Immigrant Teacher Narratives: Re-storying the Problem of Immigrant Teacher Integration

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning University of Manitoba Winnipeg

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Dedication

----- dedicated to all the immigrant educators that have touched my life with their
told and untold stories
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my advisor Dr. Clea Schmidt, who spent endless hours meticulously shaping previous versions of this draft. Further, I would like to thank her for being part of my social capital that was integral in my integration experience as an immigrant educator endeavoring to make my mark in the larger Manitoba educational framework. A big thanks is extended to my committee members Dr. David Mandzuk and Dr. Marcia Friesen who graciously supported this research with their invaluable input.

Finally, a big Thank you to my dearest social capital – my family -- in India for always supporting and encouraging me -- my husband Subbu for helping me balance my life between my full time job as an elementary school teacher, my graduate studies, and my life as a mother; my little angels Varsha and Varun for understanding my pressures and agreeing to eat whatever I had cooked. My extended family here in Winnipeg – who has always been there for me and supported me in all my endeavors. Finally, I would also like to express my gratitude to all the staff of Winnipeg School Division No.1 that touched my life and assisted in varied ways in my integration journey.
ABSTRACT

The rapidly changing Canadian mosaic compels the educational system to devise new and unique means to address the needs of a heterogeneous student populace emerging from varied cultural, linguistic, social and pedagogical contexts. While considerable work recommends the creation of an inclusive environment for immigrant students, sparse discourse considers the needs of immigrant teachers in a mainstream K-12 setting.

The majority of discussions and discourses on immigrant teacher 1 acculturation study the needs and challenges this diverse group of teachers has to contend with inside the environs of a Canadian classroom (Kailasanathan, 2006; Schmidt, 2010a; Schmidt, 2010b). This study extends these initial discourses to include the macrocosmic challenges 2 faced by immigrant teachers. As such, the study examines and assesses the systemic constructs of the broader Manitoba educational framework, by collating and analyzing the lived experiences of immigrant teachers who have successfully negotiated and established their place in the system. Using a critical lens, the study endeavors to analyze the role of social capital in the integration experiences of immigrant educators in Manitoba.

1 Immigrant Teachers include recent immigrants who have been trained as teachers and taught in their home countries. It also includes immigrant individuals who have acquired basic education in their home countries but have been trained and are teaching in the Canadian education framework.

2 Macrocosmic Challenges refers to the challenges Immigrant Teachers have to face outside the classrooms. As such it includes the challenges and imperatives that immigrant teachers have to negotiate to join the teaching force of the Manitoba Public School System. Despite meeting the credential requirements of the Province, the teachers experience and negotiate unique challenges to be employed as a teacher.
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PROLOGUE: MY STORY

As an immigrant educator trying to gain acceptance in Manitoba schools, I have had first hand perspective with some of the challenges, which primarily set the stage for this inquiry. As such I would like to preface this study with my own story to provide perspectives on how I arrived at this inquiry process and on how I constantly redefine myself as an educator and a learner.

My quest began as a student teacher originating from a distinct social and cultural context. I was placed for my practicum at a suburban school in Western Canada where I searched for a sense of belonging, make personal connections with my students and strike a balance between distinct sets of value systems and instructional methodologies. This research stems from my need to gain a comprehensive understanding of the new realities and find efficient alternatives for balancing my past and present.

As a student teacher and later as a certified teacher, I personally contended with creating an instructional heuristic that blended student-centered pedagogy with teacher-directed instruction. I found myself more inclined to use my personal value systems and orientation as “the cognitive and affective lenses the shape and modify [my] choice of course of action” (Seah & Bishop, 2002, p.3). Initially, the way I was taught back home in India formed the premise of my instructional orientation and as such I allowed my experiences from my former educational context to guide and shape my instructional practices here in Canada. My pedagogical repertoire included an emphasis on rote learning, test based assessment systems, and “teacher exposition and chalk-and-talk” (Seah & Bishop, 2002, p.10). I found myself gauging my teaching efficacy and student learning by conducting traditional pencil and paper tests. However, gradually I started
realizing that my pedagogical proficiency conflicted with mainstream pedagogical
ideologies in Canada. When I perceived that the way instruction was being delivered by
my collaborating teacher was considerably different from my personal instructional
methodology, I started to slowly diversify my lessons to allow for student-led activities.
However, at the end I found myself questioning not only my teaching but also student
learning and the impact of traditional “chalk and talk” and paper and pencil skills-based
testing. As such, my professional learning prompted me to develop a pedagogy, which
endeavored to incorporate my former educational values and understandings into my
present professional realities.

In terms of cultural orientation, my distinct value systems manifested in my
behavioral and performance expectations from my students. Additionally, my basic
understanding of the purpose of schooling manifested in my behavior and attitude
towards what it means to educate and become educated. Considering my former
educational context was primarily teacher-centered with extreme standards of discipline,
initially I found the casual climate of a Canadian classroom quite problematic. I found
myself reacting to regular classroom management situations in a manner distinct from the
mainstream culture to which the students were more acclimatized. Consequently, I
realized that I might be alienating myself from the classroom and distancing myself from
my students and as such losing out on significant opportunities to build relationships and
foster learning from social contexts. Further, I had to contend with several challenges
posed by conflicting ideas of teacher authority in Canada (my present educational
context) and India (my former educational context). In India, teachers were considered
authority figures and as such there was no room for the inclusion of student voice,
expectations, and needs in the conduct of the class. Initially, in my new environs, I perceived my students’ resistance towards my authority as disrespectful and insolent. I felt quite perturbed by students walking around the class to either sharpen their pencil or get Kleenex – I viewed these instances as manifestations of disinterest and disrespect. Being a reflective practitioner, I spent a considerable amount of time balancing and negotiating my students’ demands for more autonomy in the classroom with my reluctance to accord them the degree of independence they sought. As such, I found myself not only altering my instructional methodology but also modifying my behavioral standards and expectations. Simple facets of everyday life of the mainstream popular culture posed several complex situations for me during my tenure as an immigrant student teacher; – for example, there was a time when I found myself unable to participate in or share my students’ love for hockey. The most significant instance was when a student came up to me one morning and very enthusiastically drew my attention to the number 7 imprinted in his hair. Unable to comprehend the significance of the number 7, I plainly exclaimed and commented on the exceptional abilities of the hairdresser. Another student witnessing the conversation interjected and informed me that “7” was his jersey number in his ice hockey league. Despite the information, I felt quite unprepared and incapable of sharing my student’s enthusiasm.

In a learning-centered environ which emphasized contextual learning and addressing the varied learning modalities, I perceived my lack of familiarity with the popular culture to be debilitating. My lack of acquaintance with the popular Canadian hockey culture prevented me from developing rapport with the hockey-enthusiasts in the class. Not understanding the significance of “Teen Dances” in the lives of adolescent
Canadians, I felt relatively unequipped to address certain emotional concerns of the female students in my class.

Even though I continued to inform and acquaint myself with the facets of Canadian pop culture, the implicit understanding of which stems from a complete immersion in the culture, these dimensions continued to present unique challenges. Resolving these conflicting situations required me to not only become conversant with the various aspects of Canadian culture but also required me to assess and compare my former cultural and social values and beliefs with the cultural realities of a Canadian classroom. Understanding the relevance of my former context in my new placement uniquely positioned me to develop a pedagogy that endeavored to balance my past and present.

While I able to resolve my cultural and pedagogical conflicts, there were several other challenges that I found incapable of resolving individually. My distinct status as the “Other” in a relatively homogeneous educational framework created problematic situations that could not be resolved by a simple comparative assessment of the varied cultural, social and physical contexts. Inside the classroom my distinct way of speaking English presented situations that were not only problematic but also distressing. Despite being proficient in English, my additional language speaker status led students in the classroom to perceive me as incompetent in the English language and as such negatively perceive my teaching capabilities. My accent especially became a problem when I challenged and reprimanded two students in the class, who were known for their bullying conducts, for inappropriate behavior towards other students. In a bid to avenge the perceived insult, they started hurling objects at me during Art class. I reported their
behavior to the administrators. They were duly reprimanded. However, they continued their disrespectful behavior by continuously making fun of my accent when I was instructing the class. This caused me considerable emotional distress considering I had been forthright about the distinctions in my accent with my students and even suggested collaborative measures to overcome these challenges. At the beginning of my student teacher term I had indicated to the students that there might be words that I pronounce differently from them and as such if they are unable to understand what I was saying they should let me know in which case I would write it on the board. Additionally, I had also requested my collaborating teacher to indicate to me the words that students might have difficulty understanding on account of my enunciation. This system worked very effectively in the first term and as such I had a very successful practicum.

Here I had become a victim of Accent Harassment, which mainly refers to instances where intolerance to accented speech manifests as vexatious behavior. Issues such as this totally baffled me. While I was able to sufficiently resolve issues around my personal teaching and learning, I felt rather poorly equipped to address problems that were the product of my position as the “Other” in this system. This realization was further fortified when I started to look for jobs after my graduation from the Bachelor of Education program.

As such this inquiry emerged from my need to find corroborations and solutions for my unique situation.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

It has been recognized that immigrant educators originating from distinct cultural, linguistic and social backgrounds bring with them a novel set of skills and experiences (Faez, 2006; Gambhir, 2006). They come to the Canadian school system “armed with biculturalism” (Eubanks & Weaver, 1999, p.453). Their pedagogical proficiencies and methodologies derive from the cultural and professional practices of their home countries and as such are “contemporary expressions of what it meant to be a teacher in the systems in which they grew up and in some cases, first taught” (Bascia, 1996, p.155). Their distinct pedagogical, cultural and social dispositions can be interpreted both as strengths and as potential barriers in the new context. In various parts of Canada, education stakeholders have initiated projects and programs aimed at helping immigrant teachers continue their professional endeavors in Canada.

A comparative look at the different programs and projects initiated in various parts of Canada indicate a wide range of options for internationally educated teachers ranging to upgrading their coursework to meet certification requirements to gaining acquaintance with Canadian culture and Canadian pedagogy (see Appendix A). However, research indicates an apparent resistance on the part of public schools to hire these educators even after they have endeavored to supplement their knowledge and acquaint themselves with the intricacies of teaching in the Canadian context (Pollock, 2010; Ryan Pollock & Antonelli, 2009; Schmidt, 2010a; Schmidt 2010b; Schmidt & Block, 2010; Schmidt, Young & Mandzuk, 2010). Many school boards seem to overlook or underestimate immigrant teachers’ strengths and consequently adopt discriminatory
hiring practices. These educators may face unemployment in municipal Manitoba school boards or be forced to take employment in rural and remote communities and in many cases, be alienated from their families who have to continue living in big cities in pursuit of their individual professional journeys and financial sustenance. The employment context of teachers in Manitoba in general has witnessed a steep decline. According to Labour Market Information (LMI) provided by the Government of Manitoba, employment in educational services industry declined by 10.4 percent between 2010-2011. While this report does not include any specific data on how this decline impacts immigrant educators in Manitoba, reports emerging from Ontario, suggest that in such contexts of oversupply, immigrant educators were considerably impacted and as such according to a report published by the Ontario College of Teachers, in the year 2010-2011 three out of four immigrant educators who tried to get employment reported failure in gaining employment. Such contexts of excess supply and low demand for teachers, further problematizes the context of immigrant teachers as it has been noted that:

in times of teacher shortages that Canadian school systems have turned to recruiting internationally and have adjusted their certification requirements accordingly. In times of oversupply, however, there has been little interest in facilitating the recognition of international credentials or the integration of immigrant teachers into Canadian school systems (Schmidt, Young & Mandzuk, p. 442, 2010).

In this study I examined the job search process of these immigrant educators with a view to understanding and assessing the existing systemic processes and structures that were integral to their entry into Manitoba public schools. In assessing participants’
experiences, the study provides some useful insight that indicate the preparedness of the various school boards in Manitoba to accept, include and support immigrant educators as well as the pertinent structural changes necessary to accommodate and integrate immigrant educators in the Manitoba school systems. Further, the information obtained and included in this study sheds light on the willingness of the broader school system in Manitoba to employ immigrant teachers in mainstream schooling contexts.

In terms of examining the job search processes of immigrant educators, the study mainly focuses on analyzing the experiences of immigrant educators employed in Manitoba schools as well as immigrant educators seeking employment to determine and identify the pertinent processes and steps involved in finding employment. The study theorizes localized experiences and knowledge of immigrant teachers and creates a genealogy, which is a “combination of erudite knowledge and what people know” (Foucault et.al., p.8, 2003). Applying and extending Foucault’s perspectives on the current system of knowledge and study, the study evaluates the past and present experiences of immigrant teachers to identify and recognize the challenges they face in finding employment.

Research Questions

This study examined and analyzed the experiences of immigrant educators to find answers to the following research questions:

1) What are the challenges faced by immigrant educators endeavoring to obtain employment in Manitoba schools?
   a) What are the distinct processes immigrant educators employ to get employment in Manitoba Schools?
b) How do their variant cultural and pedagogical orientations influence their integration process?

c) How do existing systemic and institutional frameworks influence the integration of immigrant teachers in Manitoba schools?

d) What are the programmatic, structural and personal initiatives that need to be undertaken for alleviating and addressing some of these challenges?

**Literature Review**

The study is informed by the considerable literature on immigrant teacher socialization and education, ESL/multicultural teacher education, and critical pedagogy. The discourses included not only validate the purpose of the study, but also provide an appropriate theoretical framework to position the study.

**Immigrant Teacher Discourses.** Studies on immigrant educators and immigrant teacher education represent a small but growing body of research. Most of the literature in this field provides insights into the cultural, affective, social and linguistic challenges of immigrant educators in high immigrant intake countries like Australia, Canada, United Kingdom and Israel. Most of these discourses present the problems and dilemmas encountered by this select group of teachers as a composite of problems faced by teachers of diverse racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Bascia, 1996; Gambhir, 2006; Horowitz, 1985; Seah & Bishop, 2002;). To accurately comprehend the challenges faced by immigrant teachers, it is important to consider their personal and professional backgrounds to “understand the values, intentions, and talents of racial minority and immigrant teachers, as well as their present working conditions, their experiences with the explicit and implicit curriculum, and the structures and cultures of the schools in
which they work” (Bascia, Thiessen & Goodson, 1996, p.2). Such data provides insight on the unique disposition of immigrant teachers, and systemic and structural challenges linguistically and culturally diverse educators might encounter.

Most of these studies delineate immigrant teachers as a special group of teachers who typically have acquired professional training from another country. Originating from distinct social and cultural contexts, these teachers seek to gain a sense of belonging, make personal connections with their students and strike a balance between distinct sets of value systems and instructional methodologies. An investigation of the life histories of immigrant teachers in Canada conducted by Bascia (1996) demonstrates minority immigrant teachers’ proclivity to adopt and transfer the values, approach and importance placed on education in their home countries. The study further provides personal anecdotes of immigrant teachers who perceive themselves as vehicles for social action and offering lessons for future immigrant teachers through their experiences.

Immigrant teachers belong to distinct and varied cultural, racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. Their pedagogical proficiencies and methodologies derive from the cultural and professional practices they are familiar with and as such are “contemporary expressions of what it meant to be a teacher in the systems in which they grew up and in some cases, first taught” (Bascia, 1996, p.155). Bascia (1996) shares the story of Simon, a Guyanese teacher whose initial teaching experiences were derived from teaching in the Guyanese countryside. Simon’s experience of knowing students in Guyana transferred to his teaching in Canada: “In Canada, Simon endeavored to preserve his sense of teaching as involving work with children not as generic individuals but in terms of their membership in families, communities, and cultures” (Bascia, 1996, p.155).
Thiessen et al. (1996) elaborate when they explain that: “basic cultural values about the purpose of schooling, and expectations for teachers’ roles and activities both inside school and out in their communities, are strong influences on teachers’ work but become visible and explicit only when [they] move outside [their] own cultural frames of reference and are able to compare them within and across cultural boundaries” (p.8).

Literature documenting the instructional challenges of immigrant teachers, mainly highlight the dissonance caused by distinct pedagogical beliefs and practices. Case studies included in Thiessen et al. (1996) delineate the cultural, affective and sociological challenges of immigrant teachers and as such, do not provide substantial evidence of the instructional challenges faced by immigrant educators. Case studies examining the pedagogy of immigrant teachers in Australia (Seah & Bishop, 2002) illustrate that immigrant teachers are constantly negotiating and seeking validity for their distinct pedagogical values. Further, Seah and Bishop (2002) provide evidence to indicate that immigrant teachers’ instructional methodologies derive from their origins, which predispose them to model instruction that reflects their personal value systems, which to a large extent are constructs of their schooling experiences. Seah and Bishop’s (2002) study includes case studies of two immigrant math teachers who transferred the educational values prevalent in their former contexts: “These values form part of the individual’s ongoing development personal value system, which equips him/her with cognitive and affective lenses to shape and modify his/her way of perceiving and interpreting the world, and to guide his/her choice of course of action” (p. 3). While the study concentrates on highlighting the challenges faced by mathematics educators, the implications and conclusions of the study can be extended to understand the challenges of
all immigrant educators. For example, the experiences of Manoj, a Fijian immigrant educator who was inclined to adopt a more teacher-centered and controlled instructional methodology for his mathematics teaching, can be used to understand the challenges immigrant teachers face in all aspects of teaching. Teachers originating from these contexts may be inclined to direct their instruction allowing little opportunity for students to negotiate and direct their learning. Their pedagogical repertoire might include an emphasis on rote learning, test based assessment systems, and “teacher exposition and chalk-and-talk” (Seah & Bishop, 2002, p.10), which may be in conflict with the mainstream pedagogy. While these teachers may comprehend and appreciate the strengths of student-centered teaching, their predisposition and cultural orientation may prevent them from fully realizing “that in reality, students were able to engage purposefully with the task at hand” (Seah & Bishop, 2002, p.10) and comprehend the concepts effectively.

