally from Poland, related through marriage, participated in the program. Both completed grade 11 followed by employment in “blue-collar” labour in rural Poland, Kamila sewing in a factory and Anna employed in a family business with a brief employment stint in the United Kingdom. Both are the spouses of temporary foreign workers (TFWs). Kamila had found work as a sub contracted evening cleaner and provides catering out of her home. Anna recently found part-time work at a Polish deli. The spouses of both women are employed in low-skilled employment that keeps them away from the family for periods of one to two weeks.

Nadege is from Burundi. She and her partner are refugee claimants. They have one child born in Canada. In addition, she has siblings living in the city. The family had recently moved from Quebec. Nadege had been in Canada less than six months when she began to attend classes. She has a university degree in business from a national university in Burundi. The language used at the university was French. Her spouse was seeking employment.

While there are many Iraqi women in the PLP, there was only one woman, Zahra, who attended the beginner class during this time. She arrived in Canada six years ago, as a private sponsor refugee, to join her husband. They had a two-year separation while she awaited sponsorship. Raised in Bagdad, Zahra has less than 6 years of formal schooling. She has two children, one born in Iraq, the other in Canada. Her spouse recently completed a technical trades program. She has not

accessed LINC classes or other language/educational programming since arriving in Alberta.

Two women from Afghanistan have been long-term participants in the program. Neither woman received formal schooling before arriving in Canada. Mehri, in her early forties was born in Afghanistan and moved to Iraq at age two. After a brief return to Afghanistan, the family relocated to Syria. As a child she was employed in home labour weaving carpets. She married at 16, while in Syria. Her spouse was a resident of Afghanistan. The family of eight arrived in Saskatchewan 8 years ago as government-sponsored refugees. After an industrial accident left her partner on permanent disability, the family migrated to Alberta.

Mahsa is in her early thirties and moved to Canada seven years ago. She grew up in Kabul and after marrying, moved to Pakistan to live with her husband's family. Her husband was in Canada as a government-sponsored refugee. She spent several years waiting until he was able to sponsor her and their eldest son. After arriving in Canada, she connected with the IS-NGO through services offered to her partner. She enrolled in the PLP and then LINC classes as a literacy learner. Mahsa was registered in LINC 2 when she had reached the maximum number of hours of instruction eligible to those with permanent residency visas in Alberta (at the time). She attended the PLP after the birth of two children and again most recently as she awaits subsidized childcare spaces to become available permitting attendance in ESL classes. Mahsa has recently found part-time work as a cleaner in a hotel on weekend evenings. Her spouse is in the final stages of completing his apprentice training.

Souzan, new to the PLP, is in her early twenties and moved a few years ago with her family from Afghanistan to Quebec. As a child, she attended several years of primary schooling. The family relocated in her early teens and she was not able to continue her studies. Upon arriving in Montreal, she enrolled with her sister in full time LINC classes (in French). She returned to Afghanistan to marry, living with her husband's family for an extended period after the marriage. Souza's first child was born shortly after she returned to Canada. She, with her family (child, parents, and siblings) relocated to Alberta in the fall of 2012. Souzan and her child traveled to Afghanistan to visit her husband who remains in Kabul. She recently gave birth to her second child.

Ella is originally from Guatemala. She has less than 6 years of formal schooling. As a child, she lived in Guatemala City but her grandparents, her guardians, were employed (as was she) in seasonal agricultural labour involving rural relocation. Upon returning to Guatemala City after each season she was required to repeat grades due to missed classes. She stopped attending school by age 12 as free primary school ended. In her teens, she moved to Mexico and then the USA. After six month in the US, she was deported and returned to Guatemala. She migrated to the USA again, found work and met her partner. She arrived in Canada 4 years ago as a refugee claimant. She and her partner recently received notification they may apply for permanent residency. She has four young children.

Two women from Colombia participated in the PLP. Lora, originally from rural Colombia has less than 6 years of formal schooling and came to Canada approximately 5 years ago as a refugee claimant with a child as a widow. While in

Canada, she met and married a temporary foreign worker from Mexico. She was employed as a cleaner up to the birth of her third child. Two of her three children are born in Canada.

Paula was a professional from Bogota raised in what was a middle class family. Though employed as white-collar professionals, she and her spouse were not able to live self-sufficiently. They migrated to Canada 2 years ago via Quebec. After a year in Montreal, they migrated to Alberta. The professional credentials of Paula in the health care field are not recognized in Canada and the cost and time required to retrain at this time is prohibitive. She recently began taking LINC classes as a childcare space for her one-year-old child opened up. Her partner has recently completed a certificate program in his field to 'upgrade' his credentials.

Two women from Mexico attended the fall session of the program. Gloria came to Canada as a refugee claimant. She has three Canadian born children. She works part-time as an evening cleaner and her spouse is employed in construction labour. At the time of the research, the family was awaiting the final appeal to their refugee claim.

Alicia, also from Mexico, came to Canada with her spouse who is a temporary foreign worker. The couple has two Canadian born children. Initially her partner was employed as an agricultural worker. After a year, he found employment in construction. She recently began working part-time at a drycleaners. Both women are from Mexico City and have a grade 9 level of formal schooling.

Two women participating in the program, initially identified as being from Guangzhou, China. However, each moved from a rural community to the region in her late teens for the purpose of employment. Both women worked in light industries, married and had a child. Both women had a second child after arriving to Canada. Since arriving 5 years ago to Canada, Lian, was briefly employed as a cleaner. Her partner, underemployed and unable to find employment as an engineer has relocated to Montreal in hope of finding a job in his field. Lian started LINC classes in the spring after a child-care space opened up. Yuan immigrated to Canada seven years ago and has been engaged in full time home labour. She has not accessed LINC services or language classes. Neither has obtained Canadian citizenship.

Initiating the participatory research process.

Several days into the program, I wrote the word “research” on the board and, once we read the word together and practiced saying it, I asked the participants if they could explain what the word meant. A few women gave examples of research they do at home, for example, finding the best price on air flights home (Paula) or finding an item at a store before traveling there (Lora). Everyone could give a personal example. I wrote these on the board. Once the sentences were read several times, I asked again, “what is research?” The participants identified dominant themes and used these to create a mind map defining research. This hung prominently in the room.

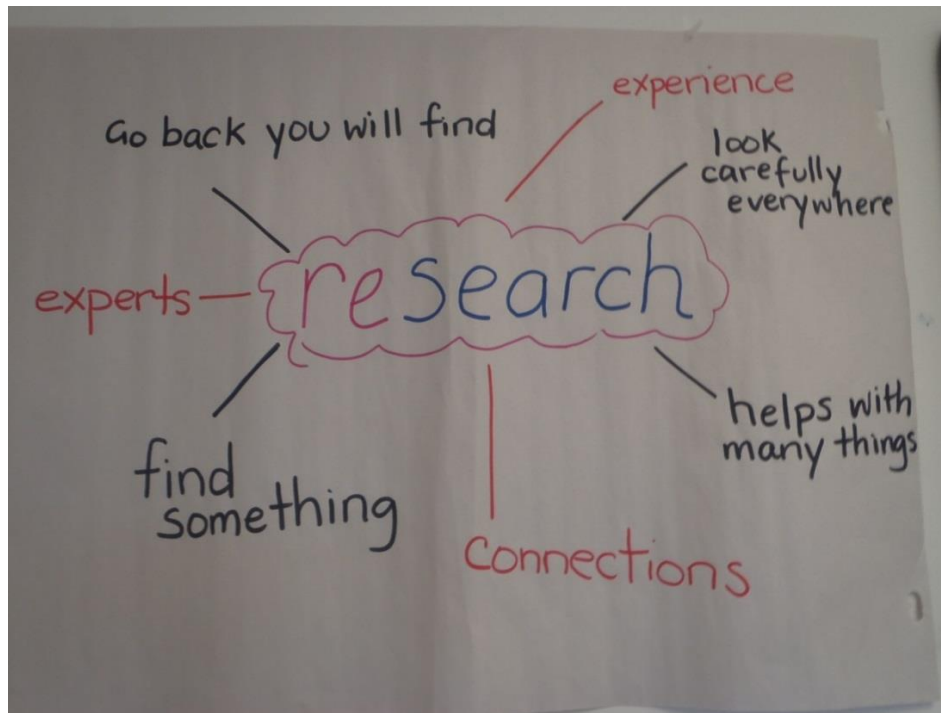


Figure 5: Co-constructed definition of research

Once an understanding regarding the basic idea of research was established, I approached the class about participating in a research project focused on three broad questions i) what was/is your global migration experience ii) what is your experience as an im/migrant in Canada and iii) what was/is your experience as a participant in the parenting and literacy program? In using a broad set of question, it allowed the participants to speak to a range of experiences and minimized the discomfort and/or vulnerability that can arise from speaking directly about race-based discrimination.

The women discussed it amongst themselves, I gave them a few days to think about if and how they wished to participate. Everyone in the class demonstrated a strong curiosity and/or interest in becoming involved in a research

project. Initially I had intended for study circles/focus group to meet outside of the “regular” class time. However, all but one person rejected this option. The women wanted to do research together as part of the regular PLP time. Two new participants joined the program in January. The class shared the research and data that we had produced to date, as well as their experiences as researchers. In addition, I asked the women outside of the class, repeating the process outlined for acquiring consent.

Participatory Research and Ethics

Ethical Attitude

First as a white, professionally trained woman of middle means and middle age I have had to critically reflect on “my choice” (recognizing the privilege implicit in even this phrase) of working and learning with im/migrant women with limited English. Razack (2008) suggests that contact with non-white women is a means of reinforcing imperial ideas that I am truly a liberated woman, despite my current preoccupations with preparing meals and washing clothes. Others (Barry & Oja Jay, 2012; Heron, 2007) argue humanitarian, ethical work makes me feel good, part of great middle class tradition. These, and others, are moves of superiority that I did and continue to confront and question in my multiple roles inside and outside the IS-NGO and the class.

At the heart of participatory research is recognition of hierarchical structures of power. I am acutely aware of my position of power and privilege as a teacher/settler/woman/researcher and it is a position that I need to address as it

influences who I, in the role of researcher, understand myself to be. While I have many experiences in common with the participants: womanhood, parenthood, migration, language learning, and loss, the way they intersect holds different implications and consequences. Regardless of my intent for a more egalitarian learning environment, my competency in English, position as an employee of the IS-NGO, the role ascribed to teachers and those assumed by participants, and my status as citizen (both legal and constructed) position me as an outsider. I have been conscious to acknowledge this and to question the research and learning process in light of this. I have been mindful, and challenged to keep the women centred in the research process. This is reflected in the research questions and methods selected, in my praxis and in the presentation of the research.

Given the intent of participatory research, another concern is how to ethically position the research so that it is received and acted upon by a larger public (Cahill & Torre, 2007 in Cahill; Sultana & Pain, 2007). While participatory research may motivate and provoke action, it may also be “misused” or misinterpreted, challenged, rejected or used in service of oppositional purposes (Cahill, Sultana & Pain, 2007). I struggled with this before presenting at the Literacy and Learning Symposium (2013), conscious that the potential existed to reinforce the tropes of “doing good work” and the “suffering immigrant” (Thobani, 2006) or that the research could be used to rationalize or legitimize a change to programming or funding.

I am conscious too that when research emerges from the experiences of the women a “danger of stealing knowledge from others... even when the

intended goal is to extend the reach of the very counter-knowledge...” exists (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008, p. 395). Stolen knowledge can be co-opted by the program, the IS-NGO, and/or the funders to serve interests that may be counter to the participants interests (Jordon, 2009). In addition, there are limitations, as Razack (2008) points out, in “...the difference in position between the teller and the listener, the telling the tale and hearing it” (p. 36). She asks: Do the tellers have control in the forum in which they tell their tales and over the ears used to listen?

Ethics protocol for the University of Alberta

This research was conducted in accordance with the University of Alberta’s regulations for conducting ethical research with human participants. In addition, given the primary literacy/secondary literacy levels of participants, issues of (dis)empowerment or privilege associated with text, and being mindful of cultural practices and personal histories, I felt written consent was insufficient to establish legitimate permission. I sought verbal consent for focus groups, the sharing of stories (oral and written) and the quoting of women that arose from class discussions. For initial consent, I used the information letter (see appendix B) as a script to share with each participant. The women also received a copy to take home (see appendix B). Translation and language support were provided from within the group, as needed and when possible, to insure understanding. During the research, the participants were asked if and how they wanted to share data, being mindful of issues of privacy. I sought permission each time recording devices were used. If participants requested, if I noted discomfort and/or the

conversation was of a sensitive nature, the audio recorder was removed. Within the IS-NGO and the program, a culture of confidentiality is cultivated. Within the research, each participant was assigned a pseudonym to protect anonymity. Periodic reminders to the participants of keeping discussions “in the room” coupled with respect and support for/to one another fostered a climate of confidentiality amongst/between participants.

IS-NGO written consent was obtained first at the program level and at the administrative level (see appendix C). Through the course of the research, I shared the data emerging from the participants with the IS-NGO during staff meetings and in written reports, as well as my observations as a participant in the PLP and IS-NGO. Prior to displaying participant-generated data publically, I obtained consent from the IS-NGO and presentations at conferences to share research findings were supported by the IS-NGO. In addition working on other projects, the senior director and I had an opportunity to discuss ideas around racialization and race regimes.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provide an outline of the central questions pertaining to the research study. I also provide an overview of the methodological frameworks used, describe the PLP program and provide cursory information regarding the participants. In addition, I outline the methods used to collect, analyse and present the data. Lastly, I conclude the chapter with a review of the ethical considerations that guided the research.

CHAPTER 4:

DESPITE GOOD INTENTIONS:

RACE REGIMES AND RACIALIZATION IN THE IS-NGO

In chapter 4, the data and analysis of the IS-NGO is presented. In the first section of this chapter, I provide a general overview of the IS-NGO and PLP, highlighting how both have grown and evolved over time. In the second section, I focus on how the IS-NGO, through the provision of social services, such as education and employment support, support the maintenance of race regimes; those systems of privilege and oppression maintained by the state. I also draw attention to specific (un)intentional practices within the IS-NGO/PLP of racialization, for example performance and assistance, that position in/voluntary im/migrant women within white/non-white race hierarchies.

The IS-NGO

The IS-NGO, an outreach of a religious organization, has as its core values “...social justice, diversity, compassion and responsibility” for the core purpose, “to enhance quality of life for newcomers and all Canadians” (IS-NGO, 2012a).

The IS-NGO envisions:

...a future where many citizens walk with newcomers to bridge their transition into community. To achieve this vision we will serve as a key catalyst and leading collaborator in positively shaping the attitudes, behaviours and practices of organizations and individuals to value the diversity that newcomers bring to community. (IS-NGO, 2012a)

The fruits of this labour will be, "...Canadian communities are models of interculturalism" (Sillito, 2012).

Nearing its 30th anniversary, the IS-NGO has grown from a small community organization to "...a multi-cultural staff of 150 with programs in the areas of settlement, language services and employment" (Sillito, 2012).

According to the IS-NGO, programs "...emerge from needs identified through our individual and community connections with immigrant populations..." and are conceptualized as "...flexible and responsive to community needs..." (Sillito, 2012). Organizational funding is derived in/directly from civil, provincial and/or federal governments, other non-profit organizations, and corporate/private donations via grants and fundraising.

At the height of the 2000's oil boom in Alberta, the IS-NGO relocated to a large facility and expanded programming. The rising demand for services in the wake of the 2008 recession, coupled with the cost of expansion and shifting government funding regulations/requirements placed the IS-NGO in a financially vulnerable position and resulted in the dismissal of the organization's long standing Executive Director. After a period of temporary leadership, the Board recruited a new Executive Director with corporate training and experience. Over the past year, the organization has been introduced to a new Board of Directors, engaged in the process of strategic planning, and implemented organizational restructuring (including the dismissals of well-respected and long-term senior staff). Those remaining have seen a reconfiguration of duties (Participant observation).

