

University of Alberta

**Ethnification and Recredentialing: Alberta's Undelivered Promises
to Global Migrants from China, India, and the Philippines (2008-2010)**

by

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I dedicate this work to my Dad, the late Santos Alzona Caparas
my Mom, Leonor Gabutero Alar
my siblings: Mary Josephine, Perfecto, Maria Vida, Catherine, Maria Nieves.

Abstract

My study 1) compares the human-and-social capital of three major global immigrants (Chinese, Filipinos, Indians) in Canada (Alberta) with the education policies of their respective home countries; 2) looks at the possible link these policies might have with Alberta's neoliberal policy of education privatization; and 3) examines how this link shapes or is shaped by broader political, economic, and social policies of international organizations.

Framed with critical social theory and critical theory, my social theoretical model is juxtaposed with the historical-comparative research that uses the present time, single nation, qualitative data collection technique across three different ethnies (Chinese, Filipino, Indian) in Canada (Alberta) in 2008-2010. Relevant political, economic, and educational and labor policies of the four country-sites and those of the international organizations are analyzed. I use ethnomethodology in examining participants' ethnomethods. I base my analyses and discussions on the narratives of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian landed immigrants in Alberta.

Participants' narratives yield interesting plots complementary to my study assumptions: 1) Canada's accommodation of these immigrants through decredentialing and recredentialing, ethnification, linguistic prejudice, and racialization of education and labor comprises the major plot in international movements and relations; 2) changes in the nature of Chinese, Indian, and Philippine societies plus these countries' higher education policies and labor market practices that serve as the push factors in international migration are

complicit in a global circuit of oppression; 3) continuing colonialism in the supraterritorial regime of neoliberal globalization impacts on the global migrants: deregulation of market dynamics, development's inability to deliver its promise of a quality of life for most people, fascism of insecurity, global market-determined economy, hyper-marketization of social life, increasing incongruence of the functions of social emancipation and social regulation, liberalization of cross-border transactions, privatization of assets and social services, regulation of peoples and economies, and sovereignty of the market. I formulate policy alternatives to Alberta's undelivered promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity, and show that study participants – faced with a spectrum of freedoms and constraints – actively engage in the making of their preferred social order.

Acknowledgment

My research journey is made meaningful and productive in so many ways and by a number of people and funding agencies.

University awards and scholarships made me focus on my studies and brought me to places outside of Canada: the GRA Rice Scholarship in Communications recognized my field of expertise in Speech Communication at the University of the Philippines where I served as faculty; the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada – Joseph Armand Bombardier funded my studies for three years; the University of Alberta Presidential Prize of Distinction came with the SSHRC-Bombardier grant; the Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement – Canada Graduate Scholarship gave me the opportunity to work as a visiting research fellow at the University of Bristol, England with Dr. Roger Dale who motivated me to think about wider forms and nature of social theory in global migration.

With my participants' willingness to share their stories, I more than uncovered plots in neoliberal Alberta's failure to keep its promises of a democratic, just, peaceful, and prosperous province to its immigrants. I became friends with more Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians.

The detailed comments of the members of the supervisory committee, Dr. Dip Kapoor and Dr. Brenda Spencer, reinforced my belief that critical scholarship occurs in a lot of spaces and through a spectrum of power relations. The sharp interventions of the examining committee members, Dr. Ali Abdi and Dr. Naomi Krogman, inspired me to continue with my scholarly sojourn. My external examiner, Dr. Susan Robertson, whose passion in international political economy in education served me well in weaving narratives into critical observations and knowledge productions. My supervisor-mentor par excellence, Dr. Jerrold Kachur, whose perseverance and intelligent piquancy challenged me to stay the course of this journey.

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Table of Contents

Chapter number	Title	Page
1	Introduction	1
	Why Asians Come to Canada (Alberta)	5
	My Objectives and Rationale	8
	My Assumptions	12
	Significance of My Study	16
	Delimitations and Limitations of My Study	17
	My Outline	19
2	Review of Related Literature	21
	On Higher Education as Government's Rationality	21
	On Higher Education Policies and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education	25
	On the Influence of IOs Policies on Higher Education and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education	28
	On the Micropolitics of Culture, Gender, Language, and Race	36
	Nuances and Gaps in Literature	41
3	Social Theoretical Model of Global Migration	42
	Development Discourses in Modernity and Postmodernity	46
	Spatial Logics in Global Migration	55
	Household (Family, Gender, and Sexuality)	55
	State and International Organizations	58
	Community/Ethnic (Culture, Language, and Race)	62
	Class and Market	66
	Power Logics in Global Migration	69

Chapter number	Title	Page
	Patriarchy	69
	Bureaucracy	70
	Ethnicity	73
	Capitalism	74
	Agency in Global Migration	76
	Nuances in My Social Theoretical Model	78
4	Methodology	80
	The Nature of Ethnomethodology	81
	Ethnomethodology and Critical Social Science	83
	Ethnomethodology and Critical Realism	89
	Rationale in Using Ethnomethodology	90
	Literature on Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology	94
	Forms of Ethnomethodology	95
	Instrument	98
5	Ethnomethods in Global Migration	104
	The Participants	104
	Ethnomethods: For or Against Decredentialing and Recredentialing?	112
	Ethnomethods: Has Alberta Delivered the Promise?	121
	Will Alberta's Promises to IEIs Ever Get Delivered?	125
6	Ethnomethods and Structural Logics in Global Migration	127
	Ethnomethods and Structural Logics of Power in Global Migration	127
	Ethnomethods and Structural Logics of Space in Global Migration	139
	Nuances in Spatial and Power Logics in Global Migration	150

Chapter number	Title	Page
7	Ethnomethods and the Push-Pull Factors in Global Migration	151
	Ethnomethods: Response to Pull Factors in Global Migration	151
	Ethnomethods: IEIs' Push Factors in Global Migration	170
	On the Influence of IOs Policies on Higher Education and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education	180
	Participants' Narratives on the Micropolitics of Culture, Gender, Language, Race	183
8	Implications of the Social Theoretical Model in Global Migration	192
	Structures and Agents in the Global Migration Model	193
	Theoretical Implications	199
	Methodological Implications	203
	Ethnomethodology and Critical Realism	203
	The Complexity of "Bracketing" Narratives	205
	Policy Implications	205
9	Beyond Participants' Narratives	212
	Beyond the Narratives	212
	Canada's "Accommodation Through Decredentialing and Recredentialing"	214
	On Linguistification of the English Variants	220
	Canada's Ethnification of IEI-Participants	224
	The Global Migrant in Postmodernity	235
10	Summary of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research	237
	Bibliography	247

Number	Appendices	Page
A1	Email Recruitment of Potential Participants	274
A2	Letter of Initial Contact	276
A3	Recruitment Flyer Posted Online	278
A4	List of Non-Profit Organizations Contacted	279
A5	Letter of Informed Consent	280
B1	Policies of International Organizations Impacting Higher Education and Labor	284
B2	Guideline for the Inquiry in Situations X, Y, and Z	289
B3	General Questions for Each Situation	293

Tables

1	Discourses on Modernity, Postmodernity, and Global Migration	52
2	Criteria in Neoliberal Alberta's Goals for IEIs from China, India, and the Philippines	93
3	Female and Male Participants' Pseudonyms	101
4	Distribution of Situations among 15 Participants	102
5	Summary of Participants' Demographic Characteristics	112
6	Participants' Assessment of Neoliberal Alberta's Goals	125
7	Summary of Participants' Narratives vis-à-vis Relevant Theories	139
8	Participants' Initial Settlement Funds in Alberta	146
9	Higher Education Policies and Labor Practices in Study-Sites	159
10	Number of Years for University Undergraduate Degree Courses in Study Sites	161
11	Fusion of Power and Spatial Logics in Global Migration	199
12	Summary of Policy Alternatives for Alberta's Neoliberal Policy	210

Number	Figures	Page
1	The Four Structural (Spatial) Logics in Global Migration	68
2	The Four Structural (Power) Logics in Global Migration	76
3	Actors' Choice to Migrate as a Product of Cognition and Critical Thinking	77
4	Nonprobability Sampling of Judgmental and Snowball Techniques	100
5	Participants' Gender Distribution	105
6	Participants' Age Distribution	105
7	Participants' Years at Work in Home Countries	106
8	Participants' Number of Years in University Education	107
9	Participants' Profession in Home Countries	110
10	Participants' Survival Jobs in Alberta	111
11	Institutions (Spatial Logics) Influential in IEIs' Global Migration	149
12	The Political Agency of Actors in Global Migration	197
13	The Political Agency of Logics in Global Migration	200
14	Immigrants' EM as a Precursor to Countries' Political Capital	202

Acronyms in the Study

ADB – Asian Development Bank
AIMGA – Alberta International Medical Graduates Association
AINP – Alberta Immigrant Nominee Program
APEGGA – Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists, and Geophysicists of Alberta
ASET – Association of Science and Engineering Technology Professionals of Alberta
BA – Bachelor of Arts
CAD – Canadian dollars
CARNA – College and Association of Registered Nurses of Alberta
CEO – Chief Executive Officer
CFO – Chief Financial Officer
CIC – Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CPD – continuing professional development
CST – critical social theory
CT – critical theory
DMCs – developing member countries
EM – ethnomethodology
EOI – export oriented industrialization
ETS – Edmonton Transit System
EU – European Union
FCROs – Foreign Credentials Referral Office
FDI – foreign direct investment
GATS – General Agreement on Trade in Services
GMAT – *Graduate Management Admission Test*
G-10 – Group of 10
G-77 – Group of 77
HE – higher education
HEIs – higher education institutions
HR – human resource
ICT – information and communication technology
IEIs – internationally educated immigrants
IEMs – internationally educated migrants
IFIs – international financial institutions
ILO – International Labor Organization
IMF – International Monetary Fund
IMG – International Medical Graduates
IOs – international organizations

IQAS – International Qualifications Assessment Service
ISI – import substitution industrialization
IT – information technology
KE – knowledge economy
K4D – knowledge for development
LDCs – least developed countries
LINC – Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
LPN – licensed practical nurse
MA – Master of Arts
MBA – Master of Business Administration
MDGs – millennium development goals
MRA – Mutual Recognition Agreement
NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement
NBI – National Bureau of Investigation
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OWWA – Overseas Workers Welfare Administration
PhD – Doctor of Philosophy
PPP – public-private partnership
PRC – People’s Republic of China
R&D – research and development
S&T – science and technology
SAPs – structural adjustment programs
SCGs – source country-governments
TVT – technical and vocational training
TWC/s – Third World Country/Countries
UA/U of A – University of Alberta
UN – United Nations
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural
Organization
UK – United Kingdom
US – United States
USA – United States of America
WB – World Bank
WC – Washington Consensus
WTO – World Trade Organization
WWII – World War II

Chapter 1

Introduction

Immigration consultants are not honest about telling us that we have to start from scratch. What they told us is that Canada needs doctors and nurses, and that we shall be earning a lot more here.

Pablo¹, a Filipino doctor-cum-nurse

I was slowly exhausting my savings... I was faced with two choices: to go back to India and give up the struggle... I then spoke to a friend in the community and told him of my dilemma. My friend suggested that I go to Fort McMurray because he has a house and a job there, and I can try for any kind of job like that of a security guard.

Ishayu, an Indian bank manager

If there is anything that Alberta should ask some Asians to upgrade, it's English... I think you don't even need this professional upgrading. If you do, it should be for a short time only, say about three weeks, just English and more local customs, local culture, local working habits is okay.

Minsheng, a Chinese survey engineer

This research examines the narratives of immigrants to Alberta from China, India, and the Philippines who came to Canada as professionals with university credentials in home countries only to get decredentialed and recredentialed in the host country.

Decredentialed refers to the educational, social, psychological, and professional costs of employing well-educated Asian immigrants in jobs not compatible with their home-earned educational degrees. Immigration for most Asians is a rigorous and expensive process of fitting in Canada's knowledge

¹ I hide my storytellers' names in pseudonyms for purposes of anonymity and confidentiality throughout my narrative.

economy². Once qualified and upon arrival in Canada, landed immigrants – medical, nursing, teaching, or engineering professionals back home – are asked to take accreditation tests or upgrade skills through apprenticeship programs and to acquire the needed Canadian experience. They are compelled to get a job at McDonald's, Tim Horton's, or Subway while waiting for test results. They earn the hourly rate of approximately CAD\$9 that fetches CNY ¥60.74, INRs414.344, or PHP402.669 (based on international exchange rates of 30 March 2011). The well-educated immigrant either accedes to staying decredientialed, i.e., to keep the job at McDonald's or weighs available options that include 1) carrying the burden of financing training courses and tests; 2) going home where there are also no jobs; and 3) losing a good number of years spent on education back home, and more years of starting all over again, i.e., getting recredientialed, in the host country.

Recredientialing is the process of acclimatizing, familiarizing, training, and/or orienting the Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals to Canada's (Alberta's) educational and occupational landscapes whereby home-earned human-and-social capital undergoes revaluation, assessment, and prescription towards fitness and integration into Canada's (Alberta's) economy. Ascribed in part to the continuing internationalization of industries that leads to changes in required certifications and job qualifications, recredientialing involves credential deflation, nonrecognition of home-earned credentials, course upgrading, and attendance in apprenticeship programs in the host country. Asian (Chinese, Filipino, Indian) immigrants to Canada confront socioeconomic-psychological challenges such as family responsibilities, work time and fear for loss of job income, the burden of recredientialing for better wages, and feelings of infuriation and self-debasement amidst decredientialing of home-earned professions and

² Knowledge economy, in the context of neoliberal globalization of privatizing education and as propelled by WTO and GATS, is internationalization and transnationalization of the university education system. HE has become market-driven, profit-oriented, and corporate-controlled such that universities have switched roles from being market media to market commodities (Anderson, 2000; Bacon, 2008; Nedeva, 2007; Verger, 2007; Waters, 2008).

licenses. Literature also presents the plight of highly skilled workers within neoliberal globalization³ as colonized, displaced, exploited, forced to go through fast learning; genderized, overqualified, racialized, and unprotected leading to these workers' pawned or enslaved self-perception, subsequent social awareness, and eventual empowerment to demand rights recognition from host countries of migration and their respective country affinities as constitutive of the push-pull factors in internationalized labor and labor migration (Bannerji, 2000; Brigham, 2002; Choudry, Hanley, Jordan, Shragge, & Stiegman, 2009; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010; Fletcher, 2004; Imam, 2003; Klees, 2002, 2008; Laquian, Laquian, & McGee, 1997; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Lindsay & Almey, 2006; Man, 2004; McGovern & Wallimann, 2009; Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Rodriguez, 2010; Tadiar, 2009; Teklè, 2010).

In this chapter, I narrate my observations as Canada's landed immigrant in British Columbia in 2006. These observations helped me in drafting my study objectives, assumptions, rationale, significance, delimitations, and limitations.

At the bus stop and on the bus, I heard stories about processes of decredentialing. There was Praveen, a diplomat from India, working as a call center agent in a time share company in Vancouver, British Columbia. Praveen

³ Neoliberal globalization, in Wallerstein's world system theory of core-semi-periphery-periphery countries that perpetually amass capital, rose and got strengthened with the ascent and eventual fall of semi-periphery countries. As policy, neoliberal globalization called for increase in foreign investment and trade, reign of market economy, and privatization of public goods. As practice, it ensures the relative decline of some nation-states amidst power of transnational and global corporations leading to the clipping of nation-states' control in core countries that manage to maintain their political and military supremacy; and reliance of former colonies of core countries, both the semi-periphery and the periphery countries, on the policies of transnational and global corporations for development options (Buechler, 2008; Granter, 2009).

Globalization, on the other hand, is a policy led by three sovereign powers among IOs – the IMF, the WB, and the WTO, for nation-states to reorganize education along the new world economy lines as pressured by the WB. As practice, globalization embodies “imperialism of the universal,” and effects the heralding of the US as an exceptional set of competitive advantages in the financial, economic, political and military, cultural and linguistic, and symbolic areas (Bourdieu, 2005; Graafland, 2007; Morrow & Torres, 2007).

was subjected to yelling, cuss words, and banging of phone receivers due to his unwelcome calls. I asked, “Why are you in Canada?” Praveen replied, “My kids want me here.” Then there was Mei-Ling, a teacher from China who earned her Master’s in Mathematics at the University of Chicago. Her stay in Canada had to do with her husband’s work placement in British Columbia. Maria’s story is quite similar to Praveen and Mei-Ling’s. A mother of three children, Maria was a highly accomplished teacher-scholar from the Philippines. She had to go through the process of recredentialing to enable her to teach in Vancouver. Mei-Ling and Praveen’s circumstances did not differ; they manifested the social, economic, and political dynamics in familial relationships. Were Mei-Ling and Praveen salvaging the family as the basic social unit as they simultaneously anchored it on economic foundations in Canada?

Maria, Mei-Ling, and Praveen, as newly landed professional immigrants in British Columbia, Canada from the Philippines, China, and India, respectively, were receiving CAD\$9/hour as call center agents. Like Maria, Mei-Ling, and Praveen, I came to Canada with university credentials and substantial work experience. I, too, had difficulty getting my home-earned credentials recognized. Unlike Maria, Mei-Ling, and Praveen, I moved to Canada out of curiosity or to put it more aptly, I may have finally succumbed to that ubiquitous image and resounding voice of colonial mentality – whatever is White is better than non-White. Maybe I was merely following the pattern of most North-based immigrants from the once colonized countries. The question, “Shall I be one of them now that I landed on their territory?” at once unravelled the social, economic, political issues of international migration along with the notions of unbounded territory and the right of mobility. I set that question aside as there were mounting tasks a permanent resident like me should accomplish in Canada.

After two months of looking for a job and simultaneously working as a volunteer at a women’s crisis center in British Columbia, I finally got a position at a Filipino-managed not-for-profit organization. Its motto, “helping newcomers succeed in Canada,” struck me as a futile attempt to make immigrants like me feel

accepted and welcome in the land of opportunities, or in more appropriate terms, the land of decredentialing and recredentialing.

I would hear grimmer stories from the Praveens, the Mei-Lings, and the Marias of Alberta where I moved in July 2007 for a teaching assignment at the University of Alberta and where I also got decredentialed for office administration at the Government of Alberta from October 2007 to September 2009.

Why Asians Come to Canada (Alberta)

Canada offers 1) hope for improving one's fortunes; 2) opportunity to reunite with family and relatives; 3) a place of adventure and challenge; and 4) escape from political repression (Fleras, 2005). Canada's open-migration policy regime plus the economic reforms policy of source countries in Asia result in the supraterritorial regime⁴ of liberalized cross-border transactions, deregulated market dynamics, and privatized assets and social services (Scholte, 2005). Quite noticeable in this regime is that despite stories or problems about decredentialing, nonrecognition of credentials, unequal access to job opportunities due to racialization and discrimination by a population of relatively low-skilled native born, Asians still migrate to Canada (Abma, 2011; Brigham, 2002; Choudry et al., 2009; Fletcher, 2004; Lindsay & Almey, 2006). Literature implies how Asian education, already formed in home countries, undergoes a process of orientation to Canada's educational and occupational landscapes, a process I refer to as recredentialing.

In my research on the international movement of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta, Canada is the supranational state-site and Alberta is the supraterritorial local site. Supranational politics informs my study in two ways⁵.

⁴ Supraterritorial regime or supraterritoriality refers to the growth and reign of "social connections that substantially transcend territorial geography, are relatively delinked from territory, [... and bound by the effects of time-space compression]" (Scholte, 2005, pp. 61-62).

⁵ My supervisor, Dr. Jerry Kachur, and I talked (20 November 2010) about the conceptual distinctions between "supranationalism" and "supraterritoriality" and incorporated Van

One, supranational politics speaks to the global governance model of IOs put in place by the Americans to secure Japanese and European hegemony. It is a model which provides a way for the US to influence global migration dynamics, and is a form of global supranational power of the US. Similarly, Canada is supranational in the sense that its organization of federal – provincial relations provides a decentralized form of rule based in a form of civic-nationalism in both territorial and supraterritorial ways similar to the global governance model but at a national state level.

Two, supranationalism and global governance function differently than national forms of sovereign equality which identify the exclusive territorial jurisdictions. In this continuing model, nation-states establish bilateral or multilateral relations with each other (e.g., US-Philippines, Canada-India, China-Philippines, etc.). In international politics, countries establish separate programs or policies with each other. In my study, because of the federal nature of Canada's constitution, I am using Alberta as a stand-in for Canada as a subnation-state to avoid the complexity and difficulty of dealing with all the provinces. However, any relations establishing Alberta-Philippines migration implies both the jurisdiction of Canada (as a supranational state vis-à-vis Alberta) and Alberta as a territorial jurisdiction within Canada. We live in a period where both territorial

der Pijl's (2007, p. 24) implicit explication of "supranational politics" as equivalent to global governance. Supranational politics happens supraterritorially.

Supranationalism, the political offshoot of globalization, refers to the partial superseding of some of nation-states' functions due to the rise of supranational states (Buechler, 2008). In global migration, Canada (Alberta) – through CIC – acts as a supranational state allocating or distributing immigration resources among interested individuals in countries-of-preference such as China, India, and the Philippines, thereby supplanting these nation-states' tasks. In the context of neoliberal economy affecting the mobility of human-and-social capital, supranationalism effects 1) declining redistributive role of the state in an increasingly volatile context; 2) fragmenting of collective cultural identities; 3) delimiting of material functions and cultural identities; and 4) atomizing of the individual migrant (Benhabib, 2002, pp. 179-180). The changing times also see the rise of supra-individual actors such as families, societies, ethnicities, or corporate bodies (Coleman, pp. 1-14 in Bourdieu & Coleman, 1991).

and sovereign equality between nation-states operate simultaneously with the functional multiplication of sovereign spheres under global governance.

Alberta is one of the four provinces of Canada that are in dire need of economic and labor movers from Asia. For its oil-based economy and fast changing demography, Alberta targets Filipino professionals in Engineering and health sciences (Uy, 2008), Indian professionals in Information Technology, natural and applied sciences (Naujoks, 2009), and Chinese investors and dealers in oil sands (Audette, 2010). This is suggestive of how Asian human-and-social capital formation is relevant for Alberta, and how Alberta is prepared to recredential Asian immigrants for its economic and labor frameworks.

Alberta's changing demography and labor market demands complement the dynamic international market. There now exists a global redefining of relationship between universities, economy, and society, with universities becoming major players in economic competitiveness and wealth creation (Nedeva, 2007). This hints at decredentialing and credential deflation of Asian human-and-social capital⁶ as likely consequences of the rise in number of HEIs. Literature shows that HE has been included in the material scope of WTO and

⁶ Human-and-social capital is any person's education or schooling in an area of expertise as influenced, shaped, or impacted by that person's familial or social network relations. The family and those in a person's social network play an essential role in the person's technical skill acquisition. The human (technical skills) capital in the modernization theory of human capital formation that is seen as continuing the tradition of neoclassical economics and the social (family and networks) capital merge to serve the ideals of the knowledge economy. "Human-and-social capital" is used interchangeably with "education" or "higher education" to mean specifically university education.

A person's country of birth, replete with cultural influences, may explicate the dynamics of a person's human-and-social capital formation. Human-and-social capital formation is an interplay of factors, a system of determinations of cultural, morphological, residential, and demographic characteristics defining initial class membership restructured via conditions of existence, ethos, social and cultural capital at the different stages of education: primary, secondary, higher, and postgraduation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Human-and-social capital formation has become largely class-based reproductions (Althusser, 1971; Bourdieu & Champagne, 1999).

GATS⁷ (Anderson, 2000; Bacon, 2008; Verger, 2007). This suggests the transformation of higher education from being a medium of the market to becoming a commodity of the market, and hints at Alberta's ongoing practice of asking Asian highly skilled immigrants to upgrade courses or to register in apprenticeship programs as a means to integrate into the host country's economy.

My Objectives and Rationale

My study 1) compares the human-and-social capital of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian landed immigrants to Alberta (Canada) with the higher education policies and practices of their respective home countries; 2) looks at the possible link these policies and practices might have with Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing education⁸ for its labor import; and 3) examines how this link shapes or is shaped by broader economic, political, and social policies, and practices of international organizations.

⁷ Aside from WTO and GATS, there are more IOs whose policies and practices impact higher education. These IOs' policies and practices are found in Appendix B1. Canada, China, India, and the Philippines are member-countries of these IOs.

⁸ Neoliberal globalization policy of privatizing education, associated with human capital formation, aims at "conservative modernization... [and at] the vision of students as human capital [...] as future workers" (Apple, 2005 in Spring, 2009, p. 19). It is a political-economic thrust meant to commoditize knowledge production and distribution for the existing dominant economic, ideological, political, and cultural arrangements (Apple, 2004). It is the abdication of the state of its responsibilities to its student-constituents (Bourdieu, 1999). Alberta's (Canada) neoliberal policy of privatizing education from the 1980s onwards is

redefining [educational restructuring based on the] logic of competition, effectiveness, and standards [and on emphasis on] choice, vocationalism, and marketization [systematically clipping all public services and students' rights to equal opportunity in favor of] opening market niches for private entrepreneurs... [following] post industrial models [... leaving laid-off workers to fend for themselves],... [and leading towards all forms of] possible exploitation. (Kachur & Harrison, 1999, pp. xiii-xxiv)

It shows how Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing education continues to exploit the individual worker as demands for recredentialing escalate, leaving the worker in a survival mode, i.e., to sink or swim as the worker reaches for the last penny from his pocket to fund his own reskilling in a privatized educational corporation (Easton in Kachur & Harrison, 1999, pp. 21-32).

My research explicates the dynamic of a supraterritorial state (Alberta) and intra-ethnic flows (Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians) within the context of the IOs-operated global market. My study aims to find answers to the following:

- Is the promise of a prosperous world (i.e., where equity among people is maximized) within the IOs-prescribed neoliberal frame of Alberta's labor import and recredentialing of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines being delivered? Are the IOs and Alberta walking their talk to achieve a relationship with source countries of highly skilled labor that is equitable to all four countries?
- Is the promise of a just world (i.e., where people's resources are given due recognition) within the IOs-prescribed neoliberal frame of Alberta's labor import and recredentialing of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines being delivered? Are the IOs and Alberta walking their talk to achieve a relationship with source countries of highly skilled labor that is democratic to all four countries?
- Is the promise of a peaceful world (i.e., where there exists a vibrant internal market essential to equitable income redistribution) within the IOs-prescribed neoliberal frame of Alberta's labor import and recredentialing of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines being delivered? Are the IOs and Alberta walking their talk to achieve a relationship with source countries of highly skilled labor that is ethical to all four countries?

I take into account the micropolitics⁹ of culture, gender, language, and race embedded in immigrants' human-and-social capital. Within the context of highly skilled Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians' migration to Alberta, these immigrants' micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race suggest the

⁹ Micropolitics refers to individuals or groups' use of formal and informal power in their attempt to impact or protect other people's behaviors and in their desire to attain dreams and goals thereby establishing political significance in a given situation (Blase, 1991). This political significance parallels Bourdieu's (1998) political capital where holders are "guaranteed a form of private appropriation of goods and public services" (p. 16).

establishment of their political capital in both their home and host countries. Conversely, Alberta's invite for highly educated Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians suggests the establishment of Alberta's political capital in both Canada and source countries of highly educated immigrants.

Culture refers to the immigrants' socially transmitted way of life (Mitchell, 2007), "the ready-made outcome of [a person's] communicating acts... [serving as] signposts... [or simply] the products of communication... [in] an expressional field" (Garfinkel, 2006, pp. 180-181) in their respective countries. These immigrants' signposts may be a function of their class, enabling them to afford, acquire, and achieve several forms of cultural capital (e.g., possession of artifacts, books, or paintings; educational capital, possession of university degree; sense of distinction or taste, sense of nurturance, ability to communicate with confidence) that accord them a comparatively elevated reputation or status (Bourdieu, 1984).

Gender is a membership category that serves as any communicant's identity and that allows discovery of constraints in the production of that communicant's identity (Rawls in Garfinkel, 2006, p. 78). Associated with educational and occupational capital, gender dispositions reflect a person's choice of education or job that closely approximates that person's initial capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

Language is the constitutive designation of objects or the "thingification of various possibilities of [migrant] communicants' experience... [showing that] linguistic functions are actions" (Garfinkel, 2008, p. 114). Its "infinite generative [and] originitive capacity... [drawn from] its power to produce existence by producing the collectively recognized and... realized representation of existence is... the principal support of the dream of absolute power" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 42).

Race denotes anthropological origins and biological features of a people from a common heritage or ancestry (Balibar, 1991) that give rise to ethnies or nation-formations (Smith, 2000). As a modern notion, race connotes "contempt

and discrimination,” divides people into “superhumanity and subhumanity,” and is traced as originating from caste significations of aristocracy that constitutes people of superior race, and slavery that constitutes people of inferior race who are incapable of independent existence or civilizations and therefore subjugated to aristocrats’ arbitrary classifications of biological features and reproductive capacities (Balibar, 1991).

I subsume immigrants’ micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race in appropriate quadrants in Chapter 3 where I present my social theoretical model in global migration.

My study specifically aims to listen to the stories of well-educated Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians migrating to Alberta and determine whether the neoliberal globalization policy of privatizing education among participating countries has resulted in just and democratic labor practices. My study results are expected to alert people who are interested in migrating to Canada, fellow scholars who wish to understand the dynamics behind global migration, and policymakers of Alberta, China, India, and the Philippines who are faced with the challenges of policy review and policy intervention amidst the internationalization of migration and its attendant element of education for social productivity within the principle of basic human rights.

I focus on China, India, the Philippines, and Alberta as my research sites for the following reasons: 1) as a landed immigrant in Canada, I want to understand and explain my experience as a well-educated Filipino professional – along with fellow well-educated Chinese and Indian professionals who got subjected to a series of decredentialing and several expensive processes of credential recognition, none of which assured us of occupational security and fit, but all of us chose to stay in Canada; 2) as a social science scholar, I seek an explanation for Alberta’s preferential recruitment of professional Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants for its workforce; and 3) as a citizen of Canada, I want to critique the interplay of politics (i.e., home and host countries of migration, IOs regulating labor migration, culture, gender, language, race)

embedded in internationalized migration and revealing inequalities and imbalances in international relations, that I may proffer policy advocacy and reform that accords equitable, democratic, and ethical relations among future global immigrants in Canada and the world.

The first reason, defining my inclination towards the other two reasons, is personal and founded on social networks in my home country, and the common historical ties that bind these three countries. My paternal clan's Chinese affinal links initiated my human-and-social capital bond with Chinese and Indian scholars and friends. My interest in Alberta is contingent on my initially home-borne social relations and practically comparable experiences with Chinese, fellow Filipino, and Indian immigrants in Alberta, Canada.

My three study-sites were likewise colonized or influenced (China's case) by the West. They also count among the original 44 member-nations of WB in 1944 and they eventually became members of other IOs. Due to these memberships, they have been contributing to theories and policies of development (the latest of which is the neoliberal policy of privatization) that put primacy on education as the road to economic growth and on the individual as the mover of economic growth. All three countries have policies on higher education – the impetus for economic growth, and an affirmation of their respective states' participation and embedment in historical movements, cultural heritage, sociopolitical events, market forces, and economic global affairs (Abdi & Kapoor, 2009; Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2010; Guo, 2009; Mok & Lo, 2009; Nickles, 2002; Olson, 2007; Salmi, 2007; Wild, 2004).

My Assumptions

Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of privatizing higher education may be its way of navigating its relation with IEMs. Alberta may need to look into factors influencing its own labor market outcomes: IEMs' foreign credentials, educational background, work experience abroad and within Canada, language issues and difficulties, and social networks (Plante, 2010, pp. 38-39). Plante (2010) shows that Alberta has 56% of overqualified IEMs coming to Canada, and

cites literature that lists the jobs of overqualified IEMs (in engineering or the healthcare profession) as including clerks, truck drivers, salespeople, cashiers, and taxi drivers, and as rising steadily between 1991 and 2006. She also cites literature yielding reasons for what I am calling the continued recredentialing and/or decredentialing of IEMs in Canada: 1) a foreign-acquired education pales in comparison with a Canadian education or is not entirely transferable to the Canadian context; and 2) a foreign-acquired education may be relevant to Canadian workplace requirements but may be unrecognized by Canadian employers or regulatory organizations that monitor licensed professions and trades people. To get interested highly skilled IEMs into Alberta's trades and services, "learning institutions, unions and private trainers deliver in-school technical training to apprentices [–] an essential part of apprenticeship systems" (Ménard, Chan, & Walker, 2008, p. 8). Not all IEMs finish for varying reasons.

I formulate my assumptions based on my experiences as an immigrant, initial observations, narratives heard from fellow immigrants, and study objectives:

- 1) Alberta's pull factors for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines consist of a) Alberta's labor market needs as supplemented by Alberta Premier Stelmach's 2008 to 2010 intensive campaigns for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals to migrate to Alberta; b) Alberta's preferential import of highly educated labor from China, India, and the Philippines; c) China's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; d) India's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; e) the Philippines' education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; and f) IOs' policies supportive of balancing out Alberta's labor market demand and China, India, and the Philippines' labor supply capacity.
- 2) China, India, and the Philippines' push factors for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta consist of a) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian familial or affinal links with predecessor-immigrants in Alberta;

- b) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian individual and preferential choice for professional practice in Alberta; c) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian collective-national decision to supply the labor market needs of Alberta simultaneous with the prudent collective-national appraisal of their respective labor market supply and demand vis-à-vis internationalized migration; and d) China, India, and the Philippines' respective membership and role in IOs vis-à-vis internationalized migration.
- 3) The role of Alberta, being one of Canada's provinces, in the supraterritorial regime of Asian labor importation is that of a) a Canadian substate that echoes Canada's role in the larger geopolitical space borne out of colonial histories and postwar (WWII) relationships (Canada is a commonwealth country of a former colonizer, Great Britain, and ostensibly plays a key role in carving out Alberta's geopolitical space in the globe); and b) the supraterritorial local site that defines the terms and conditions of labor migration and import of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines into Canada.
 - 4) The role of China, India, and the Philippines as highly skilled labor exporting countries reveals a complex interplay of patriarchal, bureaucratic, ethnic, and capitalist institutions reflecting and engendering institutional push-and-pull dynamics with the labor importing country (Alberta) that a) question the lopsidedness of prosperity scales between home and host countries of migration; b) challenge the absence or lack of equitable and democratic labor practices in Alberta; c) raise the ethical dimensions in home and host countries' labor relations; d) reflect China's emergent leadership on these institutional dynamics, such leadership impacting, if not trickling down on, its fellow Asian labor exporting countries: India and the Philippines; and e) bare Asian relational dynamics of regional collaboration or co-optation by Alberta's powerbroker in IOs' road maps – Canada as a commonwealth country of Great Britain.
 - 5) Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing higher education towards meeting its own labor market needs exploits China, India, and the Philippines' labor

- market by importing these three countries' highly skilled professionals under the right of global mobility clause. Key indicators of this exploitation include
- a) Alberta's decredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals;
 - b) Alberta's nonrecognition of credentials earned in immigrants' home countries China, India, and the Philippines; and
 - c) Alberta's recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals in Alberta's privatized higher education system.
- 6) Simultaneous with realizing its labor market needs, Alberta is carving its geopolitical niche within Canada, China, India, and the Philippines' geopolitical space. Conversely, the three source countries of highly skilled labor immigrants are defining their respective locations in this space with the attendant interplay of their own four institutional systems of patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism. This broader push-and-pull dynamic between home and host countries of labor migration is redefining international relations vis-à-vis labor exchanges.
 - 7) The continuing labor exploitation of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals in the form of decredentialing, nonrecognition of foreign credentials, and recredentialing of their human-and-social capital in Alberta, Canada narrates the broader role of the IOs' neoliberal globalization policy vis-à-vis global immigrants' high human-and-social capital and labor thereby exposing
 - a) a crisis in IOs' power relations among member-countries; and
 - b) IOs' systematic orchestration of transforming Asian middle class into Global North's working class and the perpetuation of colonial binaries and Global North's imperial designs.
 - 8) The exploited Asian labor force in Alberta have reached a point of no return, and are challenged to sink or swim in the neoliberal policy regime of continuing labor exploitation. They either ultimately end up as
 - a) complicit actors to their own exploitation, turning into an indispensable labor force to IOs' imperial powerbrokers; or
 - b) critically aware and empowered actors, exposing and helping reform or transform the IOs' regime.

Significance of My Study

Given that a large number of fellow well-educated Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants comprise Alberta's needed labor force in the current millennium, understanding the challenges that fellow Asians face – namely decredentialing, nonrecognition of credentials earned back home, recredentialing – is significant for higher education policy development. Furthermore, the exodus of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta offers insights into the interplay and dynamics of social, political, and economic policies in global mobility, and is significant in guiding policymakers towards democratic, equitable, and ethical policy formulations. It is also worth looking into the policies of both home and host countries of migration as they get further subjected to (in the case of home countries) or supported by (in the case of the host country) the policies of IOs to explicate what scholars propose is the perpetuation of the North-South¹⁰ divide within the context of international migration.

Existing literature also suggests how Asians who comprise the “visible minority” in Alberta (Heisz, 2005; Hou & Picot, 2004) 1) impact social division of labor; 2) bring to bear racialized division of labor; 3) prompt emergent racialized identities and ethnic-strategies for community building; and 4) influence policy regimes (e.g., family reunification law, overseas employment programs, humanitarianism for the ethnically displaced) and policy options (e.g., institutional coordination among federal, provincial, and local governments for clarity of resources, responsibilities, and authority over immigrants) of Canada (in Laquian et al., 1997, pp. 3-73), specifically Alberta, to a large extent. While

¹⁰ The G-77 composition clarifies the concept of Global South as based not on geographical polarization between north and south but largely on the nature of G-77. G-77 comprises “the largest intergovernmental organization of developing states in the United Nations, which provides the means for the countries of the South to articulate and promote their collective economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on all major international economic issues within the United Nations system, and promote South-South cooperation for development” (*About the Group of 77*). It was founded in 1964 by 77 developing countries that attended the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. China, India, and the Philippines are G-77 states. Member countries have increased to 130, but the name G-77 is retained due to its historical relevance.

Canada started putting up FCROs in China, India, and the Philippines in 2008, the highly skilled Asians in Alberta have yet to cite these FCROs' relevance to their ongoing ordeal of decredentialing and recredentialing.

This study is likewise significant as it provides the literature on selected Asians' migration to Alberta during the global watershed economy from 2008 onwards. This study also addresses the issue of why selected Asians continue to migrate to Canada despite stories of decredentialing, nonrecognition of predecessor-immigrants' credentials, and worldwide unemployment, providing insights significant to international policy development while simultaneously inviting an examination of international relations.

Delimitations and Limitations of My Study

I delimit the country-sites and timeframe for my study to highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines who migrated to Alberta, Canada between 2008 and 2010. With this delimitation, I shall not study nor arrive at conclusions about highly skilled professionals 1) from countries other than the three countries cited above; 2) who migrated to other provinces of Canada; and 3) who migrated to Alberta, Canada before 2008 and after 2010. I take the narratives of my 15 participants as unique and particular to each interviewee and in no way representative of Alberta's entire landed immigrant population from 2008 to 2010. However, I take the participants' narratives as suggestive of a chronic and lingering crisis in international relations and this crisis is the subject of my policy advocacy and policy reform on the issues of decredentialing and recredentialing among Canadian immigrants.

I delimit my study on the narratives of 15 well-educated Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians who came through the category of landed immigrants (aka permanent residents) under Canada's program of federal skilled worker class. I shall not derive conclusions on behalf of migrants who came to Canada without university credentials through other categories and programs of migration. I am aware that Canada has launched other recruitment programs, and that the AINP is no longer accepting new applications to the family stream and the US visa holder

categories effective August 2010. Canada's federal immigration programs include but are not limited to the larger categories of the Canadian experience class, business investment or self-employment class, and family sponsorship class. Based on informal communication with recent immigrants to Alberta, some of Canada's immigration programs showcase decredentialing and recredentialing of professional recruits from these three countries. I leave to fellow scholars the task of looking into these programs that only serve to radicalize competition among prospective labor immigrants within Canada's neoliberal policy regime.

I delimit my study to policy documents of IOs, Canada (Alberta), China, India, and the Philippines that are related to the education, export, and recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals into Alberta, Canada. I shall not look into IOs policies and provisions that do not have any connection with the education, export, and recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals. In analyzing IOs policies and provisions, I am aware that common membership of my research sites in these IOs does not mean their sharing of equal power and influence over the drafting and implementation of relevant provisions.

Although I am also conscious of the role that the imperial power, the United States of America, plays in IOs where my choice research sites share common membership, I delimit my investigation to Canada (Alberta) as the commonwealth country of another IO powerbroker, Great Britain. I shall not apply my conclusions to the case of the well-educated immigrants in the US.

As a bilingual in English and Filipino languages, I delimit myself and my interviewees to the use of a language that is common between us – the English language. I cannot speak the native languages of my Chinese and Indian participants. My interviewees and I speak several variants of English that may distract us from fully grasping our intended messages. Aware that my interviewees are at least bilingual in English and in their respective native languages, I minimize or overcome these distractions by 1) using the recording equipment, 2) establishing rapport, and 3) building trust with the participants.

My Outline

In **Chapter 2**, I review existing literature relevant to the research questions that I identified in Chapter 1. I categorize this literature based on my study aims and assumptions about relationships among higher education's neoliberal policy direction, governments' roles in higher education and labor policies, and international organizations' policies on higher education and labor policies. My categories show the interplay of social, political, and economic institutions: on higher education and government's rationality; on higher education policies and neoliberal policy of privatizing education; on the influence of IOs policies on higher education and neoliberal policy of privatizing education; and on the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race.

In **Chapter 3**, I present my social theoretical model in global migration as consisting of institutional logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism) and of space (household consisting of the family with constructions of gender and sexuality; state, IOs; community/ethnie bound by culture, language, race; class, market) in postmodernity. I base my model on Critical Social Theory and Critical Theory, debates on development, theories of international migration of professionals, and typologies of skilled migration.

In **Chapter 4**, I show how ethnomethodology that recognizes individuals' practical actions for their preferred social order is reflective of interpretive social science and helps me to analyze the interconnectedness of institutional logics of power and space identified and described in Chapter 3. I discuss the philosophical roots of, theoretical convergences and divergences with, this methodology. Alberta's neoliberal globalization goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity are also cast in specific criteria for participants' evaluation. I then detail my research instrument as consisting of 1) the use of nonprobability sampling through purposive or judgmental and reputational or snowballing techniques, 2) recruitment correspondences for 15 participants, 3) the list of qualifications for participants, 4) HERO-approved letters for qualified interviewees, and 5) actual interview procedures.

In **Chapters 5-7**, I present participants' narratives that I gather through the methodology described in Chapter 4, and connect my analyses of these narratives with my study objectives and assumptions in Chapter 1 and my social theoretical model in Chapter 3. Higher education policies and labor practices in the four country-sites of study are also presented. I allow the voices of the participants to surface and I find these voices to be a mixture of continuing lamentations and well-deserved celebrations about an imbalanced world where neoliberal Alberta's promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity remain elusive.

Chapter 8 shows the theoretical, methodological, and policy implications of my study. I present policy alternatives to Alberta's existing neoliberal globalization policy of privatized education and workforce standards.

In **Chapter 9**, I link participants' narratives in Chapters 5-7 with my own voice and representation of my continuing struggles and victories as a permanent resident and eventually a citizen of Canada. I show more discoveries in Canada's (Alberta's) labor import policy for migrants from China, India, and the Philippines.

In **Chapter 10**, I present the summary of my study. I then cap this chapter with recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

In this chapter, I look into existing literature that is related to my inquiry. I categorize my literature review into four subtopics to show the interplay of social, political, and economic institutions within internationalized migration of university-educated Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta, Canada: on higher education and government's rationality; on higher education policies and neoliberal policy of privatizing education; on the influence of IOs policies on higher education and neoliberal policy of privatizing education; and on the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race. I aim to identify nuances, gaps, and tensions in relevant literature and address them in my study.

On Higher Education as Government's Rationality

Di Maria and Stryszowski (2009) analyze how migration to OECD countries changes the composition of human capital in East Asian sending countries and affects development. They note that policymakers from developing countries gear human capital formation to the needs of local entrepreneurs. They challenge developing economies on the practicability of educational incentives for their human capital amidst globalized migration. Their model shows productivity growth through imitation or innovation of skilled labor where a group of diverse labor learn skills for economic incentives. The authors theorize that migration distorts these incentives and human capital accumulation thereby slowing down or barring economic development. Brain drain lowers the pace of development and may lead to development traps for lagging countries. While Di Maria and Stryszowski suggest that human capital formation, as a likely prelude to economic development, is a function of governmentality¹¹, they did not examine the significance of social capital as a probable push-pull factor and therefore part of government's rationality for East Asian migration to OECD countries. Social

¹¹ "Governmentality," coined by Foucault (2007), refers to the mentality or *raison d'être* of a collective force of rulers. I refer to its description more extensively in Chapter 3.

capital is a primary push-pull factor for North-bound migration among East Asians.

Meanwhile, Li and Lin (2008) show how the rational framework of policymaking becomes a powerful tool in China's sociohistorical demands that called for a redirection of political economy foci. They substantially critique the rational model as it applies to China's major policy shift to higher education, suggesting how China's sense of governmentality is geared towards social progress. Completion of higher education is highly recognized among the government officials and people of China as instrumental to their achieving a highly developed society. Salmi (2007), on the other hand, shows how China's embrace of market forces has modified delivery of public services since the 1990s. Salmi's study suggests that Chinese human-and-social capital formation, while primarily a function of the Chinese government, has shifted gears with the market's intrusion into its service delivery programs. An earlier study (Min, 2004) presents Chinese governmentality as one that facilitates its HEIs' journey towards international standards. Over the years, there have been efforts to meet these standards. Murphy and Johnson (2009), as a matter of fact, cite a collection of studies on the tensions in China over policies to reform education financing, curriculum, and pedagogy. These studies support China's openness to new forms of managing human-and-social capital formation. Guo's research (2009) also reveals China's active governmentality in shaping and developing further its citizens. However, the Chinese government may be remiss about its country-specific and people-centered needs as it focuses on meeting global standards. Majority of its population may remain impoverished, illiterate, or unable to enjoy the right of mobility.

In India, university officials steer HEIs towards the market as they compete for students, the needs of labor market, and local and regional economies (Salmi, 2007). Salmi's study shows that Indian governmentality is prone to the influence of market forces, implicitly experimenting on how its university students can benefit from this alliance. Dependence on market forces may be

India's last-ditch effort to improve its educational system. Jayaram (2004) laments the declining state of Indian HE where universities are referred to as academic slums, producing unemployable graduates who earned their certificates but hardly knew what to do or how to communicate well. Indian governmentality is forced to espouse the neoliberal policy of privatized education to improve its HE system through funds from philanthropists, private individuals, or foundations.

Tremblay's 2005 study discusses literature on the growing concern for Chinese and Indian students' mobility resulting in sending countries' brain drain and receiving countries' (such as Canada) economic and brain gain. China and India's strong state role in the economy propels economic growth and global mobility of their highly educated people. These countries offer incentives for expatriates to return to their home countries and maximize the potentials of their home grown human-and-social resources. Tremblay highlights China and India's governmentality that facilitates, respects, monitors their highly educated people's progress, choice and mobility, and welcomes them back for experiential and knowledge gains that can be utilized in their home countries. I am calling these experiential and knowledge gains from host countries as brain premium/interest.

Stark and Wang (2002) appear to counter Tremblay's findings as they look into the viability of an individual's human capital formation as properly and optimally invested through economies that are open to migration to a richer country. The authors use econometrics in theorizing that an open economy inspires the formation of human capital in the home country thereby benefitting the entire economy towards social optimum, i.e., across all workers, and that a closed economy witnesses underinvestment in human capital. They failed to explicate their theories through the more qualitative method of Spencer's Social Darwinism. They find that

the social welfare of workers is enhanced with migration kept below a critical level, and that the optimal probability welfare gain from migration decreases with the productivity differential of human capital between the destination country and the home country. These results offer a positive policy implication: a poor

country should adopt a restrictive migration policy and gradually relax the restriction as its economy develops. (p. 42)

Facchini and Mayda (2008), meanwhile, take a direction different than Stark and Wang's. Facchini and Mayda's study account for the impact of destination countries' restrictive migration policies resulting in limited labor internationalization. Using a sample of 34 countries (including Canada and the Philippines) from two rounds of an international survey programme, the researchers look into how voters' attitudes and opinions on immigration translate into policymaking and policy outcomes. They find that only a small minority of voters favor more open policies, and that union leaders 1) realize the importance of foreign immigrants in the rank and file of the union; 2) are convinced of the state's inability to control immigration; and 3) are concerned about immigrants in black economy. This study critically analyzes thick statistics and participants' attitudes, offers new perspectives in interpreting data and presents clear links among variables, combines new methods with predominant ones, and critiques and categorizes regressions in relation to theories. This study seems to look into governmentality from the perspective of host countries.

Paulet's study (2007), on the other hand, shows a colonizing country as wielding the torch of governmentality. Paulet looks into educational policy and practice in the Philippines as borne out of an American sense of governmentality, supporting America's plan of governmental and economic system for the Philippines so that the US "could maintain control without the use of force and could achieve economic success without the appearance of exploitation" (p. 173). Overland (2005) examines Philippine governmentality from another angle. It is one that is torn between an excellent HE quality and HEIs in nursing that are operated by businesses trying to cash in on the large number of people who hoped that nursing degrees would land them high-paying jobs abroad. The article shows that the market forces always win. Gonzalez (2004) also presents the Philippine educational landscape as eventually mired in the influence of international political economy – a Philippine sense of governmentality that educates its people

only to summon them to go abroad for jobs. It is a governmentality that grants over-attention to establishing more schools than creating jobs for its constituents.

The host country's governmentality of recruiting highly skilled labor has resulted indirectly in the rise of diploma mills in home countries. Conversely, the home country's governmentality of having HEIs with decentralized and rationalized structure coupled with the smooth organizational flow of consultation, planning, and implementation ensure that fields of specialization produce locally as well as globally competitive labor force. This is the conclusion that can be gleaned from a study of the Task Force on Higher Education (1995) in the Philippines.

On Higher Education Policies and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education

Triadafilopoulos (2010) analyzes Canadian immigration policies in post-WWII, argues that the changing norms of race, ethnicity, and human rights showcase different admissions and policy regimes, and comes up with methods that expose immigration and citizenship policies as wrought with employers' demands for cheap labor, protecting host countries' citizens from job losses or cultural heteronomy, mocking immigrants' rights entitlement. Triadafilopoulos' study suggests 1) the link between immigration practices and policy regimes, and 2) despite immigrants' university and work credentials, they are bound by host countries' discriminatory frameworks, and are faced with options to improve their plight: getting recredentialed and spending for recredentialing processes under the neoliberal policy of privatized education.

Gilmore (2009) elaborates on the condition of newly landed immigrants to Canada as he cites a number of studies about the difficulties they face in finding employment related to their background and experiences back home. These difficulties include 1) recognition of foreign credentials; 2) comparative level of educational attainment; 3) degree and length of experience abroad and within Canada; 4) differences in quality of education in some countries; 5) language barriers and related problems; 6) varying strength of social networks; and

7) knowledge of and information about the Canadian labor market. Gilmore's findings indicate the link between higher education policies and neoliberal policy of privatizing education. Any newly landed immigrant who wants to overcome these difficulties has to shoulder the costs of dec credentialing and rec credentialing in Canada.

Li and McHale (2009) did a study using WB datasets covering 212 countries and territories in 1996-2007, on how a country's migrating human capital impacts its institutions. They find that a large group of mobile human capital stocks are linked with high quality political institutions and with low quality economic institutions. This particular finding suggests that a migrating human capital does so given the source country's lowly economic condition. It further appears that a migrating human capital is vested with rights that enable it to make choices – an indication of the source country's strong political institution (i.e., a political institution that accords its people several rights, one of which is the right of mobility). An earlier work, Man's study (2004), sits well with Li and McHale's finding. It shows the declining pull of the North among well-educated Chinese from financially endowed Hong Kong. Man attributes this to the North's negative image, particularly news of unemployment and underemployment that Hong Kong residents receive from North-based friends and relatives. It seems that the right of mobility falls under Hong Kong residents' close scrutiny given their high financial situation. Additionally, their right of mobility is linked to their sense of economic fulfilment that comes in the form of being employed based on their educational background.

Bacon (2008), on the other hand, shows that for China, India, and the Philippines – the source countries for most H1-B¹² workers in the United States,

¹² H1-B workers fall under the US visa category of people “wishing to perform services in a specialty occupation, services of exceptional merit and ability relating to a Department of Defense (DOD) cooperative research and development project, or services as a fashion model of distinguished merit or ability” (retrieved from <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=73566811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=73566811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>). The US H1B visa is “a non-immigrant

the continued loss of high human-social capital and skilled labor-engineers who are all recruits of Silicon Valley contributes to brain drain in these countries. Bacon's study suggests that unless a highly skilled professional gets recredentialed in the host country, that highly skilled professional only ends up working lowly jobs. Any highly skilled professional faces the dilemma of decredentialed as the costs of keeping up with the neoliberal policy of privatized education are exorbitant.

In the Philippines, more than two-thirds of the students attend private institutions (Salmi, 2007), implicitly showing how market forces have penetrated HEIs. Educational policymakers also lament the Philippines' highly politicized setting and inadequate resources as contributing to the decline in the quality of HE. Once the only-English-speaking country in Asia powered by American influence, the Philippines is now losing its edge in English education. Santiago (2005) suggests that the Commission on Higher Education should be aggressive in campaigning for cross-border education that would push Philippine HE towards constructive competition with Asian HE institutions. This study appears to support a market-driven direction for higher education. This is not surprising as the Philippine higher educational system is the end result of WB's fifth president McNamara's stimulus package experiment on SAPs (Bello, 1994; Bello, Kinley, & Elinson, 1982). SAPs show fixtures of the neoliberal policy of privatizing education: 1) huge cutbacks of state funds for education; 2) privatization of education services; and 3) limited access of the few to education services that only leads to wider economic disparities between the few and the majority.

Salaff and Greve (2003) look into reasons of deskilling that affected 50 professional Chinese couples who specialized and worked in areas of engineering, computer science, and medicine in China and that eventually moved to Canada. The authors find that immigrants with foreign credentials could practice in Canada's protected professions as soon as they show that they have a higher

visa, which allows a US company to employ a foreign individual for up to six years" (workpermit.com retrieved from http://www.workpermit.com/us/us_h1b.htm).

education degree, pass Canadian courses and examinations, and repeat part of their schooling. This study shows that some Chinese immigrants are able and willing to go through Canada's neoliberal policy of privatizing HE.

Meanwhile, Beine, Docquie, and Rapoport (2001) explore the impact of migration on human capital formation and growth in 37 developing-economies-open-to-migrations, including China, India, and the Philippines. The researchers identify the first impact as beneficial and call it "brain effect," i.e., migration opportunities promote investments in education. They call the second impact as "brain drain" as it is detrimental to developing economies losing their educated immigrants. Based on empirical evidence, the researchers theorize the "beneficial brain drain" framework as resulting in two cases: 1) when the economy remains trapped in underdevelopment and migration probabilities are low, and 2) when the economy shows a relatively high growth performance and is open to migration probabilities. They then draw the following policy implications: sending countries' barriers to international mobility of skilled labor could mean a decrease in the long-run level of human capital; sending countries may formulate appropriate pricing of human capital tax and subsidy policies allowing retention of human capital that is necessary for their growth; sending countries' subsidy policies may be inefficient if the probability of leaving is high for the educated and if wage differentials are factored in; and destination countries' selective immigration policies may be reconsidered as they impact growth in sending countries. This study points out the nuances and significances of the phenomenon of international migration and economic development vis-à-vis human capital formation that of late has been subjected to neoliberal policy of privatizing education through taxation and/or withdrawal of subsidy.