Another potential conflict could arise when immigrant teachers are more familiar with knowledge and ways of knowing that differ from the Canadian mainstream. For example, in her work, Mora-Bourgeois (2000) discusses her efforts to strike a balance between her approach to teaching “based on cognitive patterns and generalities” and her students’ approach to learning based on “linear logic” (p. 2). Seah and Bishop (2002), on the other hand, delineate an immigrant teacher’s efforts to negotiate, between her home country’s, focus on procedural knowledge in mathematics in contrast to Australia’s emphasis on conceptual knowledge in mathematics. Additionally, Mora-Bourgeois (2000) notes that her American students expected learning to be more experiential rather than theoretical and abstract; in other words “students demanded an immediate and
Anecdotes paralleling the experiences and conflicts of these teachers can be derived from Canadian school system, which to a large extent embodies similar ideological and pedagogical perspectives.

Extensions of these discourses provide insights into programming alternatives that would help immigrant educators overcome these challenges and acculturate effectively in the dominant education culture (Gambhir, 2006; Schmidt, 2010a). Gambhir (2006) emphasizes incorporating “language support, curriculum on the culture of the educational system, peer support within the program, and more mentorship than currently received from educators and administrators” (Gambhir, 2006), in teacher education frameworks designed to address the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse educators. Schmidt (2010b) explores how and why equity issues should be “prioritized in the field experiences portion of an academic and professional bridging program to support internationally educated teachers (IETs) in obtaining K-12 certification in Manitoba” (p.359). Schmidt (2010a) extends these perspectives to include the systemic barriers that preclude immigrant teachers from integrating into mainstream educational structures. Presenting perspectives from the varied stakeholders involved in the immigrant teacher acculturation process in Manitoba, the study unpacks the discriminatory practices and attitudes inherent in the Manitoba public school system. The experiences range from an ignorance of their many “potential contributions as skilled and knowledgable educators” (Schmidt, Young & Mandzuk, 2010, p. 447) to “prejudicial treatment on the basis of dress, accent, perceived foreignness, immigration status, and age” (Schmidt, 2010a, p. 241). By presenting these views, Schmidt (2010a) stresses the “need for systemic advocacy to challenge the myriad ways in which immigrant teachers’ differences are
constructed as deficiencies in schools and faculties of education” (p.235). In a policy analysis, Schmidt and Block (2010) analyze and compare the hiring policies of the varied school divisions in Manitoba to better understand their policies and plans for fostering ethnocultural equity. The study reveals that only one of the school divisions studied had a comprehensive plan to foster employment equity. Further, deliberating on the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity introduced by Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth (MECY) in 2006, the study discusses impediments to its implementation and as such cites the dissonance between the mandate of the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity and the hiring policies of the urban school divisions.

Multicultural Discourse. Perspectives from multicultural discourses are relevant to immigrant teacher education and offer a compelling rationale for integrating immigrant educators into mainstream schools. For mainstream students, the presence of minority teachers is an important tool for preparing individuals for rapidly changing social demographics. As mainstream classroom teachers they can bring with them the sensitivities to develop in their students “the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they will require to adapt to the challenges of a rapidly changing community, province, and nation” (Bascia, Thiessen, & Goodson, 1996, p.148). Delpit (1988) asserts the pertinence of integrating the voices of minority teachers for the construction of a cohesive educational framework that is proficient in addressing the unique needs of a multicultural student populace. Carr and Klassen (1997) also support inclusion of racial minority teachers in the Canadian education structure as an important tool for antiracist education. In their study they have outlined six major areas in which teachers of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds can make positive contributions to a diverse Canadian classroom:
“enhancing cultural compatibility, demystifying the hidden curriculum, developing positive attitudes towards persons from a variety of backgrounds, expressing lived experiences, connecting with the students, and connecting with the communities” (Carr and Klassen, 1997, p.70).

Villegas and Lucas’ (2002) study on preparing culturally responsive teachers is perhaps one of the key studies which provides a coherent way of assessing and evaluating the relevance and efficacy of immigrant educators as vehicles for delivering culturally responsive curricula. In this study the authors mainly define culturally responsive teachers as those who are:

(a) socioculturally conscious, (b) have affirming views of students from diverse backgrounds, (c) see themselves as responsible for and capable of bringing about change to make schools more equitable, (d) understand how learners construct knowledge and are capable of promoting knowledge construction, (e) know about the lives of their students, and (f) design instruction that builds on what their students already know while stretching them beyond the familiar (p.20).

Further, Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) posit the need for perceiving knowledge as a composite of varied worldviews where knowledge results from “specific social and historical relations rather than as static entities which are context and value-free” (Ghosh & Tarrow, 1993).

Linguistically and culturally diverse educators have the potential to be culturally sensitive educators who have the skills and expertise professed by advocates of multicultural education. Minority educators can serve as culturally responsive teachers well equipped to provide students with the skills and experiences for effectively adapting
to the rapidly changing demographics of the modern society. As Eubanks and Weaver (1999) assert, minority educators are proficient in integrating knowledge of their own culture with knowledge about their adopted culture to enhance and embellish their teaching practice. Immigrant teachers can be adept at deriving “the commonalities among linguistic and ethnic groups represented in the class as a means to collaborate and create a community of learners; us[ing] instructional materials developed in countries outside the inner circle to offer a variety of perspectives; and us[ing] teachers’ and students’ experiences as immigrants and second language learners as sources of knowledge” (Maum, 2002). Some of them may possess the expertise to combine effective teaching practices from their home countries with effective teaching practices in Canada to enrich Canadian schools with a unique diverse pedagogy.

Additionally, considering the unique disposition of the immigrant teachers and the fact that they belong to “oppressed communities” (Sleeter, 1996, p. 244), they can be bringing the voice of the constituent base into the construction of a cogent multicultural education framework (Sleeter, 1996). In asserting the need to integrate and “view children of oppressed groups, their parents, their communities, and their grassroots advocacy organizations as the natural constituency of multicultural education” (p. 242), Sleeter (1996) makes a strong case for including immigrant teachers to enhance multicultural values and principles in Canadian schools. To a large extent, Sleeter’s contentions, parallel the arguments presented by Delpit (1988) and Reyes (1992), who recommend the integration of minority voices in education for the creation of an education framework which is responsive and capable of understanding the unique needs of its student populace.
Several studies persuade pedagogical institutions to perceive minority immigrant teachers as an agency for providing the diverse student populace with a sense of belonging (Eubanks & Weaver, 1999, p. 452). Their efficacy as role models for the diverse student populace is chiefly advocated due to their ability to attend to and empathize with the cultural differences in perceptions of authority, instructional delivery, and their socio-cultural adaptation and adjustment in the new environment. The study conducted by Thiessen, Bascia and Goodson (1996) supports the efficacy of immigrant teachers as role models. The study provides personal anecdotes of immigrant teachers who perceived themselves to be vehicles for social action and agents setting the pathway for future immigrant teachers through their experiences. These teachers demonstrated a tendency to be “engaged in special advocacy roles with respect to ethno cultural and racial minority students” (Thiessen, Bascia, & Goodson, 1996, p.158). Most of the teachers profiled by Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson (1996) eventually took up roles as English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers. The tendency of these teachers was a construct of their personal experiences “as learners and immigrants” (Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson, 1996, p.163) and a shared personal empathy for the transitional challenges these immigrant students might be encountering. The teachers’ professional practice was informed by the sense of alienation and isolation they encountered as visible minorities in a predominantly white environment. They sought to “provide immigrant and minority students with the skills that would help them in negotiate a challenging social world outside of school” (Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson, 1996, p.163). Positioning themselves as ESL teachers provided them the vantage point they needed to advocate for the immigrant minority students in their schools.
Critical Pedagogy. Critical teacher education framed within critical pedagogy addresses power inequalities in multicultural and intercultural contexts and provides additional lenses to view and assess the experiences of participants in a study. As such a critical education framework seeks to overcome the limitations of traditional multicultural education discourses, which celebrate diversity but do little to question systemic inequities. Critical pedagogy, which seeks to explore and expose power inequalities in educational structures, aids in critically perceiving and assessing narratives and experiences of immigrant educators. Additionally, it provides the impetus to explore the power relations that are manifested in the socialization and acculturation of immigration teachers. Critical pedagogy as posited by Paulo Freire concerns itself with “social justice, or liberation” (Hasbrook, 2002, p. 1) and as such implores educators and students to “critically think about the conditions of their realities for the purpose of constructing and attempting solutions, referred to as “action” by Freire” (Hasbrook, 2002, p. 1). Freire provides the theoretical framework for connecting reflection and practice. In this study critical pedagogy provides the tools to combine “action, reflection and dialogue” (Hasbrook, 2002, p. 1) to concisely elucidate and evaluate the power structures in Canadian pedagogy, more specifically in Manitoba academic contexts. This study attempts to create the opportunity and the space for immigrant teachers to voice and find validation for perspectives from their lived realities that could potentially create a dialogue between immigrant teachers and Manitoba schools to explore educational structures that not only promote social justice but also embrace it in its entirety. Critical pedagogy provides the theoretical base to assert the need for creating an educational framework that deliberates on teaching by example. The social justice agenda underlying
critical pedagogy can be used as an extension of social constructivist theories that primarily advocate the incorporation of social contexts in learning and teaching. Theories of empowerment and social justice also persuade policymakers and educators to think of immigrant teachers as agents for creating a curriculum that effectively responds to the demands of globalization. Immigrant teachers with their vast and diverse experiences have the potential to “make connections between the knowledge and skills of language minority children and the newly perceived importance of cultural and language learning” (Bianco, 1996, p. 587) and create a curricula that empowers students to address the needs of a pluralistic society. Bianco’s contentions are further validated by Reyes (1992) who asserts that one of the prime reasons:

why teachers experience difficulties adjusting their teaching techniques for different learners is that the majority of them are members of the dominant culture, implementing programs designed primarily for mainstream students. Teachers implementing these programs tend to treat students of color as exceptions to the norm, as students who should be assimilated into the dominant groups, rather than accommodated according to their own needs (p.437).

Extending Reyes’ concerns, Delpit (1988) suggests the creation of a educational framework:

for poor children and children of color can only be devised in consultation with adults who share their culture. Black parents, teachers of color, and members of poor communities must be allowed to participate fully in discussion of what kind of instruction is in the children’s best interest (p. 296).
In taking this stance, these scholars suggest the creation of a socially proactive educational framework with diversity and social justice as one of its integral features. In the context of this project, critical pedagogy provides the lens to view the anomalies in the current system to recommend and initiate appropriate measures for alleviating the problematic situation under scrutiny, i.e., the exclusion of minorities from the teaching force in Canada.
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Influenced by critical theory, this study is informed by the work of the French critical philosopher Michel Foucault. In his many works Foucault has raised pertinent questions and explored the relationship between the nature of knowledge and its relation to power structures. Known for his critical examination of varied societal structures, he offers tools to cogently and critically, assess and evaluate the interplay of power, knowledge, language and identity in the construct of those structures. The underlying themes in Foucault’s varied works transcend from the study of the history of knowledge (archaeology) to the study of the dynamics of power relations (genealogy) and the concept of problematization. Foucault’s various studies provide the tools and the lens to conceptualize the present by recognizing its origins and its relative effects on individuals.

Foucault’s postulates provide multiple lenses to view and assess the paradox of immigrant teacher acculturation and integration. In this particular study, Foucault’s work helps localize the study and concentrate on regional issues that are critical to the acculturation and assimilation of immigrant educators into the fabric of the Manitoba education system (Shiner, 1982, p. 383). Foucault’s theories provide the lens to create a genealogy “that is a combination of erudite knowledge and what people know” (Foucault et.al., 2003, p. 8). Foucauldian principles not only help problematize personal situations and experiences, they also provide a theoretical rationale to deconstruct the systemic barriers that inhibit immigrant teachers from becoming productive professionals in Manitoba and suggest interventions vital to the integration of these highly talented professionals into the fabric of the Manitoba education system (Shiner, 1982, p. 382).
Combining the varied ideologies of Foucault, this study attempts to create a genealogy of lived experiences of these individuals whose existence is problematized by their unique and distinct origins.

**Archaeology of Thought**

Foucault asserts the power of discourse and language in controlling and marginalizing thought processes. According to Foucault, discourse is not only defined by the intellectual dispositions of the constructors of knowledge but also the underlying context in which thought processes are constructed. As such Foucault defines discourse “as a source of thought in its own right not merely an instrument for expressing the ideas of those who use it” (Gutting, 2005, p. 32). Foucault extends the scope of language and discourse from a mere interpretive object to a monument that needs to be explored to unearth its origins.

According to Gutting (2005), Foucault describes history and historical texts as documents that:

- undertook to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by men, it now deploys a mass of elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities

(http://foucault.info/documents/archaeologyOfKnowledge/foucault.archaeologyOfKnowledge.00_intro.html).
Here Foucault advocates for more than just a superficial interpretive analysis of texts, instead he encourages studying the historical context of the text and considering archives as “the locus of the rules and prior practices forming the conditions of inclusion or exclusion that enable certain practices and prevent others from being accepted as scientific or moral or whatever other social rubric may be in use at a particular epoch” (Gutting, 1994, p. 30). Foucault basically extends the scope of archaeology from a mere demonstrative artefact of history to a descriptive artefact of history that deliberates on “the intrinsic description of the monument” (http://foucault.info/documents/archaeologyOfKnowledge/foucault.archaeologyOfKnowledge.00_intro.html).

Foucault provides the lens and the rationale to consider discourses as a reflection of the intellectual rules and practices that governed a particular time period. In the context of the study of the immigrant teacher integration process, these insights from Foucault ground the study and appraise the constructs and contexts of the systemic realities that are critical to the integration of the immigrant teachers. As such, I can trace the origins of the existing practices in order to understand and recognize the factors that are perhaps ready to evolve to better respond to the current contexts.

**Genealogy of Knowledge**

In his later works, like Discipline and Punishment and the History of Sexuality, Foucault steps away from his archaeological approach to create genealogies that examine the “descent of practices as a series of events” (Gutting, 1994, p. 33). In his genealogies, Foucault mainly focused on power relations and as such concentrated on analyzing “a complex of notions gathered around the idea of origins” (Shiner, 1982, p. 387).
Foucault’s genealogies not only focused on identifying the origins of the power relations in varied societal structures but also concentrated on “the analysis of how one constellation of power-knowledge relations is displaced by another” (Shiner, 1982, p. 387). As such, his genealogies provide the lens for not only identifying the constructs and origins of the varied societal systems but also recognizing the historical departures that define their present construct. In the context of this study, genealogy provides the tools and lens to understand and rationalize the construct of the existing systemic realities that immigrant teachers have to contend with in their acculturation process, and provides the conduit to trace the origins of the existing inequities.

Taking a participatory stance in constructing his genealogies, Foucault delineates the pertinence of including the voice of the repressed: “according to Foucault, universal systems of morality no longer provide effective responses to social and political problems” (Gutting, 2005, p. 22). He stresses that it is perhaps pertinent to include “detailed responses formulated by those concretely involved in the problems” (Gutting, 2005, p. 23).

Foucault et. al., (2003) provides concrete methodological guidelines to construct a cogent genealogical study. Foucault suggests that any theory of domination should emerge from the “power relationship itself” (Foucault et. al., 2003, p. 45) to comprehend “how actual relations of subjugation manufacture subjects” (Foucault et. al., 2003, p. 45). Once that is accomplished he suggests that it is important to explore and “reveal relations of dominations, and to allow them to assert themselves in their multiplicity, their differences, their specificity, or their reversibility” (Foucault, 2003, p. 45). In the context of this study, these insights provide the impetus to include the often-silenced voices of
the immigrant teachers and deconstruct these experiences to comprehend the myriad ways in which the existing power structures serve to subjugate them. Further, a cogent genealogy of lived experiences of these immigrant teachers can provide insights into the construct and context of the existing power structures. A rationale will be provided for the replacement of the existing discriminatory structures and indicators of what problematic components of the present structure might be ready for change.

**Problematization and the Knowledge of Self**

In his later works Foucault transcended from the mere epistemical study of the past (archaeology) and the study of the origins and the lines of power in varied societal constructs to the study of the human self as a problematized individual. In this context, Foucault assesses how individual conceptualize their existence: “Problematizations formulate the fundamental issues and choices through which individuals confront their existence” (Gutting, 2005, p. 103). Here, Foucault changes his focus from the macrocosmic study of societal problems and power inequities to the microcosmic existence of societal inequities. Such research emerges “not necessarily from the frameworks themselves but from [our] lived experiences in society” (Gutting, 2005, p. 27).

In this framework, Foucault distinguishes a problematized individual from a marginalized individual. A marginalized individual in Foucauldian terms is defined as a subjugated individual whereas problematized individuals are defined as individuals who define and address their unique existence in terms of the social power relations in which they are embedded and as such are capable of leading their lives with “relative freedom and self creation” (Gutting, 2005, p. 104). As opposed to marginalized individuals,
problematized individuals are able to create a mode of living in which they are able to respond to their existence in a manner that complements their unique historical context (Gutting, 2005, p. 103). Problematized individuals can be perceived as individuals who do not necessarily constitute themselves “on the bases of the prevailing norms and rules of discipline” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 338). By providing these lenses Foucault provides the tools to recognize internationally educated teachers or immigrant teachers as more than just marginalized individuals.

As problematized individuals, immigrant teachers originating from various cultural, pedagogical and social backgrounds do not necessarily conform to the “norms and rules of discipline” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 338) of the Canadian school system. They bring with them cultural, social and pedagogical proficiencies, which help shape, their experience as educators in different contexts. However, while they are able to meet their professional expectations with “relative freedom and self creation” (Gutting, 2005, p. 104), their work is obstructed by systemic discrimination and undervaluing of their unique contributions (Schmidt, 2010a).
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses narrative research to recreate the stories of immigrant teachers by reflecting, deliberating and theorizing on the lived experiences of immigrant teachers. Grounded on the premise that human beings live storied lives, narrative inquiry provides an ideal framework to essay the lives of these highly trained professionals as they negotiate and establish their professional identities in their new environs. Problematizing the experiences of immigrant teachers in Manitoba, the study analyzes the stories to identify the barriers that impede them from continuing their professional endeavors. Evolving from an interpretive paradigm, narrative inquiry recognizes the systemic inequities and power imbalances that contribute to the marginalized and problematized disposition of these immigrant teachers.