Included in the new strategic plan is: a strengthening of internal capacity through increased accountability and monitoring, securing a solid core of volunteers, improving client satisfaction as measured by exit surveys, increasing and diversifying funding, and strengthening the organization through branding exercises (IS-NGO, 2012a).

The parenting and literacy program, created by the IS-NGO in 2006, was an extension of research conducted by an IS-NGO social worker and a University researcher interested in multicultural learning. Originally, the literacy program was a multigenerational gathering of women intended to address issues of isolation and offer support for literacy skills through first language retention. Over time the PLPs focus has shifted, "...to provide refugee and immigrant parents the opportunity to develop English language and literacy skills, and to enhance their capacity to be confident and capable parents in a cross-cultural context" (Sillito, 2012).

If states are makers of race (Vickers & Isaac, 2012) then IS-NGOs are the (in)direct, sub-contractors in construction. The state outsources the day-to-day management and implementation of race regimes, such as im/migration and multiculturalism to IS-NGOs to implement, manage and "clean up" after. Duty bound, the IS-NGO is also bestowed with the honour of securing funding to supplement or subsidize the management of the state's race regimes through appeals to yet other agencies influenced by the state or from the private sector in the form of corporate/private donations. Governments outsource the management, via language programs, skill accreditation and/or (re)training, and bureaucratic

procedures, of im/migrants to organizations with the greatest capacity- those best able to undercut the competition through donor-generated subsidies and a committed non-waged/reduced waged labour force of volunteers. This is evident in the strategic plan of the IS-NGO. In building the organizational volunteer base, the agency can reduce operating costs and still offer a range of programs/services.

The state has used the taxation system as a means of directing “private” funding towards IS-NGOs. Writing from within an American context, Ahn (2007) notes, donations offered by foundations, “...are partly made with dollars which, were it not for charitable deductions allowed by tax laws, would have become public funds to be allocated through the government process under the controlling power of the electorate as a whole” (p. 65). In multiple ways, the state divorces itself from responsibility while controlling the mechanisms for distribution.

What supports the recruitment and retention of non/under-waged labour? For those working within the IS-NGO “building bridges”, the process of construction, is sold as a transformative experience (Heron, 2007; Razack, 2007) which shapes the character and world view of the employee/volunteer. This is exemplified and capitalized upon in the IS-NGOs (2013) annual Community Report, “[l]ike so many [agency name] volunteers, she goes beyond the ordinary by breaking down barriers, making meaningful connections and helping people feel at home..” (p. 26) and “I do not have my family here, but I discovered there is a lot of fun in helping others. I can communicate with different people and learn about the unique cultures of their countries” (p. 27).

Staff is placed in the centre of the experience, and the im/migrant ‘other’ is (re)constructed. This transformative experience serves two purposes. First, it normalizes the (staff) position as the center in relation to others, maintaining the staff’s place of domination and privilege (Bannerji, 2000). This is evident in the market strategy of the IS-NGO. A recent video produced to highlight the IS-NGO’s work, has white directors, counsellors, teachers and employers assisting a black professional, fluent in one of Canada’s two official languages, to access housing and to write a “Canadian” resume.¹

Second, it is essential for IS-NGOs dependent on the exploitation of a caring and compassionate labour force to provide the carrot of transformation as compensation for voluntary and/or enforced volunteerism. Of concern, Razack (2007) argues, is that in bearing witness and building bridges, service providers may become “...engaged in a peculiar process of consumption... rely[ing] on these images and stories to confirm our own humanitarian character” (p. 376). The international image of the humanitarian Canadian is rescript within local IS-NGOs to support regimes of im/migration and multiculturalism. It is also worth noting that the IS-NGO encourages volunteerism from within the community being served, dangling the promise of ‘Canadian experience and connections’ to motivate engagement in non-waged labour.

Constructions of the Program

The following event had a profound impact on my thinking. It drove me to look more closely at IS-NGO documents, to reflect critically upon the daily

practices within the PLP program and the IS-NGO, and to speak with colleagues and administration regarding my observations.

The parenting and literacy program within the IS-NGO received a substantial corporate donation. The corporation wanted to make a presentation. The women in the program were asked, rather, were told to “share circle time” with the donors. While circle time and lunch, usually done at 1:00 was this day extended until 1:30 to accommodate the donor’s lunchtime schedules. We completed our regular routine and then sat in a circle waiting for the donors to arrive. At 1:50 the assistant to the Executive Director came into the room and told us to start “circle time” as our guests were walking into the building. We then proceeded to sing accompanied by a large “African” drum. Representatives of the corporation, ushered in were then positioned behind the circle of families. They held up an oversized cheque, photos were snapped; a few more were taken of the toddlers and most of the entourage walked out of the room. One man, white and middle age shook my hand before he left and congratulated me on the good work we did for immigrants in the program. The next day pictures of cute babies from various “cultural” backgrounds were posted on the corporation’s website. The funds donated were handed over to the IS-NGO as payment for “rent” (Field notes, Participant observation, 2013)

While not privy to the original funding proposal, the way this grant was explained to the women, and staged for the public was that the funds were being generously donated to the PLP for the benefit of the participants. In actuality, the feel-good quality of supporting families generated from images of cute “coloured” babies for the corporation, were exploited by the IS-NGO to acquire additional funding for general operations. The corporation wishing to create a positive public image with a multicultural marketing strategy also exploited the families. The im/migrant families in PLP, as Duffield (2006) notes become the poster child, literally, for cultural difference and diversity. The families who “performed” and women who donated their instructional time were neither asked if they wished to perform in this theatre nor received applause for their performance. What struck me most, as a participant, during this event was the lack of contact between the donors and so-called recipients. The representatives did not engage in conversation, join the circle or even spend time looking around the room. For the corporate foundation, giving the donation appeared to be nothing more than public relations and a charitable tax receipt. The women and children they were “helping” remained invisible, a form of objectification that Schmitt (1996) argues is racist, while at the same time involuntarily donating their limited instructional time to the IS-NGO.

Performance and show seem to be central in the branding and marketing of the IS-NGO. For example, emails have been distributed encouraging staff/students to wear traditional clothes for special events and choir members wear ethnic/national dress for public performances (Participant observation). For

example, in sharing the experience of participating for the first time in an IS-NGO award ceremony an administrator writes , “...[t]he fashion show (part one) took the stage next and featured fashions from India...These colourful outfits were modeled by employees and volunteers...” (IS-NGO, 2012b). Photos taken at these events are later used in newsletters and public relation materials directed towards the general public/funders. For example, the executive director, of Dutch descent, is presented wearing a Ghanaian shirt (IS-NGO, 2012b). Is this an act honouring the histories/traditions/cultures of im/migrant communities or of appropriation for the purpose of costume dress (White, 2002)?

The IS-NGO capitalizes on its intercultural brand when fundraising.

I mean just to give you an example of that some of these, I think they were Sudanese women. We had, we had a fundraiser fashion show, we did it by, this was [Organizations name], we did it by continent, this was Africa and the idea, the Africans put on a stage, there was a stage area, and music and a fashion show...(SD Interview, February 2013)

In this case, the performance of the exotic foreigner Other serves as entertainment, consumed by potential donors in the same manner as the “ethnic” appetizers that are “paid for” with tax- deductible donations. It is also used as a strategy to “put a face” to giving. Donors can see the “African” women they are helping paralleling similar strategies used in ‘voluntourism’ (Clemmons, 2012; Mahrouse, 2010).

It is worth noting the IS-NGO in the previous example was supporting/contributing to a fundraising event for another larger organization, a major funding contributor. The IS-NGO devotes time and resources, and actively seeks donations from staff and clients annually, to support the larger organization, while also devoting resources to writing funding proposals, attending organizational meetings and completing accountability reports to the same organization. Reviewing the 2013 campaign brochure to “create pathways out of poverty,” all four of the images used to represent poverty were non-white and three of the four photos are of children. The campaign video by contrast has white professionals speaking of the realities and consequences of poverty. Further abroad, Wilson (2012) notes,

One has only to enter the offices of any of the major international NGOs or development bodies to find oneself in a space where mainly white staff work surrounded by gloss, larger-than-life photographs of smiling non-white children (and more recently, adolescent girls) and be forcibly reminded of the racialised boundaries and relations of power between providers of development and their ‘beneficiaries’, ‘users’ and ‘partners.’ (p. 211)

The exploitation of non-white bodies seems to be a normalized practice or industry standard within NGOs at varying levels, indicative of the way race regimes are maintained through “successful” and/or “common practices.”

Performance, in this case, is a form of racialization as it objectifies the performer. However, it is important to note, performance is not restricted to the IS-NGO, but intertwined with language, school and community for the participants in the program. For example Kamila shared, "...my sons went to Saturday school...on International Mother Language Day where dance demonstrations were help [performed] from various countries of the world..." (Journal). This event while claiming to celebrate and honour the value and contribution of home language instead centered on performance. In addition, the participant notes, "[t]he experience of waiting was terrible. The stress was worse than for those who watch and share" (Kamila, Journal). This suggests there is a competitiveness in which the vibrancy of one's culture is judged and the quality of one's culture is ranked. Multicultural celebrations become populous forums for ranking im/migrants new and old. The competitive nature of Edmonton's annual Heritage Day Festival is perhaps a prime example.

Bureaucracy

With each bureaucratic form filled, with each service provided the im/migrant is nationalized. The national passport becoming a primary marker that, for some, creates "invented ethnicities mirror[ing] those employed by racist/colonial discourse ..." (Bannerji, 2000 p. 3). The im/migrant is further "nationalized" into: linguistic groupings such French, Arabic and Spanish speakers; geographical groupings such as African, South-East Asian, or Eastern European; religious nations such as Muslim or Sikh. Without fail, the women participating in the English language classes, introduce themselves with "Hello

my name is __, I am from __, I speak __” (Participant observation). On the one hand, it may be their self-identified identity - a demonstration of pride in name, language, and country - after being depersonalized through a system that quantifies these traits. On the other, the complexity of their being is reduced to a nation, by institutional bureaucracies such as the IS-NGO that are mandated to collect data and value is judged based on the ranking ascribed between and amongst “traditional” and “non-traditional” im/migrants (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2008). As Shakir (2011) points out, referring to im/migrants as from non-traditional countries has become a code for racialized. In addition, nationalizing is furthered by embodied expressions, for example, with the wearing of the hijab (Al-Saji, 2010; Wilson, 2012) and encouraged by multicultural policy focused on costume, dress and performance. Rodriguez (2010) suggests the reason for this is, “[n]ational difference is necessary to the racialized [and gendered] work hierarchies on which the global division of labour, and hence capitalism’s profits, depends” (p. 63).

In reviewing the IS-NGO (2013) Community Report, a striking characteristic is that the “success” stories for each of the programs/services offered by the IS-NGO contain a gainful employment element. Finding employment is used as an indicator of programming success, regardless of the type of program/service offered, suggesting the role of the IS-NGO is not necessarily settlement but labour preparation and placement. The IS-NGO’s focus on employment mirrors and/or is a response to the current im/migration policies in Canada.

Yet, there is recognition within the IS-NGO that these successes are not without issue.

...in an ideal world we would, we would be getting people jobs that were completely, were truly living wages and we don't do that and we only wish we could, like that is our goal. And I think the reason we exist is because it is easy to get a McDonalds job, it's a little harder to get the others so with our brokering we can do that but that is the first step is to get income into the system so there is more choice. (SD Interview, February 2013)

First, we need to question why a living wage for im/migrants is difficult to achieve. Having arrived already screened by Canada's highly selective immigration system presumably, the majority of im/migrants would have the education and skills required to rise independently above minimum wage service jobs. The fact an im/migrant needs a broker highlights, the (de)accreditation and/or (de)skilling by professional associations and certification boards imposed on im/migrants (Gibb & Hamdon, 2010; Mojab, 1999) that denigrate (Fanon, in Schmitt, 1996) and act to exclude. In addition, it illuminates the market response by the IS-NGO to serve a niche clientele. Returning to the IS-NGO (2013) Community Report, "Bayani, is a success because he started off *knowing nothing* about business, and the entrepreneurship program *gave him the knowledge* and planning to start an operational business..." (p. 22, emphasis added). Bayan's educational and professional credentials in healthcare, cited at the beginning of the story, as well as life experiences prior to im/migration, are discredited in

contributing to his success as a restaurateur. Instead the IS-NGO “gave knowledge,” like a gift, to make this client a success. In valorizing its professional and expert contribution in the marketing of IS-NGO program/services to potential new clients, funders and community supporters, the organization dishonors the contribution of the participants. In structuring relationships of domination/subordination the IS-NGO supports the maintenance of race regimes, political systems of privilege/oppression established and maintained by the state (Vickers & Isaac, 2012).

The IS-NGO contributes to and profits from the denigration of im/migrant skills and credentials through the offering of “bridge programs” and “certification preparation classes” targeting foreign-trained professionals. Here the racialized hierarchy of nationality is acted out in the arena of education and played out in the field of employment. While the IS-NGO sympathises and quietly laments the power of accreditation boards (Participant observation), the offering of bridging programs grants legitimacy and serves to support exclusionary practices. In addition, the mandates of specific programs shift over time. For example, the PLP has drifted from being a space to share common concerns to being a program to discuss parenting issues. This may be a response to client input or it may be an attempt to capture additional sources of funding by formalizing and/or adding components to the program. Alternatively, it may be a means of supporting systems that construct im/migrants as in need of correction.

Returning to the earlier interview about living wages, while the local IS-NGO wishes that workers could be paid fair wages, it welcomed WalMart

and Home Depot (Participant observation) to conduct hiring fairs that get “income into the system,” even if they were only so-called transitional jobs, because that is how the state defines success in im/migration settlement. What the IS-NGO needs to problematize is the failure of the state in ensuring a living wage for all those engaged in paid labour and the motivation for maintaining a marginalized sector of labour. The IS-NGO may help in getting income into the system, but income for whom?

One of the reoccurring concepts emerging from within the IS-NGO is that of building capacity and developing social capital within im/migrant populations. Related to this is the presence of development and the market driven language of capacity. According to the director:

...we tried to get an I-WIN [Immigrant Women Integration Network] going in the North with the Sudanese people and it didn't go anywhere cause they, they didn't have, the south east Asian women came and who were depressed and isolated and feeling horrible and what was that other word you said desperate (laughter) they were all words they used but when you got them together within three or four weeks they were, they were, umm getting energy back already that they had from their past. Whereas the Sudanese women never had the right kind of energy, for here, like because of their rural experience and low education. So they knew how to milk a cow and they probably know how to make

cheese but they didn't know how to get social capacity going. (SD Interview, February 2013)

In this excerpt, we see how perceptions of the women's pre-im/migration experience are used to rationalize the success of programming from one community to another. In this way a hierarchy of newcomers is created based on judgements regarding whose culture (read as race) has capital (Yosso, 2005). The director's comment appears to support Vickers and Isaac's (2012) research that Asians have become "...the 'poster children' for immigration and refugee groups" (p. 248) perceived as self-reliant, hardworking and committed to educational attainment, or to use the director's words "having the right kind of energy for here." The South East Asian women are positioned as "whiter" than the Sudanese women participating in a particular program. Yet as Vickers and Isaac (2012) note, this positive image of Asian immigrants is not without (un)conscious judgement, "...we had a little Chinese problem for a while ...I mean when I say problem I don't mean problem. I just mean (laughter) when the Chinese hear a good thing they spread the word, right" (SD Interview, February 2013). The perception of Chinese women, through education and networks, is of overutilizing the PLP, paralleling Vickers and Isaac's (2012) findings that Asian populations are seen as "...taking places away..." (p. 248) from others in regards to education.