On the Influence of IOs Policies on Higher Education and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education

Policies of labor-exporting states such as China, India, and the Philippines – given their membership in these IOs – complement IOs' policies of effecting development through human capital formation for knowledge intensive industries

(Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006). Literature also shows that labor export policies are actually part of IFIs' SAPs and loan conditionalities to labor-exporting states whose debt repayment comes mostly from labor force remittances (Bello, Docena, de Guzman, & Malig, 2004). Several IFIs, through neoliberalism in education¹³, serve the global North's development goals, resulting in misallocation and misappropriation of resources among people worldwide, and implying that IFIs and IOs dictate the development agenda and goals of member-countries through standardization of education and labor trajectories in global movement.

How the IFIs and IOs' policies and SAPs play out in the development agenda and goals of member-countries are exemplified in the study of Berthélemy, Beuran, and Maurel (2009). The researchers review the impact of aid allocation on global mobility of developing economies. They examine 187 sending-developing countries to 22 receiving member-developed countries and find that reduced aid is a pull factor for skilled migrations. On skilled and unskilled migration behavior, they find that 1) recent migration policies favor skilled migrants over the unskilled; 2) redistributive welfare states are a pull for

¹³ Neoliberalism in education is described as having

facilitated the development and proliferation of a variety of tools promoting the standardisation and regulation of national education in an international context [...] creating the political and social climate wherein partnerships between public and private sectors around the delivery and marketing of education, as well as the aggressive pursuit of internationalisation by state institutions, are increasingly normalised (p. 46). [Additionally,] the proliferation of terms such as benchmarking, [parent-consumer, educational products], ranking, policy frameworks, and best practice in discussions of state education is indicative of the impact of neoliberal ideology. (Waters, 2008, p. 25)

Focusing on Alberta, Spencer and Couture (in Gariépy, Spencer, & Couture, 2009, p. xxi) describe the 1990s as the period within which accountability policies in Alberta's education system lent "another dimension of complexity to [already challenging] circumstances [made more] complicated [with] the pressures of globalization." My study does not look into Waters' (2008) description of neoliberalism in education or into accountability policies in Alberta's education system but into neoliberal policy of privatized education.

unskilled migrants while countries with better opportunities for higher income attract educated migrants; and 3) a higher complementarity exists between trade and migration for skilled migrants than for unskilled ones. Meanwhile, Faist (2008) shows that remittances obtained through overseas employment of skilled labor are a big development push for source countries. He sees the union of two major forces: nation-states creating transnational spaces and nonstate actors caught in cross-border flows (some causing currency circulation through labor mobility with others staying home) as the core of development that tightly links migration control, immigrant incorporation, and development cooperation.

Both studies suggest how IOs-imposed SAPs impact global migration of debtor countries and perpetuate forms of exploitation as migration control, immigrant incorporation, and development cooperation are invoked to justify decredentialing and recredentialing of immigrants within the neoliberal policy of privatizing education.

Robertson (2009), on the other hand, traces the genealogy of The Bank's "Knowledge for Development" (K4D) program that started in 1999 and evaluates its performance, taking note of its implementation during the presidency of James Wolfensohn – the WB president credited to have first exposed corruption in development financing. Robertson states, "a close analysis of the KAM (Knowledge Assessment Methodology) reveals that not only is the integrity of many of the indicators problematic (what are they measuring?) but, most significantly, the model of development is one based on an extension of western modernity and market liberalism" (2009, p. 3). She then outlines, for purposes of unravelling OECD and The Bank's knowledge-based economy projects, Jessop's model of Cultural Political Economy (CPE) as consisting of 1) the social construction of objects and subjectivities through the processes of semiosis (discourse) occurring in assemblies and social relations, 2) the co-constitutive role of semiosis with agents and agency in extrasemiotic features of social relations, 3) its combination with critical semiotic analysis as methodology and CPE as approach resulting in intersubjective meanings, and 4) imagined economies that

have partial yet significant correspondence with real material interdependencies. Citing literature relevant to her research, Robertson concludes,

When knowledge is valorized and the ‘west’ [through OECD and The Bank’s projects] is perceived to extend its reach so that the divides become gaping chasms, capitalism will not only have eroded the possibilities for new markets, but reduced its own imaginative potential through the limits it places on education.... Similarly, it is notoriously difficult to ‘predict’ and reproduce the conditions for generating new innovations, patents and intellectual property, as the OECD have [sic] found. And, as I argued to begin with, social systems are always open, contingent and potentially plural. (2009, pp. 20-21)

Still on the subject of IOs impacting development goals of low economies, McCleery and De Paolis (2008) present a review of existing literature that showcases conflicting theories and evidences about the varying impact of economic policies on developing economies, and that accounts for the failure of WC’s development policies in guiding global growth dynamics for 20 years. They critically trace the origin of WC to a list of 10 policies/policy reforms that Williamson did for Washington in guiding development bank goals, loans, terms, and conditions. The crux of their criticisms is on economic policies of international trade and financial liberalization, resulting in wide income disparities and regression of several countries. The researchers then propose looking into country-specific conditions (history, culture, geography, and levels of industrial and institutional development) that will aid development policy-makers in addressing a given country’s growth needs. The researchers’ critique of WC policies suggests a deeper examination of IOs’ policies impacting development goals of specific countries. International labor relations and trade within the institution of education implicitly count among these country-specific development goals.

Meanwhile, Robertson (2008) looks into neo-Gramscian models that reveal dialectical links in established institutional hegemony (developed economies such as the US, UK, Australia, and Canada) maneuvering forms of

state, social relations of production, and world orders in the 1970s. She then cites literature that 1) trace the efforts of US-led WB to duck all restrictions to US services and trade negotiations and to preclude nationalization of developing economies as having birthed WTO and GATTs that in turn systematically commoditize and marketize higher education as a private good, 2) identify education as a luxury item and as being prorich and thereby forsaken and left out in WB's list of target aid priorities to developing economies, 3) show WB's priority in aiding infrastructures construction over human capital development in higher education, 4) demonstrate rates-of-returns analyses of education as yielding private rather than public returns (following Milton Friedman's analysis), 5) expose WB's selective piece-meal support for higher education projects in China, Indonesia, and Latin America in the 1970s until the 1990s that resulted in the HE crisis of intellectual dependency and loss, 6) reveal the four reform strategies on higher education in The Bank's 1994 Report as enjoining households, private firms and individuals, and students in sharing HE costs if developing economies were to achieve economic and social development through HE, 7) condemn The Bank's 1994 Report as falsely premised on sector crises, such condemnation followed by reports pushing for WB's preferential support for HE, 8) describe WB's "Knowledge for Development" (K4D) from 1999 onwards as being inspired by OECD's compilation of pro-HE studies and reports on New Growth Theory, 9) elaborate on The Bank's 2004 Knowledge Assessment Methodology as a monitoring tool for developing economies' readiness for knowledge and free market economies with intellectual property as base, and 10) detail the market multilateral and coherence approaches of IFIs such as The Bank, IMF, OECD, and UNESCO as WTO-led towards global access to quality education. Robertson then concludes that The Bank-led reforms characterized as neoliberal (i.e., proprivate-individual and antistate) have only widened knowledge gaps.

Decon (2000) also shows the challenges to developing economies' prospects for equitable social development within the neoliberal globalization

framework by referring to findings of his previous study, thick literature reviews on IFIs and region-specific critiques, and relevant IFIs' policies on social services such as education. These challenges are partly a result of the emerging global economy, and partly from opposing strands of global discourse on social policy and social development. He shows IFIs' agenda as characterized by preferential thrusts for privatized welfare provisions, relegation of education services to international nongovernmental bodies, and global marketization of education services, undermining principles of equitable public social delivery. He concludes,

Development analysis [must] shift focus from the global poor's [...] condition to the global rich's [...] private privileges. The mapping of emerging global markets in social welfare is an urgent necessity [...]... requir[ing] UN organisations to be funded out of global taxes, and empowered to work with the new G-10 group of countries[; and] the IMF, WB, WTO and Global Regional Groupings to [account] for equitable global development [planning]. Such planning would ... rationalise the chaos of subcontracted governance..." (p. 38).

Decon then forwards claims to warrant his call for major policy analyses and changes. His study is another attack against IFIs' misdirected, misguided, proric agenda.

Wickens and Sandlin, in their 2007 study, compare and analyze how policy documents of UNESCO and WB facilitate the spread of literacy education across the globe. They account for neocolonizers' (UNESCO and WB) systematic utilization of education in post-WWII, using their hold on neocolonized states to "reinforce development models of economics and trade [via labor]-force training [and] international competition" (p. 287). By employing axial coding and textual discursive analysis to establish the link between neocolonized states' education policies and practices and neocolonizers' conditionalities, the researchers replicate reliable qualitative methods of inquiry. They critique and justify these methods as appropriate citing a thick set of literature. They find that WB uses education for labor market and individual productivity (development of self-concept, self-

management, and self-confidence); and UNESCO aims for personal and social empowerment (livelihood-making, freedom, and knowledge acquisition for social change). Other documents show that education is “primarily a function of economic policy” (p. 288); UNESCO and WB faithfully “reflect interests of the major industrialized countries” (p. 287); WB and IMF “removed support in different locations because of serious governmental misallocation of funds” (p. 286); and WB looks at education as “economic, management issue rather than the means for social and personal improvement” (p. 288). Poverty heightens due to foreign loan repayments, poor investments, prolonged civil wars, misplaced priorities, corruption and poor governance resulting in relentless public spending on the school system. Aside from the methods used, the researchers could have proposed new and alternative research methods in analyzing UNESCO and WB policy documents. Overall, their study is another critique of IOs’ policies and SAPs that clearly espouse neoliberal orientation and direction for education.

An earlier study in 2002 also critiques IOs’ policies, specifically WB’s educational policies in the 1999 document, *Education Sector Strategy*. Ilon exposes that WB’s failure to be upfront about its global market advocacy creates a policy environment that is hardly conducive to both global markets and the world’s poor. The obvious lack of pronounced educational policy analysis, and clear demarcation between internal and external linkages to education and the cultural, historical, political, and social dynamics in the policy document renders WB’s role as a crisis of legitimacy. While Ilon does not discuss the method used, it is apparent that she relies on WB’s institutional, educational, and policy frameworks in showing its highly flawed and antipoor educational policy document. She does a critical content/textual analysis of WB policy document, notes the absence of external references, and successfully unmasks it as a top-down policy that is devoid of extensive theoretical frameworks. The researcher makes her implicit calls for policy intervention and modification of WB’s 1999 *Education Sector Strategy* to meet WB’s declaration of propoor agency.

Sanderson and Kentor (2008) examine the impact of FDI on international migration through the use of a cross-national panel regression analysis from 25 LDCs between 1985 and 2000. They find that FDI is an impetus for immigration over time, displacing or promoting “migration from LDCs in a [way] consistent with global political economy theories” (p. 529), and that trade integration lessens global movements. Aside from using international migration and global political economy theories, the researchers use the neoclassical economics theory (i.e., humans are rational beings who choose to migrate based on cost-benefit analyses) in analyzing capital and labor mobility and find it as highly flawed, unnecessarily eclipsing the impetus of FDI. This study seems to obscure capital-labor mobility in international migration within the context of neoclassicism to favor the neoliberal bent of market-driven FDI.

A study that shows IOs’ active involvement and influence on global movement to the extent of eclipsing the agency of nation-states is that of Walsh’s in 2008. Walsh looks into migration policies as institutional lenses of social reproduction and as an avenue for strategic research to expose the impact of globalization on state sovereignty. Focusing on the movement from mass-industrial-Keynesian to postindustrial-neoliberal socioeconomic formations in Canada, he theorizes the centrality of international migration policies to national development and to macrosocial engineering. He then critiques institutional transnationalism, supranational political and regulatory bodies, as well as directions in international laws, instruments and agreements of IOs such as the UN and the WTO that govern immigration, as having dismissed the agency of the state, national borders, and regulatory frameworks, thereby spreading limited and fragmentary bids at global movements. States’ roles, seen as not wholly autonomous, become increasingly mediated through these movements and collective action that may be marred occasionally by illegalities. When that happens, states are enjoined to construct and enforce fields of illegalities. Walsh then focuses on Canada as a settler-colonies-model-country of international migration, placed under the states’ scrutinizing lens of monitoring equity and

fairness in the processing of skills-based movements and employing of points-system among migration applicants. This study shows the paradox of supranationalism, i.e., bequeathing while simultaneously subjecting nation-states' roles to a supranational state's scrutiny that in turn also bequeaths and subjects its role to the nation-states' scrutiny.

Syed (2008), on the other hand, exposes related literature that treats skilled migration as replete with statistics and stories of discrimination and underemployment. Syed critically argues that these statistics and stories expose "a lack of understanding of migrants' issues, which may be attributed to the conceptual and disciplinary silos that usually characterize migration policy and research" (p. 31). He calls for addressing differential sociocultural issues distant from the host countries that are mostly European, North American, and IOs' powerbrokers.

On the Micropolitics of Culture, Gender, Language, and Race

Bourdieu's (1984, 2001) take on culture and gender as capital and political disposition, respectively, and as associated with both educational capital and role-cum-occupational choice seems key in the literature showing Chinese, Filipino, and Indian parents as putting preferential thrust for HE that complements Alberta's growing market need for highly skilled labor as well as Alberta's preferential choice for Asian ethnies (Audette, 2010; Carvajal, 2009; Gilmore & Le Petit, 2008; Kumar, 2009; Mok & Lo, 2009; Naujoks, 2009; Uy, 2008). Gender-wise, Asian immigrants strive to be recognized – what looks to me as engendered by both racism and the dominant phallic discourse that influence gender roles and dispositions (Balibar in Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bannerji, 2000; Bourdieu, 2001; Choudry et al., 2009; Tadiar, 2009). Women immigrants start as nannies while men as construction workers in Alberta (personal communication, 2006-2009).

Garfinkel's (2006, 2008) take on culture as signposts is quite apparent in the Asians' cultural characteristic of kin-/family-centeredness. These signposts may explain how one's high social capital (networks of family and relatives) can

get one to Alberta (Brigham, 2002). The culture of resilience is also quite ostensive among highly educated Asians. It is their resilience that enables them to cope with performing jobs that are comparatively odd with their jobs or their relatively well-off status in their home countries (Fletcher, 2004; McGovern & Wallimann, 2009; Rodriguez, 2010).

Gellner (2006) sees culture, along with polity, as congruent to attaining “potential” nationalism. Culture intertwines and overlaps with other cultures to “usually but not always” (Gellner, p. 47) produce political units that, once shaped and legitimized through labor divisions and intellectual pools, cultivate a potential sense of nationalism. Gellner’s concept of culture rings loud in what has been labelled as multicultural Canada where various political units reveal nationalistic semblances that are somewhat incipient or transient.

Smith (2008), meanwhile, outlines culture as hierarchy- (i.e., God on top then followed by his appointed monarchs), covenant- (i.e., the Torah in the Book of Exodus), and republican-based (i.e., upholding the ideals and gains of the French revolution) that leads to the formation of nations and the cultivation of nationalism, an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity for a human population some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential nation (Smith, 2008, p. 184). It appears that, even among global immigrants of various cultures, the marriage between politics and culture gives birth to nationalism. In a similar tone, Escobar (2004) values the rise of imperial-global coloniality filled with economic-military-ideological accoutrements. Global coloniality penetrates the Third World and induces increased marginalization, and suppressed knowledge and culture of subalterns, as well as leads to the simultaneous birthing of self-organized social networks that mobilize and effect ways of counterhegemonic discourse.

Kapoor (2007, 2009), meanwhile, focuses on the role of the Adivasis (an Indian subaltern) social movement in exposing Adivasis’ displacement from their land as a result of the exploitation of capitalist-state-led development collusions and state-caste interests, and in helping forge the formulation and implementation

of subaltern studies from the ground up. Torres and Schugurensky (2002) also emphasize the need to locate in each national context and each higher education institution the promotion, resistance, and negotiation of global trends in international education as they discuss Latin American perspectives on changes in university education.

Tensions apparently penetrate social sectors in the studies of Escobar (2004), Kapoor (2007, 2009), and Torres and Schugurensky (2002). These tensions create a stalemate atmosphere where power dominance becomes the target of the equally powerful “other.”

On the nature of language, Bourdieu (1992) and Garfinkel’s (2008) explications appear relevant to the context of Asians’ international migration. Part of Alberta’s growing market-needs package is the linguistic primacy of English. Asian immigrants’ high human capital includes the ability to speak and write in English (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009).

Meanwhile, Tosco (2004) highlights the role and power of the state in language loss and retention that impacts people’s social and economic dispositions. The author is keen on analyzing the *laissez faire* approach to language choice as similar to the theory of rational choice: with the freedom of language choice and use comes the inevitable fate of language survival or death.

Phillipson (1998), for his part, asks whether globalized English can be used to promote the use of other languages. He believes that local appropriation of this internationalized medium of instruction can lead to counterhegemonic discourse of resistance. Watson (2007), on the other hand, shows the interrelatedness of language with education and ethnicity (i.e., the interplay of culture, economy, and community) within a globalized world, each one becoming indispensable for both governments and minorities in China and most of Asia as the former looks into having an international language for development and use of education while the latter upholds the use of the native and indigenous tongues. He then contrasts existing policies of both groups and finds that one set of policies worsens conflicts while another, induces harmony, without overlaying the

influences and power of these groups' colonial history and subjection to economic globalization.

The studies of Phillipson (1998), Tosco (2004), and Watson (2007) reveal tensions and dichotomies within the instrumental nature of the global language, English. On the one hand, English is seen as a repressive tool creating and spreading discourses of imperial state's dominance and power; on the other, English becomes the target of counterhegemonic movements, and eventually overlaid as struggles to keep alive marginalized or otherized native languages of the world's majority are waged.

On race, people's skin color has subjected them to racist remarks and treatment in Canada, especially in their scholastic performance and job seeking efforts (Abma, 2011; Laquian et al., 1997; Laquian & Laquian, 2008). It is also their skin color that has bound and/or split them into ethnies or communities that understand and work against racialization.

White (2002) sees the embedment of dimensions of social difference such as gender, age, and class in valuating development as a process of racial formation. This necessitates a socially inclusive approach to glaring differences and forms of racial discrimination. Believing that development is equivalent to racial formation, White sees diversity of racial projects as leading towards understanding of the meaning of ethnic, racial, and national identities and their connection to material entitlements (e.g., Malaysians being accorded the title of "sons of the soil," and therefore getting more privileges over Indians and Chinese).

Meanwhile, Subreenduth (2008) shares her struggles and narratives as a Third World intellectual worker navigating transnational spaces for politics of power and knowledge and for psychology that mask racialized ideologies and interactions. Using Smith's (2006) space intersections as sites of identities and moments simultaneously privileging local, national, and global movements, Subreenduth attempts to write a decolonizing project to situate the "other" beyond Western definitions and boundaries. Phoenix (2009) likewise uses a decolonizing

paradigm in articulating the gendered and racialized experiences of diaspora and migrant children in UK schools, and in exposing teachers and students as perpetuating genderization and racialization of these children.

The studies of Phoenix (2009), Subreenduth (2008), and White (2002) imply the gains of monitoring and valuating forms of gender and racial discrimination as redefining power dimensions for balance in power relations.

Smith's (1986) explications on colonizers and racists' bureaucratic, cultural, and political maneuvers on ethnies and the rise and impact of the intelligentsia resulting in ethnies' participation in and subsequent adaptation of these maneuvers raise the issue of nation-formations as a probable task among ethnies. Nation-formation is the consequence of ethnies' continued proliferation, solidarity, and myth-making beyond physical features or skin color. With nation-formation come the legal accoutrements of citizenship where class, region, family, sex, and color turn irrelevant. Smith, however, points out that nations like Canada do witness ethnic splits, rivalries, or fragments as ethnies manifest forms of "vicarious nationalism" (p. 151) or compete for national support in social services such as education. Smith sees the retention of ethnies and nations in everyone's memory as essential in forging educational revolutions and in reminding posterity of golden pasts.

Ngo (2006), on the other hand, explores experiences of cultural capital formation, identity negotiation, and racism among Southeast Asian students that include Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians, and finds how these experiences result in reproductions, role reversals, and stereotypes that subject students to unnecessary abuses. Ngo's study exposes power imbalance and draws on students' awareness for protest actions against perpetrators of abuse.

With literature on ethnies and nation-formation bringing to bear the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race, Asian immigrants – by themselves, create their respective ethnies that are powerful enough to induce the formation of organizations critical of power play within Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized HE.

Nuances and Gaps in Literature

Research patterns and trends in international migration from South to North are replete with quantitative research methodologies. Literature anchors my research inquiry on scholarship that respects the interplay of the personal and the social, at once becoming economic and political variables showcasing nuances and gaps for appropriate action (Bourdieu, 1984, 1992, 2001; Garfinkel, 2006, 2008; Gellner, 2006; Smith, 1986, 2006, 2008).

Except for a few that analyzed narratives, organizational documents, and texts on issues of inequity and marginalization in global mobility and that looked into the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race through qualitative research, Asian immigrants' understanding of the impact of educational policies on their plight in Alberta presents a gap in literature that must be addressed (Brigham, 2002; Choudry et al., 2009; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010; Fletcher, 2004; Ilon, 2002; Kapoor, 2007, 2009; McGovern & Wallimann, 2009; Phoenix, 2009; Robertson, 2008, 2009; Rodriguez, 2010; Subreenduth, 2008; Tadiar, 2009; Taylor, 2001; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). A study that suggests that immigrants are not mere pawns of the global economic order but are active participants in the formation of their own capital that could facilitate the achievement of their aspirations is in order.

Chapter 3

Social Theoretical Model of Global Migration

My study on Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants who came to Alberta in 2008-2010 takes place during postmodernity. The period (from the early 1980s to the late 2000s) that is associated with the neoliberal policy regime of antistate (structure) and proprivate-individual (agency) biases, structural breakdowns, and time-and-space compression for flexible accumulation and global mobility of labor and capital, postmodernity begins where modernity ends. The period (from the post-WWII to the early 1980s) when institutional relations worldwide accelerated the capitalist economy, modernity is replete with debates and discourses on development: export-oriented-industrialization, modernization, import-substitution-industrialization, capacity building, and people-centered development, among several. These development debates and discourses propose an overall historical narrative that leads to and is significant in understanding the ongoing neoliberal internationalized policy of migration that governs my present inquiry (Harvey, 1990, 2006, 2010; Martinussen, 1997; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007; Scholte, 2005; Therborn, 2008).

The social reality of global migration to Alberta (Canada) consists of agency (highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines) and structure (space and power) as impacted by continuing colonialism.

Spatial structure refers to configurations of physical location, place, sphere, or territory essential to the efficient, hierarchical, and rational human-and-social capital circulation, consumption, exchange, production, and reproduction within the context of neoliberal policy of private capital accommodation. Space is

... a landscape for the reproduction of labor power [and human-and-social capital] – not only quantitatively, physically and in locations proximate to production activities, but also in terms of those skills, attributes and values which must to some degree be consistent with the capitalist work process. Furthermore, as the purchasing power of labor [and human-and-social capital] grows – as it must with accumulation – so the manner in which that purchasing power is expressed in the

marketplace mediates the circulation of capital.... Capital may seek direct forms of domination, as it did in the early model communities ..., but finds it much more appropriate to seek indirect controls through the mediating power of the state and its associated institutions (educational, philanthropic, religious, and the like)... [such indirect controls likely to result in conflict or class dominance]... (Harvey, 2001, p. 81)

The logic of space entails Alberta's supraterritoriality or role as Canada's substate as it accommodates or accumulates highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines. Structural logics of space are comprised of the 1) household consisting of family members with socially constructed gender and sexuality roles; 2) state and international organizations; 3) community or ethnically bound by culture, language, and race; and 4) class and market. The human-and-social capital formation (production) and re-formation (reproduction) take place within these spaces. I adopt Harvey's (2001) concept of space as he explicates the workings of capital in Marxist theory on capitalist economy; however, capital in this study specifically refers to human-and-social capital in knowledge economy. Power, on the other hand, refers to

the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere [space] in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies.... Relations of power [...] are the immediate effects of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibria which occur in [other types of relationships], [...] and] have a directly productive role, wherever they come into play. (Foucault, 1980, pp. 92-94)

In relation to the concept of governmentality that is explained in detail with reference to spatial structures of state and international organizations, Alberta bureaucracy possesses power and multiple forces characterized as processual, relational, and strategic (Foucault, 1980) to enable it to manage its population that now includes labor import from China, India, and the Philippines.

Patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism constitute the structural logics of power and the production of social inequality and unequal development.

Logics of power take place in spatial structures, such space represented in the host country of Alberta as the supraterritorial regime. Supraterritoriality involves the continuing complex dynamics of a colonial history where binaries and polarities between the former colonizers and colonized are carried over to post-WWII times

when the economies of the Third World societies had already been captured, in structure and orientation, by the capitalist world market.... and [post-WWII independence] has been termed “neocolonialism”... [i.e.,] control by economic rather than directly political means.... [leading to] the incorporation of world space into a single social, economic, and cultural system dominated by the imperial powers. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 165)

Power relations in supraterritorial space remain lopsided or zero-sum. Manifest in the logics of power and space are tensions of colonial histories that impact global relations, casting them into continuing unequal power relations or new colonial configurations. Configurations of ongoing or new colonialisms are termed as “re-colonization” as a process of neoliberal globalization made possible through IOs such as GATS, IMF, WB, WTO (Choudry, 2007, p. 97) or as “global coloniality” where the “New World Order of the American imperial monarchy articulates the peaceful expansion of the free market economy” (Escobar, 2004, p. 214).

These tensions of ongoing colonialism are also depicted in selected development theories that bind ongoing colonizers and their colonies into pacts on continuing colonial relations for international cooperation and progress. These pacts are now in the form of using information and computer technology for transborder transactions between (neo) colonizers and (neo) colonized that defy spatio-temporal boundaries, and witness the mushrooming of online degrees, distance education, open universities, and virtual institutes of learning.

My social theoretical framework¹⁴ brings together simultaneously four perspectives in dissecting the social reality of global migration: the power logics of patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism as impacted by the logic of colonialism or re-colonization within the supraterritorial regime. Existing literature usually deals with only one or two perspectives at a time (Abma, 2011; Audette, 2010; Bacon, 2008; Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bannerji, 2000; Beine, Docquie & Rapoport, 2001; Bello, 1994; Bello, Kinley & Elinson, 1982; Bello et al., 2004; Berthélemy, Beuran & Maurel, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984, 2001; Brigham, 2002; Carvajal, 2009; Choudry et al., 2009; Decon, 2000; Di Maria & Stryszowski, 2009; Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Faist, 2008; Fletcher, 2004; Gilmore, 2009; Gilmore & Le Petit, 2008; Gonzalez, 2004; Guo, 2009; Ilon, 2002; Jayaram, 2004; Kumar, 2009; Laquian et al., 1997; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Lauder et al., 2006; Li & Lin, 2008; Li & McHale, 2009; Man, 2004; Min, 2004; McCleery & De Paolis, 2008; McGovern & Wallimann, 2009; Mok & Lo, 2009; Murphy & Johnson, 2009; Naujoks, 2009; Ngo, 2006; Overland, 2005; Paulet, 2007; Phillipson, 1998; Phoenix, 2009; Robertson, 2008, 2009; Rodriguez, 2010; Salaff & Greve, 2003; Salmi, 2007; Sanderson & Kentor, 2008; Santiago, 2005; Stark & Wang, 2002; Subreenduth, 2008; Syed, 2008; Tadiar, 2009; Taylor, 2001; Tosco, 2004; Tremblay, 2005; Triadafilopoulos, 2010; Uy, 2008; Walsh, 2008; Waters, 2008; Watson, 2007; White, 2002; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007).

My social theoretical model of global migration allows me to examine, through participants' narratives, how agents (highly skilled immigrants from

¹⁴ My social theoretical framework was developed through intense and long discussions with my supervisor, Dr. Jerrold L. Kachur, and through participation in his courses, EDPS 523 (Development Theory and Education) and EDPS 680 (Policy Research in Education), in winter 2010. Kachur's model is synthesized and adapted from the models of modernity originating from Weber, Parsons, and Habermas and developed with different emphases on capitalism from Bowles and Gintis' *Democracy and capitalism* (1987), with additions on ethnies from Anthony Smith's *The ethnic origins of nations* (1986), and on political association from John Martinussen's *Society, state and market* (1997), and on patriarchy by Nancy Fraser's "Rethinking the public sphere" in *Habermas and the public sphere*, C. Calhoun, Ed. (1992, pp. 109-42).

China, India, and the Philippines) impact, navigate, or negotiate structure (logics of space and power) during global migration causing them to fuse. Structural logics of space and power conversely impact on agents causing them to act or respond accordingly. Such fusion results in conflicts and/or harmonies, revealing actor-structural dialectics.

My purpose in analyzing agency, and structures of space and power in global migration is to locate policy advocacy and formulations in the host country of migration (Alberta, Canada) based on participants' narratives. Alberta's neoliberal policy regime promotes privatizing higher education, decredentialing and recredentialing labor to meet market needs, and is a political tool for exploiting newly arrived skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants who have already earned credentials in their respective home countries. A variety of conflicts and complementarities underlie the functioning of and potential crisis¹⁵ in Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of decredentialing and recredentialing Chinese, Filipino, and Indian labor immigrants during global migration.

Development Discourses in Modernity and Postmodernity

There are four development debates in modernity that are central to my study as they show a number of structural push-pull factors that may have led to structural breakdowns during global migration in postmodernity. Interspersed with these development discourses are theories and typologies of international migration of professionals that 1) depict global migration as industry-led, capital-driven, and as a perennial social movement made more explicit by international relations and agreements, and 2) reveal machinations and imbalances among member-countries in IOs (Bello, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Giroux, 2001, 2008; Gowan, 1999; Hardt & Negri, 2000, 2004; Harvey, 2007, 2010; Hobsbawm,

¹⁵ A crisis refers to a situation of domination, creates opportunities for agents of change, leads to strong explanatory claims and hypothetical constructs of history, justifies political action (Crossley, 2005; Outhwaite, 2006), and calls for policy advocacy and formulation. From the period of Enlightenment to Marx's theory of capitalism that has identified a number of crises, crisis presupposition is concerned about the validity of arguments, the truth or falsity of claims, and the accuracy or inaccuracy of inferences.

2008; Iredale, 1999, 2001; Kachur, 2010; Kachur et al., 2008; Klees, 2002; Massey et al., 1993; Ocampo & Neu, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Polanyi, 2001; Stiglitz, 2008; Martinussen, 1997; Robertson et al., 2007; Schuurman, 1993).

Aside from development discourses, theories and typologies of global migration of university-educated professionals to Canada (Alberta) that appear to be tied to overlapping WB-sanctioned development discourses for member-countries¹⁶, labor export and global migration policies of China, India, and the Philippines as well as the labor import policy of Canada are instructive to my present inquiry.

The first debate (1950s-1970s) used real income measure through per capita income as development index. With the US and UK as models of high industrialization, this debate pushed for EOI – opening domestic to foreign markets for access to global trade of resources (i.e., human resources). There were China's 1978 open-door policy, India's 1950 membership in the Colombo Plan for socioeconomic cooperation, and the Philippines' 1974 labor export policy all indicating the rise of labor-export- and market-based development (Guo, 2009; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Martinussen, 1997, pp. 56-72; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007).

The second debate (1940s-1970s), “modernization,” is based on the North-West model and focused on 1) solidarity for specialized division of labor; 2) Rosenstein-Rodan's active state for human capital formation coupled with Huntington's military for law and order; 3) Nurkse's low demand and limited market that equate to mass poverty, and poverty as a come-on for foreign aid; and 4) primacy of modernity over tradition for growth. “Modernization” was WB's slogan with its founding in 1944, signalling the onslaught of post-WWII reconstruction and development (Alacevich, 2009; Harvey, 2010; Martinussen, 1997, pp. 56-72, 165-181; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007).

¹⁶ All three home countries (China, India, and the Philippines) including the host country (Alberta, Canada) of migration became members of WB with its founding in 1944.

This development discourse highlighted decolonization (e.g., the Philippines gained formal independence from the USA in 1946 and India won its independence from the UK in 1947), imperialism, and McCarthyism (e.g., China's communism since 1949 sustained through the cultural revolution in 1966-1976 and Philippine Martial Law in 1972-1981 resulted in redbaiting or Communist-labelling; on a different note¹⁷, India's partition into India and Pakistan in 1947 displaced most Indians in the Indian-Pakistan border). This discourse is relevant to recognizing the typologies of skilled migration and streams for professional migration: by motivation (forced exodus due to industry-led, government-induced movements, or oppressive regimes); by the push-pull factors of source and destination countries that include lack of economic opportunities or absence of intellectual and professional growth; and by length of stay, e.g., as permanent workforce (Brown, 2009; Guo, 2009; Harvey, 2010; Iredale, 2001; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Leeder, 2004; Martinussen, 1997, pp. 56-72, 165-181; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007).

The third debate (1950s-1990s), ISI in TWCs promoted political independence and country-specific needs (e.g., UK handed over Hong Kong back to China in 1997 and Portugal handed over Macau to China in 1999). There was decentralization (e.g., China's open-door policy in 1978 veered China away from its central planning economy to a market-based one), democratization, trade monetization, and wage labor. Hirschman's economic disequilibria, Perroux's spatial and sectoral growth concentration, Frank and Amin's subordination of politics to external economics as leading to lack of political autonomy, neo-Marxism, and imperialism were the highlights of the debate (Harvey, 2010; Martinussen, 1997, pp. 85-100; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007).

¹⁷ India's partition that came with its independence from British colonization had nothing to do with McCarthyism. The significant determinant in its partition are religious differences that have been causing animosities and rivalries, and driving Indians to migrate to the Global North: Hindus got India while Muslims got Pakistan. Gandhi's assassination by Indian nationalists was due to his refusal to have a Hindu-dominated India (Brown, 2009; Leeder, 2004).

Relevant to this development discourse is the macrotheory of neoclassical economics in global migration. Traced to Ricardo's "comparative advantage" in classical economics theory, and marginal utility and Pareto optimality in neoclassical economics principles where resource production is maximized through intensive capital generation of labor supply meeting labor demands, this theory translates into labor-rich countries as having "low equilibrium market wage" and labor-poor countries as having high market wage. The exodus of migrants to countries with high market wage addresses the latter's labor market demands showing 1) global migration as economically beneficial to migrant's home country (e.g., remittances of Filipino overseas workers keep Philippine economy afloat); 2) labor flow from human-and-social capital-rich countries (i.e., China, India, and the Philippines) to human-and-social capital-poor countries (i.e., Alberta, Canada); and 3) labor market as highly competitive and reliant on demands of labor poor countries, i.e., Alberta, Canada (Audette, 2010, Harvey, 2010; Massey et al., 1993; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Remo, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007; Uy, 2008).

The fourth debate (1960s-1970s) had as core principles capacity building, people-centered development, Freire's conscientization and empowerment; Cheema and Rondinelli's debunked centrality of the state; Guy Gran's people-centered/-managed development; and Amin and Wallerstein's world systems where core, semi-periphery, periphery countries were subject to global political systems, power relations, and economic fluctuations. This discourse focused on decentralization; NGOs; local politics; principles of accountability, cost effectiveness, subsidiarity, and transparency; and crisis in Socialist countries (Harvey, 2010; Martinussen, 1997, pp. 210-216, 331-341; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 2007).

Related to this development discourse are 1) the microtheory of neoclassical economics that expounds on *homo economicus* as the rational individual who is capable of economic behavior and free to migrate to a choice country for maximum productivity, taking into account the costs and benefits of such

behavior; 2) the new economics of migration as a function of larger units of related individuals in family and households, collectively deciding on maximum income, minimum costs, and loose constraints of market failures, and resulting in labor diversity of the unit as some members work in local agencies while others migrate to foreign countries and in case of economic catastrophe in the local unit, members rely on global migrant-relatives for support; and 3) Wallerstein's world systems theory (Massey et al., 1993).

The new economics of migration theory is similar to the concept of "forging foreign relations" where

tribal relations establish sovereign occupation of space through status in shared space, and ancestral claims and where Empire/nomad relations establish sovereignty on sedentary versus mobile occupation, and incorporation. "Tribal relations" is more oriented to kin-based foreign relations and modes of production and Empire/nomad is more tribe-based. These explications point to the notion of "social capital" as a person's basis for international movement, capturing these two dynamics of kin-based and tribe-based relations that function within and across exclusive territorial jurisdictions and the functional multiplication of sovereign spheres in global governance. (Van der Pijl, 2007, pp. 25-60)

In global migration, Wallerstein's world systems theory 1) attributes to capitalism its intrinsic quality of exploiting production forces, and maintains the dominant discourse of capital over labor, i.e., the systematic exploitation of labor by host countries of migration; 2) shows dominance of single division of labor in multicultural systems where each system is a geographic entity with one labor division, allowing all areas to depend on other areas for trade of essential goods; and 3) highlights the dominant capitalist system where three economic zones constitute power relations in extraction and production of goods: capitalist militarily powerful core, semi-periphery, and noncapitalist labor periphery countries. Once profit-driven capitalist relations of core countries penetrate those of noncapitalist peripheries, global migration becomes inevitable (Massey et al., 1993).

The 1980s or the early years of postmodernity, viewed as the impasse in development debates, coincided with the height of economic crisis in TWCs – a slump in all socioeconomic indicators, and the burgeoning of debts. It is at this time when nation-states administered “shock therapy” for construction of service infrastructures then abandoned service delivery (e.g., education) in favor of stronger accountability pillars, and of private individuals and entrepreneurs running and greasing infrastructures as corporations. WB senior economist Clawson – citing SubSaharan Africa as a case of ineffective state controls on trade, led WB to neoliberal direction from 1985 onwards (Alacevich, 2009; Harvey, 1990, 2007, 2010; Klein, 2008; Morrow & Torres, 2007; Schuurman, 1993, pp. 9-11).

The reign of neoliberal internationalized policy regime, postmodernity resulted in what Harvey (2007) calls “accumulation through dispossession,” competition, fear, inequality, and restiveness among some individuals, on one hand; and creativity, vigilance, and collective consciousness among most people, on the other. Amidst the 1980s impasse coupled with institutional breakdowns came an opportunity for Reaganomics and Thatcherism aka neoliberalism to rise. The 1980s to 2010 spelled more than two decades of neoliberalism where countries like the UK, the USA, and China looked for ways to arrest stagflation by capitalizing on freedom of individuals to hold market reins (Giroux, 2001, 2008; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Harvey, 2007, 2010; Morrow & Torres, 2007; Tettey, 2006; Therborn, 2008). To cushion the impact of the weakening support of the state for higher education, Canada’s 1994 Social Security Reform led to a CAD\$2B federal budget cut on higher education and additional provincial-level retrenchment and passed the burden of educational fees on international students (Waters, 2008).

This period also reflects the relevance of internationalized professions that mark the 1) convergence of international standards and policies for fluidity and competitiveness in professional skills requirements, and 2) rise of regional bloc agreements (e.g., Australia-New Zealand MRA, EU, and NAFTA) and of IOs’

agreements (e.g., WTO and GATS) for lubricating market-driven migrations and providing protective mechanisms for professions and industries towards world-class standards (Iredale, 1999, 2001).

	Development debates/ typologies of migration	Immigration & labor import policies of Canada	Political events, laws & labor export policies of China, India & the Philippines
1950s-1970s	High industrialization EOI	Immigration Act of 1952: preference for professionals & workers for Canada's manpower needs	C: formal diplomatic ties with Canada, 1971; immigrants mostly coming from HK
			I: economic and social development ties with Canada, 1950 +
			P: labor export policy, 1974 +
1940s-1970s	Modernization decolonization migration to escape oppressive regime	Immigration Act of 1976: preference for professionals & workers for Canada's manpower needs, & adoption of humanitarian policies for refugees & family reunification	C: open-door policy, 1978; one- child-policy, 1979 +
			I: independence from UK, 1947
			P: formal independence from USA, 1946; declaration of Martial Law, 1972
1950s-1990s	ISI Global migration as mainly economic Labor-rich countries having market disequilibrium with labor-poor countries	Motion to amend Immigration Act of 1976, late 1990s: Canadian public poll against rise in number of immigrants; Canada's Multiculturalism Act, 1982	C: Tiananmen Square massacre, 1989
			I: rise in number of university- educated & postgraduate- credentialed immigrants
			P: Martial law "lifted," 1981, restriction on foreign travel; people power revolution, 1986, rise in number of immigrants to Canada; Live-in caregiver program, 1992 +
1960s-	Capacity building Householding economy Forging foreign relations	Canada's PM Trudeau called for adoption of multicultural policy, 1971	C: cultural revolution (anticapitalist movement), 1966- 1976
			I: ongoing economic ties with Canada
			P: labor export policy, 1974 +
1980s-2000s	Weakened state controls Reliance on markets Greater participation of private individuals	Immigration & Refugee Protection Act, 2002; preference for business entrepreneurs & investors; continued humanitarian policies	All three countries constitute Canada's top three source countries of university-educated immigrants, 2005 +; Alberta's Premier Stelmach encouraged Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to work in Alberta (Canada), 2008

Table 1. Discourses on Modernity, Postmodernity, and Global Migration

WB-prescribed development discourses from 1945 to the mid-1990s and postmodernity's structural breakdowns correspond to WB's member-countries' (Canada, China, India, and the Philippines) immigration and labor export policies as summarized in Table 1 (Brown, 2009; Ghosh, 2008; Harvey, 2010; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Leeder, 2004; Li, 2010; Lindsay, 2001; Waters, 2008).

The lack of formal diplomatic relationship between Canada and China during the 1950s and 1960s discouraged Canadian immigration from mainland China. The forging of formal diplomatic ties in 1971 between Canada and China failed to raise the number of Chinese immigrants to Canada in 1970s-1980s. The majority of Chinese immigrants to Canada came from Hong Kong – China's financial capital. From the mid-1980s onwards, there was an annual increase in the number of immigrants from Hong Kong. With the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, the number of immigrants from mainland China rose when Chinese students at Canadian universities were allowed to remain in Canada as permanent residents. There was a steady increase and occasional slight decrease in the number of university-educated Chinese immigrants mostly from Hong Kong and a few from PRC in 1998-2007, an indication that China has an oversupply of university graduates and that Canada's market has a need for university-educated Chinese (Li, 2010; Waters, 2008).

Filipino immigrants to Canada from the 1940s to the 1960s, on the other hand, were comprised of US-based doctors and nurses who were renewing their exchange visas outside of the US, or who were forced to leave the US due to the US Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Some came to Canada as permanent residents in the 1970s while family-sponsored immigrants came in the 1980s. The Philippine government's labor export policy of 1974 was instrumental in fielding Filipino workers to international worksites including North America and has since been facilitative in the coming of university-educated immigrants to work as caregivers and domestic workers in Canada until the mid-2000s (Laquian & Laquian, 2008).

Canada and India, both British Commonwealth countries, engage in cooperative economic and social development policies since India's independence from British rule in 1947. For reasons that include earning university degrees, escaping animosities and rivalries, expanding horizons, seeking better opportunities, or working, the number of Indian immigrants to Canada rose from the 1950s to the 1990s. Indian immigrants to Canada in the 1990s till the 2000s have university and postgraduate degrees and are employed in manufacturing, scientific, and technical jobs (Brown, 2009; Lindsay, 2001).

The antistate and proprivate-individual biases of the neoliberal internationalized policy regime present the paradox of development: fallen empire of USA, with its domino effect, that hardly escaped the 2008-and-onwards global economic recession and rising empire of the multitude (Bello, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Hardt & Negri, 2000, 2004; Harvey, 2010; Hobsbawm, 2008; Kachur, 2010; Kachur et al., 2008; Klees, 2002; Klein, 2008; Polanyi, 2001; Stiglitz, 2008).

More than 60 years of EOI, i.e., labor export defining the economy of source-receiver countries, have further inspired continuance of neoliberal internationalized policy regime of migration for profits to both source and receiver countries. A case in point: despite massive job losses worldwide in 2008-2010, Canada continued to invite Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to its KE, and they responded accordingly. This was due in part to Canada's need to supplant its aging workforce and to drive economic growth that highly skilled professionals – specifically Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians – ably address notwithstanding the fact that there were no jobs in their home countries (Audette, 2010; Gilmore & Le Petit, 2008; “Immigration Critical to Population,” 2007; “Immigration Driving Growth,” 2009; King, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2001, 2007, 2008; Uy, 2008).

It is at the height of global economic recession, 2008-2010, that my study on global migration to Canada (Alberta) of highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines begins. My social theoretical model allows me to look into how agents or highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the

Philippines who get decredentialed or recredentialed upon migrating to Canada (Alberta) reveal, through narratives, their respective countries' post-WWII histories and structures (of space and power) during global migration in postmodernity.

Spatial Logics in Global Migration

The structural logics of space in global migration is comprised of the 1) household consisting of family members with constructions of gender and sexuality; 2) state and international organizations; 3) community or ethnic bound by culture, language, and race; and 4) class and market.

Household of Family with Constructions of Gender and Sexuality

The household is the spatial logic for the basic unit of society – the family consists of husband-wife¹⁸ and/or parent/s-child/ren who engage in labor divisions based on social constructs about gender (masculine and feminine) and on biological differences between the sexes (male and female)¹⁹: the husband works and earns enough; the wife does domestic chores; both partners work and share in the economic and domestic upkeep of the family; parents guide and shape children's future. The husband-father as head of the family has possession of, and is responsible for, his wife and children; such sense of possession comes with the responsibility of providing for his family and becomes the impetus for property ownership and relationship with other families in a given setting or communal arrangement.

¹⁸ There have been ongoing debates on the changing nature of marriage, from a union of two heterosexuals to one of two homosexuals, along with the evolving constitution of family. In my study-sites of China and India, homosexuality has been officially eradicated and criminalized forcing formation of private homosexual relationships (Ng, 1989, p. 88 in Leeder, 2004, p. 111; Mann, 2011; Saxena, 2001, p. 380 in Therborn, 2004, p. 225). Ditto with the Philippines where homosexual orientation and relations impact on family values and religious beliefs (Root, p. 320 in McGoldrick et al., 2005). I refer to heterosexual husband-wife partnership throughout my study.

¹⁹ Among study participants, there have been no disclosures of homosexual family constitution or orientation. I refer to male and female sexes throughout my study.

The spatial logic of the household comes in two senses: in the first sense, the household is where family members bound by blood and legal ties are referred to as real or true kinship; in the second, the household refers to extended families and kin relations bound by neither blood nor legal ties and are referred to as nonreal or fictive kinship, i.e., all people are related more closely to each other.

Among the Chinese, the household consists of family members whose relationship is centered on filial piety: the obedience and respect of children to authority-wielding parents. This is seen in the teachings of Confucius on the five essential relationships among Chinese: parent and child, minister and ruler, husband and wife, older and younger brother, friend and friend. Chinese family relations are bound by beliefs in education, frugality, hard work, and strong ties, and that people exist only in relationship with others. Confucius' *xiao*²⁰ (family reverence) is the root of excellence and of the consummate individual who succeeds in all relationships internal or external to the real family: home, community, government, and the world. There were arranged marriages and child betrothals between families. In traditional Chinese marriages, Chinese women are taught to obey their husbands and their sons, upon the death of their husbands. The value of Chinese mothers depends on whether they bear male offspring. Contemporary Chinese marriages, however, find Chinese women as active coparticipants in the family upkeep. Male children care for their elders who are considered as the principal guide in running the family compound. China's one-child-policy since 1979 has led to female infanticide and to second births should the first baby be female. Literature suggests that there is hardly any difference between real and fictive kinship in Chinese families, the primary socialization agent in defining duties, hierarchies, obligations, and roles. Literature also suggests that global migration has contributed to the change in the concept of Chinese family: in a state of flux, the modern Chinese family concept is still governed by traditional beliefs and values for *xiao*. (Chen, 2001 in Gannon &

²⁰ Therborn (2004, p. 62) uses the term *hsiao* as the Chinese equivalent of filial piety that denotes a son's duty of unconditional obedience to his father and contrasts it with the legal Roman concept of *patria potestas* or fatherly power.

Pillai, 2010; Kraar, 1994 in Gannon & Pillai, 2010; Lee, 1996 in Leeder, 2004; Lee & Mock in McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto, 2005; Leeder, 2004; Rosemont & Ames, 2009; Therborn, 2004).

Among the Filipinos, the household revolves around age-based hierarchy of authority and egalitarian spousal union. With the death of parents, older siblings are tasked to care for younger ones. In marriage, the father is the chief economic provider and the mother, the shaper of children's emotional growth and values. There are no set residential rules for married couples. Contemporary times, however, see Filipino mothers leaving their children to the care of their parents or parents-in-law to work overseas as caregivers. This shows Filipino women as family breadwinners and as mothers who leave their children that they may eventually have a better future. Children are taught to respect the elders through verbal and nonverbal means. Even after finishing school or immediately before getting married, children usually stay with their parents. Some married children, depending on their financial capability, stay and look after their aging parents. Younger family members take care of their grandparents within the family household or compound. (Domingo & Asis, 1995 in Leeder, 2004; Dube, 1997; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Root in McGoldrick et al., 2005; Salazar Parrenas, 2002 in Leeder, 2004; Therborn, 2004; Tung, 2000 in Leeder, 2004).

Among the Indians, the household is linked to respect within the family vis-à-vis the significance of the caste system: a Hindu legacy of rank hierarchy (highest are the Brahmins/priests, lowest are the harijans/untouchables) that unalterably locks children to the rank of their parents and defines one's occupation, proper behavior, and social boundaries. Outlawed yet still very much in place, India's caste system is associated with one's class system of income and upward mobility. In marriages, women are encouraged to marry young, and are expected to give dowry to their grooms and to be obedient to their husbands. In their husbands' death, wives offer themselves in funeral pyres. Widows are not allowed to remarry; hence, they become the family's sole support. Similar to Chinese families, there is a preference among Indian families for male over

female babies, with unborn female fetuses aborted. While these practices have been declared illegal, they are still done to this day. Changes in family structures in postmodern times, however, have accorded women equal opportunities for education and the workforce. (Brown, 2009; Dube, 1997; Ghosh, 2008; Harvey, 2010; Leeder, 2004; Pillari in McGoldrick et al., 2005; Therborn, 2004).

The migration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta may be seen as a function of a family member's *Beruf* (vocation): to provide the good life for the family. Weber's *Beruf* takes roots in one's family values and principles. A family that always puts primacy on education and promotes its economic value-rationality naturally has members aspiring to become well-educated and well-off. Patterns of family inclinations in education also speak to the influence of one's patrilineal or matrilineal heritage. The individual migrant pursues a vocation that rises above this world's faltering²¹. Weber's *Beruf* is further complemented with charisma. The well-educated possess the charisma that draws certain power or ability to execute or perform the supernatural or the impossible, i.e., crossing borders, uprooting oneself from one's country of birth, nurturing one's credentials and expertise and transplanting them onto new territories, and inspiring other family members to follow suit (Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Leeder, 2004; Mann, 2011; McGoldrick et al., 2005; Weber, 1968, 1978).

State and International Organizations

The "human community within a defined territory that claims the monopoly of legitimate force for itself" (Weber, 2007, p. 156), the state ratifies, inscribes, and underscores prescriptions and proscriptions of the household consisting of the family (a social institution) in all other economic and political institutions charged with managing and regulating the family's daily existence. The state is administered by legitimate rulers of force collectively called

²¹ Examples of rising above this world's faltering include 1) migrating abroad and living the life of a hermit after finding out that there is just too much materialism in this world, 2) selling one's fortune to become an undocumented worker abroad and subsequently negotiate legitimacy in the "land of milk and honey," or 3) embracing single-blessedness so that full attention, in the form of savings or earnings abroad, is given to one's parents or siblings.

“government.” The mentality or *raison d’être* of this collective force is called “governmentality,” that means

art of government... the proper way of managing individuals, goods, and wealth, like the management of a family by a father who knows how to direct his wife, his children, and his servants, who knows how to make his family’s fortune prosper, and how to arrange suitable alliances for it... (Foucault, 2007, pp. 94-95)

In global migration, the mentality of the government (of Alberta) is about taking charge of its liberal society: economy, population, security, and freedom. Alberta’s governmentality deals with its economic practice as essential to population and labor import management, and the state’s public law construction for respecting freedom/s and securing order.

In home countries of migration, governmentality is also observed in population and labor management for global market competitiveness. China’s strong state is obvious in its budget allocation of 646.1 billion yuan (US\$85 billion) for education in 2007, 105.3 billion yuan (US\$13.9 billion) more than that of the previous year, up 19.5% year-on-year, higher than the 15.7% growth rate of national fiscal budget (“China Vows to Increase,” 2007). India, on the other hand, also allocates a generous budget for education (“India’s Budget Propels Growth,” 2010). With its economic growth rate averaging close to five percent over the past five years and the poverty level remaining at 30%, the Philippines relies on remittances from overseas workers to enable it to allocate a substantial budget for education (“Japan Assists Philippines,” 2010; Remo, 2009).

The World Bank (along with other IOs²² that have the US as key influence) acts as the surrogate for managing the Global South. In ways similar to

²² IOs or international organizations refers in general to organizations of member-countries that formulate and observe agreements, policies, and practices for international development, progress, peace, trade, and services (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Selected IOs where Canada, China, India, and the Philippines share common membership include ADB, GATS, ILO, IMF, UN, UNESCO, WB, and WTO. While OECD is an IO where policies are important in structuring Canada’s education policies, I did not include OECD in my list of IOs as the other three country-sites China, India, and the Philippines are not OECD member-nations. IOs will be used alternately with IFIs or international financial institutions given the financial thrust of these organizations in realizing agreements and in

Alberta governmentality, IOs also possess powers and multiple forces related to the global migration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta, Canada. Additionally, the Government of Alberta manifests IOs powers and multiple forces in its advocacy of the International Education Framework²³.

In the neoliberal internationalized policy of migration, the state – through the government (of China, India, and the Philippines, separately) – has a declining role as manager of its population or as chief executive officer of the workplace. The state becomes less political and more public or social as politicians “set policies” rather than “deliver services” (Rose, 1999, p. 16). Its option is to follow the lead of a supranational state (Canada) in having its constituents participate in global social movements for its economic upkeep. The governments of China, India, and the Philippines are then reduced into what I am calling “infranational” states that wield powers to the extent that supranational state Canada allows. As an example, Canada’s open-door-policy for migration meets with corresponding labor export policies of China, India, and the Philippines. Conversely, Canada’s closed-door-policy for migration means corresponding labor withdrawal/supply stoppage policies of China, India, and the Philippines, respectively. (Ghosh, 2008; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Laquian et al., 1997; Leeder, 2004; Li, 2010; Lindsay, 2001; McGoldrick et al., 2005; Waters, 2008).

Similarly, the host state of immigration (supranational Canada) has begun policy setting and has cut on service delivery. What results is a semblance of shared governance between home and host governments, allowing for the reign

implementing policies on higher education and labor. Appendix B1 shows the matrix on IOs policies that impact on higher education and labor.

²³ The influence of IOs policies on Alberta may be shown through its Ministry of Enterprise and Advanced Education’s *International Education Framework* that

recognizes the importance of international education to Alberta’s future economic and social success. It provides a roadmap to ensure international education activities are strategic, integrated and effective, mutually beneficial, high-quality, sustainable, and support Government of Alberta priorities and objectives. (*International Education Framework*, 2009)

and the rule of IOs in global migration, and highlighting the impact of IOs on individuals' rational choice and freedom of migration.

IOs make shared governance between immigrants' home-states (China, India, and the Philippines) and host-state (Alberta, Canada) explicit through SAPs with member-states²⁴. SAPs or "structural adjustment programs" refers to 1) a WB-IMF dictated change for a Third World economy in return for loans from commercial banks, IMF, and WB; 2) massive shift of production from the domestic market to export markets; and 3) WB-IMF masked efforts at raising foreign exchange earnings to pay off a TWC's debt. WB-IMF dictated change includes privatization of government enterprises; extreme reduction of the state's budget; devaluation of the currency; elimination of subsidies and price controls; breaking down of trade and investment barriers; and cuts or restraints on salaries. Migration of skilled workers from the Third to the First World is a function of IMF-WB dictated SAPs. Decredentialing and recredentialing costs that labor import bears with privatized government services are also SAPs-based (Bello, 1994; Buechler, 2008; Harvey, 2010).