Narratives: Study of the Story and the Phenomena

Narrative inquiry studies the varied ways in which humans experience the world (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990), and emerges from the belief that “lived and told stories and talking about those stories are ways we create meaning in our lives as well as ways we enlist each other’s help in building our lives and communities” (Clandinin, 2006, p.44). Narrative inquiry provides for a critical lens to assess “the conditions that serve to disadvantage and exclude individuals” (Creswell, 2007, p.24). As such, providing insights and tools to perceive the problematic factors in instances of marginalization and subjugation. Narrative inquiry is not only effective in helping tell the stories of
marginalized and problematized individuals; it is also effective in validating the lived experiences of these individuals.

Defined both as a way of examining a phenomenon as well as theorizing the lived experiences of individuals, narrative inquiry provides the methodological tools to characterize the “phenomena of human experience and its study” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.2). It involves a careful deconstruction of the stories to recognize, and identify emerging themes that characterize participants’ experiences. These themes are analyzed and evaluated using varied theoretical lenses to make meaning of these lived stories by gaining an in-depth understanding of their causal factors. Consequently they are chronologically ordered based on the common themes that characterize their experiences.

Participatory in nature, narrative inquiry emphasizes a collaborative inquiry process where “all participants see themselves as participants in the community, which has value for both researcher and practitioner, theory and practice” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.4). As such, a narrative not only allows marginalized and disadvantaged individuals with the opportunity to voice their stories, but also provides for their participation in the constructs and conduct of the study. Narrative inquiries are typically characterized by empowered equitable relationships between the ‘researcher’ and the ‘researched’ where the researcher deliberates on negotiating “relationships, smooth transitions, and provide ways to be useful to the participants” (Creswell, 2007, p. 57). The main emphasis here is not only to give power to the participant’s voice but also to ensure that the participant benefits from being part of the study. In a narrative inquiry, the researcher and the participant deliberate on creating a “caring community in which both practitioners and researchers feel cared for and have a voice with which to tell their
stories” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.4). This caring community is characterized by a feeling of connectedness that evolves from recognition of a common purpose and intention.

**Constructs of a Narrative Inquiry**

Within narrative inquiry, narratives are understood as a written or spoken account of a series of interrelated events or actions (Creswell, 2007, p. 54). While there is no rigid structure to a narrative inquiry, most narrative inquiries involve, “studying one or two individuals, gathering data through the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences, and chronologically ordering (or using life course stages) the meaning of those experiences” (Creswell, 2007, p. 54). Researchers can choose from a variety of tools to collect data, e.g., field notes “through participant observation in a shared practical setting” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p. 5); journal records from both the researcher and the participant; and unstructured interviews. Additionally, narrative inquiries require a clear delineation of the contextual factors that characterize the individual stories. A researcher is required not only to collect the stories but gather details of the “participants personal experiences (their jobs, their homes), their culture (racial or ethnic), and their historical contexts (time and place)” (Creswell, 2007, p.56).

In terms of reporting and retelling the shared stories and lived experiences, narrative inquiry differs from other genres of qualitative research. Relying on storytelling, it includes elements of a fictional text. Reframing the shared stories and lived experiences involves restorying the participant’s stories “into some general type of framework” (Creswell, 2007, p.56). This framework entails analyzing the stories, identifying the causal factors and sequencing the stories chronologically based on the
causal factors. It is during the process of sequencing the stories that a researcher adds elements of scene and plot (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990) to add meaning to the told stories and lived experiences. Scene is mainly described as the place in which “the action occurs, where characters are formed and live out their stories and where cultural and social context play constraining and enabling roles” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.8). Plot concerns aspects of the past, present and future in the study. It is integral to adding the element of continuity and an action agenda. As such the plot of a narrative will have a beginning, middle and end with an explicit aim of bringing change. The process of writing a narrative is said to start right from the time a researcher negotiates entry into the study (Clandinin & Connelly, 1900). As such, it is important to recognize that the plot of a narrative constantly changes as the researcher endeavors to strike a balance between the temporal, social and cultural perspectives that are continually negotiated throughout the study by both the researcher and the participant.

**Design and Process of the Immigrant Teacher Narrative**

Designed as a second order narrative, the immigrant teacher narrative relates, “a collective story that represents the lives of many” (Creswell, 2007, p.119). In the current study, the participants have been pragmatically chosen to represent the larger community of immigrant teachers. This study is constructed and deconstructed from the anecdotal and experiential evidence I have gathered from highly qualified teachers from the Philippines, who share many of the contextual aspects of their lives. The participant base in this study is highly representative of the immigration trends in Manitoba. According to Manitoba Immigration Facts (2012) a statistical report compiled by Manitoba Labour and Immigration, Philippines and India were the top immigrant source countries in 2011 with
Philippines contributing about 39.4 percent of the total new immigrants that arrived in Manitoba in 2011 and India contributing about 11.4 percent of the total new immigrants that joined the demography of Manitoba in 2011. Further, the report indicates that about 2 percent of the new immigrants that arrived in Manitoba were secondary school teachers. Experiential evidence indicates the statistics being reflected in the constitution of the immigrant teacher population.

Table 1 provides a comprehensive overview of the participants’ profiles.

**Table 1: Participant Profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Participant Profile</th>
</tr>
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| (Allyanna)  | Doctorate in Education (Ed.D) from Philippines  
Special Education Teacher in a large K-6 elementary school with a student population of about 2240 students.  
Principal of an Elementary School  
District Supervisor of a School District supervising 28 schools.  
Permanent Teacher Certification from the Province of Manitoba  
Substitute Teacher in the large urban school division in Winnipeg. |
| (Andrea)    | Masters of Art in Science Teaching from University of South Eastern Philippines  
Permanent Teacher Certification from the Province of Manitoba |
Immigrant Teacher Integration Narratives

| Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language from the University of Winnipeg |
| Substitute Teacher for 5 years in four major urban school divisions and one rural school division. |
| Grade 1 Teacher with permanent contract in the one of the largest urban school divisions in Winnipeg |
| (Me) |
| Bachelor of Education from the University of Manitoba |
| Permanent Teacher Certification from the Province of Manitoba |
| Substitute Teacher for 1 year in three major urban school divisions and one rural school division |
| Early Years English as an Additional Language Teacher with permanent contract in one of the largest urban school divisions in Winnipeg. |

My participants and I represent the larger community of immigrant teachers in various ways. While the participants were former teachers in their home country, I received professional training as a teacher in Canada and am currently teaching in the Manitoba education system, which is markedly different from my initial schooling context. My participants and I represent the range of immigrant teachers in Canada. Much Canadian literature would classify my participants as Internationally Educated Teachers (IETs) (Faez, 2010; Gambhir, Broad, Evans & Gaskell, 2008; Pollock, 2010; Schmidt, Young & Mandzuk, 2010; Walsh, Brigham & Wang, 2011) and me as an
Internationally Educated Teacher Candidate (Chassels 2010; Faez, 2010). However, in the immigrant teacher narrative considering the homogeneity and temporality of our lived experiences, I have combined both these categories and termed my participants and me as immigrant teachers. All of the participants (i.e. my participants and me) have had to overcome challenges of a whole new style of learning and teaching, as well as negotiating a new system. We have successfully acquired permanent teaching certificates from the Province of Manitoba and while two of us have experienced success in getting employment after substitute teaching, one has been successful in getting a year-long term position in one of the largest and oldest school division in Manitoba. While the participant profiles provide an overview of the participants in the immigrant teacher narratives, it is perhaps important to recognize that our lived realities were rather intertwined mainly due to my presence in the lives of my participants as an informal mentor. As such, in order to provide an in-depth account of our related realities, the following detailed narratives of my participants and me supplement the participant profiles by delineating my presence in the lives of my participants. Further, my own narrative here provides details of my experience.

**From Supervisor to Supervised: The Story of Allyanna.** Forty seven year old Allyanna, armed with a doctorate in education and years of experience as supervisor of a school district in Philippines, left her flourishing career as an educator in the Philippines to migrate to Canada with her family mainly to provide a better future for her four children. Part of her plans for providing a better future for her children included continuing in her profession in Canada. The realization of her plans relate an intertwined series of realities that to a large extent required her to retrace her steps and start her
teaching career in Canada by taking teaching assignments that did not commensurate with her qualifications.

Allyanna was introduced to me soon after she arrived in Canada and consequently registered her youngest son in the school where I was teaching. She was introduced to me as a volunteer who would be assisting me in my language-learning classroom. Impressed with her proficiency in meeting the needs of the students she was assisting, I initiated a personal conversation with her to learn more about her. I was amazed by her wealth of knowledge and experience. In due course, we developed a unique relationship wherein I would actively seek her assistance and guidance in programming for my multi-age, multi-grade, multi-level language classroom and she would seek my assistance and guidance in acquiring a better understanding of the Manitoba public school system. Together, we negotiated strategies and ways to overcome several obstacles that she faced as she was trying to access the Manitoba school system as an educator. There were several times in our now intertwined lives that I could see some of her realities paralleling some of my past realities. For example, both Allyanna and I faced challenges in gaining substitute assignments, which we perceived to be a product of our distinct non-native status. Consequent to gaining our permanent certification, there were several days when Allyanna and I waited patiently next to the phone waiting for a substitute opportunity. Further, like me Allyanna realized the importance of knowing people in the system to gain entry into a Manitoba classroom and as such like me, Allyanna also deliberated and implemented several measures to build and establish connections that would help her in gaining entry into the Manitoba classroom. I was able to provide her with perspectives
and suggestions based on my experience to address certain unique and challenging situations.

In light of our relationship it was relatively easy for me to seek her participation in this study. When I informed her about my study in Fall of 2012, she eagerly agreed to retrace her steps and document insights in her journal. As I was an integral part of her lived realities as a professional in Canada, my presence in her journal entries is rather frequent. In her journal entries I appear several times as a friend and guide, who assisted her in several of her initiatives to be successfully employed in Manitoba.

According to Allyanna, I was integral in guiding her to increase her visibility in the school division in order to get more opportunities for substitution.

[Upon] the advice of my friend, I went to different schools within the Winnipeg School Division, bringing with me my resume and calling cards to and on to the school principals. I know that this is one way to broaden my linkages (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).

Further, indicating my role in helping her gain visibility in the school division, Allyanna recounts an incident in which she met an administrator of a school:

Luckily, at [Dartmouth school], I met the Vice-Principal, who happened to be the former Math Resource teacher at [Washington School]. I was so happy because she was able to still recognize me. I remember that I shared some insights on teaching Mathematics in one of the seminars she facilitated. I didn’t know that she asked about me during that time. It was my friend [me] that told her about my work back home in Philippines. So now that I met her at [Dartmouth] she assured me that she will call me for subbing (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).
In both these instances, I can be perceived as playing the role of an informal mentor as well as an advocate that was assisting Allyanna in her professional integration. Further as an informal mentor, I provided Allyanna with repeated substitution opportunities in my class and recommended her services to colleagues in my building.

**Strife of Treading an Unknown Path: The Story of Andrea.** For 37-year old Andrea becoming a teacher in Canada meant traversing a totally unknown territory with little support and lots of strife, rejections and frustrations. Andrea’s ascent into the world of teaching in Manitoba started on a rather bleak note wherein she was made to believe that pursuing her profession is perhaps not a possibility: “I was told by the agency that helped us migrate to Canada – maybe I cannot teach – so I did not look for a teaching job, upon my arrival here in Canada” (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 15, 2012). As such, in order to financially sustain her family, Andrea took up a job as a sous chef in a restaurant. However, trained and employed as a teacher in the Philippines for nine years, working as a chef did not excite Andrea for long and she seized the first opportunity that came her way to enter the field of education. Opportunity for her came in the form of information passed on to her by a fellow Filipino teacher, who informed her of the process for getting her teaching credentials recognized in Manitoba and eventually obtaining a permanent teaching certificate. Seeing a glimpse of hope, Andrea called the provincial certification unit to learn more about the procedures. With apprehension and reluctance, Andrea began the process to get a permanent teaching certificate in Manitoba. Consequent to getting the permanent teaching certificate, Andrea, slowly but steadily started establishing herself as a substitute teacher in the various school divisions in Winnipeg.
I first encountered Andrea as a substitute teacher in the school division where I was employed as a term teacher. I had randomly picked her name from a list of substitute teachers of the division and called her to fill in for me for a day. Impressed with the way she had administered my responsibilities; Andrea became one of my preferred substitutes. Andrea continued to be my preferred substitute teacher even after I had got my permanent contract and started an exclusive multi-age, multi-grade, multi-level language-learning classroom in an elementary school. As my preferred substitute, I ensured Andrea got repeated substitute teaching opportunities in my classroom and in the larger school community. I started actively recommending her services to my colleagues. It was during one of these substitute assignments, that I met Andrea in person for the first time. We started meeting frequently after that – every time we met, we would discuss Andrea’s substitute teaching experiences. A special kind of camaraderie developed between us, an unspoken mutual trust. Any time I had an emergency and had to take a day off, I counted on Andrea to fill in for me and administer my program efficiently. I assumed the role of being Andrea’s link in the school, a link that helped her increase her visibility in the school and in the school division. In order to increase her visibility in other schools in the school division, I started recommending her services to my colleagues in other schools in the school division.

My involvement in Andrea’s lived realities assumed new meaning when Andrea was appointed on a term contract to teach Grade One in my school. From being the essential link that helped Andrea increase her visibility in schools, I became an advocate and a challenger of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that were exhibited towards Andrea. The need for advocacy especially manifested when Andrea started lunchtime
Filipino dance club to foster understanding of Filipino culture among the students in the school. The club started off very successfully. Lot of students joined the club and with Andrea’s meticulous efforts, the club members had some dances ready to be performed for school-wide assemblies. At this point, another term teacher in the school went to the administrators and complained that the dance club was not inclusive and as such it should be shut down. Swayed by the term teacher’s rationale, the administrator made an announcement and shut the Filipino Dance club. When I heard the announcement, I was livid. Appalled, I went to Andrea and asked her if she had spoken to the administrator about the decision. A reluctant Andrea was not willing to do anything to upset the administrator and jeopardize her chances of getting a permanent position. I was not ready to let the situation rest and proceeded to ask the administrator her rationale for her decision. When she presented the rationale – that the club was not inclusive—I reminded her that a school-wide announcement was made about the club, inviting all students to participate regardless of their ethnicity. However, it was not Andrea’s fault that only Filipino students decided to join the club. Realizing and recognizing the validity of my statements, the Principal now had to think of ways and means to restart the Filipino dance club.

The motivation behind the other term teacher’s actions could be perceived as her attempt to thwart Andrea’s chances of superseding her and gaining further employment in the school. The year seemed to be going very well for Andrea – her professional abilities and expertise was evident in the way she had organized the physical and instructional space in her classroom. At the end of the first term, her students were showing significant academic progress – their reading and numeracy levels based on a standardized divisional
assessment system had significantly improved. Everybody in the school had started noticing and recognizing Andrea’s professional aptitude and excellence especially at organizing and administering word-work activities. Her pedagogy had caught the attention of several divisional consultants, who consequently sought her assistance in developing models of instruction that would benefit other teachers in the school division that shared some of her contextual aspects. Further, efficiency of her pedagogy also reflected in the student engagement that was demonstrated by her students – issues relating to student behavior had slowly and steadily reduced in her classroom. Her success likely irked and worried the other term teacher, who had been hired the same time as Andrea. The other term teacher may well have felt insecure about her own position in the school, fearing that Andrea would gain a permanent contract and she would be left without a job. However, any attempts to hinder Andrea’s successful transition into the system were unsuccessful and Andrea’s term position became permanent.

**Bridging Gaps: My Role as an Informal Mentor.** As an educator in a high immigrant intake inner city elementary school, I had the opportunity to meet a lot of new immigrants striving to establish their professional credibility and professional expertise in their new adopted land. Among the immigrant professionals I met were Andrea and Allyanna, who had several years of teaching experience from their home countries and were struggling to make inroads into an absolutely new system. I assumed a new role – the role of a mentor in which I drew on my own experiences of struggle and success to assist in their attempts to enter the Manitoba public school system. As a mentor, I derived some new and fresh perspectives on the immigrant teacher integration processes.
Using lessons from my personal experience, I assumed the demanding yet worthwhile task of being “THE” personal connection and affiliation for these strangers in a primarily homogenous educational framework. This arduous role revealed the systemic intricacies that both prohibit and inhibit the inclusion and recognition of the experiences of these proficient professionals as well as the impact of systemic dissonances on the affective well being of the immigrant teachers.

As a mentor I assisted many recently arrived immigrant teachers, Allyanna and Andrea among them, in understanding the critical systemic constructs and processes that they needed to negotiate to continue their professions in Canada. I assisted Allyanna in certification experiences by providing her with information on the available programs that would help her fulfill the requirements for teacher certification. While she was waiting for a response from the certification unit, I provided her with opportunities to volunteer in my classroom and get acquainted with Canadian pedagogy as well as Canadian culture. Upon completion of their certification process, I provided both Allyanna and Andrea guidance and assistance in their job-search processes, which included help with designing resumes, portfolios, and attending interviews. Further, I helped them become acquainted with the requirements and processes for establishing their credentials as competent substitute teachers and consequently helped them understand the employment processes in the varied school divisions. In addition to providing physical assistance to the new immigrant teachers, on several occasions I found myself giving these emotionally vulnerable individuals affective support and encouragement in overcoming the anxieties of initial settlement. This in turn caused me emotional stress, as I felt ill equipped to fulfill their emotional needs. All I could be for
Allyanna was a shoulder to cry on – I felt helpless. I could not change the system, nor could I accelerate the processes; however, I could understand her fears and frustrations.