Espousing the principles of social justice, diversity, compassion and responsibility, the IS-NGO works to help correct the consequences of "failure to integrate" into Canadian society. As Schmitt (1996) highlights in his summary of

Fanon, "...well-meaning members of dominant groups assume that any subject group member that needs help, is 'disadvantaged'" (p. 36). For example, while the Executive Director praises the strength of clients, he constructs them as those "...whose journey to a new land led them from poverty and privation and, very often bloodshed" (IS-NGO, 2013, p. 6). Similarly, in a funding proposal for the PLP:

Waitlists for the program keep growing...Many parents wish to keep returning to the program to both deepen and broaden their knowledge of parenting and to advance their English proficiency. However, we have so many isolated and desperately need[y] parents for whom we fill an obligation that we have had to limit the registration of eager learners in attempting to balance the opportunity for all. (Sillito, 2012, p. 2)

Other documents refer to im/migrants seeking services as desperate, limited, exasperated, at-risk, high-needs, vulnerable, and/or experiencing multiple barriers. Whether the IS-NGO is the originator of these terms, drawing upon the language of dominant discourse, or using the language of funders it is difficult to ascertain. Regardless, it has a concrete effect.

If you want to get a kid into Head Start they need to be vulnerable, high-risk (laughter). They need to be all those things, right...The at-risk, we really had to deal with that one when we put our

funding for SCIF, that was for mental health for youth, youth at-risk. I hate it. (SD Interview, February 2013)

In using words such as at-risk, vulnerable, and barriered to describe im/migrants, the newcomer is constructed as one in need of protection and care. While the administrator interviewed acknowledges and is clearly uncomfortable with the infantilization or even denigration of im/migrants experience (Schmitt, 1996), the use of this language is rationalized as the means of acquiring resources either for the agency in the form of funding or for the client. For example, early education programs are recommended to families who need access to childcare. While the education programs provide a stimulating environment for pre-school children, the mandate may be "...a bridge linking families to future educational resources" (ABC Head Start, 2013) with families being placed under the guidance of a social workers whose "...role sets the tone for the family involvement" (ABC Head Start, 2013). While attention within the PLP is given to the use and retention of home languages/first languages, early interventions become prescribed for the "deficient" non-English speaking child to access childcare. Supports, largely targeting language, lead to other interventions external to the home, each carrying out a similar agenda to impose the skills, knowledge and values "...essential in maintaining Alberta's standard of living and ensuring our global competitiveness" (Alberta Education, 2013, p.1). One might question whether the intent of support is to benefit the child or the state.

One component of the PLP, as directed by funding, is to increase the social supports available to clients and "...giving women a safe space to learn English as

a stepping stone into other programs...” (SD Interview, February 2013). Measures of success include the quantity as well as breadth of successful referrals to support participants. Hence, statistics are kept regarding the number of families receiving leisure access passes and library cards, trips made to the food bank and children referred for developmental assessments and educational programming. An important question to consider is on what basis are participants directed to services?

SD: But I will say, I do think we make assumptions around like (long pause) a child like (male Japanese child’s name) probably wouldn’t be referred to head start but a child like (female Afghan child’s name) would be and my sense is that is linked to family complexity and giving her space to develop on her own and develop her own, I don’t know, I don’t know but I, we do, it is slightly economic and economic level driven I believe it is.

W: and do you think it is kind of (pause) umm (pause) culturally or racially driven as well?

SD: Yah, I mean the economically driven part is that I had money to put my children into preschool... (SD Interview, February 2013).

In response to the question of race, the director returned to economics, highlighting and acknowledging the privilege of choice and recognizing there is no universally applied criteria for referrals. Intervention

programs appear to be used as buffers in a province and nation that has failed to establish/deliver adequate universal child support programs. This is not without its dangers

‘Family complexities’ are alluded to as the reason some children are referred to intervention programs. What are the constructions projected onto this young Afghan girl? As white professionals, are we suggesting that at age four this child is “the quintessential victim[s] of patriarchal ideologies associated specifically with [her] cultural and religious heritage” (Jiwani, 2010, p. 63) or, to borrow from Spivak (1988), that we as white women need to save brown women from brown men? Is the politics of the veil used to rationalize intervention in Afghanistan (Jiwani, 2010) being imported or reemployed in the classrooms of Canada?

Alternatively, is there an underlying belief within the program’s design that parent(s) with interrupted formal schooling are poorly equipped to provide quality early childhood care and/or that quality care requires specialized and professional training, predominately performed, not surprisingly, by other women (Kivel, 2007)? In addition, the phrase ‘develop on her own’, suggests that liberal ideals of independence and self-reliance are embodied into what is deemed appropriate early childhood development. This is present in other aspects of the program in which separation and detachment from the parent is documented as programming success (Participant observation). The origins of good parenting are those marketed by popular culture and sanctioned by government welfare agencies becoming part of the natural order of the race regime.

It appears that deficiency models are employed to direct participants to community social services. In some cases, deficiencies are constructed to accommodate/fulfill funding criteria to access resources that may be urgently needed, but at other times may/may not be of primary interest. In others, deficiencies are constructed based on normalized racist discourse. Gender becomes significant in not only shaping how deficiencies are constructed, but also who and what is privileged.

In the process of ‘stepping into other programs’ women/children/families are crossing bridges and subjected to, to varying degrees, the “national culture” (Bouchard , 2011) and directed in specific directions, with the authority and knowledge within the family devalued and deskilled:

On that point (pause) I feel like the parents have to know that they are going to walk into a system where there is an expectation that they support their kids at home...like it’s a whole different mindset of what school is about and *they have to understand* that so they at least have a choice of whether they are going to do it or not but they have to understand *it will impact their child if they don’t*. (SD Interview, February 2013, emphasis added)

Stretching the analysis, comparisons can be drawn between the push for earlier and longer periods of schooling for at-risk and vulnerable racialized children and the imposition of residential schools on generations of Indigenous children. This is not to suggest the removal of all supports and subsidies, but rather to critically

challenge the criteria used for seeking early educational supports and to recognize and be transparent with im/migrant parents as to the possible implications of receiving services.

Neoliberal ideals such as self-sufficiency are reflected in im/migration policy where, Duffield, (2006) notes, “[n]on-insured populations are now expected to live within the limits of their own powers of self-reliance” (p. 74). One is viewed as failing to integrate when one is required to access the food bank, apply for low-income housing, use the leisure access program or register one’s child in a Head Start program. The accountability measures of funders used to judge program success are the very things that mark im/migrants as failing in settlement. In addition, in framing socio-economic status as a failure to integrate (Arat-Koç, 2010) continued interventions (skill training, parenting programs, budgeting classes) and sanctions (conditions of income assistance) on the individual are justified (Hall, 2010 ; Rodriguez, 2000). The up or down along the continuum of socio-economic drift influenced by neoliberal globalization has, as Arat-Koç (2010) argues, a darkening and lightening effect. The interplay back and forth between intervention and integration creates a perpetuating cycle. It may be the inclusion of im/migrant families into social services structures, rather than the exclusion from those services, that creates barriers.

Purposefully blended staff

What is the intent of this statement?

With a staff complement that purposely blends Canadian born and educated professionals with internationally educated professionals from a wide variety of cultures, languages, and world views, we have the capacity to provide relevant and culturally-sensitive services and programs to newcomers. (Sillito, 2012)

While the staff is indeed ‘internationally educated’, the above quote, masks the distribution of power within the IS-NGO staffing. Looking carefully at the organizational map of the IS-NGO, there is a disproportionate number of white professionals in senior administrative positions with international professionals (non-white) assigned to program implementation, clerical work, child-care and manual labour (Participant observation). The exception is in the gendered area of language services, composed primarily of white, Canadian born women. In this arena, “looking Canadian” and the ability to model Canadian English, share dominant settler narratives and the “natural” capacity to help and nurture learners (Spencer, 2006) seems to supersede either levels of education or experience. Striking are the parallels between the local IS-NGO branding strategy, provincial public service campaigns (see appendix E) and a calendar published by the international parent IS-NGO (showing young white women volunteering to help black African teachers).

It is worth mentioning, while the staff may be an intentional blend of cultures and languages, the scheduling and the organization of work and programs clearly falls within Judeo-Christian traditions, a point the participants in the PLP clearly articulated (see poster, Chapter 3). Through legislation, such as labour

laws, the state directs the day-to-day operations of the IS-NGO to reinforce the power and privilege of the dominant “norm.”

Chapter Summary

In the first section of this chapter, I provided a brief account of the history and espoused beliefs of the IS-NGO under review. From this, it appears that the organization and the programs it supports have subtly shifted over time in response to changing economic and political climates. In part two, I focus critically on current practices and procedure, and embedded ideas within the IS-NGO, highlighting acts that support, maintain, and project racialized hierarchies for im/migrant women.

Chapter 5:

PARTICIPANTS SPEAK OF RACE-BASED DISCRIMINATION

In chapter 5, the participants in the PLP share their experiences as in/voluntary im/migrant women in Alberta in relation to their wider experiences and the program. The experiences shared, read through a race regimes and racialization lens highlight the denigration, infantilization, invisibility and even violence im/migrant women and their families face in their daily lives. The experiences shared by participants in this participatory research also highlight a number of ways im/migrant women respond to race-based discrimination, such as, “using the program”, internalizing messages, absentee participation and storytelling.

“Settlement”

At the onset it should be recognized that, although the research is exploring the “settlement” experiences of women, for a significant number of the participants, settlement, or being settled, remains elusive. For example, there are those in Canada on a temporary bases as spouses of temporary foreign workers or students. There are also those in Canada in a conditional situation., such as refugee claimants. For example, Nadege, Ella and Gloria were refugee claimants; Alicia, Kamila and Anna are the partners of temporary workers; Lora was previously in Canada as a refugee claimant and later as a temporary worker (Field notes). In addition, over the past two years the program has seen an influx of

women whose partners are graduate students at local universities (Participant observation). The number of unsettled im/migrant women in the PLP is a reflection of i) the significant increase in temporary foreign workers over the past 5 years (CCR, 2013b), ii) the internal bordering of social services and the dependency on community organizations to provide support for refugee claimants (CCR, 2013c), iii) the conscious recruitment of international students by post-secondary institutes in Alberta (MacEwan University, 2013) and/or iv) the introduction of the Canadian experience class stream of immigration in 2008 (Tamburri, 2013).

The IS-NGO, acknowledges this reality in using the term “newcomer” in organizational literature, however several funders of adult learning use the term “immigrants and/or refugees,” labels that suggest entitlement to permanency (Participant observation). The so-called settlement experience of some participants is in reality a process of, or continuation of, unsettlement, displacement and/or dislocation that is facilitated (Rodriguez, 2010) or managed by states for the benefit of the state. Unsettlement affects the participants. Anna expressed feelings of stress and anxiety as the family waited to hear whether their visas would be extended and she was concerned for her daughter who was soon turning 16 and would need to apply independently for a student visa (Field notes). The waiting some associated with their temporary status, also effects decision-making. For example, Gloria was reluctant to move from substandard housing (water leaks, mold, cockroaches, structural issues) while critical paperwork regarding the family’s case was being processed (Field notes). The state’s ability

to arbitrarily exclude temporary residents, through constantly shifting legislation and policy, takes on a violent character when it affects the physical and mental health of in/voluntary im/migrant women (Harrell, 2000). Fanon (in Schmitt, 1996) argues this is the final manifestation of racism.

Racialization Begins Prior to Im/migration to Alberta

The impact/influence of race regimes on participants began to varying degrees prior to im/migration to Canada. Through dialectical exchanges amongst the participants and background research into the historical and/or geo political profiles the participants self-identify with (see appendix A), certain similarities regarding international interventions stand out. For example, the United States has intervened and/or directed the policies of Mexico, Colombia, Afghanistan, Guatemala and Iraq for the purpose of securing and expanding American economic interests. As self-proclaimed “leaders of the free world” espousing economic prosperity, democracy and human rights para/military involvement, economic restructuring and/or leadership “support” by America and its allies have been rationalized and justified (Bello, 2011; Sethi, 2011; Wilson; 2012). A number of participants alluded to the consequences of international interventions. For example, Paula noted, “[p]eople in Colombia are more poor. People will use a gun to steal a cell phone. They are desperate. It is no longer safe” (Field notes, 2013). Paula’s reflections highlight the economic and social deterioration in Colombia, despite and/or due to the steady increase of US involvement in Colombia (Bouvier, 2013). Similarly, Mehri and Mahsa shared that under the

Taliban it was not safe for women, however Mehri does not think it is any safer today (Field notes, 2012), despite the presence of a democratically elected government and internationally trained security forces (Dominguez & Mazumdaru, 2013).

The aforementioned states, constructed as vulnerable or fragile and in need of American/international intervention, become sites of neo/colonial practices and systems similar to those Vickers and Isaac (2012) argue laid the foundation for contemporary race regimes in Canada. As Back and Solomos (2009) note in their introduction, the “...current martial climate of NGOing armed conflict and securitization gives the political elsewhere of Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle East an increasingly significant role in the politics of racism...” (p. 25).

Claims of human rights violation and political unfreedom are also directed towards China, but as the largest trading partner of the US, and second largest trade partner to Canada and as the supplier of the discounted goods driving the consumer economies of both nations, actions taken in response to such charges are limited to moral condemnation (Johnston, 2013). Not surprisingly, China was also the largest source nation of im/migrants to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013) up to 2012 (when surpassed by the Philippines). The significance of China on the North American economy may explain why Asians have become, according to Vickers and Isaac (2012), the ideal immigrants with diaspora communities supporting trade. In contrast, the in/voluntary im/migrant women from Iraq and Afghanistan are associated closely with the fragile nations of their birth, constructed as traditional, abject, and victimized (Jiwani, 2010). Interestingly,

Mehri and Mahsa would talk about the Taliban, but did not engage in other political conversations regarding Afghanistan. Does the “Taliban is bad for women” type discussion reflect an internalizing of western perceptions, represent a safe, standard response that validates and placates western constructions and/or is it simply a statement of fact based on experience? International policies and practices intended to support and maintain the privilege of Western states follow im/migrant women into settlement.

Several participants identified an unwelcome reception in other places as a factor influencing im/migration and the eventual arrival in Alberta. For example, Mehri left Syria because Afghans were not welcome there: “It was no good [in Syria]. No Farsi, no jobs, too crowded. There were every people in Syria but not like in Canada. The people came for the UN to move to Australia, America, Canada, Sweden” (Field notes, 2012). Paula notes, “Jobs only for Quebec first. Only you can get low pay job. Racism on the bus, train, store, in work. Two language need to be learned (Field notes 2013). Paula left Quebec because of hostilities against non- Francophone im/migrants. In both instances, the participants believed that race-based discrimination against im/migrants prevented family members from finding adequate employment. For Anna, negative experiences while working in Britain acted as a catalyst for looking for employment outside the EU. There were no challenges finding employment, however, the poor treatment she received at work and in the community resulted in a return to Poland to make alternative settlement plans (Field notes, 2012). In addition, Ella perceived that migrant workers are not welcome in Mexico and her

later deportation from the US suggests an equally unwelcoming reception (Field notes, 2013).

Drawing on the data presented, it appears race-based discrimination intersecting with class, ethnicity and/or faith was experienced prior to im/migration to Canada. In several cases, experiences of discrimination led to serial migration for the participants. The experiences shared, suggest migration may be an instrument of responding to racism or that given the economic, social and emotional costs of relocation, discrimination may act as a powerful push in im/migration.

Citizenship and Hierarchies of Status

Citizenship is often conceptualized in regards to legal status, and Marx (1998) argues that it is the principle means of creating borders of exclusion/inclusion by the state. The state, by legislating tiers of status, structures a hierarchical ranking amongst im/migrants. This was demonstrated during the creation of our life maps when, in trying to clarify her point, a participant pulled out her permanent residency card that she later passed around. Others followed taking out cards of residency or citizenship. An animated discussion ensued with questions directed to those one-degree “more permanent” (Field notes, 2012). In hindsight, it is interesting that the women carried these documents on their person, perhaps reflecting the daily demands to prove entitlement to inclusion.