"Shared governance" implies equal making of decisions and rules between states. However, SAPs reveal unequal economic and political distribution of decision-/rule-making between member-states; hence, the supranational-infranational spectrum between Canada and China, India, the Philippines. IOs perpetuate gaps between supranational and infranational states. IOs actively participate in shaping the breadth and depth of forming and managing highly skilled professionals in home states, and moving these highly skilled professionals to host state resulting in home states' "brain drain" and in host state's "brain gain." Literature further suggests existence of WB clauses advocating commodification of highly skilled labor in global migration (Anderson, 2000;

²⁴ Canada, China, India, and the Philippines share common membership in IOs identified in footnote 22. This common membership, however, does not mean that these four countries share equal rights and responsibilities as membership in IOs is categorized into 1) majority and 2) minority shareholdings.

Bacon, 2008; Bello et al., 2004; Choudry, 2008; Delgado & Saxe, 2009; Min, 2004).

Community/Ethnie bound by Culture, Language, and Race

The spatial structure of ethnies refers to “named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity” (Smith, 1986, p. 32). Significant relations among relevant institutions (i.e., ethnies or communities, culture, education) form a nation – “a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights” (Smith, 1989 in Pecora, 2001, p. 334). *Gemeinschaft* (community) has the family as the nucleus and as the basis of people’s organic (i.e., patriarchal and feudal, among others) and legal relations governed by authority, love, cooperation, understanding, and equality while *Gesellschaft* (society) marks the evaluative nature of an abstract knowing being (society and society’s market experts; e.g., a judge, a laborer, a capitalist) as contracting individuals and classes’ source of dependence (Tönnies, 1887; 1955/1974). *Gemeinschaft* is said to be patterned after Confucius’ theory of five essential relationships: parent-child; minister-ruler; husband-wife; older-younger brother; and friend-friend.

The institution of community/ethnie²⁵ comes in two senses: in Smith’s sense, an ethnicity is functional, i.e., the dominant ethnicity forms a nation; in Tönnies’, a community is relational, i.e., a community relies on relationships and values. Both senses refer to social units starting from basic (family) to larger populations (communities).

Durkheim captures both functional and relational senses of community/ethnicity in his work (1893, 1933/1997) on labor divisions. The social and moral character of the community is the foundation of precontractual solidarity: organic and mechanical. Organic solidarity is solidarity through people’s interdependence on labor specializations and reciprocities in advanced, modern, or industrial

²⁵ Smith makes a reference to ethnic community as ethnicity (1998, p. 62). Although I am conscious that Smith’s usage involves characteristics besides numbers and that are unique to an ethnic community or ethnicity, I use community and ethnicity as synonyms.

societies. Social unity is achieved through people's dependence on others for specific jobs. Mechanical solidarity is solidarity through people's similarities and speaks to the collective conscience in traditional or small societies. Social unity is felt among members belonging to the same group or doing the same tasks. I adapt Durkheim, Smith, and Tonnies' concepts of communities/ethnies in my study of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants in Alberta, Canada.

Among the early Chinese, the concept of community/ethnie is similar to the Chinese concept of fictive family: extended families or clans make up the communities for economic goals such as building and maintaining roads and major irrigation systems. Observance of traditional fictive family ties, in some cases, continues to this day when more and more university-educated Chinese migrate to other countries and manage to maintain their communities of extended families or clans in their host countries of migration. In other cases, there is more focus on nuclear family than extended family ties (Leeder, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2005; Rosemont & Ames, 2008).

Among the Filipinos, the concept of community/ethnie is based on blood ties and can extend to an enormous size, i.e., until third cousins: the nuclear family household may live with extended families of two or more siblings; or parents live with their married children. Filipinos are socialized into kinship for cooperation and fulfillment of duties, obligations, and responsibilities. Filipinos adopt this form of socialization in host countries of migration (Dube, 1997; Mendez & Jocano, 1974 in Dube, 1997; Jocano, 1972 in Dube, 1997).

Among the Indians, the concept of community/ethnie is relations-based. A community of households may be comprised of six married brothers who, with their respective wives, live with their parents. Once the parents die, the brothers separate and form their respective nuclear families. All six nuclear families make up the extended line of community relations. With more women getting educated and enjoying equal rights with men, the concept of independent living among unmarried females is gaining a foothold and the concept of nuclear family is starting to be reduced to a single household in the host country of migration

(Dube, 1997; Leeder, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2005).

Chinese, Filipino, and Indian ethnies in Canada experience forms of racial discrimination: center of envy for owning huge houses and luxury cars; given no equal access to job opportunities; made fun of due to their accent; and nonrecognition of home-earned university credentials (Abma, 2011; Lindsay & Almey, 2006; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Laquian et al., 1997).

Culture serves as the participants' interpersonal communication acts or signposts in community-living of shared ancestries, histories, myths, and symbols in home countries. Culture is a function of home-based social class that grants immigrants distinct ways of living: choosing to migrate, establishing networks, finishing university, or working for top posts.

Language refers to “discourse” and “discursive formations” that impact decredentialing and recredentialing of the participants' human-and-social capital. The power of language in words and symbols maintains or subverts the social order, as legitimated in words and in the speaker/bringer/originator/source of these words (Bourdieu, 1992). Discourse, the power of language as an aspect of systems of knowledge, has all historical and social weights in global migration. Based on rules, discourse is a deeply embedded way of practicing or expressing ideas, and one cannot separate what people know and the discourse used to express that knowledge: written texts such as emails or blogs; conversations, spoken language, or talks; institutional practices of granting certificates to recredentialed immigrants on completion of apprenticeship programs. Discursive formations, a system of dispersion bound by rules, reveal a pattern or regularity as they occur “between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices... within a given division” (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). Based on dispersion of systems and events, discursive formations are policies that guide institutional practices of governments, HEIs, and IOs. They are also immigrants' organized experiences: finishing university, gaining work experience, migrating to Canada (Alberta), or pondering over the costs and benefits of decredentialing and recredentialing in the host country.

Most colonial discourse echoes the role of IOs in international historical movements such as contemporary global migration, suggesting how IOs – with former colonizers as leading members – manage to contain former colonies within the ambit of existing international policies that remain favorable to colonial masters. Literature suggests that well-educated immigrants’ stories are couched in a language that is contained within their experiential field and complemented with bureaucratic colonization of their lifeworld, colorful histories, meaningful cultures, postcolonial spaces of hybridity and cultural transformation, and well-meaning personalities. Some immigrants negotiate the tyranny of a colonized and pathologized lifeworld in daily life through communicative rationality or rational choice. Others, confident of their home-formed capital, thrive in the host country. Still others remain distant players in global migration. (Brigham, 2002; Choudry et al., 2009; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010; Fletcher, 2004; Ilon, 2002; Kapoor, 2007, 2009; McGovern & Wallimann, 2009; Phoenix, 2009; Rodriguez, 2010; Subreenduth, 2008; Tadiar, 2009; Taylor, 2001; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007).

Race denotes origins and features of a people who share a common ancestry, both real and fictive²⁶. Histories of colonial conquests that magnified colonizers’ arbitrariness added to race classifications: White vs. non-White or superior vs. inferior. Some researchers still use skin color to distinguish the “White” from the “non-White”²⁷ (Statistics Canada, 2011). The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism of 1965 found the use of “race” to be a source of misunderstanding, and delineated “founding races” as to exclude natives of Canada and to recognize contributions of other ethnic groups (Day, 2000). “Race” appears to be the byproduct of French²⁸ culture and mission of

²⁶ Fictive relations are not necessarily true but self-defining communities believe these to be true, i.e., people are related to each other more closely.

²⁷ I desist from using “visible minorities” with all its implications of “being less than, oppressed, and deficient in comparison with the [so-called] majority” (*Publication manual of the American Psychological Association*, 2010, p. 75).

²⁸ I cite Balibar’s explication on the impact of French culture and mission on racial differentiation and ranking for its parallel relevance and significance to my present

“assimilating dominated populations and a consequent need to differentiate and rank individuals or groups in terms of their greater or lesser aptitude for – or resistance to – assimilation” (Balibar in Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p. 24).

The history and the logic of capitalist accumulation in immigration with regard to “race” from the mid-19th century onwards are replete with contradictory processes:

[the process of] mobilizing or permanently de-stabilizing the conditions of life and work, ... to ensure labour market competition, draw new labour power continually from the ‘industrial reserve army’ and maintain a relative over-population... [and the process of] stabilizing collectivities of workers over long periods (over several generations), to ‘educate’ them for work and ‘bond’ them to companies... [give birth to] demographic and immigration policies. (Balibar, 1991, p. 212)

Class and Market

“Class”²⁹ refers to

all persons belonging to the same class situation: 1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, insofar as 2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and 3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets. (Weber, 1968, p. 302; 1999, p. 84)

I adapt Weber’s market-based description of class as consisting of highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines belonging to the same class situation of 1) possessing goods and labor power essential to their life chances of 2) getting qualified for entry and sale to 3) the market of Alberta, Canada. Life chances of this class are in the form of the economic viability of

inquiry on Canada’s (Alberta) accommodation of global migrants into its educational and labor culture. Additionally, Canada itself – although a multicultural country as provided in its Constitution, is the seat of French culture most specifically in the province of Quebec.

²⁹ There are several definitions and descriptions of class based on equally various cultural, economic, political, and social relations among people. What I deemed appropriate for my present inquiry is Weber’s definition.

their human capital in Business Administration, Engineering, Information and Communications Technology, Medicine, or Nursing.

The “market” in global migration refers to host country’s (Alberta, Canada) buying of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants’ human-and-social capital that, in turn, is sold for profit (paycheck, salary, or wage). Market of labor trade between vendor-immigrants and vendee-Alberta in global migration, this lopsided Global South labor export in favor of the North shows life of the market as based on certain criteria (highly skilled), dictates (labor skilled the Canadian way), needs (doctors, engineers, entrepreneurs, information and communication technologists, nurses to supplant Canada’s graying workforce), and price (decredentiaing/recredentiaing costs among immigrants) of the purchasing agent (Alberta, Canada).

Marketplaces of source (China, India, and the Philippines) and receiver (Alberta, Canada) countries of migrants vary in many ways: demography, development paths, economy, geography, histories, etc. These variations impact the global migrant, the market item that is being sold and bought. The global migrant has to train for the needs of the buying market. This involves recasting (decredentiaing and recredentiaing) migrants’ domestic make-up to suit global market specifications: cultural capital (inclusive of language, preference, and taste), human capital (technical knowledge and training), and social capital (networks of family and kin). The migrant bears the economic, emotional, psychological, and social costs of becoming saleable to the global market.

Figure 1 shows the four spatial logics at work in global migration. As actors navigate these spatial logics, fusion that explains and/or reveals complementarities or contradictions among the four spatial logics occurs. Fusion is depicted through broken lines.

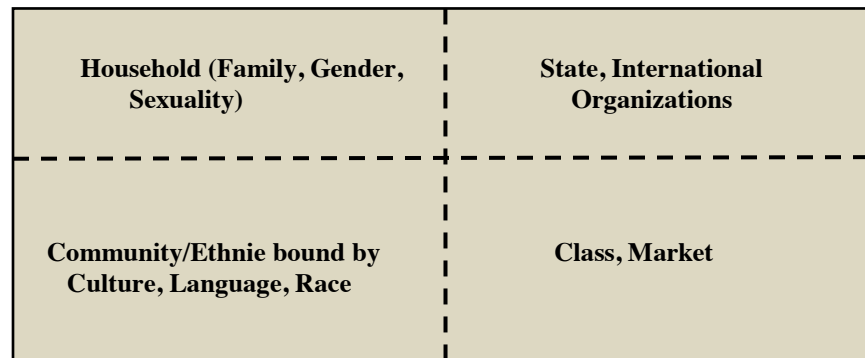


Figure 1. The Four Structural (Spatial) Logics in Global Migration

Literature suggests that spatial logics are altered during global migration: class situations and struggles; community/ethnie relationships, roles, and values; family practices, preferences, relationships, and values; gender socialization and sexual role orientation; market choices, divisions, and preferences; state and IOs' roles among migrants from China, India, and the Philippines. While male children in Chinese, Filipino, and Indian families still bear the duty of carrying on the name of their lineage, they may choose to migrate to the North to make a name for their family back home or continue to serve their "good" name at home. While the concept of community/ethnie among Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians is carried over to the host country and acts as the social capital that keeps these migrants united amidst migration challenges and novelties, there is a tendency among immigrants to initially cling to their respective nuclear households before extending support to their communities. A marked change in labor divisions in global migration also exists between sexes where more women have become academically equipped for the labor market, resulting in devalued academic qualifications and more gender-based jobs, i.e., in more immigrant women relegated to the lowest positions in unskilled and semiskilled work. Enlistment in goods programs (e.g., English language) in their desire to become more competitive also counts among immigrants' preparations for Alberta's market (Bourdieu, 1984; Chen, 2001 in Gannon & Pillai, 2010; Domingo & Asis, 1995 in Leeder, 2004; Dube, 1997; Ghosh, 2008; Kraar, 1994 in Gannon & Pillai, 2010;

Leeder, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2005; Salazar Parrenas, 2002 in Leeder, 2004; Tung, 2000 in Leeder, 2004; Waters, 2008).

Power Logics in Global Migration

Aside from spatial logics that lead me to understanding how agents negotiate the structural intricacies of global migration, there are structural logics of power: 1) patriarchy; 2) bureaucracy; 3) ethnicity; and 4) capitalism. These logics of power operate within and among the spatial logics discussed above.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy brings to bear the socially constructed dominant discourse of masculinity as having perpetuated gender divisions and dehistoricized female/feminine significances. In this continuing discourse, the family remains to be a constant and the father – retaining familial headship and responsibility, leads his family into determining and establishing appropriate ties with other immigrant families, kin, friend, business relations, and networks (Bourdieu, 1984, 2001), or into having the right social capital³⁰.

Social capital is networking to preserve and transport treasured institutions such as the immigrants' family to Alberta (Canada). Social capital gives families back home a sense of achievement, honor, and pride that a member has left for better opportunities and is preparing to welcome the rest of the family to Alberta;

³⁰ Bourdieu's idea of "social capital" centers on the power of social relationships: 1) personal ties of trust and mutual obligations form into strong social connections that in turn lead to membership in a network, providing an individual with social resources for success (e.g., going to school for education), and 2) personal ties of trust and mutual obligations in a network (e.g., a network that abhors school) may bar an individual from having social resources for success. On the other hand, James Coleman - a rational choice theorist and methodological individualist, showed in *Foundations of social theory* (1988) that "social capital" refers to a supportive network consisting of high social capital of family, community development, civil society, and social movements that leads to one's success in education (in Crossley, 2005). Open to participants' narratives, representation, and understanding of issues and questions related to their use of social capital, I adapt both Bourdieu and Coleman's concepts of social capital in my study. In both concepts, one's possession of social capital coupled with human capital can challenge inequality in structural relations given that one's possession of human-and-social capital 1) expands the individual's horizon to see beyond existing structures; 2) allows the individual to choose the best from market imperfections and instabilities; and 3) equips the individual with freedom to overcome perceived inequalities.

tests family's resilience and trust amidst migration novelties, challenges, and struggles; accords immigrants a sense of conquest as they battle the odds of global migration; assures both immigrants and their respective families economic gain especially when earnings in the host country are pegged against the lowly currency back home; and inspires other families to follow suit.

Conversely, social capital produces or reproduces inequality in family, gender, and sex roles that trickles down to inequality in labor divisions. A male predecessor-immigrant risks life and limb plus the costs of temporary family separation for a job he may have secured through social capital. His wife is left as the lone household head with the children. With his family now equipped with essential skills, the male household head gets them to join him for jobs in the host country. Loss of trust, however, may cost the man and/or his relatives their job and consequently, the family. With a dedicated and supportive wife though, the burden of family support now falls on the female household head who faces the double burden of work: juggling a paid job with domestic chores at home.

A female predecessor-immigrant, whose line of work is in caregiving or nursing, may end up with having daughters or female relatives in similar jobs. This establishes an image for females as caregivers despite their capability of becoming computer experts, doctors, engineers, lawyers, or scientists (Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Leeder, 2004).

Bureaucracy

In the immigration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta (Canada), bureaucracy³¹ refers to elements of the supranational state and Canada's (Alberta) top-down measures and procedures in admitting and approving highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines through non-elected administration staffs that go over these applicants' files and/or qualifications.

³¹ Bureaucracy literally means the rule of the bureau/drawer. Bureau or drawer is where records are filed and kept in alphabetical, chronological, or thematic order, and for easy access; hence, contributing to its original intent of organizational efficiency in Weber's (1978) work.

Staffs then determine whether these applicants' credentials are a good fit to Alberta's economy. Knowingly or unknowingly, staffs become accountable to the supranational state Canada as they determine and work out the educational and occupational fit of immigration applicants³².

While patriarchy and bureaucracy are different logics, they may complement or contradict each other in complex ways.

Alberta government, much like a father managing his household (power as relational), equips its constituents that now include labor import with the right human-and-social capital (i.e., education) that is capable of making its resources grow (power as processual) through links with essential networks or through securing more outside resources (power as strategic). As if Albertan-admitted labor import from China, India, and the Philippines has yet to possess the right human-and-social capital, Alberta prescribes decredentialing and recredentialing for labor import to get hired – obscuring the fact that Alberta approved and admitted labor that is already credentialed in China, India, and the Philippines in fields of expertise such as in Business Administration, Computer Science, Engineering, Information Technology, Medicine, and Nursing. This happens as Alberta government – appearing to be too focused on its own needs and oblivious to other governments' powers – continues to wield powers (relational, processual, and strategic) negotiated through technologies that deploy networks, policies,

³² The existing “Canada-Québec Accord of 1991 relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens” which was based on the Cullen-Couture Agreement of 1978 declared that immigration to francophone Quebec (where French is the predominant language and ethnicity) must contribute to the province's cultural and social development and provided the province with a say in the selection of independent-class immigrants (skilled workers and businessmen with their dependents) and refugees abroad. In addition, the agreement allowed the province to determine financial and other criteria for family-class and assisted-relative sponsorship. This 1991 policy has resulted in Canada becoming a binational state, with English and French as its official languages. The 1982 Multiculturalism Act, on the other hand, makes Canada a multicultural state as it opens itself to immigrants who have the facility of languages other than English and French (CIC publications, http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-7787663/Canada-Quebec-immigration-agreements-1971.html; <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-6b.asp>; <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/departement/laws-policy/agreements/quebec/can-que.asp>; McLellan in Kitagawa, 1997).

programmes, and rational decisions borne out of mechanisms such as calculations, computations, surveys, etc.

Decredentialing and recredentialing begin with Alberta government's labor import training. Given its *raison d'être*, Alberta has put up bureaucratic agencies such as FCROs³³ to choose the best and to manage qualified immigrants based on merits (i.e., number of years for university education, number of years at work, language fluency in English or French, or both) and openness to decredentialing and recredentialing. With Alberta advocating HE privatization along with decredentialing and recredentialing of immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines in 2008-2010, FCROs' bureaucratic measures for merit, organization, and rationalization of job allocation among qualified labor import become indispensable. This shows that Albertan (Canadian) bureaucracy predominates in labor allocation, distribution, identification, formation, and management.

Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants with high human-and-social capital respond to Albertan (Canadian) bureaucracy through their respective home governments' comparative advantage – labor that is educated in areas that meet the host government's (Alberta, Canada) market needs, and is resilient. Albertan (Canadian) bureaucracy, however, reads these immigrants' resilience as their willingness to be decredentialed and recredentialed for Alberta's market, and passes the emotional, financial, psychological, and temporal costs of decredentialing and recredentialing to them. The bureaucratic powers of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants' home governments become totally eclipsed once these immigrants land in host government's territory. Home governments, nevertheless, remain open to welcoming back their citizens who detest circumstances and conditions in the host government after a certain time. I am calling “brain premium” those citizens with high human-and-social capital that

³³ FCROs or Foreign Credentials Referral Offices are information kiosks put up by the Federal Government of Canada in China, India, and the Philippines to address credentials and work-related questions and concerns of interested immigrants to Canada.

return to their home governments after gaining substantial experience and exposure in the host government.

Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants possessing high human-and-social capital thrived well with market expansion and speeded cross-border integration-cum-interdependence in global centers showing patterns of functional differentiation and resource availability throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and of active competition in a highly radicalized market in the late-20th-century-onto-early-21st-century within Canadian immigration. They are also the top three landed immigrants or permanent residents worldwide that get subjected to the Government of Canada's (Alberta's) diverse powers. ("Canada Facts and Figures," 2010; Citizenship Oath Administering Officer, 29 March 2011; Knorr-Cetina & Preda, 2005; Laquian & Laquian, 1997, 2008; Li, 2010; Waters, 2008).

University-educated workers from the South (including China, India, and the Philippines) that migrate to the Global North become fodder to political exploitation as they are deprived of their rights to substantial wages and work conditions, denied of permanent resident qualifications and citizenship rights, and eventually deported once the jobs they hold are done. This shows how the North exploits the policies of the South (e.g., labor export policy) that are actually subsumed under oppressive trade agreements dictated by IFIs such as WTO to which member nations are forced to comply (Bacon, 2008; Harvey, 2010).

Ethnicity

In the immigration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta (Canada), ethnicity is a cultural construct of Canadian supranationalism – reminiscent of Western colonization and depictive of exclusions, polarizations, power dominations, and segmentations as partly based on visible biological differences, facial features, skin color, and audible linguistic diversities or convergences (Bhabha, 1990; Buechler, 2008; Fanon, 1952/1967; Hall, 1995; Said, 1978/2003). Ethnicity evokes overt and covert acts of discrimination, dislike, exploitation, or preference. Ethnicity categorizes Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants into labor that needs decredentialing and recredentialing in Alberta, Canada.

With decolonization, ethnic communities are “striating their own spaces” for “overturning some legacy of cultural subordination” (Day, 2000, p. 202; Ignatieff, 1993, p. 9 in Day, 2000, p. 202). Chinese, Filipino, and Indian ethnies share and “striate their own spaces” in Alberta, Canada in the hope of 1) having their home-earned credentials recognized; 2) being ethnic communities of unique ethics and values that facilitate growth of significant resources; 3) sustaining their cultural capital in multicultural Canada; 4) adopting Canadian English for workplace inclusion while struggling to hide their linguistic accent; and 5) upholding racial identities of comparative advantage and labor specializations (Brown, 2009; Guo, 2009; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Laquian et al., 1997; Leeder, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2005; Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

Ethnicity can turn into nationalism – an ethnie’s powerful tool of sustaining collective consciousness based on shared histories, myths, symbols, and traditions (Smith, 1986, 1992). Chinese, Filipino, and Indian ethnies act as proud children of their respective home countries, retaining a sense of nationalism for home countries in their new home (Alberta). Literature suggests that ethnicity among immigrants may turn into ethnocentrism or ethnic competition for what they perceive to be limited resources in their host country. Each immigrant ethnie tries to outdo another for ascendancy, promotion, recognition, space, or work. Conversely, each immigrant ethnie is labeled according to shared histories, myths, symbols, and traditions, and may result in ethnie hatred, ethnocentrism, popularity, praise, preference, or ridicule (Hofstede, 1984; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Mikov, 2010; Leeder, 2004; McGoldrick et al., 2005).

Capitalism

In the global immigration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta (Canada) in 2008-2010 and with the advent of neoliberal globalization, capitalism is the dominant logic at this historical moment at the global level. The historical moment that is “globalization” is global capitalism with neoliberal globalization as a particular element of global capitalism that is not reducible to liberalization,

marketization, or financialization of social relations (Harvey, 2006, 2010; Kachur, 2010). Capitalism dissects and governs power relations between class and market:

- 1) the class of highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines
- 2) who possess means of production (specialized labor in Business Administration, Engineering, Information and Communications Technology, Medicine, Nursing),
- 3) engage their skills towards creation of goods/products for profit/salary/wage, and
- 4) compete for the market (Alberta, Canada).

Education, aka human capital formation, is the responsibility of the state (assuming that different social groups resolve the nature of education as a basic good that must be distributed according to the state's resources and as essential to human development) to ensure that every individual possesses a certain level of skill, knowledge, and information to function properly.

Education that has been reproduced historically contributes to rationalizing individuals' purposes and gives it a commodified countenance – impersonal and irreverent, recognizing others only for their political-economic power. Individuals are then held captive to education's systematic and inescapable violence that labels and marks them in social movements, divides and reproduces them into class structures, questions their familial affinities and responsibilities, disrupts their cultural uniqueness, imposes and dictates oppressive rules, and allows market forces to run their course (Bourdieu, 1999; Bourdieu & Champagne, 1999; Foucault, 2008; Weber, 1978). Amidst the backdrop of the instrumental nature of education for solidarity, labor divisions, class reproductions, and market-driven paths, the push-pull factors for global mobility get cast within the economic realm of a basic social unit, the family; hence, the centrality of household and ethnic relations.

Market competition in global migration – replete with conflict between means and relations of production – results in class displacement and struggle. Class displacement and struggle, in turn, is central to the emergence and development of neoliberal global capitalism where immigrants become active central participants.

Another inevitable result of market competition in global migration, class reproduction occurs in “global social space as a field” (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 32), i.e., both as a field (market) of forces and struggles imposed on immigrants and recruiters where both confront each other to retain or alter global social space. Class reproduction (e.g., cultural-educational capital) happens through economic, educational, fertility, matrimonial, and successional strategies (Bourdieu, 1998).

Alberta’s present model of neoliberal regime of privatized education, and the global social space between home-credentialed immigrants and their decredentialing and recredentialing are dictates and impositions of the host country’s market.

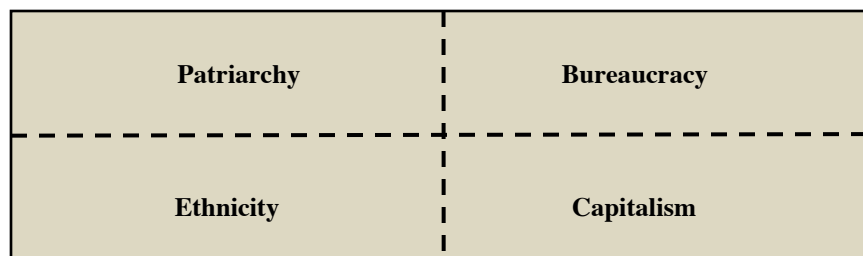


Figure 2. The Four Structural (Power) Logics in Global Migration

Figure 2 shows the four logics of power at work in global migration. The broken lines depict fusion that may explain and/or reveal complementarities or contradictions among the four power logics in global migration.

Agency in Global Migration

The agency in my study on global migration is comprised of university-educated and highly skilled business administrators, computer experts, doctors, engineers, and information and communications technologists from China, India, and the Philippines who, before migrating to Alberta (Canada) as permanent residents or landed immigrants, undergo cognition and critical thinking. The mental processes of critical thinking, knowing, remembering, judging, and problem-solving, cognition is involved in gaining knowledge, comprehension, and decision about global migration (Archer, 2007).

In knowing, comprehending, and deciding about migrating to Canada (Alberta), actors navigate and negotiate preexisting logics of space and power

coupled with colonial histories and ongoing global coloniality through IOs policies and SAPs. Equipped with the knowledge of and training in the structural logics of space and power in their home countries, actors confront situations, face circumstances, and gain experiences. Actors choose to migrate given their cognition and critical thinking of structural logics coupled with technical skills and labor experience essential for the global market. Actors' cognitive choice to migrate to Canada (Alberta) is a product of their circumstance, experience, and situation plus critical thinking for a better life that they believe can be found in Canada (Alberta).

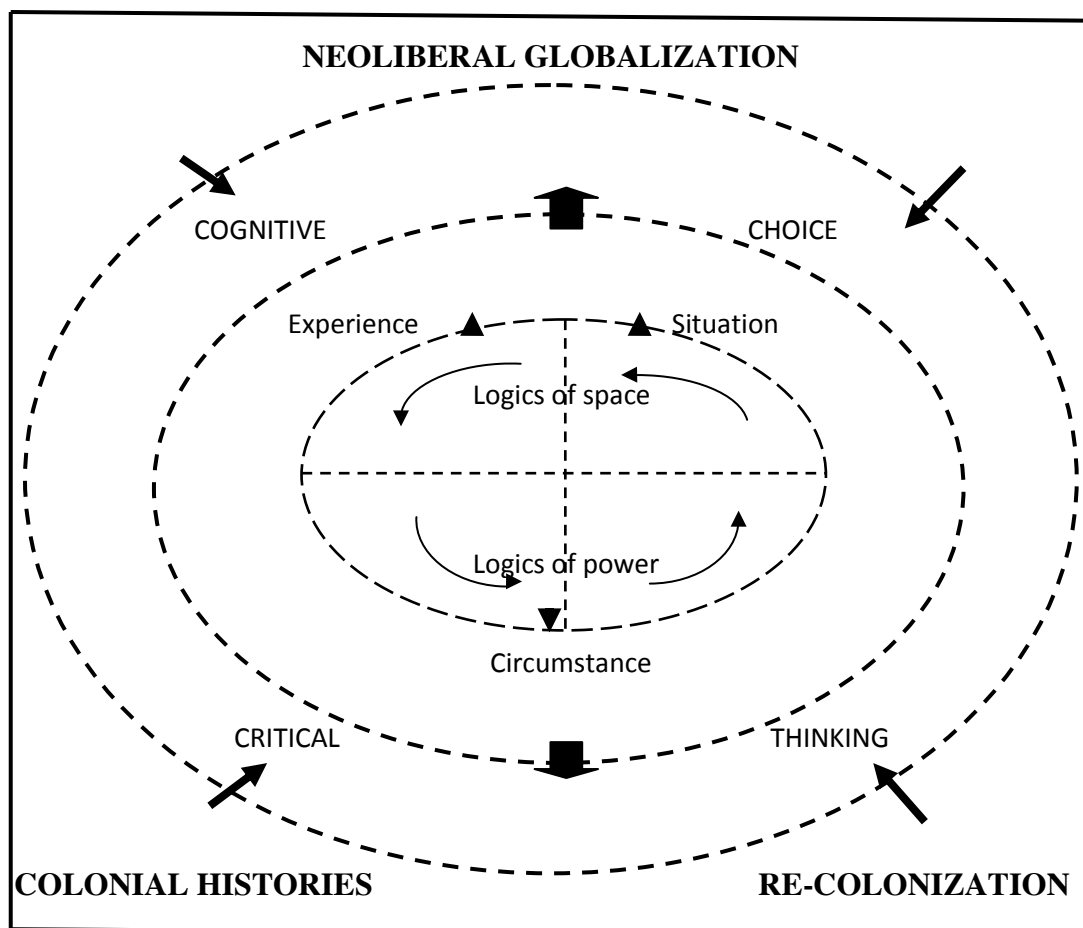


Figure 3. Actors' Choice to Migrate as a Product of Ongoing Colonialism or Neoliberal Globalization

Figure 3 shows global migration as a product of actors' cognitive choice and critical thinking within continuing colonial relations characterized as neoliberal globalization.

Nuances in My Social Theoretical Model

In examining barriers to Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants' quick integration into Alberta's economy, I located my institutional and actor analyses on Critical Social Theory (CST), a reflexive tool that critically weighs processes of social development based on obstacles to prosperity (Cook, 2004, p. 418 in Granter, 2009), and on Critical Theory (CT), an informative tool that exposes structural, historical, prescriptive, and powerful constraints on human action and choice. CST looks at the world as a system devoid of equilibrium and as filled with dominance, exploitation, struggle, oppression, and power (Johnstone, 2008) while CT engenders self-reflexivity, democratic consultation and renewal, conscious engagement with the transformative process of analytical work, and emancipatory social movements in capitalist societies (Dean, 1994; Habermas, 1981/1987; Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

Figures 1-3 show the social reality of global migration: agents (highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants) and structure (logics of space and power) fuse within the logic of re-colonization ongoing neoliberal globalization. Logics of space in global migration consist of the 1) household of family members with constructions of gender and sexuality; 2) state and IOs; 3) ethnic or community bound by culture, language, and race; and 4) class and market. Logics of power, on the other hand, include patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism. These figures helped me represent my initial assumptions and observations about decredentialing and recredentialing of highly skilled immigrants in Chapter 1, and further show that my study is a pioneering examination of the narratives of the participants who end up decredentialed and recredentialed in Alberta, Canada. Based on CST, CT, development debates, theories and typologies of international migration, my social theoretical model facilitates my understanding of the social reality of global migration in

postmodernity: a continuing vestige of colonial histories recast as neocolonialism, neoliberal globalization, or re-globalization. In Chapter 2, I presented relevant literature – none of which showed that my study is a replication of existing research.

Using ethnomethodology in Chapter 4, I examine how participants (agents) have internalized the logics and institutions (structure) in global migration. They understood aspects, parts, and pieces of agency-structure dynamic and they did express this understanding in Chapter 5. They did not necessarily understand complementarities or tensions in logics of patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism given the academic nature of these concepts.

In metanarratives in Chapter 6, I combine my understanding of agency-structure dynamic with the narratives of participant-immigrants who, despite being “constrained by the material conditions, cultural context, and historical conditions in which they find themselves” (Neuman, 2000, p. 79), remain capable of charting their destiny.

Chapter 4

Methodology

For my case study³⁴ that 1) compares the human-and-social capital of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian permanent residents in Alberta (Canada) with the higher education policies and practices of their respective home countries; 2) looks at the possible link these policies and practices might have with Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing education for its labor import; and 3) examines how this link shapes or is shaped by broader political, economic, and social policies and practices of IOs, I employ the historical-comparative research – “an intensive examination of a limited number of cases in which social meaning and context are critical” (Neuman, 2000, p. 387), allowing me to “build on limited and indirect evidence... with minimum distortion” (Neuman, 2009, p. 297). I use the present time, single nation, qualitative data collection technique (Neuman, 2000, pp. 384-387) of historical-comparative research in examining aspects of social life (Neuman, 2009, p. 12) across three different (Chinese, Filipino, and Indian) ethnies who migrated to Canada (Alberta) as permanent residents in 2008-2010.

My social theoretical model of agents (highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants) and structure (logics of space and power) in global migration in Chapter 3 leads me to engage in interpretive social science (ISS),

the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds. (Neuman, 2000, p. 71)

³⁴ Case study is an empirical inquiry that allows me to investigate and analyze a contemporary phenomenon (international migration) in depth and within its specific real-life context, and to compare a limited set of cases such as those of 15 Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants in Alberta. A case study enables me to configure the participants' multiple realities and offer varying references with one another. It helps me connect immigrants' actions (microlevel) to large-scale social structures and processes (macrolevel; Neuman, 2000, pp. 32-33; 2009, pp. 297-300). Given the empirical nature of my inquiry, the configurative and generative significances of a case study serve well the theoretical prospects and designs of my findings.

ISS is reflected in the works of Garfinkel (ethnomethodology), Goffman (dramaturgical sociology), Mead (symbolic interactionism), Schutz (phenomenology), and Weber (*Verstehen*/understanding of people's daily existence in specific historical milieu; Garfinkel, 1967/1984; Neuman, 2000).

I use ethnomethodology in analyzing how agents (i.e., the highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines) act out or express rationally meaningful and socially organized practices, aka ethnomethods, in 1) negotiating the structural logics of space and power in migrating from home countries (China, India, and the Philippines) to host country (Alberta, Canada); and 2) facing challenges (e.g., getting decredentialed or recredentialed in the host country, Alberta) as global migrants within Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized higher education.

I refer to the participants as *ethnos*³⁵, folks, or members. As members, the participants belong to a social order and share common experiences within the same context: global migrants with home-earned credentials and home-based professional experiences who get decredentialed and recredentialed within Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized higher education. As members, the participants engage in rationally meaningful practical actions, aka ethnomethods, to create their preferred social world.

The Nature of Ethnomethodology

Coined by Garfinkel in 1954 (Garfinkel, 2006), ethnomethodology (EM) refers to

the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life. (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 11)

³⁵ Smith, in Chapter 3 of this study, traces the etymology of the terms *ethnicity*, *ethnic* (adjectival to *ethnie*), *ethnie*, and *ethnos* to Greek *ethnos* that denotes a community of people bound by shared myths, histories, symbols while Garfinkel (1967/1984) refers to *ethnos* as members, i.e., people of a social organization. I adopt both meanings of *ethnos* and their adjectival forms to refer to the participants from Chinese, Filipino, and Indian *ethnies*.

Policies govern this “study of practical actions”: 1) the policy of inquiry shows that socially organized artful practices furnish contexts, objects, resources, justifications, and problematic topics; 2) the policy of “adequate inquiry and discourse” engages members in deciding, persuading, recognizing, or proving the rational nature of activities through various expressions, and exposes members to challenges, issues, norms, tasks, or troubles; 3) the policy of logically and methodologically treating every activity as “a contingent accomplishment of socially organized common practices”; 4) the policy of a self-organizing social setting that renders its properties as detectable, coherent, planned, recordable, or accountable, and its participants as capable of showing such properties; and 5) the policy of showing “the rational properties of indexical expressions and indexical actions [or contexts/definitions of situations]” of organized artful practices that may be in the form of proverbs, fables, remarks, tales, or talks. These policies are also what qualify members to be referred to as members: people sharing the same indexical expressions within contexts or defined situations (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, pp. 31-34).

These policies tie up with the cognition and critical thinking processes that members (actors, agents, or ethnos) undergo before migrating to Alberta, Canada: actors have issues (the policy of inquiry in EM and the process of knowing in cognition) to confront (the policy of adequate inquiry and discourse in EM and the process of critical thinking in cognition), to weigh with preexisting logics of space and power (the policy of logic and method of contingent organized practices in EM and the process of judging in cognition), to solve (the policy of a self-organizing social setting in EM and the process of problem-solving in cognition), and to act on (the policy of expressing artful practices in EM and the process of deciding in cognition).

These policies and cognition processes also relate to Weber’s *Verstehen* (understanding): involves interpretive and intended meaning for individual concrete action in historical approaches, sociological mass phenomena, or *ideal types* (*ideal types* are typical cases that may be rational or irrational: the social

reality of global migration is an *ideal type* that is subject to the participants' interpretive meaning of this reality as one of instrumental-economic rationality). Members' ethnomethods in migrating to Alberta (Canada) reveal the cognitive processes they undergo (Archer, 2007; Garfinkel, 1967/1984; Milonakis & Fine, 2009; Weber, 1978).

EM also refers to

the practical methods ordinary people use in everyday life to make sense of the social world around them... People use procedures to produce interaction; [... procedures that are directly observable and accessible] through people's descriptions of their interactions with others. (Buechler, 2008, p. 200)

Doing EM analysis can be challenging: it involves 1) indexicality of meanings or significance of context given multiple meanings in a member's use of language, bodily actions, and voice; 2) reflexivity of meanings in social interactions that by themselves comprise a series of unique events, and calls for evaluating motivations for actions that impose structure on ambiguous perceptions and for dealing with other members' understanding and behavior that make experience familiar categories; and 3) active search and accomplishment, not passive recognition, of social reality that may manifest itself even in minutest conversational details (Buechler, 2008, pp. 200-201; Cicourel, 1999; Coulon, 1995).

Ethnomethodology and Critical Social Science

As my study tends to build on the policy direction of migration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians to Alberta (Canada), I present the significant link and tensions between ISS and critical social science (CSS). I show that ISS – through EM – shares common features with CSS. Both ISS and CSS are humanistic, antipositivistic, normative, interdisciplinary, and non-arbitrary. CSS is aimed at collective and progressive social transformation, and is reflected in the works of Bourdieu, Habermas, and Marx (Neuman, 2000).

Garfinkel attributes his conception of EM to the influence of Parsons – his mentor at Harvard University and who is known for his contribution to

functionalist sociology, Husserl, and Schutz's "phenomenology." Schutz's lens focuses on the world of everyday life, expectancies or attitude of daily life, and on the world known in common and is taken for granted. Durkheim and Weber's classical theories were influential in the development of EM. While Parsons emphasized the logical necessity of "figuring out what kinds of norms, processes, and other principles are necessary for socialization to produce social order" (Hilbert, 1992, p. 3) implicit in Durkheim and Weber's works, Garfinkel focused on the empirical questions around the presence, availability, and accessibility of normative networks for structural sustenance extant in both (Garfinkel, 1967/1984; Hilbert, 1992; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

There is a distinction between substantive rationality and formal rationality in Weber's work,

The relationships between routine and rationality are incongruous ones only when they are viewed according to everyday common sense or according to most philosophical teachings. But sociological inquiry accepts almost as a truism that the ability of a person to act "rationally"... depends upon the person being able to take for granted... a vast array of features of the social order. (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, pp. 172-173)

To further emphasize his point, Garfinkel used the analogy of the iceberg: a person's ability to rationally treat one-tenth of his daily affairs, such one-tenth is likened to the iceberg, he must rely on the nine-tenths that is submerged below, such nine-tenths representing his background knowledge. He likewise notes Durkheim's point about "the validity and understandability of the stated terms of a contract [as dependent] upon unstated and essentially unstatable terms that the contracting parties took for granted" (p. 173) and, using the language of sociology, refers to these taken-for-granted normative backgrounds of a person's activity as mores or folkways. Mores translate into a routine becoming

a condition [for] rational action... enabling persons in the course of ... managing their everyday affairs to recognize each other's actions, beliefs, aspirations, feelings... as reasonable, normal, legitimate, understandable, and realistic. (p. 173)

Weber's interpretive bent in *Beruf* (vocation)-cum-charisma (i.e., possession of high human-and-social capital) combined with the individual's ideal type of instrumental-economic rationality complement Garfinkel's EM as contingent practices of the social order. Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants who, at some points in their lives, carry the burden of maintaining their family's social-economic status assume authorial or charismatic powers to go on the journey in a different country (Alberta, Canada) as their chosen *Beruf* (vocation). On a larger scale, these immigrants may be carrying out their country's need for charismatic citizens who would pave the way to its political and economic salvation. How they go about their chosen *Beruf* (vocation) of migrating to Canada (Alberta) is the subject of Garfinkel's EM. Their knowledge of their country's plight plus their cognitive choice to migrate to Canada (Alberta) lead these members to certain decisions and practices that make up their everyday life as immigrants. These decisions and practices reveal how immigrants negotiate the structural logics of space (household consisting of the family with constructions of gender and sexuality; government, IOs; ethnies/community bound by culture, language, race; class, market) and power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism), with the degree or impact of such negotiation having largely taken place in their social order (country) of origin.

Durkheim's solidarity as a function of morality finds further emphasis in Garfinkel's EM: for what family members or citizens of a country in the Global South, in a show of solidarity with the family or the nation, would not respond to a call for help from the head of a household or from the leader of a country by migrating to the Global North? The willingness to utilize their human-and-social capital in the host country (to the point of having to be decredited and/or recredited) appears to be the most natural and appropriate thing to do if immigrants are to submit and unite themselves to the global social order. The practices of submission to the host country's policies and of unity to the design of the global order made visible in immigrants' daily performances and activities comprise Garfinkel's EM.

Critical theorists have, at several junctures in their work, acknowledged the convergence of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim's "principle of nonconsciousness," i.e., "against the illusion of transparency to which all members of society are spontaneously inclined, social life is explained by causes irreducible to individual ideas and intentions" (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, & Passeron, 1973, pp. 329-334 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 8). Objective social science speaks to "subjects [who] are not in possession of the totality of the meaning of their behavior as an immediate datum of consciousness and their actions always encompass more meaning than they know or wish" (Bourdieu et al., 1965, p. 18 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 8). In contrast, the subjectivist viewpoint best exemplified in EM projects society as "the emergent product of the decisions, actions, and cognitions of conscious, alert individuals to whom the world is given as immediately familiar and meaningful" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 9). Bourdieu warns against full reliance on what he perceives as flawed social phenomenology of EM: 1) its conception of social structures as the combined strategies and classifications of individuals fails to account for people's resilience and for the emergent, objective configurations such strategies preserve or question; 2) its social marginalism fails to explain the principles upon which social production of reality is produced; and 3) its narrow analysis neglects historical bases of "relation of immediate fit between subjective and objective structures," and depoliticizes (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 9-10, 74).

Bourdieu and Garfinkel's differences lie in their conception of practice as shown in their notions of member and habitus. Garfinkel's conception is based on mastery of a social group's natural language and of ethnomethods while Bourdieu's pertains to class reproductions that "produce coherent action... but escapes the consciousness of the social actor" (Coulon, 1995, pp. 70-72). Literature suggests existing efforts to equate Garfinkel's "practices" with Bourdieu's "habitus," and "not with intentional action, and that methodology can be formalized to leave out the embodied individual – which it cannot" (Rawls in

Garfinkel, 2006, p. 26). Bourdieu seems to have acknowledged such equation when he talked about constructing the notion of habitus as

a system of acquired dispositions... [practically] as perception and assessment... or as organizing principles of action [thereby] constituting the social agent... as practical operator of the construction of objects. (1990, p. 13)

EM has a double convergence with Marxism,

the permanent construction of society by itself; [... and the implied] reification of this construction and the transformation, in a Sartrian language [i.e., totalizing process] of the works of practical activity into a *pratico-inerte* world... In opposition to traditional sociology [where] institutions [are] the constraining frame of our practices, [EM] insists on focusing on the ordinary instituting process of daily life as the construction of the institution. EM takes the institution, not as a reified and stable entity, but as an active process of institution. (Coulon, 1995, p. 73)

Literature attempts to narrow down the differences between Garfinkel and Bourdieu, and to marry EM and habitus (Cicourel, 1990; Coulon, 1991 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). It appears that Garfinkel and Bourdieu would have to retain their goal differentiation given that the former is ISS-oriented while the latter, CSS-marked, yet ought to simultaneously celebrate their common strengths. I am content with my belief: EM is both critical and interpretive as every ethno or member of a social order who is faced with the reality of global migration undergoes critical thinking while simultaneously interpreting and weighing preexisting structural logics of space and power. In the process, ethnos contribute to the making and transformation of the social order.

Literature suggests divergent views about EM: 1) devoid of theoretical relevance and limited to communicative codes, subjective categorizations, and conversational gestures that overlay behaviors and ends of social interaction; 2) uses a language that conceals relative trivialities; 3) shows a closed system sect having limited communication with the external world and run by charismatic leaders with true believers in tow; and 4) is an orgy of subjectivism that celebrates trivialities (e.g., Sudnow's (1972) "sociology of a glance" developed out of EM of

street-crossing, and Schegloff's (1968) study of how telephone conversations start and end; Coser, 1975 in Coulon, 1995).

Literature is also supportive of and defensive about EM:

EM treats members' accounts of the social world as situated accomplishments, not as informants' inside view of what is 'really happening'... [and shows] how accounts or descriptions of an event, a relationship, or a thing are produced in interaction [to] achieve some situated methodological status... as factual or fanciful, objective or subjective, etc. (Zimmerman, 1976, p. 10 in Coulon, 1995, pp. 67-68)

Existing literature classifies EM under the microinteractionist sociological tradition, and describes it as a radical movement in the 1960s: EM 1) views society as sitting on the edge of oblivion – a philosophy along Heidegger's (Husserl's student) modern existentialism that shows human essence as “being-towards-death”; 2) views the world as full of necessary illusions glossed over with social interpretations and once these interpretations are left alone, their flimsiness and unfoundedness are exposed; 3) views the objects of the world as signed objects apart from *Lebenswelt* (lifeworld) or constituted by their accountability; and 4) views the world as multilevel – the world itself and the world as people reflect on it, i.e., people can only know the world by reflecting on it. That these are EM views of the social world suggest that society is a tense-filled product of social maneuvers, each maneuver a critique of the other (Collins, 1985).

Another existing literature, however, disagrees with classifying EM under the microinteractionist sociological tradition: Weber's studies on Calvinism, Protestantism, Confucianism, and Hinduism as well as Blumer's symbolic interactionism are analyses of the macrosocial that are only possible through observability of human practices (e.g., Weber's “methodological individualism... eschews the reification of structural entities by referring whatever macrocategories were being used to their actual bearers... in his *Economy and Society*” and Blumer's several attacks on conventional macroprocesses of analysis where “all macrophenomena are either abstractions from, or actually consist in, patterns of social interaction between people..., and are nothing more than

Durkheimian or Marxist-inspired modes of structural investigation and theorizing... nothing more than reifications (fallacious concretizations);” Coulter, 2001, pp. 31-32).

Ethnomethodology and Critical Realism

As my study looks into the social reality of global migration, I show the link between EM and critical realism (CR). CR is characteristic of method triangulation, a combination of two or more research methods. Also known as multistrategy research, combined operations, or mixed strategies, method triangulation dismisses any distinction between quantitative and qualitative method, debunks the notion of a universal method, and celebrates multimethodological approaches (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2001, p. 152).

‘Critical realism claims to be able to combine and reconcile ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgemental rationality’ (Archer *et al.*, 1998, p. xi). The first part of this statement implies that there exists a reality which is stratified, differentiated, structured and changing. The second part tells us that our knowledge about this reality is always fallible but, as the last characteristic suggests, there are some theoretical and methodological tools we can use in order to discriminate among theories regarding their ability to inform us about the external reality. (Danermark *et al.*, 2001, p. 10)

EM is different from CR: EM 1) rejects analytical dualism, 2) rarely accepts the realist stand on structures as independent of individual agencies, 3) fixates on locally situated activities, and 4) holds that structures do not exist outside people’s daily activities except as mere intrinsic qualities (Collins, 1985; Danermark *et al.*, 2001; Garfinkel, 1967/1984; Zimmerman, 1976 in Coulon, 1995; Zimmerman & Boden, 1991 in Danermark *et al.*, 2001).

EM is similar to CR: EM “aims at tracing the *conditions* for social interaction to be what it is... [and highlights] mechanisms [through] which people in a day-to-day routine maintain a social order” (Danermark *et al.*, 2001, p. 102).

Both ethnomethodologists and critical realists

- are able to interact adequately in different social situations;
- have access to methodological competence and common, taken-for-granted assumptions of the situation; and
- engage in social experiments, discover how deviations from expectations affect these engagements, and facilitate the formation of the foundation of ordinary social interaction based on knowledge of taken-for-granted assumptions.

Rationale in Using Ethnomethodology

I live in a social order that is replete with socially organized activities and practices that, given their local and cultural embedment, appear consequential to people's understanding of their respective roles with their attendant performances or duties in society. People go through the rigors of higher education and international migration because that seems to be locally and culturally embedded in their social order, and that seems to be what is expected of them. What their practices are in going about these pursuits is the province of ethnomethodology.

I use EM because EM asks me to look out for folkways or expression of ordinary folks' understanding of their daily life as newcomers navigating Alberta (Canada) as their host country. These ordinary folks, EM tells me, are equipped with essential tools and sense of social reality. Conscious of the uniqueness of utterances and the issues behind different speech genres (Bakhtin, 1999), I use EM in taking note of the participants' language, bodily actions, and voice that may disclose their interpretive and artful practices as socially acceptable activities, and therefore lead me to their sense or understanding of their plight (getting decredentialed and recredentialed) in Alberta. EM allows me to listen to the voice of my research participants, and to observe their sense of the world as they winnow through defined contexts of situations and structural rationalities, and as I forge "communicative reflexivity" (Archer, 2007) with them. EM also allows me to explore the resilience and creativity of a group of newcomer ethnos as they negotiate their way to a smooth transition and swift integration into

Alberta's (Canada) economy that follows a social order that may or may not be common with theirs. It also leads me to traces of contingently accomplished practices revealing the dominant social order (Lynch, 2001) vis-à-vis the micropolitics of participants' culture, gender, language, and race.

Additionally, EM allows me to appreciate its programmatic task of "specifying the naturally accountable work of producing and describing the social facts of immortal, ordinary society... exhibiting the coherence of its identifying orderliness" (Garfinkel, 2007, pp. 14-15). In searching for jobs in Alberta, Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants' participation in and compliance to bureaucratic requirements constitute the "population cohort that staffs the accountable production" (Garfinkel, 2007, p. 15) of an orderly and systematic service of Albertan bureaucracies.

EM likewise helps me analyze the participants' accounts of their "everyday world" (Crotty, pp. 218-219; Garfinkel, 1967/1984), of their multiple identities as professionals in their home countries and as newcomers in Alberta.

Lastly, EM allows me to identify "contradictions and distortions in [my participants'] belief systems and social practices [...] ... [support] a kind of reasoning that is practical, moral, and ethically and politically informed [...]... and [foster] enlightened self-knowledge and effective social-political action" (Schwandt, 2001, pp. 45-46).

I identify contradictions and distortions in participants' narratives of experiencing decredentialing and recredentialing in Alberta (Canada), establish criteria for the goals of Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized HE (i.e., democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity) in a matrix that I adapted from Weimer and Vining (1999), and support the participants' reasoning in evaluating these goals. Each goal corresponds to criteria in the form of questions pertaining to participants' initial settlement experiences in Alberta (Canada). I take into account the nature of participants' plight in Alberta as I plot the criteria in the neoliberal goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity using descriptions by one of the proponents of neoliberal thought, Hayek (1960).

In a neoliberal setting, liberal constitutions privilege liberalism over democracy, i.e., “liberalism is a doctrine about what the law ought to be [while] democracy [is] a doctrine about the manner [i.e., by rule of the majority] of determining what will be the law”. Democracy implies that the majority rule has the “majority’s best interests” – a sufficient indicator that the law is good. Justice, within the context of individuals’ views about opportunities and possibilities, “require that those conditions of people’s lives that are determined by government be provided equally for all.” It entails “reward for merit” in “obeying” people’s wishes (Hayek, 1960, pp. 100, 103-104).

The concept of peace, on the other hand, is taken to mean “recognition of a protected individual sphere [including] a right to privacy and secrecy [and against the threat of coercion]... fraud and deception.” Prosperity is cast within a free market society where “the gains of the few [eventually] become available to the rest” (Hayek, 1960, pp. 51, 142, 144).

Based on descriptions of the neoliberal principles, the criteria-questions are formulated below.

- Democracy: Did Alberta manage the highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants with culture-specific novel ways? Were there sufficient regulatory frameworks and efficient capacity building model in Alberta to welcome and accommodate IEIs from China, India, and the Philippines?
- Justice: Was Alberta fair in assessing the qualifications of highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants? Did Alberta employ balanced representation mechanisms in subjecting IEIs to dec credentialing and rec credentialing? Did Alberta manifest moral and ethical principles in requiring IEIs to dec credential and rec credential as a means of integrating into Alberta’s economy?
- Peace: Did Alberta have available and sufficient resources for the highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants? Were IEIs given accurate information regarding access to basic necessities and equitable wealth distribution (i.e., information on what challenges await IEIs)?
- Prosperity: Did Alberta deliver its promise of the good life to highly skilled immigrants? How did Alberta provide resources to IEIs? Did IEIs

have substantial access to resources (i.e., jobs in line with their education and profession)?

I note members' ethnomethods as they help me foster an enlightened self-knowledge in the social reality of global migration and lead me towards proposing policy alternatives aimed at democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity among 15 international immigrants in Alberta (Canada).

Table 2 shows the matrix of criteria in the goals behind Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized HE: each shaded box in the "goals" row appears opposite two "criteria" columns.

Goals Criteria	Democracy Management of resources by people	Justice Recognition of resources	Peace Availability of resources	Prosperity Eradication of poverty
Sufficient regulatory frameworks				
Efficient capacity building model				
Balanced representation mechanisms				
Manifest moral & ethical principles				
Accurate information re access to basic necessities				
Equitable wealth distribution				
Creativity in provision of resources				
Substantial access to resources				

Table 2. Criteria in Neoliberal Alberta's Goals for IEs from China, India, and the Philippines

Literature on Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology

Garfinkel studied his students' reports on common conversations with their partners and what they understood from these interactions. He found that 1) dyads understood many matters that were not included in the conversation; 2) dyads understood even the unspoken; 3) time-based utterances served as proofs of a continuing conversation; and 4) dyads understood underlying patterns in their conversation. Garfinkel adds that an auditor to these interactions must be familiar with speaker's biography and purposes, surrounding circumstances, previous course of the interaction, or his potential relationship to the speaker. Garfinkel's (1967/1984) findings and analyses point to many similarities between me and the participants: newcomers who possess high human-and-social capital and get decredientialed and recredientialed to suit Alberta's educational and occupational landscapes, among others.