In terms of providing assistance to Andrea, specific strategies included helping her increasing her visibility in my school by providing her repeated opportunities to substitute in my class, and recommending her to my colleagues in the school and the larger school division. This caused a number of challenges – on the one hand while I had to contend with the hostile attitude of some of my colleagues towards immigrant teachers; on the other hand, I had to circumvent and evade accusations and questions on my preference for contexts of diversity. Discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards immigrant teachers included complete intolerance for trivial oversights by immigrant teachers. Such discriminatory attitudes, in my opinion had to be addressed in order to provide immigrant teachers an opportunity to share their professional expertise. So, as an advocate and mentor, I found myself expending extraordinary effort and energy to combat these discriminatory attitudes and point out that any teacher regardless of background could potentially make small oversights. Staffroom conversations mocking immigrant teachers’ diverse dispositions and professional conduct frustrated me. One incident that aptly illustrates the nature of the discriminatory attitude that I had to contend with happened on one of those rare days when I decided to join my colleagues in the staffroom during recess break. I was just beginning to enjoy the conversations when I happened to overhear an intense side-conversation a couple of my colleagues were engaged in. It looked like they were talking about absences and getting substitutes for assignments. One of them confirmed my suspicion when she loudly but firmly expressed her intention of never letting a teacher from another country enter her classroom.
Appalled, I did not say anything initially; I was waiting, wanting to know her rationale for this decision. So politely I entered their conversation and asked what made her decide that, to which she remarked that she was concerned about their accents and their ability to make themselves comprehensible to the students. She also expressed concerns about their professional efficacy given the last time she had an immigrant teacher as a substitute in her room, the immigrant teacher did not leave a note describing the day. Her comment made me wonder whether she would be equally intolerant of the oversight if it had been made by a white, Canadian-born teacher as opposed to an immigrant teacher. I decided to find out and as such I contributed to the conversation by relating my own experience with a mainstream substitute teacher. This individual did not accomplish any of my assigned tasks with my students during my absence nor did he leave a note for me. Moreover, he left the class in a mess and left the children confounded as he had spent an entire morning talking about his name and its enunciation and learning how to say my students’ names as they were all from different countries. My colleague brushed off my account as a rarity, to which I confidently remarked that her experience with one immigrant teacher might also have been a rarity.

I did not let my colleague’s attitude deter my perseverance to help Andrea, Allyanna, and other immigrant teachers. On the contrary, I used these vexatious comments to advise and inform them of the possible behaviors that could potentially be viewed and interpreted negatively. Further, I enabled them to establish their personal networks by personally taking them and introducing them to consortiums and forums organized to explore educational issues arising out of contexts of diversity in Manitoba.
In terms of helping the immigrant teachers in their job search process, I extended my assistance by taking every opportunity to recommend their services for any extra-curricular programs that my school was planning to initiate or any term positions that were being contemplated. In this endeavor, I had to contend with a unique set of frustrations and dejections that were mainly caused by systemic irregularities that not only allowed administrators and hiring personnel to adopt discriminatory attitudes but also impeded and complicated the entry of immigrant teachers into the teaching workforce. Once again, I assumed the role of giving voice to the concerns of the immigrant teachers and being “THE” critical personal connection pertinent for success in employment search processes. As such, I aggressively concentrated on helping immigrant substitute teachers get a fair chance in being considered for the varied employment opportunities by not only informing them about various internal job opportunities but also making administrators aware of the immigrant teachers’ abilities and proficiencies. While my efforts yielded an interview with the administrators, a job offer still eluded the immigrant teachers. The rationale given each time was either, “the position is being filled by the surplus teachers in the division” or “we were looking for a person with more experience and qualifications”.

Recognizing the importance of personal affiliations in employment gaining processes, I decided to capitalize on the connections I had made during my tenure in the division in different capacities. I tapped into all the affiliations and connections I had developed over the course of my varied teaching assignments in the division. Slowly and sporadically, my efforts resulted in some successes and several failures.
Speaking from Within: Organic Intellectuals as Agents of Change

The above narratives of my participants and me delineate the extent of my involvement in my participants’ professional journeys. The epistemological premise of my study allows for my involvement, and in the following section, I provide a rationale for how I was positioned in the study, as well as the challenges and the measures taken to circumvent the challenges posed by my presence in the study.

The transformative nature of a critical narrative study requires a narrative inquirer to not only bring forth the previously muted voices of the participants but also advocate for change. Under the narrative paradigm, researchers gather and re-story lived stories, “provide ways to be useful to the participants” (Creswell, 2007, p. 57), and help in the transformation of the lived contexts of the participants. Forging this participatory agenda of a narrative inquiry, my role as a researcher in this study extends to include the role of a participant and a mentor. Being a participant and an informal mentor I became native to the study and as such have been ‘living’ or perhaps have ‘lived’ some of the told stories of the participants. In the study, I use perspectives from my lived experiences to glean, deduce, confirm and corroborate the realities shared by my participants. Further, as a mentor, the study documents how I have used perspectives from my lived realities to participate and assist my participants with their professional goals.

Before embarking on an in-depth journey into the lived realities of my participants and me, it is perhaps pertinent to explore issues relevant to the location of the narrator and ownership of a narrative to unpack my dichotomous position. The critical social research paradigm allows narratives to be told by either researchers who are “observers” of the phenomena or by researchers who are “native” to the phenomena.
Observers of the phenomena are studying the phenomena from the periphery and as such are outsiders to the problematic. Researchers “native” to the problematic are situated inside the problematic. Qualitative research addresses the spatial situatedness of the researcher in the research process. The type of research and the “contrasting positions concerning the theory of knowledge” (Breen, 2007, p.164) are perhaps the key factors determining the location of research. Insider research has traditionally been considered appropriate for epistemologies and dialectics arising from a transformative perspective such as critical theory, post-modernism, critical theory and constructionism (Breen, 2007). Transformative dialectics that involve the abstraction of systemic dissonance require the researcher to develop an in-depth intrinsic understanding of the challenges. This understanding arises from recognizing the causal factors of the marginalized and problematized participants and understanding the contexts of the participants. Beyond hermeneutics, this process requires a distinct sensitivity to the challenges and issues that are inherent to identifying the problematic, which characterizes instances of marginalization and subjugation. This sensitivity can be obtained not merely by sharing the experiences but by living those experiences, and is epitomized by Gramsci’s ‘organic intellectuals’ (Siraj-Blatchford, 1995, p.213), who contrary to being members of the significantly “Other” group are insiders to the varied classes of oppressed groups. By conceptualizing an organic intellectual in the critical social research paradigm, Gramsci offers a rationale for an inside voice in dialectics exposing systemic inequities and societal power imbalances. Such perspectives are “committed to the interests of an oppressed group” (Siraj-Blatchford, 1995, p. 213) and pre-disposed to “feel and act accordingly” (Siraj-Blatchford, 1995, p. 213). In the immigrant teacher narratives, I
perceive myself as Gramsci’s organic intellectual who is able to bring forth shared
sensitivities of common lived experiences to construct a heuristic that brings forth the
problematized realities of immigrant teachers.

While there is considerable discourse rationalizing and underlining the presence
of organic intellectuals or insider researchers in dialectics emerging from a
transformative paradigm, the most compelling perhaps can be found in Freire (2000):

No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by
treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from
among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle
for their redemption (p.54).

Here Freire (2000) conceptualizes the role of an organic intellectual in a transformative
praxis where “world and action are intimately interdependent” (Friere, 2000, p.53) and
focuses on alleviating problematic lived realities. According to Freire, an authentic
transformative praxis originates from a “critical awareness of oppression” (Freire 2000,
p.51), an awareness that distinguishes organic intellectuals from traditional intellectuals.
Organic intellectuals, being an integral part of the oppressed community, are able to
develop an awareness that arises from living and confronting the exigencies of their
problematized realities. As such, organic intellectuals are able to move beyond the mere
understanding and “naïve knowledge of reality” (Freire, 2000, p. 131) to consider the
experiences and constraints of the problematic and their lived contradictions, which
consequently allows them “to perceive the causes of the reality” (Freire, 2000, p. 131).
First-hand recognition of the causal factors empowers the organic intellectuals to
“confront reality critically, simultaneously [objectify] and [act] upon that reality” (Freire,
By defining such a role for an organic intellectual, Gramsci and Freire are placing organic intellectuals at the locus of the praxis of reflection and action, attempting to remove the subject/object dichotomy in a research study. Abstraction of the subject/object dichotomy is considered pertinent for the actualization of authentic action. According to Freire (2000), authentic praxis necessitates subjectivity and objectivity to be in dialogical relation where a “subjectivist perception” (p. 52) of reality is complemented with “critical intervention” leading to a “transformation of objective reality” (p. 52). As an integral part of the participant community in the immigrant teacher narratives I am able to glean, deduce and order the arguments and evidence that characterize the lives of these highly trained professionals. As such I perceive my situatedness in the research as a bridge between the power and the powerless. Being one of the researched allows me to develop a heuristic that is based on observation and analysis of the personal situation and lived realities and authenticate the study by moving from a second-person dialogue to a first person inquiry that incorporates deeper understandings of problematic human situations. Further, my experiences provide me the lens to think systematically and practically about my lived experiences, which are perhaps being shared by others in my situation. Being embedded in the research, I use perspectives from my personal experiences as a springboard for a series of inquiries, and add authority and authenticity to the work to “find a common voice in shared yet different experiences (researcher) while attempting to explore the process of silencing in that experience (research)” (Collins, 1992, p.185).

In a transformative dialectic, the presence of an insider researcher is accentuated by their empowered ability to acquire unique perspectives from the respondents. Insider
researchers by virtue of their location in the research are considered to have native knowledge and understanding of the issue and context and as such are “often intimately engaged with their research domains” (Breen, 2007, p.163) and have a “superior understanding of the group’s culture; the ability to interact naturally with the group and its members; and a previously established, and therefore greater, relational intimacy with the group” (Breen, 2007, p.156).

Insider researchers are capable of providing the respondents with resources and a repertoire of lived experiences that allow the respondents to compare and decipher the dissonances in their lived experiences. Lee and Simon-Maeda (2006), in their study exploring the implications and manifestations of the insider/outsider dichotomy in research studies, suggest the respondents’ proclivity to view Lee as an ally and as such relate unique experiences and anecdotes, which according to Lee were mainly a result of their ethnic homogeneity. In this study by Lee and Maeda, Lee relates several instances where the respondent drew from the researcher’s lived experience as the visible “Other” to make sense of her own trials and tribulations.

Insider researchers are reflective practitioners who are not only able to reflect upon and theorize their problematized existence but are also able to use perspectives from their personal lived contexts to study and deconstruct the lived contexts of other individuals in their group. As members of the group, the insider researcher is able to use her knowledge of the cultural dynamics to assess and analyze the affective and behavioral patterns of the lived experience. In Lee and Maeda (2006), Lee describes her ability as a member of the researched community to move beyond the mere manifestations of a racial incident and delve deeper to identify the “emotional affects” (Lee & Simon-Maeda, 2006,
p. 583) of the incident, affects that were reflective of larger systemic inequities and structural inadequacies.

In the context of the immigrant teacher narratives, the shared sensitivity allows me as the researcher to create an environment of shared learning and growth among my respondents. As such, the commonality of my experiences and my participants’ experiences allowed my participants to overcome inhibitions and concerns of marginalization and the fear of being viewed as “troublemakers” by mainstream pedagogy. As such, speaking from within I was able to encourage my participants to participate fully in the research process to provide rich and deep understandings of their human situation and lived realities. Being an integral part of the community of the researched, I was able to move beyond the insider/outsider dichotomy to provide and acquire unique perspectives and understandings of problematic situations. As such in the immigrant teacher narratives the, “research and researcher [were] no longer dichotomized and fractured but served as an integrated whole” (Collins, 1992, p. 182). Further, my experiences allowed me to make sense of the data and contribute to it. As such by being located in the problematic I was able to “bring to light the dynamics of culture that may lead to the design of more democratic educational arrangements and hence the attainment of greater equality of opportunity and achievement” (Foley, Levinson & Hurtig, 2000, p. 37) for my participants and myself. Asserting the need for including insider perspective in critical discourses, Foley et.al. (2000), contend that an insider researcher is not only able to bring shared knowledge to the study, but is also able to bring inter-subjective knowledge relevant for deliberations on public policy, institutional and structural changes.
In terms of constructing and designing the narratives, shared experiences and overlapping contexts translated into my easy access to the research site and availability of participants for the research. My nativity in the study assisted in building rapport with my participants. The immigrant teacher dialectic, primarily emerging from a transformative paradigm and offering hope within a problematized reality, manifested as solidarity and shared commitment to the research context thereby ensuring permission from the researched to access and document their lived realities. Once recruited for the study, the promise of resolutions and validation of the shared problematic realities of my participants and me assured absolute participation from the participants. The participants not only eagerly shared their lived realities with me but often times sought corroborations for their realities by looking for similarities in our personal lived experiences.

Resolving the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy. These parameters that define and rationalize the necessity and efficacy of insider research raise a distinct set of critiques that challenge the presence of an inside voice in a research study. For all the advantages accrued from the presence of the researcher in the researched context, there are also methodological and ethical concerns that the insider researcher has to consider and address. There are several perspectives in qualitative research that offer ways and means of answering questions regarding the validity and quality of a research study. In most of these cases, researchers have negotiated positioning from the epistemological premise of the study as well as a re-conceptualized definition of validation and evaluation. There is considerable discourse delineating the challenges insider researchers have to contend and resolve due to their situatedness in the problematic (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; Kanhua, 2000; Mercer, 2007). While insider researchers enjoy privileges of instant
access and rapport to the researched community, the increased familiarity raises concerns of “loss of ‘objectivity’” (Breen, 2007, p. 164). Being situated in the problematic, they are considered to bring with them biases based on their prior knowledge and their own lived reality, which predisposes them to making erroneous assumptions of the reality. In my own instance there were several occasions while composing the immigrant teacher narratives, my sensitivities arising out of my lived realities as a co-participant and as a mentor persuaded me to consider the realities of my participants with an affective lens and make subjective conclusions of the circumstantial factors that affected the reality. As a co-participant, on several instances, I found myself paralleling my lived realities to the told stories of my participants and making causal attributions based on my experiences. Further, my efforts to circumvent the insider/outsider dichotomy were especially accentuated when I was reflecting and analyzing aspects of my own lived reality. Considering the study was anchored on an approach that avoided heaping data – it was especially affectively challenging for me to reflect and recount my own journey – there was so much to talk about, however, I was aware I have sift to through these realities and include those that speak to the purpose and the mandate of my study. I found the task of prioritizing my lived realities especially challenging, as I constantly felt that I was trivializing the enormity of my lived experiences. For example, while in my mind my initial experiences learning and steering the varied and complex topography of Winnipeg was arduous, but I knew in the bigger context of the paradigm that I was inquiring, the extent of its significance and relevance was perhaps very minimal.

As an informal mentor, there were several instances in the interview process where I found myself getting infuriated and emotional with the circumstances of the
events being related, especially when the same incident had unfolded before me and I had knowledge of the actual rationale behind the event. This paradox mainly manifested when Allyanna was telling me how she was hoping that she would be considered for the Grade 3 teaching position in the school and how it was disappointing when she found out that another person had been selected for the position. Located in her problematic as a mentor, I was witness to the rather contentious events that preceded the selection and appointment of the successful candidate. In such instances, I had to switch from being the researched to being the researcher and strive for balance in presenting the issues in the study. To gain an authentic account of the respondents’ perceptions of their lived realities, I had to exercise constraint by being conscious of my own predispositions, and refrain from leading the respondents to relate accounts of incidents and anecdotes that were comparable with my knowledge of the particular incidents and events and provide participants the space to relate the incidents as they perceived them. Homogeneity of the lived experiences imposes upon the native researcher the need to maintain a “distance from the project, the participants, and indeed even the process of studying one’s own people” (Kanuha, 2000, p. 442). As such indigenous researchers have to contend with the complexity of separating experiences from their personal lived realities during the interview process. While I exercised this constraint during the interview process, emerging from a transformative paradigm, the epistemological premise of my study allowed me and provided me the space to bring forth my biases and the knowledge I had acquired from my “prolonged proactive engagement” (Creswell, 2007, p. 214) in the problematic as a participant and an informal mentor in my analysis and consequent writing of my findings. By doing this, I attempt not only to deconstruct and align the
lived experiences of the participants with my lived realities as a participant and an informal mentor, but also to present the context, biases and presumptions that guide me in my inquiry.

Emerging from an interpretive, transformative paradigm, the immigrant teacher narratives provide me with the space and epistemic rationale to include my subjective perspectives of the problematic. Perspectives on validation and evaluation criteria for transformative dialectics based on epistemologies such as post-modernism, feminism, and critical theory include dependability, confirmability, transferability, equity and praxis (Creswell, 2007) for authenticating and substantiating the voices of the participants. Creswell recommends eight varied strategies – prolonged engagement and persistent observation of the problematic; triangulation of data; peer review of the findings; negative case analysis; clarification of researcher bias; member checking; and inclusion of rich thick descriptions. Adoption of “all” or “some” of these strategies warrants an active dialogical structure in the study, where the participant and researcher share space in the problematic and its resolution. The immigrant teacher narratives rely mainly on thick descriptions, clarification of researcher bias, member checking, and prolonged engagement to bring forth the problematized realities of its participants.

Studies such as Kanuha (2000) and Brayboy and Dehle (2000) have noted that insider researchers are often times predisposed to “not pursue vague statements, generalities, or even participant-initiated leads with follow-up probes”(Kanuha, 2000, p.242). Additionally, it is has been noted that the native researcher’s intimate knowledge of the participants’ problematic world may preclude the researcher from allowing the participant to complete their sentences, thoughts or descriptions. In the immigrant
teacher narratives, however, these complexities interestingly manifested in a reverse manner, where, in several instances, my participants would expect me to have an implicit understanding of the causal factors defining their experiences and remarks considering I had been their mentor and as such had been an integral part of their journey as a teacher in Canada. There were several instances where my participants would relate an anecdote and not consider it pertinent to substantiate their stories or remarks. I had to continuously probe and encourage my respondents to provide corroborations and confirmations for their accounts. This paradox especially manifested when Andrea was telling me about her travails as a substitute in schools in a primarily homogeneous school division in the city – she kept referring to ‘problems’ in the classrooms expecting me to know the extent and nature of the ‘problems’ – finally I asked her explicitly to describe her travails. Once again expecting me to have a composite understanding of the nature of the problem, Andrea substantiated by adding a one-word description: “language problem”, she said. While I did have a fair idea of what she was referring to, I still asked for further explanations. This was important, as I had to ensure I secure the authenticity of their told realities as much as possible.