The participants recognized, and analyzed the hierarchical ranking of countries favoured by Canada’s im/migration system. For example, “[t]here are preferences for some countries. And the idea that we were bringing life here is not

the same that exists....we have to be competitive to have a career” (Paula, Journal, 2012). Similarly, Lora noted her mother could not get a visa because she was from Colombia. When Zahra asked why, she said maybe it was because of too much drugs. She added that her mother-in law from Mexico could get a visa in a month (Field notes, 2012).

The inclusive/exclusive nature of im/migration as a contemporary race regime in Canada may be reflected in Ella’s successful refugee claim, and in the failure of Gloria’s claim. While each case is unique and it is not the intent to argue the validity of either, the public discourse and actions of the Canadian government suggest the acceptance or denial of the claims may be more an outcome of nationality than on the merits of the cases. For example, the current conservative government has portrayed Mexican refugee claimants as bogus claimants and queue jumpers; "To be blunt, Canada's refugee system is broken," said Immigration Minister Jason Kenney. "Too many tax dollars are spent on bogus refugees" (Baluja, 2012). This language is used to rationalize and justify the adoption of a two-tier, hierarchical refugee claimant process. The claims of individuals from the designated countries of origin (DCO) list (CIC, 2013 b), countries Canada has deemed safe, are processed in a shorter amount of time (limiting the preparation of claimants) with failed claims denied the right to appeal. The Canadian government has, in practice, decreed that Western nations and our global allies are capable of addressing issues pertaining to human rights- a claim Indigenous communities (Assembly of First Nations, 2013; Mikisew Cree

First Nation, in Thomas-Muller, 2008) and human rights organizations (Amnesty International, 20012) would contest Canada is capable of.

The participants in the research also conceptualized citizenship as a state of mind, as reflected in the co-constructed piece, *Canadian Women?* :

It feels like you need to be white to be Canadian. Canadians have long, straight hair. If you are Muslim, it feels like you will never be Canadian because your culture and religion are different. All your holidays are different and so is your language. It feels hard to be Canadian when you don't have roots and your family lives far away. We will feel more Canadian when we get paid more money. If the policies are good, we are good and we feel like we are Canadian. We like Canada. There are no big problems. The people are friendly. Our children feel Canadian and they are here. (2012)

In this text, the participants clearly point out that despite official discourses of diversity and multiculturalism, to be Canadian is to be white. This suggests, "...Canada's immigration policy continues to labour under a White-settler colony imaginary..." (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 3). Affirmation of the nation's pallor is evident in the mythic two-founding nation's narrative that dominates the *Discover Canada: Responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship* guide (CIC, 2013 c). Jafri (2012) argues "...in the guide, increasingly exclusionary ideas around what constitutes Canadian identity persist alongside commitments to liberal multiculturalism" (p. 2). The whiteness of Canada is also reinforced by the white

pink-collar professionals (the feminization of labour) delivering basic services and supports in/directly to im/migrant families on behalf of the state.

The women are also identifying their feelings of outsider status arising from embodied forms of racialization such as hairstyle and head covering (Jiwani, 2011; Razack, 2007; Wilson, 2012). In the text, the participants identify Judeo Christian norms and practices, normalized and entrenched in institutional and organizational structures and supported by legislation that sanctions holidays worthy of recognition, compensation and/or employment protection.

In addition, the participants are clear in identifying the state as the regime responsible for supporting the inclusion and exclusion of im/migrants. Most notably the women stated, “[i]f the policies are good, we are good and we feel like we are Canadian” (Co constructed text, 2012). The women clearly feel outside the Eurocentric Anglo-Franco order and recognize how policies of tolerance are acted out by the state. In declaring, “we like Canada” the participants may be indicating that the physical and/or geographical characteristics of the state are not significant in their settlement experience (for example, the cold weather, dark winters, or less urban environments). Likewise, the participants stated, “the people are friendly.” Recurring themes in daily go-arounds are experiences with “helpful people” lending a hand (Participant observation). On the one hand, this help is often appreciated and the participants recognize the good-will intended. On the other hand, the participants shared, “[s]ometimes I need help but I want to do it myself” (Co-constructed text, 2012). It seems that experiences of race-based discrimination are more identifiable within state managed institutions as the participants’ daily

experiences with the public were generally positive; moves of superiority are often enacted by helpful, friendly people confirming their own humanitarianism (Razack, 2007).

English

When the participants were asked about their hopes for the PLP class, the following “I hope” statements emerged:

I will understand forms and be able to talk to the doctor.

I hope I will speak fluently.

I hope I will get “unstuck”.

I hope to speak English like my language.

My hopes for this class are to learn more reading and writing so I can understand.

I hope to come to more classes.

I hope to talk more and listen better.

I hope my daughter is happy and enjoys school.

I want to learn English for work and to understand more people.

I hope to help my children with homework.

The issues raised are those of access to services (doctors and classes) as well as access to economic and social equity/mobility as suggested in the phrase ‘get unstuck.’ The desire for access reflects the women’s experiences of exclusion, a racist practice both Fanon (in Schmitt, 1996) and Galabuzi (2006) discuss.

The politics of dialect (Dei, 1996; Shor, 1992) comes through strongly in how the use of language racializes im/migrants. The women, in a struggle to

appear whiter, aspire to speak fluently, with the pronunciation and phrasing of one born in Canada. This echoes the 1967 work of Fanon (in Nieto, 2007) who argued mastery of the dominant language becomes the criteria for inclusion, “[t]he colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards” (p. 18). Conversely, those who fail to “master” the language are perceived as having “accents” due to intonation/pronunciation and may be excluded from certain careers (for example teaching) or constructed as uneducated.

A participant who very briefly attended classes, in reference to the new citizenship exam and language proficient tests, stated, “[i]f you don’t know English they don’t care. You will fail” (Field notes, 2012). In saying, the government does not care if she passes her exam she may be implying the state does not care if she ever becomes a citizen, or that it is acceptable for her to have permanent second-class status. Regardless, she recognizes the role of the state in managing im/migrants access to formal citizenship via language requirements. Taken further the English language is a means of rendering im/migrants invisible as exemplified in, “[w]ithout English no one sees you” (Field notes, 2012).

Invisibility is for Fanon (in Schmitt, 1996) a racist practice that helps to maintain unequal power relationships between the citizen and the im/migrant. It is worth noting the participants often apologize for not learning English prior to migration to Canada (Participant observation), a form of self-denigration suggesting the women internalized or accepted deficiency discourse. A lack of schooling or lack of English instruction in schools is cited as the cause, as if it is

somehow natural or logical that English should be taught across the globe. The women do not openly question that English, the language of colonization (both old and new) has become the international norm. During the course of our discussions Anna noted recent educational reforms in Poland have introduced English as a subject of study in primary schools and both Paula and Kamila noted that in “good schools” (private, elite schools), English is now being taught because “with English you make big money”. English becomes a form of social capital that whitens the world through economic advantage (see Arat-Koç, 2010).

De/skilling of Non-Wage Labour

In a nation impregnated with neoliberalism, judgements regarding the place or value of an im/migrant are made in reference to their role in the labour market (Arat-Koç, 1999; Choudry, Hanley, Jordan, Shragge & Stiegman, 2009; Wallia, 2010). As the women participating in the literacy class observed, the basis for judging one’s degree of integration is founded on one’s employment and subsequent socio-economic position, “[w]e will feel more Canadian when we get paid more money” (Co-constructed text, 2012). Here the women are speaking directly to the racialized income gap that exists in Canada (Dei, 1996; Galabuzi, 2011; 2006; Shakir, 2011) and how this gap lends itself to economic exclusion from citizenship. Those involved in non-wage labour, for example women caring for children and aging populations, are nearly invisible in policy (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2008) and programming. While the process of deskilling is well documented in regards to paid labour, it also occurs within the arena of non-waged home labour. For example, Mehri sews two pieces of clothes every week

because the nights are long. She also knits but, in Canada, clothes are cheap and the things she makes are not so important. This is in contrast to her experience in Syria where clothes were expensive so the skill of sewing was valued (Field notes, 2013).

The participants also noted the deskilling of non-wage labour also occurs due to the mechanization of North American life, For example, “[i]n Canada machines do everything. For people who work outside the home it is good. For people at home it is no good” (Focus Group, 2012). While making home labour less physically demanding, the ubiquitous accumulation of time/labour saving devices caters to waged labour and reduces the contribution and value of the home labour many participants carry out. This not only affects the participants’ sense of contribution to the family but also, as they noted, reduces activity levels and overall quality of health. In noting that mechanization is good for women who work in paid-labour they may also be commenting on the second-class status attributed to those engaged in non-waged labour. The participants were not advocating a ‘back to basics’ lifestyle or to be enslaved in domestic drudgery, but rather were casting a critical lens on the consumption and cost of convenience, the favouring of waged-labour within Canadian society and how that positions them in hierarchical social structures.

Im/migrant women as mothers are also deskilled in regards to the care and raising of their offspring:

Guidance and support with parenting is essential to assist immigrant parents and children to make the transition and to integrate successfully within a culturally diverse society... With the support of professionals and together with other parents facing similar challenges, they can achieve greater understanding and insight about parenting in a new culture and context. (Parenting in a Culturally Diverse Society, 1995, p. 10)

This passage suggests that in Canada im/migrant parents require a profession to guide them through the process of parenting, questioning the credentials/skills possessed. A similar sentiment is expressed in reference to approaching parenting issues within the PLP, “[t]his is the reality [of parenting] here but there is not one answer to *replacing* your way of doing it, there are ten different ways” (SD Interview, February 2013, emphasize added). While the speaker intends to suggest an openness to various parental styles and choices, it is clear that the ‘ten different ways’ are the ones that are deemed acceptable forms of parenting in Canada. The participants are very conscious that “acceptable” parenting practices exist and express fear of engagement with the child intervention system (Participant observation). Participants shared second hand stories of social workers coming into houses and looking in the fridges of their acquaintances or teachers reporting families for not feeding, dressing or disciplining children “right” (Participant observation). The women recognize that as im/migrants they may already be failing as, “[f]amilies are stronger when they have the support of extended family and community members” (Alberta Human Services, 2013, para. 7). or that as

refugee claimants or temporary workers their lives may lack “stability” and “permanency” The women noted, “[i]t feels hard to be Canadian when you don’t have roots and your family lives far away” (Focus group, 2012).

In the process of transplantation, the credentials of the non/minimally-waged mother are denigrated, and “training” and management are offered to ensure the child is properly integrated, or rooted, into Canadian society. The PLP offers this training with the intention of prevention, opportunity and support and while it may prevent a visit from child intervention services, it may perpetuate the white, middle class Canadian norms and values that support race regimes.

Services

For the participants involved in this program, health issues and access to care seemed to be especially salient. The following quote echoes comments made by several of the participants: “[when I came to] Canada I come I am very good. After the first year, I am no good. Every day I have a headache. I am tired” (Mehri, Journal, 2012). In regards to accessing healthcare, the women shared experiences in which practitioners dismissed health concerns. Everyone had a story of being sent home with an ‘It’s fine, take Tylenol’ diagnosis (Participant observation). Two women shared that following the birth of their children, the doctors told them they had post-partum depression, a quick and easy diagnosis given the circumstances. However, later investigation found, one of the women had Hepatitis B and the other had gallstones that required multiple surgeries to remove (Field notes, 2012). Both of these women shared how they had to “keep

going back,” a necessary response to the dismissal of their concerns and/or a means of advocating for themselves in a situation that may have had dire health consequences for the women concerned. The consensus amongst the participants was that doctors spend too little time with patients. Schmitt (1996) argues this demonstrates a lack of willingness to create genuine human relationships and an indication of racism.

The women also felt that there is a lack of what Fine (2013) refers to as contextualized understanding regarding the realities of parenting. Gloria, who had four sick children, was told the doctor would only see two children and she would need to come back with the other two on another day. This would require childcare for the two children at home, extra travel by taxi and another day of waiting in reception. Similarly, hospital staff reprimanded Mahsa for bringing her other children to the emergency with her. She asked the nurse if it would be better to leave her babies home alone. She also added during our discussion that her husband is learning to be a mechanic and is expected to fix things. A doctor goes to school a long time so should also be able to help you (Field notes). Here Mahsa is speaking back to those in the hospital who use denigration and ridicule, racist practices (Fanon, in Schmitt, 1996) as a means of managing im/migrant patients.

The participants also shared that health and care impact the whole family. For example, Alicia wrote, “[m]y son and daughter were sick for one week and I was very frustrated because daycare didn’t accept my children and I am back to work for [only] one month” (Journal, 2013). Alicia feared she would lose her job

caring for her children and would have no recourse, echoing Chovanec, Lange et al's (2010) work regarding the barriers to adult learning.

The embodiment of labour, the way “different types of labour transform the body in different ways” (Wilson, 2012, p. 167 citing Orzeck) is also reflected in the participant's experiences:

My husband worked in a bakery...he was injured, real bad...his right hand was caught in a revolving bla[d]e that was very sharp... He had a total of four surgeries... I suffered from stress, heart problems, worry and slept alone and scared. (Mehri, scribed by her daughter, 2013)

Both the bodies of the waged and non-waged labourer experienced transformation because of this industrial accident. In addition, what tropes did the school use to explain the daughters 'dropping out' of school?

The women's experiences suggest they are infantilized and denigrated when accessing medical care and there is an unwillingness of doctors to engage in human relationships. Whether these sentiments are unique to the participants may be subject to debate. However, the primary solution sought and offered to im/migrant women to address healthcare issues is knowledge of English, thus placing responsibility of care onto the women and absolving the structures and practices associated with healthcare. Yet, as Mahsa notes, “[m]aybe they don't like people like me” (Journal, 2012) making it clear that that the women experience race-based discrimination that cannot be cleared up in translation.

Emerging from our discussions was the topic of traveling home. In fact, when introducing the idea of research the first week of classes, the women immediately recognized that the work they do to find the best flights ‘home’ is a form of research. Visits home often fall within the boundaries of low season flights. For example, “[l]ast February I went to Cancun with my family. We stayed three months” (Lora, *digit storytelling*, 2013). In this case, the family’s return to Cancun coincided with her partner’s seasonal unemployment in the construction trade. Lora explained, when it is cold her husband does not have a job and he can only get minimum wage jobs in winter. She said employment insurance and minimum wage are equal- not enough, so the family returned to Mexico, withdrawing the eldest child from school. This international seasonal movement is similar to that of Mexican seasonal labour in the hothouses of Ontario (Basok, 2002) and the internal migration Ella experienced as a child highlighting parallels in local and global migration. Embedded in this story is evidence supporting Galabuzi’s (2006) research into the growth in precarious work and the racialization of the labour market.

In another case, changes in legal status served as the catalyst for an extended stay. Zahra shared, “[i]n 2010 my husband asked if I wanted to see my family because I was now a citizen. ... I needed to see my family because every time the news from Iraq was not good. I was very scared for my family (*Digital storytelling*, 2013). Zahra felt that without the legal citizenship offered by Canada she was vulnerable to the whims of customs officials while crossing international borders (*Field notes*, 2013) highlighting the privileging afforded certain states. In

response to Zahra's story, Paula shared she went to Colombia for ten weeks to introduce her baby to family and to obtain documents from educational institutions and government offices (Field notes). This was necessary to prove the "validity" of her credentials and competency as a professional, exemplifying the denigration that racializes im/migrants. For several of the participants the only way to see family is to travel abroad as the cost and challenges of obtaining visas for family members is prohibitive reflective of state policies strengthening external borders.