In another study, Garfinkel (1967/1984) used conversation analysis and asked his students to engage in a conversation with an acquaintance or a friend, and to insist that the friend clarify what seemed to be commonplace remarks. The conversations ended on a sour note, with friends expressing surprise as to the sudden change in the students' conversation style. A case example (p. 42) follows,

Friend: I had a flat tire.

Student: What do you mean, you had a flat tire?

Friend: What do you mean, "What do you mean?" A flat tire is a flat tire. That is what I meant. Nothing special. What a crazy question!

Garfinkel's study shows that friends expect or anticipate to be understood; otherwise, telling friends that what seems obvious is really not obvious disturbs interpersonal stabilities and "calls forth immediate attempts to restore a right state of affairs" (p. 42). This is suggestive of the intricacies surrounding any research involving interpersonal exchange. There must indeed exist common grounds between interactants for attainment of interaction objectives.

In another experiment, Garfinkel used the breaching technique and asked his students to assume the role of boarders in their respective homes. Garfinkel

noted nine unsuccessful tries out of 49 cases. Those who pushed through with the experiment reported accounts of their families' shock, anger, anxiety, astonishment, embarrassment, and charges of students being mean, inconsiderate, selfish, nasty, or impolite. These accounts suggest that families observe common practices that become taken-for-granted realities. Any disturbance transforms these common practices and taken-for-granted realities into significant indicators of relationships and expected patterns of behavior. This literature traces the "coherence of society's identifying orderliness" (Garfinkel, 2007, p. 15). While "coherence of society's identifying orderliness" is an essential point in my present inquiry, I am not using the technique of "breaching." I use "bracketing," i.e., identifying the undertones or the unsaid in participants' disclosures. The paralanguage (the way something is said, not what is said) in their sharings may reveal more secrets or passions that led to their decision to migrate to Canada.

Garfinkel's study (1967/1984) on Agnes' passing brings to bear social and legal issues confronting intersexed beings. It accounts for Agnes' maneuvers and tales to fend off any suspicion about her initial gender, and to keep her relationship with Bill (pp. 116-185). Agnes' efforts and tales may appear either as an affront against or acquiescence with a social order where every activity is "a contingent accomplishment of socially organized common practices" (p. 33). This experiment suggests that actors are capable of entering into contracts and carrying out maneuvers to reveal their place, role, and activities in a social order.

Forms of Ethnomethodology

Content analysis, conversation analysis (CA), deconstructionism (that closely represents discourse analysis), documentary analysis, interpretive studies, rules theories-cum-text mediated activity, and textual analysis are only some of the forms employed by analysts of EM (Coulon, 1995; Garfinkel, 1967/1984; Hansen, 2006; Hilbert, 1992; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). EM is credited to have developed CA as an approach to discourse analysis, and is linked with CA's sociocultural view of language (Fairclough, 1992).

I adapt the combined methods of Garfinkel's (1967/1984) documentary interpretation and interview-cum-conversational analysis for my study. In my members' narratives, I note prior social orders, i.e., the structural logics of space and power that ethnos are made to observe and around which they share their respective "common sense knowledge of social structures."

In Garfinkel's experiment about "common sense knowledge of social structures: the documentary method of interpretation in fact finding," 10 participants were each asked to see an experimenter-counsellor for personal problems. After presenting the problem situation through an intercommunication system, the experimenter-counsellor listened to each participant ask at least 10 questions related to the situation and answerable only by yes or no. The sequence of evenly divided answer of yes or no ran randomly with participants' number of questions. Each participant could intersperse subsequent questions with thoughts on the counsellor's yes or no answer. After each exchange, the counsellor met with the participant to give him a list of points to comment on. Both exchanges and comments were recorded and analyzed, revealing the use of documentary method in "selecting and ordering past occurrences so as to furnish the present state of affairs its relevant past and prospects" (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 95).

Garfinkel credits his use of "the documentary method of interpretation" to Mannheim who used it in relation to a search for "an identical homologous pattern underlying a vast variety of totally different realizations of meaning" (Mannheim, 1952 in Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 78). It differs from a literal observation method in that "the documentary method of interpretation" juxtaposes surface evidences along with underlying patterns as essential pairs to be interpreted. Garfinkel mentions the works of Goffman (impression management), Erickson (identity crises), Riesman (types of conformity), Parsons (value systems), Malinowski (magical practices), Bale (interaction counts), and Merton (types of deviance) among others, to explicate how this method aids an analyst in seeing beyond person's practices or daily events.

In his study about Agnes, an intersexed person (i.e., transsexual or transgendered in today's parlance), Garfinkel collaborated with the medical team that performed the surgery on Agnes, and partly based his interview and conversation with her on medical records. Garfinkel noted Agnes' disclosures, gestures, and tones as reflective of a person who tried to manage his femininity amidst risks and uncertainties and based on a perceived environment peopled by only two sexes. Garfinkel attributes Agnes' passing as conforming to Goffman's treatise on impression management techniques in a social organization (Garfinkel 1967/1984, pp. 116-185, 285-288).

In these combined methods, Garfinkel appears to cue ethnomethodologists to be on the lookout for research participants' knowledge and understanding of their social world by focusing on their interaction tools that consist of language, bodily actions, and voice. Any disclosures about their activities or practices may reveal unspoken passion, dream, or deceit.

I attempt to go beyond Garfinkel's documentary interpretation and interview-cum-conversational analysis, and simultaneously use discourse analysis (DA) to highlight the common features of ISS and CSS, and to acknowledge DA's primordial link with EM. I content myself with using DA without prefixing it with C to read critical DA. I guard against the pitfalls of insisting that EM, given my own belief about the nature of ethnos as radical and reflective agents of their preferred destiny, should be within the CSS hall. EM stands by itself: critical and interpretive. DA looks into how language creates power in social relations and in constructions of the self to effect social change, and borrows substantially from EM in foregrounding common sense. It is the heuristic examination of interactions, verbal or nonverbal, as affected or effected by factors of ideology, geography, standpoint, economic-sociocultural-political persuasions, and ethico-moral groundings (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Johnstone, 2008).

I use Foucault's "discourse" and "discursive formations" to guide me in exploring "the discourse of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigration to Alberta" and in looking at each immigrant case as an embodiment of both the "said" and

the “not-said” (Foucault, 1972, p. 25) that correspond to Garfinkel’s “socially organized artful practices” and “bracketing,” respectively. In EM, discourse

becomes a practically organized phenomenon: a coordinated assembly of what is said, and by whom, in particular circumstances ... [leading to] the substantive production of order on singular occasions. (Lynch, 2001, p. 131)

I also use Habermas’ theory of communicative rationality where discourses are thematized (in Garfinkel, “bracketed”) and critiqued to raise validity claims, institutionalize political issues, and give way to the universal pragmatics of cognitively ethical, consensual, and emancipatory communication that are characteristic of the ideal speech situation (Arens, 1994; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Crossley, 2005; Crotty, 1998). I am careful not to go beyond the critical and emancipatory gains of artful decision-making among my research participants, and stay within the traditionally ISS-cast EM that remains inherently and realistically critical.

A large collection of studies exist as a testimony to the people-centered, people-defined ways of understanding the contextualized or situated order and of interacting with their social world accordingly (Button, 1991; Coulon, 1995; Fairclough, 1992; Garfinkel, 1967/1984, 1986, 2002; Gumperz, 1999; Handel, 1982; Heritage, 1984; Hester & Francis, 2000, 2004; 2007; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Livingston, 1987; Mehan & Wood, 1983; Rouncefield & Tolmie, 2011). However, a study on global migration of selected Asians (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, Indian immigrants) using ethnomethodology has yet to be done.

Instrument

Sample

For this qualitative case study, I drew from a nonprobability sampling, i.e., on how nonrandom samples “illuminate key features of social life” (Neuman, 2007, p. 141) using the purposive or judgmental and snowballing techniques in looking for participants or sample from a population of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants.

Purposive or judgmental sampling technique is “often used in exploratory or field research... to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation” (Neuman, 2007, pp. 142-144), and is based on the principle of “getting all possible cases that fit particular criteria” (Neuman, 2007, p. 141). My sample consisted of 15 cases and my criteria for my sample were 1) they are permanent residents of Canada upon landing; 2) they landed in Alberta between 2008 and 2010; 3) they come from China, India, or the Philippines; 4) they were highly skilled or university-educated in their home country; 5) they were professionals in the fields of Accountancy, Business Administration, Business Management, Communication, Engineering, Information Technology, Medicine, or Nursing in their home country; and 6) they can communicate in English.

Snowball technique, on the other hand, is based on the principle of “getting cases using referrals from one or a few cases, and then referrals from those cases, and so forth” (Neuman, 2007, p. 141). Also called network, chain referral, or reputational sampling, snowball sampling may be used in combination with purposive or judgmental sampling for in-depth, open-ended interviews in descriptive field research (Neuman, 2007, pp. 144-145).

I recruited my key participants through both judgmental and snowball sampling techniques via email (in Appendices A1 and A2) and word-of-mouth, respectively. A university classmate and friend volunteered to put my recruitment flyer (in Appendix A3) online. On the first week of implementing my study, I placed telephone calls, simultaneous with sending recruitment email and flyer for self-introduction and research details, to executive directors (EDs) of 10 not-for-profit centers (in Appendix A4) for newly landed professional immigrants in Alberta. While EDs of all 10 centers assured me that they disseminated the call for research participation to their clients, my key participants came from only four centers.

I also contacted a total of 13 friends to help me in the recruitment process. From the 21 names that they suggested, only three ended up participating in my study. The other 18 target participants gave as their reasons: 1) lack of confidence

in their English communication skills ($n = 7$); 2) tightness of schedule in balancing work and domestic obligations ($n = 6$); 3) the loss of face and reputation as their survival jobs in Alberta are too low compared to their home country professions, and for which reason they would not want others like me to know or write about ($n = 4$); and 4) the value they put on their face as equivalent to not letting others know that they cannot communicate well in English. Zhen, the Chinese-to-English text translator among the participants, articulated the fourth reason as she tried to help me find another participant,

The Chinese people value their face so much. If you speak to them in English and they do not understand you, they will just smile and turn their back on you. They will not admit that they do not understand you or that they cannot speak well like you do.

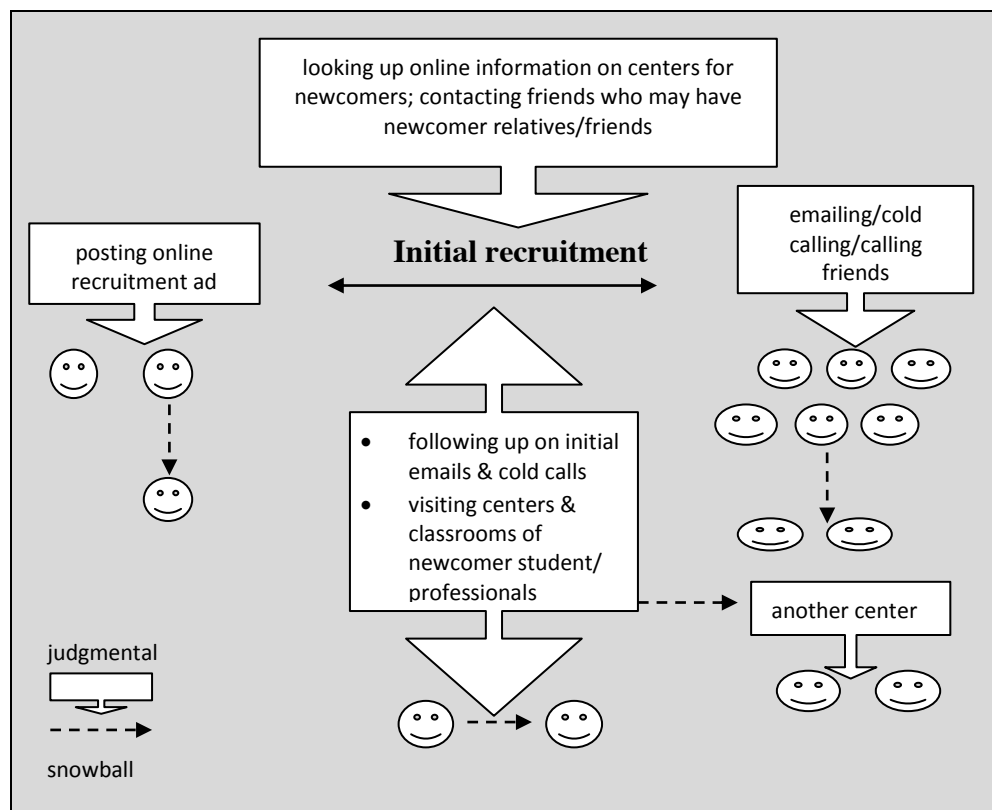


Figure 4. Nonprobability Sampling of Judgmental and Snowball Techniques

Figure 4 shows the flowchart of the nonprobability sampling techniques used in recruiting key participants: represented in the figure as faces.

A good 40% of the participants were recruited through reputational or snowball sampling. The remaining 60% got to know about the research through purposive or judgmental sampling and decided to take part in it through the assistance of a university classmate, friends, and executive directors of four not-for-profit organizations for newcomers. As soon as they confirmed willingness to participate in my research, I asked the participants to sign the letter of informed consent (in Appendix A5), and gave them a copy of this letter for their record.

All 15 participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality in observance of the ethical guidelines and process set by the Human Ethics Research Online, University of Alberta (in Appendices A1, A2, and A5). I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants. I chose pseudonyms reflective of the participants' ethnies as shown in Table 3.

Chinese	Filipino	Indian
Bao, F	Gabriela, F	Amala, F
Chao, M	Crispin, M	Ishayu, M
Minsheng, M	Basilio, M	Tavishi, F
Zhen, F	Pablo, M	Siddharth, M
Longwei, M	Kiko, M	Avijit, M

Table 3. Female and Male Participants' Pseudonyms

Using pseudonyms made it easy for me to trace the participants' countries of origin or identify their ethnies in my analysis, and to understand the varying sentiments they have expressed as newly landed immigrants in Alberta.

Procedure

I adapted the combined methods of Garfinkel's documentary interpretation and interview-cum-conversational analysis with DA. In my adaptation, I presented each of the participants with one situation that I myself wrote instead of asking them to present me with a situation. I wrote out three different situations (X, Y, and Z) that depict the impact of HE, labor, and IO policies (in Appendix

B1) on the formation, migration, and re-formation of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants' human-and-social capital.

Situations X, Y, and Z (in Appendix B2) were based on my analysis of relevant political, economic, and educational policies of IOs, and were juxtaposed with home and host countries' policies. I presented situations X, Y, or Z for empirical testing among the participants to see if these policies will reveal connections between their common practices and the formation, migration, and re-formation of their human-and-social capital, or show patterns in the participants' common sense knowledge of social structures.

I presented the matrix of IOs policies (in Appendix B1) to the participants. The matrix was based on my documentary interpretation of IOs' neoliberal policies in higher education.

Each participant was asked to draw a slip of paper from a container containing three slips of paper, each corresponding to X, Y, or Z. Every situation consisted of major questions (in Appendix B2) pertinent to X, Y, or Z, and 15 questions (in Appendix B3) common to all three situations. After they were done with their situation questions, the participants were shown the matrix of IOs policies (in Appendix B1) and asked for their beliefs, opinions, and knowledge of these policies.

Table 4 shows how situations X, Y, and Z were assigned to 15 participants. The numbers correspond to participants, the letters X, Y, Z to S or situation, P to participant, C to Chinese, F to Filipino, and I to Indian. The check marks indicate which participant got what situation.

P S	C1, F1, I1	C2, F2, I2	C3, F3, I3	C4	C5	F4	F5	I4	I5
X	√			√		√			
Y		√			√			√	
Z			√				√		√

Table 4. Distribution of Situations among 15 Participants

All exchanges were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed based on Garfinkel's EM policies and on my adaptation of the combined methods of Garfinkel's documentary interpretation and interview-cum-conversational analysis. Participants shared their decredentiaing and recredentiaing experiences based on specific home and host country policies as well as IOs policies that they knew.

The immigrants' documented "common sense knowledge of social structures" presented a rich text, "furnishing the present state of affairs its relevant past and prospects" (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 95). I listened to "common sense knowledge" in storytelling format, and recorded the sessions in field texts. I also asked for participants' permission to have access to their online communication, blogs, and twitter that may be relevant to their sharing and that showed the intermeshing of structural logics of power and space in their migration to Alberta.

Literature, however, reminds case study researchers that people vary in presentation styles: realistic, impressionistic, confessional, critical, formal, literary, jointly told, perception-based, or relationship-based. The researcher, who decides what to focus on the participants' multiple realities and multiple sites, is challenged to present the case content as it "evolves in the act of writing itself [where subjectivity sets in]" (Stake, 1998, pp. 93-94). I accepted the challenge.

I set out, in this chapter, the methodology in analyzing 15 cases of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines in Alberta's (Canada) neoliberal policy regime of privatized higher education and in building on my assumptions and objectives: historical-comparative research and interpretive social science (specifically ethnomethodology). I also showed my study instrument.

I deal in empirical data interspersed with analyses and discussions in Chapters 5-7: participants' demographics and ethnomethods in migrating to Canada, in structural logics of space and of power in their home and host countries as implicitly impacted by continuing colonialism, and in line with my study objectives and assumptions.

Chapter 5

Ethnomethods in Global Migration

I show the profile of internationally educated immigrants (IEIs) in this chapter as belonging to the “population cohort that staffs the accountable production” (Garfinkel, 2007, p. 15) of global migration: members capable of ethnomethods (rationally meaningful contextualized expressions and artful organized practices) that help produce their preferred social order. IEI-participants’ ethnomethods are reflective of their maneuvers to reveal their activities, desires, positions, and roles as global migrants in Alberta (Canada).

I note variations in IEI-participants’ narratives in their initial settlement experiences in Alberta and support their ethnomethods in evaluating the goals behind Alberta’s neoliberal policy of privatized HE: democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity. Analyses of IEI-participants’ ethnomethods enable me to locate policy advocacy and formulations in the host country of migration (Alberta, Canada).

I started with my data collection amidst Alberta’s frenzied snowstorm and chilly -39°C that almost always left me frostbitten. I thought of the participants, most ($n = 6$) of whom were witnessing their first snowfall and who had yet to get used to wintry bites. Siddharth, a medical doctor in India, started to question why ever did he leave his home country where winter has been a stranger that never got to visit. “Life goes on,” he sighed, “I have to work before our initial settlement fund runs out.”

The Participants

A total of 15 landed immigrants (five Chinese, five Filipinos, five Indians) who arrived in Alberta between 2008 and 2010 participated in my study. They possess human-and-social capital in Engineering, English, Commerce, Computer Science, and Medicine, and are all capable of engaging in rationally meaningful and artfully organized practices (ethnomethods) as they confront issues and challenges in their host country of migration.

Gender

Figure 5 shows the gender (x-axis) distribution (y-axis) of the participants. There are a total of 10 males (three Chinese, four Filipinos, and three Indians), and five females (two Chinese, one Filipino, and two Indians) in my study.

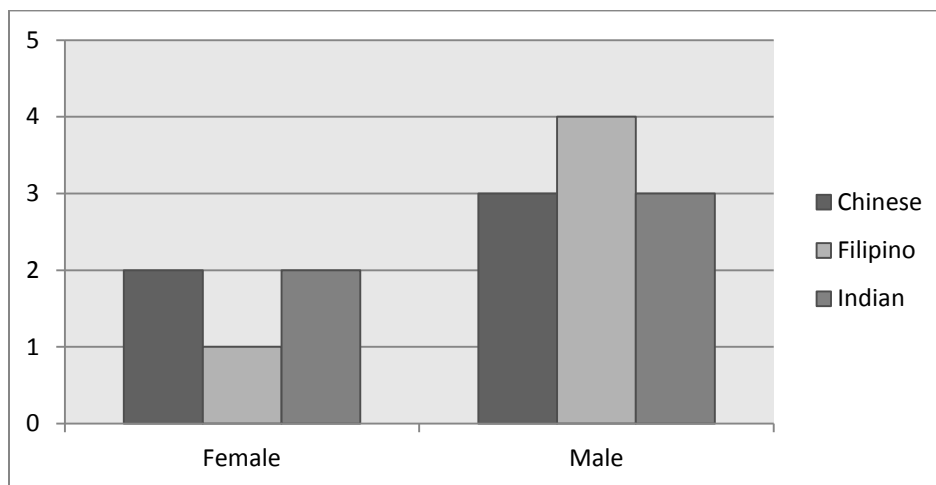


Figure 5. Participants' Gender Distribution

Age

Figure 6 shows the age group (x) of IEI-participants (y) at the time of my study.

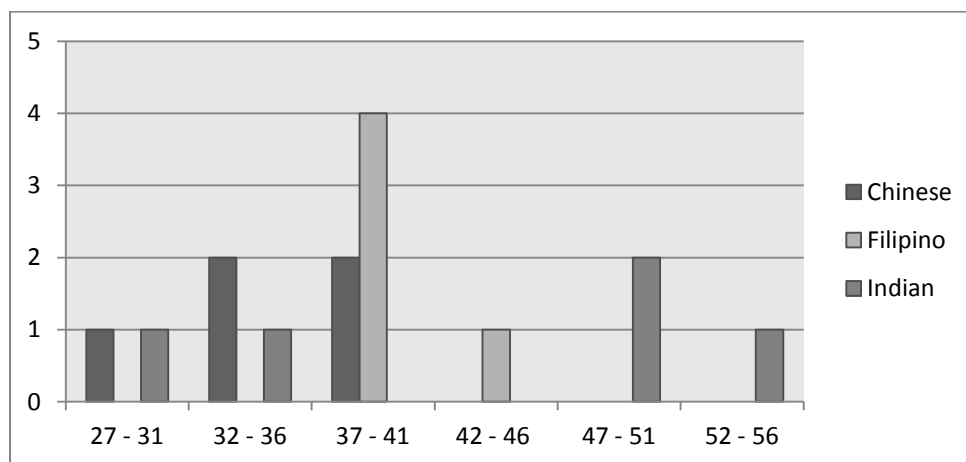


Figure 6. Participants' Age Distribution

The youngest participant, at 27, was Chinese. Two Chinese belonged to the age category of 32-36 while another two belonged to the age category of 37-41. Four of my Filipino participants belonged to the age category of 37-41 while one belonged to the age category of 42-46. Among my Indian participants, one belonged to the age category of 27-31, another belonged to the age category of 32-36 while three belonged to the age category of 47-51.

In the three source country-sites of my study, the average age at which individuals should have earned at least four years of university education was 22. Figure 6 reveals that participants were past their minimum number of years in university education and had spent many years at work as shown in Figure 7.

Years at Work in Home Countries

Figure 7 shows the participants' (y) number of years at work (x) in their home countries.

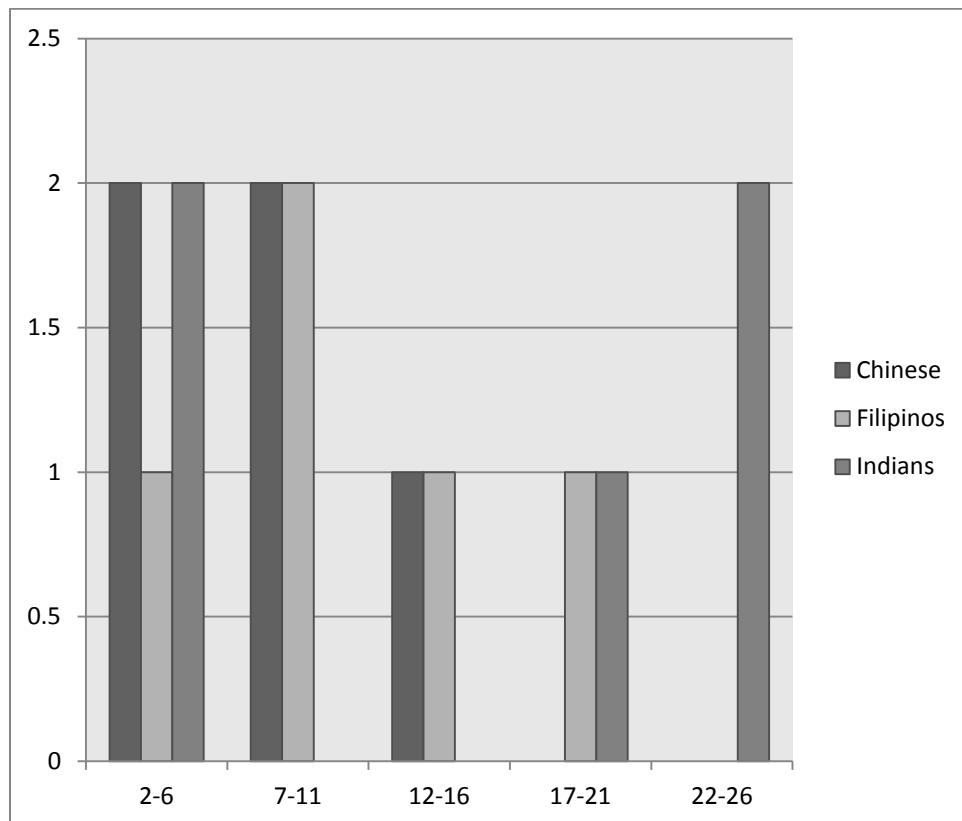


Figure 7. Participants' Years at Work in Home Countries

Sixty-six percent ($n = 10$) of the participants had more than six years of work experience in their home countries. Juxtaposed against Figure 6, Figure 7 reveals that, at age 27, one participant has had at least three or five years of work experience in the source country while three participants, at ages 46-51, have had at least 20 years of work experience in the source country before coming to Alberta. Figure 7 reveals that despite their work stability in their home countries, participants chose to move to Alberta.

Years Spent in Home Universities

Figure 8 shows the number of years (y) that participants spent in the university in their fields of expertise (x): English, Engineering, Commerce (Business Administration/Management), Medicine, and Computer Science (Information Technology).

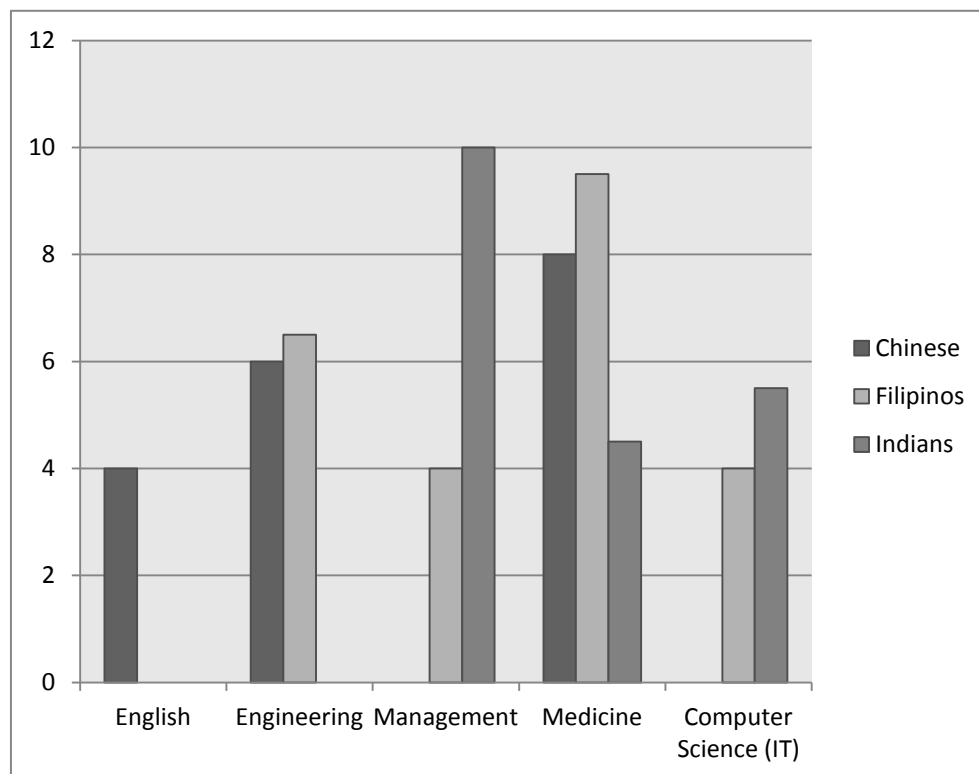


Figure 8. Participants' Number of Years in University Education

In China, a student is required to put in four years of study before becoming a licensed engineer. Two years are spent for further studies or for a Master's degree in Engineering. Chao has a Master's in Engineering; hence, six years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Chinese and Engineering. In the Philippines, a student is required to put in five years of study in Engineering. One more year is spent in reviewing for the Engineering Board Examination. A graduate of Engineering only becomes a fully licensed engineer once he passes this examination. Crispin has a double major in Engineering. He spent an extra one-and-a-half years for his second area of expertise; hence 6.5 is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Filipino and Engineering.

In the area of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), a student is required to put in five years of study before becoming a licensed TCM doctor. Longwei, a TCM doctor, spent another three years for a Master's degree in TCM; hence, eight years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Chinese and Medicine. In the Philippines, a student is required to put in four to five years of preparatory course in the natural sciences before he can apply for admission to medical school. He then spends another four years in Medicine. Once he is done with his medical degree, he spends one year reviewing for the Medical Board Examination.

Pablo, a Filipino doctor, spent another one-and-a-half years for a nursing degree; hence, 9.5 years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Filipino and Medicine. The extra year required in reviewing for the qualifying examinations for Filipino doctors, engineers, and nurses is not included in Figure 8. In India, Siddharth was required to put in four-and-a-half years of study before becoming a licensed doctor. Within these years of study, he had to pass three qualifying examinations before he can be called a medical doctor; hence, 4.5 years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Indian and Medicine.

In India and the Philippines, a student is required to put in four years of study in Commerce with a focus on Management. Amala and Ishayu, Indian financial analysts, started their Master of Business Administration while Avijit earned his PhD in Management after completing two undergraduate degrees and

one MBA; hence 10 years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Indian and Management. Gabriela, a Filipino financial auditor, earned her four years of Bachelor of Science in Business Management, and is preparing for her admission to the MBA program of Alberta's leading university. The same is true in the area of Computer Science (IT). Tavishi, an Indian IT expert, started her Master's in Computer Science; hence, 6 years is shown in Figure 8 corresponding to Indian and Computer Science. Kiko, a Filipino IT expert, also spent four years in IT.

Professions in Home Countries

Among my Chinese participants, there were two engineers (Chao and Minsheng), a university teacher (Bao), a TCM doctor (Longwei), and a translator of texts (Zhen) from Mandarin-to-English. Among my Filipino participants, there were two engineers (Crispin and Basilio), a financial analyst (Gabriela), an IT expert (Kiko), and a medical doctor-cum-nurse (Pablo). Among my Indian participants, there were three financial analysts (Amala, Ishayu, and Avijit), a medical doctor (Siddharth), and an IT expert (Tavishi).

Four of my 15 participants held two concurrent jobs: Longwei, a TCM doctor who also taught at a Chinese university for eight years; Amala and Avijit were financial analysts who also taught at Indian universities for one year and eight years, respectively; the fourth one, Pablo, worked full-time as a medical doctor in the Philippines for nine years then simultaneously took Nursing and eventually worked as a nurse before rejoining the medical staff. I put them in the category of their primary work.

Four of the participants (Minsheng, Crispin, Amala, and Tavishi) had the opportunity to work in other countries other than their home countries before migrating to Alberta.

Figure 9 shows the profession of the participants back in their home countries.

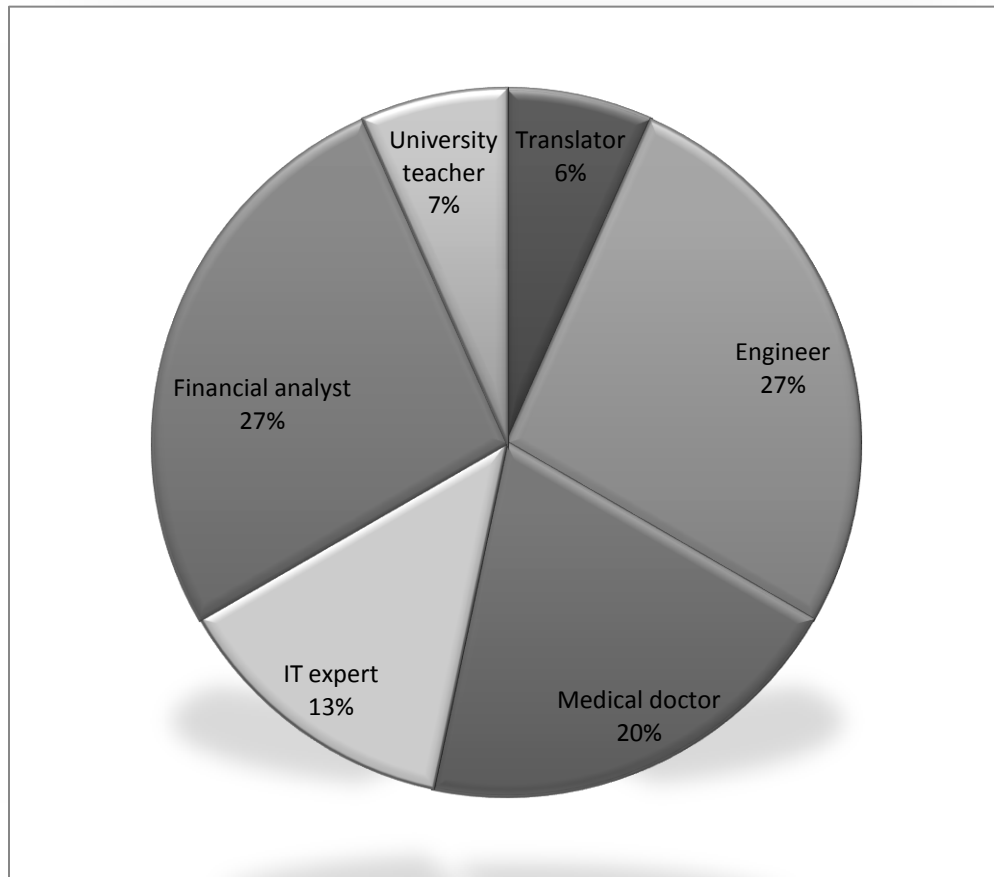


Figure 9. Participants' Profession in Home Countries

Figure 9 may be juxtaposed with Figure 10 in the next subheading to reflect how quite a number of decredentialing and recredentialing cases have taken place among IEIs, and to what extent IEI-participants have allowed themselves to be racialized in Alberta's workplace. Initially approved for Canadian immigration on the basis of merit (i.e., number of years spent in university education and professional work, and language fluency in English and/or French), IEI-participants eventually had to subject themselves to the constraints of Alberta's internationalized HE and labor. Their dreams of the good life may have eclipsed the heavier stigma yet hidden yardstick of racial superiority and inferiority that Balibar (1991) articulated in the third chapter: the contradictory processes behind the history and the logic of capitalist accumulation in immigration with regard to "race" since the mid-19th century.

Initial Jobs in Alberta

Figure 10 shows the survival aka transition jobs that the participants from China, India, and the Philippines had in Alberta at the time of the study. Compared with Figure 9 that shows the participants' profession in their home countries, Figure 10 would paint the massive decredentialing and recredentialing that the participants went through, and are still going through, during their initial period in Alberta: an illustration of how Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of privatized HE has been systematically transforming or decredentialing and recredentialing highly skilled IEI-participants.

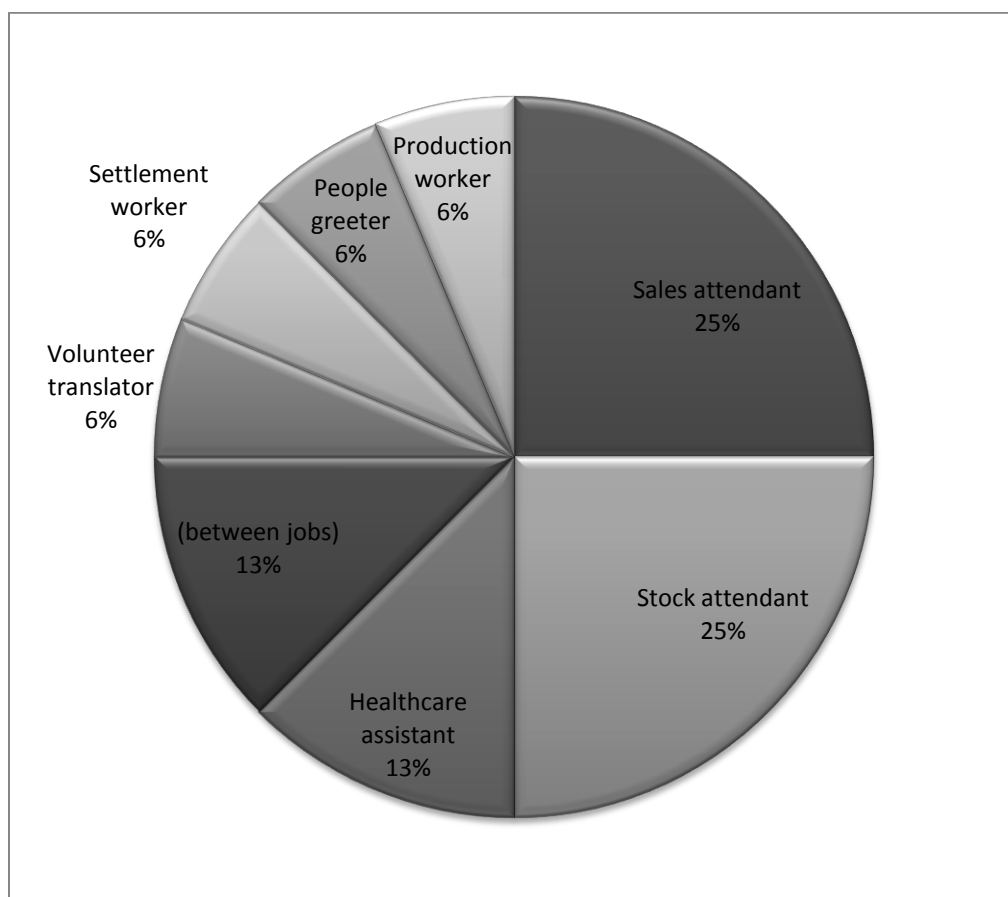


Figure 10. Participants' Survival Jobs in Alberta

Table 5 summarizes the participants' demographics.

Demo Char P/Gender	Landing month/ year	Age, time of study	Years in uni	Profession in home country (HC)	Years at work, HC	Initial job in Alberta
Bao (C1)/F	04/2008	35	4	university teacher	4	(between jobs)
Chao (C2)/ M	07/2008	39	6	engineer	10	seafood attendant
Minsheng (C3)/M	07/2008	41	4	engineer	13	meat attendant
Zhen (C4)/ F	10/2009	27	4	translator	4	volunteer translator
Longwei (C5)/ M	08/2008	36	8	TCM doctor/ university teacher	8	PT massage therapist/put up own clinic
Gabriela (F1)/ F	08/2010	39	4	finance manager	10	sales associate
Crispin (F2)/ M	06/2010	41	6.5	engineer	16	shelving assistant
Basilio (F3)/ M	07/2009	44	5	engineer	16	production worker
Pablo (F4)/ M	12/2009	40	9.5	medical doctor/ nurse	9	nursing assistant
Kiko (F5)/ M	08/2010	40	4	IT specialist	17	stock attendant
Amala (I1)/ F	08/2009	36	6	university teacher/ bank analyst	1.5	settlement worker
Ishayu (I2)/ M	05/2009	51	6	bank manager	22	people greeter
Tavishi (I3)/ F	08/2010	29	5.5	IT specialist	2	(between jobs)
Siddharth (I4)/ M	06/2010	47	4.5	medical doctor	20	stock attendant
Avijit (I5)/ M	06/2010	55	9	bank official/ university teacher (PhD)	25	retail store attendant

Table 5. Summary of Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Ethnomethods: For or Against Decredentialing and Recredentialing?

Table 5 above reveals that the participants spent a good number of years specializing in their respective fields of expertise in the university and quite a substantial experience in their chosen profession before deciding to migrate to Alberta. To be asked to upgrade their courses or earn more credits before they can

be allowed to practice their profession in Alberta was just too much for some participants (n = 7). “I have worked in so many countries, my knowledge is okay. I don’t need more training,” said Minsheng – an engineer from China. Crispin, the Filipino with a double major in Engineering, felt the same way.

For their first three to six months, a total of nine IEI-participants from China, India, and the Philippines were forced to take on survival or transition jobs as stock or sales attendants and people greeter in wholesale and retail stores in Alberta. While they held part-time jobs not related to their home-borne professions simultaneous with upgrading their courses courtesy of a not-for-profit organization in cooperation with the Government of Canada, these IEIs had no recourse but to toe the education and labor policies of Alberta: decredentialing and recredentialing, the Canadian way. They felt trapped. Five participants wanted to go back home. They charged that Canada withheld its policies of decredentialing and recredentialing IEIs and could not provide jobs appropriate to IEIs’ education and professional experiences.

Some of them (n = 5) acknowledged that they only need to attend refresher courses for six months at most. Longwei, a TCM doctor and TCM university teacher, welcomed Alberta’s invitation to upgrade. He said,

I think it’s because Asians have different educational background... we have to upgrade our knowledge because our language and social background is different from that of Canada... even with my higher education, I have to know what the people think about in coming to a clinic here, what a clinic should look like, what they want in a clinic. In China, we have open areas for treatment. But here, the rooms are separate.

Our professional skill is basically enough but the related knowledge is very, very poor so we have to accumulate the learning experience. I am enjoying the learning process here.

Longwei’s acquiescence with Alberta’s upgrading requirement takes into account the psychosocial-behavioral aspects of learning. He seemed very confident about the cognitive aspect of TCM and did not need further formal

training in the field,

... I don't want to go to school because it's more academic. I need something more practical, more real knowledge. I already have a Master's in TCM. I have gone far enough. China is already top level in TCM.

Basilio maintained an open attitude to course upgrading in Alberta, I knew that going to Canada would be tough for me in the first few months. I came here to test the waters and hopefully get some feedback online. For the first three months, it was very difficult. When we arrived, we got a transition support. As newcomers, we have an orientation on the ins and outs of job hunting. I polished my resume. There are some results. I kept on analyzing everything – if I do this, what will happen? I was able to get a survival job. Then I talked to recruitment agents. I always took down notes.

Pablo, a Filipino medical doctor-cum-nurse, did not see any fairness in the credentials evaluation of some institutions in Alberta. He felt very offended and unjustly assessed,

One time, I went to a college because I was thinking of becoming an LPN here. I was told that I have to pass 10 exams and take two mandatory courses. There's this guy who was told that he only has to pass six exams because he finished his nursing degree in 2008. I finished mine in 2005. That's an insult for me since I finished more than one degree compared to this guy who only had one degree.

Pablo, with a license and two certificates that qualify him to work in the US healthcare system, was waiting for better opportunities in the US the last time I spoke with him.

Siddharth, who has had two decades of work experience in the healthcare profession, was made to feel the onus and not the wisdom of his senior years,

Had I known that this is the system, I may have taken a different course. But this time, you lose all your skills.

Siddharth felt that Alberta's education and labor policies force him to start from scratch, a highly expensive and demanding process for a medical doctor who was close to turning 50 years old. He lamented,

The only way I can get my ideal job here is by clearing all the four qualifying exams, Q1, Q2, the MCCEE plus MCCE. I have been

attending the U of A International Medical Graduates (IMGs) study group every Saturday, 10 AM – 6 PM since August 2010. We share information. We discuss. We prepare for the exams.

Some (n = 2) detested the fact that they had to pay for their own tuition or incur debts in the form of student loans. Others (n = 7) had chosen to forego their home-earned degrees for the sake of what they perceive to be Canada's promise of better opportunities for their children while simultaneously dreaming that, in a year or two, they could go back to school and eventually get to work in their ideal jobs in Alberta.

Thankfully, I did not take the licensure examination for certified public accountants back home. That would have gone down the drain. It wouldn't be recognized in Alberta,

said Amala – mother of three children who had set her eyes into completing her MBA in Alberta in a couple of years.

Others (n = 6) were simply too tired to go back to school after having spent at least 15 years in school, from elementary to university. "I got the terminal degree," said Avijit.

Basilio's openness to course-upgrading, aka recredentialing, and Longwei's willingness to take refresher courses are proofs of some immigrants' yielding in to Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of privatized HE. Believing perhaps that these courses will land them in better paying jobs or jobs appropriate to their credentials back home, these immigrants failed to see beyond their willingness to upgrade. They actually play accomplice to their own decredentialing and recredentialing. As pointed out in Chapters 1 and 3, decredentialing and recredentialing are forms of racialization. This time, it is HE and labor that are set against the scale of the "superior" race giving rise to what I call "racialized education and labor." There is, therefore, no guarantee that with decredentialing and recredentialing, the "inferior" race could land the job aspired for, especially in stiff competitions with members of the "superior" race. As a matter of fact, Pablo observed,

If I and one Canadian apply for a job, they will prefer the

Canadian. I notice that some applicants who don't speak English well get employed or even become managers.

Pablo, along with seven other participants – in nixing the idea of and in taking offense in decredentialing and recredentialing, seemed to understand the critical role of racialization of HE and labor in perpetuating Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized HE. He thought that the US offers better opportunities for a credential-inflated medical practitioner that he is. He stressed,

My goal is really to have the better life, the greener pasture for my family. But I already spent a lot of years in getting my degrees. I think I'll just wait for better opportunities in the US.

The others believed that they have more than sufficiently earned the right credentials for their target jobs.

Of their professions in their home countries, only Longwei – the TCM doctor, with his one-year temporary license, got to practice TCM in Alberta. He would have to write a qualifying examination within the year (2011) to earn his permanent license in TCM. The rest of the participants must upgrade their courses to enable them to practice their profession in Alberta. The engineers ($n = 3$) among them acknowledged that there are indeed engineering codes and rules to be learned in Alberta as codes and rules differ in every country. Others ($n = 4$) said that their English may be wanting and that they do need to attend English as a Second Language (ESL) classes but that they ($n = 2$) do not need to take or upgrade their courses. Still others ($n = 4$) said that their exposure to international labor markets should be sufficient proofs of their preparedness for Alberta's labor market. Most of the participants ($n = 10$) acknowledged that, with global recession, it had been difficult to get into their respective professions. They were grateful to be in "survival" or "transition" jobs. But, as Ishayu – an Indian financial analyst opined, "Survival jobs keep people away from getting their ideal jobs."

Participants' home country professions give credence to theories on the relation between human-and-social capital formation and global labor market proclivities (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Participants whose

educational and professional credentials were borne of these labor proclivities acknowledged the influence of both the local and global markets (e.g., Pablo and Siddharth's families and relatives who trained as medical doctors in their home countries are inclined to answer Canada's call for more doctors and nurses). Taking on survival or transition jobs, however, subjected IEI-participants to the host country's labor practices that are far from equitable (as in the case of "hoodwinked" Pablo who was made to believe that he would get employed as a medical doctor or a licensed nurse in Canada).

IEI-participants had to be re-trained in writing their resumes so as to conceal their university degrees; otherwise, they would not and could not be hired for lack of Canadian degrees and work experiences. It is very interesting to note that the Government of Canada partners with Alberta-based not-for-profit organizations that conduct seminars for IEIs on how to write resumes that would tell employers that some of these IEI-jobseekers were low-skilled secondary school graduates.

I am forced to write that I only finished secondary education and earned some units in postsecondary education. Otherwise, these retail and wholesale companies will not hire me,

disclosed Ishayu who was alarmed to realize that he was still between jobs three months after landing. One giant store in Edmonton was in need of a night crew and advised Ishayu to go back once he has his own car. For CAD\$11.50/hour as salary, what good-thinking employer would advise a newcomer to Alberta to get a car in order to work nights? Ishayu started becoming desperate. Not one of his target financial companies responded to his application or informed him that he was not qualified for a bank position. He would learn later that IEIs should have the "valuable" Canadian experience.

Now, I can write that I worked at a Canadian service industry as a people greeter in a large wholesale and retail outlet in Alberta,

Ishayu sarcastically remarked after landing his second "survival" job. Tavishi, when asked to define Canadian experience, replied in a double-entendre tone,

You should know the work culture in Canada. If they hire me, I can get Canadian experience.

Meanwhile, Zhen trained in two specialty courses (bar-tendering and flour-mixing) after finishing her Bachelor of Arts in English in China. She shared,

I learned it so I can apply for labor jobs in Canada. I learned all the skills and I took the examination in China. I got assessed in China but maybe Canada won't accept it. For us immigrants, companies always ask for Canadian experience so though you have certificates to verify your skills in specialities and technologies, Canadian companies won't accept those. They won't believe you have that one.

Siddharth, a medical doctor in India who worked as a stock attendant in Alberta, lamented the sad labor practices in Alberta,

One or two examinations should also be enough, after which they can be trained according to the Canadian system. There should also be a certainty about all these processes. There are doctors who have already cleared all examinations but they are not called into the system. There's no transparency here. There's a shortage of doctors in Alberta. Canada will be benefited if it allows these doctors to integrate into the system after clearing only two exams and undergoing about six months training instead of the present lengthy process.

Ishayu, on the other hand, almost gave up, and was eyeing to go back to India after a month of night shift work in a giant wholesale outlet. His body buckled under a job that required heavy lifting, a schedule that disrupted his circadian rhythm, a work location that separated him from his son, and a list of mounting expenses that could hardly be paid with the meager pay that he was receiving. No matter how he tried to be productive in his work, his mind and heart could not take it. Even his son felt aghast at what he was going through: a well-respected bank official in India has become a manual laborer in Alberta. What kept him sane was the thought of his son getting admitted to a university in Alberta plus his wife's assurance that she would rejoin him in due time.

For Tavishi,

There are many IT jobs this year but they don't call you for interviews. They want you to call them for networking and find out if you know someone in the company.

Pablo sounded too slighted to even believe in the “equal opportunity employer” clause appended to all job postings he had come across. The social capital beckons, in Tavishi and Pablo's statements, signalling the significance of “it's whom you know, not what you know.”

As participants started life in their host country, they faced inequitable treatment at work and questionable assessment of their educational background that subjected them to decredentialing and recredentialing. Some participants' willingness to undergo decredentialing and recredentialing may be seen in the light of education as the process of autonomy that leads to resilience (as in the case of bank manager Ishayu having to rewrite his CV to reflect only secondary education so he could get a low-skilled job at a wholesale store), as the creation of an individual's consciousness evolving into a collective consciousness (as in the case of Tavishi whose efforts at IT jobhunting got tested through networking), or of being capable of using new methods (as in the case of Pablo who refused to take more courses and who continued to be on the lookout for probable work in the US). The process may take some time given differential factors such as those found in every ethnics' work ethics, practices, principles, and values³⁶ (e.g., a Filipino worker is focused on the task and almost always forgets about the time; a local worker glances at the wall clock every now and then to make sure that work hours are observed).

Additionally, some participants believed that they could only be critical of their host country by joining the workforce, getting exposed to forms of inequality

³⁶ Eighty percent of my Filipino participants shared this workplace anecdote. My Filipino participants were actually learning from their local counterparts at work that, no matter how much longer they work, they would not get extra pay.

and being part of relevant organizations³⁷ that would eventually shield them from unfair labor practices and undue recognition of their educational and professional backgrounds.

There were hearts a-brewing bitterness and teeth a-gritting anger among more than 33% of IEI-participants. One male participant, in a moment of dejection on a seemingly very long wait for an appropriate job placement, broke down in tears. Another male participant acknowledged his seesaw adjustment in Alberta, feeling high at times and believing that he would soon get placed in his ideal job, or feeling low at other times as if the end in the waiting tunnel was nowhere in sight.

All participants in my study came to Alberta between 2008 and 2010 from their respective home countries: the period within postmodernity that is replete with structural breakdowns and marked as the years of global watershed economy. All of them knew about this worldwide economic catastrophe. Some understood that Canada, despite its being a highly industrialized country, was not spared from this global market slump; more than 33% of them, however, were unforgiving of Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized HE for highly skilled immigrants: the need to decredential and recredential newly arrived professionals as a way of getting integrated into Alberta's economy.

The ethnomethodological insights on the participants' number of years in the university and at work in their home countries bring to bear the participants' uncontested ability to make sense of their social reality in their home countries initially and in their host country subsequently. These EM insights also comprise the participants' "ability to act rationally [while simultaneously] taking for granted ... a vast array of features of the social order" (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, pp. 172-173). Participants pursued, in their own ethnomethods or artful practices, those which seemed locally and culturally embedded in their social order –

³⁷ These organizations include AIMGA (Alberta International Medical Graduates Association), APEGGA (Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists, and Geophysicists of Alberta), and ASET (Association of Science and Engineering Technology Professionals of Alberta).

finishing higher education and working in their areas of expertise. Their respective home countries and institutions contributed in one way or another to enhancing their ability to act rationally, to molding them into highly skilled individuals, and to equipping them with the skills they deem essential in realizing their respective aspirations.

Ethnomethods: Has Alberta Delivered the Promise?

Five participants disclosed that Canada (Alberta) failed in providing migration applicants an accurate picture of its labor market for IEs, and that Canada duped a number of IEs into believing that internationally ducated professionals were most welcome to join Canada's highly skilled labor. Pablo's dismay was very telling of Canada's failure to inform professional immigrants of its labor conditions. Along with four other participants, Pablo charged that Canada (Alberta) "hoodwinked" him into believing what it could not actually offer,

Immigration consultants are not honest about telling us that we have to start from scratch. What they told us is that Canada needs doctors and nurses, and that we shall be earning a lot more here.

Pablo may have not come to Alberta if Canada laid out all its cards on the table. But if Canada did, it may have difficulty recruiting the needed replacement for its graying labor force.

Avijit who has several degrees, too, looked at his low-skilled employment differently from Pablo's perspective. Although Avijit did not like the idea of decredentialing and recredentialing in Alberta, he did not take offense despite his being highly educated and having to work with Canadians with no formal education at all. He spoke confidently,

My degrees are not written on my forehead. These stores are paying me only for my time, not for my skill so I get to work totally relaxed. Here, people work and think less. We think more and work a bit less. Only men think, the animals don't. Anthropologically, man is an animal until he finds his thinking.

On the other hand, another set of five participants revealed that they have

a sense of what their initial settlement in Canada (Alberta) would be like – they would not be able to work in their profession unless they upgrade or take courses. Meanwhile, the other five participants were content with Alberta's labor requirements and were willing to decredential and recredential while waiting for the opportune time to penetrate Alberta's HEIs and workforce.

Apparently, IEI-participants' ethnomethods on issues of decredentialing and recredentialing in Alberta vary: six IEIs grudgingly went through decredentialing and recredentialing while holding on to Alberta's promise of a better life for their children; five IEIs welcomed Alberta's credentialing requirements, submitting themselves to the fact that all newcomers to any country needed to know how things are done in the host country; four IEIs were strongly opposed to the idea of getting decredentialed or recredentialed for varying reasons. What remains common among their ethnomethods include 1) continuing to aspire for the profession they had back home by cold calling relevant agencies and firms, and sending résumés (with Canadian experience in the list) to job companies; 2) dividing domestic chores to accommodate the needs of their household; 3) availing of not-for-profit services for newly arrived professionals to assist them in their initial settlement needs; 4) networking with friends and relatives who have been in Canada (not just in Alberta) long enough to suggest ways on how to cope with issues of decredentialing and recredentialing; 5) taking on survival jobs for the much-needed Canadian experience; and 6) keeping options of going back home or going to other countries open to global migrants.

Participants, through ethnomethods related to their choice and decision to migrate to Alberta, helped produce the social reality of global migration that is characterized as replete with migrants' adjustments, assessments, balancing acts, commitments, judgments, or vacillations. The participants' ethnomethods (rationally meaningful indexical or contextualized expressions and organized artful practices in their life as newly arrived and highly skilled immigrants) reveal their inner beliefs, feelings, and passion about getting subjected to what I have been referring to as "racialized education and labor" or "racialization through

decredentialed, nonrecognition of home-earned credentials, survival or transition jobs, and recredentialed”: an immigrant’s home-earned human-and-social capital and home-based profession are evaluated as less than or inferior to that of the host country’s credentialing measures and standards.