Brayboy and Dehyle (2000) studied the insider/outsider dichotomy while conducting research in American-Indian communities, and delineated the cultural, social and ‘culturally-influenced-affective’ imperatives of being native to the researched community. While on the one hand they had no problems gaining initial access and building initial rapport with members of the participant community, they had to constantly negotiate between cultural expectations and professional concerns during the interview in order to maintain their presence and rapport. The researchers in this instance
alleviated these cultural barriers by co-constructing with the participants “a way to be both researcher/research participant and Indian” (Brayboy & Dehyle, 2000, p.165).

Transparency was a critical factor of this co-construction of the interview process – the researchers informed the participants of the purpose of the study, their particular place in the study, and all the instances when the researchers negotiated between researcher and participant personas.

In my own inquiry as an immigrant teacher considering the challenges and imperatives that immigrant teachers contend with in Manitoba to find employment, my situatedness in the study as an informal mentor especially accentuated the need to negotiate and balance the expectations and understandings my participants expected me to have of their lived realities and my role as a researcher. Being an informal mentor, I not only shared the lived realities with my respondents but was also an integral part of their lived realities. As such, I not only had stories and anecdotes from personal lived realities to compare with that of my respondents, but also had my perceptions and insights into my respondents’ lived realities. There were several instances in which I had to remind my respondents of the pertinence and imperatives of authenticating problematized voices. The most obvious incident happened when Andrea had to relate to me the events and circumstances that culminated in her getting a permanent contract with the largest and oldest school division in the city. Considering I was an integral part of that part of her journey as an informal mentor and as such had witnessed all the events that unfolded, Andrea gave me the permission to relate the story on her behalf. However, I could not let that happen – in order to uphold the standards and criterion in the qualitative research paradigm, I had to support Andrea in providing her perceptions and
interpretations of her lived realities as opposed to my perceptions and interpretations. In my inquiry process, the space between the researcher and the researched was co-constructed by my participants and me.

Further, the whole cycle of inquiry, reflection and relating the lived realities of self and respondents had multiple affective implications on me. Recounting and relating my personal story was especially exhausting emotionally; it brought back all the pain. Revisiting all the events and incidents that preceded my integration into the Manitoba school system prompted me to relive every moment, and my reflection enabled me to convert some of the pain and anger into action to facilitate much-needed change. The pain and the anger deepened and were affirmed with every instance in which I endeavored to assist other immigrant teachers in their integration processes. Moments of anger and frustration prevailed every time I was witness to the manifestation of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards immigrant teachers. I was extremely sensitized, and as such would easily get angered by the most trivial occurrence; everything seemed to be unjust and discriminatory to me. This sensitivity especially manifested when I was recounting and relating the incidents as part of my inquiry process; I had to try hard not to allow emotions guide and sway my thoughts. Before reflecting on the incident, I would wait for my emotions to subside before relating and reflecting in order to present a practical authentic account of the causal circumstances of the incidents. However, in due course, I found the process of maintaining an affective distance from the context and the told lived realities of self and respondent to be cumbersome and counterproductive. Eventually, I invested my energies in including the affective manifestations of my lived realities as a researcher and the researched as an
integral tool for analyzing the paradigmatic quotients in the study of the immigrant teacher acculturation processes.

**Data Collection**

Data for the study came from field notes taken from extensive participation of the researcher in the participants’ lived realities as an informal mentor, open-ended interviews with participants, and journals. Field notes provide the researcher the opportunity to construct her own understanding based on her “personal practical knowing” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.5). Field notes are also termed “active recordings” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.5) because they constitute “active reconstruction of the events rather than a passive recording, which would suggest that the event could be recorded without the researcher’s interpretation” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990, p.5). Further, affective insights of the participants have been obtained from journal records maintained by both the researcher and the participant. According to Clandinin & Connelly (1990), active journaling helps in recognizing and matching comparable experiences. In the context of this study, journal entries and a series of open-ended unstructured interviews have mainly been used for analytic purposes and for recognizing the disruptions and anomalies that define the researcher and participants’ acculturation processes. Data acquired from journal entries are substantiated by insights and evidence obtained from open-ended unstructured interviews. Exploring and asserting the relevance of interviews in studies embedded in intercultural contexts, Shah (2004) describes interviewing as a “knowledge building activity, informed by a knowledge of social subsystems operative in that culture, and by constant adaptations of the interview process to suit each individual situation in awareness of the participants' subjectivities” (p. 552).
The study encapsulates the insights and experiential evidence obtained from an extended time period. In terms of the participants, attempts have been made to trace their professional journey right from their arrival in Canada to their present context. In the study, the lived realities of one of the respondents have been mainly documented through her journal entries in which she has traced and related her story right from her arrival in Canada until the time she got her term position in one of the largest and oldest urban school divisions in Manitoba. The other respondent was not comfortable with essaying her story in a journal and as such opted to relate her story in unstructured interviews and conversations with the researcher. Before beginning the interview process, one of the respondents expressed her reservation with the conversation being recorded on digital format – as such the researcher captured her lived realities by actively taking notes while interviewing the respondent.

As for the researcher, journal entries documenting the insights and experiential evidence obtained from the researchers own attempts to become a part of the Manitoba teaching community constitute the primary source of data. The researcher’s dichotomous presence has mainly been essayed alternately as a third person voice and as a first hand testimonial account, mainly to include all the details and the contextual references to the researcher’s understandings of her lived realities as well as to delineate the role of the researcher in the lived realities of the respondents.

Table 2: Data Collection Chart

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<th>Source/Participants</th>
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A detailed member-checking process was used to maintain confidentiality and protect the privacy of the participants. The research process was thoroughly detailed to the participants in a comprehensive letter inviting the participants to the study. The letter included information about the different modes of data collection and the time period required to collect the data in order to provide the participants with a clear picture of the nature and extent of their commitment. During this time, the participants were given the option of indicating their comfort level with the proposed methodology and time frame of the study. Extending the member-checking process to the post data collection phase, the participants were given the opportunity to indicate any aspect of the journal or the interview that they did not want to be included as part of the data. Further, during the post data collection phase, we (my participants and me) met several times during our lunch hour to revise and “develop points of interest in the revised story” (Clandinin and
Connelly, 1990, p. 11). Additionally, pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the participants as well as all the other related people integral to the told stories.

**Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation**

Data thus collected has mainly been analyzed and reported to “expand and extend [the data] beyond a purely descriptive account with an analysis that proceeds in some careful, systematic way to identify key factors and relationships among them” (Conrad, Howarth & Lattuca, 2001, p. 574). As such, the study follows a linear approach where the presentation and reporting of data begins with an in-depth essay of the lived experiences of the respondents. The lived realities of the respondents have been accounted linearly in the form of essays that chronologically delineate the integral events and incidents that delineate the immigrant teacher integration paradigm. The essayed stories have been interspersed with anecdotes and testimonies mainly to reflect my positionality in the research as well as “provide an aura of authenticity that only first-hand narratives can furnish” (Silva, Lewis and Embrick, 2004, p. 557). Further, the accounts of the lived realities of the respondents have been documented through rich anecdotal experiential accounts in order to “gain sympathy from listeners or to persuade them about points they wish to convey” (Silva, Lewis and Embrick, 2004, p. 557) and provide insight into the respondents’ understanding of the causal framework of their experiences and their lived realities.

The data thus presented has been analyzed to identify the themes and construct a genealogy that defines the problematic existence of the immigrant teachers. And finally the insights acquired from the analysis have been processed to study the impact of these events occurrences on the immigrant teacher community and the larger Manitoba school
community and the policy frameworks that govern the construct of the Manitoba school system.

Figure 1: Process of Storying and Re-storying: This figure mainly outlines the process by which the lived experiences have been related and then deconstructed.

In the process of transforming these problematic experiences into data, a “heaped data” (Conrad et al., 2001, p. 575) approach has been avoided and as such instances “worthy of note” (Conrad et al., 2001, p. 575) have been included to story the problematic lives of the immigrant teachers. Further, the data has been chronologically ordered on the basis of the identified themes to construct a genealogy that provides an insight into the disruptions, dissonances and the anomalies that contribute to the objectifying of the immigrant teacher community as problematic.

In terms of analyzing the lived experiences, the study employs a critical lens that allows the re-storying of the stories with analytic strategies such as “exposing
dichotomies, examining silences, and attending to disruptions and contractions” (Creswell, 2007, p. 56). The use of this lens has allowed the researcher to decipher the silences, identify the inequities and power imbalances in order to make meaning of the challenges of the immigrant teachers and deduce the themes that characterize and define the integration process of immigrant teachers. In order to extend the analysis to study and understand the impact of the data collected and collated, in the interpretation phase, the anecdotal evidence from the researcher’s lived experiences has been unpacked to compare, deconstruct and theorize the experiences of the respondents. The themes identified during the data analysis process have not only been used in the restorying and theorizing of the lived experiences of the immigrant teachers, they have also been used to construct a Foucauldian genealogy that deliberates on bringing “into play, to make visible, the unwritten categories and rules of the system(s)” (Brocklesby & Cummings, 1996, p.741) and in the process “enable individuals to develop responsive strategies to them, rather than collectively build shiny new systems” (p. 741). In the context of the immigrant teacher narratives using Foucault’s genealogy, the lived realities have been considered to delineate the systemic inequities and policy imbalances that need to be altered to facilitate the integration and assimilation of immigrant teachers in Manitoba schools. Further, the disruptions and inequities identified in the analysis define and delineate the problematized existence of the immigrant teachers that have been noted and related in the rationale for the study.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA DESCRIPTION

Creating Research Texts from Field Texts. In this section, I attempt to construct a genealogy of the lived realities of my participants and my lived realities to present our contexts and to chronologically trace the series of key events that define our stories as immigrant teachers attempting to gain employment in the Manitoba public school system. The varied events in our lives have been temporally ordered and grouped on the basis of the key events that defined our attempts to gain employment in order to add the temporality dimension of a three dimensional narrative space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). While some of the stories have been grouped on the basis of the homogeneity of our lived experiences, others have been identified and grouped on the basis of the integrality of the event in the employment acquiring endeavors of my participants and me. By doing this, I attempt to provide insights into the varied ways by which immigrant teachers attempt to gain employment in the Manitoba public school system and as such provide a plausible answer to my research question: What are the distinct processes immigrant teachers employ to gain employment?

Further these stories have been substantiated and corroborated with support from my theoretical framework and literature that helps explain the paradigm being storied and answer my research question - How do their variant cultural and pedagogical orientations influence their integration process?

Before we look into the distinct processes that these immigrant teachers employed to gain entry into Manitoba schools, for genealogical purposes, it is perhaps necessary to trace their journeys into Manitoba classrooms. The figures below are included to provide an overview of our individual journeys and the different steps my participants and I had
to undertake before obtaining permanent teaching positions in Manitoba classrooms. Further, each figure is substantiated with an in-depth description of my participants’ personal contexts and the details of their lived experiences as they negotiated their entry into the Manitoba classroom.

**Figure 2: Back to basics**

![Diagram]

Allyanna’s Journey – A chronological look into Allyanna’s pursuit for employment in the Manitoba Public School System.

Armed with a doctorate in Education from a major university in the Philippines, Allyanna migrated to Canada in the year 2009 with hopes and dreams of a better future of her children as well as the promise of being together as a family, as her husband back home in Philippines was employed in a migrant job which required him to leave home for extended periods of time. Upon arrival in Canada, Allyanna was fortuntate to “have kind relatives” (journal entry, Allyanna, March 30, 2009) that not only provided them with accommodation but also assisted them in getting their Social Insurance Number (SIN) cards, Manitoba health cards. Further, these relatives assisted Allyanna in understanding
the education system here in Manitoba and as such, within two days of her arrival in Canada, Allyanna had registered her five year old son in the neighborhood elementary school, her daughter and two older sons in the local high school. While familial support and guidance played a critical role in helping Allyanna’s family physically establish themselves in Canada, educators from the Filipino community assisted Allyanna in setting her foot into a Manitoba classroom. With the assistance of a Filipino education assistant employed in the elementary school her son attended, Allyanna was able to acquire volunteer opportunities in the elementary school that allowed her to not only acquire a better understanding of the Canadian pedagogical context but also helped her to make acquaintances that would consequently assist her in her employment gaining process.

Upon migrating to Canada, Allyanna tentatively set out to continue and extend her teaching career here in Canada. “I [knew] from the very beginning that I could not right away practice my teaching profession here in Manitoba. I need to be certified first before I could teach” (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date). Considering she could not start with her profession right away, she started volunteering in the school her youngest son attended. A need for income prompted Allyanna to simultaneously continue her efforts to look for work. As such, even before she applied for her teaching certificate Allyanna looked for both non-teaching as well as teaching related jobs. While she encountered rejection from non-teaching related jobs, ironically teaching related jobs (for which she was trained and had experience) also seemed elusive. Quotients of survival and financial sustenance prompted Allyanna to consider and seek employment as a childcare worker. Considering she had extensive pre school experiences in the Philippines and had
experience training Day Care workers to develop and execute programs—Allyanna was confident that she would be accepted as a Child Care worker. However, here again Allyanna had to contend with rejection as most of these centers were “looking for a Certificate in Early Childhood Education” (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date). Dispirited and perplexed Allyanna notes in her journal, “It is saddening to note that a teacher like me, who had pre-school experiences in the Philippines, who even trained Day Care workers to run their activities cannot work here in this line” (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date). Eventually, however, Allyanna explored and negotiated the barriers to be employed as a child-care professional in a childcare center. Her exceptional performance as a volunteer in her son’s school did not go unnoticed; as such she was able to get assistance and acceptance as an educational assistant in the school. While she was employed as an educational assistant, she pursued the coursework to acquire her permanent teacher certificate. Subsequent to acquiring her permanent teaching certificate, she joined the substitute teacher workforce in Manitoba. After about eight months of undertaking substitute assignments in the oldest and largest urban school division in Manitoba, Allyanna was able to acquire two consequent short-term assignments. At the end of the academic year, Allyanna was appointed on a term position to teach a Grade Five class in the school where she had volunteered and later served as an educational assistant.
Andrea’s journey – A chronological outline of the long journey Andrea undertook to enter a Manitoba classroom.

Like Allyanna, thirty seven year old Andrea migrated to Canada to improve future prospects for herself and her young family, which consisted of two young daughters. “Most of the professionals in our country do not stay in Philippines – my cousins and lot of other members of my family were already in other countries and kept telling us to do the same – so we applied and came to Canada looking for greener pastures” (unstructured interview, Andrea, February 11, 2013). Upon arrival in Canada, like Allyanna, Andrea’s family received assistance from relatives in their initial establishment here in Canada. Like Allyanna’s husband, Andrea’s husband was also successful in finding employment upon arrival in Canada as a car salesman.

A docile and timid Andrea started her career trek in Canada, with a humble job as a preparatory cook in a moderate sized restaurant in the largest city in Manitoba. Trained and employed as a teacher in the Philippines for nine years, Andrea did not particularly enjoy being a chef. She had dreams and visions of continuing practicing the profession
for which she had been trained. For Andrea becoming a teacher in Canada meant traversing a totally unknown territory with considerable familial support, little systemic support and lots of strife, rejections and frustrations.

Upon arrival in Canada, like Allyanna, Andrea did not expect to teach right away – in fact she did not expect to continue in the teaching profession at all as she was made to believe by the agency in Philippines that assisted her family migrate to Canada that pursuing her profession in Canada is perhaps not a possibility. As such for the financial sustenance of herself and her family, initially Andrea worked as a chef for a considerable amount of time. For Andrea the impetus to enter the teaching profession was mainly provided by a Filipino friend who informed and apprised her of the requirements and process for getting her teaching credentials recognized in Manitoba. Andrea began the process to get a permanent teaching certificate in Manitoba. In the meanwhile, Andrea started exploring other available options to resume her teaching career here in Canada. As such Andrea enrolled in a program that would prepare her to be an educational assistant in Manitoba. Andrea applied for a loan, which was approved, to cover the costs of getting the additional qualification. Just when she was all set to tread a new path and start her quest to acquire credentials to become an educational assistant, she got intimation from the provincial certification unit delineating a provisional recognition of her credentials for a permanent teaching certificate. Her provisional teaching certificate was issued for two years and in order to convert it into a permanent teaching certificate, Andrea had to complete twenty-seven credit hours worth of coursework – which she planned to start right away. In the meantime, with her provisional teaching certificate Andrea decided to make inroads into Manitoba schools, however, she felt like a child lost in the woods – “I
did not know where to start, what to do, where to go --- how to get a foot in the door and resume my teaching career here in Canada”(Andrea, unstructured interview, September 15, 2012). Her only connection with any school at that point of time was with her children’s school – she took the risk and started seeking help from the teachers in her children’s school: “I talked to the resource teacher, who told me how to apply”(Andrea, unstructured interview, September 15, 2012). The application process took a long time for Andrea – “I needed references – I had none – could not get someone to act as my referee here in Canada. While the resource teacher in my child’s school was willing and helped me with the application process, however, she was not comfortable being one of my references. She said since she has not seen me teaching and as such she was not comfortable talking about my teaching expertise”(Andrea, unstructured interview, September 15, 2012). Andrea was lost, perplexed and confounded one more time. In the meanwhile, “my husband pushed me to take courses at the University – I was worried whether I will be able to juggle the responsibility of school work with the responsibility of my two kids, and the physical demands of my pregnancy”(unstructured interview, October 12, 2012). Regardless, Andrea took the plunge and embarked on completing the required coursework to obtain her permanent teaching certification. This stage of Andrea’s life posed considerable challenges as she had to find unique ways to balance distinct responsibilities – on the one hand while she had to comply with the requirements of university, she also had to cater to the physical demands of pregnancy, cater to the demands and challenges of motherhood, fulfill the responsibilities at a new job in addition to addressing migratory transitional tribulations. Without tremendous systemic support and assistance, Andrea managed to circumvent these challenges with
extraordinary familial support and some organizational understanding and accommodation. “At my new job at a bank, they were really very understanding and let me leave work half-an-hour before my scheduled time to attend classes at the university. Our friend’s daughter looked after the kids after they [came] home from school, while my husband took care of all the other essentials that were important for our settlement here in Canada” (unstructured interview, October 12, 2012).