Limitations deriving from legal status, perceptions of security, and state based bordering policies manage and direct the travel of in/voluntary im/migrant women and those who may support them. How might, for example, having a close, supportive family member, post pregnancy address the feelings of isolation and loneliness im/migrant women report experiencing? The insights of the participants coupled with extended time spent within the PLP suggest women assume responsibility for maintaining connections and fulfilling family obligations abroad. Extended travel in response to family and/or economic pressures often results in women being 'bumped' from programming. For example, women will enter the PLP program after a return home as they wait at the bottom of the queue as travel removed them from LINC classes. This results in disrupted or, in some cases, terminated educational opportunities. Bureaucratic procedures imposed by funders, in the name of transparency and accountability, discipline learners. Schools/teachers perceptions of parents and/or students who undertake extended stays, curriculum

demands, and the implementation of standardized, external exams are tools for managing and disciplining learners.

Responses to Race-Based Discrimination

The women participating in the PLP were never directly critical of the program. Rather they directed criticism towards other institutions. For example, the women discussed facing racism in the hospital emergency department or at their child's school. While this might frame "the IS-NGO as so much better" it can also be read as a subtle critique made by women with precarious access to language learning. Prins, Toso and Schafft (2009) make the case that:

Family literacy programs provide a site for social interaction where individuals can exchange advice, information, encouragement, and other resources, in much the same way that child care centers (Small, 2006) and houses of worship do. In many cases, practitioners also provide access to material resources through referrals to social service agencies, information about employment and children's schooling, or provision of free child care, for example. (p. 348)

The women use the program in an instrumental way to serve or address a particular need. One explanation for the constant rotation of participants on class lists is many women attend the PLP while awaiting access and/or eligibility to other programming (Participant observation). The women are pragmatic seeming to adopt an "I'll use what is available" approach. In addition, women may attend

the program when facing economic or social pressure as a means of accessing necessary supports, for example getting a ride to the food bank or help finding subsidized housing, but will “disappear” once the need has passed (Participant observation) Three women were not included in the research due to their limited (though focused) attendance.

While the IS-NGO frames referrals and attrition as a measure of the agency’s success in client service, it may be framed as a participant’s success in navigating systems. The pre im/migration experiences of the participants (see appendix A) suggest they come to the program already skilled in moving through systems and utilizing available resources (Van Hear, 2004).

Prins, Toso and Schafft (2009) note participants in programs such as the PLP gain access to material resources. The data arising from the research suggests that the participants in the PLP enrich, create or expand their material resources. For example, several participants use the informal mealtime to conduct business and trade (Participant observation). Mehri sews and mends for other participants in the program, and Kamila brings in baked goods to test recipes and advertise her business. Business cards are exchanged for family members offering services and those seeking work find employment leads. The women sell and/or exchange outgrown clothes and care for one another’s children. The women, responding to structural discrimination, use the PLP to enrich and create social capital that extends outside the program and beyond the management of the IS-NGO.

Internalized messages

The women also respond to racialization by internalizing constructions. The women often apologize for not speaking English or for the level of formal education they have received (Participant observation). They are also conscious of how a “lack” of English and/or formal schooling may portray them. For example, when I asked the class if I could photograph the whiteboard, Mehri was concerned about the quality of the class’s work. She felt it was too messy and maybe it was bad (Field notes, 21012). Similarly, when it came time to decide what to do with our data, she was worried that maybe our thinking wasn’t good (Field notes, 2013). In addition, the women consistently undervalue the progress made in learning English as evident in exit surveys and group discussions (Participant observation). Several women see their children as speaking perfect to the point that children become translators. For example, “[m]y daughter did not go to school for 3 months as she had to translate everything for my husband and I in the hospital” (Mehri, digital story, 2013) or, as Anna notes, as tutors who go so far as teasing their parents’ pronunciation efforts (Field notes, 2012).

The participants seem well aware of popular im/migration discourse and have come to repeat if not internalize the messages. For example, in regards to a conversation about family sponsorship, “[s]ponsors are responsible for everything, not government because so many immigrants, too much people for government.” (Field notes). In a similar vein, a veteran of the program told a new participant, “[m]aybe because your husband has the visa the government doesn’t want to give you money for school” (Gloria, Field notes).

The participants have come to understand that immigration is capped and/or restricted due to the financial limitations of the state. A bi-product of this is a largely unspoken undercurrent of resentment towards ‘others’ arising from perceptions that the other im/migrant has more, a characteristic of the racialization process. An example of this was expressed during a class in which only Paula and Anna attended. The women shared they felt “Arabs” and “Africans” were favoured in im/migration policies. Anna felt it was easy for someone wearing a Niqab to get a visa but it was not possible for someone from Eastern Europe. When asked why, she suggested that maybe it is because people think everyone from Eastern Europe is mafia or a sex worker (Field notes, 2013). By framing im/migration restrictions as a limitation of resources, the consequence, for some of the participants in the PLP, was a ranking of im/migrants based on simplistic, media generated imagery. In addition, the participant’s experiences of exclusion have led them to believe the “...government doesn’t want people from other countries” (Field notes). The women appear to have internalized the anti-immigration sentiment found in the discourse of bogus claimants and economic refugees.

Absentee participation

The women demonstrated their disinterest and/or disapproval of IS-NGO practices by absentee participation in PLP activities, events and/or class. Most notable the dismal turnout to an IS-NGO event at city hall in which the women in the program were told by senior administration that they were chosen to “share” and “lead” a circle time with songs, chosen by the director, on the center stage in

front of hundreds of people, including members of the media (Participant observation). While there was an extension of additional resources to support attendance to this event (taxi to/from, lunch) in the end only three of the fifteen families who said they would attend actually participated. In a similar incident, when the PLP modified the circle time component of programming without consulting the participants, a large group of women walked out during the meal without speaking to the staff (Participant observation). It took several classes to get back the momentum lost from that moment. Excursions to city facilities or to public schools to access/connect with resources are generally poorly attended, whereas visits to concerts, museums and/or galleries are better received (Participant observation) suggesting participants may wish to extend their experiences beyond those of direct utility to their home labour.

Originally, I had intended to interview two women, one who had recently left the PLP and one who had left for an extended period and then returned, to garner their experiences of settlement in relation to the PLP. While both women indicated an interest in meeting and arrangements to meet were made with consideration to travel, childcare, comfort and privacy both women cancelled twice, each cancellation for a different reason. I left “rescheduling” open to the interviewees, reading the cancellations as disinterest, discomfort and/or inconvenience to being interviewed and the cancellations as a form of absenteeism.

Disappearing from the program may also be a form of opting out of the practices, procedures and/or positions within the IS-NGO. While end of session

surveys document learner satisfaction and women who transfer into other registered programs as program successes, there are no exit surveys or follow up procedures for those who just stop attending. It has been the practice to count those leaving the program as ‘having achieved learning goals’ when it may be a response to programming and/or the IS-NGO.

Sharing stories of success

In “finding the story” for digital storytelling the question often asked is, why this story, why now? (Kershaw, 2013). As Kershaw notes, the stories we chose to share start with what is given or in some cases what is taken away. There is an intention both in the telling of the story and for those receiving. The women shared stories highlighting past life events and several women shared stories related to their initial settlement experience. The selected content of the digital stories as well as the stories shared through viewing the movies can be read as a means of speaking about and responding to settlement experiences.

One of the themes emerging from these stories is, “I haven’t always been this way.” For example, a participant who only occasionally comes to class brought in pictures taken in Tajikistan (Field notes). As she passed around pictures and shared stories, we learned that she only began to wear the hijab after she moved to Canada, and that she had been affluent with an active, cosmopolitan social life (Participant observation). This is in marked contrast to the “barriers” and “isolation” placed on her as a woman who experienced interrupted formal schooling, and the embodied expressions of faith she has adopted. Similarly, the

digital story of Paula begins with narrative and imagery highlighting her solidly middle class upbringing. The storytellers are making visible that which has become invisible in the settlement process.

Many of the stories the women shared are humorous retellings of the “early days” in Canada. These narratives may serve several purposes. At one level, through a small amount of self-denigration the women can highlight their settlement progress and in the process perhaps elevate themselves above more recent im/migrants participating in the PLP. In addition, these stories highlight the resourcefulness and persistence of the women. For example, in a story about taking a bus, Souzan tells us, “...I took five buses. I paid for two tickets. I was delivered downtown. I showed the policeman my address. They called a taxi...My friend had been calling my house. She was worried about me. I was relieved to be home” (Souzan, digital story, 2013). Reading this story through the “backdoor” (Brokenleg, 2013), this participant demonstrates perseverance, problem-solving skills, the confidence to approach authorities, and has a friend who cares about her well-being. This participant chose to tell a story that focused on her capacity to navigate through the city regardless of her level of English. In a similar vein, Mehri created a digital story about successfully locating and acquiring milk for her child’s bottle her first night in Canada. Mehri’s story became a favourite within the group in part due to its humour but also due to the contrast between Mehri’s actions in the story and the conservative, matriarchal persona she demonstrates in class (Participant observation). Mehri’s second story about her spouse’s work related accident ends:

My husband still goes to pain clinics and he can no longer write and work like he used to. But on the bright side, we all did this. He is still alive and I'm thankful for that. We gained experience and became even stronger in the end. Our love was strengthened and today we are more grateful than ever. (Mehri, scribed by her daughter, 2013)

In this story, Mehri explains how it is the family became "at-risk" and "barriered" and quietly praises the support of her daughter. She is also speaking to the agency and resiliency of the family. For many of the participants we may read the stories they chose to share within the context of the research as a response to their experiences as in/voluntary im/migrants, a way of saying, I am more capable, complex and nuanced than you, the PLP, IS-NGO or Canadian society recognize. Interestingly, Anna, Kamila, Yuan and Lian created work focused on the growth and/or accomplishments of their children (Participant observation), perhaps feeling less need to re/present themselves.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the data and analysis arising from the collective and dialectical learning within the beginner PLP group. The experiences shared by participants suggest race-based discrimination intersecting with race, religion, class and/or ethnicity was experienced prior to relocating to Alberta. The participants share how legal status, whiteness, and proficiency in English act as a means to include/exclude im/migrant

women from citizenship, highlight instances of the de/skilling of non-wage labour and pool examples of infantilization and denigration in accessing health care services. In response to race-based discrimination, the participants appear to use the PLP in an instrumental way, internalize messages of inadequacy and competition, and demonstrate absentee participation. The participants also respond by sharing stories that made visible that which is cloaked in the process of settlement.

Chapter 6:

RACIALIZATION, RACE REGIMES AND THE IS-NGOs

There can be no happiness if the things we believe in are different than the things we do (Freya Stark).

This final chapter offers concluding thoughts about the implications of this research. Beginning with some introductory remarks about the research, the discussion moves to possible outcomes of the research. I follow with a number of points intended to facilitate an engagement of critical reflection on the part of the PLP and/or IS-NGO regarding how existing programs and services may racialize in/voluntary im/migrant women. Finally, I offer some concluding remarks including potential new directions for future work.

Research Purpose and Question

The research explored how IS-NGOs involved with the provision of immigrant support services through various programs like ELL/PLP could be racializing new im/migrants. Through the research, examples of racialization and race regimes were illustrated. The research uncovered some of the responses of program participants. This was achieved by creating a collective and dialogical learning space using participatory research methodology. The research uncovered the participant's responses to settlement, the IS-NGO and the PLP. The participatory research methodology focused on the participant analysis of their experiences. This led to critical conversations, by the participants and amongst

program staff which can be used to renew the IS-NGO and/or program for the betterment of the participants occurred.

The concept of race regimes, political systems of privilege and oppression established and maintained by states via structures, practices, discourse and power relationships for regulating inclusion/exclusion (Vickers & Isaac, 2012), contribute to the framing of the research. The first question I posed for exploration was how may the construction and implementation of IS-NGOs programs potentially racialize - the process new im/migrants undertake to be hierarchically positioned within white/non-white race labour and social orders - im/migrants as typified by race regimes? The IS-NGO is an in/direct establishment of the state, in so much as the state's failure/unwillingness to offer social supports to im/migrants served as the catalyst for originally creating the IS-NGO. The IS-NGO is also in/directly maintained by the state i) through government funding and ii) via state controlled charitable status allowing for funds to be filtered into IS-NGOs to subsidize insufficient monies acquired through government programming and grants. Operating within neoliberal principles, protection is seldom provided through the state, at least not directly, as out sourcing to caring agencies that rely on conditional government funding, time consuming foundation grants, non-paid labour, volunteers and unpredictable charitable contributions is standard (Kivel, 2007). For example, the PLP program alone, with a modest operating budget has five different funders (each itself dependent on multiple sources of funding), requiring periodic funding renewal

submissions, regularly scheduled reporting and the implementation and/or inclusion of specific criteria that in/directly shapes programming.

IS-NGOs compete with other outsourced, privatised social services for funding to support the management of Canada's im/migration regime. As the chairman (agency term) stated in a recent IS-NGO (2013) Community Report:

There are thousands (yes thousands) of non-profit agencies in [name of city] daily seeking support from large and small funders alike...it is important the current and potential funders are aware of all the work we do...so that they can make informed choices with their resources. (p. 5)

By design, such IS-NGOs are vulnerable to shifts in political climate, the demands of funders and the whims of popular opinion. This was acknowledged by a senior administrator during an interview:

...and so now I actually have no idea what their perspective is or what they want. I'm just glad if we get funding (laughter)...She was a mentor and she so appreciated the approach we were doing but that was Chrétien's time. I don't know if it's related to Stephen [Harper], but that's provincial so probably not, but there was a mood shift I'd say, in the government. (SD Interview, February 2013)

To compete, the IS-NGO must aggressively market its goods/services, in this case a carefully blended staff and wide range of settlement services wrapped in

humanitarianism and tied together with a development discourse, to potential investors of bridge building projects. The analogue of bridge building used extensively throughout IS-NGO documents and branding campaigns (Participant observation) suggests a chasm, the gorge as a divisive blight on the landscape. A bridge needs to be built as either i) those on one side or the other are in need of help or ii) there is something on one, or the other side of value to be acquired. What the IS-NGO may wish to critically consider is, who controls the bridge, which way does the traffic flow, what is the purpose/intent of the walk, is there a toll charged for crossing and who pays the toll? The bridge may be charity (paternalism); a gentle, benign expression for acculturation (neo colonialism); and/or an intentional act of acquisition of surplus labour, material resources and/or cultural window-dressings for marketing (globalised capitalism).

In the process, the clients served experience infantilization, denigration, distrust, ridicule, exclusion and/or are rendered invisible. All racist practices, Fanon (in Schmitt 1996) argues, intended to objectify the other. For example, the PLPs shift in attention to “mommy issues” and the dissemination of parenting advice/support implies a deficiency in the women, denigrating the skills/knowledge they possess. In this, the PLP may contribute to positioning im/migrant women as unskilled non-waged labour whose talents may be best applied to minimum wage labour as cooks, cleaners and day home workers in the service of the privileged.

The PLP also serves as a Band-Aid to the gendered inequalities in state sponsored language programs. For example, many women with children

experience exclusion, in practice, from LINC programs due to a state structured lack of affordable childcare. As Miles and Torres (1999) note, “[t]he gendered subjects and objects of the racialization process continue to be differently located in the structures of capitalist relations of production” (p. 34). Legislation creating a national childcare program, ensuring the affordability of childcare, the implementation of a liveable wage, increasing and broadening family sponsorship, and/or supporting non-waged labour as well as recognition that family responsibilities extend beyond childcare (Chovanec, Lange et al., 2010) could possibly address issues of exclusion from language programs for many women. Instead, the IS-NGO offers, in/directly on behalf of the state, a minimally resourced, limited language class focused on parenting, limiting exposure to the dominant language while re/enforcing construction of the nurturing, but deficient im/migrant mother. In response, the participants assume an instrumental approach to such offerings; taking from the PLP that which is of use, building relational capital and augmenting opportunities with other programming.