“Racialized education and labor” legitimizes one major feature of Alberta’s neoliberal policy regime of privatized HE – credential inflation or credential ballooning. No matter how many degrees an immigrant has earned in a given home country, those credentials are of lesser value and need to be recognized through attendance in relevant upgrading courses to meet Alberta’s neoliberal advocacy of an “international education from a business case standpoint to leverage opportunities and allow for greater efficiencies between institutions” (“International Education Framework,” 2009). Immigrants end up paying for these expensive “opportunities” as they continue to pad their credentials the Albertan way.

“Racialized education and labor” may also be in the form of what Cameron (2000) called “ghettoization”: no matter how highly skilled the newly arrived immigrants are, they are relegated to work odd jobs in their initial years in the host country. Local and native Canadians, the longtime immigrants, may complain of misallocations in HE and labor resources or charge newcomer-immigrants as robbing them of opportunities in both education and labor. Unless tensions between newcomers with relatively high human-and-social capital and local-born natives with relatively low human-and-social capital (Lindsay & Almey, 2006) are dissolved, Canadians may witness the rise in number of decredentialed and recredentialed, ghettoized, or racialized immigrants. This is one challenge that HE policymakers have yet to overcome, and that Canadian government policymakers must address within the purview of migration of highly skilled labor force from China, India, and the Philippines.

Based on the criteria corresponding to Alberta’s neoliberal goals in Table 2 of Chapter 4, Alberta has four deliverables to IEs. These are 1) democracy: “Does Alberta have culture-specific novel ways of managing the highly skilled

Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants?"; 2) justice: "Does Alberta manifest fairness in recognizing the home-earned credentials of highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants?"; 3) peace: "Does Alberta have available and sufficient resources to accommodate the highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants?"; and 4) prosperity: "Has Alberta brought better opportunities to the highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants?"

In the global migration of highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines in 2008-2010, neoliberal Alberta had its spokesperson (Premier Stelmach) encouraging freedom of choice (i.e., freedom of mobility) while assuring the opening of Alberta's market to highly skilled professionals and private entrepreneurs with the accompanying promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity. Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of privatized HE emphasizes individual freedom that thrives on competition amidst its systematic clipping of education and other social services while simultaneously promising the ideals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity to global migrants: these are ingredients showing internal contradictions within neoliberal Alberta. When Canada approved the application for immigration of my study participants, it recognized that these IEIs are capable of integrating fast into its economy. These IEIs' educational background and professional experiences in home countries plus fluency in English or French, or both languages assured Canada (Alberta) that it was getting the best human-and-social capital from source-countries of migration (China, India, the Philippines). However, Alberta's racialization of these IEIs' HE and labor as manifest in its take-it-or-leave-it survival jobs (aka transition jobs that give IEIs the false hope that something better or complementary to their home-earned qualifications will come) for these IEIs contradicts its neoliberal goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.

Meanwhile, IEI-participants' ethnomethods showed that they believed in Alberta's invitation for them about better opportunities and in its promises. They came to Alberta. They, however, failed to anticipate that they had to take on survival or transition jobs to eventually achieve Alberta's (Canada) neoliberal

goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity. What have been taking place are IEI-participants' ethnomethods characterized as sink-or-swim, leaving them with limited options and granting Alberta with more systematic ways of exploiting them as demands for decredentialing and recredentialing escalate.

I summarize IEI-participants' evaluation of Alberta's (AB) promises in Table 6.

Goals Criteria	Democracy Management of resources by people	Justice Recognition of resources	Peace Availability of resources	Prosperity Eradication of poverty
Sufficient regulatory frameworks	AB approved migration of qualified IEIs			
Efficient capacity building model	AB has no culture-specific ways for its IEIs			
Balanced representation mechanisms		AB lumped IEIs into survival jobs		
Manifest moral & ethical principles		AB racialized IEIs' HE & labor		
Accurate information re access to basic necessities			AB asked its IEIs to upgrade	
Equitable wealth distribution			AB gives IEIs in survival jobs minimum pay	
Creativity in provision of resources				AB refers IEIs to private resources
Substantial access to resources				IEIs with \$ can recredential

Table 6. Participants' Assessment of Neoliberal Alberta's Goals

Will Alberta's Promises to IEI-Participants Ever Get Delivered?

IEI-participants' ethnomethods showed that IEI-participants consciously or unconsciously allow the proliferation of Alberta's empty promises. IEI-participants contribute to the making of Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of

privatized HE. While they have options (e.g., applying for jobs in the US, dreaming that their patience and perseverance will pay off, going back home, staying in transition jobs for Canadian experience), their ethnomethods are bound by institutional and relational factors such as the household (e.g., withstanding challenges in Canada like Alberta's racialized HE and labor for a brighter future for their children). It is quite apparent that delivery of neoliberal Alberta's promises is largely premised on IEIs' "willingness" to be racialized or ghettoized.

In this chapter, I presented participants' demographics and ethnomethods that revealed 1) their educational and professional preparedness to migrate to Alberta; 2) contradictions in their attitude and beliefs towards issues of decredentialing, recredentialing, and survival jobs; and 3) their frustration at feeling duped or "hoodwinked" into being led to believe in neoliberal Alberta's promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity coupled with their realization of Alberta's failure to deliver these promises. Based on the criteria established for Alberta's neoliberal goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity in Chapter 4, I supported the participants' overall evaluation of Alberta as having failed to deliver its promises while I also noted the contradictions in their ethnomethods that show their inner aspirations for better opportunities in Alberta. I build on IEI-participants' evaluation of neoliberal Alberta's promises in the chapter on policy implications.

I show IEI-participants' ethnomethods in the structural logics of space and power in global migration and support their practical actions that led to their migration to Alberta in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, I demonstrate IEI-participants' ethnomethods vis-à-vis my study assumptions and objectives, continue to note contradictions in their narratives, and simultaneously support their socially organized practices as global migrants in Alberta (Canada).

Chapter 6

Ethnomethods and Structural Logics in Global Migration

This chapter shows the participants' role as agents capable of ethnomethods which enable them to negotiate the structural logics of space and power in global migration. Interspersed with their narrative representations for situations X, Y, and Z that manifest the dynamics behind the structural logics of space (household consisting of the family with constructions of gender and sexuality; government, IOs; community or ethnies bound by culture, language, race; class, market) and power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism), the participants' ethnomethods reveal them to be members who act out common indexical expressions, decide on rationally determined issues; are faced with the same predicament (landed immigrants with home-earned credentials and home-based professional experiences who get decredentialed and recredentialed), and have high human-and-social capital that is required to fit in Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatized higher education.

I present how agents (highly skilled Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians) – through their ethnomethods – impact, navigate, negotiate, and cause structures (logics of space and power) to fuse during global migration. Structural logics of space and power conversely impact on agents resulting in their ethnomethods (rationally meaningful contextualized expressions and artful organized practices) in global migration. Agency-structure fusion results in complementarities and/or contradictions, revealing actor-structural dialectics.

I analyze IEI-participants' ethnomethods as they impact the structural logics of space and power and juxtapose them with relevant critical social theory, critical theory, theories behind ethnomethodology, theories of international and professional migration, and typologies of skilled migration in Chapters 3 and 4.

Ethnomethods and Structural Logics of Power in Global Migration

The institutional logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism) occur within the institutional logics of space (household; government,

IOs; community/ethnie bound by culture, language, race; class, market). Fusion in the logics of space and of power shown in Chapter 3 happens through participants' ethnomethods (rationally meaningful and practical actions in the context of global migration): such fusion reveals tensions or complementarities in global migration. The narratives below reflect this fusion.

Three Chinese participants disclosed that China has a number of stringent and unreasonable rules that deter one's economic progress and professional development. Two of them cited as an example China's one-child-policy that, once broken, one spouse had to quit work thereby limiting the family's earning capacity. Bao's discovery that she was pregnant with her second baby was crucial to her family's decision to migrate to Alberta. She disclosed,

We were living in Beijing, the capital of China, and with the national policy, we were not allowed to have a second baby. Abortion is a personal option. But I really love kids. If we didn't apply for migration to Alberta, maybe I have to give up the child. At that time I already got the letter from the Canadian embassy. If I didn't get that letter, I had to choose to give up the kid... I cannot quit work due to a lot of obligations towards my family and my parents who may not really need any financial help but I feel responsible given that I'm the eldest in the family.

There is more to China's one-child-policy than the mother's personal option to abort the second baby. The complex policy provides that if the father and the mother happen to be the only child in their respective families, and their first-born is female, they can have a second baby. Otherwise, they will have to choose between giving up the second baby or one of them has to quit work. Quitting work in China where cost of living has become very high was not an option for Bao or her husband.

In China's one-child-policy, the power logic of patriarchy as the dominant discourse of masculinity supports gender divisions and threatens female/feminine significances. Bao's choice to keep the baby and opt to leave China for Canada (Alberta) was personal and an indirect attack against patriarchy: proof of her

centrality as a well-educated woman and of her equality as a spousal partner who is able to critically weigh options and rationally decide for her family.

Zhen was also faced with the dilemma wrought by China's one-child-policy, from a different angle but within patriarchy's purview of maintaining her family's social capital. She could actually have a second baby but her concerns were her parents' well-being. She shared that,

We came to Canada because of the one-child-policy in China. My husband and I are the only kid in our family, respectively. When our parents get old, we have an obligation to take care of them. Normally, we live with our parents. We cannot afford our parents' medical treatment. We feel very stressed. We also need more money to provide for our daughter's education. When our parents are sick, and given that our welfare system is not that perfect, the burden is on us. In Alberta, we don't have to pay for our daughter's education, and it's comparatively easier to get a house and a car. In China, the price of property is very high. Few people can afford it. We don't want to wake up every morning thinking of the mortgage that we have to pay until we are 70 years old. Here, we don't have to pay for our medical benefits.

Another Chinese participant, Longwei, shared that it was difficult to put up his own clinic as a TCM doctor,

I want to follow my personal choice. Chinese culture is more organized by the top leaders so it's not easy to carry out my personal thoughts or style. There are so many rules some of which are unreasonable. An example is that you cannot open a clinic within 15 meters of another clinic. There should be no two clinics offering the same service even if your services are different from the other person's services.

Bao and Zhen's sharing brought to the fore the question on which sector in Chinese society gets to control its population growth and which ones get to be reproduced. Issues surrounding China's gender bias (operating through the power logic of patriarchy), domestic and national economics play out on the push-pull factors of immigration for Bao and Zhen. Mothers like Bao and Zhen, I believe, would do anything to protect their babies from perceived harm. Bao and Zhen's

“exodus” to Canada was a political act, i.e., chosen and done to protect their children’s lives and preserve their lineage in Canada.

Additionally, Bao and Zhen’s *Beruf* (vocation) (Weber, 1978) of looking after their parents in their old age seems to come naturally as filial vocation – the unspoken and invaluable responsibility of children to their parents based on *xiao*. Bao and Zhen’s sharing also attests to Massey et al.’s (1993) new economics of migration where family and household members collectively decide on maximizing income and minimizing costs. Bao and Zhen’s conjugal/collective decision came in the form of migrating to Canada. Their move to Canada (Alberta) assures their parents of financial support in case of economic catastrophe back in China.

Meanwhile, Longwei’s narrative on the difficulty of putting up a clinic in China speaks to the power logic of bureaucracy that enables Chinese leaders to dictate or prescribe certain rules and standards for the orderly administration of the affairs of the Chinese government. However, Chinese bureaucracy curtailed a constituent’s (Longwei) sense of initiative and creativity in helping improve his country’s economy.

Longwei’s disclosure about China’s business politics also illustrates Massey et al.’s (1993) new economics of migration at play. Longwei decided it would be best for him and his wife, who is also a TCM doctor, to maximize their household potential for business in Canada (Alberta) instead of allowing themselves to be denied business opportunities in China and to be trapped within Chinese bureaucracy of stringent measures. Longwei’s case may likewise be seen in the light of Massey et al.’s (1993) discussion on the microtheory of neoclassical economics that looks into *homo economicus* as capable of systematically adjusting to the rigors of environment. What Longwei perceived as unreasonable requirements perpetuated by Chinese top leaders had to be addressed accordingly. Longwei, like Bao and Zhen, saw migration to Canada (Alberta) as his way of realizing “personal choice, thoughts, or style,” and being rid of the powerful Chinese leaders who control China’s business and commercial landscapes.

He added,

Alberta has Chinese community centers, nonprofit unions, and organizations that conduct lectures on important information about starting our business here.

The cases of participants Bao, Longwei, and Zhen may best be understood along Weber's instrumental rationality-cum-*Verstehen* (understanding) and Garfinkel's policies governing EM when participants' instrumental rationality becomes the turning point of understanding and seeing the world, and acting accordingly.

Minsheng, on the other hand, bemoaned the lack of promotion in his job back in China. Minsheng's decision to move to Canada, taking into account the cost and benefits of such a decision, may be seen in relation to Massey et al.'s (1993) discussion on the microtheory of neoclassical economics that looks into *homo economicus* as free to move to a country of choice for maximum productivity.

Massey et al.'s (1993) microtheory of neoclassical economics can also be viewed as relevant in the case of Chao who anticipated "a very challenging" task of finishing a doctorate degree before plunging on to his professional career in Engineering. Chao, for his part, wanted to earn a PhD in Engineering from Alberta's top university, something that – in his mind – his home country could not offer,

I really did many great projects before I came here, an avalanche. I was a designer for three rivers regulation projects including the flood protection and sewer pipeline system. The total investment of the China government was about CAD\$100M. After that, I want to get more challenges, maybe here. There are many advanced education areas here, for example, there is the area in global warming about CO₂ sequestration. I am interested in learning that for my PhD.

Chao's apparent preference for academic-cum-professional growth in a developed country gets projected to his assessment of the reason behind Chinese migration to foreign countries like Canada.

Chao said,

As far as I know many Chinese people come here because they want their next generation to get foreign advanced education. Besides, maybe their kids can get great job opportunities after their graduation here, not in China. Because too many undergraduates every year cannot find jobs as there are not enough job vacancies in China.

Chao's case may also be understood in light of Iredale's (1999) lubrication theory whereby national and regional policies as well as bilateral and multilateral agreements "lubricate" market-driven migrations, as exemplified in internationalized higher education. Chao's case may also fall within Iredale's (2001) "internationalization of professions" being a function of regional bloc agreements such as the NAFTA, the EU, and the Australia-New Zealand MRA, and of IOs, and agreements such as the WTO and the GATS that have led to fluidity and competitiveness in professional skills requirements. In migrating to Canada (Alberta), Chao may also be indirectly attacking Chinese bureaucracy as bereft of world class standards that can inspire its constituents to compete globally.

As defined and described in the third chapter, China is a member country of most of the IOs listed. Chao, apparently, did not want to be left behind in terms of internationalized higher education and profession. His enthusiasm in earning a doctorate degree in Engineering from a Canadian university showed,³⁸ momentarily obscuring the many challenges a newly landed immigrant like him faces. Chao would have to fend for himself throughout graduate studies or compete for a scholarship that would see him through doctorate work.

Chao's assertions may also be understood in line with Iredale's (2001) typologies of skilled migration; namely, the push-pull factors of home and host

³⁸ China's membership in IOs is its ticket for negotiating its people's inclusion in globalized HE. However, the topic about the plight and entry of international students to Canada is not within the purview of this research. Chao's case, for that matter, will not be elaborated along the line of "international students."

countries such as lack of economic opportunities or absence of intellectual and professional growth in one's home country.

It was a slightly different case for Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo who expressed willingness to temporarily set aside their professional growth in favor of a better future for their children. What Chao dreamt for himself, Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo envisioned for their respective children. Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo knew that, once their children receive Canadian university degrees, they would get to enjoy the good life. These fathers certainly saw market patterns and trends in education, and would look forward to their children competing in the arena of internationalized HE. Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo's decisions may be cast within Weber's instrumental rationality where collective (i.e., the family as a collective) actions appear to be rational responses to given situations (i.e., the market weights on HE that is earned in Canadian universities). Their decisions may likewise be weighed on the scale of Iredale's lubrication theory (1999) and internationalization of profession (2001) where direction of bilateral and multilateral agreements favors major movers of relevant IOs³⁹. For these fathers, all three theories simultaneously work and carry all the weights essential for their respective children's future in Canada (Alberta) and the world: the Global North countries comprise the major movers of IOs that are responsible for bilateral and multilateral agreements aimed at lubricating the market.

Fusion in the power logics (patriarchy, bureaucracy, capitalism) and spatial logics (household, government, IOs, class, market) is apparent in the case of Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo. As these parents start building their children's social capital in Canada (Alberta), they are simultaneously monitoring the global market for their children's economic opportunities and casting their hope on Canada's (Alberta) bureaucratic measures as supportive of their household aspirations.

³⁹ Some of the terms and conditions of these agreements come in the form of SAPs discussed in the first chapter; others, laid down by selected IOs and that are relevant to HE are found in Appendix B1.

However, for being too forward-looking or perhaps to set aside their own frustrations over experiences of decredentialing in Alberta, Chao, Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo failed to account for the imbalance in global trends – such imbalance being a factor of what Iredale (2001) refers to as typology of skilled migration through incorporation, i.e., migrants getting subjected to racial discrimination and given “opportunities” for upward mobility. I add to Iredale’s typology what I have referred to as “racialized education and labor” in Chapter 5: an immigrant’s home-formed human-and-social capital is evaluated as less than or inferior to that of the host country’s credentialing measures and standards. The unsuspecting immigrants falsely believe that decredentialing and recredentialing will, in the future, give them the essential push upwards, overlaying the element of race that Balibar (1991) has so eloquently described as the perennial yardstick of the White’s superiority over the non-White. In the process and when the future finally comes (i.e., after a number of years of decredentialing and recredentialing), Chao, Crispin, Ishayu, and Pablo would also forget that they subjected their own resources and acted according to the standards set by the “superior” race. Their children are more than likely to experience forms of racial discrimination⁴⁰ in school.

Basilio, on the other hand, anticipated an economic slump in the Philippines which is not ideal in raising a family,

We may be eating three times a day but our two kids [11 and 15 years old] are growing. The economic situation in our home country is something to think about. My wife and I thought of Canada. Our children now both go to Catholic schools and I believe their education here is funded by the government.

Basilio’s case can be understood in line with Weber’s *ideal types* of instrumental rationality-cum-*Verstehen* (understanding) and Garfinkel’s policies governing EM, too, i.e., the rationality of familial and social values weighing in economic growth as complementary to his knowledge of and ways of coping with the world.

⁴⁰ Bullying is one form of racial discrimination that children may face in school. This topic is not within the purview of my present study.

Meanwhile, Kiko decried corruption in the Philippines,

In our country, my old office is ranked as the second corrupt agency nationwide. Money exchanges hands for ghost transactions. I didn't want to be involved deeper into it. Coming here may have been a good move.

Gabriela echoed Kiko's lament,

When you get your pay slip and you see that there's a tax cut of 32% and you're not getting anything in return, you don't see where your money goes, you can see that there's always corruption in government.

Amala, Avijit, Ishayu, and Siddharth similarly complained about corruption and rat-race competition in India. Siddharth was very vocal against corruption,

I just wanted to earn honest money. Back home, you cannot earn such money. Corruption is one of the reasons I left my country. For instance, in starting your own clinic if you want to sustain yourself, you have to lose your ethics. I was working with the government. Doctors are not adequately paid. We thought that in the Western world, doctors are better paid.

Gabriela, Kiko, and Siddharth's disclosures point to the rise in number of corrupt practices among government employees due to inadequate salary. It seems that the impetus for these participants' immigration to Alberta is their respective bureaucracies, an indirect attack against their governments that are mired in corrupt practices (e.g., ghost construction projects, loss of ethics in exchange for business permits) and at the same time, an expression of hope in what Alberta had to offer.

Meanwhile, Amala felt confident that, with relatives based in Alberta, her family would be happy and content. Tavishi, on the other hand, needed to explore better terrains in IT and looked forward to contributing her expertise to Alberta's IT industry. Avijit, however, believed that his 25 years of work experience in a bank plus his PhD in Business Management could get him the job that he aspired

for in Alberta – that of a bank officer who is able to teach part-time in a university.

Tavishi and Avijit's self-assessments point to Durkheim's organic solidarity and Tonnies' *gessellschaft*: one is free to pursue interests and enter into contractual interdependent relations with others in society. There is also fusion in the spatial (ethnie, class, market) and power (ethnicity, capitalism) logics here: class reproduction of educated laborers belonging to a particular ethnue that addresses Alberta's (Canada) market needs. The power logic of ethnicity, however, may subject Tavishi and Avijit to the cultural construct of Canadian supranationalism that is replete with vestiges of Western colonization: exclusions, polarizations, power dominations, and segmentations based partly on visible biological differences, facial features, skin color, and audible linguistic diversities (Bhabha, 1990; Buechler, 2008; Fanon, 1952/1967; Hall, 1995; Said, 1978/2003), and may trickle down into class displacement and struggle.

Family reunification as a major come-on for Canadian immigration is quite clear in Amala's case. It is family reunification that can be seen through Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity where families get cast into a bigger community engaged in labor divisions that paradoxically highlight and enhance each member's individuality. The paradox behind family reunification can also be seen in light of Weberian functional differentiation (Knorr-Cetina & Preda, 2005) that was a consequence of market expansion and market players' espousal of neoliberal policy of globalization, thereby co-opting the likes of Amala, Avijit, Bao, Basilio, Chao, Crispin, Gabriela, Ishayu, Kiko, Longwei, Minsheng, Pablo, and Tavishi to compete in a highly radicalized market.

I equate the participants' possession of university degrees and professional experiences with Weber's (1968, p. 241) concept of "charisma" described as "a certain quality of individual personality... [that accords that individual a halo of being] extraordinary... supernatural, superhuman... [or having] exceptional powers or qualities." In global migration, the charisma of Bao, Chao, Longwei, Minsheng, Zhen, Basilio, Crispin, Gabriela, Kiko, Pablo, Amala, Avijit, Ishayu,

Siddharth, and Tavishi is comprised of these migrants' extraordinary ability to cross borders and uproot themselves from their home countries and is premised on their halo of credentials in higher education and skilled labor.

Participants' ethnomethods, on the other hand, appear nonconfrontational as in the case of Bao and Zhen. Instead of openly fighting against what seems to be a ruthless policy for China's working parents and the torment of one-child-policy, Bao and Zhen chose to seek refuge in Canada. The kind of refuge that Bao and Zhen sought was not in any way a form of political asylum but one that would bail them out of economic woes. Bao and Zhen did not see any justifiable reason for them to quit work especially with the high cost of living in China, and with the possibility of having more than two children. How could they make both ends meet if one spouse had to quit work in observance of China's one-child-policy? Their disclosures make it appear that having more than one child in China is punishable through denial of employment and show the paradox of raising a bigger family with no adequate source of livelihood or means of improving the family's quality of life.

Bao and Zhen found practical means to assuage their fears of impending unemployment with the arrival of an additional member in the household: applying for migration to Canada. Gabriela, Kiko, and Siddharth decided that the best way to improve their quality of life and to avoid corruption that impeded their economic progress in their respective home countries was to migrate to Canada (Alberta). Amala, Avijit, Basilio, Crispin, and Ishayu knew that, given their work ethics and professional preparations, Canada has familial provisions for the good life. Chao, Longwei, Minsheng, Pablo, and Tavishi believed that their areas of expertise could be maximized in Alberta. Their ethnomethods included 1) doing online⁴¹ research about opportunities for IEIs in Canada; 2) finding out which province in Canada is best for them; 3) interacting through electronic means with friends who have been in Canada long enough to give them sound

⁴¹ Aside from logging onto relevant migration websites, my Chinese participants disclosed having logged onto www.edmontonchina.ca for online information about immigrants' life in Canada while my Filipino participants, onto www.pinoy2canada.com.

advice; 4) filling out the application form; 5) improving their communication skills in English as English is one of the two language requirements for migration to Canada; and 6) making sure that they garnered high average in their overall score that included their number of years in the university, number of years at work, and their language fluency in either/both English or/and French.

Bao shared how their initial score made her write a very strong letter for reconsideration by the embassy officials,

According to that numbers, we should be 96 or 97 but we just got 95 because my husband's working experience is not enough but I wrote two letters, explanation letters to the immigration officer so I said so we just have four years but we work full-time almost your full-time is 8 hours but our full-time is 12 hours. I said I'm not complaining about my boss but that's the truth so calculate our time for working I'm already 6 years you know that is why we got exemption.

With these participants' stories, Canada maintains its status as "the migrants' choice" (Fleras, 2005). What appears as the participants' rational choice to move to a country for more and better economic opportunities (Iredale, 2001) actually translates to their failed containment of the evils of neoliberal policy of privatized HE, such evils having appeared in the form of IOs-imposed SAPs on their respective governments (e.g., privatized government enterprises, drastically reduced government budget, devalued currency, wage cuts, or restraints). In their narratives, participants unknowingly share how they actually contributed to the molding of neoliberal Alberta.

Table 7 summarizes how the stories of Bao, Chao, Longwei, Minsheng, Zhen, Amala, Avijit, Ishayu, Siddharth, Tavishi, Basilio, Crispin, Gabriela, Kiko, and Pablo can be understood in light of the classical theories on *Beruf* (vocation), charisma, *ideal types*, instrumental rationality, solidarity, and *Verstehen* (understanding), and juxtaposed with contemporary theories on international migration (Caparas, 2011; Durkheim, 1893, 1933/1997; Iredale, 1999, 2001; Massey et al., 1993; Ringer, 2004; Tonnies, 1887/1974; Weber, 1968, 1978).

On the institution of household, Bao, who was between jobs while putting greater weight to being a mother to two growing sons than to finding her ideal job, had this to say,

In China, parents do everything to make sure that their children get good university education mostly because there are a lot of people. Population explosion makes job opportunities very competitive. Maybe that's one of the main reasons why parents want their children to get higher and higher education.

Chao, too, credited his parents for his passion to learn, "It was due to my parents' encouragement." He likewise shared that while his parents knew the value of education for their two children, his sister was not inspired to finish university education due to low scores in secondary school. While Chao himself failed the university admissions examination the first time he took it, his second attempt led him to finishing not only an undergraduate degree in Engineering but also a master's degree in his chosen area of expertise.

Longwei, on the other hand, came from a household of professionals, "My father is an engineer. My siblings are teachers." Similarly with Basilio, Crispin, Gabriela, Kiko, and Pablo who all came from families of professionals. Basilio proudly reminisced,

I think finishing my course in civil engineering is solely the inspiration of my father. My father is a mechanical engineer. My father's work is very challenging for me and I love learning. Having that kind of discipline gives me an opportunity to learn more.

Crispin, on the other hand, wanted to raise his son the Filipino way, i.e., adhering to Filipino values of being closely knit and focused on full-time studies – the way he himself was raised up in his home country.

As newly landed immigrants in Alberta, it was also the institutions of household (i.e., family and relatives) and ethnic (both real and fictive) that made

these IEIs feel welcome. Take the case of Basilio who disclosed,

Before we left the Philippines, my wife contacted her cousin in Edmonton. Her cousin helped us get an apartment.

Similarly with Crispin who was confident that everything would be all right because of the concept of household,

I'll probably survive here because I have relatives. It's a big factor. They will help me.

Pablo also had no fear of coming to Alberta,

I have some relatives here. My aunt's here. My first-degree cousins influenced me to come here rather than to other provinces of Canada.

The household, indeed, is the space where the viable social institution of the family could be relied on. It has helped shape members into responsible students and workers that could and would eventually take charge of their country's labor and economic upkeep, and define their respective roles according to their country's economic, political, and social conditions (e.g., Bao's observation that China's population explosion has resulted in labor market competition). It remains as the source of guidance, inspiration, and strength among the participants. However, the household and the *ethnie* can also be used by the host country to induce the coming of more IEIs who face decredentialing and recredentialing. It is also the presence of households and *ethnies* in Canada (Alberta) that may convince newcomer-IEIs that struggles in job-hunting are temporary and can be overcome with hard work, perseverance, and resilience.

On the spatial logic of *ethnie*, Minsheng acknowledged that even if his university education (human capital) was a personal choice, his surrounding community influenced him to finish Survey Engineering in four years at Fuxin Mining University in Fuxin, China.

You know, my father's major is Geophysics. I was born in an oil field. It's an oil company surrounded by people in the oil field. So I chose a major that's also connected with the oil field.

Minsheng also considered the work community as having impacted his continuing learning,

I just read some books at night, and also my former company gave me some training. Different companies have different requirements. Each company may think that this person should get this knowledge so it gives him that training.

Longwei, meanwhile, found a technological or online ethnle before migrating to Alberta,

Before we came here, we searched the internet. There's this person, Yang, who developed this internet site, www.edmontonchina.ca. From the information online, we made some comparisons. We thought this is the first place where we could come.

Chao and Zhen likewise found their online ethnle through this site that has since then assured them of an existing ethnle in Alberta to whom they could belong.

Unlike Longwei, however, Minsheng was not a fan of online ethnle. Minsheng disclosed,

When I made the decision to migrate to Canada, I didn't know which city I was landing. After I was given permission to leave, I chose this city to migrate. I found the information about Alberta through friends. My former company also sent some persons to Calgary to learn English so I learned more about Calgary and Edmonton.... I think it's better if the organization is in a community where one can go and practice English. You know, all the houses near the Chinese people and in the church may hold some party, cooking, and speaking English, it's better. And also for people to have some of the local customs and help in finding jobs. You not only depend on the internet. I want the community to share the information with other local persons to find the job. I like to discuss, share more information with the local person but not the internet. I think internet is of no use. All so many resumes, no responses.

Longwei was not one to totally cling to online ethnle especially upon his arrival in Alberta,

We have some communication with friends from the Chinese community here who helped us like those from the acupuncture

association or the massage therapist association. These people have been here for five or ten years. They gave us some information, and with this we believe we are ready to do our business, to put up our own clinic.... Alberta has Chinese community centers, nonprofit unions, and organizations that conduct lectures on important information about starting our business here. We also heard about other organizations but we limited ourselves to Chinese organizations because of the language barrier. My wife could not speak much in English. But I also wanted to practice my English skills that is why I went to Edmonton where there are many Whites.

It was the same work ethnies that would welcome Bao, Chao, Longwei, Minsheng, and Zhen in Alberta. For the rest of the participants, finding an online ethnies in a highly wired world seemed to be the most logical thing to do. In the case of Basilio, www.pinoy2canada.com gave him a picture of the challenges that the Filipino ethnies face in Alberta (Canada). Crispin, Gabriela, Kiko, Pablo, Amala, Avijit, Ishayu, Siddharth, and Tavishi did their online interaction, too. All participants acknowledged their use of and reliance on emails from families, relatives, and friends who have stayed long enough in Alberta to persuade or dissuade them into or from coming to the cold and “decredentalizing” province.

While online and face-to-face ethnies both accorded the participants a sense of solidarity and common identity with interactants across the globe, the core ethnies of the participants lies in the solid formation they had in their households in their respective home countries. Wherever they go, they would always be bound by their shared ancestries, histories, myths, and symbols.

It is this “shared” nature of ethnies that somewhat soothed Ishayu, too. In the midst of unemployment and desolation, Ishayu found consolation in the presence of Indian ethnies in Alberta. He recalled,

I was slowly exhausting my savings and I realized that I only had CAD\$2,000 left. I was faced with two choices: to go back to India and give up the struggle, and after one or two years in India, come back here. But my son is here, trying to get admitted to the U of A, Engineering stream. I was in a dilemma.

I then spoke to a friend in the community and told him of my dilemma. My friend suggested that I go to Fort McMurray because he has a house and a job there, and I can try for any kind of job like that of a security guard.

The spatial logics of household and *ethnie* fall within the classical thoughts on organic and mechanical solidarity (Durkheim), *gemeinschaft* and *gesselschaft* (Tonnies) as well as within the contemporary thoughts on “named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories, and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity” (Smith) not within a totally different setting (a home-bred community migrating to a host-held community) but made more complex with the notions of supraterritoriality and globalized production relations and means (i.e., Alberta’s labor import of IEIs based on IEIs’ merit-qualifications in university education, fluency in one or both of Canada’s two official languages, and work years through online information and interaction).

Related to the dynamics of household and *ethnie* is the spatial logic of the government. The concept of governmentality speaks to every state’s art of government or the proper way of managing individuals, goods, and wealth much like that of the head of the household who directs other family members towards prosperity (Foucault, 2007). Chao referred to one provision in his country’s constitution that states and assures government’s support for people’s education. Chinese government support comes in the form of free tuition for nine years, i.e., from elementary school to junior high school. The same can be said about Filipino and Indian governmentality – the support for people’s education from elementary to high school, as explicitly stated in these countries’ constitutions. My Chinese, Filipino, and Indian participants, however, got to choose between free-public and fee-private education in their respective countries. Chao elaborated on how the Chinese government has helped shape his human-and-social capital,

After 1978, China entered into a year of reformation and opened its doors. Before that, Chinese people don’t get English education. After that, English is popular in school education. In my school, I began to learn English in junior high school. But now, Chinese

kids begin to learn English just in kindergarten. They can speak very simple English words. So English is becoming more and more important today in China.

Siddharth disclosed that Indian government's support for people's education goes beyond high school, "In higher education, we get subsidized by the Indian government."

Bao, for her part, had this to say,

There are opportunities in China. Many of my friends got higher and higher education in China. Master's degree. Doctoral degree. That is the most popular goal among my friends my age. But even though you got doctorate degree, master's degree, maybe you cannot find a suitable job.

Bao's assessment of the state of education in her home country reflects the mushrooming of HEIs, marking the neoliberal character of the Chinese government vis-à-vis higher education. Apparently, credential inflation is the intended or unintended consequence of the growing number of HEIs. Migration to Alberta, as Bao impliedly stated, would be the rational decision and action of credentially inflated Chinese who could not find jobs in China.

On the issue of migration to Alberta, Minsheng shared that the Chinese government does not stop people from migrating. Ishayu from India gave the same observation about the Indian government. When it comes to citizenship, however, Minsheng disclosed that the Chinese government allows its citizens to choose only one and "lose the other, only by choice."

The 15 participants who are aware of their responsibility to their respective home governments also made sure that, as newly landed immigrants, they were familiar with their responsibilities to themselves and to their host government: Canadian (Alberta) government. One of these responsibilities came in the form of having initial settlement funds sufficient for participants' first three-to-six months of stay in their choice province.

Table 8 shows the participants' funds when they first came to Alberta with a/some family member/s. The number of faces in each column corresponds to the

number of participants who came to Alberta alone, with one or more household members, and the amount of initial funds they had. These funds were essential for participants' job-hunting, shelter maintenance and fees, food, clothing, and transportation allowance.

Immigrants \$	1	1 + 1	1 + 2	1 + 3
CAD\$10,000 – CAD\$15,000		😊		😊😊
CAD\$15,001 – CAD\$20,000			😊😊😊😊	😊😊
CAD\$20,001 – CAD\$30,000+	😊	😊	😊	😊😊😊😊

Table 8. Participants' Initial Settlement Funds in Alberta

The participants' possession of these funds manifested that they would not pose a burden to the Canadian government in their initial settlement in Alberta. The burden of proof on how far these IEI-participants' funds would enable these IEI-participants to transition to the good life in Alberta lies on the Government of Alberta's preparedness to take in IEI-participants to its labor force before these funds run out. IEI-participants' assessment of how the Government of Alberta welcomed them varies. Siddharth sounded unhappy,

Maybe the Canadian government can somewhat get most doctors integrated into the medical field instead of us getting transitional jobs at Walmart. I applied for medically allied positions but most doctors are not willing to take me. They want you only after you've cleared one or two examinations and before you can work as a healthcare aide.

Ishayu believed that Alberta has shortchanged him,

Alberta's assistance is very minimal to newcomers irrespective of people's race or community. They require us to have Canadian experience. Alberta should recognize people's work experience back home. I worked for 25 years. How can I be at zero here? I should be accepted because I have exposure. It's not an easy decision to leave your motherland.

Avijit kept his hopes high that Alberta would cast an open eye to IEIs' eligibility to work in their fields of expertise,

Alberta can allow me to volunteer-teach at the university in any level. I have seen people with lesser qualifications here that teach. I'm willing to share even any remuneration. It's a pleasure to share knowledge with others. It's a lose-lose situation for the government and me if I'm not able to share rather than a win-win situation.

Most of the participants shared Avijit, Ishayu, and Siddharth's assessments. Some thought that they really had to go through Alberta's skills re-formation programs that were done through not-for-profit organizations, and that they would realize their aspirations in due time.

On the spatial logic of IOs, Longwei had this to say, "I know these IOs, and I know that China has an open policy for migration of Chinese to other countries."

For Avijit, IOs "are the megaspheres, the policy levels." Pablo shared Avijit's observation about the nature of IOs,

They really affect our country's (the Philippines) policies in terms of education, and the other sectors, and these people going to other places because of agreements between countries. The format of their education is the same with other countries. The same is true with Alberta's policies but they are somewhat different from our educational policies (Philippines) which are similar to those of the US. If you come to Canada, it's different. You have to study again for two years before you can work or before you can take the qualifying exam.... I believe our educational system is a result of all the policies of these IOs combined with our country's policies in education.... Yeah, I do believe that the English language, this IELTS⁴² and language proficiency exams are a product of these IOs policies.

⁴² This acronym means International English Language Testing System, "the world's proven English language test [...; a pioneer] of four skills English language testing... [that] set[s] the standard for English language testing today... a secure, valid and reliable indicator of true-to-life ability to communicate in English for education, immigration[,] and professional accreditation" (retrieved from www.ielts.org/about_us.aspx).

Longwei and Pablo are both doctors of TCM and Medicine, respectively, who expressed familiarity with IOs policies. Pablo specifically stated, “I can cite that, as a doctor, I use the WHO policies in dealing with my patients.” Avijit is a holder of a terminal degree, a PhD in Management. All three of them were privy to the nature of IOs. Shown the grid of selected IOs and policies related to education and labor, Avijit, Longwei, and Pablo knew how IOs policies impact household decisions, government-to-government agreements, and international policies such as globalized migration of highly skilled professionals; however, the three IEI-participants did not elaborate on how IOs-imposed SAPs (e.g., their governments’ budget cuts for basic service delivery such as education; the rise of private enterprises that take over service delivery; the rise in radical market competition; lack of employment opportunities for credentially inflated individuals) led to their own immigration to Alberta. Some of the participants also knew about these IOs but were not familiar with how the IOs policies on education and labor directly or indirectly influence international movement and relations.

On the spatial logic of class, the 15 participants all belong to the same class situation: they all have high human-and-social capital and share the same economic interests within the conditions of their home countries and host country’s (Alberta, Canada) labor markets (Weber, 1978). IEI-participants all saw how they could utilize their home-earned human-and-social capital in getting qualified for migration to Canada (Alberta), a country that is in dire need of skilled laborers. Although only nine of the 15 participants disclosed that their university degree courses were both market-dictated and ambition-driven, all 15 IEI-participants finished university education due to their respective families and governments’ preferential thrust for education as the key to the good life. Some of the participants could not quite determine whether their education and profession back home did them any good in Alberta’s market where they got subjected to racialized education and labor as shown in Chapter 5.

As global market commodities whose possession of goods (university education and skilled labor experience) make them highly valued in international trade, IEI-participants had to deal with the differences between the markets of their respective home countries (China, India, the Philippines) and that of the host country (Alberta, Canada) of migration. IEI-participants had to train for the needs of the purchasing market: Alberta, Canada. Alberta's (Canada) global market specifications for its "commodities" from China, India, and the Philippines included cultural capital (language, preference, and taste), human capital (technical knowledge and training), and social capital (networks of family and kin). Purchasable "commodities," a number of IEI-participants saw themselves as unwilling to be decredentialed and recredentialed and as racialized in their home-borne education and labor. IEI-participants bore and continue to bear the economic, emotional, psychological, and social costs of becoming saleable to Alberta's (Canada) market (as discussed in Chapter 5).

Figure 11 shows the number of participants (y) who acknowledged spatial

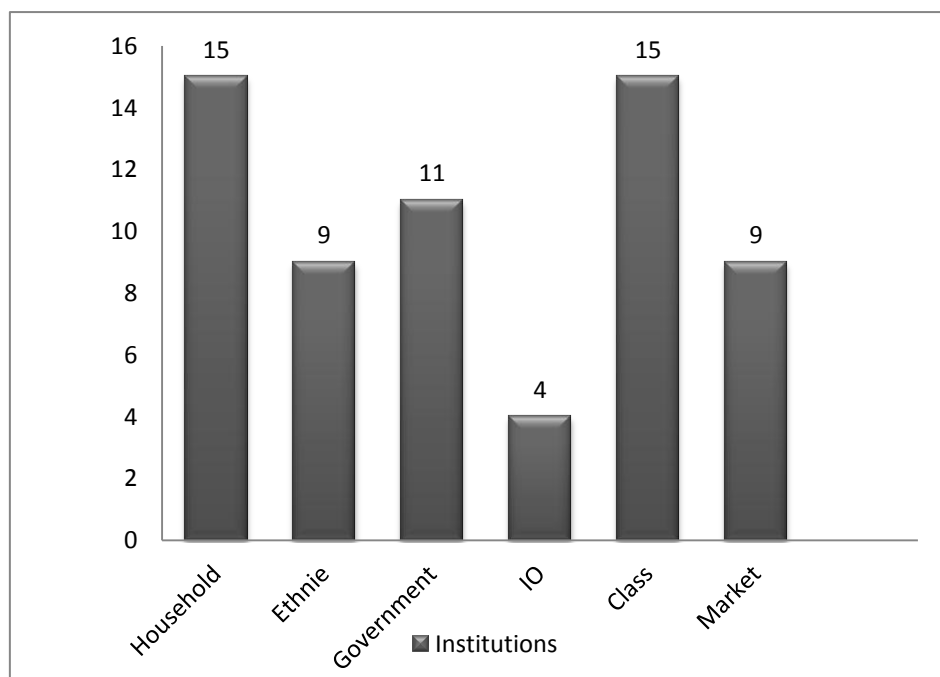


Figure 11. Institutions (Spatial Logics) Influential in IEIs' Global Migration

logics (x) as influential in their formation as highly skilled professionals and in their ability to choose their preferred positions and roles in global migration.

It is quite apparent that IEI-participants found meaning in the institutional logics of space and power as having helped mold them into global migrants. The nature and dynamics of these institutions – as shown in the participants' ethnomethods – somewhat overlapped or fused, resulting in agency-structure dialectics.

Nuances in Spatial and Power Logics in Global Migration

There exist convergences and divergences between the institutional logics of space and power. These convergences and divergences become apparent as the logics fuse through IEIs' ethnomethods, revealing agency-structure dialectics and internal contradictions in the social reality of global migration.

I showed, in this chapter, how IEI-participants' ethnomethods impacted and negotiated the institutional logics of space (household, ethnies, government, IOs, class, and market) and power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism) in their migration to Alberta (Canada). Classical theories on spatial and power logics were juxtaposed against contemporary theories on international and professional migration to reveal IEI-participants' inner desires, passion, and roles in global migration. Such inner desires, passion, and roles among IEI-participants get magnified given their ethnomethods that appear complementary to and supportive of the push-pull factors in global migration – the subject of my discussions and analyses in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Ethnomethods and the Push-Pull Factors in Global Migration

In this chapter, I demonstrate the internationally educated immigrants' (IEIs) understanding of the three situations (in Appendices B2-B3) related to assumptions about 1) Alberta's pull factors for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines; 2) Alberta's role (as a Canadian substate) within its neoliberal policy of privatizing higher education, and decredentialing and recredentialing the highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants; 3) Alberta's (Canada) decredentialing, recredentialing, and nonrecognition of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals as narrating the broader role of the IOs' neoliberal globalization policy; 4) China, India, and the Philippines' push factors in migration to Alberta; and 5) the role of China, India, and the Philippines as a complex interplay of structural logics of space and power reflecting and engendering institutional push-and-pull dynamics with Alberta.

Ethnomethods: Response to Pull Factors in Global Migration

I based my analyses of my objectives (Os) and assumptions or hypotheses (Hs) on the participants' answers to my questions (Qs). Participants' answers to questions that correspond to Os and Hs are in the form of narratives.

My assumptions (H1a-e) below show Alberta's preferential thrust for well-educated labor force from China, India, and the Philippines, and these countries' preparedness to supply Alberta's market needs.

H1a-b: Alberta's pull factors for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines consist of a) Alberta's labor market needs as supplemented by Alberta Premier Stelmach's 2008 to 2010 intensive campaigns for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals to migrate to Alberta; and b) Alberta's preferential import of highly educated labor from China, India, and the Philippines.

Only one participant of the five that got Situation Y, Gabriela, personally knew about Alberta's preferential import for Asian highly skilled professionals. She found it highly motivating and given the opportunity, she grabbed it and

penned the winning migration papers for Alberta as her family's principal applicant.

Minsheng, Longwei, Tavishi, and Avijit disclosed that it was the first time they heard about Alberta Premier Stelmach's official visits to China, India, and the Philippines to invite labor imports. They all believed that Canada has always been open to various nationalities worldwide, and did not feel being far more special or better privileged than other nationalities in coming to Alberta.

The four participants might have missed Premier Stelmach's visits that may have been made in their countries' capital cities, far from where they lived. Yet again, they might have also missed the news coverage of these visits due to their preoccupation with other things perceived to be more important. Premier Stelmach's visits to three different country-sites, nevertheless, were facilitated through the receiving governments of China, India, and the Philippines and appropriate ministries or departments in charge of human resources concerns and issues. Visits were made and memoranda of agreement (MOA) were signed between Alberta and each of the receiving ministries in the three country-sites as announced via print media (Audette, 2010; Naujoks, 2009; Uy, 2008). These MOA depict Alberta's preferential import for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines, and the implicit preparedness of human resources from these three country-sites to meet Alberta's human resource needs.

H1c-e: Alberta's pull factors for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines consist of c) China's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; d) India's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; e) the Philippines' education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands.

Zhen, the translator of Chinese texts into English, believed that she got admitted to Alberta due to her university education and her proficiency in English.

Chao had been a professional engineer for 10 years before moving to Alberta.

Chao disclosed,

I had 10 years of experience in Geotechnical Engineering in China. In fact, I'm a registered civil engineer, approved by the Ministry of Construction in China.

Longwei, the TCM doctor, believed that he has a market in Alberta. He sounded very optimistic about Albertans' reception of TCM,

It's easier to find a job. We don't have friends or relatives here. We just need to find a job here. We need a market. I think it's easier for us because there are Chinese here. We have to be conservative in our choice. It's necessary to choose a city or province where we can have jobs.

Minsheng, a survey engineer, responded to Alberta's call for workers on the oil sands,

My background is professional and I can connect with petroleum. Alberta advertised it is for supporting families. It's petrol, it's gas. So I come here maybe there's more chance for me to find a professional job here. My friend and coworker who sometime ago also migrated to Canada and went to Edmonton or to Calgary, and who's been here for about 10 years now told me maybe it's easy to find a job. So I come here.

These Chinese, given their human-and-social capital, apparently fill Alberta's workforce needs. For most of them, they did not need any re-training in their fields of expertise. If there was any training that could help, it was in English proficiency. Minsheng was very vocal against further upgrading of courses, given his several years of work experience outside of China and before coming to Alberta. He opined,

If there is anything that Alberta should ask some Asians to upgrade, it's English. If English is okay, communication is okay, Asians have better chances to find a job. I think you don't even need this professional upgrading. If you do, it should be for a short time only, say about three weeks, just English and more local customs, local culture, local working habits is okay.

Longwei, the TCM specialist, shared Minsheng's stand on learning about local work culture,

Two years ago, I worked part-time for a few hours a week about two hours a day as a massage therapist because I need to learn how people communicate. I got CAD\$10/hour. I learned a lot.

Of the five participants from China, only Minsheng, his family's principal applicant, disclosed that he learned French for immigration interview. He did not like the idea of obtaining an IELTS score for migration to Canada. On the ethnomethod he did for passing the migration requirements, he shared,

My English language is not good, not enough for submitting my immigration application. I went to Beijing to learn French for 500 hours, and did the interview in Quebec in French. When I got the visa, I first landed in Montreal but it's hard to speak French, not easy to communicate with a local person. You know with English, you must pass examination if you migrate to Canada. I guess I cannot get this too high score in English so I learned French. With French, I don't need a score, just an interview.

Bao somewhat echoed Minsheng's stand on acquiring more practical exposure to expressing oneself in English,

When I speak a sentence in English, it seems nobody can really understand. And also we have a different sense of humor. A lot of people want to share jokes with me. I like that style of speaking among my classmates and I know this kind of sense of humor but the problem is I don't really know how to respond to this kind of jokes in English. Now that I'm a volunteer I get to know step-by-step the working situation in Alberta but language remains the biggest issue, I guess, for most of the immigrants from China.

Bao's sharing might be a reflection of her overwhelming exposure to a country where English is widely spoken. She, in fact, saw that her husband did not have any problem with English,

My husband took the IELTS because he is the major applicant. He got quite a high mark so when he came here he didn't even take ESL. Besides, his IQAS assessment shows that his education is high and that his English is good.

On the other hand, Chao retook the IELTS to improve his initial score of 5.5 to 7.0 in his application for immigration. This meant that Chao had to pay for the IELTS fee again. Depending on the country's standing in the international currency market, the IELTS fee may be CAD\$212.30, CAD\$155 or CAD\$191 (converted from CNY ¥1,450, INRs7,200, or PHP8,640, respectively, 19 April 2011). Chao's preparation for IELTS came in the form of self-study. He shared,

I just studied by myself and bought some books and CDs and practice and listening to the radio BBC and VOA, Voice of America in China. I also tried to get some information about local codes in Geotechnical Engineering, laws, acts. I wanted to compare them with Chinese acts.

If the IELTS band scale of 0-9 were to be the basis of their fluency in English, most of the five Chinese participants scored between 5.0⁴³ and 7.0⁴⁴.

Among the participants from India, Ishayu disclosed,

There won't be any opportunity for me to stay in India, and for my family and the next generation because of the billions of population. I am now in the land of opportunities where I can prove my mettle, my next generation can prove their performance which is not easy but is available.

Indians among the participants, given their high human-and-social capital, addressed Alberta's workforce needs. To a certain extent, they were open to Alberta's educational policy of asking newcomers to upgrade and to its labor practice of hiring only those with Canadian experience.

⁴³ A participant with an IELTS score of 5.0 is described as "ha[ving] partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in own field" (IELTS).

⁴⁴ A participant with an IELTS score of 7.0 is described as "ha[ving] operational command of the language, though with occasional inaccuracies, inappropriateness[,] and misunderstandings in some situations. Generally handles complex language well and understands detailed reasoning" (IELTS).

Avijit – a bank officer who finished four university degrees, said,

I think a little orientation, four weeks, is good to see differences. I trained for 25 years already. Banking principles are universal. Local customs, local situations should be taught in this orientation.

Ishayu, meanwhile, was anxious about having to go through more survival jobs,

I had a plan to get into the IT environment but I heard mostly it's done in BC, Toronto, or Calgary, and not in Edmonton. I have no plans to move to those places and again start from zero. My philosophy is "A bird in hand is better than two in a bush."

The Indian participants had no issue with the English language, and did not see any need to upgrade in English courses. A colony of Great Britain⁴⁵ for more than 300 years, India has no issue with English as one of its two official languages. It was not surprising why two of the five Indian participants remarked, "We even speak and write better English than most native speakers of Canadian English." On the IELTS band scale, the five Indian participants scored between 6.0⁴⁶ and 7.0.

Crispin, the Filipino double-major engineer, knew how much Alberta

⁴⁵ British colonization of India occurred with the

first attempted fortification [of the English East India Company] in 1626 at Armagon, just north of the southeastern Indian Dutch settlement of Pulicat; ... in 1634, the head of the Armagon factory, Francis Day, initiated negotiations with Darmala Venkatappa, a *nayak* under the waning south Indian Vijayanagara empire, for a small grant of territory a bit farther to the south. Five years later, in August 1639, in exchange for an annual tribute of half the customs raised on the port, Day received Darmala's *kaul* for the rights to build a "fort and Castle," to trade customs-free, and to "perpetually Injoy the priviledges of mintag[e]" in the coastal territory of Madraspatnam, soon known simply as Madras. (Stern, 2011, Part I, p. 2)

⁴⁶ A participant with an IELTS of 6.0 "has generally effective command of the language despite some inaccuracies, inappropriacies[,] and misunderstandings. Can use and understand fairly complex language, particularly in familiar situations" (IELTS).

relies on highly skilled Filipinos for its healthcare needs,

My wife is a nurse and her relatives are also in the medical field. She also has a sister here... While waiting for CARNA⁴⁷ assessment, she's working as a receptionist in a clinic where she administers to intake patients and forwards their information to doctors. She also works as an assistant to a hair transplant specialist every Saturday and Sunday.

And with his Engineering background in two areas, Crispin got to assess the field of Engineering in Alberta. He commented,

IQAS evaluated my records to match Alberta's curriculum in Civil Engineering. They found that I have two degrees, one is Sanitary Engineering and the other is Civil Engineering which is equivalent to four years here. Then they asked me to take some courses in Waste Water and Waste Management so I'd qualify to be a sanitary engineer in Alberta. Back home, our Civil Engineering is five years and an additional 1 ½ years for my Sanitary Engineering. So, I spent a total of 6 ½ years of study.

Unlike Minsheng and Bao who believed that upgrading in English courses is essential for newcomers, Crispin was proud of his fluency in the language. He remarked,

English is my tool for communicating especially in my job as coordinator in an Asian country near the Philippines. I'm able to communicate with people from different countries.

Gabriela, Basilio, Pablo, and Kiko echoed this pride. These Filipinos went to schools and worked in the Philippines where English serves as one of two official languages, the other being Filipino. Besides, the Philippines was a US colony for close to five decades. Mostly university-educated, Filipino participants

⁴⁷ CARNA stands for College and Association of Registered Nurses of Alberta, "the professional and regulatory body for Alberta's more than 33,000 registered nurses, ... in direct care, education, research and administration, [and practice]. Its mandate is to protect the public by ensuring that Albertans receive effective, safe and ethical care by registered nurses" (retrieved from <http://www.nurses.ab.ca/Carna/index.aspx?WebStructureID=637>).

spoke American English well. On the IELTS band scale, the five Filipino participants scored between 7.0 and 8.0⁴⁸.

Despite their advanced degrees that utilized English as the medium of instruction or their countries' (India and the Philippines) constitutional provision on English as one of their official languages, most of the 15 participants who were the principal applicants for migration took the IELTS because IELTS score is a requirement in their application for migration. Good IELTS scores added to their overall score towards approval of their application. What the participants failed to see is that IELTS perpetuates, what I call, *linguistic prejudice*. IELTS shows that any other language that IEI-participants spoke, apart from English, is inferior in this globalized entrepreneurial world.

In Table 9, English remains as the main medium in the formation of highly skilled professionals in country-sites of study. Except for China that grants its constituents the freedom to develop and interact in their language of choice through self-study (e.g., Chao improved his English through listening to Voice of America and other self-study techniques), these countries' continued support for the use of English enhances the North-South divide and allows the neoliberal spirit of globalization to soar. Juxtaposing country-sites' constitutional provisions with participants' disclosures exposes the continuing clout of the English language as undermining the educational and the labor force structures of country-sites (minus Canada) that have people learning and speaking languages other than English; thereby, perpetuating internal linguistic divide in these country-sites.

Table 9 also shows differential variables in the weight accorded to human capital training and labor focus. This points out that the number of years allotted for some university degrees – as likewise shared by the participants, might vary between host and home countries.

⁴⁸A participant with an IELTS score of 8.0 is described as “very good user: has fully operational command of the language with only occasional unsystematic inaccuracies and inappropriacies. Misunderstandings may occur in unfamiliar situations. Handles complex detailed argumentation well” (IELTS).