Upon getting her permanent teaching certificate, Andrea began substituting in some of the major school divisions in Manitoba. As such most of Andrea’s travails were a result of her unique ethno-cultural racial and social context and her lack of familiarity with the Canadian cultural, pedagogical and social context:

my first time subbing was very scary – I wasn’t used to substituting – in the Philippines if a teacher was away, the students were either sent home or sent to another teacher’s class -- and even if you had to substitute it was a long term basis – mostly a term position – as such I was not very aware of the intricacies of a day long substitute assignment – on top of it my initial substitute assignments were mostly in schools where brown people were a rarity – as such they had rarely seen a brown person --- and that showed in their attitude and behavior towards me. I often had students correcting me on the way I enunciated some of the names – I would just turn them and tell them it does not matter as long as the concerned person was aware I was talking about them. In another instance, I had students hurling binders and using cellphones with complete disregard to my presence in the classroom (unstructured interview, September 15, 2012).
Andrea’s task was confounded as now not only did she have to prove her proficiencies and gain acceptance from the teaching populace but also had to endeavor and employ unique strategies to gain acceptance from the student populace.

Andrea had developed a personal pedagogy that was a intricate blend of her past and present teaching context which had immense bearing on the teachers and the students:

On a subsequent substituting assignment – one of the teachers told me that the students remembered me as I taught differently and they really enjoyed and learned a lot from the Quiz game I played with them. At this time, I told the teacher that perhaps my accent was a little difficult for the students to understand for which the teacher exclaimed that it should not matter and indicated the need for students to get used to different accents as they were living in Canada (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 15, 2012).

However, Andrea’s proficient pedagogy did not necessarily translate into frequent substituting opportunities in that particular school division. As such Andrea started to diversify and extend her substitute portfolio to other divisions in Manitoba.

After substituting for three years, Andrea was able to get two consequent term positions at a school located in the oldest and largest school division in Manitoba. The latter term position eventually translated into a permanent contract.
My story – A chronological outline of my simple and straightforward journey into the Manitoba classroom

Figure 4: Carving a new niche

My journey into the world of teaching started in 2004 when I decided to forgo my former profession as a journalist in India to enter into the world of teaching and learning by enrolling into a comprehensive two year Bachelor of Education program. Completing the requirements of the program automatically ensured me a permanent teaching certificate to teach in Manitoba. Upon graduation, recognizing my distinct status, I started contemplating and implementing unique ways to increase my prospects for substitution. My strategies yielded positive results; after substituting for about eight months, I was able to get a term position, which was followed by another yearlong term position and finally my permanent contract.

Our journeys as detailed above delineate several commonalities that are paralleled by congruent lived realities. As such in this genealogical construction of our lived
realities, our experiences in each step have been chronicled to discern the silences and assess the causal impact of the biopower -- a power which basically “refers to the various technologies through which not just the behavior of individuals is regulated, but through which life itself, in all its dimensions, is subjected to the exercise of power” (Milchman and Rosenberg, 2005, p. 336). As such anecdotal accounts of our lived realities have been substantiated with a careful perusal of the causal factors as well its impact on our behaviors, dispositions and actions.

**Volunteering and Employment as Para educators.** “Did not know I can teach - - I was thinking of becoming an Educational Assistant, so decided to volunteer in the school my kids were attending” (Andrea, unstructured interview, February 11, 2013).

“I am a person who can not stand doing nothing. I tried looking for a job. [In the meantime] I started doing volunteer jobs at the [nearby] school” (Allyanna, journal entry, March 30, 2009).

In my own case, I volunteered briefly in an elementary school near my house to acquire some perspectives on Canadian education. Considering I was not a teacher in my home country, the volunteer experience helped dispel my ignorance of the Canadian education system and as such help me in deciding to switch from journalism to teaching.

Our lived realities here delineate the importance of volunteer work in helping us gain entry in Manitoba schools. We conceptualized volunteering as a stepping-stone, a way of learning more about Canadian pedagogy and experiencing “actual classroom situations” (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date). “I asked the resource teacher, if I could be with kids, did not want to arrange books”, said Andrea (unstructured interview, February 11, 2013). Allyanna too requested and “volunteered inside the classroom so I
will be acquainted with the system of education here in Manitoba” (journal entry, unspecified date). Allyanna and Andrea specifically requested assignments inside the classroom. Allyanna was assigned to assist me in my English as an Additional Language program, as well as the resource teacher in administering specialized reading programs. As for me, I was assigned a pullout reading program to help struggling readers practice the reading skills taught in the classroom.

Further, volunteering is one of the preferred strategies to not only understand the Canadian education system but also to “make some connections” (Pollock, 2010). This is particularly exemplified in Allyanna’s experience. Volunteering opened a host of possibilities and opportunities for Allyanna to demonstrate her pedagogical prowess and negotiate partnerships and connections that facilitated her entry into the Manitoba school system. Impressed with her knowledge and meticulous administration of the responsibilities that were assigned to her, Allyanna was given additional responsibilities as well as the opportunity to work within the school system. [In the school I was volunteering] through the leadership of the principal and friends, I was given one hour to work with the Language program and two and a half hours in the afternoon to attend to a special student. With this job, I know that I was able to make my first step in getting my desired goal – TO TEACH (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).

Additionally, volunteering can be perceived as a means by which immigrant teachers attempt to transform their distinct identity as “Outsiders” to the system to becoming “Insiders” in their newly acquired systemic context (Mawhiney & Xu, 1997). As such, volunteering allows these problematized individuals to develop a unique
response to their problematized existence (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005), characterized by distinct socio-cultural and pedagogical origins. According to Foucault, a situation or individual is problematized when their “field of experiences or a set of practices” become a problem (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005). In the context of immigrant teachers, the established discursive practices of Canadian pedagogy tend to invalidate and problematize the past pedagogical context of these immigrant teachers. They are then required to develop new sets of behaviors and processes to help them integrate in their present context. As problematized individuals, immigrant teachers in these narratives have considered volunteering as a way of being exposed to the norm and developing “new modes of subjectivity based on self-fashioning and a new vision of inter-subjective relationships” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 336).

In the case of Allyanna, her new set of behaviors included transitioning from being the supervisor to being supervised. After volunteering for a while, Allyanna, with the connections she had made in her son’s elementary school:

applied as Educational Assistant, thinking that the Division might consider my experience as a teacher in the Philippines. Besides, I [was] very positive that I can do the job because I [saw] what the EA’s at the school [were] doing. (Allyanna, journal entry, April 7, 2009).

Allyanna was eventually accepted as an educational assistant in my school and was assigned to assist a special-needs student. During her tenure as an educational assistant Allyanna took courses at the university to complete the required coursework to obtain her permanent teaching certificate. Andrea, on the other hand, during her volunteering days was considering and negotiating her entry into the Manitoba public school system as an
Educational Assistant – “I had applied at the local community college and had been accepted and have even been approved for a loan to take the course”, said Andrea (unstructured interview, September 17, 2012). However, a chance meeting with a fellow Filipino educator, who informed and encouraged her to apply for teacher certification, changed the course of her endeavors: “just when I was going to start my course at the college, I got my provisional teaching certificate” (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 17, 2012).

These lived realities of Allyanna and Andrea, when analyzed in the context of Foucault’s notions on games of truth (Flynn, 1985), persuade us to consider the different modes by which mainstream Manitoba pedagogy uses its established discursive pedagogical practices to marginalize immigrant teachers. Foucault conceptualized games of truth as a set of procedures that are intended to create validations and invalidations based on its principles and rules of procedures (Peters, 2003). In the context of immigrant teachers, the interplay of power and knowledge can be mainly seen in the problematic way in which pedagogy as practiced in the Manitoba context is considered the right way of conceptualizing learning and teaching experiences, thereby devaluing the experiences and the past pedagogical practices of the immigrant teachers. In the process, they are distinguished as “Outsiders” in a relatively homogeneous educational framework. While it might be argued that a lot of mainstream teachers also have done volunteer work prior to their acquiring a job – what problematizes the context of immigrant teachers as opposed to the mainstream teachers here is the fact that the immigrant teachers have had to undertake volunteer work despite acquiring qualifications and extensive experience in
Mainstream teachers, in my experience, have mostly undertaken volunteer work prior to their acquiring teacher education.

**Credentialing/Re-credentialing experiences.** This devaluation of the past pedagogical context and experience of the immigrant teachers is further fortified in the re-credentialling experiences of the immigrant teachers. Both Andrea and Allyanna were subject to a distinct devaluation of their past educational experiences. While Andrea had to complete 27 credit hours of course work for converting her Provisional certificate into a Permanent Teaching Certificate, Allyanna had to “complete one year post secondary course which include[d] nine credits [in] English and six credits [in] History/Geography plus 15 credits of any course in line with my interest” (Allyanna, journal entry, September 12, 2012) to be certified for teaching in Manitoba.

The rationale given by the regulatory board in Manitoba was mainly anchored on the fact that teaching is a regulated profession in Canada and as such these immigrant teachers had to comply with the regulations that governed the entry of individuals in the teaching profession in Manitoba. Justifying the assessment of Allyanna’s qualification, in the notification letter sent by the regulatory board to Allyanna, the regulatory board stated:

“The minimum requirements for teacher certification in Manitoba are an undergraduate degree beyond the Manitoba Grade 12 standing, plus a two-year Bachelor of Education” (Allyanna, communication from Provincial certification unit, February 13, 2012). Similarly, Andrea was asked to take additional course work in core subject areas.

In both these instances, while the regulatory board in Manitoba recognized their qualifications for teaching, they were considered unprepared for entering the profession,
as they lacked the required amount of course-work in the teachable areas. The Education Administration Act of the Province of Manitoba mandates the completion of specific credit hours worth of course work in a “major teachable area” as well as a “minor teachable area”. Originating from an educational context, where basic education “is only ten years as [compared to] 12 in other countries” (api_11797_Roann, The Philippine education system, n.d.), both Allyanna and Andrea were expected to fill this two-year gap with additional course work in core subject areas like “Art, Biology, Business Education, Chemistry, Computer Science, English, French, Geography, a Heritage, Aboriginal, or World Language, History, Human Ecology, Industrial Arts, Mathematics, Music, Native Studies, Physical Education (Health), Physics and Theatre and Vocational Industrial” (Allyanna, personal communication from Manitoba, Education, Citizenship and Youth, July 20, 2009).

These experiences, interpreted in light of Foucault’s “four main categories of archaeological analysis that he distinguished in The Archaeology of Knowledge” (Gutting, 2005, p. 45), position re-credentialling as a mode to constitute immigrant teachers “as a new class of objects” (Gutting, 2005, p. 45). They are characterized by their distinct status as the significant Other in a primarily homogeneous framework, whose existence is governed by “the locus of the rules and prior practices” (Gutting, 1994, p. 30) that categorize certain ways of gaining knowledge and certain forms of knowledge as credible or incredible. Immigrant teachers are thus required to adopt “alternative lines of strategic action” (Gutting, 2005, p. 45). Extending this thought further, Shan (2009) in her discourse delineating the re-training and re-education experiences of immigrant women in Canada, asserts that these “transitional experiences”
Immigrant Teacher Integration Narratives

(Shan, 2009, p. 359) are a result of a “credential and certificate regime (CCR) in Canada” (Shan, 2009, p. 359) – a regime that is mainly anchored on the “social processes that make certain credentials an objective ground to construct and recruit desirable workers, and that unduly inflate the value of credentials produced in the economic west” (Shan, 2009, p. 359).

Further, according to Ng & Shan (2010), this lack of recognition of foreign credentials reflects “a colonial legacy that downgrades education, training and credentials from non-Western societies, thereby re-inscribing and exacerbating existing inequalities based on age, gender, and race” (Ng & Shan, 2010, p. 181).

In the context of the immigrant teacher narratives, the immigrant teachers’ ability and readiness to enter the Manitoba classroom have been mainly coded in terms of their temporal engagement with subject-matter knowledge and the locational context of their knowledge base and not on their professional knowledge of teaching.

In the immigrant narratives, anomalies and inconsistencies in certification requirements are further accentuated when the lived realities of Allyanna are compared and contrasted with the lived realities of Andrea. Originating from similar pedagogical contexts, one had to pursue additional course work to meet the certification requirements, while the other was able to get a provisional teaching certificate. A careful perusal of their distinct educational profiles further accentuates the inconsistencies in the accreditation process. Despite having completed a doctoral program in education, the number of years Allyanna spent in a post-secondary context was considered inadequate for granting her a provisional teacher certificate; while Andrea who had concluded her experiences with post secondary education after completing a Master’s program was
deemed to have the adequate temporal engagement in a post-secondary educational context and as such was granted a provisional teaching certificate. While Allyanna was not granted a provisional certificate, her request for a Provisional Certificate yielded a reconsideration of her application and consequently a reduction in the course load. However, a careful perusal of the letters informing her of the results of her initial evaluation and the second evaluation reveals another anomaly in the certification process in Manitoba: the rationale provided for the evaluation and the subsequent re-evaluation were identical.

Similar instances of invalidation of past pedagogical experiences, proficiencies and qualifications have been noted in other provinces in Canada. Issues and discourses related to recognition of credentials and the need for re-credentialing have emerged from several high immigrant intake contexts (Beynon, Ilieva & Dichupa, 2004; Kelly & Cui, 2010; Mawhiney & Xu, 1997; Walsh, Brigham & Wang, 2011). Some of these discourses problematize and question the need for re-credentialing; others deliberate and provide programmatic recommendations and insights critical for enabling immigrant teachers to bridge the gap between their past and their present contexts.

These discourses include anecdotal evidence to delineate the affective implications of such invalidation and devaluation of their past professional knowledge and experiences, as the teachers re-negotiate their entry into their profession. Influenced by feelings of anger, dismay and frustration, immigrant teachers may feel exhausted, disheartened and powerless (Walsh, Brigham & Young, 2011) and as such give up teaching and settle for other jobs that are not commensurate to their qualifications and experiences.
In the context of these immigrant teacher narratives, while Allyanna experienced frustration, Andrea experienced anxiety:

I was again expressing depression. I felt so low that I thought of writing [to] a lot of people like the Superintendent of School Divisions, the Secretary of Education, and even the [Premier] of Manitoba. I want to tell them that I am here, bringing with me my skills and expertise as a teacher. I want to tell them that given the chances, I will be an asset of every school in Manitoba (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).

For Andrea, worries about the financial sustenance of her family and the lack of information on the logistics of applying and acquiring the required credentials plagued and caused her anxieties: “I was worried about my kids, I was worried about juggling my time between my two jobs and on top of all this I did not know where to go, how to apply” (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 17, 2012). After several frustrations and anxious moments, they eventually acquiesced and took the necessary steps to comply with the required standards.

I know it’s a long process and it entails difficulties and sacrifice to be certified as a teacher here in Manitoba, but I am determined to get the certification because my family, especially my children, believe in me and I want to prove to those people here who told me that I can not teach here (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).

In this instance, Allyanna’s disposition can be explained by a distinct desire to not only establish her credentials and validate her past professional and pedagogical context, but also to convert her distinct status as a system “outsider” to an “insider”.
Employment gaining, Substitution and Term Experiences. Our quest to convert our “outsider” status to an “insider” status prevailed and extended into our employment gaining endeavors and during our tenure as substitute teachers and term teachers. The implications of our “outsider” status were further evident as we attempted to gain entry into Manitoba classrooms. While I realized the integralty of an insider status soon after I acquired my permanent teaching certificate upon completion of the requirements of a Bachelor of Education program, Allyanna and Andrea recognized the pertinence of acquiring an insider status while they were attempting to enter into the Manitoba school system as permanent teachers. Our attempts to convert our “outsider” status to “insider” status during this period emphasized how important it is to know people within the system, establish networks, and increase our visibility to access employment opportunities. Our lived realities presented several instances and incidents that delineated to us the significance of an insider status. Our lived realities also include anecdotal evidence indicating the “alternative lines of strategic action” (Gutting, 2005, p. 45) that we adopted to meet this need.

For me, the virtues of knowing people in the system were revealed soon after I graduated with distinction and started considering different avenues for seeking employment. I was quite perplexed and distressed to note that while I failed to seek even an audience with prospective employers, some of my peers from the mainstream culture had managed to secure gainful employment. Distraught and discouraged, I started to take stock and compare my professional profile with that of my mainstream peers to consider the gaps that I might have to fill in order to secure gainful employment. Upon persistent inquiry and several chats, it did not take me long to realize and recognize the
A distinguishing factor among them was the fact that they had either a sibling, parent, relative or a close acquaintance already employed in the school division in which they had acquired employment. While on the one hand, this realization was discouraging to me as I could not boast of any such connections, affiliations and associations, on the other hand it shed light into the next steps I would have to take to seek gainful employment.

Recognizing the vitality of visibility and personal associations in teacher employment processes, I started expending time and effort in finding ways to establish associations and make myself more visible within the system. Everyday, I skimmed through the dozens of job openings in the various school divisions, trekked all over the city hoping to personally hand in my application and get an audience with at least one administrator. In most cases, I had to contend with handing my resume to the secretarial staff and in the instances, when I did get to meet the administrator I was given the information that the positions were open only to candidates already employed in the school division.

In most of these cases, I was not even promised a chance to substitute. Undeterred, I persisted; however, this time I sent my applications to the various school division board offices for substitute assignments. While some school divisions instantaneously registered me as a substitute, others took my application for future consideration. I was increasingly getting worried at that point; it was already the end of September. I had been patiently waiting for substitute assignments yet nothing seemed to happen. Desperate and anxious, I decided to do something about my situation. So, I started reviewing all my applications to the various school divisions. I had submitted my
application to all of the school divisions in the city, and had received responses from four of the five to which I had applied. The school division that had not responded happened to be the one that was rumored to be the one that is most responsive and accepting of a diverse teaching workforce. I contacted the concerned board office to enquire about the status of my application; all they said to me was that I would be interviewed soon. I searched the school division website and browsed through their list of schools. I happened to notice a South Asian name listed as a principal of a school, and decided to take the chance and seek her assistance. At this point, I was not scared of dejection; after all, it had become an integral part of my repertoire of feelings and I had developed defenses to battle it. Luckily for me, the principal asked me to send her a copy of my application and my resume. She contacted the board office to check on the status of my application. A few days after sending her my professional details, I got an interview call from the board office.