Drawing from the participants’ experience, language seems a primary means of denigrating the knowledge, skills, and credentials of im/migrant women. Language and literacy, as both Martin Brokenleg and Reuben Quinn noted in presentations at the Literacy and Learning Symposium (2013) is a tool of colonization. The forces of colonization that established and embedded race regimes into the fabric of Canada continue to be acted out today in many of the nations that supply the im/migration labour that fuels Canada’s economy. The histories of colonialism and/or political and economic interventions in the

countries the women originated from (see appendix A) shape perceptions of the linguistic, educational and/or social capital of the participants, as demonstrated in the interview with the IS-NGO administrator and the internalized perceptions of the participants. This in turn influences perceptions of integration and positioning within white/non-white hierarchies in Canada.

Language also serves as an instrument of exclusion and a means of maintaining/preserving whiteness (see Arat-Koç, 2010). Increasingly, public service and personal services (banks, health care, public schools, Citizen and Immigration Canada), including those offered by the IS-NGO, deliver information via websites, which are largely text based, and assume language mastery, computer/internet access and navigational skills. While convenience and cost savings are most cited for the move from human to electronic service delivery, it could be argued it is an attempt to limit access to information and/or limit direct contact to specific communities. Both being a means of exclusion.

In response, the participants use IS-NGO staff as literacy mediators and scribes to navigate text-laden institutions (Participant observation). Recognizing this role, the IS-NGO received additional funding to extend my workday to support this service. Yet over a five-year period, no additional funding was found to extend the length or duration of classes, to create more childcare spaces or to expand the program to other neighbourhoods of the city despite consistent requests by the participants (Chell, 2008-2013). The role of literacy mediator places me in a position of power as the expert and improves my economic position, while infantilizing the program participants (see

Schmitt, 1996) who shared; “[s]ometimes I need help but I want to do it myself” (Co-constructed text, 2012).

Some women participating in the research shared they feel invisible, a form of racism, within the dominant Eurocentric Anglo-Franco order, as their faith, culture, holidays and language are “different.” While stated as a general experience in Canada, the participants may be directing their observations at the PLP/IS-NGO, which is structured around Judeo Christian holidays, traditions and practices, not to mention the English language (Lopes & Thomas, 2006). In reply, the IS-NGO may argue the organization of programming is around state legislated holidays, school breaks, around funding cycles and/or “industry” practice. The structures and practices of race regimes influencing the IS-NGO may re/enforce feelings of invisibility amongst in/voluntary im/migrant women.

A candid conversation with Anna and Paula regarding accessing settlement supports highlighted how structured scarcity to material resources arising directly from state policy acts to i) create perceived hierarchies to access and ii) divide im/migrant women from pursuing common interests, in this case affordable housing, demonstrating the process of racialization. This conversation occurred on a day in which participants of colour were absent, serving to remind me that the very topics we are discussing shape the research process and product. It also suggests the internalization by im/migrant women of state supported multicultural discourse focused on peaceful coexistence and the power/limitations of group members in dialectical exchanges.

Of course, I do not believe anyone within the IS-NGO is working with the conscious intent or a dedicated purpose to support state-focused, institutional race-based discrimination. For example, the senior director interviewed has been actively involved in projects and presentations challenging the normative assumptions of future educators, funders and community partners. Most supporters of the IS-NGO are working within liberal narratives of education, development and humanitarianism, believing that they are doing good work, working to make a difference and/or sharing with the “less fortunate.” This said, those working within the IS-NGO cannot claim naïve innocence in regards to the ways in which practices and policies at times objectify those seeking access to programs and/or services. When staff members express frustration with policy, hate the language needed for funding or intentionally “bend rules” to help an individual, they are recognizing the inherent flaws in IS-NGO work and with engaging in systems of privilege and oppression.

Methodological Revisitations: Participatory Research, Race, Racialization and Race Regimes

Research, education/learning and action

At least at the micro level, the participants and I benefitted from engaging in what eventually became a collective and dialogical learning space through experimentation with participatory research methodology. In relation to my teaching/learning, the research process made me attentive and reflexive,

encouraging a degree of rigour that may not be present in day-to-day programming.

The PLP program is sold to funders and to the literacy community as a participatory model of adult education (Sillito, 2012). However, I would argue that prior to the research; authentic participation within the PLP was limited and/or partial in nature. In the past learners may have participated with their presence or participated through helping to select topics of study and in identifying excursions of interest, but the topics the women selected were limited to those typical of an ELL classroom - those connected to labour, consumerism and nation building. Participation can be restricted to particular moments in the process rather than on-going as exemplified here, "...we get ideas for what they want to do the homework club, you know. It was originally a response to requests but now we run them the way we run them" (SD Interview, February 2013).

The women have also participated through performance (Participant observation). For example in singing ethnicized versions of English songs (we can sing *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star* in several languages) or in sharing "their culture". However, when using participatory methodology everyone became involved in the creation of knowledge and everyone participated (to varying degrees) in creating the curriculum and the materials that supported our learning. This deeper participation not only served as a strong base for developing language instruction but also allowed our learning to step out of limiting pre-constructed narratives. For example, the poster we created is a product of the collective data

and collective analysis of our research and learning. The poster hangs in the front foyer of the IS-NGO and has travelled to literacy conferences as a form of action and sharing.

This said, I am cautious:

Dialogue experiences and other intercultural education practices reinforce prevailing colonizing hegemony as when, absent a central focus on social reconstruction, the rules of engagement requires disenfranchised participants to render themselves more vulnerable to the powerful than they already are. (Gorski, 2008, p. 521)

Participatory research and teaching cannot be just another effective technique of teaching adults. I was reminded of this after the showing of our digital stories. An administrator approached me wanting to show the movies at a large public event to highlight our program, failing to pause and consider who were the creators and owners of the stories or the ethics of such appropriation (Participant observation). As well, I am conscious as Razack (2008) argues that participatory teaching can be a pedagogical trick of cultural accommodation, a means of bridging dominant and subordinate groups without consideration of "...the racial defects that haunt the imagination of the colonizer and the colonized and that mark the encounter between them, our best intentions notwithstanding" (p. 9). An important question I need to ask of the research is to what extent did it make power relations visible?

As the women's goals of learning English were of primary concern, the research was a success in terms of the depth and complexity of language developed. While none of the women achieved their goal of speaking fluently,

they have all developed confidence in speaking English (Chell & Matthews, 2012) and developed a vocabulary that reaches beyond the topics of discipline, budgeting and parent-teacher interviews as demonstrated in the poster and the vocabulary words.

Sharing our poster and digital-stories with IS-NGO administration garnered support for the methods used and may shape the organization's development or approach to programming and/or curriculum in the future. The research has extended beyond the class with our findings shared within the IS-NGO, amongst the ELL teaching staff and administration and has directed the types of discussions undertaken amongst the PLP staff. Presenting at the Alberta Teachers of English Second Language Conference (2012) and the Literacy and Learning Symposium (2013), I had an opportunity to share what participatory learning and research may look like in practice. More importantly, I shared the knowledge and insights of the co-researchers, in presenting the poster and speaking directly about the co-created data and analysis. In the process, we challenged institutional assumptions about appropriate content for low-level language learners (see Chovanec, Lange et al., 2010).

Utility of framework

There were moments during the research, perhaps most notably during the City Hall event and the donation presentation, that I was angry at the IS-NGO for what appeared to be intentional acts of racism directed at the participants in the program. Further, I recognized that the inclusion of our little program in these two events was the result of a spotlight shone on the PLP for its "distinct" (in the ELL

world) approach to adult education, an approach that the PLP staff, myself included, had worked to document, sell and justify to senior administration/funders. It was easy as Kemmis and McTaggart (2008), suggest to allow myself to be “...simply opposed to established *authorities* rather than opposed to particular *structures* or established *practices*” (p. 305, italics original). The use of race regimes to frame the research disrupted the us (researchers/participants)/them (IS-NGO/funders) dichotomy and widened the focus to include what Michelle Fine (2013) refers to as critical bifocality; research that looks at structures and histories as well as lives. The IS-NGO fits some place within or between the state and participants’ lives, and the relationship the IS-NGO has with its clients is conflicted. On the one hand, the organization is committed to social justice, equity and fairness but on the other it coexists, supports and even engages in racist practices against im/migrants in “...the normal, recurrent and routinized procedures of institutions...” (Small, 1999, p. 50) and as an agent of the state. Some acts are unconscious, so embedded in the ideology and structures of the state that they have become invisible (Small, 1999), such as the organization of the work year. Other acts are conscious and strategic as a means to an end (Choudry, 2013) as was the photo opportunity staged for the benefit of the donors. An analysis of race regimes and racialization illuminate the structures, practices, discourses and power relationship that contribute to, normalize and legitimize those acts. Analyzing the IS-NGO within the framework of racialization/race regimes brings to the forefront the ways the IS-NGO serves

and maintains the state, through the provision of social services and adult learning programs, rather than truly acting as agents of social justice.

The data from this research adds to the understanding of race regimes by suggesting, in the same manner as critical race feminism, that i) embedded forms of state racism effect genders differently and ii) structures and practices are tailored to manage gender differently. The data suggest a gendering of family unification, either inside and/or outside Canada, language services and/or the deskilling of non-waged labour. Likewise, the IS-NGO intentionally created a program tailored to women (though for the sake of equity and funding veiled the gendered program with the “neutral” term parent) that facilitates the regulation and containment (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013) of non-waged labour and im/migrant women prior to/in place of participation in other institutions of management (public schools, training programs, waged labor).

As race regimes are rooted in history rather than framed as anomalies or one off happenings, the framework provide a glimpse not only into the past but also into a future if we allow political systems to continue along their course. Returning to the discussion regarding referrals to HeadStart, we can see how the different treatments towards a four-year-old Canadian born female of Afghan descent and that of a four-year-old Canadian born male of Japanese descent begin the process of racialization early in a child’s life and how small acts of “good intentions” can build into systems of management. Similarly, the participants spoke at length about the dismissal/minimizing of the health concerns of their children by healthcare providers. Looking ahead, how might these experiences

shape the next generation? The women in the program believe, “[o]ur children feel Canadian” (Co-constructed texts, 2012), however, within a race regime framework, questions arise as to the nature of this citizenship. This is significant if, as Marx (1998) argues, “[c]itizenship is the key institutional mechanism for establishing boundaries of inclusion or exclusion in the nation-state” (p. 5). This work contributes to our understanding of how race regimes affect families and cut across generations.

The data generated within the group suggests that experiences of racism occurred prior to im/migration and in connection with sequential moves related to migration driven by economic necessity and/or in response to conflict. In some cases, im/migration was an in/direct result of policies/actions made by settler states (invasion of Iraq, US intervention in Colombia and Guatemala, see appendix A). The effects of race regimes extend beyond the boundaries of the state. As Rodriguez (2010) illustrates, there is interplay between the labour demands of the Canadian state and the commodification of labour in the Philippines, facilitating the flow of a privileged labour force between the two. How race regimes are established and maintained requires another layer of analysis that would add depth to theoretical understandings of the processes of the racialization experienced by in/voluntary im/migrant women in Canada.

Finally, by framing racism as embedded in the state, rather than isolated to an individual or to a singular organization, it becomes depersonalized (at least initially) and serves as a less threatening place to begin dialogue. The framework can serve as a guide if we wish to engage in anti-racist work. It can direct

attention to linkages with colonial legacies (Macedo & Gounari, 2006) and illuminate the means used by ruling elites to shape political/social identities (Marx, 1998) rather than expending efforts to correct the pathologies of a few misguided individuals (McIntosh, 1989). Returning to Mookerjea (2011), if multiculturalism is, "...a contradictory site of both a specific and unique form of racism and Utopian antiracism" (para. 11) then so too may be the organizations and institutions that support and maintain it. The danger though is of a fatalist, 'this is too big,' conversation. It is necessary to couple such dialogues with a focus on imagining what could be (Fine, 2013) and a plan for action. State established and maintained forms of inclusion/exclusion, power and privilege are hard to address, calling for collective, collaborative approaches both through structural changes and/or grassroots organization (Cervero & Wilson, 2000; Vickers & Isaac, 2012). It is in this that adult education can play a vital role.

Lessons learned

The teaching and learning in the classroom are at best understood by all to be a shared undertaking, where each contributes what she or he can and each gets what is appropriate for him or her to receive. Genuinely human relationships are mutual insofar as they are a joint undertaking. (Schmitt, 1996, p. 44)

One of the challenges of participatory research Hall (1977) identifies is the time involved in organizing and carrying out participatory research. Participatory research is presented as challenging, exhausting work fraught with issues of power and politics, privilege and tension (Fine, 2007; Macguire, 1987). This is

true, in my experience of teaching in any environment. However, I did underestimate the time it takes to develop the relationships necessary for conducting participatory research. As the majority of the participants were previous students and over the years, my teaching practice has included and become “more participatory” I did not anticipate or perhaps fully recognize the significance of relationships within the research. Only in reflection do I see how our relations shifted from collegiality towards more genuine interactions through our shared learning. Two events, in reflection, seem to mark shifting relationships. The first was the sharing of our research through displaying the poster in the foyer of the IS-NGOs main building. Even with (or due to) probing, the women never really divulged their thoughts regarding the poster. Yet, participant “ownership” of the learning space, for example, preparing tea, bringing in articles, leading discussions, volunteering to read/share and/or teach others became more evident during class time (Participant observation) perhaps due to the recognition received as learners/researchers. Or perhaps, it was not the product that was important to the women, it was the process. The second occurrence was while listening to the recordings of the women’s stories in their first language and then scribing. It may have been an importance attributed to the recording of the stories and the handing over of technology, the shifting power dynamic of placing home language first in the learning process, the strength of narrative approaches in teaching and/or the opportunity for each participant to be at the center of the story. Regardless, the relationship we had with one another after going through the process of creating

digital stories came much closer to being what Schmitt (1996) refers to as genuine human relationships.

Suggestions for Revitalization

The intent of this research was not necessarily to improve the provision of services to im/migrants, but rather to provide an opportunity for critical reflection regarding how existing programs and services may address and/or exacerbate experience of inequities for im/migrant women in Canada. Heeding the advice of Rattansi (2005), this research attempted not to look for institutional racism, but “...the workings of processes of racialization within institutions, with variable outcomes for racialized populations... within institutions such as schools, hospitals, police forces, and so forth...” (p. 289) and being “...aware of the specificities of particular institutional sites and their practices” (p. 293). However, this alone would be incomplete as specific institutions are influenced and dependent on external state-focused structures.

While the women participating in the PLP identified instances of exclusion in their day-to-day lives including exclusion from adult learning opportunities, drawing on end of session surveys and focus group data, the participants view the program as a welcoming, positive space. The PLP has value for those who attend, even if it only partially or incompletely addressed their desire to develop literacy and/or acquire language skills.

The need best met within IS-NGO programming targeting in/voluntary im/migrant women is the social need to connect with other women. They come for the support that a community of friends or families might provide in another

context. During my time in the program, the women have never claimed to come seeking parenting support though it is extended within natural social settings (Participant observation). For example, Nadege seeking advice from Mehri on weaning while having tea and nursing (Field notes) or issues of sleep patterns arising in the daily go-arounds (Participant observation). The data suggest the explicit introduction of nutritional, disciplinary or development instruction, for example, is unnecessary. When opportunity presents itself, the women can ask and receive the advice they seek, including from outside “specialists.” In addition, as previously exemplified, it is space to market skills and advance informal networks of support. The research of Jackson (2010), and Gibb and Hamden (2010), note this may occur regardless or even in spite of the formal objectives of the program as exemplified by talking during circle time stories or the conducting of business during the morning go-arounds (Participant observation). However, the conscious inclusion of informal social spaces/times distinguishes the PLP from many other adult language programs. Another unique feature of the program is the ability to attend (if space/transport exists) regardless of state imposed legal distinction that ascribe status to some and deny access to others. It is advisable the PLP continue to support the inclusion of informal social spaces/time, being mindful that this does not reallocate resources that support the learning goals of the participants. Recognizing this, the coordinator of the PLP recently introduced a pre-class teatime, often inviting expert guests; either participants or outside people to share information. Another possibility would be for the participants to self-coordinate/organize teatime or to open up a community space within the IS-

NGO where participants in the PLP and those engaged with the agency could gather and self-organize activities/events. This would represent a deeper, more active form of participation and would highlight the diversity of skills/knowledge within the im/migrant communities accessing services.