	Policies and Practices	
	HE	Labor
China	Putonghua + free to use and develop spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform ways and customs; develop socialist educational undertakings; raise scientific and cultural level of people to wipe out illiteracy and provide political, cultural, scientific, technical, and professional education for workers, peasants, state functionaries, and other working people; people to become educated through self- study (Article 19)	raise labor productivity, improve economic results, and develop productive forces by enhancing enthusiasm of working people, raising level of technical skill, disseminating advanced S&T, improving economic administration and enterprise management, instituting socialist system of responsibility, improving work organization; practice strict economy and combat waste (Article 14); create conditions for employment, strengthen labor protection, improve working conditions and, based on expanded production, increase work pay and benefits; promote socialist labor; encourage citizens to do voluntary labor; provide necessary vocational training before employment (Article 42)
India	citizens have a distinct language, script, or culture and have the right to conserve the same (Article 29); coordinate & determine standards in institutions for HE or research and S&T institutions (Article 66); education is a basic right (86 th constitutional amendment, 2002); English is an official language (Article 348)	accord due process to issues of labor exploitation, disputes, regulation of labor in mines and oilfields, vocational and technical training of labor, welfare of labor (Sch. VII)
Philippines	prioritize education, S&T, arts, culture, and sports for patriotism and nationalism, accelerate social progress, and promote total human liberation and development (Article 2); English and Filipino as official languages of instruction; establish, maintain, and support a complete, adequate, and integrated system of education for needs of people and society (Article 14)	affirm labor as a primary social economic force; protect rights and welfare of workers (Article 2); afford full protection to labor, local and overseas, organized and unorganized, and promote full employment and equality of job opportunities for all (Article 13)
Canada (Alberta)	French and English as official languages of instruction (1982 act, Article 16, 23); in and for each province, make laws in relation to education, subject, and according to certain provisions (Article 93); commit to equal opportunities for Canadians; provide essential public services of reasonable quality to all Canadians (Article 36); recognizes importance of international education to Alberta's future economic and social success (IEF)	does not preclude any law, program, or activity for the amelioration in a province of conditions of individuals in that province who are socially or economically disadvantaged if the rate of employment in that province is below the rate of employment in Canada (Article 6); further economic development to reduce disparity in opportunities (Article 36)

Table 9. Higher Education Policies and Labor Practices in Study-Sites

The three country-sites ably addressed Alberta's needs partly due to policy-induced skill formation. Based on their respective constitution or supreme law, all country-sites (plus Canada) are governed by common HE and labor policies and practices as shown in Table 9.

Looking at language as part of a country's culture and at culture as the soul of a given country, I could see the evolving histories and inclinations of the participants from three different country-sites towards the intricate maneuvers and machinations of their colonial language, English. I could also see how participants negotiate their respective cultures, i.e., the English language as spoken in the participants' respective tongues or accents, revealing internal workings of their culture made more complex by features other than language – ancestries, memories, myths, and symbols.

The assumptions or hypotheses below show that despite the educational and professional preparedness of immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines, Alberta (Canada) subjects them to decredentialing and recredentialing: issues that immigrants confronted with varying sentiments in their narratives above.

H5a-c: Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing higher education towards meeting its own labor market needs exploits China, India, and the Philippines' labor market by importing these three countries' highly skilled professionals under the right of global mobility clause.

Key indicators of this exploitation include

- a) Alberta's decredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals; b) Alberta's nonrecognition of credentials earned in immigrants' home countries China, India, and the Philippines; and
- c) Alberta's recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals in Alberta's privatized higher education system.

Alberta's neoliberal policy regime of privatized education appears to show differential variables in the number of years in its university educational system and those of the source-countries of its labor import. Table 10 shows the number

of years a university student generally spends for undergraduate or bachelor's degrees in study-sites.

	China	India	Philippines	Alberta
Anthropology (BA)	4	3 – 4	4	4
Business Management (BS)	4	3 – 4	4	4
Engineering (BS)	4	3 – 5	5	5 – 6
English (BA)	4	3 – 4	4	4
IT (BS)	4	3 – 4	4	4
Medicine* (BS)	5 (TCM)	4.5	8	6 – 8
Nursing (BS)	5	4	4	4

Table 10. Number of Years for University Undergraduate Degree Courses in Study-Sites

Table 10 reveals underlying reasons behind the varying assessment results that IQAS (International Qualifications Assessment Service) accords every applicant's academic transcripts: 1) program offerings in universities of a given country differ in scope; 2) program offerings in universities of a given country differ in focus yet result in conferment of the same degree (e.g., Bachelor of Commerce = Bachelor of Science in Business Administration; Bachelor of Anthropology = Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology; etc); 3) professional degrees like Medicine, while considered a four-year undergraduate degree in some universities in certain countries, require a premedical degree course in the Philippines which is usually a four- or five-year Bachelor of Science in courses like Biology, Molecular Biology and Biotechnology, Zoology, Physics, or Chemistry. One more year is spent in reviewing for the Medical Board Examination after the student completes a total of eight years in preMedicine and Medicine proper. In other countries like China and India, the combined professional degree and examination requirements for the medical degree may be taken in only four to five years.

The number of years for graduate degrees is usually two to three years or more, depending on factors such as whether the student goes part-time or full-time, the student's research inquiry and breadth, etc.

Pablo, the Filipino doctor-cum-nurse, might be right after all in saying,

I didn't go to IQAS. I didn't go to regulatory bodies, too, because their assessments differ. You just waste money.

Pablo's comment calls for a closer scrutiny of the differences in university program offerings and degrees. Otherwise, highly skilled professionals from countries outside of Alberta (Canada) will always feel shortchanged, deskilled, and demoralized for credential assessments that seem oblivious to their effort, time, and skill-formation in their respective home countries. IQAS raters or evaluators may not be in the best position to assess foreign credentials especially if they themselves did not go through professional faculties or finish graduate courses. They may not even know the history of education in the source countries; if they do, they would realize how participants from the three country-sites went to universities founded by world superpowers-cum-colonizers and are therefore trained in the ways of the masters.

My next assumption dealt in the colonial historical link between the country-sites of research.

H3a-c The role of Alberta, being one of Canada's provinces, in the supraterritorial regime of Asian labor importation is that of a) a Canadian substate that echoes Canada's role in the larger geopolitical space borne out of colonial histories and postwar (WWII) relationships. Canada is a commonwealth country of a former colonizer, Great Britain, and ostensibly plays a key role in carving out Alberta's geopolitical space in the globe; b) serving as the supraterritorial local site that defines the terms and conditions of labor migration and import of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines into Canada; and c) perpetrating binaries and polarities of the colonial history onto postwar times, capitalizing mainly on the highly skilled professionals of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians – formerly colonized or influenced by Great Britain.

Having admitted IEIs into Alberta based on IEIs' number of years spent in university education and at work and IEIs' fluency in English and/or French, Canada's (Alberta) welcome pitch for IEIs came in the form of decredentialing or skills re-formation. The systematic decredentialing of IEIs starts with the

information campaigns that FCROs have launched in the major cities of China, India, and the Philippines in 2008. Hardly any of the participants know about this systematic decredentialing pitch of FCROs staff, “Don’t expect that the job you have in your home countries will be the same job that you’ll have in Canada.” Basilio, Gabriela, and Kiko were even grateful that the Government of Canada has such a program that talks about immigrants’ initial struggles. They thought that “forewarned is forearmed.” Avijit went to Canada’s two-day program in Delhi in 2009, and developed friends. They gave him online sites and informed him and the rest of the immigration applicants to brace themselves for a culture shock.

Asking IEI-participants to brace themselves for the workplace culture shock appears to be Canada’s way of reprising the colonial vestige of superiority that places Canada’s (Alberta) educational and labor systems as superior to the educational and labor systems of IEI-participants’ home countries. It may also be Canada’s way of informing IEIs that its market needs are different from the needs of IEIs’ home markets. Labor variations between home and host countries of migration therefore call for matching educational variations; hence, the need for decredentialing and recredentialing in the host country. Recredentialing is fast becoming a moneymaking venture for training institutions in Canada (Alberta) – another proof of Alberta’s neoliberal policy regime of privatized education. Recredentialing, in most of the IEI cases, also leads to IEIs having to take and pass accreditation tests for membership in organizations that promise protection from job insecurities and wrongful employer practices. IEI-participants, therefore, had to be ready for processes of skills re-formation that show their skills formation in their respective home countries as different from Canada’s (Alberta) standards. Systematic decredentialing gets perpetuated and IEI-participants, knowingly or unknowingly, seem to collaborate towards their own decredentialing and towards gratifying Canadians’ appraisal of their own superiority in educational and labor arenas over IEIs from the three country-sites.

Siddharth, meanwhile, assessed the two-day program that he attended,

[The program] was very inadequate to understand the whole Canadian system. They gave us information about the real situation, that we may have to work in a different area. But you'll never know how long you'll work in a different field.

Although Basilio did not hear about FCROs, he felt grateful that technological information bits were made available to interested IEs. It was the online ethnue, www.pinoy2canada.com, that led him to file his papers for evaluation of his credentials. This online ethnue serves Alberta well and introduces other organizations relevant to IEs' educational and labor concerns, as Alberta desperately needed Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to buttress its recruitment of the much needed labor force. Basilio shared,

One of the forum members told me about having my credentials assessed. So in 2007, I submitted my credentials to one of the organizations in Ontario. It's called CCTC [acronym refers to organization of technologists in Canada]. They told me that I have a possibility with my academics. I got a letter from them which I submitted to the embassy. Maybe that added to my application points and made me more determined to go on with my application. Maybe I have an advantage over the others.

Pablo, for his part, had this to say,

I just heard about this FCRO when I was already here. And what I heard from a guy is that this FCRO and other regulatory bodies give you mixed messages...

Additionally, with or without the FCRO, Pablo believed that,

Most Filipinos work double or triple jobs. We receive benefits for our kids, around CAD\$541/month until they're 18 years old. We also got the regular health benefits, dental benefits for the kids. My kids go to Catholic school and we paid for their tuition. I don't exert too much effort in finding possible funding from the government. Alberta should inform us of our benefits and should recognize our credentials. Alberta also charges too much in registration fees for regulated professions, around CAD\$500 – 600 compared with US\$100 – 150 in the different states in the US.

Pablo's disclosure helped me recall Alberta's International Education Framework (2009) that has repeatedly stated Alberta's vision of an educated workforce that realizes long-term economic and social priorities through strategic and collaborative alliances with other countries, businesses, and postsecondary providers. This casts Alberta into a neoliberal advocacy face, reducing all willing IEIs into economic pawns. Unless Pablo finds an employment opportunity that befits his profession as a medical doctor-cum-nurse in the US, Pablo might get more distressed in helping fulfill Alberta's IEF vision.

The assumption below speaks to the possibility of having two kinds of actors or ethnos among the participants: complicit or unyielding to Alberta's labor exploitation.

H8: The exploited Asian labor force in Alberta have reached a point of no return, and are challenged to sink or swim in the neoliberal policy regime of continuing labor exploitation. They either ultimately end up as a) complicit actors to their own exploitation, turning into an indispensable labor force to IOs' imperial powerbrokers; or b) critically aware and empowered actors, exposing and helping reform or transform the IOs' regime.

The participants' narratives were very telling of their choice to expose Alberta's exploitative labor practices. In their narrations, however, they did not show complicity to their own exploitation. They saw themselves as actors responsible for their own bright future.

Minsheng saw himself attending more English classes,

I must learn English and also know the local standards and maybe I can find a stable job in Canada. When you migrate to Canada with your family, it's not only your own. You must plan. Your wife gets into the same situation. For most Chinese immigrants, these are the families that have good jobs in China. But if only one person gets the good job and the other person gets the labor job, his family may not be stable. If the other person can get a good job, maybe you can integrate into Canadian life. It's very, very hard to do it alone.

Longwei had decided that he prefers to stay in Alberta than in China. He shared,

First of all, I did a lot of specialization in China. I met with a lot of barriers: if I want to put up my own clinic, there are stringent rules to follow; if I want to teach the way I want, they say no. I can have my own students here and I can teach them the way I want. For the punishment, it depends on what you did. China might just issue a warning. If you have a serious conflict with the officials, you might lose your job. In China, you cannot have a second child; otherwise, you'd be kicked out.

He also joined Chinese organizations because “it’s easier to communicate with the Chinese. We became more focused on starting our business.” At the moment, he had no intention of joining any organizations but was suggesting that,

the Chinese organizations can do a lot more help for Chinese immigrants by getting in touch or collaborating with the government of Canada, and letting the Chinese immigrants know what is there to know.

Zhen had set a pretty clear plan, and knew that

It will be very challenging because most of my friends here in Alberta chose a quick program like the administration assistant for 10 months. But I want to be integrated into the mainstream Canadian society through the Canadian educational system. I plan to take my Master of Arts in Intercultural Communication. Maybe I’m too ambitious.

She had plans of joining organizations critical of Alberta’s educational policies and labor practices. She also disclosed that many Chinese sales attendants at a major Asian superstore have master’s and doctorate degrees back in China. Zhen called for intervention by the Canadian government,

The Government of Canada is not standing on the new immigrants’ shoe. They cannot understand the things we think about because they have their roots here. They cannot experience the same feeling. I hope they will rethink their policies and help newcomers in Canada.

Pablo, the Filipino doctor-cum-nurse, had resigned himself to the fact that he would not pursue course upgrades because “I already spent a lot of years in getting my degrees. I think I’ll just wait for better opportunities in the US.” He remained open to joining organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta.

Crispin cast a critical eye on Alberta’s labor practices,

My coworkers find that I work fast and they don’t want me to be a member of their team that drags the work for double the number of hours that we could finish it. Their teamwork is not good for me probably.

He had joined major organizations for engineers that protect members from abusive employers: those who do not give the right salary and the appropriate job. It is worthy to note how the plot of these stories has taken on an interesting twist as narrators’ voices called for Alberta’s political intervention in the area of educational policies and labor practices for internationally educated immigrants.

Take the case of Basilio,

I may say ASET is a critical organization. It’s a self-regulating agency. They have been mandated by the federal government, meaning they are responsible for you, how you develop and reach your professional goals and advancements. CPD which means Continuing Professional Development is a part of their mandate. As a member, I have to comply with the CPD.

As for Crispin,

I already applied for membership at ASET and then later, APEGGA. They will protect the members from abusive employers who don’t give the right salary and the appropriate job.

Chao’s own assessment about joining organizations matched with those of fellow engineers Basilio and Crispin,

Yes, I think it’s very necessary to join professional organizations such as ASET and APEGGA that are also critical. I have met with several geotechnical engineers and they all demanded recognition by APEGGA or ASET. If I go to the membership of APEGGA, maybe I will also receive and very free to change my jobs even for

professional engineers the salary is much higher than people who do the same job without the professional membership. Many people do the same job but their salaries are different. Those with membership and not having the membership are very different. ASET and APEGGA are for people like me who are internationally educated. But I have to take the examination here to get the membership. It's very hard to be a member. Maybe it will take about one to two years to pass the exam. You have to take some courses. It's very different for every individual... Maybe I will apply for APEGGA soon because there's no waiting time but the problem is I don't have much more time to prepare for the tests. But for the ASET, I think it's easier to get the membership because for students of [...], we are automatically members.

Professional IEI-engineers like Basilio, Chao, and Crispin indeed have critical organizations to join, on the condition that they undergo the difficult and expensive credentialing process for engineers. Otherwise, IEI-engineers do not have anything that would shield them from unfair labor practices in Alberta.

For IEI-medical doctors like Siddharth, membership to professional organizations is likewise conditional on these IEI-doctors' having observed and completed requirements of Alberta's medical field and practice. For his part, Siddharth had mustered the courage to take the examination by attending the IMG study group and was looking for the right materials to study. At the same time, he was busy searching for another part-time job. Given the chance, Siddharth wanted to be a part of organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta. He disclosed,

We do have AIMGA⁴⁹ ... Canada should have a system in integrating doctors early so that they could work even in para-medical situations. These doctors already have a lot of experiences back home. A training of 10 – 15 days is enough. If upon arrival after three months these doctors are not integrated into health and health-related field, they must be given the chance to leave Canada. Their airfare must be funded by the Canadian government.

⁴⁹ AIMGA (Alberta International Medical Graduates Association) is “committed to the responsible, informed, and equitable integration of international graduate physicians into the Canadian Healthcare System. The Association aims for the recognition of skills and experience gained outside Canada, without compromising current Canadian medical ideals or standards” (retrieved from http://www.aimga.ca/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=28).

TCM doctor Longwei had this to say,

What I did was join Chinese organizations because it's easier to communicate with the Chinese. We became more focused on starting our business. I don't intend to join any organizations at the moment. But I want to suggest that the Chinese organizations can do a lot more help for Chinese immigrants by getting in touch or collaborating with the government of Canada, and letting the Chinese immigrants know what is there to know.

Decisions to migrate to the Global North may be seen as a big step towards joining the arenas of “organic intellectuals” and “collective intellectuals” wielding “famous new methods” and simultaneously waging wars for equality of rights and privileges. The IEIs' very gesture of trying to fit into Alberta's capital-formation requirements also manifests self-education essential to inclusionary knowledge in their host country.

Gabriela planned to pursue advanced studies “because those are needed in my chosen career, and I just have to pursue my citizenship, and be a good citizen of Alberta.” She had actually started writing a book on pursuing the directed path before she left the Philippines for Canada. She wanted to finish writing it and to have it published here.

Ishayu was willing to compromise his goals for his kids. He sounded optimistic,

They're now in a good situation where they have better opportunities. I also want my parents and my siblings to be here. I was telling my communities to take advantage of me here. Despite the struggles I've experienced, I want them here. There are struggles everywhere until the end of life. But the struggle here is different.

He was also willing to share his thoughts with organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta on the condition that,

I'm immunized from the ill effects of my sharing. There are some policies that should be changed.

Tavishi, the internationally exposed IT expert, was still trying to look for a job through networking and cold calling. She did not have any thoughts of joining organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta as “my priority is to find a job.”

Avijit, on the other hand, saw himself as fully accomplished. He knew that,

my son and daughter can do better here. It's for them that I'm here.
No ifs or buts for me but I'm open to what will come to me. I'm happy. I don't think about those things.

He believed that “immigrants must learn continuously,” and had no plans to join any organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta. Banking analyst-teacher Amala seemed to be working for fellow immigrants in Alberta, helping fellow IEIs determine their path of professionalization,

The organization I'm working for is the one that helps immigrants integrate into the system so I meet with immigrants of all races, clients. And I see how important it is for Alberta to change its policies definitely around educating immigrants or providing jobs to people who migrate here.

Ethnomethods: IEIs' Push Factors in Global Migration

My assumptions (H2a-c) below manifest the factors that pushed IEIs into migrating to Alberta (Canada).

H2a-c: China, India, and the Philippines' push factors for high Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta consist of
a) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian familial or affinal links with predecessor-immigrants in Alberta; b) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian individual and preferential choice for professional practice in Alberta; c) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian collective-national decision to supply the labor market needs of Alberta simultaneous with the prudent collective-national appraisal of their respective labor market supply and demand vis-à-vis internationalized migration.

Among the participants, not one Chinese had any relatives in Alberta or in Canada but three of them did maintain online correspondence with friends or

former officemates; three Indians had distant relatives and very good friends who inspired them to come to Alberta; all five Filipinos revealed that they have relatives or almost-family friends who helped them in their initial settlement concerns. Most of them also became members of online sites that gave them an idea of the Canadian way of life and of their likely initial settlement blues.

Minsheng credited his wife's good friend for introducing him to the petroleum economy jobs in Alberta, "They've known each other for a long time. I was inspired to come here." The presence of friends in Alberta inspired Bao to come here with her family, instead of to other provinces. Zhen was looking forward to having her parents and her parents-in-law come to Canada in due time.

Siddharth admitted being influenced by a distant relative in coming to Alberta, "I wasn't planning to come here. One of my distant relatives has a very good job as an engineer for five years now." Amala, very much a family person, acknowledged that most of her relatives are based in the US in pursuit of their graduate courses. She said, "My husband's sister is here. We wanted to be close to her." Amala was also inviting more friends to come to Canada, forewarning them on how initial settlement can be fraught with difficulty. Ishayu recalled informative sessions with friends back home,

Two or three friends who migrated here were sharing about their experiences through emails, phone calls, and personal visits whenever they're home. They also shared about their struggles.

Gabriela recalled how her very good friend accommodated her family for 17 days,

He picked us up at the airport. We stayed in his place. He's very supportive. His wife helped us get our SIN, all paper works, find a place to stay, etc. He also helped me find a good Catholic school for my son.

Crispin's reluctance to come to Alberta was partly due to "a friend who told me everything about life in Canada. He told me I'll regret if I come here."

Nevertheless, he was assured by the same friend that "I'll probably survive here because I have relatives. It's a big factor. They will help me." Basilio became

confident about coming to Alberta given the perks of familial links, “Before we left the Philippines, my wife contacted her cousin who helped us get an apartment here.”

The same was true for Pablo,

I have some relatives here. My aunt who’s a medical doctor is here. My first-degree cousins influenced me to come here rather than to other provinces of Canada.

Indeed, family reunification is the impetus for Canadian migration in the case of participants (Fleras, 2005). Existing literature supports the strength of familial and communal links, whether real or fictive, as push factors in participants’ migration to Alberta, Canada (Brown, 2009; Chen, 2001 in Gannon & Pillai, 2010; Domingo & Asis, 1995 in Leeder, 2004; Dube, 1997; Ghosh, 2008; Kraar, 1994 in Gannon & Pillai, 2010; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Lee, 1996 in Leeder, 2004; Lee & Mock in McGoldrick et al., 2005; Leeder, 2004; Pillari in McGoldrick et al., 2005; Root in McGoldrick et al., 2005; Rosemont & Ames, 2009; Salazar Parrenas, 2002 in Leeder, 2004; Therborn, 2004; Tung, 2000 in Leeder, 2004). However, Bao’s case presented a different look at one’s relatives. Bao might not appreciate having more relatives in Canada than she had in China. She disclosed,

In China, relationship among colleagues and relatives is one of the most important issues everyone will face... a more important job than their own real jobs, even more than their families. One has to keep a very good relationship with colleagues, leaders, boss, teacher, relatives, friends, classmates. That’s why so many Chinese men go out most days of the month, to drink, to eat with friends and relatives to keep good relationships. I really enjoy going out. The issue is the purpose of going out. If I want to keep a good relationship with the person in the other company, that company and my company will have good relationships. I need to go out for a drink. Drinking sometimes is good but doing it most of the time is the popular culture. Drinking more means closer relationships. It’s really terrible for my husband’s health, really terrible.

For Bao, the concept of family reunification or having Chinese friends in Canada who will practice the Chinese brand of relationship posed danger to her

family. Bao's husband felt relieved that he is not forced to go out and drink excessively because there are no relationships in Alberta that require drinking with workmates for the sake of keeping one's job.

With Bao's sharing about Chinese relationship management, I add one reason why Canada remains a country of choice for migrants: Canada provides a work culture that allows focus on one's work and not on relationships detrimental to life and limb. Characterized as "individualism" (Hofstede, 1984, 2001), this work culture highlights the impersonal countenance of Western countries such as Canada versus the more personal bond among Eastern workers. This difference may also be seen in Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* that is equated with low individualism and his *gesselschaft*, with high individualism, as shown in Chapter 3. Bao clearly expressed her preference for *gemeinschaft*, i.e., her family as the nucleus of her sentiments against drinking for stronger and tighter work relations in China. She, however, sees the wisdom in *gesselschaft*, i.e., Canadian (Alberta) society as composed of contracting individuals and dependent classes for specific production relations and ends. Bao implicitly illustrates the individual in collectivistic Chinese society (plus Indian and Philippine societies that score low on individualism) as,

not "inner-directed" at all but controlled by a need for not losing face. "Face"... is lost when the individual, either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies. (Ho, 1976 in Hofstede, 1984, p. 151)

Bao's husband, given his stature in the Chinese workplace, cannot lose his face by refusing invitations to drink even if nonrefusal meant his health. "Individualism" in Canadian (Alberta) workplace was a welcome respite for Bao and her husband.

Meanwhile, familial and communal links give way to individual choice as the primary push factor in global migration as shown in my assumption below.

H2b. China, India, and the Philippines' push factors for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta consist of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian individual and preferential choice for professional practice in Alberta.

In addition to the data or the stories that I heard from the participants, and that are related to H2b, I listened to Gabriela's. An office financial manager for 10 years in the Philippines, Gabriela was looking forward to pursuing her professional growth in Alberta. She disclosed,

I am looking into taking the GMAT and then proceed to take my MBA, and probably if I have my resources, I will take those short-term courses. And I understand that we have a banking system in the Philippines that is very much different from what we have here so it's really my choice. I think it's really important to be familiar with the system so it'll be helpful for me to take those courses. If I don't get funding assistance or scholarships, I'm willing to shell out from my pocket if it really doesn't cost much.

Crispin, on the other hand, decided to set aside job hunting temporarily even with the assurance that he would be hired as a project coordinator-cum-draftsman. He weighed the advantages of finishing the 12-month course for engineers. It was, for him, a boost to his professional development and practice as an engineer. He said,

If I give up the 12-month program now, I won't be able to avail of it for the next four years nor get funding from the government. Getting tied to the program for only one year will enable me to get a better job with better pay the next time. I can pursue my software skills and project coordination skills here after getting enough Canadian experience. I can also put on my resume the 12-month course program.

For Avijit, whose four university degrees capped by a PhD have been fully maximized in his 25 years of service to India, Canada can still benefit from his skills. Avijit was open to sharing his professional expertise as a volunteer-teacher in Alberta. He sees this as a win-win approach for him and the government.

With Avijit's continuing part-time job as a retail store attendant, it is quite apparent that Alberta has yet to consider Avijit's offer-gesture to volunteer-teach or provide him an avenue where he could earn the much-sought-after Canadian experience related to his professional skills.

Majority of the participants acknowledged their preference for professional growth in a foreign country such as Canada. Chao's plan to earn a PhD from Alberta's leading university; Minsheng's belief that he had something to offer to Alberta's oil sands economy; Longwei's openness to perking up Alberta's market in TCM; Zhen's ambition to finish a Master of Arts in Intercultural Communication at the top university; Gabriela, Amala, and Tavishi's aspirations of becoming MBA holders; Avijit's deeply held belief that principles in banking could be shared with Alberta's fast growing banking industry; Basilio's membership in a major organization for engineers that had, as part of its mandate, the members' continuing professional development all prove these immigrants' positive attitude towards growth and development in their respective professions. Their strategies and plans strengthen the theories of international (Massey et al., 1993) and professional migration (Iredale, 2001).

H2c. China, India, and the Philippines' push factors for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta consist of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian collective-national decision to supply the labor market needs of Alberta simultaneous with the prudent collective-national appraisal of their respective labor market supply and demand vis-à-vis internationalized migration.

Of this assumption, Minsheng said,

If you can go, you can go. It's your personal decision. But if your position is serious, you cannot go maybe. If you work in some sector of the country, you cannot go. For some people working in the government, maybe it's not easy. If they come, they must know why you come to Canada. But for the general population, you can go. The other person doesn't care.

Bao added,

It's a personal choice of whether you stay in China or whether you stay in Canada. Also, the government of China welcomes you back after you've migrated and earned your education here. You learn some new things, some new technology, you're welcomed back to China.... Maybe I will go back to China when my children are grown up enough to defend themselves and when they are grown up they can go to China for a vacation when they already have their citizenship. My eldest son has Peking citizenship. Peking citizenship nowadays is very precious due to the population explosion in big cities. So when he is 18 years old, he can choose whether to go back to China. He can speak Chinese.

Amala vehemently denied any involvement of her country or government in her family's decision to come to Canada. Ishayu likewise dismissed any active participation of his country's government in international migration. He sounded very cynical,

The government is very much passive. It has nothing to do with anybody's migration. They just let people on their own. There's no incentive. I was expecting faster processing of the documents but it's very slow. They neither supported nor opposed me. It's not good that people are quitting their own motherland.

Almost all participants believed that their decision to migrate was not borne of a collective-national decision to supply the labor market needs of Alberta. They came for their own aspirations. Some decided to leave their thickly populated countries such as China and India for a country such as Canada that promises a convenient space for everyone. Avijit articulated,

I was told that Canada has a lot to offer. There are about 1.2 billion people in India compared to Canada that is so huge in size with a lot less population. I also thought about my daughter who can get better educated in a well-developed country.

What becomes apparent here is the political will of each migrant. That political will, in turn, is a product or a combination of the structural logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism) operating within the structural logics of space (household, government, community/ethnie, class, and market) in

their home countries, each one either a push or a pull factor for international migration: the gist of my assumption below.

H4a-c The role of China, India, and the Philippines as highly skilled labor exporting countries reveals a complex interplay of patriarchal, bureaucratic, ethnic, and capitalist institutions reflecting and engendering institutional push-and-pull dynamics with the labor importing country (Alberta) that a) question the lopsidedness of prosperity scales between host and home countries of migration; b) challenge the absence or lack of just and democratic labor practices in Alberta; and c) raise the ethical dimensions in host and home countries' labor relations.

Bao felt short-changed that Alberta did not fully inform her family about its labor market, but was grateful that the Chinese government had been cooperative with their status as immigrants. She disclosed,

What we learned about Alberta is totally from one of our friends. She actually likes Alberta so what we learned about Alberta is all about positive. Everything is positive and we didn't even prepare to take ESL because I don't know what does ESL mean, we didn't know what LINC⁵⁰ means, what upgrading means and what first step we should first take. We don't know what to do, and also due to my being pregnant at that time, we didn't have enough time to get prepared for Alberta.... The China government did not prohibit us from doing anything. And we keep contacting with our families, with our friends, with our relatives so I do appreciate it. That's why I will contribute my part later on in my life to my hometown. First of all, I have to set a very good example for my kids. Let them know that they should be proud of being Chinese. I will work hard, study hard to get what I want.

Bao thought she owed a debt of gratitude to her home country that she intended to pass on to her children. Her sense of gratitude formed part of her attachment not only to China but also to her parents for whom, in their old age, she felt a sense of obligation. As the eldest child in the household, Bao felt responsible to look after her parents.

⁵⁰ LINC stands for Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada. It is a program that provides free basic French and English language courses to (Canada's) adult permanent residents (retrieved from <http://www.servicecanada.gc.ca/eng/goc/linc.shtml>).

Chao, for his part, did not think that he owed China anything except for “the job I had in China, and it gave me enough money for my migration.”

Zhen was likewise grateful that,

The Chinese government did not put any barriers when we decided to come to Alberta. A lot of people believe that we made a good decision to come to Canada and that we'll have a good future. China is more open now than before. They know that we will bring things back to China – spiritually, technologically, materially. Chinese value their hometown and relatives very highly. It is also our way to represent China to the wider world. We represent China. We don't spit or litter on the road. China knows that if highly educated people leave, it is a good thing for China...I don't think though that China can do anything to hasten my integration in Alberta's economy.

Zhen, if given the chance to show her gratitude to her home country, had “plans of bringing things back to China.” Longwei, similarly, looked at his government as eager to send its people abroad,

China is a very big country with about a billion population. China doesn't care if people migrate. It actually wants people to migrate.

When he went back to China in 2009 to get the information, documents, and grades that he needed for his temporary license to practice TCM in Alberta, Longwei got all the help from his government in China. Similarly with Basilio who shared,

When I wanted my documents such as the NBI clearance, our government agencies were quick to help. Our government also has the OWWA that conducted a two-hour predeparture orientation seminar. Filipinos who have gone to Canada were there to also help answer some questions or to give some feedback for prospective immigrants like me and my wife.

Pablo and Gabriela echoed Basilio's comments,

In terms of supporting my application, issuance of clearances and conduct of seminars, the government supported us.

Meanwhile, Kiko acknowledged that the US-inspired education policies of the Philippine government facilitated his international migration. If there was a negative push to get out of the Philippines, Kiko said, “The corruption in government, in a way, has a role in my coming here.” He, however, doubted very much that his home government could hasten his integration into Alberta’s economy,

The Philippines has yet to confront the poverty situation, and create more jobs to stop migration of Filipinos.

Pablo and Crispin also chorused,

I think our country has very minimal influence over Canada. In my opinion, our country can’t do that. There are other countries where Canada can get other human resources.

For Avijit,

Our education in India is free and much cheaper even in the graduate level. However, India doesn’t bother about hastening your fast integration into Alberta’s economy as immigrants. You’re only told to keep in constant contact with the government especially when things go bad. But my country has so many resources. Imagine how we can feed billions of people.

Siddharth, for his part, acknowledged that,

The government of India for which I worked gave me permission to come here. I don’t think India has any control over our situation here in Alberta.

One of Siddharth’s options was to go back to India,

if I’m not successful here. Getting my credentials recognized here seems to be a lengthy process. It will take many years to come again to the level of comfort I had in India. I am giving myself another year here.

Ishayu, meanwhile, believed that,

Ideally, India should do something to hasten our integration into the economy here but we are criticized for contributing to brain drain.

Amala, on the other hand, sounded supportive of her government's nonchalant attitude towards global immigrants,

The way India is developing, it looks very, very promising to stay back in India, not migrate anywhere. That's one thing for sure.

If the governments of China, India, and the Philippines know what their people are going through in the first couple of years as Albertan immigrants, these governments would likely have second thoughts in maintaining an open-door-policy for their peoples' migration to Canada (Alberta). While there are Albertan support institutions and staff that fully understand and empathize with newcomers as they themselves went through similar struggles, the participants did not appreciate the lack of their home governments' moral support and intervention. Majority of them had to be reminded that their governments gave them access to free education that eventually led to their professional growth and the opportunity to hone their skills. Their immediate cause of dismay was their governments' silence over their decredentialing and recredentialing transforming them into Alberta's source of maximum profit as they pay for their own recredentialing. In their initial struggles, it is quite noticeable how these participants looked back to their home countries with bitterness, a feeling of getting abandoned by the head of the household (within the concept of governmentality in IEIs' respective home countries).

On the Influence of IOs Policies on Education Policies and Neoliberal Policy of Privatizing Education

There were a few narratives that would substantiate the influence of IOs policies on higher education and neoliberal policy of privatizing education.

Basilio believed that,

The IOs have different policies for different countries with different economic conditions. The WB for example has a viability study in a country and sets criteria for a project such as education in the Philippines. What kind of education and what kind of teaching standards do we have? I really think it has an impact especially when I was in school. Our family belongs to the low income group. The World Bank should have funding specifically for that.

Kiko also thought that IOs may have an influence on his decision to come to Alberta,

I know these IOs, especially ADB, WB, and IMF because the department I worked with had some projects with these IOs. I think, indirectly, these IOs have impacted my decision to come to Alberta.

Pablo remembered being bound by and having implemented WHO policies in his role as a medical doctor back in the Philippines,

They really affect our country's policies in terms of education, and the other sectors, and these people going to other places because of agreements between countries. The format of their education is the same with other countries. The same is true with Alberta's policies but they are somewhat different from our educational policies which are similar to those of the US. If you come to Canada, it's different. You have to study again for two years before you can work or before you can take the qualifying exams. I'm tired of going to school for so many years. I came here and they told me to go back to school. It's a lot of money and effort to go back to school again.

Siddharth also believed that the World Bank had to do with influencing India and Canada's educational and labor policies,

These days, they're being abolished but you can still find the remnants. Indirectly, the IOs might have impacted the slow abolition of the caste system as they have impacted the economic growth and development of the nation. I think Asian countries are more open to allowing migration to the Western world. I think the IOs are working towards harmony among nations.

The rest of the participants disclosed awareness of the selected IOs and their higher education and labor policies found in Appendix B1, but some of them did not think these IOs had, in any way, influenced them to migrate to Alberta. Most IEI-participants had yet to understand the complexities of international relations as governed by IOs' business mindset. While the majority of the participants did not see how IOs' policies have been impacting international migration that has led to commodification of education and the lack of job security in the global market, it does not mean that these policies do not exist. The structural adjustment initiatives that the IOs, as headed by the World Bank, have fielded in Third World economies⁵¹ since the early 1970s have resulted in 1) privatization of government enterprises, 2) drastic reduction of government budget, 3) devaluation of the currency, 4) elimination of subsidies, 5) elimination of price controls, 6) dismantling of trade and investment barriers, and 7) cuts or restraints on wages (Bello, 1994, p. 140).

One of the aims of SAPs in the late 1970s was export oriented industrialization (EOI) that shifted much of production from the domestic market. The sweatshops or export processing zones in China, India, and the Philippines depicted IOs' EOI dictates on these country-sites, i.e., sweatshop workers were paid too little under harsh labor conditions. The more professional workers got paid with devalued currency, with the US dollars as the reference rate of exchange. What people would not look for better opportunities outside of their countries? IOs-induced focus on export of human resources to the Global North through the years and the rise of Reaganomics and Thatcherism in the 1980s were fated to serve as neoliberal globalization's ticket to move more human resources from the Global South to the Global North. With government budget likewise cut impacting workers' salaries and resulting in tremendous competition for limited resources, government workers resorted to corrupt practices (as Amala, Avijit,

⁵¹ These Third World economies include China, India, and the Philippines. It should be noted that despite China's membership in the WB since 1944, China's Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976 closed China's wall to WB's policies. It was only in 1978 when China opened its wall to reforms (aka WB-imposed SAPs).

Basilio, Gabriela, Kiko, Longwei, Siddharth, and Tavishi shared in their narratives). Added to this is the graying labor force of Canada (Alberta) that needed and recruited younger workforce from the willing market of the South.

In Canada (Alberta), IEI-participants continue to be impacted by these IOs as shown in bilateral and multilateral agreements and in selected educational and labor policies governing member-nations (in Appendix B1). IEI-participants' decredentialing is one such impact. A look at WB-IMF's role and thrusts would lead to the question, "by whose standards is improved quality and relevance of tertiary education measured?" IEI-participants might have to cling on to the neoliberal yardstick of skills re-formation before they could witness delivery of neoliberal globalization's promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.

Participants' Narratives on the Micropolitics of Culture, Gender, Language, Race

The participants' representations on the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race are based on Q10: What do you think have you done to merit Alberta's assistance in finding your ideal job? Do you think your being (Chinese, Filipino, or Indian) [race], your being (male or female) [gender], your culture, and your English language facility helped you in landing your ideal job? In what way?

Overall, four female participants did not see any relation between these micropolitics and Alberta's assistance. Amala said,

I see people from all over the world migrating to Canada. Canada is such a welcoming place to everybody. I don't think it's something to do with being Asian or being female or speaking English. No.

Meanwhile, Tavishi reluctantly opined,

I don't think so. I didn't feel any discrimination in terms of gender or race. But I'm not so sure.

Gabriela, on the other hand, believed that human capital matters more than these micropolitics,

I don't think the race and even the gender matter. I think it's the credentials where you are more experienced.

Only one female acknowledged that there is an existing relation between these micropolitics and Alberta's assistance, but was realistic enough to say that a Canadian-earned degree would seal her bright future in Canada. Zhen saw that her race and English language facility

helped me get this job. But to get my ideal job, I need more practice. I need the degree from Canada. I need more work experience in Canadian companies or organizations, and I need to be bilingual or trilingual to get my ideal job.

Zhen came to Alberta when her daughter was only five months old so she found it impossible to go out for work. Someone from the Chinese community center referred her to the English language program of one not-for-profit organization that then needed volunteers who can translate texts from Chinese to English, and vice versa. They sent her documents that she translated and sent back online. When one of the organization's outreach workers went on maternity leave, Zhen was asked to fill in her job for a year.

Among male participants, eight saw connections among the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, race while two did not. Pablo remained pessimistic about the delivery of Canada's promise,

Being a Filipino here doesn't really help me. Being male, my culture and my English facility don't help me at all.

Ishayu, for his part, gave a more detailed assessment of the proposed relation,

Something must be recognized in the individual that makes him competitive and capable but it is overlooked by Canadian government. Female immigrants in Canada are getting more opportunities. Employers don't see your culture or your community. They look at your performance.

Culture

Avijit, while saying that “I don’t think my culture has to do with it. As long as you’re skilled and you have a lot of resources, you can make it,” raised the Indian and Asian culture to the acme of world cultures. He proudly asserted,

For culture, the Western countries are nowhere near our culture. We can deluge their culture several thousand times. Our understanding comes out of purity. Purity is the prime essence of an individual, how sacred you are, how honest you are. It’s not that we always run for money or run for wealth. In our Sanskrit language, there’s no word for hatred. We’re not allowed to hate anybody because every person is my brother. In Asia, we believe that a tree that has many fruits is always submissive because they know a lot. A tree that has no fruits is always erect. We can always learn and be open to learning all the time.

Crispin echoed Avijit’s assessment. This time, he spoke about the Filipinos’ “culture of being hardworking and focused on finishing the task at hand” while other workers constantly monitored the workplace clock. Kiko had the same observation in his transition job. This might actually pose a problem for the hardworking Asians as they do not get extra pay nor do they get promoted on the basis of hard work.

Bao assessed the Chinese service community in Alberta as helping her become familiar with Albertan (Canadian) culture,

They, they give us a lot of information about how to find a job, how to write resume, how to educate children, how to find better schools for children, and a lot of information how to get you know be familiar with the culture the tradition and also give us some chances to visit some special buildings in Alberta. Yeah I think that’s good. You know about the labor the jobs opportunity. In my own opinion, I don’t think we can rely on some organizations. I think mostly it depends on oneself, ourselves. We can get some information from organizations. We can get help from them but we cannot rely on some organizations to give us jobs. I think organizations are important.

Chao had a different understanding of how Chinese culture could be beneficial in his stay in Alberta. He said in a pensive stance,

Chinese culture is different from Canadian culture so I think it is harder for me to get the professional job here because the workplace is different. I have to adapt before I can work here. I am very appreciative to get qualified for a government-funded program for engineers. My culture is a barrier, a disadvantage. It influenced my communication effectively [sic] with native people. Sometimes I don't quite understand what people say or think.

He then cited an experience,

This happens in my apartment most of the time. One evening a lady, maybe she forgot her key, looked at my window. I opened it and she asked me to open the door for her and she gave me two dollars but I refused. I don't know what it was. [*Oh, it's her way of saying thank you, I opined*]. Oh, I didn't think that... maybe if she looked at another door of Canadian people, maybe they won't open the door. Maybe they will ask her to contact the manager and not them. [*But are you sure, Chao, that she's really from that apartment too? She might be a stalker or a stranger and trying to just get into the apartment to rob or steal.*]. Maybe. I am not sure at that time. But I opened the door. There are differences in how people behave, how people react to each other. So those cultural differences may make it really difficult to get around with people here. If you have knowledge of the cultures, it's very good in your job.

The participants' narratives tell me that they are grounded on their national culture that encompasses their belief system, way of life, and normative assessments of everyday life. Avijit's assertion of the superiority of Indian and Asian culture is his way of navigating Albertan culture, though characterized as multicultural, whose exteriority is closely identified with having Western culture. Avijit acknowledged the bipolar difference between his home and host cultures, and believed that he could use his being Indian and his having Asian culture to become successful in Alberta. His openness to Albertan culture as well as his willingness to share his own belief system and work ethics are positive indications that, given the chance to get an appropriate employment, Avijit would succeed in

Alberta. He showed that tensions between two different cultures can be taken as a vantage point, allowing him resilience and growth. He, however, impliedly admonished Alberta to be likewise open to what Asian culture has to offer.

Crispin's observation of the work culture in his jobs offers him protection and vigilance against exploitation, i.e., nonpayment of services rendered overtime. Crispin, so used to labor-intensive skills, showed a culture of professionalism by being focused on finishing the job. However, the lack of industry among some non-Filipino workers signals him to "(when in Rome), do what the Romans do."

Gender

Avijit spoke from his anthropological self,

I find it good that females are given better opportunities and more jobs here than in India. I like it. I don't hold a grudge against them. From the biological and anthropological viewpoint, women are suited to work in offices. Men are more suitable for field work.

Meanwhile, Minsheng gave a glimpse of gender roles in China then segued to what he believes are the gender roles in Canada,

The treatment for the males and the females may be different in the villages but not in the cities. For jobs, there are things that females cannot do that males can do – the dangerous job, the very hard jobs. You know the driller in the oil field training? Drilling, and the operating person. It's very dangerous and also needs much power, muscular power, strength... Yes, you know the job of a nurse? It may be for a woman. The woman is more patient than the man. If men and women do the same job, they should get the same price, the same salaries. But different jobs may be for men and women. But most special jobs, men and women can do. Some jobs are better for men, some jobs are better for women. My wife has more difficulty in finding a job than me. For me, I can do any job. My main job is exactly to work, to operate some instrument or some equipment. My wife just makes some designs, makes some programs and writing. Her major is in Mechanics, like the machines, the computer. She designs the machine that is used for drilling and pumping, then sends it to the factory. She makes the studies and reports.

Longwei's stand, on the other hand, might have to do with his sense of equity as a university teacher who sees equality between genders. He said, "I don't think my being male is a factor because females can also do what I do." He cited the example of his wife who is also a TCM doctor. Chao, the prospective PhD student in Engineering, echoed Longwei's sense and saw "no certain connection." Siddharth's gender assessment was based on one's physique, "Being male is an advantage, physically."

Language

Basilio believed that Filipinos have an advantage over other newcomers because "we are able to communicate in English but Canadian English is different especially their idioms." Crispin somewhat confirmed Basilio's communicative assessment, "our English can be understood well. It helps us get jobs compared with people from other countries, in my opinion."

On the other hand, Longwei was confident about his language facility,

My English fluency has also helped me. I taught foreign students, some of them Canadians, in China for eight years at Xiamen University. I had two classes every year: one class would have 50 students; another class, 30.

Chao did not get enough opportunities for job interviews so he could not tell if he would succeed or not. Personally, he thought that he was not really good at speaking and listening. Zhen shared her observations about fellow Chinese as having difficulty in the English language for which reason they find it hard to get jobs in Alberta.

Race

Avijit talked about his place of birth, the very place that became the British colonizers' initial site of conquest and from where their subsequent occupation of India emerged. It might be those years of struggle against colonial rule that made Avijit said, "I'm proud of my race."

Longwei credited his educational background in TCM – a degree that originated from the Chinese race, for gaining Alberta's assistance. He said, "It has

helped me a lot for my business here. My being Chinese, I think, has helped me because we have a big Chinese community here, we have the Chinese market here.” Conversely, Chao did not see his race as his ticket to Alberta’s assistance.

Kiko, on the other hand, believed that his “being a Filipino merited Alberta’s assistance. As a Filipino, I am open to anything.” He seemed to illustrate the perennial openness of the Philippines to foreign influence – a historical fact that left vestiges of colonialism and that continues to loom over the country’s population through policies borne of international relations.

The micropolitics of culture as reflective of histories, myths, and symbols; of gender as an index of labor divisions; of language as discourse that impacts on recredentialing of highly skilled professionals and as symbolic power coupled with preservation of the Orient under the control of the White Man, and colonization of lifeworlds; and of race as resistance discourse, as stigmatized, and unrecognized are evident in participants’ own assessment of their respective culture, gender roles, language fluency, and race.

In summary, the participants’ ethnomethods (rational actions) that strengthened both push and pull factors in global migration consisted of:

- acclimatizing themselves to the labor situation in Alberta, equipped with their own settlement funds. They penetrated the job market and earned some money before their self- or home country-procured initial settlement funds run out;
- accessing their families, relatives, and friends’ assistance in getting employed (families, relatives, and friends who have been in Alberta for many years comprise their social capital);
- looking for a local reference who could vouch for their professional capacity to work in jobs requiring high-level skills;
- seeking assistance from not-for-profit organizations that were listed on “welcome to Alberta/Canada” brochures handed to them at the international airport upon landing;

- getting the required “Canadian experience” to the point of humbling themselves and taking on jobs for the low-skilled;
- presenting themselves as possessing low human-and-social capital in order to get into “survival” or “transition” jobs. (This happens after getting trained in not-for-profit organizations on resume-writing and after feeling frustrated that no employers would want to hire them once they introduce themselves as highly skilled); and
- improving their communication skills in Canadian English. Some participants attended classes for intensive training in English, their rational way of acknowledging that their English (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, or Hindi English) is different from Canadian English.

Participants’ ethnomethods further suggested that participants entered into a “honeymoon” phase with Alberta. Their disenchantment started as the reality of Alberta-imposed decredentialing and recredentialing set in. Their initial objective of hitting it big in Canada might have blinded them from seeing a “vast array of features of the social order” (aka the real market situation for newcomers to Alberta), leading to their “selective sight,” i.e., seeing only what they wanted to see. Additionally, their ethnomethods (e.g., taking Alberta-prescribed course upgrades, registering in ESL classes, writing resumes in Canadian fashion, placing cold calls, networking, doing volunteer work and not expecting to get a transportation allowance for it, doing online job search, forgetting home-earned degrees, driving one’s own car for a CAD\$11/hour part-time night shift job, etc.) seemed to present them as trapped in a no-win or Catch-22 situation; their life had become a paradox of sorts in a supposed land of opportunities.

Taking on survival jobs in Alberta could be very humiliating for some of these top CEOs, CFOs, and well-respected professionals in their home countries. If they did not land any survival job, they would have ended up more ghettoized than their initial ghettoization as Cameron so eloquently described (2000). Participants’ disclosures seem to question Piore’s (1979) dual labor market theory (i.e., demography of labor supply favoring foreign workers who view low salaried

jobs as a way to generate income and not as a measure of one's social status; in Massey et al., 1993) and Lash and Urry's (1994) take on host country's effort at "globalizing the third world" (in Waters, 2001) that both speak to the host country's inherent discriminatory and exploitative practices against IEIs from periphery countries such as China, India, and the Philippines. Some of the IEI-participants (Ishayu, Minsheng, Pablo, Siddharth), given their social status in their home countries, expressed unhappiness over receiving low salary in Alberta.

Other major adjustments these professional immigrants faced included 1) keeping themselves bundled up and shielded from Alberta's harsh snowstorm; 2) doing night shifts that might pose health hazards and disruptions in their circadian rhythms; 3) working with people from other cultures who have work ethics and habits different from theirs; and more. These adjustments comprise another set of ethnomethods that highlighted immigrants' professional and educational background. Most of the participants chose to continue with fulfilling their aspirations despite feeling duped about the promise of Canada's greener pastures. They relied on household and community/ethnic support that helped direct their path and inspired them towards rational actions or artful practices. I have no judgments about the IEI-participants' ethnomethods, only respect for their rationality and understanding of the social order in global migration. I discuss and analyze in Chapter 8 the many implications of these global migrants' choice to stay in Alberta.

Chapter 8

Implications of the Social Theoretical Model in Global Migration

This chapter presents the theoretical, methodological, and policy implications of the social theoretical model in global migration in Chapter 3. In examining the structural logics of space and power along with agency in the global migration of 15 Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants, I relied on Critical Social Theory (CST) to evaluate obstacles to migrants' attainment of neoliberal Alberta's promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity, and on Critical Theory (CT) to see the historical, powerful, prescriptive, and structural constraints on IEI-participants' action and choice.

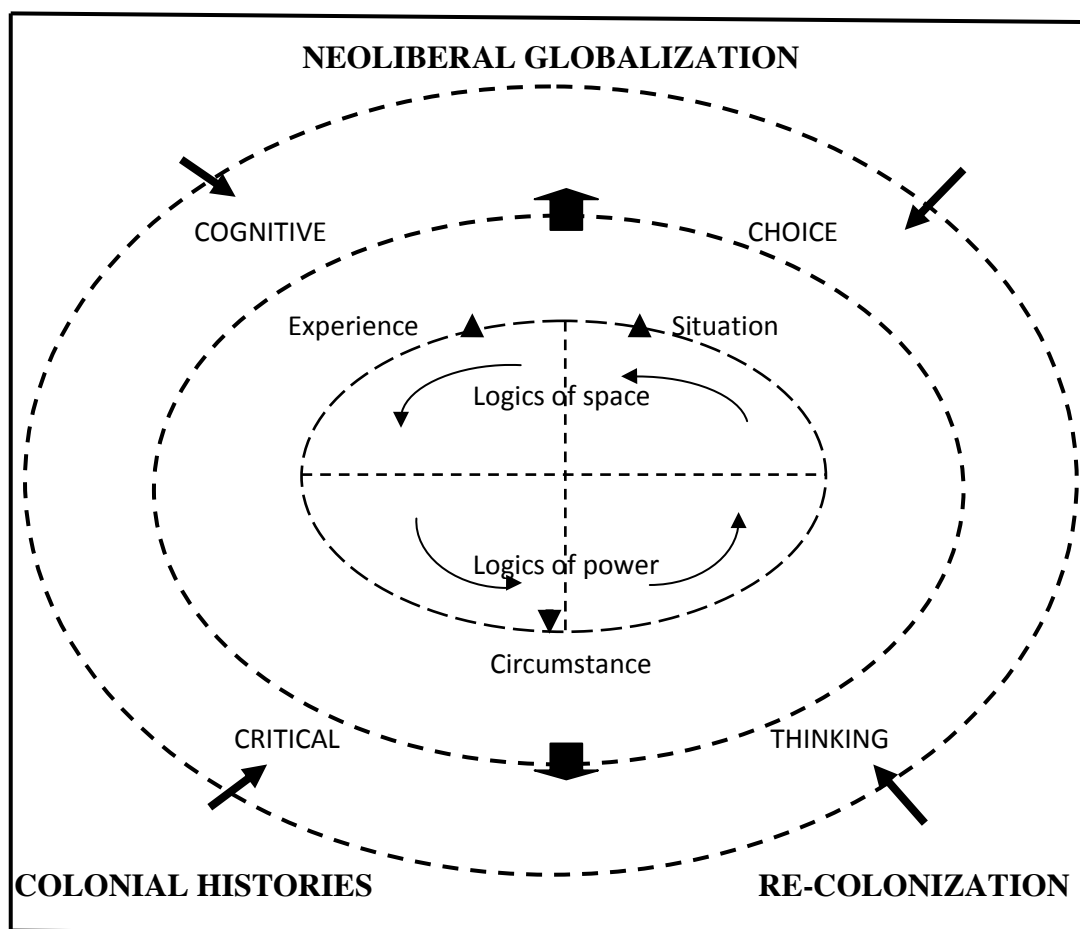


Figure 3. Actors' Choice to Migrate as a Product of Ongoing Colonialism or Neoliberal Globalization

Figure 3 in Chapter 3, re-shown above, embodies these two important characteristics of CT and CST: they show IEIs as capable of cognition, self-reflexivity, and critical weighing of circumstances, experiences, gains, and losses in choosing to live in their new world (Alberta, Canada) that is dominant, exploitative, oppressive, and powerful.

With my social theoretical model in global migration, I aimed at locating policy alternatives to the host country's (Alberta, Canada) neoliberal policy regime that promotes privatizing higher education, decredentialing, and recredentialing labor to meet market needs, and that exploits newly arrived yet already highly skilled Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants. With the promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity behind Alberta's neoliberal policy regime turning out to be undelivered, policy alternatives are in order.

Structures and Agents in the Global Migration Model

A very dynamic event such as global migration and a very complex process such as the intrapersonal communication that each global migrant-actor goes through before making the decision to migrate to Alberta cannot really be captured in a model. Models (Figures 1-3 in Chapter 3) have very limiting values: they prescribe how a phenomenon such as that of global migration could be explored and understood. What give life to these models are the global migrants who both provide and serve as empirical data; however, the complexity of empirical data plus my task as a researcher with my own way of knowing and seeing might only enhance narrowing aspects of the models. Conscious of these limitations, I continue to elaborate on the social theoretical model in global migration.

I look into the individual migrant and ask whether having the cognitive choice and doing the practical and rational action (ethnomethod) of migrating to Alberta 1) magnifies the migrant as the actor that weaves the agency of meaning reflexivity and sense making of the social world thereby sustaining the structures in global migration; 2) enhances the migrant's sociality or ability to achieve a preferred social world as a social being; and 3) leads to a sense of selfhood that is

capped through the political action and choice to be in Alberta. I shall not resurrect the debate between interpretive social science and critical social science but shall reinforce their common strengths through actors' activity – the 15 global migrants from China, India, and the Philippines.

The model in Figure 3 above represents the individual as actor in the phenomenon of global migration. The model consists of three concentric circles. I chose the circle to represent the individual as actor in global migration for two reasons: first, a circle connotes perpetuity in motion and dynamism in the actor's structures and agency; second, a circle implies the actor's exclusive membership in global migration.

The circular motion (in Figure 3) connotes infinity and perpetuity. As the circle moves, it moves with structures and agency that by themselves also embody constancy of motion. The circular motion likewise shows that the push-pull factors in global migration do not occur in a vacuum but do activate constant changes in the social order. These changes get incorporated in the social order and get trickled down into structures and agency that actually prompted these changes.