Due to my distinct non-native status, I was in an especially disadvantageous position, as I had “few to no established networks” (Pollock, 2006, p. 3), as such requiring me to invest “additional time and energy in getting established” (Pollock, 2006, p. 3). Networks, connections and affiliations continued to play an integral role in my lived realities as a substitute teacher and a term teacher. The start of a new academic year generated anxious moments for me, sitting beside the telephone in the morning, eagerly waiting for opportunities to substitute. Initially, most of the assignments I got were from a rural school division; in fact most of them were in the school where one of my friends whom I met while completing my Bachelor of Education program was working. Undeterred by the travesties of weather and my own unfamiliarity and inexperience with
driving in inclement weather conditions, I braved it to the rural Manitoba schools anytime I got an opportunity to substitute. Within the city, the substitute opportunities I got were sparse and inconsistent until I gained acceptance as a substitute in the oldest and largest school division in the city.

Accounts paralleling mine can be seen in Andrea’s experiences as well. Like me, Andrea had also applied for a substitute position in most of the major school divisions in Winnipeg and experienced difficulty in obtaining substitute assignments in most of them: “While some school divisions did not even consider my applications, in the ones I did get accepted I had to call the substitute clerk everyday to get assignments”, (Andrea, unstructured interview, October 15, 2012). Like mine, Andrea’s situation changed when she was accepted as a substitute in the oldest and largest school division in the city.

Several diverse factors contributed to the increased substitute teaching opportunities that Andrea and I experienced in the oldest and largest school division in Manitoba. The primary common factors that can be noted in the lived reality of both Andrea and me, is the fact that the division in which we found acceptance was home to some of the ‘hard-to-staff” urban schools with high proportions of students from low-income and non-dominant racial and cultural communities” (Achinstein et. al., 2010, p.71) and as such experienced high teacher turnovers and absences. Research emerging from the United States underscores high teacher turnover rates in schools that cater to poor and minority children and as such creating the space for minority teachers to enter the system. While emerging research from Canada (Ryan, Pollock, and Antonelli, 2009) indicate the scarcity of a diverse teaching workforce and provide rationale for justifying
the scarcity, there is no documented evidence indicating the prevalence of a diverse teaching populace in schools that are located in underprivileged communities.

For me some of the other contributing factors to my success were my specialized training in Teaching English as an Additional Language and the acquaintances I made as a graduate student. My enrollment in a graduate program was critical in helping me establish and expand networks that would eventually be instrumental in establishing myself as a language educator in Manitoba. Several of my peers in the varied courses I was pursuing as a graduate student were employed teachers and administrators. Impressed with my participation in the coursework, several of these peers befriended me and offered to assist me in varied ways. While some gave me opportunities to substitute in their classrooms, others recommended me to their colleagues at their schools and school divisions for substitution. One such recommendation spiraled into a series of events and further recommendations, which ultimately ended with my acquiring a permanent position in an inner city school. As for Andrea, acceptance as substitute in the same division in the city translated into repeated substitution opportunities in certain schools in the inner city district; to a large extent these stemmed from my presence as a term teacher and consequently a permanent teacher in the division.

This need to establish networks and build connections in job search processes reveals another issue accentuating the problematic of immigrant teacher integration: several incidents and anecdotes in the lived realities of my participants and several incidents that I witnessed alluded to the prevalence of nepotism in hiring practices that challenged the integration of immigrant teachers. Echoes of experience with nepotism resonate in the lived realities of my participants and me, as well as in the lived realities of
immigrant teachers from other locational contexts in Canada. A recent article in the Toronto Star informs of the distinct steps a large school board in Toronto plans to undertake to “tackle the hidden role personal connections can play in hiring” (Brown, 2013). Further, Pollock (2010) in a study exploring the varied factors that contribute to the marginalization of IETs in the occasional teacher workforce in Ontario provides anecdotal evidence indicating the tendency of hiring personnel to rely on “colleagues to provide unofficial references for applicants” (Pollock, 2010).

The lived realities of my participants present several instances that not only exemplify the paradox of nepotism in teacher hiring practices in Manitoba, but also provide insights into the nature of nepotistic hiring practices that potentially impeded and complicated their integration.

Allyanna identified nepotism as a possible concern when a yearlong teaching position in the school, in which she had volunteered and later served as a Para-educator, was discounted to accommodate the hiring of an extremely close acquaintance of the Principal. This appointment was especially distressing and discouraging for Allyanna considering she was aware that the appointed teacher had no previous teaching experience though this particular person had been employed in the school as a community worker for seven years. Suspecting that personal acquaintance and extensive community participation was chosen over professional experience and pedagogical expertise, Allyanna embraced this incident as yet another learning experience in her struggle to negotiate her entry into Manitoba schools. As such, she started investing time and energy into increasing her visibility: “I would make acquaintances with several teachers in the schools that I subbed, meet the administrators and even befriend the
secretarial staff” (Allyanna, unstructured interview, September 17, 2012). However, all her effort seemed in vain when she perceived nepotistic hiring behaviors, after her candidacy was recommended and forwarded to administrators who were looking for capable candidates to fill a term vacancy. Hopeful and excited, Allyanna went to the interview well prepared, just to be told that they already had somebody in mind for the position.

Andrea’s first encounter with challenges happened when she was considered for two potential term vacancies in the school in which she had established considerable networks. While one of the term positions was scheduled for a whole year, the other was earmarked for four months. Considering she had established her credentials and consequently had acquired relevant connections in the school during her various substitute assignments, she was confident of earning the yearlong substitute position. However, much to her dismay, a mainstream substitute teacher, whose engagement in the school was negligible when compared with Andrea’s engagement, secured the position. While Andrea had been a preferred substitute in the school for three years, the mainstream substitute teacher had only been frequenting the school for a year. However, in that one year, the mainstream substitute teacher had acquired and established networks with several influential mainstream personnel in the building.

Andrea’s lived realities as documented here not only delineate the pertinence of acquiring and establishing relevant networks that are capable of influencing hiring decisions, but also suggest the importance of establishing appropriate networks in employment gaining processes. Allyanna’s experiences similarly accentuate the
integrality of establishing networks and personal connections to re-enter the teaching profession.

As for me, my situatedness in the school system and in the immigrant teacher integration problematic allowed me to gain multiple perspectives on the manifestations of nepotism. As an informal mentor trying to assist immigrant teachers in their job search process, I witnessed several such systemic irregularities that not only allowed administrators and hiring personnel to adopt discriminatory attitudes, but also impeded and complicated the entry of new teachers into the teaching workforce. In one instance, I was particularly enraged and distressed to note that the person they had hired for the new Grade Three position was a recent graduate with no prior classroom experience. The only credential that perhaps differentiated her from Allyanna was her extensive prior association with the administrator of the school, which she had established during her tenure as a community worker in the school. In another incident, a student teacher training in my school announced that she was offered a Grade One position in the school in which she had previously served as an educational assistant. The situation was especially problematic in light of the student teacher’s account of her interview process. Apparently, half-way through the interview she informed the interviewers of a severe headache she was suffering from, at which point, the interviewers let her take her rest and abandoned the interview process and offered her the position without rescheduling and re-interviewing her. In another instance, during my tenure as a substitute teacher, I met a substitute teacher who had acquired a term position to administer an intensive numeracy intervention program. Eager to learn more about the program and to learn about where one could acquire training for administering this program, I requested the teacher to
inform me about the particulars of the program. Surprisingly, the teacher informed me that she had received no specialized training in that program and that Math was not even her area of expertise and she was offered this job by an acquaintance that was employed as a consultant in the division. In each of these instances, the fact that personal affiliation as opposed to professional qualification and extensive professional experience was preferred was rather problematic. Viewed with a Foucauldian lens, these instances suggest an exclusionary, nepotistic model of hiring that particularly places immigrant teachers in a rather disadvantageous position, as they do not boast of such networks, affiliations and connections. Further, these manifestations allowed me to recognize the pertinence of establishing relevant networks, networks that are capable of influencing hiring decisions.

Nepotism, traditionally, “refers to the hiring and advancement of unqualified or under-qualified relatives simply by virtue of their relationship with an employee, officer, or shareholder in the firm” (Wong & Kleiner, 1994, p. 10). However, the context of immigrant teachers as defined by their documented realities adds another dimension to nepotism. In the context of immigrant teachers, it would perhaps be appropriate to re-define nepotism as the practice of hiring and advancement of unqualified or under-qualified professionals based on their “insider” status and their relationship with an employee or an administrator. Prevalence of such hiring practices creates modes of exclusion (Gutting, 1994) that marginalize immigrant teachers – as immigrant teachers with their unique origins and their distinct status as the significant “Other”, lack the breadth of engagement in the present context to discern and establish relevant networks.
Further, a careful perusal of the lived realities of my participants and me with the Foucauldian lens of looking for the “the locus of the rules and prior practices” (Gutting, 1994, p. 30) that objectify the existence of immigrant teachers, allows me to recognize several other causal factors that necessitated the need for immigrant teachers to acquire inside status in a rather hegemonic educational framework.

**Lack of Information.** Allyanna felt the need to acquire an insider status mainly to dispel the anonymity of her present pedagogical and professional context: “I started doing networking, I tried to meet people who I think, can give me help and advise. I also tried to talk with local MLA Representative to get some referrals and advise” (Allyanna, journal entry, unspecified date).

For Andrea, her outsider status struck her soon after she acquired her Provisional Certification: “I was lost – I didn’t know where to start, I requested the Resource teacher at my daughter’s school to tell me how to apply. It took me a while to apply; I needed references, and could not get someone” (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 17, 2012).

Here, Andrea and Allyanna’s lived realities indicate a distinct systemic unpreparedness where “word of mouth and community contact [are] the most common way in which teachers receive [d] information” (Cruickshank, 2004, p.129). Considering both Allyanna and Andrea were not part of any established teacher education programs, they were not privy to the relevant information they needed to establish themselves as teachers in Manitoba, and had to establish their own networks to be informed of the intricacies of accessing the teaching profession in Manitoba. This lack of access to information consequently caused a distinct delay in their integration into Manitoba.
schools. I did not have to contend with such challenges as I had attended a two-year Bachelor of Education program in Manitoba.

These experiences represent the sometimes-divergent realities of the larger community of immigrant teachers that are striving to carve their place in Manitoba schools. From a Foucauldian lens, the stories delineate a myriad of incongruences that not only problematize the paradox of immigrant educator integration in Manitoba, but also provide insight into the malleable attributes of the system that allow for divergent interpretation and contortion of systemic constructs – in Foucauldian terms, proposing divergent responses to the problematic (Stone, 2012).
CHAPTER FIVE: THE RESTORYING OF FIELD INSIGHTS

Deciphering Silences and Delineating Disparities. As a problematic, the immigrant teacher narratives efficiently delineate the varied ways in which the life of these immigrant teachers is subjugated by “the exercise of power” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005) and how this power regulates their behavior. In the context of the immigrant teacher narratives, the recurrent theme that transcends the lived realities of my participants and me is perhaps our insistent efforts to acquire an “insider” status to gain acceptance and eventually enter the Manitoba classroom. Our search for belonging and acceptance in an educational framework that was rather unprepared for integrating varied contexts of diversity required us to know people within the system.

The inconsistencies and consequent challenges that seemed to resonate across our lived realities stemmed from our distinct social capital deficit. In re-storying our told stories, the whole paradigm of social capital and its relevance in our lived realities is explored. Further, these explorations provide insights to answer my research question seeking to find the varied ways in which the existing systemic and institutional frameworks influence the integration of immigrant teachers in Manitoba schools.

The exploration includes narratives and accounts that not only delineate the varied ways in which a perceived deficit of social capital silences and discounts the immigrant teacher’s presence, but also includes the benefits derived by immigrant teachers on acquiring the required social capital, thereby asserting the integrality of social capital acquisition.
**Nepotistic hiring policies and Social Capital Deficit.** Disparities in hiring practices are embedded across the experiences and stories of Allyanna, Andrea and me. Our stories shed light on the systemic constructs that discriminate in hiring and tend to prohibit and impede the integration of immigration teachers. In the context of the immigrant teacher problematic in Manitoba, it has been noted that there is a distinct “lack of equity and IET-specific content in the case of most divisional policies and lack of stakeholder buy-in and implementation strategies in the case of the ethno-cultural equity policy” (Schmidt & Block, 2010, p. 1).

As is evident from the lived realities of my participants and me, these exclusory models of hiring have subjected the immigrant teachers in Manitoba to the hegemonic powers of nativity. The repercussions of being the “Other” and an “Outsider” unfold across our lived realities. Despite being appropriately qualified for several teaching assignments that surfaced, our candidacy was bypassed in order to accommodate candidates that had either prior personal ties with the administration or had established significant networks within the school system.

Successive rejections made immigrant teachers aware of the pertinence of building social capital through well-established social networks. Social capital here refers to a capital that mainly “inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors” (Coleman, 1988, p. S98) and as such is built by the interactions, and relations individuals foster in social structures. The pertinence of social capital in securing employment places immigrant teachers in a very precarious position as social capital allows a certain group to “colonize a particular sector of employment in such a way that members have privileged access to new job openings, while restricting that of outsiders”
Extending this perspective to the problematic of immigrant teachers, it is perhaps important to discern that immigrant teachers may not have the social networks that are formed by a person’s intensive immersion in a system or social structure. Many immigrant teachers do not have friends or relatives formerly or currently working in the system to initiate building their social capital in the system. This paradox was clear in my frustrating experience upon analyzing and comprehending the reason for my inability to attain employment as compared to other members of my cohort who managed to acquire gainful employment despite being at par or in some cases below me in all the required coursework for acquiring teacher credentials and teacher certification. My frustrations were accentuated when the system perceived me to have a social capital deficit even in getting substitute teaching opportunities. Recurring manifestations of this conundrum are also noted in Allyanna’s and Andrea’s lived realities. Despite having the required qualifications and experience their candidacy was bypassed to accommodate the candidacy of candidates who had prior associations with the administrator. This paradox has been experienced and expressed by other immigrant teachers in Manitoba as well (Schmidt, 2010a). Our experiences exemplify the integrality of social capital in the employment gaining process of immigrant educators. Further, our experiences provide evidence to consider how social networks in job-search processes tend to undermine the presence of immigrant teachers and in the process impede their integration process. For example, in the case of Allyanna, a perceived social capital deficit not only served to impede her integration, it also functioned as a factor in devaluing her human capital.

There are several discourses that document the detrimental effects of a perceived lack of social capital on the integration of minority educators. The potentially narrow
view of social capital can restrict the employment opportunities available, “which may in turn contribute to the inequitable sorting of teachers among schools” (Cannata, 2011, p. 496). Further, the prevalent discourses provide insights to consider how social capital can “restrict individual freedoms and bar outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences” (Portes, 1988, p. 21). Extending these perspectives to the problematic of minority educators, it has been found that due to a perceived social capital deficit, minority educators have narrow possibilities for employment and often times they have to resign to employment in hard-to-staff schools (Achinstein et al., 2010), which may not align with their past professional expertise and experience. Now, relating the paradox of minority educators to the problematic of immigrant educators as documented in this study, Allyanna and Andrea exemplify this phenomenon given they both restricted their job searches to an inner city school in which they had developed their social capital through varied teaching assignments. Allyanna and Andrea did not have a plethora of choices; they did not initially plan to acquire their social capital in the school in which they subsequently gained employment. This school happened to offer the conditions that helped them build their social capital:

It is only when I started working in the inner-city schools that I started to feel welcome – Kids in these schools were not rude – in the other schools in other school divisions – I have kids laugh at me because of my accent, I have had kids throw binders – use cellphones despite me telling them not to (Andrea, unstructured interview, September 18, 2012).

As for Allyanna, the schools in which she started building social capital were mostly located in communities serving the underprivileged members of society, as the school
consisted of a heterogeneous teaching populace that included some members from her ethnic community and some members from the immigrant teacher community. Differences exist in the ways schools in underprivileged communities in Manitoba and schools in privileged communities in Manitoba are staffed. In my own personal experiences as a student teacher in two schools located in the suburbs of Winnipeg, a substitute teacher in almost all the major school divisions in Manitoba, and now a permanent teacher in the oldest and largest school division in Manitoba, I have noticed homogeneous staff rooms in most schools I visited that were located in prosperous neighborhoods, and heterogeneous teaching populace in schools serving the underprivileged communities. Foucault might regard Allyanna and Andrea as problematized individuals whose decision were dictated to them by the established systemic constructs that did not allow them the flexibility to create a space for themselves in the context that would best match their professional experience and expertise.

In the case of Andrea and Allyanna, I was “the political connection” (Collins, 2011, p. 104) that played a critical role in their integration into the larger school system. Having gained entry into the workforce prior to Allyanna and Andrea, I had recognized the pertinence of a composite social capital and as such had developed a distinct network that I was able to use to assist Allyanna and Andrea in their integration process. I had acquired my connections and developed an exclusive network indirectly by engaging and immersing in professional educational contexts and building relationships with a wide range of educators, consultants and administrators in my divergent substitute assignments. Subsequent to my acquiring gainful employment, I consolidated my network in my school context by building positive relationships. Our intertwined lived
realities include instances in which my social capital had been engaged to resolve several problematic situations encountered by Allyanna and Andrea. On several occasions, I recommended and referred them to the various contacts I had made within the school division. Further, as and when required I even solicited and sought the assistance of the acquaintances I had made in the human resources department in our division to smooth out and streamline issues that were threatening to impede Andrea and Allyanna’s entry. Additionally, in order to help Allyanna and Andrea increase their visibility in the larger community of Manitoba teachers, I facilitated introductions and networking among relevant contacts.

**Social Capital as an Information Source.** Social capital and networks are not only needed to obtain employment but are also needed to obtain information. Social networks can be perceived as an integral mode for “making the micro-to-macro transitions” (Coleman, 1988, p. S101) critical for immigrant teachers’ transition from their micro reality of being the “Unknown” to their macro reality of becoming the “Known”. Using Foucault’s genealogical lens, social capital can possibly be perceived as a tool that immigrant teachers in this context have used for self-emancipation (Brocklesby and Cummings, 1996) – “a tool which helps them to make visible the unwritten categories and rules of the system(s), so as to enable [them] to develop responsive strategies to them” (Brocklesby and Cummings, 1996, p. 741).