In reference to the classroom, participatory/empowering pedagogical practices (Freire, 1983; Hall, 1977; Shor, 1997) that facilitate the exploration of the participants social world could be more front and center within the PLP, and evident in discussion, documentation and resource allocation. While current teaching staff engage in developing participatory practices there is no “plan” for embedding this approach into the PLP. In addition, the allocation of funding for teaching resources limits opportunities for self-publishing, for example, or for developing a secure site for sharing digital content developed by the participants.

Walcott (2011) makes the argument that neoliberalism, in its many forms “...manages our unfreedoms through what many have come to identify as an audit and surveillance culture” (p. 24). The IS-NGO common sense and daily practices, institutional routines and procedures, accountability measures, success indicators, formalized policies, organizational culture and funding models (Apple, 2013) become expressions of the managerialism of neoliberalism (Walcott, 2011). When we are required by bureaucratic procedures to reduce a student to pre-established sets of criteria, standards or measureable outcomes, we are reducing the complexity of the person, cloaking the nuances of their being in, as Schmitt (1996) argues, “...a carefully orchestrated and systematic refusal of genuinely human relationships” (p. 36). The im/migrant (and to a degree those employed to

support im/migrants) become, borrowing from Fanon (in Schmitt, 1996), objectified and denigrated by the bureaucracy.

The PLP began as a grassroots research project. Program leadership has been conscious, in some areas, to limit partnerships that would increase instances of auditing and surveillance. However, the pressure on the IS-NGO to serve increasing numbers of im/migrants means "...seeking out new avenues for funding and discussing enhanced support from existing funders" (IS-NGO, 2013). In response, the IS-NGO has reassigned a staff member to the position of grant writing, whose wages and employment security are conditional to the funding secured. Removed from many of the programs being sold, it becomes challenging, for those writing grant proposals and those engaged with particular programs, to openly and critically discuss the implications and costs associated with each source of funding. If a grant writer could secure \$100,000 in program funding, would s/he pause to consider funder guidelines that may disallow programming access to specific populations? In addition, the chairperson, speaking on behalf of the board of directors spoke of the need "...to upgrade the agency's organizational systems in order to have the capacity to connect and serve more new Canadians" (IS-NGO, 2013, p. 4). And the language of the executive director in the Community Report focused on "governance," "strategic objectives," "key stakeholders," "our client base," "management teams," "being "leading edge" and "partners of choice," indicating a conscious public marketing of managerialism on the part of the board and director.

I suggest the IS-NGO pause to consider moves to greater managerialism and how this may lead to the objectification and denigration of the *people* the organization wishes to respect and show empathy towards (IS-NGO, 2013). Similarly, the IS-NGO may consider re-evaluating the emphasis on a partnership-orientated approach to organizational development. According to Choudry, Hanley and Shragge (2012) partnerships with civil society, governments and the business sector, "...keeps local work constrained and focused inward, pragmatically trying to improve local conditions, often without adequate resources" (p. 7).

Securing material resources and public support for IS-NGO programming requires demonstrating need and selling results. Those working within IS-NGOs become masters of identifying and capitalizing on instances of success as defined by the settlers and colonizers. Over time the IS-NGOs begins to believe the positive press releases without pausing (for who has time to pause with so much work being done by under resourced staff) to consider upstream and downstream (Fine, 2013), the local and the global (Lopes & Thomas, 2006) interconnectivity of our "success". What would happen if the same amount of time/resources put into referring families to the food bank was spent on activism for living wages or for guaranteed annual incomes? What are the short and long-term implications for clients successfully referred to food banks? Could those of us working within IS-NGOs take time to look behind the façade of success and consider critically the implications of IS-NGO programming at micro, mezzo and macro levels?

Return, for a moment, to the exchange with the director regarding those recommended to HeadStart type programs in which I asked if referrals are racially driven. I am struck by the avoidance of naming what is being discussed and the obvious discomfort both the director and I experienced in this line of questioning. I used culture, a term glorifying difference (Todorov, 2009) and favoured by state multiculturalism, as a buffer to soften the word “race” in the formation of my question, conscious of the taboo of discussing race within an organization that has diversity as a core value and worried about how it would be received. The director deflected and refocused the conversation using the economic and market driven language found in immigration policy. Throughout the interview, within programming support material, and/or IS-NGO documents race, racism or racialization is not mentioned or addressed regarding issues of access and/or recognition for im/migrants. Instead, diversity becomes a core value and culture, multiculturalism and interculturalism are used to explain and/or mitigate any sites of tension, affirming Wilson’s (2012) claim of the invisibility of race in development. The avoidance or absence of race within the IS-NGO and the structures supporting it does not mark its irrelevance, but rather, as White (2002) argues, its centrality in the settlement project. Neoliberal ideology and practices race and racialize im/migrants, and how the women who we claim to serve experience this. The program and the IS-NGO in hoping to achieve the goals outlined in the strategic plan, needs to be self-reflective in our understandings at practical and theoretical levels if it/we hope to reduce entrapment in systems of domination and dependency.

Future Work

The research in/directly continues, as I remain involved in the PLP. IS-NGO staff and clients, a few funders and a limited number of adult educators and administrators have read or heard about the work of the participants. However, there has not been an opportunity to engage with the materials in a critical and collaborative manner, which Lopes and Thomas (2006) argue, is necessary:

Anti-racism/anti-oppression movements recognize that inequitable power exists in our society. Unless this inequality in all its forms is actively challenged, it reproduces itself whether we intend it to or not in our organization. If there is to be real equity, there is no way to bring it about without an honest and critical look at the ways in which the normal, seemingly natural systems of most organizations benefit White people and disadvantage racialized people. (Lopes & Thomas, 2006, p. 12)

Future work could include opportunities for further IS-NGO engagement with the data. Questions to consider might be, how does the work the participants engaged in travel/connect to the experience of staff, does it make them think twice? (Fine, 2013) It would be interesting to explore the experiences of our ‘purposely blended staff’ within the same contributing framework. Comments made and conversations overheard (Participants observation) suggest that issues of race-based discrimination are as salient for many of those employed (including but not limited to within the IS-NGO) as they are for those served. For this to occur, space would need to be found and/or created within and beyond the IS-NGO to

engage with these challenging ideas. In addition, further work within the IS-NGO might include a careful examination “...of the ways funding and other material supports can orient organizations to prioritize institutional survival and maintenance at the expense of mobilization...” (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013, p. 5).

Given that experiences within health care were especially salient for the participants, there may be interest in the PLP community to extend our learning and research in this area. Recent participant information sessions with an emergency room physician/and member of *Canadian Doctors for Refugee Care* suggests there may be opportunities for collaborative research/learning related to im/migrant access to health services. Drawing on lessons learned in this research, I would recommend such an endeavor take place separate from classroom instruction but with some support on the part of the IS-NGO (meeting space, photocopying, tea, toys).

I intend to continue to develop my understandings of adult education. For example, to develop my skills in facilitating more inclusive methods for the co-creation of knowledge as well as explore how/if co-creation changes the participant’s self-perception as a learner/member of a community and if/how that is manifested. In addition, reflecting upon the digital story-telling project, I realize we are creating public/private archives. Might this become a means of intergenerational engagement? For example, Mehri had a daughter act as a scribe for her story and she gave the finished product to her children. How might this be significant to a literacy learner?

Finally, given the trend in Canada supporting temporary migration, an area for future research may be to explore specifically the experiences of the partners and/or the children who stay with temporary migrants. This has significance given that the intent of temporary migration is often eventual permanency in Canada. What are the costs/benefits of living temporary lives? Juxtaposing this with the experiences of those who eventually gain legal permanent residency, how/does the temporary shape later permanency?

Final Words

Like Mahrouse (2010), I question whether simply exposing forms and moments of racism to organizational staff and supporters will lead to any observable action within the IS-NGO. I am conscious as I write of Thobani's (2007) comments that, "[m]uch of the recent literature on migration examines the construction of the immigrant as a (racial and cultural) stranger to the nation" (p. 16). In framing the IS-NGO as an institution supporting the maintenance of race regimes, it is possible that (re)constructions of in/voluntary im/migrant women in the program as "victims of structures" and without agency to be (re)enforced, a role that fits within some development narratives.

At this point in time, the IS-NGO is an im/migrant *service* organization. It provides the services that government, business and private donors are willing to finance but unwilling to provide. It provides services *to clients*. The IS-NGO supports, "[g]iving (emphasis added) every individual the opportunity to achieve their potential and to participate fully in the community" a), with potential and

participation framed by the state and the IS-NGO as involvement in the paid labour economy. There may have been a period in the IS-NGO's history in which advocacy work with im/migrant populations for social change "...challenge[d] the root causes of the exploitation and violence "(Kivel, 2007, p. 129). However, in the current political/economic climate and under the current board and leadership, at least publically, that time has passed, indicative of the NGOization of social services (Choudry & Kapoor, 2013).

If the IS-NGO is seriously committed "to the principles of social justice, diversity, compassion and responsibility" (IS-NGO, 2012a, p. 1) then it may need to take on a more active political stance. Smith (2007) speaking of the non-profit industrial complex proclaims, "...our focus should not be on organizational (or career) preservation, but on furthering the movement of which [we claim] an organization is a part" (p. 15). Planned obsolescence rather than being a "...partner of choice for other social service agencies" (IS-NGO, 2013, p.7) may be a more productive goal. For this to be realized, a process of decolonization is required to disrupt and deconstruct race-based discrimination embedded in the structures, practices and discourses of Canada.

We require a democratizing of the production and distribution of knowledges and an authentic effort to develop genuine relationships with one another, to engage in uncomfortable and problematic conversations, and to question and actively challenge the behaviours and actions that sustain the inequitable distribution of resources for the benefit of the few. Only then, can the IS-NGOs commitment to social justice gain traction.

Notes

¹ IS-NGO public relations video on Youtube. Retrieved from:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?v=257066267764595&set=fb.392311284144109&type=2&theater>).

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Appendix A

Country Background :

Burundi, Poland, Iraq, Afghanistan, Guatemala

Colombia, Mexico, and China

Burundi

In 1899, the Kingdom of Burundi came under German East African administration only to be handed over to Belgium in 1924 to administer the colony (Gascoigne, 2013). In 1962, the regions of Ruanda-Urundi, became independent and separated from Belgium Congo, becoming Rwanda and Burundi (Gascoigne, 2013). Tensions between Tutsi and Hutu, rooted in class and colonial racial practices resulted in subsequent political coups, social unrest, and ethnic violence with civil war breaking out in 1993 and continuing until 2006 (Globoledge, 2013). It is estimated nearly a million Burundi crossed into Tanzania in 1993 and 300.000 died during the war (Globoledge, 2013; PressTV, 2013). Today, the repatriation of displaced peoples possesses a challenge to one of the poorest nations in the world. Burundi is dependent on IMF and World Bank support (and conditions) for maintaining the state. There are high rates of inflation, for example, an average 14.5% in 2012 due to increases in the cost of firewood and food (African Development Bank Group [ADBG], 2013). Agriculture supports 90% of the economy with coffee, subject to market fluctuations, the primary cash crop (Globoledge, 2013).

Poland

Poland was a satellite of the Soviet Union. The 1980s saw the rise of union unrest and the emergence of the “Solidarity” labour union movement. In 1989 the Solidarity party won the election, defeating the Soviet supported communist party. This became the first in a series of political events that led to the dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991 (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2013a). With the move towards “democracy” came the lessening of Cold War tensions between the American and Soviets. In the 1990’s Poland was subjected to shock therapy (Hall & Elliott, 1999) as it moved from a planned to “free” market economy. Poland joined the EU in 2004 and the Schengen Area in 2007, a group of European countries that have abolished passport and immigration controls at their borders (Europa, 2009). As a result, an external border with Belarus and Russia has escalated border security and surveillance in Poland along the front line in order to keep out non-EU citizens.

Poland has been cited as a model for Eastern European economic development (cite news clip here). Mitt Romney hailed Poland's economy, “...a Republican dream: a place of small government, individual empowerment and free enterprise”(Gera, 2013, para. 1) This said, Poland’s GDP is significantly less than rest of the EU and has higher rates of unemployment. The gap between top earners and the lowest paid has grown and there exists large regional variations. According to Johnsson (2010), there has been a steady erosion of organized labour since the 1990’s. With a UK minimum wage twice that in Poland, there have been large movements of workers from East to West. It has been estimated that 1 in 12 Poles have worked outside of Poland in the past five years.

At the same time, migrant Polish workers have been accused by UK labour of driving down wages.

Iraq

The Republic of Iraq was created in 1958 after the overthrow of the British supported monarchy. Iraq was led by the Ba'ath Party from 1968 until 2003. The United States and Britain used the rumor of weapons of mass destruction as justification for invading Iraq, banning the Ba'ath Party and establishing a provisional government (in violation of international conventions). It is estimated in 2003, 2 million Iraqis left to Syria and Jordan with another 1.6 million displaced internally (Margesson, Sharp & Bruno, 2007). Between May of 2003 and June 2004, Paul Bremer, appointed the US Administrator in Iraq, issued what has become known as Bremer's 100 orders. Included in the orders were structural changes to the government, the privatization of state-owned assets, the allowed 100% foreign ownership of businesses, unrestricted tax free remittance, forty-year ownership licenses (Pollack, 2006) and amended patent laws including those on seed and plants (Hegde, 2010). In addition, the Paris Club of Creditors, in 2004, agreed to cancel 80% of Iraq's debt, largely subject to meeting conditions set out by the IMF. The last US troops left Iraq by the end of 2011, however, US corporate involvement remains strong as reconstruction contracts prior to the withdrawal were largely awarded to US multinational (Ayesh, 2013) and the sale of US arms to Iraq remains robust (Agence France-Presse, 2013).

Afghanistan

Afghanistan has long been of strategic interest to the British, Soviet Union/Russian and American. Initially Afghanistan was viewed as a buffer between Russian and British expansion. During the Cold War, the monarchy of Afghanistan maintained a policy of non-alignment. The monarchy was displaced in 1973 by Prime Minister Daud Khan, who declared himself President. In 1976 the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) with the aid of the Afghan Army and Soviet Union seized control of the government. A civil war unfolded between the opposition Mujahedeen forces supported by the United States and Saudi Arabia and the Soviet-backed Afghan government. The ten-year war saw the loss of one million Afghan lives and 3 million more become refugees (Barfield, 2010). The 1990s brought the fracturing of the PDPA, civil war and the expansion of the Taliban, who by 1999 controlled Afghanistan (Barfield, 2010). The Taliban's association with Al-Qaeda and stance towards US demands following the 9/11 attacks in New York, provided the impetus for the United Nations to authorize the deployment of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghans Civil war. Since 2001, Afghanistan has been the principle site of the on-going 'global war on terror' (Sakander, 2013). It is argued however that this war on terror is simple a means for the US, and other Western nations, to gain access to Afghanistan's as yet undeveloped rich mineral and natural gas reserves (Chossudovsky, 2013). While NATO troops are scheduled to withdraw from Afghanistan by 2014, plans are in the works to provide the US with military bases, maintaining an active presence in the region (BBC, 2013b) while donor aid is committed through until 2016 (Indexmundi, 2013).