At the core of the model are the structural logics of power and space in fusion and deemed quite significant in the formation, movement, and re-formation of the actors' human-and-social capital. These logics of power and space comprise the structural construct that in turn renders the actors' human-and-social capital as the agentic construct that reinforces actors' decision to participate in the phenomenon of international migration. These logics are further made visible through members' practices (i.e., IEIs as social actors; Garfinkel in Coulon, 1995) that depict mastery of a social unit's natural language and ethnomethods. Economic, political, and social in nature, these institutional logics combine the thoughts behind CST and CT, and to a certain extent, vary in their influence on each global migrant-actor. The second outer circle shows each global migrant-actor's circumstance, experience, and situation as a product of the fused/fusing power and spatial logics. The third outermost circle represents the actor's

cognitive choice as emanating from the global migrant-actor's circumstance, experience, and situation.

The square within which the global migrant-actor is situated shows how the global actor-migrant lives, weighs, decides, and acts in the neoliberal globalization setting. The square represents the overarching neoliberal globalization policy that has all the characteristics of continuing colonialism, neocolonialism, or re-colonization in supraterritorial Alberta: deregulation of market dynamics, development's inability to deliver its promise of a quality of life for most people, fascism of insecurity, global market-determined economy, hyper-marketization of social life, increasing incongruence of the functions of social emancipation and social regulation, liberalization of cross-border transactions, privatization of assets and social services, regulation of peoples and economies, and sovereignty of the market (Choudry, 2007; Escobar, 2004; Scholte, 2005).

The broken circles that separate the three circles from each other and from the square depict interrelatedness among concentric circles and with the square: each one is penetrable or permeable, fusing and transforming the actor variables (logics of power, logics of space, colonialism, circumstance, experience, situation, and cognitive choice) into a solid phenomenon, i.e., global migration to Canada. The arrows depict penetration, permeation, and eventual fusion of the actor variables. Arrow triangles also connote constancy of change. While I may not always be referring to neocolonialism or re-colonization in my analyses and discussions of participants' narratives, the continuing colonial characteristics and dynamics in neoliberal globalization are implicit elements in the model, Figure 3.

Each actor was born and raised in an existing social order that is made up of structural logics of power and space. In time, the actor embodies all the logics, notices the order of things, gets immersed in hierarchies, critically assesses and weighs logics in a given circumstance, experience, or situation, and acts accordingly. The actor's embodiment of logics happens through interaction in various social contexts and evolving colonialism in the supraterritorial regime, and with the use of codes and symbols commonly accepted and understood by

fellow actors. It is these codes and symbols that help set the actor apart as a distinct member/ethno of a particular social order.

The actors' preparedness and decision to migrate qualified them to be members of a social circle with certain requirements they have met. These requirements included 1) educational and professional qualifications to migrate, 2) payment of dues (e.g., application fees for migration and supplementary fees for examinations to ensure members' linguistic, medical, or physical fitness to migrate), and 3) knowledge and observance of criteria or rules for migration (e.g., possession of human-and-social capital as well as financial capital to assist the host country in accommodating its newcomers). What also made the actors qualify as members of the social circle that is exclusive to global migrants were the experiences or entitlements (i.e., not everyone gets to possess human-and-social capital that the host country needed to bolster its economy) they had during the application process.

No one outside of this social circle could totally repeat these experiences or entitlements. Already born and raised within power and spatial logics that made them unique individuals and that drove them to seek better opportunities, members still had to consider going through power and spatial logics in both their home and host countries. They navigated differences or gaps between their home and host countries' logics and came up with their practical and rational actions (ethnomethods) that serve to bridge these gaps. In the process, individual actors of the social circle turned into political actors: simultaneously weighing their respective home countries' spatial and power logics while finding out their target host country's spatial and power logics, individual actors allocated their very own resources that they earned in their home countries on their target host country of migration. This political decision necessitated the actors' active discovery of and participation in how they could obtain maximum gain and minimum loss. Individual actors echoed gains and losses, wove these gains and losses through their agency of global mobility into structural logics of power and space as

impacted by continuing colonialism, and helped chart the direction of labor export and labor import policies in global migration.

Figure 12 shows the individual global migrant as initially equipped with high human-and-social capital and as eventually capable of utilizing their political agency in global migration.

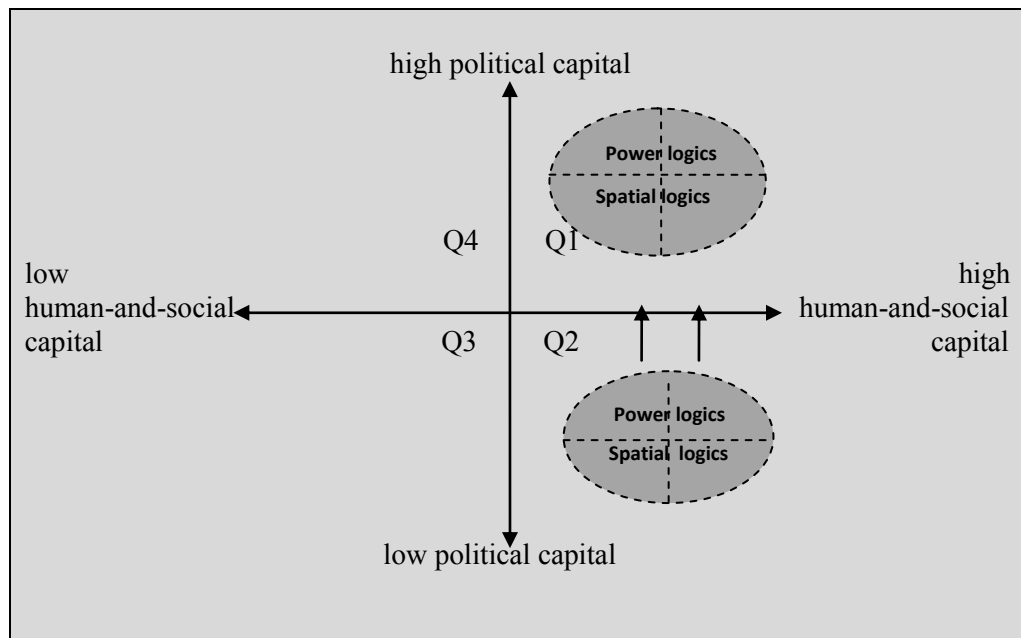


Figure 12. The Political Agency of Actors in Global Migration

Apparently, logics are central to the actors' political agency. Empirical data in Chapters 5-7 reveal how the global migrant-actors confronted the ongoing dialectics between these logics and emerged with the choice to allocate their high human-and-social capital in Alberta that also has its own logics. Actors' political agency in global migration trickles down to their respective home countries' political agency as shown in the next subheading.

Patriarchy delineates the household that is comprised of the family as the basic social unit that facilitates every family member's socialization into assuming specific roles, functions, and labor divisions seen as essential to the upkeep of the familial bond. While individuals automatically join a familial bond

“independent of their will,” their membership in the household leads to predetermined positions that somewhat dictate these roles and functions (e.g., in an ideal household, the father as head of the household provides economic support; the mother assists the head of the household in providing forms of support other than economic).

Bureaucracy, on the other hand, delineates the government as the political unit in charge of allocating available resources to its constituents, and in times of resource scarcity (i.e., lack of jobs), is tasked with thinking (in the tradition of Foucault’s governmentality) of ways and means to contain or prevent such scarcity; otherwise, noncontainment of resource scarcity may lead to chaos and conflict among members/constituents. Both patriarchy and bureaucracy, in turn, complement the power logic of ethnicity within a given community/ethnie that serves as the economic force or pillar both animating and strengthening the financial viability of familial and governmental spaces.

Ultimately, these three power logics operate within the power logic of capitalism in class and market spaces. Capitalism turns into a global field of forces consisting primarily of necessities (e.g., possession of formal education or university credentials) and struggles (e.g., credential inflation, credential deflation, decredentialing, recredentialing) that result in all three other power logics getting manifested as actors’ agency: actors simultaneously waged or acted out practical actions (i.e., Garfinkel’s ethnomethods), varying roles and adaptive functions (e.g., China’s PhD-engineer works as a meat sales attendant in an Asian convenience store in Alberta as he transitions his way for fast inclusion into Alberta’s economy; conversely, Alberta puts up regulatory frameworks for IEs) towards conservation or transformation (e.g., how can a home-earned university education remain one’s ticket to the good life amidst decredentialing or recredentialing in the host country?). These practical actions, varying roles, and adaptive functions (aka actors’ circumstance, experience, and situation in the model) that became the bases of actors’ cognitive choice stay within the second

outer circle of the model as they perpetually impact spatial and power logics in global migration.

Table 11 illustrates fusion between power and spatial logics. The fusion gave migrant-actors information and guidance in global migration.

Space Power	Household (Family, Gender, Sexuality)	Government, IOs	Community/Ethnie bound by Culture, Language, Race	Class, Market
Patriarchy		Home countries' labor export policies serve as social capital with host country	Shared histories, myths, symbols are social constructs of ethnic/national dominance	Country significances & comparative advantages are commodities
Bureaucracy	Parents keep track of kids' human-and-social capital		IOs' networks penetrate ethnies & define shared codes, histories, myths	Rise in brain drain, gain, & premium in home & host countries
Ethnicity	Ethnies striate & maintain spaces in host country	Ethnic hatred, competition, ethnocentrism for limited resources in host country		Sense of nationalism & pride retained in global market
Capitalism	Household exists as basic social-economic unit	States see thru constituents' education	Education ruins cultures & imposes oppressive rules	

Table 11. Fusion of Power and Spatial Logics in Global Migration

Theoretical Implications

Based on my assumptions on international relations in global migration in Chapter 1 and the participants' narratives in Chapters 5-8 that expose structural, historical, prescriptive, and powerful constraints on immigrants' action and choice, and that lead to their self-reflexivity, I come up with further explanations on the reality of international migration:

- 1) The migration of Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians with high human-and-social capital to Alberta (Canada) creates and strengthens home (China, India, and the Philippines) and host (Alberta) countries' political capital in international relations. The Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians' high human-

and-social capital consists of the merger among the structural logics of power and space as the participants acknowledged in their stories. Each logic may not be equally apportioned as the household gets the most acknowledgment and IOs, the least among participants. Taken together, these logics acquire a political nature in internationalized migration. Individually, too, logic inevitably takes on a political nature in internationalized migration. The political nature of these institutional logics consists in the migrant-actors' agency of resource allocation or in their choice as to whom/to where to allocate said resources, personal or otherwise, as shown in Figure 13.

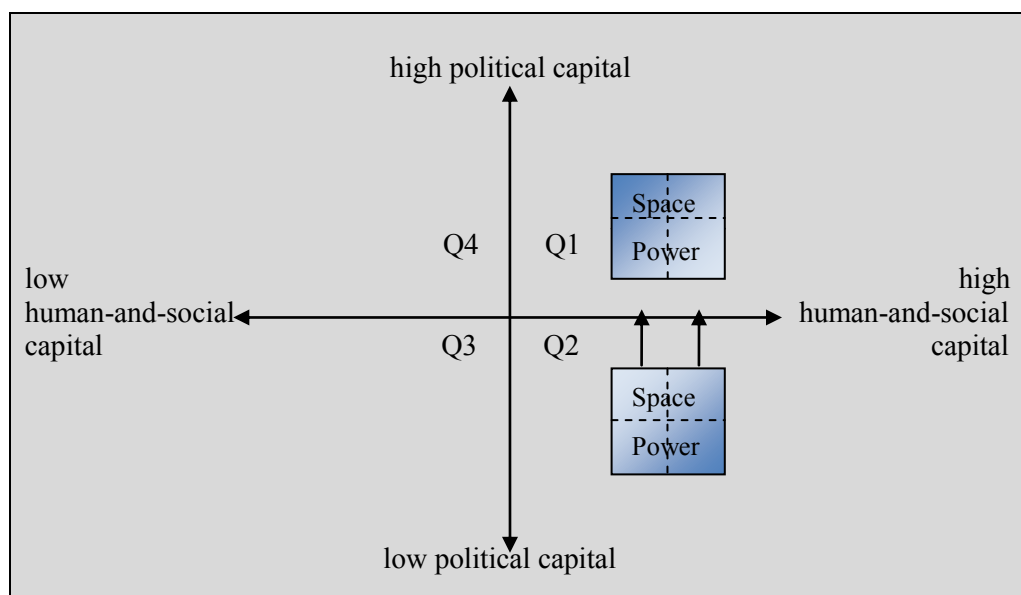


Figure 13. The Political Agency of Logics in Global Migration

- 2) Given the first explanation, the effects of supranationalism, as described in the first chapter, get dissipated or are weakened. I am calling *infranationalism* the effects of supranationalism. In reference to Smith's (1986, 2008) concept of nationalism as vicarious and as emanating from ethnies' communal, political, and solidary tendencies towards sovereignty,

I define infranationalism as

the host nation's overlaying of migrant ethnies' cultures, mythologies, politics, symbolisms, and sovereign ideals in favor of economic gains.

- 3) The Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians possessing high human-and-social capital who migrated to Alberta (Canada) between 2008 and 2010 help produce the social order (production of the social order is the major principle behind Garfinkel's EM) whereby
 - a) Alberta is bequeathed with high political capital in international relations, able to allocate educational and labor resources (i.e., able to decredential or recredential IEIs with the IEIs shouldering the costs of decredentialing and recredentialing) to its immigrants; and
 - b) China, India, and the Philippines, with initially low political capital but high human-and-social capital that get admitted based on stringent immigration requirements on educational background and work experience, are bequeathed with high political capital in international relations, able to mold high highly skilled professionals for migration to Alberta.

Explanations 3a-b that show the self-reflexive nature of IEI-participants resulting in their political actions and trickling to their countries' political capital are schematically shown in Figure 14.

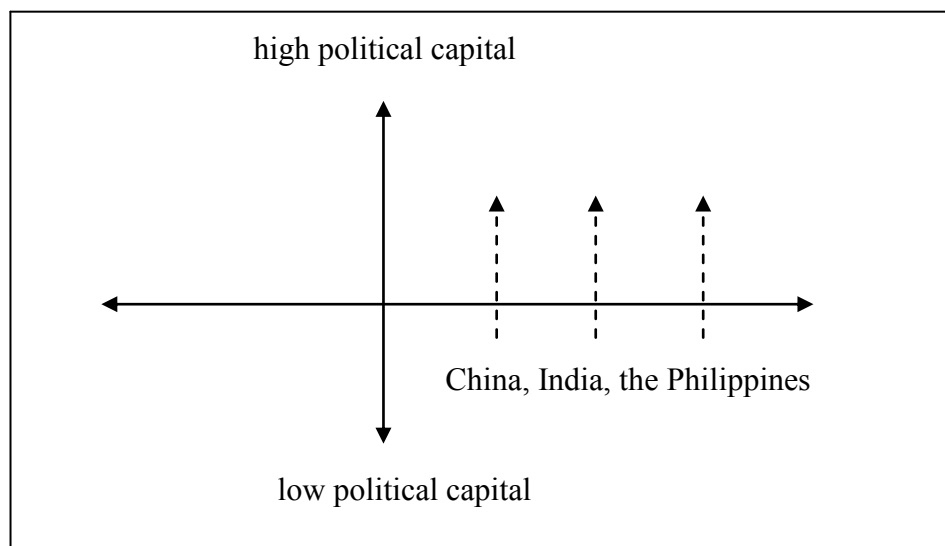


Figure 14. Immigrants' EM as a Precursor to Countries' Political Capital

- 4) The production of a social order is replete with processual, relational, and strategic dynamics among Alberta, China, India, and the Philippines; such dynamics remain lopsided as
 - a) Alberta continues to subject Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians with high human-and-social capital to decredentialing and recredentialing; hence, a reproduction of the existing social order; and
 - b) Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians with high human-and-social capital reproduce their own kind – colonized in an iron cage of efficiency, bureaucracy, and accountability. The stories of study participants in Chapters 5-7 depict their entrapment in an iron cage that traces their credentialing, and programs their decredentialing and recredentialing within a certain period of time.
- 5) The reproduction of this social order gives rise to organic intellectuals who may be co-opted due to reasons associated with logics of power and space. The cases of the engineer-participants and doctor-participant who aspire to be members of critical organizations for Alberta-licensed engineers and doctors, respectively show this tendency.

Methodological Implications

When Agnes stole his mother's hormonal replacement therapy pills for his own consumption and towards his preferred sexuality, he contributed to producing a social order that is more accepting of transgendered beings. Agnes' passing occurred at a time when homosexuals were scorned, mocked, or derided. He did everything to cover up his maleness. His ethnomethods ranged from pill-stealing to imitating his female friends in various ways to lying to Garfinkel about his original biological make-up and to presenting himself as one of nature's freaks. Garfinkel, through analyses of conversations with Agnes, came up with an analysis of Agnes' ethnomethods as fraught with deceit in Agnes' effort to conceal his passion or desire to assume female sexuality/identity.

More than five decades later, I employ ethnomethodology in my research on international migration to Alberta. I looked into how participants from China, India, and the Philippines helped produce a social order characterized as neoliberal policy regime of privatizing higher education (in the form of decredentialing and recredentialing). Under the pretext of the basic human right to live where one pleases, international migration of professionals became an avenue for Alberta's neoliberal policy regime in the area of higher education to thrive that then trickles to the area of profession or work in the host country of migration.

Ethnomethodology and Critical Realism

I submit that, by itself and casting aside prelabeled categories of theoretical and research methodologies in social science, EM is both interpretive and critical. EM's philosophical foundations are based on people's ability to reflect, comprehend, evaluate their surroundings, make choices, and hold on to social values. Ethnomethods are employed by reflexive individuals critical of their surroundings and wanting to implement changes. If one ethnomethod fails, another ethnomethod is tried, effecting a triangulation of methods that is likewise utilized in CR.

Among the IELs, one felt that his original IELTS score of 5.5 is too low if he were to apply for a PhD. Upon retake, he got a score of 7.0 and when I

commented that 7.0 is a high score, he brushed aside my comment and said, “Maybe I’m just lucky.” More than his desire to get admitted to Alberta’s leading university, he knew the general impression on Chinese newcomers’ command of English. Regardless of how he wanted that impression altered, he wanted to attain something for himself and must shell out another fee from his own pocket.

Another participant, upon receipt of the initial assessment of the Canadian embassy in Beijing, found that her husband’s work years and hers do not suffice for them to get considered for Canada. What she did was to help her husband re-compute their full-time work hours and resubmit their papers to the embassy. In their re-computation, she wrote the difference between Canada’s full-time work hours of 36 – 40 hours a week as actually a lot less than their full-time work hours of 48 – 60 in China.

A number of participants did not just rely on online information about migrating to Canada via Alberta. They contacted their families, relatives, and friends who are based in Canada, and worked out ways (e.g., keeping options open in matters pertaining to family togetherness, having funds, psychologically getting ready to work in jobs other than their professions in home countries, etc.) for possible settlement in Canada (Alberta). More narratives point to participants’ apparent use and combination of ethnomethods with critical realism. Additionally, more participants’ narratives became more meaningful in Chapter 9 where the metanarratives manifest participants’ resilience, their use of the language of sanctuary, their effort at linguistification⁵², their decredentialing under the guise of Canada’s accommodating welcome, and their continuing ethnification⁵³. These metanarratives likewise point out the paradoxes in participants’ ethnomethods.

It may be unwise to suggest the coinage of the phrase “critical ethnomethodology” to highlight both the interpretive and critical nature of participants in employing ethnomethods. In my sense, the participants’ use of ethnomethods entailed their inherent critical stance when faced with a challenging

⁵² “Linguistification” is described in more detail in Chapter 9.

⁵³ “Ethnification” is elaborated further in Chapter 9.

cultural, economic, political, and social decision to migrate from the Global South to the Global North.

The Complexity of “Bracketing” Narratives

The narratives in Chapters 5-7 were based on participants’ interpretation of situations X, Y, and Z. I relied on my social theoretical model in Chapter 3 and on ethnomethodology in Chapter 4 in analyzing participants’ narratives. In their narratives, participants appear to be oblivious to study assumptions or hypotheses and objectives that were given in the form of questions and situations. It may be due to their understanding of the social reality of global migration: each understanding is unique to every participant. It may also be due to their varying perception of the social order as shared in their ethnomethods. It was my task to “bracket” what they were not saying so I could understand better the rationally meaningful indexical expressions and organized practices (aka ethnomethods) as they were going through their experiences as highly skilled immigrants who get decredentialed and recredentialed in Alberta (Canada).

Participants’ narratives regarding their ethnomethods and perceived push-pull factors in migrating to Alberta in Chapter 7 enabled me to 1) compare the human-and-social capital of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian landed immigrants in Alberta (Canada) with the higher education policies and practices of their respective home countries; and 2) look at the possible link these policies and practices might have with Alberta’s neoliberal policy of privatized education. Just as I wrote in Chapter 7 that I have no judgments about IEIs’ ethnomethods, only respect for their rationality in global migration, I continue to have no judgments, only “bracketed” analyses based on my social theoretical model and methodology, as I present metanarratives on my interaction with IEIs in Chapter 9.

Policy Implications

Based on participants’ narratives, Alberta’s neoliberal policy goals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity vis-à-vis allocation and appropriation of highly skilled professionals among four countries (i.e., Canada, China, India, and the Philippines) at play in the dynamics of migration and labor export have failed,

thereby calling for policy alternatives to Alberta's current neoliberal policy regime of privatized education and workforce recredentialing. My policy analysis matrix of criteria in neoliberal Alberta's goals for IEIs from China, India, and the Philippines (adapted from Weimer and Vining, 1999) in Table 2 of Chapter 4 and the participants' stories of nonrecognition of their credentials, decredentialing, and recredentialing led me to draft policy alternatives to Alberta's current neoliberal globalization policy. I see the active role of home and host governments and universities in my proposed policy alternatives:

- government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals
- university-to-university exchange of highly skilled professionals
- culturization or cultural engineering of human-and-social capital

The first policy alternative, government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals, shows that there is a need for the government of Alberta to engage in bureaucratic consultation and measures governing employment and immigration of highly skilled professionals with its favored source countries-governments of China, India, and the Philippines. Alberta needs to look into professionalizing its recruitment of bank analysts, doctors, engineers, and IT specialists from these three country-sites. This professionalization scheme includes 1) administering international licensure examinations to interested immigrants while still in their home countries and 2) looking into and making competitive the salary scale of professional immigrants based on their performance in international licensure examinations. Alberta's bureaucracy must also provide sufficient information and preparation for prospective immigrant-workforce on the uniqueness of Alberta's landscape to prevent the rise in number of a demoralized uninformed/misinformed immigrant-workforce. An uninformed, ill-prepared, and demoralized immigrant-workforce would only delay or impede progressive economic growth in Alberta.

Additionally, the Government of Canada, through CIC, has to work closely with Alberta's two ministries, Employment and Immigration (now known as Human Services) and Enterprise and Advanced Education on the case of highly

skilled permanent residents or landed immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines. IEI-participants have to be protected from employer exploitation. The concept of survival jobs for the highly skilled should be eradicated. Such eradication will stop any form of unnecessary labor competition between the highly skilled and the low-skilled.

Likewise, there is a need for source country-governments (SCGs) of China, India, and the Philippines to beef up their bureaucracies along international recruitment standards for professionally qualified immigrants. The Government of Canada, through CIC, also has to deal closely with the governments of China, India, and the Philippines and their respective ministries charged with international migration of highly skilled professionals.

Lastly, outsourcing jobs from North to South or job creation for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals lessens costs on resource allocation, recognition, and distribution for both North and South.

The second policy alternative, university-to-university exchange of highly skilled professionals, sits on the idea of possible mergers between Alberta's universities or specialized colleges and these SCGs' leading universities or specialized colleges with the end of exporting SCGs' graduates. Additionally, Alberta could send its academically trained bank analysts, doctors, engineers, and IT specialists to SCGs to prepare and qualify those interested to migrate to Alberta.

The first two policy alternatives necessitate interaction between relevant ministries of Alberta and those of SCGs' (e.g., Ministry of Enterprise and Advanced Education, Department of Labor and Employment, etc.) as well as interaction between Alberta's leading universities and those of SCGs'.

The third policy alternative, culturization (culture-specificity) or cultural engineering of highly skilled professionals, focuses on the cultural strengths of SCGs. Culturization is "cultural engineering," to borrow the term of Keat (1991 in Ball, 1994, p. 69) that Keat used in referring to the interplay of market criteria, pricing, and competition in managing schools. I define "cultural engineering" as

the ability of Alberta and labor exporting countries (China, India, the Philippines) to accommodate the SCGs' labor market and allow them to compete with comparative prices of well-earned university degrees prior to migration.

Culturization strengthens China, India, and the Philippines' human-and-social capital formation through cultivation of their respective cultures, languages, norms, practices, and traditions. Culturization contributes to these countries' self-dignity, self-respect, and self-sufficiency thereby rubbing off on their respective peoples and ultimately effecting the neoliberal principles of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.

Related to culturization are the issues of linguistification and ethnification. Alberta's universities or specialized colleges could look into designing and implementing language course curricula that include the official languages of SCGs: China's Putonghua, India's Hindi, and the Philippines' Filipino/Tagalog for employers and students who may be working with these SCGs' professional immigrants. Given that English is the global language, Albertans could be made to learn linguistic nuances arising from SCGs' other official languages such as Putonghua in China, Hindi in India, Filipino/Tagalog in the Philippines. This suggested alternative would help Albertans appreciate the variants of English such as that of Chinglish (for Chinese English), Hinglish (for Indian English), or Taglish (for Filipino/Tagalog English), helping minimize the overarching problem of language barriers (e.g., a qualified professional engineer does not have the facility of English that matches the language standards of longtime Albertans) that leads to frustrating employer-employee relationships. If Alberta (Canada) is bent on pushing through with its International Education Framework as it accommodates more and more IEs from the consistently top three source countries of highly skilled workforce (China, India, and the Philippines), it could anticipate the rise of English variants as spoken by people of the Asian region. Every university, college, or language institute in Alberta (Canada) is best served with basic course curricula in selected Asian languages to help the entire workforce accommodate newly arrived IEs. To date, Alberta Ministry of

Education has launched the international languages program for K-12 students. The program includes the teaching of Chinese and Punjabi languages. It is essential that tertiary education become the avenue for international languages program to bridge anticipated gaps in how English is spoken by a workforce educated in a mother tongue other than English.

I juxtapose my policy alternatives with the target principles of Alberta's neoliberal policy (i.e., democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity) using Weimer and Vining's alternatives matrix (1999, p. 275) in Table 12.

Table 12 shows that the best policy alternative is government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals. Government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals shows that there is indeed a need for the government to step up to its governmentality (aka *raison d'être*) and deliver basic services that ultimately redound to its economic upkeep and to that of its constituents. Assuming that there exists a level-playing field between Alberta and SCGs of China, India, and the Philippines, and that they are not members of IOs/IFIs that implement lopsided policies in favor of major stockholders like Canada (Alberta), each government is braced to look after its constituents and at the same time observe its constituents' basic rights (e.g., the basic rights to education and to social mobility). Exchange of highly skilled professionals happens only to address another government's resource needs or supply a government's resource scarcity, and should amply be paid for.

Between this policy alternative of government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals and the magnitude of bureaucratic challenges of corruption, inefficiency, and inability to create and provide jobs, however, lie issues pertaining to structural logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism) and of space (household of family with constructions of gender and sexuality; government, IOs; community/ethnie bound by culture, language, race; class, market), i.e., market, and the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race that further challenge government's performativity. I have drawn these issues

in Chapters 5-7 based on participants' narratives and on the first several pages of Chapter 9, beyond the narratives.

Goals	Criteria	Alternatives			
		Current Policy (Alberta-to-Private Individuals)	Government-to-Government Exchange	University-to-University Exchange	Culturization (Cultural Engineering)
Management of resources by people (democracy)	Sufficient regulatory frameworks	Fair (weakened state)	Excellent (an empowered labor force)	Fair (weakened state)	Excellent (an empowered population)
	Efficient capacity building model	Poor (demoralized workforce)	Excellent (an empowered labor force)	Fair (a university-bred labor force)	Excellent (culture-specific empowerment)
Recognition of resources (justice)	Balanced representation mechanisms	Poor (breeds greed, competition & corruption)	Good (spells internal & external efficiency)	Good (spells internal & external efficiency)	Fair (breeds competition and greed)
	Manifest moral & ethical principles	Poor (the end justifies the means)	Good (breeds healthy competition)	Good (spells internal & external efficiency)	Good (reign of natural law)
Availability of resources (peace)	Creativity in provision of resources	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Excellent (healthy labor exchange)	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Excellent (pits existing with traditional beliefs)
	Substantial access to resources	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Good (harnessing of labor resources)	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Good (harnessing of resources)
Eradication of poverty (prosperity)	Substantial access to basic necessities	Poor (majority is decredentialed & demoralized)	Good (leads to market equilibrium)	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Fair (risks plutocracy & ethnocracy)
	Equitable wealth distribution	Poor (majority is decredentialed & demoralized)	Good (trickling of focused growth)	Poor (creates & reproduces class inequalities)	Fair (risks plutocracy & ethnocracy)

Table 12. Summary of Policy Alternatives for Alberta's Neoliberal Policy

Culturization ranked as the next alternative that could possibly overturn the failed neoliberal policy regime of privatized education into meeting its ideals of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity. Combining the “excellent” impact of culturization with the best policy alternative of government-to-government exchange of highly skilled professionals would produce an ideal set-up of international migration. The risks, however, of magnified competition, ethnocracy, greed, and plutocracy would only make for a divided world.

If this were an ideal world where 99% of the world’s population are highly skilled and the 99% only have to be “loaned” to countries in dire need of youthful workforce, the university-to-university human-and-social exchange would have been the best policy alternative. Reproduction of class inequalities could be nil. There would also be numerous ways to create jobs or preoccupations for people’s contentment, peace, and prosperity.

IEI-participants have been actively contributing to the making of a social order deemed as democratic, just, peaceful, and prosperous. It is from their narratives and ethnomethods that I drew inspiration in drafting these policy alternatives.

Chapter 9

Beyond Participants' Narratives

I aim to show, beyond participants' narratives, the ramifications of the social theoretical model in global migration based on critical social theory and critical theories in Chapter 3, and of ethnomethodology in gathering field texts in Chapter 4.

Beyond the Narratives

I began narrating my story in Chapter 1 while simultaneously listening to similar stories. I could not title it "Our Stories" for fear that I might sound too presumptuous, be accused of doing a bandwagon or black propaganda, or labeled as a lobbyist against one of the world's prosperous countries, Canada. When I came to the "land of milk and honey" and found that the much advertised "manna from heaven"⁵⁴ left much to be desired, I thought that the best way to confront my frustration would be through my lens as researcher. I continued to listen to "Our Stories" through many voices that I allowed to reflect my initial frustration – the voices of my study participants. "Our Stories" brandishes one plot – decredentialing and recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals with high human-and-social capital in Alberta (Canada).

In listening to "Our Stories," I simultaneously engaged in fielding questions to my subconscious, to the stream of consciousness that has witnessed a number of sad stories. These were questions that rose from the plot of Canada's systematic decredentialing and recredentialing of immigrants: am I experiencing racial discrimination? If Canada approved my application for immigration on the basis of merit, why is it asking me to attend seminars that made me feel I was re-entering my senior year in high school? What has happened to more than a decade of my university education? Were those seminars required of me because I come

⁵⁴ I culled the phrases "land of milk and honey" and "manna from heaven" from the Book of Exodus 33: 3, 16:1-31, respectively, without their contexts during the time of Moses and the Israelites but within the context of Canada being the land up North where opportunities for personal and professional nutrition were said to be abundant.

from a TWC? Did my university years go to waste because of my color? Were those job ads trimmed with the clause “we are an equal opportunity employer” only for longtime immigrants from Western countries? Was I repeating the experiences of previous immigrants with high human-and-social capital? Was my human capital being re-formed so I could speak English the Canadian way and do things according to Canadian standards of performance?

I gave Alberta the benefit of the doubt. I listened to what it had to say. It claimed that Foreign Credentials Referral Offices (FCROs) have been put in countries of its choicest immigrants: China, India, and the Philippines to help interested applicants for immigration integrate fast into the Canadian labor system. Much to my dismay, FCROs became information kiosks with the signs, STOP, LOOK and LISTEN and their corresponding messages. The warning signs read to me as,

<p>STOP: You said you want to come here? Do you have what it takes to take over our graying population?</p> <p>LOOK: You are not from Canada. You were not born and raised here. You have to do things the Canadian way. There is no way we shall learn your culture.</p> <p>LISTEN: You have to upgrade or pass the exams before you could practice your craft. Earn Canadian experience and get hired! You are a bank manager in India? You can be a people greeter at one of our biggest stores. You have a PhD in Engineering from China? You can sell meat at one of our Asian convenience stores. You are a medical doctor in the Philippines? You can join the staff of McDonald's.</p>

These FCROs came across as Canada's (Alberta's) screening eyes that asked several questions and demanded a lot from newcomers. I started to believe fellow immigrants' stories that these signs were forms of racism, racial profiling, racial discrimination that were meant to separate the chaff from the grain, so to speak. I thought that Balibar's (1991) “racization of the social” (in Balibar & Wallerstein,

1991, p. 20) might well explain these signs within the context of internationalized migration from the Global South to the Global North.

I do not know if it was fortunate that not everybody got the chance to read these signs early on. I personally learned about FCROs in 2009, my third year in Canada. Some of the participants may have read these signs but decided that silence, patience, and resilience are virtues best practiced in their host country of migration. Perhaps they were confident about their qualifications and were just biding time to prove to their host country that they could and would integrate fast into Alberta's (Canada's) economy.

I thought to myself that Canada may be too eager to put up these FCROs as a come-on for interested immigrants without addressing its own preparedness for these newcomers that it, after all, accommodated because of merit (i.e., possession of university degree, work experience, language fluency). Is Canada afraid that these newcomers would soon discover that its systems are flawed? One narration in "Our Stories" actually confirmed the lack of integrity behind Canada's FCROs: these offices have yet to tell the real plot behind their operations, or inform interested applicants of what truly awaits them in Alberta.

Canada's "Accommodation Through Decredentialing and Recredentialing"

On hindsight, Canada, known for its multiculturalism, might like to show the world that it indeed has an open-door-policy for its "chosen ones" or what Smith (1999) refers to as "ethnies of elect/ion." Indeed, Canada put up FCROs only in three country-sites of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian ethnies of elect. Being a member of the Filipino ethnies, should I feel privileged and proud that I belong to Canada's best, and forget about my frustration?

My interview sessions with 15 participants (five Chinese, five Filipinos, and five Indians) gave me different perspectives in looking at the phenomenon of internationalized migration, i.e., from the Global South to the Global North, within the neoliberal policy of privatized higher education. My data gathering process opened my eyes and led me to another concept that guided me in further exploring the participants' sentiments, struggles, and victories – the concept of

“accommodation through decredentialing” of IEI-participants, borrowing from Harvey’s (2007) “accumulation through dispossession” when he elaborated on the nature and dynamics of neoliberalism. Canada’s “accommodation through decredentialing and recredentialing” of IEI-participants comes in the form of opening wide its gates to China, India, and the Philippines’ “ethnies of elect” or “chosen few” only to have these elected few undergo skills re-formation as a way of integrating into Alberta’s economy.

While participants might have felt lucky that Canada approved their application for immigration, the re-formation of their human-and-social capital presented an ugly countenance. Canada’s “accommodation through decredentialing and recredentialing” is the other side on the coin of Alberta’s neoliberal policy regime of privatized education; the more visible side of the coin belongs to marketized higher education that has bestowed freedom among the participants to choose from the goods of knowledge economy. Participants’ university diplomas in the areas of Banking and Commerce, Computer Science, Engineering, English, Information Technology, Management, Medicine, and Nursing served as their passport to Canadian permanent residence status, and eventually to their acquiescence to getting decredentialed and recredentialed. All other economic, political, and social institutions considered and based on their stories, IEI-participants felt trapped by Canada’s process of decredentialing and decided to practice their strength in resilience. Others, given no other option at the time of the interview but to stay in Alberta, chose to “collaborate,” using their human-and-social capital, with the maneuvers of attaining Alberta’s neoliberal promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity. IEI-participants, knowingly or unknowingly, help perpetuate Alberta’s neoliberal policy of privatized education.

I acknowledge, however, as the 50% among my participants also did acknowledge in their narratives, that the continued recredentialing and/or decredentialing of IEMs in Canada may be attributed to what Plante (2010) found: 1) a foreign-acquired education pales in comparison with a Canadian education or

is not entirely transferable to the Canadian context; and 2) a foreign-acquired education may be relevant to Canadian workplace requirements but may be unrecognized by Canadian employers or regulatory organizations that monitor licensed professions and trades people. What seems unreasonable is apparent in Siddharth's lamentation, re-shown below.

The only way I can get my ideal job here is by clearing all the four qualifying exams, Q1, Q2, the MCCEE plus MCCE. I have been attending the U of A International Medical Graduates (IMGs) study group every Saturday, 10 AM – 6 PM since August 2010. We share information. We discuss. We prepare for the exams... One or two examinations should also be enough, after which they can be trained according to the Canadian system. There should also be a certainty about all these processes. There are doctors who have already cleared all examinations but they are not called into the system. There's no transparency here. There's a shortage of doctors in Alberta. Canada will be benefited if it allows these doctors to integrate into the system after clearing only two exams and undergoing about six months training instead of the present lengthy process.

As IEIs' narratives showed, Alberta's promises remain undelivered. Apart from having Alberta's broken promises, IEIs felt as though they were in exile, subservient to the whims and caprices of their new land. I could not help but recall the story of the Israelites who were enslaved and were promised deliverance from slavery in Egypt⁵⁵. What the Israelites went through as they pursued the path to "freedom" in Canaan where they also complained of discontent places participants' stories in Alberta on a parallel twist. I could very well empathize with the Israelites of the Pentateuch who went through several trials even after making it to the "Promised Land." Although I was not ready to worship Baal as

⁵⁵ I take inspiration from Smith (1999) who mentions "ethnies of elect" or the "chosen few" with reference to the Israelites in the Old Testament: ethnic formation follows a hierarchy with those appointed by God, the "chosen few," at the apex of the hierarchy. Global migrants from China, India, and the Philippines (country-sites as present-day Egypt) comprise Alberta's (Canada – present-day Promised Land where promises remain undelivered) "ethnies of elect" in Premier Stelmach's preferential campaign for them to come to his province in 2008-2010.

the Israelites did and believing that my own set of beliefs and practices that got morphed in my home country would make me sufficiently steadfast despite struggles in the land of opportunities, I could go by⁵⁶ Canada's system of decredentialing and recredentialing. I needed to survive, to put food on my table, to discover what I needed to know and could still do as a well-educated Filipino who opted to exercise my freedom of global mobility.

IEI-participants' disclosures about choosing to keep their babies by coming to Canada (Alberta) instead of having them aborted in observance of China's one-child-policy also reminded me of the stories of 1) Moses in the Old Testament who, as a newborn male along with other newborn males, had to be rid of as Egyptians worried about future political concerns and struggles with the Israelites; Moses' mother had to hide him in a basket that then floated on the river where the Egyptian princess bathed, and 2) Jesus in the New Testament who, as a newborn baby believed to be the threat to Herod's throne, had to be ordered killed along with other innocents who were two years old or younger; Jesus' parents had to flee to a safer place, away from Herod's clout of power. Are IEI-participants the new Jesus in global migration, threat to Canada's (Herod's) throne of mostly White settlers? And to manage the threat away, Canada (Alberta) had to contain newly arrived IEIs through decredentialing and recredentialing?

I grew rich, through experiences on the streets of Vancouver, and found out that I have a lot to offer to Canada's growing number of immigrants. I heard stories of infidelity among lonely immigrants who got detached from their partners and children for economic reasons, of nonrenewable labor contracts, of live-in caregivers hardly given any food by employers, of construction workers getting pay much lower than was stated on their contracts, of artists wanting to

⁵⁶ What have helped me in my initial years as Canada's landed immigrant were William Ernest Henley's powerful words in *Invictus* (1875) that I have known by heart since I was 10 years old, "It matters not how strait the gate, how charged with punishments the scroll, I am the master of my fate. I am the captain of my soul." Apparently pertaining to the Ten Commandments in his line "how charged with punishments the scroll," Henley has inspired me to live by the wisdom of rules in interpersonal dealings that I may become worthy as "the captain of my soul."

spread their culture in Canada. What was happening? How would I explain short term and nonrenewable contracts among newcomers whose initial motivation to migrate to Canada was economic? Harvey (2007) has a ready answer to my question,

Workers are hired on contract, and in the neoliberal scheme of things short-term contracts are preferred in order to maximize flexibility. (pp. 167-168)

I wrote about them in my syndicated column for three newspapers⁵⁷. I was also asked to translate the taxpayers' guide for the Filipino community in Vancouver, BC for which I got paid a pittance. All these, I did in my first year as Canada's greenhorn of an immigrant. Apart from "helping newcomers succeed in Canada," I was helping inform fellow immigrants of their rights so as to empower them, and in the process, I was also empowering myself. Uprooting myself from my home country was difficult enough. Not knowing my reason for being in Canada would be fodder for more soul searching within globalized migration.

My soul searching led me to listen to more stories narrated in participants' settlement areas. Participants' narratives combined with metanarratives and selected theories showcase the implicit features of Alberta's (Canada's) "accommodation through decredentialing and recredentialing." Canada's "accommodation through decredentialing," within my research findings, has

- systematically turned the knowing or unknowing IEI-participants into actors or promoters of the neoliberal designs of privatized education that smack of credential inflation, labor inappropriateness, and underemployment;
- intentionally or unintentionally classified source countries' (China, India, and the Philippines) system of university education and professions as inferior to destination country's (Canada) system of university education and professions;

⁵⁷ I wrote feature stories and articles in a column syndicated for three newspapers with circulation in British Columbia, Canada and California, USA: *Philippine Asian Chronicle*, *Philippine Journal*, and *Philippine Asian News Today*.

- brought to the fore the nature of neoliberal globalization policy as the Global North's continuing, sustained, or new colonization of the Global South with language and race as the Global North's tools and yardsticks of superiority;
- highlighted the transformation of university education from being a medium of the market to becoming a commodity of the market;
- intentionally or unintentionally exposed Alberta's (Canada's) small population of university-educated professionals willing to work in low-skilled jobs that Canada even had to recruit university-educated professionals from source countries such as China, India, and the Philippines to work in low-skilled jobs;
- intentionally or unintentionally exposed Alberta's (Canada's) inability to have its longtime youth population finish university education further exposing Albertan longtime immigrants as not putting too much value on university education the way IEI-participants valued university education;
- resulted in participants' realization that Alberta has quite a number of low-skilled jobs that do not require laborers with formal university education thereby allowing participants sufficient respite from their original profession and timely opportunity to learn other craft;
- turned into an entrepreneurial prompt for business executives, finance managers, and private corporations to put up training centers in English language and nonformal courses with IEI-participants as their willing/known or unwilling/known/unknown clients; and
- sought the assistance of not-for-profit organizations to help IEI-participants transition from being highly skilled professionals in their home countries into becoming low-skilled laborers in their host country.

On Linguistification⁵⁸ of the English Variants

Meanwhile, Canada's "accommodation through decredentialing and recredentialing" somewhat led to the participants' retreat into what I am calling their "language of sanctuary." Speaking in their language of sanctuary, participants went to their respective ethnies or community centers, seeking refuge from the harsh realities of skills re-formation. These community centers, mostly not-for-profit organizations, are staffed by members who themselves went through the challenges of underemployment and decredentialing and are therefore capable of empathizing with newcomer IEI-participants and of providing ethnic support.

The language of sanctuary – comprised of codes, symbols, and tones – is unique to each of the participants' ethnies. Every tone, sound, gesture, paralinguistic, nonverbal cue, or verbalized pause signaled an emotion or circumstance that could only be understood by fellow members or actors coming from the same ethnie, and having experienced how it was to have one's credentials deflated and one's skills re-formed. By speaking the same language of sanctuary with their Alberta-based ethnie, participants are assured of hope and succor in overcoming their immigration blues.

⁵⁸ How I came up with the term "linguistification" is shared in the next subheading on ethnification. The closest ascription that can be made about the process of linguistification is to Habermas' (1987) use of "linguistification of the sacred" to mean

the transfer of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization from sacred foundations over to linguistic communication and action oriented to mutual understanding. To the extent that communicative action takes on central societal functions, the medium of language gets burdened with tasks of producing substantial consensus. In other words, language no longer serves merely to transmit and actualize prelinguistically guaranteed agreements, but more and more to bring about rationally motivated agreements as well; it does so in moral-practical and in expressive domains of experience no less than in the specifically cognitive domain of dealing with an objectivated reality. (p. 107)

Immigrants linguistify themselves to produce and achieve consensus with the host cities' cultural landscape, and to reveal their unity with host cities' social functions.

I thought of classifying English as the three participant-ethnies spoke them: Chinese English, Filipino English, and Indian English – each classification characterized as marked and distinct due to the influences of their language of sanctuary and existing languages in their respective home countries. Bilingualism and multilingualism among participants and their facility of the global language, i.e., English tell me of the richness, dichotomies, and color of their respective evolving histories, struggles, ends, dreams, and triumphs, and how they play out in global immigration. I also see the paradox behind the participants' ability to speak the language of the colonizing Empire: such linguistic ability is a product of the Empire's global colonization that utilized educational institutions as effective media of colonizing the mind, heart, and soul of the country-sites of study.

However, I get the sense that the participants' language of sanctuary presented a paradox of sorts in their decredentialing and recredentialing and workplace settings. While the participants spoke in their English variant, their English variant is replete with the accent, paralanguage, rhythm, tone, and other audible features of their language of sanctuary – a form of what I am calling “linguistification.”

Linguistification refers to the linguistifier's, i.e., speaker's process of making or speaking a given language for purposes advantageous or favorable to the linguistifier's cultural, economic, political, and social circumstances. In the process, participants were subjecting themselves to longtime immigrants' unwelcoming scrutiny (e.g., old timers may decide that there is no place for non-Canadian English speaking people in their area – another form of linguistification). Longtime immigrants' yardstick in linguistification is ostensibly Canadian English. Conversely, participants – as linguistifiers, rely on their language of sanctuary as bridge to Canadian English.

Linguistification, on both ends, has accorded the English language certain accoutrements essential for the continuing reign of the neoliberal globalization policy of privatizing education. These accoutrements include the IELTS that IEI-participants took as part of immigration requirements and the English classes that

IEI-participants attended, courtesy of not-for-profit organizations, to facilitate newcomer-participants' fast integration into Alberta's economy.

The issue on whether Alberta (Canada) is prepared to integrate newcomer-participants into its economy has cast Alberta's system of higher education and workplace setting as too wanting yet too superior to even welcome participants' linguistification efforts. Alberta, if it wants to supplant its graying population with university-educated and professional immigrants from the Global South, should open itself to the richly varied sociocultural and historical linguistic backgrounds of IEI-participants.

I also thought, in the interest of Canada's multiculturalism and open-door-policy to immigrants worldwide, that universities and colleges in Alberta could have language training centers that would train longtime immigrants, most of whom are native speakers of the Queen's English, about the uniqueness of the languages of newcomer-participants, most of whom are non-native speakers of English, to discourage longtime immigrants from showing forms of linguistic discrimination against newcomer-participants (e.g., feeling offended when the latter codeswitch into their language of sanctuary; getting amused to hear the latter speak fluent English; showing impatience over the latter's grammatically flawed utterances; raising eyebrows over the latter's queer accents, etc.). It would also aid longtime immigrants to look into the history of Western colonization of newcomer-participants, and realize that for some newcomer-participants, English has been the medium of interaction since their preschool days, making newcomer-participants speak it as if it were their mother tongue. The major difference would have to be defined along the question "which Northern country colonized what Southern country?"

There are nuances between British English and American English. To have British English and American English (plus Canadian English) spoken by the once-colonized study participants for the purpose of the market is to come up with ways of learning or teaching several variants of the English language. Another question that confronted me was "Who will teach longtime immigrants

about the uniqueness of the languages extant in Alberta?” I smiled at the thought that participant-ethnies would be able and qualified to share their experiences with longtime immigrants in their respective English variants. Participant-ethnies, however, might be more willing to learn Canadian English so as to show their seriousness in getting integrated into Alberta’s cultural and economic landscapes. After all, English was one of the required language fluencies that participant-ethnies met in coming to Canada (Alberta).

Nonetheless, I became apprehensive of how I could work out linguistic nuances in my field interviews so as to understand participants’ feelings about and representations of the institutional logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism) and of space (household of family with constructions of gender and sexuality; government, IOs; community/ethnie bound by culture, language, race; class, market) in their respective home countries and processes of decredentialing and recredentialing in their host country of immigration. Would I be able to assign appropriate meanings to their intended messages? Would there be effective communication between us? I found myself struggling to understand the English variants of three participants. It was difficult to transcribe the interviews that I had to keep going back to the live interview session, recalling instances of nonverbal cues and paralanguage to help me capture hidden meanings in their utterances. Despite these limitations, my research tools and instrument helped me in my exploratory study.

The linguistic variants of participant-ethnies apparently contribute to Alberta’s cultural mosaic and continuing neoliberal policy in favor of English as the language of internationalization. Additionally, the presence of participant-ethnies makes me ponder on what Amin (2008) wrote about ethnocracies,

Ethnocracies, or the rule of ethnies, serve as mere siphons upon which movements are constructed for imperialist reign. (p. 43)

I take this to mean that Amin (2008) was echoing Canada’s politics of *divide et impera* (divide and rule), i.e., Canada’s multiculturalism that respects multiple

ethnies is actually Canada's (Alberta's) divide-and-rule strategy so it could effectively rule over various ethnies.

Canada's Ethnification of IEI-Participants

Ethnification refers to Canada's process of recognizing, enhancing, and strengthening its immigrants' (i.e., study participants') multiple cultures, symbols, histories, ancestries for purposes advantageous or favorable to its multicultural landscape.

When I was writing this chapter on metanarratives, I thought of coining terms that would capture the explanations on 1) what Alberta did to Chinese, Filipino, and Indian ethnies-participants – stereotyping them into labor skills or occupational specializations, i.e., if one is Chinese, one makes for a good business investor; if an immigrant is Indian, that immigrant is an IT specialist; if an immigrant is Filipino, that immigrant is a healthcare practitioner, and 2) how my participants have resorted to their language of sanctuary in order to make them feel that they have a community in their host country where they can speak their language. My initial tendency was to look up the dictionary for the terms “ethnification” to capture the first concept and “linguistification,” to capture the second. My next tendency was to find out what the suffix “-ification” meant. I felt very confident that I was contributing the terms “ethnification” and “linguistification” to the social sciences terminology. However, when I was in Bristol on a visiting research fellowship and with due diligence, I again looked up the terms via google. Google led me to two important sources: Friedman for ethnification and Habermas for linguistification. The very terms I believed I coined, ethnification and linguistification, captured the essence of my first and second concepts, and closely approximate Friedman⁵⁹ and Habermas' explications, respectively.

⁵⁹ Ethnification is an expression of declining hegemony in global systems and occurs despite societies involved in the decline having or practicing different forms of ethnicity (Friedman, 1998). Specifically,

My soul searching led me to ask how much I was willing to accommodate in Alberta's mosaic without giving up my deep-seated belief system and practices. I was hoping to find answers to why ethnies remain as we/they are, with special characteristics that make each of us/them unique and identifiable from the rest of the ethnies. How do I go about finding answers?

I grew rich, through experiences in the offices of Alberta, and got involved in more plots with Canada's longtime immigrants from Europe. I taught some of my officemates that it was all right to have for lunch a big fried fish with a head, and that fish fillet did not appeal to me more. They taught me that some office workers would report illness over the sight or smell of that big fried fish with a head as reason for their absence. They taught me that my right to my choice gastronomic delights ends where their right to their preferred food of burger and fries begins. Did some longtime immigrants think that their gastronomic culture is superior over mine? I continued to take fish-with-a-head for lunch. They taught me that Alberta is bound by the Rockies, and not by the Pacific Ocean that surrounds my Philippines; hence, they took offense over the sight of what to me was edible fish-with-a-head. They taught me that my lunch item, not my work performance, could be the subject of a manager's reprimand. I taught them that I

Mass migration in conditions of the decline of a homogenizing modern identity has led to increasing ethnification of national social space and increasing ethnic conflict. This global ethnification is an overlay upon the general disorder that has been obvious in those sectors of the declining urban West and now ex Soviet worlds.... Ethnification is a global process [that has seen through the rise of racism, the recognition of indigenous people's rights to land and political-cultural autonomy, and the rebirth of older European subdivisions....] and informs and even forms the multicultural ideologies that have grown so powerful in the West, just as it works from the bottom up in the igniting and politicization of cultural identities among minorities of immigrants, subnational regions and indigenous peoples.... [giving rise to a more polarized world]. (Friedman, 1994, pp. 233, 238-243)

Friedman's description of ethnification as igniting and politicizing cultural identities among minorities of immigrants approximates my description about what would likely happen to Alberta's top three ethnies given the scarcity of economic resources.

have the right to eat what I want⁶⁰. I taught them that the manager could and should apologize for an unwise and a misplaced reprimand. I taught them that speaking for my rights has earned the respect, admiration, and friendship of my manager; although I also thought to myself that my manager was just patronizing me. I learned that Canada's multiculturalism has its boundaries for certain people, and is better read on its constitution than seen in practice.

In all these experiences, there was in me a feeling of vigilance against what came across as attacks on my ethnicity or my *ethnie*. I felt I was trying to juggle multiple layers of oppression simultaneously occurring in several spaces: household, community, state, international organizations, class, and market. I was wondering if my sense of wariness dates back to that unconquerable and indomitable spirit of my *ethnie*'s warriors who fought hard against the European colonizers in the 16th to the 19th century and against the budding Empire⁶¹ that was the United States from the 19th century onwards to keep the Philippine territory intact. This time, however, the war I was waging is on a different territory, outside of my warriors' country and it felt heavy on my soul. I thought I was bringing with me my home country's colonized history and skirmishes.

I hung onto the memory of my father who, as a conscripted member of the elite Filipino hunters' guerilla, fought with the Americans against the Japanese on Philippine soil during WWII. I felt that, with the tensions I had with some longtime immigrants, WWII is being relived right within me. I am the daughter of a warrior, I thought, and I could shield myself from Canada's guns, cannons, and bayonets that I felt are aimed at me. If my father were alive today, he would have

⁶⁰ I still remember my exact words to my manager, "You know very well that I miss my home country and the only link I have with my country at this point is its gastronomic culture. You do not want to deny me that, do you?"

⁶¹ Hobsbawm (2008), in *On Empire*, details how the USA became an Empire and how Great Britain desisted from becoming one. From being the budding Empire in the early 20th century, the USA is fast losing its grip on the title as the early years of the 21st century show.

taught me how to wage a win-win war. He, however, knew and passed onto me the reasons wars are waged and the fact that there are no victors in war⁶².

My thoughts wandered. If Canada (Alberta) is serious about welcoming more immigrants to supplant its aging population, I thought that Canada should offer classes on people's culture (gastronomic or otherwise) to longtime immigrants. It seems that Alberta's annual holding of Heritage Festival in summer is insufficient. I would take this to mean that not everybody gets to participate in this festival for one reason or another. I thought that Alberta's workers should get to know each other through exposures to each other's beliefs and practices to avoid intercultural misgivings. The issue of how best to forge intercultural bonds remains to me a challenge. Perhaps I should listen to more stories?

Worried that no Filipinos or Indians will come forward to share their stories, I was quite eager to see Andrzej, one of the four directors of a not-for-profit organization that helps newcomers integrate fast into Alberta's economy. Andrzej's voice sounded very encouraging and very accommodating on the telephone. I knew from the sound of his name that he is from one of the countries in Central Europe, presumably a believer in saints beatified or canonized by the Pope. Andrzej assured me that he had, in the last three weeks, actually posted my ad-flyer asking for interested immigrants from China, India, or the Philippines to come forward and share their stories. I thought that putting a face to a name may help establish trust with potential participants. They perhaps needed to be convinced that someone like them, a landed immigrant, is doing a critique of the highly perceived exploitation of cheap Asian labor in Alberta.