There are several discourses that explore the relative pertinence, causal impact and the dynamics of social capital and social networks in employment gaining processes (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). These studies explore the benefits that social capital acquired through membership in relevant social networks accrue to their members and
demonstrate their efficacy in providing “an individual with useful information about opportunities and choices otherwise not available” (Lin, 2001, p.20). In the immigrant teacher narratives, the social capital the teachers acquired through their social networks enabled them to gain familiarity with the system and its culture and ultimately to become part of the mainstream educational framework. Systemic familiarity and knowledge of localized cultures allowed me, Allyanna and Andrea to identify and react to the anomalies in the hiring processes in our personalized contexts. We were able to recognize and respond to the pertinence of building a social network by increasing our visibility in schools and in contexts where we found acceptance.

Social Capital for Advocacy. The lived realities of the immigrant educators as documented in this study add another dimension to the efficacy of social capital in their particularized contexts. In the context of these immigrant teachers, social capital derived from social networks was not only helpful in furnishing them with the information that they required in seeking employment, but was also critical in helping them sustain their presence in their specific contexts. Here, then, social capital played an advocacy role wherein their acquired social capital with its unique situatedness in the system was able to advocate and recommend their services to potential employers as well as challenge manifestations of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. As an advocate and an informal mentor in the immigrant teacher problematic, I used my distinct affiliations and understanding of the two diverse groups to bridge the structural hole between the groups (Burt, 2005) by appraising one group with the informational knowledge and understanding of the other group. In doing so, I had facilitated the immigrant teachers’ sustained contributions in their situated contexts.
The concept of structural hole as conceptualized by Burt (2005) refers to “empty spaces in social structures” (Burt, 2005, p. 16) that are caused by the homogeneity of groups and the tendency of members of varied groups to be “focused on their own activities such that they do not attend to the activities of people in the other group” (Burt, 2005, p. 16). Applying this perspective to understand the paradox of immigrant educators, the empty space is caused by the mainstream community’s negative perception of the professional capabilities of the immigrant educators. Originating from distinct social, cultural and pedagogical backgrounds, immigrant educators are perceived to be deficient in their abilities to function in a mainstream Canadian educational context (Schmidt, 2010a) and as such have to contend with “prejudicial treatment on the basis of dress, accent, perceived foreignness, immigration status, and age” (Schmidt, 2010a, p. 241). This paradigm is especially exemplified in my experiences as an informal mentor, where I had to contend with and negate the negative perceptions and attitudes of immigrant educators that my mainstream colleagues expressed.

Recurring prejudicial treatment towards immigrant educators can be found in the lived realities of the three immigrant educators documented in this study. We immigrant educators all had to combat negative perceptions of our human capital; for instance, both Andrea and I had to contend with discriminatory attitudes and behavior on the basis of our accent. Further, several instances delineate how discriminatory attitudes formed the basis of behaviors and acts that thwarted and impeded immigrant teachers’ integration. Foucault’s explorations on bio-politics provide the lens to discern and identify the problematic emerging from such discriminatory attitudes. According to Foucault, in a bio-political regime where social structures and political hierarchies exercise power over
life, contexts of diversities are used to create clear dichotomous social strata, wherein one group assumes superiority, defines the norms, and consequently uses the silences caused by the norms to exclude or eliminate the “inferior race” (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005). Andrea’s situation exemplifies this problem. Recounting her tenure as a term teacher, Andrea detailed several instances where she had to contend and circumvent challenges imposed by a mainstream colleague, who attempted to exercise her mainstream power to silence and discredit Andrea’s existence in the school, by using the power of her social capital to set distinct norms of conduct that contradicted Andrea’s endeavors. Andrea began the school year with a fully organized classroom, and carefully crafted programs to meet the needs of the diverse learners in her classroom. In a short span of time, evidence of Andrea’s exemplary performance was evident to the larger school community; students in her class were showing evidence of academic and behavioral improvements.

With effective classroom programming in place, Andrea started to participate in the larger life of the school through school-wide programs. Andrea’s efforts did not go unnoticed; she was recognized as enhancing the school’s profile. Andrea’s increasing success created anxiety for a mainstream colleague also in a term position in the same grade level; essentially the two teachers were competing for potential employment opportunities. Several adversarial actions resulted that impeded Andrea’s educational initiatives and cast aspersions on Andrea’s integrity as a collegial professional and coworker. Lamenting upon one such instance, Andrea recalls:

Consequent to a professional development session for all grade one teachers, Sylvia [pseudonym] had invited the entire grade one group, except my educational assistant [a South Asian woman] to her house for lunch. I found out
on the day of the professional development session that my educational assistant had not received invitation to have lunch at Sylvia’s house. I could not leave my educational assistant alone at the venue, so I decided to stay back with her and asked the rest of them to proceed without me. I never knew that I would have face to repercussions of this decision – and so I was shocked when the Principal called me to her room and reprimanded me on my actions. I was thoroughly confounded, and did not realize that my actions and conduct were being scrutinized even during lunch time which I was under the impression was my own personal time (Andrea, unstructured interview, October 15, 2012).

On becoming apprised of this incident, I advocated for Andrea by reminding the administrator that an employee should not be questioned about their socialization choices and should not have to provide account for their actions during lunch time.

Several other instances of harassment followed; on one occasion Andrea, was accused by some mainstream colleagues of hoarding books. This group included the mainstream colleague on a term position that had earlier caused her Filipino dance club to be discontinued, and had reported her lunchtime activities to the administrator. This time Andrea took a stand, enlisting the help of a trusted colleague who happened to be the resource teacher supervising and assisting the grade one group. The resource teacher supported Andrea and verified for the administration that the accusations were false. The administrator assured such harassment would not be tolerated and consequently took steps to ensure Andrea could perform her pedagogical duties and responsibilities without further interference.
These instances corroborate the role social networks play in alleviating some of the manifestations of discrimination. In the immigration teacher narratives, the immigrant educators’ social networks played an important advocacy role in addition to filling the empty spaces in the structure by passing information from one group to the other.

Viewed with Foucault’s self-emancipatory lens (Brocklesby & Cummings, 1996), the lived realities and the told stories of the immigrant educators included in the study delineate the problematized existence of the immigrant educators. The stories told in this study not only reveal the silences created by the bio-political exercise of power that impedes the integration of immigrant educators, but they also indicate the strategies and responses that immigrant educators embrace to prevail over a problematic and inconsistent system (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005).
CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Through the narratives of three immigrant teachers, this study has explored the intricacies of accommodating and affirming the wealth of knowledge these educators bring to Canadian schools. Findings contribute to the discourses and discussions regarding the acculturation of immigrant educators and the social, cultural, affective, and linguistic challenges that these teachers might encounter and suggest programming alternatives to help immigrant educators attune their skills to the demands of Canadian educational systems. The insights obtained from this study provide pertinent insights for modifying existing models of educational administration and teacher education initiatives promoting more diverse school populations.

The narratives included in the study identify current programmatic and systemic limitations and gaps that need to be filled to facilitate immigrant teachers’ integration. The study includes insights that provide suggestions on corrective action for the varied stakeholders critical to the immigrant teacher integration problematic. The following table provides a comprehensive overview of the recommendations for the varied stakeholder groups in the immigrant teacher integration problematic:

Table 3: Recommendations Chart

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<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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<td>Immigrant Teachers</td>
<td>Building Social Capital Through Informal Mentors</td>
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### Revalidation and Reconstruction of Re-credentialing requirements

The study revealed systemic impediments to the entry of immigrant teachers into the Manitoba teaching profession by distinctly devaluing their human capital through re-credentialling. The extensive debate on the need for streamlining credential requirements to accommodate diverse pedagogical contexts have seen some changes being made to credentialling requirements in various provinces in Canada. In Manitoba, the Education Administration Act has included provisions for teachers from non-Manitoba educational contexts – as such according to these revised regulations – to obtain a permanent professional certificate in Manitoba a candidate must have acquired a degree from a university by completing at least 150 credit hours in a teacher education program and must have completed specific credit hours in the various teachable areas.

Analyzing the lived realities of my participants with a Foucauldian lens allows us to perceive the current system of re-credentialling as “a system of power” (Shiner, 1982, p. 384) that invalidates and discounts immigrant teachers’ human capital. This process occurs “occasionally by blatant denial, but continuously by a set of implicit rules

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<th>Immigrant Teachers/Mainstream Teachers</th>
<th>Creation of an Immigrant Teacher Forum</th>
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<tr>
<td>Credentialing Bodies</td>
<td>Re-consideration of Revaluation of Credentialling requirements especially for candidates coming from varied pedagogical contexts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Education Programs</td>
<td>Educational Programs for dispelling the anonymity of immigrant educators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Hiring Personnel/Administration</td>
<td>Development and Implementation of Hiring Policies with an Ethno-cultural equity agenda.</td>
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concerning what sorts of concepts and vocabulary are acceptable and what credentials and status are requisite for one's discourse to count as knowledge” (Shiner, 1982, p. 384). In the context of immigrant teachers, the implicit, unwritten implication that primary knowledge acquired in Canada is superior to knowledge acquired from other locational contexts indicate the “line of action” (Gutting, 2005, p. 45) that can be pursued to alleviate the problematic of the devaluation of the immigrant teacher human capital. As a line of action, it is perhaps pertinent to transform the “regime of truth” (Shiner, 1982, p. 384) that values temporal breadth of knowledge acquisition as compared to the actual knowledge of the mechanics of teaching. As such it is recommended that Manitoba Education reconsider its specifications and requirements in order to be certified as a teacher in Manitoba.

**Informal Mentors for Building Social Capital.** The immigrant teacher narratives document the importance of social capital in the integration experiences of the immigrant educators. Specifically, the narratives delineate the distinct role social capital acquired from social networks play in challenging and facilitating the integration of the immigrant educators into the broader Manitoba educational framework. In asserting the pertinence of social capital, experiential evidence in the study identifies two diverse roles of social capital. In the lived realities of the immigrant teachers, social capital can be perceived as not only a catalyst that accelerated the integration of immigrant teachers, but also an deterrent that impeded the integration of immigrant teachers. As a catalyst accelerator, acquisition of social capital helped immigrant teachers change their distinct “outsider” status into an “insider” status. However, a distinct social capital deficit both delayed and restricted their job search endeavors. By presenting this dichotomous
function of social capital in the integration experiences of the documented immigrant teachers the study not only recommends systemic, structural and policy changes but also suggests intermediary bridges that can be used to circumvent the implications of the prevailing systemic inconsistencies.

In such context, the study presents social networks as a prime source for acquiring social capital. The lived realities of the documented immigrant teachers suggest two distinct ways the immigrant teachers employed to establish social networks, and to a large extent these two approaches complement each other. The first approach sees immigrant teachers using informal mentorship circles to eliminate the visages of their status as the significant “Other” in the system and the second approach fosters a comfort zone immigrant teachers create in the process.

**Creation of an Immigrant Teacher Forum.** In terms of assisting immigrant teachers initiate the process of building social capital through social networks, several suggestions emerge from the data. Excerpts from my lived realities persuade immigrant educators to consider immersion and association in varied professional bodies to build connections within the larger community of educators. Further, Andrea’s lived realities suggests acquiring social capital by specializing in a niche area as well as exploring possibilities of repeated substitution opportunities in a school. Allyanna’s lived realities provide the alternative of building visibility through volunteer opportunities as well as employment as a Para educator. The alternatives that unfold in the immigrant teacher narratives do not in any way reflect the entire range of possible means by which an immigrant teacher can acquire social capital through social networks. By making these interpretations, this study does not in any way attempt to lay the onus of resolving the
problematic on the immigrant teachers. The resolutions proposed in the study must primarily be viewed as intermediary responses to a problematic for change in the particularized context of the immigrant teachers. On the contrary by including and highlighting my lived realities as an informal mentor, the study mainly intends to indicate the role the broader community of teachers can play in the integration process of immigrant educators.

One way in which the system can facilitate the integration of immigrant teachers is through the creation of a network that would respond to their needs. Such a network could develop and implement resources to help immigrant educators acquire the required social capital to effectively integrate into the broader educational framework in Manitoba. Creating a network of immigrant educators would connect new immigrant educators with informal mentors that could support them in accessing the social capital they need to find their place in Manitoba schools. In suggesting and forging the concept of informal mentorship for immigrant teacher integration, the study by no means disregards the relevance of formal mentorship programs – on the contrary, informal mentors can usefully supplement the task of the formal mentors. While formal mentorship programs can assist immigrant teachers in “bridging the gap between the newcomers’ former ways of knowing and current practice, thereby mobilizing their capacity to operate effectively as a teacher in their new contexts and develop a positive professional identity” (Peeler & Jane, 2005, p.325), informal mentors can be positioned to assist new immigrant teachers gain visibility and negotiate the challenges that arise in their employment gaining endeavors.
Systemic Education for Dispelling the Anonymity of Immigrant Educators.

Further, in order to enable immigrant educators to form and extend their social networks, the study recognizes the need to educate and negate the deficit perspectives about the human capital of immigrant educators that might exist in the broader educational system in Manitoba. Educational programs should educate all educational stakeholders in Manitoba about the potential benefits of integrating immigrant educators in the mainstream educational system. This recommendation is mainly based on the tenets of Critical Race Theory, which “contends that progressive social change occurs when those dominant groups experience themselves as the beneficiaries of the change” (Schmidt & Block, 2010, p. 15). In the context of immigrant educators such educational programs will not only help increase understanding and appreciation for the human capital of immigrant educators, but will also help the broader community of teachers in Manitoba to recognize the potential benefits that they would derive from the presence of immigrant educators. As for benefits to the immigrant teacher community, such educational initiatives are proposed to assist immigrant teachers in gaining acceptance from the larger community of teachers in Manitoba and in turn solicit their participation in the process of building social capital.

Development and Implementation of Hiring Policies with an Ethno-cultural Equity Agenda. This study in no way trivializes the importance and need for holistic changes in hiring policies and credentialing policies. Considering the study is rooted on Foucault’s concept of problematization, the need to build social capital is identified as an intermediary response that immigrant teachers can take while systemic barriers such as exclusive hiring practices are challenged. In Manitoba it has been noted (Schmidt &
Block, 2010) that while the provincial education ministry has articulated a comprehensive ethno-cultural equity agenda that deliberates on diversifying the teacher workforce, the same is not reflected in most of the employment and equity policies of major school divisions in Manitoba.

The feasibility of social capital acquisition in job acquiring process is, to a large extent, dependent upon the number of immigrant teachers and minority educators that are already integrated in Manitoba schools. In the absence of hiring policies fostering the ethno-cultural equity agenda, it would perhaps be impossible for immigrant educators to have the strength of the voice that is required to even initiate the process of building social capital.

To examine the potential of this study for extending and enhancing understandings of immigrant teacher integration, it is relevant to acknowledge the inherent gaps in the study and directions for further research. While the study identifies the importance of social capital in the immigration teacher integration process, it does not explore the particularized impediments that immigrant teachers may have to contend with in actually acquiring the desired social capital. Though some of these barriers have been documented in existing research, studies should further explore the nature of social capital that immigrant educators need to acquire in order to be successful in their job search endeavors. In recommending systemic, structural, and policy changes, this study has adopted a holistic approach for creating an inclusive educational system, one that is well-poised to better address the needs of increasingly diverse Canadian school communities.
REFERENCES


Kailasanathan, S. (n.d.) Road to acculturation: Discourse delineating the imperatives, strengths, and challenges of immigrant teachers. Unpublished manuscript, Manitoba, Canada.


### Appendix A

#### A COMPARATIVE LOOK AT THE BRIDGING PROGRAMS IN CANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Type of Institutional Supports</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Calgary</td>
<td>Bridge to Teaching Program</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>Towards bridging the past and the present context of immigrant teachers</td>
<td>Calgary, Alberta</td>
<td>Coursework and Practicum</td>
<td>Mainly helping foreign trained teachers acquire acquaintance to Alberta curriculum and assessment standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Fraser University</td>
<td>Professional Qualification Program (PQP)</td>
<td>12 months</td>
<td>Towards acquainting foreign trained teachers with the cultural, social and political contexts of British Columbia Schools</td>
<td>Surrey, British Columbia</td>
<td>Seminars and in-school experiences</td>
<td>Teachers with previous teaching experience and qualifications outside Canada, These professionals should have been evaluated by the TRB and should have been advised to complete the PQP program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario College of Teachers; LASI Word Skills; Ontario Teachers' Federation; Windsor Women Working With Immigrant Women.</td>
<td>Teach in Ontario Program</td>
<td>Program discontinued</td>
<td>Towards helping teachers navigate the process and preparing for employment as teachers in Ontario</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario; Windsor, Ontario; Ottawa, Ontario</td>
<td>Information, Counselling and Assistance with Certification process. Language Upgradation; Classroom Immersion Module; Professional Coaching Module; Occasional Teaching Workshop</td>
<td>Internationally educated teachers wishing to re-establish their teaching careers in Ontario.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Institute for Studies in Education – Continuing Education</td>
<td>Mainstream Supports no specific program</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>Towards assisting teachers in completing individual registration requirements as directed by the Ontario College of Teachers</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Additional Basic Courses; Courses in Education; Practicum Placements</td>
<td>Internationally educated teachers with an official letter from Ontario College of Teachers detailing requirements for registration and certification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Manitoba</td>
<td>Formerly known as Internationally Educated Teachers Bridging Program/Mentorship Initiatives</td>
<td>30 credit hours</td>
<td>Towards assisting teachers complete additional coursework to acquire Permanent Teacher Certification in Manitoba and acquire acquaintance with various aspects of Canadian Pedagogy</td>
<td>Winnipeg, Manitoba</td>
<td>Courses in Education; Practicum Placement</td>
<td>Internationally educated teachers with credential assessments from the Province of Manitoba</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of Winnipeg</td>
<td>Internationally Trained Teachers</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>Towards assisting internationally trained teachers complete additional coursework to acquire Permanent Teacher Certification in Manitoba</td>
<td>Winnipeg, Manitoba</td>
<td>Mainly integrated with the regular Bachelor of Education program</td>
<td>Internationally educated teachers with credential assessments from the Province of Manitoba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>