Guatemala

Guatemala was engaged in a 36 year civil war from 1960 to 1996 between grassroots leftist groups fighting against poverty, land take over, foreign investment (United Fruit) , oppression and US trained government military (Sethi, 2011) . According to some accounts 95% of the 200 000 deaths were inflicted by government forces, in what has been described by the UN truth commission as genocide (cite film). Indigenous populations were disproportional targeted during the war. As a result there is an estimated one million internally displaced people with another half million diaspora in Mexico. Since the end of the war, the high rate of migration to Mexico, the US and Canada has continued. Remittance now constitutes one-tenth of Guatemala's national GDP (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2013) .The major trade partner of Guatemala continues to be the US. Poverty is widespread across Guatemala with 75% of the population unable to purchase necessary goods, with that rate increasing to 90% for indigenous populations (World Bank, 2011). Inequality of income, consumption and access to land continue are reflected in the nation's social indicators.

Colombia

Colombia, is the site of the continents longest running armed conflict. Originally the Colombia military established paramilitary groups under the advice of the US government to suppress peasant groups opposed to the privatization of large tracts of land for industrialized agricultural and the exploitation of natural resources by foreign multinationals (Leech, 1999). This prolonged conflict has

resulted in 220,000 deaths (Salcedo,2013) and between 4.9 and 5.5 million internally displaced people the highest in the world (United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR], 2013).

For the past 34 years, the Colombian government has received continued support from the US. It is pointed out, “Colombia had to acquiesce to the IMF neoliberal reform agenda in order to receive U.S. military aid under Plan Colombia because the Clinton administration incorporated the IMF reforms into the Plan” (Leech, 2004). The economic recession in 1999 (connected to the Mexico bubble) encouraged the aggressive promotion of free trade agreements. The consequences:

... include a still high unemployment rate, a very large informal sector and a wide wage dispersion in the formal sector. Poor labour market performance contributes to keep many people into poverty or even extreme poverty. Income is also severely concentrated at the top of the distribution (Fredriksen, in Joumard & Londoño Vélez, 2013).

According to Joumard & Londoño (2013), recent estimates suggest that the top 1% holds almost 40% of total wealth and information on land distribution proposes that wealth inequality has increased in Colombia. The authors further argue a colonial history, failed land reforms and internal armed conflict are at the root of the historically high land concentration.

Mexico

Mexico, experienced colonization under the Spanish and briefly under the French, went to war with the US losing vast amounts of territory and experienced a civil war. In 1929, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (IRP) came into power, nationalizing resources and industry, including oil (Maurer, 2010). In 1965, Mexico established free trade zones under the Border Industrial Program (BIP) marking a shift from production for internal consumption to an export focused economy (Mexico Solidarity Network, 2013). In the 1980's, the Mexican government, undertook the privatization of state industries, the revision of the Mexican Constitution to abet property rights of foreign investors, and the acceptance of the North American Free Trade Agreement (Kehoe & Ruhl, 2010). Mexico, with Canada and the US signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992, becoming each other's largest trading partners (Government Canada, 2012) and with a resulting lowering of wages (Baker, 2013). In 1994, The Mexican peso crises led to the rapid devaluation of the peso and equally rapid bailout by US and to an extent Canada, affecting economies across Latin America (Perng, 2006). The same year also saw the end of IRP state party control.

According to the Mexican Solidarity network, real wages in Mexico decreased by 80% between 1982 and 1996. Mexico has the second highest degree of economic disparity between the extremely poor and extremely rich within the OECD with limited budgeting for poverty alleviation and social reforms. In 2012, IRP returned to power elected on a platform of reform. Included in the reform was raising the rate of taxation on non-essential items (such as 'convenience food' and

pet supplies), setting the minimum wage to \$0.70 US per/hour (or \$5.10 a day) and labour reforms which are intended, it is argued to facilitate the firing of workers, create job insecurity and weaken the power of unions (Chavez, 2013). Mexico has also become one of the top sources of temporary and seasonal labour over the past 10 years in Canada (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Services Agencies [AMSSA], 2013).

China

China's single party government, shifting in focus from rural reform to the Cultural Revolution to Socialism with a Chinese character has been ruled by the communist party since 1949. In 1978, the government adopted a program of economic reforms referred to as "Reform and Opening up" (Chongfang & Ming, 2008). Introduced in stages these reforms which started with agricultural reform in the way of privatization of farm plots and the establishment of economic zones open to foreign investment, to small scale private investment and decentralized state control, to the reduction of trade barriers (Guo, 2013). The most recent reforms endorsed by the state council include experimentation with property tax and the opening of investment into telecommunications, transport and utilities to the public (Pei, 2013). Coinciding with the shift from a planned to mixed economy has been an increase in the unequal distribution of wealth, largely attributed to the disappearance of the welfare state but also from the inequity migrant workers face under the hukou system. Since implementing economic reforms, "[o]fficial statistics place the number of internal migrants in China at over one-tenth of China's 1.3 billion people (Scheineson, 2009). Agricultural

reforms and a relaxing of movement restriction has resulted in a mass rural to urban movement. However, under the hukou system, which ties access to public services to the place, many of those migrating are not eligible to health care, public education, unemployment insurance and pensions. Thus, a two-tier system of urban citizenry is created.

While the government has liberalized the economy, state control over the internet, the press, the right to assemble, religious expression, and reproductive rights remain strong (Amnesty International, 2012).

Appendix B

Verbal Consent Script Co-researcher information letter/verbal consent

Wanda Chell
xxxxx-xx Ave
Edmonton, AB
xxx xxx

RE: Research project information letter and consent
Name of Research Project: *Global migration, settlement and community programs: Participatory research, in/voluntary im/migrant women and program re-visitations.*

[Date]

Hello [Participants Name]

As a participant in the parenting and literacy program I am inviting you to take part in a participatory research project. The ideas we learn during this research will be used as part of my studies at the University of Alberta.

The purpose of this research is to develop an understanding of your thoughts about the parenting and literacy program and how this is connected to your experience as an im/migrant.

The three general questions we will talk about are

- What was/is your global migration experience?
- What is your experience as an im/migrant in Canada?
- What was/is your experience as a participant in the parenting and literacy program?

The hope is that learning will be more meaningful if it is interesting, useful and grows out of your experience, knowledge and talents. I may develop a better understanding and learn new skills and this may improve my teaching practice. In sharing, some of your ideas, as selected by you with [IS-NGO] and the funders this may also lead to improved programs or different types of support for migrant women.

Study Procedures

The participatory research will happen during the regular 1 ½ hour English class that meets twice a week. We will spend four to six classes to talk about each question. The length of the research project will be about four months, and may occur across two sessions. Everyone who joins our language class is free to participate in the research. You may participate in the class even if you are not a participant in the research.

Most research activities will occur during class time. The class will be very similar to as it has been in the past. During class I will write down your ideas

about a question or topic on chart paper. Together we will write texts. We will use the texts to learn English, to talk about issues and learn from each other. This is the same as we have been doing. The difference may be in the topics we write about and how we use the texts. For example, we might want to share the texts with another class or with [IS-NGO] staff. This will be decided by the class through consensus.

We will also continue to write in journals. I may ask a few people in the class if they would like to share their journal entries with me or with the class. If I use your journal I will ask permission to scan entries. After I scan the pages I will return the journal to you within a few days.

During the end of session evaluation I would like to make a digital audio recording of our discussions using a digital recording device. I am able to stop/start recording if you do not want your voice recorded. I will write out what the class said, but I won't write your names. Afterwards I will read the conversation to the group so everyone has a chance to make sure what they said is correct and to give you a chance to add or take away ideas.

Finally I may interview women who are not in the class any more. We would meet for an hour and have an informal conversation about the three questions. The time and place of the interview will be chose by the person I am meeting. These interviews may or may not be digitally recorded. The written notes from the recording or notes will be read back to the person interviewed to be checked and to add or take away thoughts. I will not share the name of the people I interview. Their privacy will be protected.

Benefits

Through the joint production of materials for the group and perhaps beyond I hope that being involved in this research will give you opportunities to share your skills and knowledge with others and to develop new ideas and skills that may be useful for you.

I hope that the information from doing this study will help me better understand how migration and education for women are connected to local and global issues and improve my teaching. This research may be used in developing and planning future programs and services.

Risk

During this research you may feel uncomfortable or have strong feelings about what is being talked about. You can talk about these feelings, stop participating, step out of the class or speak to a counselor or psychologist. You may say something and feel bad or scared about what you said. No one outside the class will know what words you said. Respect of privacy will be an important issue in class. I will be the only person who reads your journal entries. Involvement in this research will not stop access to [IS-NGO] programs or services or impact your residency.

Voluntary Participation

You do not need to participate in this study. Participation is your choice. You do not need to answer any specific questions if participating in this research. If you do not participate in the research you are still welcome to take part in the parenting program and continue in the class. You can also join the other class if you wish. Once your ideas are included in the text we write together they will remain part of the data.

It is okay to change your mind about sharing your journal entries or having your comments recorded. This can be done at any time up to sharing the results.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

I hope to use this research for a thesis, research articles, presentations, and for teaching other teachers. You will not be personally named in any of these. My supervisor, Dr. Dip Kapoor and I will be the only people who have access to the interviews and journal entries. The whole class has access to the texts we write together. Anonymity cannot be guaranteed in a classroom but we will work together to create a safe and respectful place for learning. Your words will not be personally identifiable in the sharing of the research.

To keep your information private, all data will be stored on a USB flash drive that is encrypted. This will be kept in a locked safe in my home for 5 years. After 5 years, the data will be destroyed.

You will have copies of the research finding we write in class. If you would like a copy of the report I write using the research findings please tell me and I will arrange delivery.

Further Information

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

If you have any questions about this study, please call me at ###-###-#### or meet with me after class.

Thank you very much,

Wanda Chell

Contact Information for this research project:

Wanda Chell
Graduate Student Research
xxxxx-xx Ave

Edmonton, AB, xxx-xxx
wanda1@ualberta.ca
##

Dip Kapoor
Research Supervisor
7-113 Education North, University of
Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
dkapoor@ualberta.ca
780-492-7617

Consent Questions

Would you like to participate in this research?

Do you understand you can choose not to participate and it will be okay?

Do you understand how our work will be used?

Do you understand you can change your mind about participating?

Appendix C

IS-NGO Information letter Agency information letter & consent

Wanda Chell
xxxxx-xx Ave
Edmonton, AB
T6H 1Y1

[Date]

RE: Research project information letter

**Study Title: Global migration, settlement and community programming:
(In)voluntary (im)migrant women constructing meaning together**

Attention: [Administrator]
[Title]
IS-NGO

Dear [Administrator],

As a teacher and animator in the parenting and literacy program, I am interested in carrying out a participatory research project with the participants enrolled in the beginner level language class.

The hope is that learning will be more meaningful if it is interesting, useful and I may develop a better understanding and learn new skills and this may improve my teaching practice. In sharing, some of their ideas as selected by the participants with [IS-NGO] and the funders this may also lead to improved programs or different types of support for (im)migrant women.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the intersections of migrant women perspectives on the parenting and literacy program and their broader experiences as (in)voluntary (im)migrants.

The three general questions we will explore are

- What was/is your global migration experience?
- What is your experience as a migrant in Canada?
- What was/is your experience as a participant in the parenting and literacy program?

The secondary purpose for this research is participants may gain insights and a greater self-awareness regarding the circumstances in which they find themselves,

a greater appreciate for the knowledge and experiences they possess and a better understanding of the social, organizational, and structural barriers/ladders of participation. In addition, participants will continue to develop primary/secondary literacy and public speaking skills that grow out of their experience, knowledge and talents.

Finally, the third purpose is it provides an opportunity for [IS-NGO] to reflect on how existing programs and services may address or exacerbate existing inequities for (im)migrant women, highlight areas of success and challenge and generate data that may be shared with funders which may potentially may lead to improved programs or different types of support for (im)migrant women.

Study Procedures

The participatory research will occur within the regular instruction time of the 1 ½ hour English class that meets twice a week. Everyone who joins our language class is free to participate in the research. We will spend four to six classes to explore each question. The length of the research project will be about four months, and may occur across two sessions.

Most research activities will occur during class time. The class will be very similar to as it has been in the past. During class discussions, I will write down the co-researchers' ideas about a question or topic on chart paper and together we will write texts. We will use the texts to learn English, to talk about issues and learn from each other. This is similar to current practice. The difference may be in the topics discussed and how we use the texts for exploration and action. For example, we might want to share the texts with another class or with funders. The class through consensus will decide this.

We will also continue to write in journals. I may ask a few people in the class if they would like to share their journal entries with me or with the class. If I use participant's journal, I will ask permission to scan entries. After I scan the pages, I will return the journal within a few days.

During the end of session evaluation, I would like to make a digital audio recording of our discussions using a digital audio recorder. I am able to stop/start recording if co-researchers do not want their voice recorded. I will write out what the class said, but I will not write individual names. Afterwards I will read the conversation to the group so everyone has a chance to make sure what they said is correct and provide an opportunity for editing, revision, additions and deletions.

Finally, I may interview women who are not in the class any more. We would meet for an hour and have an informal conversation about the three questions. These interviews may or may not be digitally recorded. The written notes from the recording or notes will be read back to the person interviewed to be checked and provide an opportunity for editing, revision, additions and deletions.

Benefits

Through the joint production of materials for the group and perhaps beyond, I hope that being involved in this research will support opportunities for participants to share skills and knowledge with others and to develop new ideas and skills that may be useful now and in the future.

I hope that the information from doing this study will help me better understand how migration and education (for women) connect to local and global issues, and improve my teaching. Finally, I hope this research supports the development and planning of programs and services that recognize and address issues of inequity as they pertain to (in)voluntary (im)migrant women.

Risk

During this research, co-researchers may feel uncomfortable or have strong feelings about the discussion. They can talk about these feelings, stop participating, step out of the class or speak to a counselor or psychologist. They may say something and fear repercussions. No one outside the class will know who says what words. Respect of privacy will be an important issue in class. I will be the only person who reads journal entries or who will be present during the interviews (unless they wish otherwise). Involvement in this research will not stop access to [IS-NGO] programs or services or affect an individual's residency.

Voluntary Participation

Participation is voluntary. Co-researchers do not need to answer any specific questions if participating in this research. If an individual chooses not to participate in the research, they are still welcome to take part in the parenting program. They can join the conversation but not have their words added to the common text, they can join the other class or they can participate, as they feel comfortable. Once incorporated into the text, ideas we write together they will remain part of the data.

Participants are free to change their mind about sharing journal entries, having comments recorded at any time up to the sharing of results.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

I intend to use this research for a thesis, research articles, presentations, and for teaching other teachers. Personally identification of individuals will not occur. I, and my supervisor Dr. Dip Kapoor, will be the only people who have access to the interviews and journal entries. The whole class has access to the texts we write together. Anonymity cannot be guaranteed in a classroom but we will work together to create a safe and respectful place for learning. Individual words will not be identified in the sharing of the research.

To keep information private, all data will be stored on an encrypted USB flash drive kept in a locked safe in my home for 5 years. After 5 years, the USB flash drive will be destroyed.

You will receive copies of the research finding we write in class. If you would like a copy of the report I write using the research findings, please contact me.

Further Information

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Attached is copy of the *Participant information & verbal consent* form that I intend to use.

Thank you for your support,

Wanda Chell

Contact Information for this research project:

Wanda Chell

Graduate Student Research
xxxxx-xx Ave

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###-###-####

Dip Kapoor

Research Supervisor
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Alberta

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dkapoor@ualberta.ca
780-492-7617

On behalf of the [IS-NGO], I grant consent for the research project entitled ***Global migration, settlement and community programming: (In)voluntary (im)migrant women constructing meaning together***

to be carried out during the Parenting and Literacy Program.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D
Interview Guide

What was the initial rationale for the PLP?

How has the PLP changed/evolved over time?

What challenges does the PLP face?

What is the future vision for the PLP?

Appendix E

Government Poster