The bus ride to the center gave me the chill on a deep freeze day. It was a -33°C that morning, and I made sure to bundle up. Sometimes my feet get frostbitten with the long wait for buses on snowy and flurry mornings. They were starting to get frostbite when the bus finally came. The one-hour ride, including transfers, made me anxious. Will I be able to get potential participants in this trip?

⁶² Long after my father's demise, I would read the wisdom of his thoughts in Arendt's (1965) *On Revolution*.

The center's front desk lady looked friendly. Her features tell me she's Asian. She right away asked me to feel comfortably seated, and if I would want coffee to keep me warm. Then she dialled the office telephone and spoke to someone about my presence. A lady came out, and escorted me to Andrzej's office. Her features hinted that I may have a prospect-interviewee from India. I asked her if she was willing to join my pool of interviewees. She gave me an assuring smile coupled with a yes.

When I finally came face to face with Andrzej, his venerable countenance struck me as having gone through a number of encounters in defense of Albertan newcomers: encounters that would include fighting for bigger budget only to be slapped with more cuts by those whom Andrzej initially perceived as strong supporters and partners of not-for-profit-organizations. What seems like exhaustion on his face though gets overlaid by his enthusiasm to speak about the organization's continuing mission of providing a series of programs that would facilitate newcomers' integration into Alberta's economy. Andrzej then led me to the classrooms where clients coming from different countries were seated. He briefly introduced me, and I started my pitch, hoping to get these clients to come forward, and be counted in my study. There were Africans, Europeans, and Asians in four different classrooms. I told them my story all over again, to inspire them to share theirs. Several questions were then raised, almost subjecting me to a battery of suspicion: how is your study going to help us? Can we get jobs right away when we share our story? We are from Africa, and we have the same story. Why are you focusing only on three countries in Asia? One even shared that coming to Alberta and getting decredentialed was a personal choice, albeit speaking on behalf of his classmates and going further as to motivate his listeners to also think about the good that Alberta has done for them. I answered their questions as best as I could, leaving no doubt that I share their fate and I meant to do something about it.

On another deep freeze day (-39°C in the morning and -33°C in the afternoon, excluding the wind chill), I decided to go ahead with my scheduled

field trip to Millgate, the very south of Edmonton where buses were rare, and if they did ply the route, every half an hour was precious a wait lest I get hypothermia. I made sure I wrote down my ETS notes that ETS call center agents ably dictated. One bus ride brought me to the transit center where I got to see the imposing facade of Hotel MacDonald – very massive. The hotel struck me as impervious, a towering structure that seems to hide all the secrets and pains of my IEIs’ decredentialing, ethnification, linguistic prejudice, racialized education and labor, and recredentialing. Perhaps the hotel itself was built by the skillful hands of longtime immigrants who were also decredentialed or recredentialed? The sight of this hotel was enough to let me kill time and to imagine untold stories of injustice and unease as I waited for the bus with other commuters fresh out of their offices. For a while, I looked at my fellow suburbanites, mostly covered in black from head to toe – black gloves, black boots, black down-filled winter coats, and yes, a smudge of rainbow for their scarves. What made them endure the deep freeze? My thoughts wandered to my study participants mostly coming from Asian countries known to beam with tropical clime. Indeed, what made them come to Alberta where winter bites?

I started feeling uneasy when the bus driver was not showing up. Was there really such a bus route? Forty-five minutes at the transit center had been a long wait. I have seen several skin colors, listening to them speak variants of the English language while craning their neck to check for Mr. or Ms. Bus Driver. Only the heater inside the transit center seemed not to care less about droves of commuters coming in and out for a temporary shield against the harsh cold of the ubiquitous white flakes that have piled up on the streets. The hotel across the street still made for an attractive sight, its neatly carved portals looked uncovered, even undisturbed by the snow. I finally caught a glimpse of my bus, and prepared myself to be chauffeured for another 45 minutes into a never-never land, into 26th avenue and 45th street – too far from my 87th avenue and 170th street where the once world famous West Edmonton Mall still stands.

My interviewee was still at work, and my hands and feet were starting to get frostbite. My cellular phone proved to be useless as I wasn't getting any answer. I could not find the address, and I was beginning to panic. Finally! My cellular phone brought me good news. "Stay inside the gurdwara. It's a temple. I don't want you outside. It's very cold. My husband will pick you up from there." That was Amala.

I managed to keep warm inside the gurdwara, the Sikh temple where monotheist Indians usually worship on Sundays. It was on the corner of an area peopled by the Indian ethnies. Once inside the temple, I was reminded of Durkheim's discussion about the totem, a place or a symbol that draws people together. It is where people find oneness with others as well as assurance of protection from perceived threats or dangers. I looked around and noticed food and milk to keep anyone who happened by from hunger and thirst. I noticed a mother with two children. They were talking in Hindi. I smiled at them. They smiled back. At that instant, smile became a universal language between us. It was the only language that registered on our lips as we tried to warm up our already frostbitten fingers and toes.

I sat on a chair, and watched more people come in and stop by a wooden shelf stocked with footwear. People who worship in the temple take off their shoes, put these shoes on the shelf and walk onto the red carpet. The gesture of taking their shoes off and putting these shoes on the shelf struck me as respect for the place that stands as a symbol of the presence of the Supreme Being. The red carpet, for me, connotes an extravagant welcome for the worshipping lot that is comprised of little deities⁶³. There was extravagance, indeed, as one gets inside and sees three bearded and turbaned men beat the gamelans. The sound of the gamelan was soothing for a visiting soul like me that I forgot about my frostbitten

⁶³ I have learned, since 2001, to put my hands together in a 45-degree angle with my chin, my elbows raised horizontally in a prayerful stance and my head eventually bowed as I say Namastè which means, "I salute the divine being in you," to people I meet in temples and gatherings. I believe that everyone has a spark of the Supreme Being and is therefore a little deity.

fingers and toes, and the fact that I speak not a Hindi word. I fixed my gaze on the ceiling. There were chandeliers that I would see only in posh dwellings. Little deities on earth always get the red carpet treatment at the gurdwara, I thought to myself.

Perhaps the gurdwara is one lasting symbol of the Indian ethnîe that keeps Indians solid and makes their ethnîe a cultural force in Alberta's mosaic. Amala finally came to pick me up, and told me more stories about the gurdwara. I remembered the smile flashed at me inside the gurdwara. That smile has become more than a greeting or a universal language, its meaning more colorful and much fuller than when I entered the gurdwara.

My lack of knowledge of Hindi failed to contain my enthusiasm to hear stories from the Indian ethnîe. Neither was I bothered when the participants would talk with their family members or officemates or telephone callers in Hindi. I acknowledge that the Hindi language binds them and makes them feel at ease in their host country. Much like the gurdwara, Hindi indicates common roots and imbibes all of Indian ethnîe's shared histories, myths, symbolisms, struggles, and triumphs. I may not know Hindi for which I could be labeled an outsider linguistically, but I saw myself as totally an insider, experientially. Both the Indian ethnîe-participants and I shared a common field of experience as IEs in Alberta, and we agreed to have English as our tool for understanding. I became conscious though that there remained terms and expressions that, no matter how English has managed to supply, could not capture the essence of Indian ethnîe. Inasmuch as they are bilingual or multilingual, Indian ethnîe-participants conveniently codeswitched to their mother tongue when the need to communicate with their families or fellow Indians arose.

Perhaps there are more words and thoughts that English could not capture or translate into the world's most popularly spoken language, Chinese, or vice versa, i.e., Chinese words and thoughts that could not be translated into English. I again donned my interviewer's cap on a day when the thermostat read -17°C, several notches higher than the previous days or the projected deep freeze the

following week. Getting my interviewee to agree on a Saturday as interview day made me realize that this particular interviewee was trying to accommodate me in his full schedule. He worked part time at a popular Chinese supermarket in a big mall. His weekdays were filled. That Sunday was a day he reserved for helping out his friend who would move house. I grabbed this chance to finally see him in person. Our e-correspondences and telephone conversations told me that this guy had been very eager to share his story. I made sure I have the bus route and times properly written on my scheduler. On a snowy weekend, buses may be late or worse, they do not come at all until half hour later or an hour later. It was unfortunate that the first bus I was to take was several minutes late that I missed the second bus en route my participant's apartment. It was good that two different buses ply the route to my interviewee's place. I called him up, and asked him for the alternate route to his flat. The bus driver gave me a different direction, and advised me to board another bus. Knowing that my participant, Minsheng, obviously knew how to get to where he lived, I asked him to convince the bus driver that I got on the right bus.

Minsheng, who is about 5'8" tall, was standing by the bus stop when I got off. "Minsheng?" I asked and he extended his right hand for a handshake, as if to acknowledge that indeed he was the guy I have been corresponding with for the last few weeks or so. Together, we trod the snow-filled one-and-a-half block leading to his flat. The distance was made shorter by Minsheng's sharing about himself.

The Chinese ethnics in my study spoke Mandarin or Cantonese. Except for Chinese words for "hello" and "thank you," I could not speak Chinese. Minsheng offered a cup of tea, as he was explaining to his housemate in Chinese what my visit was all about. I observed, too, just like with the Indian ethnics, that the Chinese ethnics found sanctuary in their language. Codeswitching from English to Mandarin or Cantonese occurred among my Chinese interviewees to give way to messages from their families. Despite fluency in English, my Chinese interviewees, when prompted through telephone calls from their families, reverted

to their language of convenience or what I call language of sanctuary – language being a key cultural component or symbol of their ethnicity that gives them feelings of ease, comfort, and a sense of unity with their own people. I was not surprised why I did not take any offense when codeswitching happened. I knew that the participants come from various linguistic backgrounds and influences.

My ancestral and affinal links with Chinese ethnics surfaced during my fieldwork. I recall those moments, too, when acquaintances would think I was Chinese and my curious queries as to their initial assumptions. They would refer to my skin color and my eyes that, on hindsight, remain tools for racial profilers. I did not know whether I should be proud of my Chinese affiliation brought about by my physical features that racial profilers would love to feast on for whatever purpose these biological features serve them. I knew I would stay proud of Chinese history, much of which has been charted since the putting up of China's Great Wall. So much has happened before and after I climbed that Wall in the early 2000s. I remember staring at The Old Man's⁶⁴ wall photo on the Square where the massacre of 1989 took place, going to the Forbidden City, lighting incense in temples, looking at the images and domestic spaces of concubines, using chopsticks, and enjoying the food that offered various degrees of spiciness.

I could say the same thing of the Filipino ethnics whose national language, Filipino which is a mixture of all existing languages in the Philippines including borrowed terms from the Spanish, Sanskrit, Chinese, and the English languages, became the Filipino ethnics' language of sanctuary. Some of my interviewees were not too confident of their English facility but obliged to communicate in the language of my study. Like my Chinese and Indian ethnics-participants, the Filipinos were at least bilingual and at most multilingual. Aside from the uniqueness of their ethnics that has its own culture, histories, myths, struggles, symbols, and victories, it was perhaps my participant-ethnics' bilinguality or multilinguality that made it difficult for them to master the global English or to cope with the English of the Canadians. Their language seems to be the harbinger

⁶⁴ I refer to Mao Tse Tung or Mao Zedong as The Old Man.

of their uniqueness as an ethnies and of their identity that Alberta's neoliberal policy regime cannot divest of IEI-ethnies.

The occasion of having members of the Filipino ethnies as interviewees happened on a day special to my contact person. It was her birthday. For Filipinos, conversing while dining is fun. Filipinos' gastronomic culture is as colorful as the stories that get mixed in bouts of laughter and singing. I remember my story about my packed lunch of fish-with-a-head in my old office. Had the participants heard my story about the fish-with-a-head, they would have asserted themselves, too, and shown that fish-with-a-head makes for a nutritious Filipino staple. Most Filipinos, no matter how well-educated, still get conscious about their facility in English. Among the engineer-participants, English is not exactly a favorite. So when they came across someone who seems to be confident in expressing herself in English, the engineer-participants clammed up. Perhaps, the fact that I also belong to the Filipino ethnies makes fellow Filipino interviewees feel conscious of their plight in Alberta – getting decredentialed.

If there is anything that all participants should be wary of or feel conscious about, I would say that it is getting ethnified for Canada's purposes. Within the context of Alberta (Canada) comprising the bourgeoisie and of the participants comprising the working class forced to seek refuge in their respective ethnies, Canada's ethnification would fall within what Wallerstein (1991) wrote about the bourgeoisie utilizing ethnic affiliations and sense of nationalism *if and only if* these ethnic affiliations serve the bourgeoisie's own interests (in Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p. 230). Canada's continuing ethnification of IEI-participants somewhat perpetuates its neoliberal policy regime of privatized education and labor standards. IEI-participants definitely have a role in their own ethnification as their ethnomethods would show in Chapters 5-7. I was just worried about how ethnification remains Canada's constitutional version of multiculturalism operating under its tactical *divide et impera*, slowly dissolving immigrant-ethnies. Precariously, such dissolution may trickle down into equally painful and slow death of ethnies that are not supportive of or participating in the labor export

policy of source countries of migration. *Divide et impera* has a strange way of becoming global.

The Global Migrant in Postmodernity

There is so much about the period of postmodernity that struck me about the global migrant as being postmodern: the global migrant is a concrete symbol of the breakdown of institutional logics of power and space. In my discussions and analyses in Chapters 5-9, I have so far identified several faces of Canada's (Alberta) labor import policy in which immigrants may consider themselves as complicit actors or critical agents: accommodation through decredentialing, ethnification, linguistic prejudice, linguistification, racialized education and labor, and recredentialing.

In the process of identifying these faces, I came up with a metaphor that I believe aptly captures the essence of Canada's unwritten policies in importing labor. Canada may be likened to Hydra in Greek mythology: the serpentlike creature that has many heads each of which grew two more when cut. It is for each of the migrants to decide whether any of them can or will end up as Heracles and Iolaus who, after getting help from fellow gods, finally extinguished Hydra's immortality. The migrants' Heracles and Iolaus may put an end to Canada's Hydra through their own creative means: in their continuing stay in Canada (Alberta) or in their decision to go back to their home countries. Agnes in Garfinkel's study faced Hydra and, with his own weapons wielded like Heracles and Iolaus, overcame.

On another note, my metaphor in Greek mythology may be inappropriate as the period of my study, 2008-2010, is long past the ancient civilization of Rome and Greece when gods and goddesses were representations of human virtue and vice. IEIs in my study, nonetheless, may find this metaphor instructive: faced with postmodernity's Hydra, IEIs may be forced to wield Heracles and Iolaus' weapons. I believe there is, in each of us, a Heracles and an Iolaus. Agnes had his.

IEI-participants, due to their political agency that resulted/continue to result in the fusion of the logics of power and space, have helped sustain

postmodernity in global migration. Characterized as having proprivate individual and antistate biases, postmodernity continues to inspire IEI-global migrants to weave their stories of losses and triumphs in a simulacrum whose final theme remains subjective and has yet to be identified.

Chapter 10

Summary of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

In **Chapter 1**, I presented the backdrop of my research: the years 2008-2010 that marked Canada's (specifically Alberta's) call for the continuing immigration of the university-educated and the professionals from China, India, and the Philippines to supplant its graying population. A number of immigrants heeded Canada's labor import call despite or perhaps because of the major global event in 2008 that left many – even the university-educated and the once professionally employed, jobless. Canada's (Alberta's) call promised jobs for its labor import. Among those who responded were highly skilled Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians thereby consistently making their respective home countries as Canada's top three source countries of skilled workforce since 2006. I limited my study to the narratives of five Chinese, five Filipinos, and five Indians who arrived in Alberta (Canada) in 2008-2010 and observed how these responding immigrants – in their own voices – denounce decredentialing and recredentialing in Canadian institutions.

The plight of the newly arrived highly skilled Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians in Alberta interested me due to the fact that I share their experience. I chose these particular immigrants as I have been dealing with people with roots in China and India back in my home country, the Philippines: as my relatives by affinity, as fellow scholars, as businesspeople, and as friends. I thought that my familiarity with Chinese, Filipinos, and Indians – although in a different context, would somewhat help me understand and explore my own life as Canada's landed immigrant. I believed that they could help me explain the many issues and questions pertaining to stories of decredentialing, nonrecognition of credentials, racial discrimination, and recredentialing that I have been hearing from fellow immigrants.

My fellow immigrants' narratives set the general aim of my study: to understand and explain continuing imbalances in international movements.

Specifically, my study 1) compared the human-and-social capital of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian landed immigrants in Alberta (Canada) with the higher education policies and practices of their respective home countries; 2) looked at the possible link these policies and practices might have with Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing education for its labor import; and 3) examined how this link shapes or is shaped by broader political, economic and social policies and practices of international organizations. I wanted to determine whether Alberta's (Canada's) neoliberal globalization policy of privatizing education among participating countries in global migration has facilitated the delivery of neoliberal Alberta's promises of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.

My task as a scholar is, through my study results, to alert people who are planning to migrate to Canada, fellow scholars who are exploring dynamics in global migration, and policymakers of Alberta, China, India, and the Philippines who are challenged to review policies and intervene through timely measures towards social productivity within the principle of basic human rights. So much can be gleaned from the systematic decredentialing and recredentialing of highly skilled immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines as a byproduct of lopsided international relations between home and host countries of migration.

In my objective to point out the crisis of social ills such as exploitation of highly skilled labor in Alberta, I came up with the following assumptions:

- 1) Alberta's pull factors for highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines consist of a) Alberta's labor market needs as supplemented by Alberta Premier Stelmach's 2008 to 2010 intensive campaigns for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian professionals to migrate to Alberta; b) Alberta's preferential import of highly educated labor from China, India, and the Philippines; c) China's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; d) India's education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; e) the Philippines' education-cum-labor supply capacity to address Alberta's labor demands; and f) IOs' policies supportive of balancing out Alberta's labor market demand and China, India,

- and the Philippines' labor supply capacity.
- 2) China, India, and the Philippines' push factors for Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals to Alberta consist of a) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian familial or affinal links with predecessor-immigrants in Alberta; b) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian individual and preferential choice for professional practice in Alberta; c) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian collective-national decision to supply the labor market needs of Alberta simultaneous with the prudent collective-national appraisal of their respective labor market supply and demand vis-à-vis internationalized migration; and d) China, India, and the Philippines' respective membership and role in IOs vis-à-vis internationalized migration.
 - 3) The role of Alberta, being one of Canada's provinces, in the supraterritorial regime of Asian labor importation is that of a) a Canadian substate that echoes Canada's role in the larger geopolitical space borne out of colonial histories and postwar (WWII) relationships. Canada is a commonwealth country of a former colonizer, Great Britain, and ostensibly plays a key role in carving out Alberta's geopolitical space in the globe; and b) the supraterritorial local site that defines the terms and conditions of labor migration and import of highly skilled professionals from China, India, and the Philippines into Canada.
 - 4) The role of China, India, and the Philippines as highly skilled labor exporting countries reveals a complex interplay of patriarchal, bureaucratic, ethnic, and capitalist institutions reflecting and engendering institutional push-and-pull dynamics with the labor importing country (Alberta) that a) question the lopsidedness of prosperity scales between home and host countries of migration; b) challenge the absence or lack of just and democratic labor practices in Alberta; c) raise the ethical dimensions in home and host countries' labor relations; d) reflect China's emergent leadership on these institutional dynamics, such leadership impacting, if not trickling down on, its fellow Asian labor-exporting countries: India and the Philippines; and e) bare Asian relational dynamics of regional collaboration or co-optation by

Alberta's powerbroker in IOs' road maps, Canada as a commonwealth country of Great Britain.

- 5) Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing higher education towards meeting its own labor market needs exploits China, India, and the Philippines' labor market by importing these three countries' highly skilled professionals under the right of global mobility clause. Key indicators of this exploitation include
 - a) Alberta's decredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals;
 - b) Alberta's nonrecognition of credentials earned in immigrants' home countries China, India, and the Philippines; and
 - c) Alberta's recredentialing of Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals in Alberta's privatized higher education system.
- 6) Simultaneous with realizing its labor market needs, Alberta is carving its geopolitical niche within Canada, China, India, and the Philippines' geopolitical space. Conversely, the three source countries of highly skilled labor immigrants are defining their respective locations in this space with the attendant interplay of their own institutional logics of power (patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, capitalism) and space (household of family with constructions of gender and sexuality; government, IOs; community/ethnic bound by culture, language, race; class, market). This broader push-and-pull dynamic between home and host countries of labor migration is redefining international relations vis-à-vis labor exchanges.
- 7) The continuing labor exploitation of high Chinese, Filipino, and Indian highly skilled professionals in the form of decredentialing, nonrecognition of foreign credentials, and recredentialing in Alberta, Canada narrates the broader role of the IOs' neoliberal globalization policy vis-à-vis global immigrants' high human-and-social capital and labor thereby exposing
 - a) a crisis in IOs' power relations among member-countries; and
 - b) IOs' systematic orchestration of transforming Asian (Chinese, Filipino, Indian) middle class into Global North's working class and the perpetuation of colonial binaries and Global North's imperial designs.

- 8) The exploited Asian labor force in Alberta have reached a point of no return, and are challenged to sink or swim in the neoliberal policy regime of continuing labor exploitation. They either ultimately end up as a) complicit actors to their own exploitation, turning into an indispensable labor force to IOs' imperial powerbrokers; or b) critically aware and empowered actors, exposing and helping reform or transform the IOs' regime.

I also identified the rationale and significance of my study along with its limitations. Phrases and terms that are significant in my study were likewise operationally defined in the text and footnote.

In **Chapter 2**, I looked into previous works of fellow scholars that are relevant to my present inquiry. I categorized these works into four subtopics based on my study objectives, assumptions, and research questions set out in the first chapter: the relation among higher education's neoliberal policy direction, governments' roles in higher education and labor policies, and international organizations' policies on higher education and labor of highly skilled global migrants. My four subtopics showed the interplay of social, political, and economic institutions: on higher education and government's rationality; on higher education policies and the neoliberal policy of privatizing education; on the influence of IOs policies on higher education and the neoliberal policy of privatizing education; and on the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race. An examination of these works yields the fact that there has yet to be a study on the combined structural logics of space and power in global migration and its dynamic with individual immigrants from Canada's top three source countries of highly skilled workforce: China, India, and the Philippines.

In **Chapter 3**, I laid down the social theoretical model in global migration. I anchored this model on Critical Social Theory, Critical Theory, and Ethnomethodology and eventually came up with a model that depicted the global migrant as a critical individual capable of making a choice and of participating in the phenomenon of international migration. I showed that the social reality of global migration to Alberta (Canada) consists of agents (highly skilled immigrants

from China, India, and the Philippines) and structure (space and power). I also showed that structural logics of space are comprised of 1) household consisting of the family with constructions of gender and sexuality; 2) state and international organizations; 3) community/ethnie bound by culture, language, and race; and 4) class and market while the structural logics of power consist of patriarchy, bureaucracy, ethnicity, and capitalism. I subsumed the micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race in relevant quadrants in the model.

I presented selected development debates and discourses along with theoretical perspectives on internationalized immigration of professionals that are significant in understanding Alberta's ongoing neoliberal policy regime of privatizing education with its attendant impact on labor of its global migrants. Juxtaposed against these debates and perspectives are relevant events in China, India, and the Philippines during modernity and postmodernity. Modernity is characterized as replete with debates and discourses on development: export oriented industrialization, modernization, import substitution industrialization, capacity building, and people-centered development, among several.

I also highlighted the period of my study on Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants who came to Alberta in 2008-2010 as taking place during postmodernity. Associated with the neoliberal policy regime of antistate (structure) and proprivate-individual (agency) biases, structural breakdowns, and time-and-space compression for flexible accumulation and global mobility of labor and capital, postmodernity is believed to have begun in the early 1980s and to have proliferated in the late 2000s. Postmodernity began with the end of modernity, the period (from the post-WWII to the early 1980s) when institutional relations worldwide accelerated the capitalist economy.

In **Chapter 4**, I showed how interpretive social science – through Garfinkel's brainchild of a concept, i.e., ethnomethodology (EM) – gives primacy to the individuals' ability to shape their preferred social order. Defined as the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments

of organized artful practices of everyday life (Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 11),

EM accords global migrants ample credit as active shapers of their social milieu. Along with its similarity to critical realism or triangulation method, the philosophical roots of, convergences, and divergences with EM as well as relevant literature were presented. Ethnomethodology, given the various ethnomethods that every social individual is capable of acting out or practicing, can stand as the critical realists' wilful and manifold sense making of the world they live in.

In a matrix, I presented the IEIs' ability to critically weigh their plight as highly skilled in their home countries but subjected to Alberta's (Canada's) multiple layers of promises that have yet to be delivered: democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.

I also described my research instrument and procedure as an adaptation and a combination of the many forms of Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

In **Chapter 5**, I presented the participants' demographics: their ethnomethods that enabled them to participate in global migration and that subjected them to Alberta's (Canada's) "racialized education and labor." I started writing their stories and my own observations and analyses as juxtaposed against some of my study objectives and assumptions. I allowed the voices of the participants to surface, and found their multiple voices singing orchestrated tunes at times and echoing discordant lines at other times.

I continued to take note of my IEIs' ethnomethods in **Chapter 6**. This time, I analyzed their ethnomethods in relation to the spatial and power logics of institutions that made up the social theoretical model in global migration in Chapter 3.

Chapter 7 presented my IEIs' ethnomethods vis-à-vis the push-pull factors in global migration. The study objectives and assumptions were the bases of my discussions and analyses in this chapter.

I laid down the theoretical, methodological, and policy implications of my study in **Chapter 8**. Drawing inspiration from the IEI-participants, I presented

policy alternatives to Alberta's existing neoliberal globalization policy of privatized education and workforce standards.

Participants' narratives were juxtaposed with my own narratives and representation of my own struggles and victories as a permanent resident of Canada (British Columbia initially) cast as "beyond the narratives." **Chapter 9** presented my voice both as an insider in the phenomenon of global migration and an outsider who is distanced from IEI-participants.

"Beyond the narratives" enabled me to identify various faces of Canada's (Alberta's) labor import policy for its 15 landed immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines. One face is Canada's "accommodation of these highly skilled immigrants through decredentialing and recredentialing," an indication of what I have identified in Chapter 5 as "racialized education and labor." Another face is Canada's "ethnification" of its top three ethnies: a subtle way of promoting its constitutional provision of multiculturalism while simultaneously covering its *divide et impera* designs that systematically clip the uniqueness of participant-ethnies. Still another is "linguistification," IEI-participants' possible tool of coping with their bilingualism and/or multilingualism while relying on their "language of sanctuary" in their respective ethnies to learn Canadian English.

The present chapter, **Chapter 10**, summarizes this study. I cap this chapter with recommendations for future research.

Recommendations for Future Researchers

I submit the following topics or suggestions that other social science scholars and students may wish to work on:

- 1) A replication of my present study using country-sites in Africa may reveal interesting patterns in Alberta's (or in other provinces in Canada) multicultural workforce that smacks of decredentialing and recredentialing, credential deflation, and underemployment of African highly skilled professionals.
- 2) The educational qualifications of government workers for entry level positions and the salary scale for these positions compared with the

educational qualifications of decredentialed and recredentialed professionals in survival jobs and the salary scale for these jobs will contribute to people's understanding of racialized labor in Canada (Alberta).

- 3) Alberta's reliance on internationalized migration to address its workforce needs, and failure to provide IEs with appropriate credential recognition mechanisms will present the historical and ongoing underpinnings of Western colonization as inimical to the neoliberal principles of democracy, justice, peace, and prosperity.
- 4) The documents of IOs/IFIs that engender and support the neoliberal globalization policy as the guidepost in market-driven knowledge economy may show how IOs/IFIs' leading members maneuver international relations in favor of the Global North.
- 5) The paradoxes of neoliberal globalization policy in terms of opportunities for human-and-social capital formation across ages, cultures, genders, languages, and races will reveal nuances in institutional logics of power (bureaucracy, capitalism, ethnicity, and patriarchy) of target country-sites.
- 6) The role of not-for-profit organizations in abating or intensifying cases of decredentialed and recredentialed, credential deflation, skills re-formation, and underemployment of highly skilled professionals may expose the nature of these not-for-profit organizations as Alberta's partner in realizing its International Education Framework or as being co-opted by the Government of Canada in its implicit support for the neoliberal policy framework of leading IOs.
- 7) Albertan immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines with high human-and-social capital, through their stories of decredentialed, recredentialed, and underemployment, are setting a precedent that may redefine or perpetuate directions of internationalized migration (i.e., from the Global South to the Global North, or South-to-South, or North-to-North) for future Albertan (Canadian) immigrants.

- 8) Chinese, Filipino, and Indian immigrants' micropolitics of culture, gender, language, and race consist of interactional dynamics and complexities that may be these immigrants' focal instrument for negotiating their fast inclusion in Alberta's economy.
- 9) Curriculum specialists may see the wisdom in developing curricula that address the nature and trajectory of policy alternatives I presented in Chapter 8.
- 10) A longitudinal study on the plight of permanent residents or landed immigrants from Canada's top three source countries of migration may be done from the time of their initial settlement until five years of their stay in Canada when these immigrants may have become Canadian citizens.
- 11) A comparative study using Cultural Political Economy on what comprises highly skilled immigrants' reasonable and unreasonable acculturation to host country's (Canada) workplace may help policymakers work out alternatives to what is perceived as oppressive decredentialing and recredentialing of immigrants.
- 12) A study using institutional ethnography on how policymakers and bureaucrats in higher education look into immigration policies and the value of immigrants' education may reveal the driving factors behind decredentialing and recredentialing.

Limitations to the proposed topics above will have to be set accordingly.

My task as researcher within the context of pursuing a doctoral degree in Educational Policy Studies goes beyond the walls of the academe. I take with my research at least 15 cases and voices of internationally educated immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines and submit them to the attention of the Government of Alberta and its ministries charged with the mission of facilitating the quick integration of highly skilled labor into Alberta's (Canada's) economy. It is also my desire that the results of this research, specifically my proposed policy alternatives, be accorded appropriate action by the Citizenship and Immigration Canada for all the implications these 15 cases presented.

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Appendix A1. Email Recruitment of Potential Participants

Date:

Dear _____:

I am a graduate student of the University of Alberta, and I am doing my dissertation research on highly educated professionals from China (five participants), India (five participants), and the Philippines (five participants), who came as landed immigrants (or permanent residents) to Alberta between 2008 and 2010. I want to interview them regarding their experiences as highly educated immigrants as they initially settle in Alberta. I want to find out more about their home country (China, India, or the Philippines), their educational and work experiences in their country, their country's policies and constitutional provisions as well as international organizations' policies on labor and education, and how these policies may have influenced their decision to migrate to Alberta. In my interview with them, I am interested in listening to their representation of these policies that may be related to their condition as a Canadian immigrant, and to their experiences as newly landed immigrants looking for work based on credentials earned in their home countries. Their participation in my research will help in the policy direction of my study that aims to describe, explain and offer alternatives to their experiences of deskilling, nonrecognition of credentials and course upgrading as well-educated newly landed immigrants in Alberta.

My audio-taped interview with them may last from 90 to 120 minutes. After the interview, I shall ask them if there are emails or letters or blogs or messages that are related to their decision and action to migrate to Alberta that they are willing to share with me. With their permission, I shall read these emails or letters or blogs or messages in front of them, and shall take down notes to help me better understand my potential participants. After I have read them and have taken down notes, these emails or letters or blogs or messages will be handed back to them right away.

I hope you/your not-for-profit organization known to assist newcomers in Alberta to integrate fast into Canada can help me gather a pool of potential participants who have the following characteristics:

- 1) landed immigrants (permanent resident) at the time of landing in Alberta between 2008-2010
- 2) professionals or university graduates in China, India, or the Philippines who have worked in their home countries (China, India, or the Philippines) for a few months or for many years before deciding to migrate to Alberta
- 3) professionals who can communicate in English
- 4) landed immigrants from China, India, or the Philippines who are willing to share their work and credentials experiences as newcomers to Alberta
- 5) landed immigrants from China, India, or the Philippines) who are willing to be interviewed in their homes or in places where they feel most comfortable.

If any of your friends or coworkers/newcomer-clients meeting the above characteristics is interested in participating in my study, please ask him/her to contact me at (____) ____-____ or through my email address _____@ualberta.ca. I will provide potential participants with more details about my study and study procedures. The potential participants will be asked to sign the Letter of Informed Consent that assures them of confidentiality, privacy and anonymity of their participation in my research. This letter likewise assures them of my compliance with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants that can be accessed through this URL:

<http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/gfcpolicymanual/policymanualsection66.cfm>

Since I am a student working on my dissertation, I am not in a position to offer any financial incentive for my potential participants. I can only offer my potential participants an e-copy of the findings of my research that aim to describe and explain the issue of labor exploitation experienced by newly landed immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines.

I hope you/your not-for-profit organization known to assist newcomers in Alberta can help me in my research undertaking. (I am open to helping your not-for-profit organization in my own little way, like volunteering my time. Please tell me how many number of hours is good for your not-for-profit organization. I have teaching skills in ESL, writing and speaking.)

Please be also informed that I am including the **Ethics Approval Statement** for my research project:

“The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Sincerely,

Maria Veronica Caparas

(____) ____-____

_____[@ualberta.ca](mailto:____@ualberta.ca)

Appendix A2. Letter of Initial Contact

Date

Dear

I am a doctoral student at the University of Alberta and I am doing my dissertation research about professional landed immigrants (permanent residents) from China, India, and the Philippines who came to Alberta in 2008, 2009 and 2010. I myself am a landed immigrant. I want to interview you regarding your experiences as a highly educated immigrant in Alberta and respected professional in your home country. Given my status as a student, I cannot offer you any financial incentive for your participation in my study. I can only give you an e-copy of the summary of my findings. Your participation in my study will be helpful for our fellow landed immigrants, government leaders, labor and educational policymakers, migration experts, community workers, NGOs, and educators as they publicly engage in the migrant condition and work towards policy reforms and advocacies for improvement of the migrant condition. I hope you can tell me more about your home country, your educational and work experiences in your country, or your country's policies and constitutional provisions as well as international organizations' policies on labor and education, and how these policies may have influenced your decision to migrate to Alberta.

In my interview with you, I shall ask you to draw one slip of paper from three slips. On each of these papers is written a situation related to your country's policies on education and labor, or international policies on education and labor migration, or Alberta's policies on education and labor. I will converse with you as you give your representation of this situation. I am interested in listening to your representation of any of these policies that may be related to your condition as a Canadian immigrant. Our conversations will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. Your identity will remain confidential in the course of this study. You may share your initial work experiences in Alberta, and the accreditation tests and courses that you have taken or are asked to take in order to practice your profession in Alberta.

After my 90 to 120-minute interview with you, I shall ask you to share available messages, emails, letters or blogs that are related to your decision or action to migrate to Alberta. With your permission, I shall read these messages, emails, letters or blogs in front of you and I shall take down notes to help me better understand your experiences as a newly landed immigrant. After I have read them and taken down notes, these messages, emails, letters or blogs will be handed back to you right away.

I hope you will grant my request for your participation in my study. If you believe that your participation in my study will be of help and benefit to you and to other immigrants, please contact me through my email address and telephone number below. Once you have decided to participate in my study, you will be given more details about your participation and be asked to sign a Letter of Informed Consent.

As a graduate student researcher, I shall comply with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants that can be accessed through the URL: <http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/gfcpolicymanual/policymanualsection66.cfm>

Please be also informed that I am including the **Ethics Approval Statement** for my research project:

“The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Sincerely,

Maria Veronica Caparas
Graduate student
() -

_____[@ualberta.ca](mailto:____@ualberta.ca)

Noted:

Jerrold L. Kachur, PhD
Supervisor, Educational
Policy Studies
Faculty of Education University
of Alberta

Appendix A3. Recruitment Flyer Posted Online



Hí! I'm Verónica and I am a landed immigrant in Alberta. Will you share with me your story?

- ✓ *Are you a professional back home and a newly landed immigrant in Alberta?*
- ✓ *Did you come to Alberta from China, India, or the Philippines between 2008 and 2010?*
- ✓ *Can you communicate in English?*
- ✓ *Will you be willing to share your experiences as a newly landed immigrant in Alberta at no financial incentive with a doctoral student from the University of Alberta?*
- ✓ *Did you know that by sharing your story of integration into Alberta's economy, you can help improve the migrant condition of professional and educated Chinese, Indians and Filipinos in Alberta?*

Please call me at (____) ____-____ or email me at ____@ualberta.ca for more details.

Appendix A4. List of Nonprofit Organizations Contacted

- ASSIST (Chinese community)
- Catholic Social Services Immigration and Settlement Service
- Changing Together
- EISA (Edmonton Immigrant Services Association)
- EMCN (Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers)
- ERIEC (Edmonton Region Immigrant Employment Council)
- Multicultural Coalition
- Multicultural Health Broker Coalition
- The Community Networks Group
- Welcome Centre for Immigrants

Appendix A5. Letter of Informed Consent

Maria Veronica Caparas (____) ____ - ____ [@ualberta.ca](mailto:____@ualberta.ca)

Date

Dear

I wish to invite you to participate in my dissertation research that I am conducting as a doctoral student, and as a requirement for a doctoral degree in Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. My objectives in doing this research project are 1) to compare the educational background of Chinese, Indian and Filipino landed immigrants to Alberta (Canada) with the higher education policies and practices of their respective home countries China, India, and the Philippines; 2) to look at the possible link these policies and practices might have with Alberta's neoliberal policy of privatizing education for immigrants; and 3) to examine how this link shapes or is shaped by broader political, economic and social policies of international organizations. You are being asked to participate because of your high educational background (you are a university graduate in your country) and because of your landed immigrant status when you came to Canada between 2008 and 2010. No compensation will be provided for your time spent participating in my research project. If you so desire, you will be provided with the results of the study in the form of an electronic copy of the summary report of the study findings and themes.

This letter requests your informed consent to participate in my research. Please read it carefully. For more details, please contact me.

Your participation in this project will consist of an interview with me as the interviewer, and your sharing of emails or letters or messages or blogs with your family or friends that show your correspondences or communication with your family or friends before you migrated to Canada. Interviews may last from 90 to 120 minutes. Interviews will be audio-recorded and I shall take down notes for verbatim transcription. I also seek permission from you to take down notes during the interview. With regard to your emails or letters or messages or blogs with your family or friends, and once you have granted me permission, I will silently read your emails or letters or messages or blogs, and take down notes in front of you. I will also ask you questions based on the emails or blogs or letters or messages that you share with me. After asking you questions based on the emails or blogs or letters or messages, I will hand back to you your emails or blogs or letters or messages. Your emails or letters or messages or blogs with your family or friends will help me in analyzing my interview and in better understanding you and your experiences as a newly landed immigrant in Alberta.

My letter of initial contact is also a letter of self-introduction and asks for your participation in my study. My interview script (that will be shown to you on the day of the interview) focuses on the reasons you migrated to Canada (Alberta). My interview script consists of three situations – X, Y, and Z, with each situation having a set of 5-7 questions that are related to your stories or experiences of migration from your home country to Alberta (Canada). You will be asked to participate in only one of the three situations once you have drawn that situation from three rolled slips of paper that have X, Y, or Z on each slip. Each situation is then followed by 15 questions. Except for your home country, no other personal identifying information will be included in the research

results. In my dissertation and any subsequent publications, pseudonyms will be used to maintain your privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. After the interviews, we shall set another date and time when you will be asked if I correctly represented and documented what you said and whether you have clarifications regarding your initial answers. Your feedback will then be incorporated into my data collection files. You and I will discuss and arrange meeting dates and times for the interview and the postinterview. My study may last for two years.

My study results will be of benefit to you and your family and relatives who plan to migrate to Canada as results will help migration experts, labor specialists and educational policy makers to review and design policies that are cognizant of immigrants' professional and educational background and that help newcomers integrate fast into Canada. I believe there is no risk for you in participating in this research project because all identifying information will be maintained confidentially, privately and anonymously and will be known only to me. However, there may be a small risk of discomfort that you might experience when describing your migration and job experiences in Alberta. At any moment, if you feel discomfort, you can opt to not answer the questions or withdraw from this study.

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time within the duration of my data collection with no penalty. During my interview with you or within the period after this interview or when I see you for the postinterview during which time I shall ask you to review your answers to my interview questions and your sharing about your messages or emails or blogs or letters, and during which time I shall remind you that you can opt out within one week after my postinterview meeting with you, you may withdraw from my study. The last point when you may withdraw from my study is within one week after the postinterview. After this one-week period, you may no longer withdraw from my study. If you opt out of the study within the specified period, the data I collected from you will be immediately removed and destroyed from all text files, audio tapes and transcripts. Any material written in the data collection files in relation to you will also be removed. In case you decide to continue participating in my study, I assure you that privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity will be maintained through (a) the use of pseudonyms and (b) the avoidance of quotations that might identify you in my dissertation or manuscripts for publication in academic journals.

Research data will be kept confidential and only I and my supervisor will have access to any identifying information. The original transcripts and tapes will be maintained in a locked filing cabinet in my home for five years after the completion of this dissertation and then destroyed. I shall comply with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants that you may access through the URL: <http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/gfcpolicymanual/policymanualesection66.cfm>

If you accept this invitation to participate in the study, please sign one copy of the consent forms and return it to me. Keep one copy of the consent forms for your record. When I receive the signed consent form from you, I shall call you to arrange an appropriate meeting time. If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me, Maria Veronica Caparas, at (____) ____ - ____ or email me through ____@ualberta.ca My supervisor, Dr. Jerrold Kachur, can be contacted at (____) ____ - ____

_____, or _____@ualberta.ca or at the Educational Policy Studies General Office, 7-104 Education North, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5 Canada.

Ethics Approval Statement “The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Sincerely,

Maria Veronica Caparas

Consent to Participate in “Exploring Intra-Ethnic Relations in Canada: Towards a Critique of Neoliberal Globalization’s Labor Exploitation of Global Migrants in Alberta”

Participant: I have read and I understand the above information, and I consent to participate in this research project.

Name (printed) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Participant Consent Form

By signing this form, I indicate my understanding of the research project and I consent to participate. In giving my consent, I have the right to:

- privacy, anonymity and confidentiality
- withdraw my participation at the last point which is one week after the postinterview, without explanation or penalty; the postinterview is the time when the researcher and I meet again so I can review my answers to the interview and my sharing about my letters, emails, blogs or messages
- safeguards to security of data
- disclosure of the presence of any apparent or actual conflict of interest on the part of the researcher
- a copy of my interview transcripts upon request
- a copy of this consent form for my reference
- a copy of the summary report in electronic format

If I have any questions regarding this research project, I can contact the researcher, Maria Veronica Caparas, at (____) ____ - ____ or email her through: ____@ualberta.ca. Her supervisor, Dr. Jerrold Kachur, can be contacted at (____) ____ - ____ or through ____@ualberta.ca or at the Educational Policy Studies General Office, 7-104 Education North, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5 Canada.

All data will be handled in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants. Information regarding this is available on the University web site at <http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/gfcpolicymanual/policymanualsection66.cfm>

Ethics Approval Statement “The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Name and signature of participant:

_____	_____	_____
Printed name	Signature	Date

Telephone: _____ Email Address: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date: _____

Appendix B1. Policies of International Organizations Impacting Higher Education and Labor

	Period	Focus	Thrust	Role	Goals	Terms/ Nature	Documents/Sources
A D B	2008 - 2010	ICT, TVT	PPP (public-private partnership)	develop human resource (HR); push movement of student & labour; meet DMCs' HR needs for growth; HR demand will drive countries' > investment in HE	MDGs (gender equality, 0/< poverty), improved quality & relevance to match labour market needs & KE	Good governance; anticorruption	PPP in ADB Education Lending, 2000-09, 2010; Education by 2020 A sector operations plan, 2010; Good Practice in Cost Sharing and Financing in HE, 2009; STRATEGY2020 The Long-Term Strategic Framework of the Asian Development Bank 2008–2020, 2008; Education & Skills Strategies For Accelerated Development In Asia and The Pacific, 2008; Good Practice in Information and Communication Technology for Education, 2009; Guidelines for Implementing ADB's Second Governance & Anticorruption Action

							Plan (GACAP II), 2008; ADB Results Framework, 2008
G A T S	1995 - 2011	covers all WTO services	services (e.g. international telephone calls, tourism, foreign banks operations in a given country, supply of fashion models/ consultant	tap member-nations' specific commitments to provide access to their respective markets	Open markets; liberalize trade among countries; cut tariffs	Negotiated agreements among member- countries	http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/agrm6_e.htm
I L O	1944 - 2011	universal & lasting peace based on social justice = improved labor condition	fair globalization ; full, decent & productive work for all, including for women and young people,	promote rights at work & decent job opportunities, enhance social protection, strengthen dialogue on work- related issues; collect & distribute info on global conditions of industrial life & labor; address country-specific impact of global crisis on employment	full & productive employment & decent work for all, including for women and young people	national and international policies and development strategies	ILO Constitution retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/constq.htm ; ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization on 10 June 2008 http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@cabinet/documents/publication/wcms_099766.pdf ; Global Jobs

							Pact, 2009 http://www.ilo.org/jobspact/about/lang--en/index.htm
I M F	2005 - 2011	global monetary co- operation financial stability, inter- national trade, high employ- ment and sustainable economic growth, & poverty reduction worldwide	monitor of the world's economies, lender to members in economic difficulty, & provider of technical assistance	promote international monetary cooperation & exchange rate stability; facilitate balanced growth of international trade; & provide resources to help members in balance of payments difficulties or assist with poverty reduction.	global monetary cooperation, financial stability, international trade, high employment and sustainable economic growth, & poverty reduction around the world	187 countries working towards fulfillment of stated goals	About the IMF, 2011 http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm

U N	1945 - 2011	inter-national peace & security, friendly relations among nations, social progress, better living standards & human rights	peace, security, democracy, equality of human rights	keep & build peace; prevent conflict; humanitarian assistance; sustainable development; environment & refugees protection; disaster relief; counter terrorism; disarmament & non- proliferation; promote democracy, human rights, gender equality & advancement of women, governance, economic & social development & international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production	improved lives of poor people; conquest of hunger, disease & illiteracy; respect for each other's rights & freedoms; be the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to achieve these goals	an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries working to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations	The UN at a glance http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/index.shtml
U N E S C O	1942 - 2011	gender equality	culture & art, the sciences, education, communication & knowledge as real values that form the essence of humanity (Irina Bokova,	contribute to the building of a culture of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development & intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication & information	quality education & lifelong learning for all; science, knowledge & policy for sustainable development; cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue; inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication	a culture of peace, eradicated poverty, sustainable development & intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication &	UNESCO http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/history/ UNESCO at a glance http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001887/188700e.pdf

			UNESCO Director- General)			information	
W B	1999 - 2009	loan for tertiary education averaged US\$315 million per year	PPP (public- private partnership)	support actual implementation of tertiary education reforms; prioritize programs & projects that can bring about positive developments & innovations	institutional diversification; strengthened S&T R& D capacity; improved quality & relevance of tertiary education; greater equity for disadvantaged students; > ICT capacity to reduce digital divide	strategic & regulatory frameworks	Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education, 2009; Cross- Border Tertiary Education: A Way Towards Capacity Development, 2009; Output-Based Aid: Lessons Learned and Best Practices, 2010
W T O	1995 - present	Trade libera- lization; trans- parency of trade regulations and conditions	Ditto with GATS	commit countries to lower customs tariffs & trade barriers, open & keep open services markets; set steps for settling disputes; prescribe special treatment for DMCs; require transparency in government policies	open markets; liberalize trade among countries; cut tariffs	negotiated agreements among countries	http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/utw_chap2_e.pdf

Appendix B2. Guideline for the Inquiry in Situations X, Y, and Z

My interview instrument starts with a script that varies for each of situations X, Y, and Z.

<p>Situation X – on educational and labor policies in participants’ home countries</p>

“Hi. I am Veronica, a graduate student at the University of Alberta and I am doing a study about immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines. I myself am a landed immigrant who comes from the Philippines. I want to interview you regarding your experiences as a highly educated immigrant to Alberta. I want to find out more about your country’s policies and constitutional provisions on labor and education, and how these policies may have influenced your decision to migrate to Alberta. For this session, I am interested in listening to your representation of your country’s provisions or policies about the use of English as one of the two media of instruction and about finishing university education. Our conversations will be audio-taped for my study about Asian immigrants in Alberta. Your identity will remain confidential in the course of this study. You may start this session by telling me where you come from (home country) and what your educational background is. You may also tell me what your first job in Alberta is, and the accreditation tests and courses that you have taken or are asked to take in Alberta. I shall give you one situation and you are free to interpret this situation. I will converse with you as you give your interpretations of this situation.”

Your country’s constitution provides that English counts as one of your two official languages. English is also used as the medium of instruction and learning in your universities. English is also one of the two official languages of Alberta. Your country is known to have people speaking at least two languages from among so many languages. Alberta is also known to have people speaking languages other than English. Your people are also known for their love for education. In your country, parents do everything to make sure that their children get good university education. Parents believe that education is one’s ticket to the good life.

- Given that you’re highly educated, why did you come to Alberta? Why did you not just stay in your country?
- Do you think that your being highly educated qualified you for migration to Alberta?
- Has your being an English-speaking Asian made it easier for you to come here?

- How about your gender – how has your being male/female made it easier for you to come here?
- How about your being Asian – do you think it is a factor that qualified you for migration to Alberta?
- Is there anything about Asian culture that might be a factor in your coming to Alberta?

Situation Y – on participants' understanding of Alberta's policies on labor and education of immigrants

“Hi. I am Veronica, a graduate student at the University of Alberta and I am doing a study about immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines. I myself am a landed immigrant who comes from the Philippines. I want to interview you regarding your experiences as a highly educated immigrant to Alberta. I want to find out more about your understanding of Alberta's policies and provisions related to labor and education, and how Alberta's policies may be related or linked to your country's higher education policies and labor practices. For this session, I am interested in listening to your representation of Alberta's policies and provisions related to labor and education of immigrants. Our conversations will be audio-taped for my study about Asian immigrants in Alberta. Your identity will remain confidential in the course of this study. You may start this session by telling me where you come from (home country) and what your educational background is. You may also tell me what your first job in Alberta is, and the accreditation tests and courses that you have taken or are asked to take in Alberta. I shall give you one situation and you are free to interpret this situation. I will converse with you as you give your interpretations of this situation.”

Alberta is known for its need for workers from your country. In fact, Premier Ed Stelmach of Alberta went to your country in 2008/2009/2010 to invite your people to come and work here. Memoranda of agreement were signed and Foreign Credential Referral Offices were put up to show that Alberta is really serious in inviting professionally licensed people in Engineering, healthcare, Nursing, IT, natural and applied sciences, and Business from your country.

- How have Alberta's moves influenced your decision to come here?

- You have heard stories though that before you can actually work in your area of expertise in Alberta, you have to upgrade your course or finish an apprenticeship program, and pass the qualifying test.

Despite these stories, why did you come to Alberta?

- What do you think is Alberta's reason for asking Asians to upgrade their courses?
- Do you think that your being highly educated should be enough qualification for you to work in your area of expertise in Alberta without having to upgrade?
- Do you think that your English language or the way you speak English may be a factor in having to upgrade your course/finish an apprenticeship program?
- How about your gender – is there anything about your being male/female that must be trained according to Alberta's labor practices and educational policies?
- How about your being Asian-educated – is there anything about Asian education that may be a factor in Alberta requiring Asian newcomers to upgrade?
- Is there anything about Asian culture that might be a factor in your having to upgrade your course in Alberta?

Situation Z – on participants' understanding of how IOs shape member-nations' HE and labor policies

“Hi. I am Veronica, a graduate student at the University of Alberta and I am doing a study about immigrants from China, India, and the Philippines. I myself am a landed immigrant who comes from the Philippines. I want to interview you regarding your experiences as a highly educated immigrant to Alberta. I want to find out more about your understanding of how your country's higher education policies and labor practices and Alberta's policies on education and labor of immigrants shape or are shaped by the policies of international organizations (IOs) such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International Labor Organization, UN, UNESCO, Asian Development Bank, World Trade Organization, General Agreement on Trades in Services. For this session, I am interested in listening to your representation of your country's policies and Alberta's policies as possibly shaping or as being shaped by IOs policies. Our conversations will be audio-taped for my study about Asian immigrants in Alberta. Your identity will remain confidential in the course of this study. You may start this session by telling me where you come from (home country) and what your educational background is. You may also tell me what your first job in Alberta is, and the accreditation tests and

courses that you have taken or are asked to take in Alberta. I shall give you one situation and you are free to interpret this situation. I will converse with you as you give your interpretations of this situation.”

Your country became a member of World Bank-International Monetary Fund right after the Second World War, and subsequently became a member of other international organizations (IOs) such as the International Labor Organization, UN, UNESCO, Asian Development Bank, World Trade Organization, General Agreement on Trades in Services, among others. These IOs have policies pertaining to economic growth and development that is attainable through university education and exchange of human resources between countries worldwide. Part of the IOs policies is to have partnership between your government and the private sectors. This means that in the area of higher education, your government may partner with the business sector or private entrepreneurs to facilitate the earning of university degrees among those interested. Another IO policy has to do with structural adjustment programs where your country has decreased budgetary support for education, leaving you, your parents, your relatives, and your people supporting yourself/themselves throughout your/their university education. In IOs policies, there is also a focus on higher education as a tool for developing human resource; encouraging movement of people, students, and labor force worldwide; and meeting the needs for social and economic development and growth.

- How might your knowledge of these IOs policies that have impacted your country’s policies, yourself, and your people have any connection with your decision to come here?
- Do you think that your being highly educated is a result of all the policies of these IOs combined with the policies of your country and those of Alberta’s?
- Do you think that your English language or the way you speak English is a product of all the policies of these IOs combined with the policies of your country’s and those of Alberta’s?
- How have these policies impacted your gender, your being male/female as free to work outside of your country?
- How about your being Asian - do you think it is easy for Asians to migrate to Alberta because of these policies?
- Is there anything about the culture of Asia that makes its membership to these IOs as facilitative of your qualification to come here?

Appendix B3. General Questions for Each Situation

The conclusion part of Situations X, Y, and Z consists of 15 general questions for all participants.

1. Why did you pursue university education and finish your course in ____? Is this decision based on your plan to come to Alberta? Do you have family and friends who influenced your choice of your university course?
2. What other things did you do to qualify for migration to Alberta? Did you face any barriers or difficult situations in your home country that made you more eager to leave for Alberta?
3. Do you think your university education has prepared you well in your coming to Alberta? If yes, how has your university education prepared you? What else did you do to improve your university education?
If no, in what way could your university education have prepared you? What did you do to improve your university education?
4. Why did you come to Alberta? Are there people or events in your life that may have influenced your decision to come here? How have they made you consider moving to Alberta? What did you do after being influenced by these people or these events?
5. Before coming to Alberta, or before deciding to pursue your migration to Alberta, were you fully informed of what awaits you here? What did you do upon learning of this information about life in Alberta?
6. How do you think has your government prepared you in coming to Alberta? Does your government have a role in your decision to come to Alberta? What did you do to assist your government in facilitating your entry to Alberta?
7. How has the Foreign Credentials Referral Office helped you integrate into Alberta's economy?
8. What do you think about having to upgrade your course before getting your ideal job in Alberta? Are you planning to do anything about it? What do you intend to do with regard to upgrading your course here?
9. How could Alberta help you integrate better into its economy?
10. What do you think have you done to merit Alberta's assistance in finding your ideal job? Do you think your being (Chinese, Indian or Filipino) [race], your being (male or female) [gender], your culture, and your English language facility helped you in landing your ideal job? In what way?

11. Which institutions in Alberta helped facilitate your fast integration? What have you done to help facilitate your fast integration in Alberta? Do you go to these institutions?
12. Are you aware of international organizations that may have influenced your decision to come to Alberta? How have they motivated you to pursue your decision? What have you done to prove to these international organizations that you are serious about coming to Alberta?
13. How might your home country intervene to hasten your integration in Alberta's economy?
14. By yourself, how do you intend to realize your goal in coming to Alberta? What will you do to achieve your goal in Alberta?
15. What do you think of joining organizations critical of educational policies and labor practices in Alberta? Have you joined any organizations? What do you do in these organizations?

Thank you

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